

A Grammar of Yeri  
a Torricelli language of Papua New Guinea

by

Jennifer Wilson

February 1, 2017

A dissertation submitted to the  
Faculty of the Graduate School of the  
State University of New York at Buffalo  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Linguistics

Copyright by  
Jennifer Wilson  
2017

# Acknowledgements

There are numerous people to thank for their support of this project, financial, emotional, and otherwise. Most obviously, I need to thank the Yeri people. Without their enthusiasm for this work, I would never have been able to even begin this project. In particular, this includes Leo Ainaris and John Sirio who acted as my primary consultants throughout this project and who went above and beyond to help me record and understand their language. I could never have hoped to find two such talented and enthusiastic consultants. They each devoted hundreds of hours to the project despite having a great deal of other important responsibilities, and I will be forever grateful for their help. I also want to specifically thank Ansela Nibisan, Vero Nibisan, and Josepa Yikaina who came back again and again to tell me stories, spend time with me, and answer my endless questions, as well as John Nibisan who graciously let us record in his new house in 2014.

In addition to language work, the whole Yeri village looked after me during my time in the village. As a foreigner, I could not scrape, wash, or turn sago. I didn't have a garden I tended or any knowledge of how to survive in the Torricelli mountains. I am grateful to the people who took on the task of caring for me, so that I could focus on documenting their language during the time I could be there. Without their willingness to help, this project would never have been completed. This includes my adopted family, Leo Ainairis, his wife Rosa, and their children, Yirkuri and Solomon, as well as numerous other families who would send food to my adopted family to help care for me. I also briefly want to thank John, Tom, and Ruth who welcomed me to Sibilanga when I first arrived and who have helped take care of me during my time in Sibilanga. During the eleven months I have spent in Papua New Guinea, I have developed close friendships with so many of these people, and *nogil Yeri* will always hold a place in my heart. As so many of you have so often said to me, “*hem wan nyode ye.*”

There are also several groups I want to thank for their financial support. My doctoral work from August 2008-December 2011 was funded by a teaching assistantship as well as a Dean's fellowship from the University at Buffalo, while my doctoral work from January 2012- May 2015 was supported by a doctoral fellowship from the Max Planck Institute for

Evolutionary Anthropology. My initial fieldwork in 2010 was supported by the National Science Foundation under grant #0756075. The two subsequent trips were funded by the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. Without funding, none of this would have been possible.

To the people at the University at Buffalo, I am grateful to all of the UB faculty for the training I received. I am especially grateful to my adviser, Matthew Dryer, who first introduced me to Papuan languages during my first semester in a seminar on the typology of Papuan languages. He supported my first field trip to Yeri under his grant and personally introduced me to the area and people. I also want to thank Lea Brown, who has always been willing to talk with me about Torricelli languages and offer advice. To the rest of my committee, Jeff Good and Karin Michelson, thank you for everything. I have grown so much as a linguist since when I started the program and you two and Matthew are much of the reason for that. Jeff, I owe you a particular debt of gratitude for being the one to suggest I apply for the MPI EVA doctoral fellowship (as well as more recently for the ELDP postdoc I was awarded).

I also want to thank the many other people I met throughout my time in the UB linguistics program. Many of these have become lifelong friends and have supported me despite the distance in our physical locations. In particular, I want to thank Hiroto Uchihara, Karl Sarvestani, Jay Stallings, Adam Sposato, Adam Hatfield, and Jesse Lovegren who I became close to while at UB. To those I still speak with frequently, thank you for putting up with me through the many times I've talked way too much about this language. To those I may speak with less frequently, I'm here if you ever need me and I'm grateful to have known you. Like Adam said, I think this is my way of saying I miss you all.

To the people at the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, thank you for providing the most welcoming and supportive environment I could have asked for. I know my own research was greatly improved from the many impromptu informal talks I had with other researchers and by learning about a range of wonderful research projects being undertaken by the other researchers there. In particular, I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Bernard Comrie, who believed in me enough to offer me the doctoral fellowship that supported the creation of this grammar. He was also gracious enough to offer me feedback on several chapters and supported my travel to conferences to present on Yeri. I also want to thank Julia Cissewski, who helped me settle into my life in Leipzig, Germany, and who helped my husband find a hospital for me when I came down with malaria. I am especially grateful to Alexandra Meier and Dorothea Steude, who helped me turn language data written in field notebooks into a format that permitted computational searching. Without their help, I could not have processed and archived as many Yeri recordings as I did. I also want to thank Alexander König at The Language Archive, who single-handedly solved every issue I



ran into while attempting to archive the Yeri data, and did it much faster than I could have hoped for.

Finally, I would not have survived without the love and support of my parents, my sisters, and my husband. Instead of telling me how crazy I was for choosing to travel to such a remote area of Papua New Guinea (though they may have thought so), they supported my choices and encouraged me when the challenges inherent in a project like this surfaced. My older sister gave me a place to work when I returned home, and my younger sister kept me supplied with music to work to. Both my parents cheered me on through the many emotional challenges you face taking on such a large complex project for so many years, and they continued to cheer me on even after we all took on the even more difficult emotional challenges faced when a loved one starts a battle with cancer. Without such a wonderful support network, I might never have believed in myself enough to attempt such a task.

My husband, in particular, was not only the most emotionally supportive friend I could have asked for, but made choices again and again to actively encourage and help me. When I moved to Germany to accept the doctoral fellowship from the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, he moved with me, setting aside his own career plans. In 2014, when I returned to Papua New Guinea for my third trip, he chose to come too. While there, he took pictures for the dictionary, held bush-made boom poles for me, collected GPS data, and recorded speakers telling stories so that I could later transcribe, translate, and analyze them with the help of a consultant. There are no words to describe how very lucky I feel every day to have married such a loving and supportive man. David, for everything that you have done and continue to do, thank you.

# Contents

|                                                                   |               |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| <b>Acknowledgements</b>                                           | <b>iii</b>    |
| <b>List of Figures</b>                                            | <b>xix</b>    |
| <b>List of Tables</b>                                             | <b>xxv</b>    |
| <b>Abbreviations</b>                                              | <b>xxvi</b>   |
| <b>Abstract</b>                                                   | <b>xxviii</b> |
| <b>1 Introduction</b>                                             | <b>1</b>      |
| 1.1 Geographic location . . . . .                                 | 1             |
| 1.2 Genealogical classification . . . . .                         | 2             |
| 1.3 Common typological features of Torricelli languages . . . . . | 4             |
| 1.4 Sociolinguistic situation . . . . .                           | 5             |
| 1.4.1 The larger linguistic area . . . . .                        | 5             |
| 1.4.2 Clans . . . . .                                             | 7             |
| 1.4.3 Language vitality . . . . .                                 | 8             |
| 1.4.3.1 Current language proficiency . . . . .                    | 8             |
| 1.4.3.2 The narrowing of linguistic domains . . . . .             | 9             |
| 1.4.3.3 The loss of traditional Yeri registers . . . . .          | 10            |
| 1.5 Previous research . . . . .                                   | 12            |
| 1.6 Methodology . . . . .                                         | 12            |
| 1.6.1 Speakers and consultants . . . . .                          | 13            |
| 1.6.2 Data collection . . . . .                                   | 13            |
| 1.6.3 Data types . . . . .                                        | 14            |
| 1.6.4 The Yeri corpus . . . . .                                   | 20            |
| 1.6.4.1 Creating the corpus . . . . .                             | 20            |
| 1.6.4.2 An overview of the corpus . . . . .                       | 22            |

|          |                                                          |           |
|----------|----------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| 1.6.4.3  | Accessing the corpus . . . . .                           | 23        |
| 1.6.4.4  | Using the corpus . . . . .                               | 23        |
| 1.7      | Data presentation . . . . .                              | 25        |
| 1.7.1    | Selecting examples . . . . .                             | 26        |
| 1.7.2    | Interpreting examples . . . . .                          | 26        |
| 1.7.3    | Hyperlinks (digital form only) . . . . .                 | 31        |
| 1.7.4    | A note on allomorph terminology . . . . .                | 33        |
| 1.8      | Organization of the grammar . . . . .                    | 34        |
| 1.9      | Grammatical overview . . . . .                           | 36        |
| <b>2</b> | <b>Phonology</b>                                         | <b>39</b> |
| 2.1      | Segmental phonology . . . . .                            | 39        |
| 2.1.1    | Consonants . . . . .                                     | 40        |
| 2.1.1.1  | Plosives . . . . .                                       | 41        |
| 2.1.1.2  | Nasals . . . . .                                         | 43        |
| 2.1.1.3  | Fricatives . . . . .                                     | 43        |
| 2.1.1.4  | Approximants . . . . .                                   | 44        |
| 2.1.2    | Vowels . . . . .                                         | 46        |
| 2.1.2.1  | The realization of /e/ . . . . .                         | 47        |
| 2.1.2.2  | High vowels . . . . .                                    | 58        |
| 2.1.2.3  | Evidence for vowel contrast . . . . .                    | 61        |
| 2.1.2.4  | Neutralization of vowel contrasts . . . . .              | 62        |
| 2.2      | Yeri orthography . . . . .                               | 64        |
| 2.3      | Phonotactics . . . . .                                   | 65        |
| 2.3.1    | Consonants . . . . .                                     | 65        |
| 2.3.1.1  | Onset consonants . . . . .                               | 66        |
| 2.3.1.2  | Coda consonants . . . . .                                | 69        |
| 2.3.2    | Vowels and VV sequences . . . . .                        | 70        |
| 2.4      | Stress, vowel reduction, and epenthesis . . . . .        | 72        |
| 2.4.1    | Regular penultimate stress . . . . .                     | 73        |
| 2.4.2    | Alternate stress patterns in trisyllabic words . . . . . | 75        |
| 2.4.3    | Word-final stress in specific disyllabic words . . . . . | 76        |
| 2.4.4    | Stress and reduplication . . . . .                       | 77        |
| 2.4.5    | Primary lexical stress and form types . . . . .          | 78        |
| 2.4.6    | Stress shift . . . . .                                   | 81        |
| 2.4.7    | Vowel reduction/deletion . . . . .                       | 83        |
| 2.4.8    | Vowel coalescence . . . . .                              | 84        |

|          |                                                            |            |
|----------|------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| 2.4.9    | Epenthesis . . . . .                                       | 85         |
| 2.5      | Morphophonology . . . . .                                  | 87         |
| 2.5.1    | Regressive vowel harmony . . . . .                         | 88         |
| 2.5.2    | Deletion of /e/ before vowel-initial morphemes . . . . .   | 90         |
| 2.5.3    | Irrealis mood and the reduction of /e/ . . . . .           | 92         |
| 2.5.4    | The pronunciation of /ai/ as [ɛi] . . . . .                | 93         |
| 2.5.5    | The pronunciation of /oi/ as [ɛi] . . . . .                | 96         |
| 2.5.6    | Vowel disharmony . . . . .                                 | 97         |
| 2.5.6.1  | Plural morphemes . . . . .                                 | 98         |
| 2.5.6.2  | Predicate morphemes . . . . .                              | 98         |
| 2.5.6.3  | Augment morphemes and pronominal clitics . . . . .         | 100        |
| 2.5.7    | /ia/ final verbs and <i>-ki</i> or <i>danua</i> . . . . .  | 103        |
| 2.5.8    | Optional subject prefix omission before prefixes . . . . . | 104        |
| 2.5.9    | /n/ deletion . . . . .                                     | 106        |
| 2.5.9.1  | Optional deletion before consonant-initial verbs . . . . . | 107        |
| 2.5.9.2  | Before consonant-initial plural suffixes . . . . .         | 109        |
| 2.5.9.3  | Optional deletion following /l/ . . . . .                  | 109        |
| 2.5.10   | Predicate morphemes and velar deletion . . . . .           | 111        |
| 2.5.11   | Imperfective <i>-m-</i> preceding /p/ . . . . .            | 112        |
| 2.6      | Reduplication . . . . .                                    | 113        |
| 2.6.1    | Complete reduplication . . . . .                           | 114        |
| 2.6.2    | Partial reduplication . . . . .                            | 115        |
| <b>3</b> | <b>Word classes</b>                                        | <b>120</b> |
| 3.1      | The selection of word class criteria . . . . .             | 120        |
| 3.2      | Verbs . . . . .                                            | 121        |
| 3.3      | Nouns . . . . .                                            | 122        |
| 3.4      | Ideophones . . . . .                                       | 124        |
| 3.5      | Adnominals . . . . .                                       | 128        |
| 3.5.1    | Adjectives . . . . .                                       | 129        |
| 3.5.1.1  | WGN adjectives . . . . .                                   | 129        |
| 3.5.1.2  | GN adjectives . . . . .                                    | 131        |
| 3.5.1.3  | N adjectives . . . . .                                     | 132        |
| 3.5.2    | Demonstratives . . . . .                                   | 132        |
| 3.5.2.1  | The demonstrative <i>yot-</i> . . . . .                    | 133        |
| 3.5.2.2  | The demonstrative <i>yaʔa</i> . . . . .                    | 136        |
| 3.5.3    | Numerals and Quantifiers . . . . .                         | 138        |

|          |                                                  |            |
|----------|--------------------------------------------------|------------|
| 3.5.3.1  | Numerals . . . . .                               | 138        |
| 3.5.3.2  | Quantifiers . . . . .                            | 144        |
| 3.5.4    | Genitive pronouns . . . . .                      | 145        |
| 3.5.5    | The relational clitic . . . . .                  | 148        |
| 3.6      | Copula words . . . . .                           | 151        |
| 3.7      | Adverbs . . . . .                                | 154        |
| 3.8      | Degree words . . . . .                           | 155        |
| 3.9      | Clause particles . . . . .                       | 157        |
| 3.10     | Prepositions . . . . .                           | 158        |
| 3.10.1   | <i>wdi</i> . . . . .                             | 159        |
| 3.10.2   | <i>danua</i> . . . . .                           | 161        |
| 3.11     | Conjunctions . . . . .                           | 163        |
| 3.12     | Subordinators . . . . .                          | 163        |
| 3.13     | Exclamatives . . . . .                           | 163        |
| 3.14     | The word <i>nadi</i> ‘only’ . . . . .            | 164        |
| <b>4</b> | <b>Basic clausal syntax</b>                      | <b>166</b> |
| 4.1      | Grammatical relations . . . . .                  | 166        |
| 4.1.1    | Verbal predicates . . . . .                      | 166        |
| 4.1.2    | Non-verbal predicates . . . . .                  | 171        |
| 4.2      | Pronominal forms . . . . .                       | 172        |
| 4.2.1    | Personal pronouns . . . . .                      | 175        |
| 4.2.2    | Pronominal forms in non-verbal clauses . . . . . | 177        |
| 4.3      | Word order . . . . .                             | 181        |
| 4.4      | Overview of clause types . . . . .               | 183        |
| 4.5      | Verbal clauses . . . . .                         | 184        |
| 4.5.1    | Intransitive verbal predicates . . . . .         | 185        |
| 4.5.2    | Transitive verbal predicates . . . . .           | 187        |
| 4.6      | Non-verbal clauses . . . . .                     | 190        |
| 4.6.1    | Nominal predicates . . . . .                     | 190        |
| 4.6.1.1  | Simple nominal predicates . . . . .              | 190        |
| 4.6.1.2  | More complex nominal predicates . . . . .        | 193        |
| 4.6.1.3  | Temporal nominal predicates . . . . .            | 195        |
| 4.6.2    | Ideophone predicates . . . . .                   | 196        |
| 4.6.3    | Adnominal predicates . . . . .                   | 197        |
| 4.6.3.1  | Adjective predicates . . . . .                   | 198        |
| 4.6.3.2  | Demonstrative predicates . . . . .               | 200        |

|          |                                                                         |            |
|----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| 4.6.3.3  | Numeral and quantifier predicates . . . . .                             | 201        |
| 4.6.3.4  | Genitive predicates: ‘X is mine, X is NP’s’ . . . . .                   | 203        |
| 4.6.4    | Adverb predicate . . . . .                                              | 205        |
| 4.6.5    | The possessive ‘have’ construction . . . . .                            | 206        |
| 4.7      | Optional elements in a clause . . . . .                                 | 211        |
| 4.7.1    | Clause particles . . . . .                                              | 211        |
| 4.7.2    | Adverb phrases . . . . .                                                | 212        |
| 4.7.3    | Adjunct nominal phrases . . . . .                                       | 213        |
| 4.7.4    | Prepositional phrases . . . . .                                         | 216        |
| <b>5</b> | <b>Nouns</b>                                                            | <b>217</b> |
| 5.1      | Phonological characteristics . . . . .                                  | 217        |
| 5.2      | Overview of nominal morphology . . . . .                                | 217        |
| 5.3      | Gender . . . . .                                                        | 219        |
| 5.3.1    | An overview of the gender system . . . . .                              | 219        |
| 5.3.2    | Overt vs. covert gender . . . . .                                       | 220        |
| 5.3.3    | Gender agreement in the plural . . . . .                                | 222        |
| 5.3.4    | Assigning gender . . . . .                                              | 224        |
| 5.3.4.1  | Human and higher-level animals: Natural sex . . . . .                   | 224        |
| 5.3.4.2  | Lower-level animals and inanimates: Semantic principles . . . . .       | 228        |
| 5.3.4.3  | Variable gender with no obvious semantic change . . . . .               | 230        |
| 5.3.4.4  | Changing gender to highlight a physical property . . . . .              | 231        |
| 5.4      | Number . . . . .                                                        | 233        |
| 5.4.1    | An overview of the number system . . . . .                              | 233        |
| 5.4.1.1  | Controller class 1: No GF (2 forms) . . . . .                           | 235        |
| 5.4.1.2  | Controller class 2: Grammatically singular GF (2 forms) . . . . .       | 238        |
| 5.4.1.3  | Controller class 3: Grammatically plural GF (2 forms) . . . . .         | 242        |
| 5.4.1.4  | Controller class 4: Semantic agreement GF (2 forms) . . . . .           | 243        |
| 5.4.1.5  | Controller class 5: Semantic agreement GF (1 form) . . . . .            | 244        |
| 5.4.1.6  | Controller class 6: Grammatically plural GF (1 form) . . . . .          | 246        |
| 5.4.1.7  | Controller class 7: Grammatically singular GF (1 form) . . . . .        | 248        |
| 5.4.2    | Number morphemes . . . . .                                              | 249        |
| 5.4.2.1  | Inflectional class 1: <i>-(e)gVl</i> . . . . .                          | 251        |
| 5.4.2.2  | Inflectional class 2, 3, and 4: <i>-hegal, -megal, -pegal</i> . . . . . | 253        |
| 5.4.2.3  | Inflectional class 5: <i>-agia</i> . . . . .                            | 254        |
| 5.4.2.4  | Inflectional class 6: <i>-agwei</i> . . . . .                           | 255        |
| 5.4.2.5  | Inflectional class 7: <i>-(e)tV, -wil</i> . . . . .                     | 255        |

|          |                                                                   |     |
|----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 5.4.2.6  | Inflectional class 8: <i>-l(V), -(l)bia</i> . . . . .             | 256 |
| 5.4.2.7  | Inflectional class 9: <i>-l</i> . . . . .                         | 257 |
| 5.4.2.8  | Inflectional class 10: <i>-l, -i</i> . . . . .                    | 257 |
| 5.4.2.9  | Inflectional class 11: <i>-ti</i> . . . . .                       | 258 |
| 5.4.2.10 | Inflectional class 12: <i>-i</i> . . . . .                        | 258 |
| 5.4.2.11 | Inflectional class 13: <i>-ia</i> . . . . .                       | 259 |
| 5.4.2.12 | Inflectional class 14: <i>-gi</i> . . . . .                       | 259 |
| 5.4.2.13 | Inflectional class 15: <i>-l-(e)gVl</i> . . . . .                 | 259 |
| 5.4.2.14 | Suppletion and irregular number morphemes . . . . .               | 260 |
| 5.4.2.15 | Variation in number morpheme selection . . . . .                  | 261 |
| 5.5      | Agreement . . . . .                                               | 262 |
| 5.5.1    | The PGN agreement class: Person, gender, and number agreement . . | 264 |
| 5.5.1.1  | Verbs . . . . .                                                   | 264 |
| 5.5.1.2  | Personal pronouns . . . . .                                       | 265 |
| 5.5.1.3  | Genitive pronouns . . . . .                                       | 265 |
| 5.5.2    | The GN agreement class: Only gender and number agreement . . . .  | 270 |
| 5.5.2.1  | WGN adjectives . . . . .                                          | 271 |
| 5.5.2.2  | GN adjectives . . . . .                                           | 273 |
| 5.5.2.3  | The demonstrative <i>yot-</i> . . . . .                           | 274 |
| 5.5.2.4  | The numeral <i>ŋa</i> . . . . .                                   | 274 |
| 5.5.2.5  | The quantifier <i>peigilia</i> . . . . .                          | 275 |
| 5.5.2.6  | The conjunction <i>nia</i> . . . . .                              | 275 |
| 5.5.2.7  | The preposition <i>danua</i> . . . . .                            | 276 |
| 5.5.2.8  | The interrogative word <i>nia</i> . . . . .                       | 277 |
| 5.5.2.9  | Ideophones . . . . .                                              | 277 |
| 5.5.3    | The G agreement class: Only gender agreement . . . . .            | 278 |
| 5.5.4    | The N agreement class: Only number agreement . . . . .            | 279 |
| 5.5.4.1  | Copula words . . . . .                                            | 280 |
| 5.5.4.2  | N adjectives . . . . .                                            | 283 |
| 5.5.4.3  | The quantifier <i>sapiten</i> . . . . .                           | 284 |
| 5.5.4.4  | The subordinator <i>wɗi</i> . . . . .                             | 285 |
| 5.5.5    | The I agreement class: No agreement . . . . .                     | 285 |
| 5.5.6    | Agreement mismatches, optional agreement, and no agreement . . .  | 286 |
| 5.5.7    | Agreement target parallels across word classes . . . . .          | 291 |
| 5.5.8    | The ‘default’ gender . . . . .                                    | 292 |
| 5.6      | Locative prefix <i>ti-</i> . . . . .                              | 294 |

|          |                                                                                                   |            |
|----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <b>6</b> | <b>Nominal phrases</b>                                                                            | <b>296</b> |
| 6.1      | Minimal nominal phrases . . . . .                                                                 | 296        |
| 6.2      | Modifier ordering tendencies . . . . .                                                            | 302        |
| 6.2.1    | An overview . . . . .                                                                             | 302        |
| 6.2.2    | Third person personal pronouns . . . . .                                                          | 304        |
| 6.2.3    | Copula words . . . . .                                                                            | 305        |
| 6.2.4    | Adjectives . . . . .                                                                              | 306        |
| 6.2.5    | Numerals and quantifiers . . . . .                                                                | 307        |
| 6.2.6    | Genitive pronouns . . . . .                                                                       | 308        |
| 6.2.7    | Demonstratives . . . . .                                                                          | 310        |
| 6.3      | Nominal phrases without nouns . . . . .                                                           | 312        |
| 6.4      | Adnominal possession . . . . .                                                                    | 314        |
| 6.4.1    | Genitive pronouns . . . . .                                                                       | 314        |
| 6.4.2    | The inalienable possessive construction: Juxtaposition . . . . .                                  | 316        |
| 6.4.3    | The alienable possessive construction: Genitive pronoun and possessor<br>nominal phrase . . . . . | 319        |
| 6.4.4    | Variation in choice of possessive construction . . . . .                                          | 320        |
| 6.5      | The classificatory noun construction . . . . .                                                    | 321        |
| 6.6      | Relational nouns . . . . .                                                                        | 322        |
| 6.6.1    | Relational nouns outside of possessive constructions . . . . .                                    | 323        |
| 6.6.2    | Relational nouns as possesseees . . . . .                                                         | 324        |
| 6.6.3    | Possessee relational nouns in subject or object NPs . . . . .                                     | 327        |
| 6.7      | Coordination . . . . .                                                                            | 329        |
| 6.7.1    | Juxtaposition . . . . .                                                                           | 329        |
| 6.7.2    | The verb <i>ode</i> ‘and, with’ . . . . .                                                         | 332        |
| 6.7.3    | Conjunctions . . . . .                                                                            | 335        |
| 6.7.4    | Agreement and coordinated nominal phrases . . . . .                                               | 337        |
| 6.7.5    | Coordination of several nominal phrases . . . . .                                                 | 338        |
| <b>7</b> | <b>Verbs</b>                                                                                      | <b>340</b> |
| 7.1      | Composition of the verb root . . . . .                                                            | 340        |
| 7.2      | Overview of verbal morphology . . . . .                                                           | 342        |
| 7.3      | Subject and object indexing on the verb . . . . .                                                 | 344        |
| 7.3.1    | Subjects . . . . .                                                                                | 345        |
| 7.3.2    | Non-third person objects . . . . .                                                                | 348        |
| 7.3.3    | Third person objects . . . . .                                                                    | 350        |
| 7.3.3.1  | Infixed . . . . .                                                                                 | 351        |



|          |                                                                     |            |
|----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| 7.3.3.2  | Suffixes and augmented suffixes . . . . .                           | 355        |
| 7.3.3.3  | Variation in third person object indexing . . . . .                 | 359        |
| 7.3.4    | Indexing the possessor . . . . .                                    | 360        |
| 7.4      | Stem-final vowel alternations . . . . .                             | 362        |
| 7.4.1    | VA1: Third person object morpheme variation . . . . .               | 362        |
| 7.4.2    | VA2: Predicate morpheme variation . . . . .                         | 363        |
| 7.4.3    | VA3: Predicate morpheme and third person object variation . . . . . | 365        |
| 7.4.4    | Comparing the three classes . . . . .                               | 368        |
| 7.5      | Detransitivizing <i>d</i> - prefix . . . . .                        | 369        |
| 7.6      | Realis and irrealis mood . . . . .                                  | 371        |
| 7.6.1    | Realis and irrealis vowels . . . . .                                | 371        |
| 7.6.2    | Semantics of the irrealis . . . . .                                 | 375        |
| 7.6.2.1  | Verbs negated by <i>hiro</i> . . . . .                              | 375        |
| 7.6.2.2  | Counterfactual statements . . . . .                                 | 377        |
| 7.6.2.3  | Imperative meaning . . . . .                                        | 378        |
| 7.6.2.4  | Complement clauses expressing ‘want’ . . . . .                      | 380        |
| 7.7      | Applicative objects . . . . .                                       | 380        |
| 7.7.1    | With intransitive verbs . . . . .                                   | 381        |
| 7.7.1.1  | An overview . . . . .                                               | 381        |
| 7.7.1.2  | The verbal copula . . . . .                                         | 385        |
| 7.7.1.3  | Directional verbs . . . . .                                         | 386        |
| 7.7.1.4  | Posture verbs and the posture verb construction . . . . .           | 389        |
| 7.7.2    | With transitive verbs . . . . .                                     | 394        |
| 7.7.3    | The applicative suffix <i>-ki</i> . . . . .                         | 397        |
| 7.8      | Argument indexing and conominals . . . . .                          | 401        |
| 7.8.1    | Argument indexes and optional conominals . . . . .                  | 401        |
| 7.8.2    | Conominal objects and optional third person indexes . . . . .       | 403        |
| 7.8.3    | Object infixes and non-human conominals . . . . .                   | 405        |
| 7.8.4    | Object augmented suffixes and conominal location . . . . .          | 406        |
| 7.9      | The verb <i>ar</i> ‘go’ . . . . .                                   | 408        |
| 7.10     | The locative morpheme <i>-gVl</i> . . . . .                         | 410        |
| <b>8</b> | <b>Predicate morphemes</b>                                          | <b>413</b> |
| 8.1      | An overview of predicate morpheme form and location . . . . .       | 413        |
| 8.2      | The meaning of predicate morphemes . . . . .                        | 415        |
| 8.2.1    | The imperfective morpheme . . . . .                                 | 416        |
| 8.2.2    | The additive morpheme . . . . .                                     | 418        |

|           |                                                                                                       |            |
|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| 8.3       | ‘Before the root’ . . . . .                                                                           | 421        |
| 8.3.1     | Genitive pronouns . . . . .                                                                           | 422        |
| 8.3.2     | WGN adjectives . . . . .                                                                              | 424        |
| 8.4       | ‘Within the root’ . . . . .                                                                           | 427        |
| 8.4.1     | Predicate morpheme allomorphy in verbs . . . . .                                                      | 427        |
| 8.4.1.1   | The <i>-Ce-</i> allomorph . . . . .                                                                   | 428        |
| 8.4.1.2   | The <i>-C-</i> allomorph . . . . .                                                                    | 429        |
| 8.4.1.3   | The <i>-Ca-</i> allomorph . . . . .                                                                   | 430        |
| 8.4.1.4   | Irregular verbs . . . . .                                                                             | 431        |
| 8.4.2     | Predicate morphemes and object infixes: Infix stacking . . . . .                                      | 433        |
| 8.4.3     | The co-occurrence of imperfective and additive morphemes . . . . .                                    | 435        |
| 8.5       | ‘After the root’ . . . . .                                                                            | 438        |
| 8.5.1     | Ideophones . . . . .                                                                                  | 438        |
| 8.5.2     | Other word classes . . . . .                                                                          | 438        |
| 8.5.2.1   | Vowel disharmony . . . . .                                                                            | 439        |
| 8.5.2.2   | The particle <i>he</i> and predicate morphemes after the root . . .                                   | 440        |
| 8.6       | Imperfective and additive pronominal clitics . . . . .                                                | 445        |
| <b>9</b>  | <b>Infixes</b>                                                                                        | <b>449</b> |
| 9.1       | Defining infixation . . . . .                                                                         | 449        |
| 9.2       | Predicate morphemes . . . . .                                                                         | 450        |
| 9.2.1     | Do predicate morphemes occur within another morpheme? . . . . .                                       | 451        |
| 9.2.2     | Is the location phonologically predictable? . . . . .                                                 | 452        |
| 9.2.3     | Are predicate morphemes located at a morpheme boundary? . . . . .                                     | 452        |
| 9.3       | The third person object allomorphs <i>-he-</i> , <i>-ne-</i> , <i>-i-</i> , and <i>-hi-</i> . . . . . | 453        |
| 9.3.1     | Do object allomorphs occur within another morpheme? . . . . .                                         | 454        |
| 9.3.2     | Is the location phonologically predictable? . . . . .                                                 | 454        |
| 9.3.3     | Are object allomorphs located at a morpheme boundary? . . . . .                                       | 455        |
| <b>10</b> | <b>Clause particles</b>                                                                               | <b>457</b> |
| 10.1      | Class 1 Particles . . . . .                                                                           | 459        |
| 10.1.1    | Tense particles . . . . .                                                                             | 460        |
| 10.1.1.1  | <i>la</i> ‘past’ . . . . .                                                                            | 460        |
| 10.1.1.2  | <i>ta</i> ‘future’ . . . . .                                                                          | 461        |
| 10.1.2    | <i>ki</i> ‘already’ . . . . .                                                                         | 464        |
| 10.1.3    | <i>tomal</i> and <i>komal</i> ‘prohibitive’ . . . . .                                                 | 468        |
| 10.1.4    | <i>ba</i> ‘strong belief’ . . . . .                                                                   | 472        |
| 10.1.5    | <i>teipa</i> ‘then, later’ . . . . .                                                                  | 473        |

|           |                                                                         |            |
|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| 10.2      | Class 2 particles . . . . .                                             | 475        |
| 10.2.1    | <i>siwei</i> ‘back, again’ . . . . .                                    | 476        |
| 10.2.2    | <i>kua</i> ‘still, first, yet’ . . . . .                                | 477        |
| 10.2.3    | <i>hiro</i> ‘no’ . . . . .                                              | 479        |
| 10.3      | Class 3 particles . . . . .                                             | 481        |
| 10.3.1    | <i>he</i> ‘continuous’ . . . . .                                        | 482        |
| 10.3.2    | <i>la</i> ‘assumed truth’ . . . . .                                     | 485        |
| 10.3.3    | <i>mai</i> ‘polar question’ . . . . .                                   | 486        |
| 10.4      | Ordering tendencies and clause particles . . . . .                      | 486        |
| 10.4.1    | Clause particle co-occurrence . . . . .                                 | 487        |
| 10.4.2    | Adjunct nominal phrases and clause particles . . . . .                  | 490        |
| 10.5      | Clause particles in the possessive ‘have’ construction . . . . .        | 491        |
| 10.6      | Delimiting clauses . . . . .                                            | 495        |
| <b>11</b> | <b>Negation</b>                                                         | <b>498</b> |
| 11.1      | Negation of non-verbal clauses . . . . .                                | 499        |
| 11.2      | Negation of verbal clauses . . . . .                                    | 502        |
| 11.2.1    | Verbal clauses without the verbal copula . . . . .                      | 502        |
| 11.2.2    | Verbal clauses with a verbal copula . . . . .                           | 503        |
| 11.3      | Negation of the posture verb construction . . . . .                     | 504        |
| 11.3.1    | Negation of the verbal variant . . . . .                                | 504        |
| 11.3.2    | Negation of the non-verbal variant (possessive ‘have’ construction) . . | 506        |
| 11.4      | Negation of multi-predicate clauses . . . . .                           | 511        |
| 11.5      | Negative concord . . . . .                                              | 514        |
| 11.6      | Assertion of the positive . . . . .                                     | 517        |
| 11.7      | Variable pronunciation of <i>hiro</i> . . . . .                         | 518        |
| 11.8      | The non-negating use of <i>hiro</i> . . . . .                           | 522        |
| <b>12</b> | <b>Questions</b>                                                        | <b>528</b> |
| 12.1      | Polar questions . . . . .                                               | 528        |
| 12.1.1    | The question particle <i>mai</i> . . . . .                              | 528        |
| 12.1.2    | The use of the negative particle <i>hiro</i> . . . . .                  | 530        |
| 12.1.3    | Clause-final rising intonation . . . . .                                | 531        |
| 12.2      | Alternative questions . . . . .                                         | 533        |
| 12.2.1    | The conjunctions <i>o</i> , <i>no</i> , and <i>nia</i> . . . . .        | 533        |
| 12.2.2    | The use of the question particle <i>mai</i> . . . . .                   | 535        |
| 12.2.3    | The use of alternative questions to ask polar questions . . . . .       | 535        |
| 12.3      | Content questions . . . . .                                             | 536        |

|           |                                                              |            |
|-----------|--------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| 12.3.1    | An overview . . . . .                                        | 537        |
| 12.3.2    | <i>maŋa</i> ‘who, what’ . . . . .                            | 538        |
| 12.3.2.1  | <i>wɗi maŋa</i> ‘for what, why’ . . . . .                    | 541        |
| 12.3.2.2  | <i>danua maŋa</i> ‘for what, why’ . . . . .                  | 543        |
| 12.3.3    | <i>mal</i> ‘what, who, which’ . . . . .                      | 545        |
| 12.3.4    | <i>malmal</i> ‘how many’ . . . . .                           | 547        |
| 12.3.5    | <i>nia</i> and <i>ania</i> ‘where’ . . . . .                 | 548        |
| 12.3.6    | <i>odinia</i> ‘how, do how’ . . . . .                        | 553        |
| 12.3.7    | The non-interrogative use of interrogative words . . . . .   | 557        |
| <b>13</b> | <b>Multi-predicate clauses</b>                               | <b>560</b> |
| 13.1      | What are multi-predicate clauses? . . . . .                  | 560        |
| 13.1.1    | Clause particle scope . . . . .                              | 561        |
| 13.1.1.1  | The negative particle . . . . .                              | 562        |
| 13.1.1.2  | Tense particles . . . . .                                    | 564        |
| 13.1.1.3  | Other clause particles . . . . .                             | 565        |
| 13.1.2    | Shared arguments . . . . .                                   | 567        |
| 13.1.3    | Shared mood . . . . .                                        | 569        |
| 13.2      | Subject prefix omission in multi-predicate clauses . . . . . | 570        |
| 13.3      | Predicate morphemes in multi-predicate clauses . . . . .     | 571        |
| 13.4      | Non-verbal predicates in multi-predicate clauses . . . . .   | 574        |
| 13.5      | Common predicates in multi-predicate clauses . . . . .       | 575        |
| <b>14</b> | <b>Clause linkage</b>                                        | <b>578</b> |
| 14.1      | Coordination . . . . .                                       | 578        |
| 14.1.1    | Asyndetic coordination . . . . .                             | 578        |
| 14.1.2    | Conjunctions . . . . .                                       | 579        |
| 14.2      | Subordination . . . . .                                      | 581        |
| 14.2.1    | <i>wɗi</i> . . . . .                                         | 582        |
| 14.2.1.1  | Relative clauses . . . . .                                   | 582        |
| 14.2.1.2  | Purpose clauses . . . . .                                    | 591        |
| 14.2.1.3  | Temporal clauses . . . . .                                   | 591        |
| 14.2.2    | <i>nomal</i> ‘after’ . . . . .                               | 592        |
| 14.2.3    | <i>no</i> ‘until’ . . . . .                                  | 593        |
| 14.2.4    | Complement clauses . . . . .                                 | 595        |
| 14.2.4.1  | Perceived event . . . . .                                    | 595        |
| 14.2.4.2  | Reported speech . . . . .                                    | 597        |
| 14.2.4.3  | Expressed desire . . . . .                                   | 598        |

|                     |                                                                                    |            |
|---------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| 14.2.5              | The focus construction . . . . .                                                   | 599        |
| 14.2.5.1            | An overview . . . . .                                                              | 599        |
| 14.2.5.2            | Evidence for the structure of the focus construction . . . . .                     | 601        |
| <b>15</b>           | <b>Connecting discourse</b>                                                        | <b>605</b> |
| 15.1                | Distribution of nominals across clauses . . . . .                                  | 605        |
| 15.1.1              | Referencing active participants in discourse . . . . .                             | 606        |
| 15.1.2              | Longer nominal phrases . . . . .                                                   | 607        |
| 15.1.3              | Topics . . . . .                                                                   | 608        |
| 15.1.4              | Specification of nominal in following clause . . . . .                             | 608        |
| 15.2                | The role of intonation in connecting discourse . . . . .                           | 609        |
| 15.3                | Tail-head linkage . . . . .                                                        | 612        |
| <b>Appendix A:</b>  | <b>Assorted Texts</b>                                                              | <b>615</b> |
|                     | How to dry cocoa by John Sirio . . . . .                                           | 617        |
|                     | The languages of nearby villages by Leo Ainaris . . . . .                          | 628        |
|                     | The bad-skinned snake kills a woman by Josepa Yikaina . . . . .                    | 633        |
|                     | The Nabliga trip, a conversation between Ansela Nibisan and Vero Nibisan . . . . . | 641        |
| <b>Appendix B:</b>  | <b>Yeri bound morphemes</b>                                                        | <b>667</b> |
| <b>Appendix C:</b>  | <b>Yeri-English abridged dictionary</b>                                            | <b>675</b> |
| <b>Appendix D:</b>  | <b>English-Yeri abridged dictionary</b>                                            | <b>723</b> |
| <b>Appendix E:</b>  | <b>Terminology</b>                                                                 | <b>771</b> |
| <b>Appendix F:</b>  | <b>Data types</b>                                                                  | <b>786</b> |
| <b>Appendix G:</b>  | <b>Speakers</b>                                                                    | <b>792</b> |
| <b>Index</b>        |                                                                                    | <b>794</b> |
| <b>Bibliography</b> |                                                                                    | <b>802</b> |

# List of Figures

|      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |     |
|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 1.1  | Location of Yeri village . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 2   |
| 1.2  | Lewis et al. (2013) Yeri classification . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 3   |
| 1.3  | Hammarström et al. (2015) Yeri classification . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 3   |
| 1.4  | The larger linguistic area: Village data points courtesy of Geonames, used under Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 License, Modified to add a data point for Sibilanga village, regularize village name spelling, and include symbols to differentiate language use . . . . . | 6   |
| 1.5  | An overview of the project workflow . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 22  |
| 1.6  | Basic Elan tier structure . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 25  |
| 2.1  | Labels on a map drawn of the village UWL, JS . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 58  |
| 2.2  | Sign on the Yapunda fermentry UWL, JS . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 58  |
| 2.3  | The high vowel phonemes . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 59  |
| 2.4  | Penultimate stress in <i>habaha</i> ‘habaha stone’ . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 73  |
| 4.1  | Grammatical relations . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 168 |
| 5.1  | A template of morphemes that occur on nouns . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 218 |
| 5.2  | Gender agreement in Yeri . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 220 |
| 6.1  | Typical order of elements within a nominal phrase . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 303 |
| 7.1  | Morphemes which occur within the verb root . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 343 |
| 7.2  | Morphemes which either precede or follow the verb root . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 343 |
| 7.3  | Stem-final vowel conditioning for VA3 verbs . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 365 |
| 7.4  | Stem-final vowel conditioning for the three verb classes . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 368 |
| 10.1 | Clause particle ordering tendencies . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 487 |
| 11.1 | Negating use of <i>hiro</i> in example (11.148) . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 524 |
| 11.2 | Non-negating use of <i>hiro</i> in example (11.149) . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 524 |

|      |                                                                              |     |
|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 12.1 | Lengthened question particle in example (12.8) . . . . .                     | 530 |
| 12.2 | Falling intonation in example (12.16) . . . . .                              | 532 |
| 12.3 | Clause-final rising intonation in example (12.17) . . . . .                  | 532 |
| 13.1 | The negative particle and the biclausal analysis of example (13.5) . . . . . | 564 |
| 14.1 | The clause linker <i>nomal</i> in example (14.61) . . . . .                  | 593 |
| 14.2 | The clause linker <i>nomal</i> in example (14.62) . . . . .                  | 593 |
| 14.3 | The clause linker <i>no</i> in example (14.63) . . . . .                     | 594 |
| 14.4 | The structure of the Yeri focus construction . . . . .                       | 600 |
| 15.1 | Rising intonation of <i>hur</i> ‘sago flour’ in example (15.15) . . . . .    | 610 |
| 15.2 | Rising intonation of first clause in example (15.16) . . . . .               | 611 |
| 15.3 | Rising intonation of first clause in example (15.19) . . . . .               | 611 |
| 15.4 | Rising intonation of first clause in example (15.20) . . . . .               | 612 |
| 15.5 | Intonation contour for tail-head linkage in (15.23) and (15.24) . . . . .    | 614 |

# List of Tables

|      |                                                                                   |    |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| 1.1  | Yeri in relation to ‘typical’ Torricelli languages as described by Laycock (1968) | 5  |
| 1.2  | Mountain language vocabulary substitutions . . . . .                              | 11 |
| 2.1  | Consonant phonemes . . . . .                                                      | 40 |
| 2.2  | Minimal pairs for velar phonemes . . . . .                                        | 41 |
| 2.3  | Minimal pairs illustrating plosive voicing contrasts . . . . .                    | 41 |
| 2.4  | A summary of voiced plosive allophone distribution . . . . .                      | 42 |
| 2.5  | Examples demonstrating voiced plosive allophones . . . . .                        | 42 |
| 2.6  | Minimal pairs for nasal phonemes . . . . .                                        | 43 |
| 2.7  | The fricative /s/ . . . . .                                                       | 44 |
| 2.8  | Minimal and near-minimal pairs for lateral phonemes . . . . .                     | 45 |
| 2.9  | Optional deletion of /ʉ/ <h> . . . . .                                            | 46 |
| 2.10 | Vowel phonemes . . . . .                                                          | 47 |
| 2.11 | The pronunciation of /e/ in closed syllables . . . . .                            | 49 |
| 2.12 | The pronunciation of /e/ in open syllables . . . . .                              | 52 |
| 2.13 | The pronunciation of /e/ in obstruent_# position . . . . .                        | 53 |
| 2.14 | The pronunciation of /e/ as [ɛ] or [i] depending on stress . . . . .              | 54 |
| 2.15 | Minimal and near-minimal pairs to illustrate vowel contrasts in _# position .     | 62 |
| 2.16 | Vowels in open syllables . . . . .                                                | 62 |
| 2.17 | Orthographic representations . . . . .                                            | 64 |
| 2.18 | Composition of Yeri syllables . . . . .                                           | 65 |
| 2.19 | Examples of simple onsets . . . . .                                               | 66 |
| 2.20 | Obstruent liquid sequences . . . . .                                              | 68 |
| 2.21 | Clusters with /s/ and a voiceless obstruent . . . . .                             | 68 |
| 2.22 | Obstruent high vowel sequences . . . . .                                          | 69 |
| 2.23 | Sonorant codas . . . . .                                                          | 70 |
| 2.24 | High vowel+Vowel . . . . .                                                        | 71 |
| 2.25 | Vowel+High vowel . . . . .                                                        | 72 |
| 2.26 | Penultimate stress in disyllabic words . . . . .                                  | 74 |



|      |                                                                                 |     |
|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 2.27 | Penultimate stress in trisyllabic words . . . . .                               | 74  |
| 2.28 | Penultimate stress in quadrasyllabic words . . . . .                            | 74  |
| 2.29 | An alternate stress pattern with trisyllabic words . . . . .                    | 76  |
| 2.30 | Variable stress assignment in specific disyllabic words . . . . .               | 77  |
| 2.31 | Irregular final stress with word-final codas . . . . .                          | 77  |
| 2.32 | Equal stress on reduplicant and base . . . . .                                  | 78  |
| 2.33 | Alternate stress patterns with reduplicated words . . . . .                     | 78  |
| 2.34 | Stress and augment allomorphs . . . . .                                         | 80  |
| 2.35 | Stress and the relational clitic . . . . .                                      | 81  |
| 2.36 | Examples of stress shift . . . . .                                              | 82  |
| 2.37 | Reduction or deletion of /e/ . . . . .                                          | 84  |
| 2.38 | Subject prefixes with the verb <i>or</i> ‘lie, sleep’ . . . . .                 | 86  |
| 2.39 | Subject prefixes with the verb <i>nobia</i> ‘talk’ . . . . .                    | 87  |
| 2.40 | Deletion of /e/ before vowel-initial morphemes . . . . .                        | 90  |
| 2.41 | Plural infixation and the irrealis . . . . .                                    | 91  |
| 2.42 | The reduction of the irrealis vowel /e/ . . . . .                               | 92  |
| 2.43 | The pronunciation of the irrealis vowel /e/ as [ɛ] . . . . .                    | 93  |
| 2.44 | Plural vowel disharmony: the phonological allomorph <i>-gal</i> . . . . .       | 98  |
| 2.45 | Plural vowel disharmony: the phonological allomorph <i>-gil</i> . . . . .       | 98  |
| 2.46 | Predicate allomorphy: <i>-Ca</i> vs. <i>-Ci</i> . . . . .                       | 99  |
| 2.47 | Predicate allomorphy: <i>-Ca-</i> and <i>-Ce-</i> . . . . .                     | 100 |
| 2.48 | Augment allomorph vowel disharmony: <i>-(w)a</i> . . . . .                      | 101 |
| 2.49 | Augment allomorph vowel disharmony: <i>-(w)e</i> . . . . .                      | 101 |
| 2.50 | The bare non-verbal phonological allomorph: <i>=da</i> . . . . .                | 102 |
| 2.51 | The bare non-verbal phonological allomorph: <i>=de</i> . . . . .                | 102 |
| 2.52 | The augment lexical allomorph: <i>-dV</i> . . . . .                             | 103 |
| 2.53 | Possibility of /n/ deletion . . . . .                                           | 107 |
| 2.54 | /n/ deletion . . . . .                                                          | 109 |
| 2.55 | The <i>-C-</i> allomorph and /k/ deletion . . . . .                             | 111 |
| 2.56 | The <i>-C-</i> allomorph and /w/ deletion . . . . .                             | 112 |
| 2.57 | The <i>-C-</i> allomorph and /g/ deletion . . . . .                             | 112 |
| 2.58 | The imperfective morpheme before /p/ . . . . .                                  | 113 |
| 2.59 | The imperfective allomorph <i>-C-</i> preceding the additive morpheme . . . . . | 113 |
| 3.1  | Personal pronouns . . . . .                                                     | 124 |
| 3.2  | Ideophones and complete reduplication . . . . .                                 | 125 |
| 3.3  | Ideophones and partial reduplication . . . . .                                  | 126 |

|      |                                                                                                    |     |
|------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 3.4  | Ideophones with sound-related meanings . . . . .                                                   | 126 |
| 3.5  | WGN adjective forms . . . . .                                                                      | 130 |
| 3.6  | GN adjective forms . . . . .                                                                       | 131 |
| 3.7  | N adjective forms . . . . .                                                                        | 132 |
| 3.8  | Forms of the demonstrative <i>yot-</i> . . . . .                                                   | 133 |
| 3.9  | Numeral forms . . . . .                                                                            | 141 |
| 3.10 | Numeral expressions . . . . .                                                                      | 142 |
| 3.11 | Quantifier forms . . . . .                                                                         | 145 |
| 3.12 | Genitive pronoun forms . . . . .                                                                   | 147 |
| 3.13 | The relational clitic . . . . .                                                                    | 149 |
| 3.14 | Copula word forms . . . . .                                                                        | 153 |
| 3.15 | Adverbs . . . . .                                                                                  | 154 |
| 3.16 | Clause particles . . . . .                                                                         | 158 |
| 3.17 | Conjunctions . . . . .                                                                             | 163 |
| 3.18 | Common subordinators . . . . .                                                                     | 163 |
| 4.1  | The types of pronominal forms and their behavior . . . . .                                         | 174 |
| 4.2  | Personal pronouns . . . . .                                                                        | 176 |
| 4.3  | Basic clause types . . . . .                                                                       | 184 |
| 4.4  | Verbal predicate types . . . . .                                                                   | 185 |
| 4.5  | Comparing the verbal and non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction                       | 211 |
| 4.6  | Adjunct nominal phrases which refer to time . . . . .                                              | 214 |
| 5.1  | Gender assignment by semantic principles . . . . .                                                 | 229 |
| 5.2  | An overview of controller classes . . . . .                                                        | 235 |
| 5.3  | Personal pronouns . . . . .                                                                        | 235 |
| 5.4  | Nouns which obligatorily indicate singular and plural number . . . . .                             | 237 |
| 5.5  | Nouns with grammatically singular general forms . . . . .                                          | 238 |
| 5.6  | Nouns with grammatically plural general forms . . . . .                                            | 242 |
| 5.7  | Nouns with two forms, one of which is a general form that triggers semantic<br>agreement . . . . . | 243 |
| 5.8  | Nouns with only general forms that trigger semantic agreement . . . . .                            | 245 |
| 5.9  | Pluralia tantum nouns . . . . .                                                                    | 247 |
| 5.10 | Yeri inflectional classes . . . . .                                                                | 250 |
| 5.11 | Class 1 phonological allomorph: <i>-egal</i> . . . . .                                             | 251 |
| 5.12 | Class 1 phonological allomorph: <i>-gal</i> . . . . .                                              | 252 |
| 5.13 | Class 1 phonological allomorph: <i>-gil</i> . . . . .                                              | 252 |
| 5.14 | Class 1 phonological allomorphs: <i>-gil</i> or <i>-egal</i> . . . . .                             | 253 |

|      |                                                                             |     |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 5.15 | Class 2 lexical allomorph: <i>-hegal</i> . . . . .                          | 253 |
| 5.16 | Class 3 and 4 lexical allomorphs: <i>-megal</i> and <i>-pegal</i> . . . . . | 254 |
| 5.17 | Class 5 lexical allomorph: <i>-agia</i> . . . . .                           | 254 |
| 5.18 | Class 6 lexical allomorph: <i>-agwei</i> . . . . .                          | 255 |
| 5.19 | Class 7 lexical allomorphs: <i>-(e)tV</i> and <i>-wil</i> . . . . .         | 256 |
| 5.20 | Class 8 lexical allomorphs: <i>-l(V)</i> and <i>-(l)bia</i> . . . . .       | 256 |
| 5.21 | Class 9 lexical allomorph: <i>-l</i> . . . . .                              | 257 |
| 5.22 | Class 10 lexical allomorphs: <i>-l</i> and <i>-i</i> . . . . .              | 258 |
| 5.23 | Class 11 lexical allomorph: <i>-ti</i> . . . . .                            | 258 |
| 5.24 | Class 12 lexical allomorph: <i>-i</i> . . . . .                             | 258 |
| 5.25 | Class 13 lexical allomorph: <i>-ia</i> . . . . .                            | 259 |
| 5.26 | Class 14 lexical allomorph: <i>-gi</i> . . . . .                            | 259 |
| 5.27 | Class 15 lexical allomorphs: <i>-l-(e)gVl</i> . . . . .                     | 260 |
| 5.28 | Suppletion and irregular number morphemes . . . . .                         | 261 |
| 5.29 | Variation in number morpheme selection . . . . .                            | 262 |
| 5.30 | Personal pronoun form as part of genitive pronouns . . . . .                | 266 |
| 5.31 | Genitive pronouns and agreement . . . . .                                   | 270 |
| 5.32 | Copula words and number morphemes . . . . .                                 | 280 |
| 5.33 | The I agreement class: invariant words . . . . .                            | 286 |
| 5.34 | Agreement target parallels across word classes . . . . .                    | 291 |
| 5.35 | Nouns that can occur with locative <i>ti-</i> . . . . .                     | 294 |
| 6.1  | Genitive pronouns and agreement . . . . .                                   | 315 |
| 6.2  | Examples of classificatory nouns . . . . .                                  | 321 |
| 6.3  | Common relational nouns . . . . .                                           | 322 |
| 7.1  | Consonant-initial verb roots . . . . .                                      | 340 |
| 7.2  | Mood vowel(s) in the first syllable of the verb root . . . . .              | 341 |
| 7.3  | Verb roots with initial closed syllables . . . . .                          | 341 |
| 7.4  | Verb roots with non-initial closed syllables . . . . .                      | 342 |
| 7.5  | Composition of Yeri verb roots . . . . .                                    | 342 |
| 7.6  | Subject prefixes . . . . .                                                  | 345 |
| 7.7  | First and second person object prefixes . . . . .                           | 348 |
| 7.8  | Third person object indexes . . . . .                                       | 351 |
| 7.9  | Third person object infixes . . . . .                                       | 351 |
| 7.10 | Morphophonology involving the plural object infix <i>-i-</i> . . . . .      | 355 |
| 7.11 | Verbs which do not occur with an augment allomorph . . . . .                | 356 |
| 7.12 | Third person object augmented suffixes . . . . .                            | 356 |

|      |                                                                                      |     |
|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 7.13 | The augment lexical allomorphs: <i>-ka</i> and <i>-ha</i> . . . . .                  | 357 |
| 7.14 | The augment lexical allomorph: <i>-dV</i> . . . . .                                  | 358 |
| 7.15 | Phonological allomorph form: <i>-V</i> or <i>-wV</i> . . . . .                       | 358 |
| 7.16 | Vowel disharmony in object phonological allomorph selection . . . . .                | 359 |
| 7.17 | Stem-final vowel alternation in VA1 verbs . . . . .                                  | 363 |
| 7.18 | Stem-final vowel alternation in three VA3 verbs . . . . .                            | 365 |
| 7.19 | Realis vowel: /a/ or /o/, Irrealis vowel: /e/ . . . . .                              | 372 |
| 7.20 | Realis vowel: /o/, Irrealis vowel: /i/ . . . . .                                     | 372 |
| 7.21 | Realis vowel: VV sequence, Irrealis vowel: /i/ . . . . .                             | 373 |
| 7.22 | Realis vowel: /o/, Irrealis vowel: /ie/ . . . . .                                    | 373 |
| 7.23 | Possible realis/irrealis pairings . . . . .                                          | 374 |
| 7.24 | Directional verbs and posture verbs with applicative objects . . . . .               | 384 |
| 7.25 | Posture verbs . . . . .                                                              | 390 |
| 7.26 | Object infixes and coreferential personal pronoun . . . . .                          | 406 |
| 8.1  | Predicate morpheme location . . . . .                                                | 414 |
| 8.2  | Genitive predicates with imperfective or additive morphemes . . . . .                | 423 |
| 8.3  | WGN adjective predicates . . . . .                                                   | 427 |
| 8.4  | Verbal predicate morpheme allomorphy overview . . . . .                              | 428 |
| 8.5  | The <i>-Ce-</i> allomorph . . . . .                                                  | 429 |
| 8.6  | The deletion of /k/ following <i>-C-</i> . . . . .                                   | 429 |
| 8.7  | The <i>-Ca-</i> allomorph . . . . .                                                  | 430 |
| 8.8  | The <i>-Ce-</i> and the <i>-Ca-</i> allomorph . . . . .                              | 431 |
| 8.9  | Irregular location of predicate morphemes: class one . . . . .                       | 432 |
| 8.10 | Forms of the verbal copula . . . . .                                                 | 432 |
| 8.11 | Irregular location of predicate morphemes: class two . . . . .                       | 433 |
| 8.12 | Infix stacking: Third person object infixes and predicate morpheme infixes . . . . . | 435 |
| 8.13 | The imperfective <i>-C-</i> allomorph preceding the additive morpheme . . . . .      | 437 |
| 8.14 | Predicate morpheme phonological allomorphs and vowel disharmony . . . . .            | 440 |
| 8.15 | Non-verbal pronominal clitics . . . . .                                              | 445 |
| 9.1  | Verbal predicate morpheme allomorphy overview . . . . .                              | 452 |
| 9.2  | Evidence against morphological positioning of predicate morpheme . . . . .           | 453 |
| 9.3  | The location of the singular masculine allomorph <i>-ne-</i> . . . . .               | 455 |
| 10.1 | An overview of clause particle classes . . . . .                                     | 457 |
| 12.1 | An overview of interrogative word forms . . . . .                                    | 538 |
| 12.2 | Agreement forms of the interrogative word <i>maŋa</i> . . . . .                      | 538 |

|                                                                     |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 12.3 Agreement forms of the interrogative word <i>nīa</i> . . . . . | 548 |
| 14.1 Subordinate clause linkers . . . . .                           | 581 |

# Abbreviations

Abbreviations are frequently used in the grammar to streamline discussion where terminology is particularly long and cumbersome. They are also employed to better utilize limited space in linguistic glosses or tables. All abbreviations used in the grammar, including those used within linguistic glosses or in the glossaries, are listed here beside the meaning of the abbreviation.

**1** First person

**CW** Copula word

**2** Second person

**DIST** Distal

**3** Third person

**DTR** Detransitivizing

**A** Agent of a transitive verb

**EMPH** Emphatic

**ADD** Additive

**F** Feminine

**APPL** Applicative

**FUT** Future tense

**AT** Alternate translation

**GDR** Gender

**AUG** Augment

**GF** General form

**BP** Before the predicate

**HUM** Human

**CFP** Clause-final position

**I** Irrealis

**CI** Contextual information

**IDEO** Ideophone

**CIP** Clause-initial position

|                                                       |                                          |
|-------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| <b>IPFV</b> Imperfective                              | <b>PL</b> Plural                         |
| <b>LOC</b> Locative                                   | <b>PN</b> Proper noun                    |
| <b>LT</b> Literal translation                         | <b>PROX</b> Proximal                     |
| <b>M</b> Masculine                                    | <b>PSE</b> Possessee                     |
| <b>MDIST</b> Mid distance between proximal and distal | <b>PSR</b> Possessor                     |
| <b>MDL</b> Middle                                     | <b>R</b> Realis                          |
| <b>N</b> Noun                                         | <b>REC</b> Reciprocal                    |
| <b>N ADJ</b> N adjective                              | <b>RED</b> Reduplication                 |
| <b>NP</b> Nominal phrase                              | <b>REFL</b> Reflexive                    |
| <b>NUM</b> Number morphemes                           | <b>REL</b> Relational                    |
| <b>NVPC</b> Non-verbal pronominal clitic              | <b>S</b> Subject of an intransitive verb |
| <b>OBJ</b> Object                                     | <b>SG</b> Singular                       |
| <b>P</b> Patient of a transitive verb                 | <b>SUBJ</b> Subject                      |

# Abstract

This dissertation is a grammar of Yeri, an endangered Torricelli language spoken in Sandaun Province, Papua New Guinea. The language is still spoken, to at least some degree, by approximately 100-150 speakers, most of whom live in Yapunda village. This grammar is based on primary data collected from Yeri speakers during the author's eleven months of fieldwork, which was spread out over the course of three field trips. The primary data on which this grammar is founded can be accessed at The Language Archive. This grammar constitutes the first description of the Yeri language.



# Chapter 1

## Introduction

This chapter provides an introduction to the Torricelli language spoken in Papua New Guinea known as Yeri or Yapunda. I provide information on where in Papua New Guinea the language is spoken in section 1.1 and how the language is best classified in section 1.2. Section 1.3 briefly examines Yeri in light of several typological features found to be common in the Torricelli language family. Sociolinguistic information regarding the language and the larger area is the focus of section 1.4.

I describe the limited research available on the Yeri language in section 1.5 before detailing the methodology used to create this grammar in section 1.6. Section 1.7 explains the conventions I have used throughout the grammar to present data, and section 1.8 briefly lays out an overview of how the grammar is organized. I conclude in section 1.9 with a brief grammatical overview of the language.

### 1.1 Geographic location

Yeri (ISO 639-3 [yev]) is a Papuan language spoken in the Sandaun Province of Papua New Guinea. The term Papuan has no genealogical significance, and is used as a blanket term to refer to all non-Austronesian languages spoken in the New Guinea area. The Yeri language is endangered and is spoken in a single village about 40 km south-southeast of Aitape, as shown in Figure 1.1.



Figure 1.1: Location of Yeri village

Although Yeri speakers call their village *nogil Yeri* ‘Yeri village’, the village is labeled ‘Yapunda’ on most maps. Speakers themselves are unsure where the name Yapunda comes from, but suspect it to be related to the American base located near their village during World War II. Since the Yeri language is only spoken in this village, previous linguists have referred to the language as Yapunda (Laycock 1968; Wurm 2007; Lewis et al. 2013). However, as speakers of the language call their language *wigal Yeri* ‘Yeri language’, I will follow their practice and refer to the language as Yeri.

The Yeri village consists of a dozen or so hamlets, often with their own names, located along the bank of the Om River (known as *wul Hamil*, the Hamil river, in Yeri) in the Torricelli mountains. Although most hamlets are located along the river currently, the village was located much higher in the mountains historically, and some Yeri members still live in these locations.

## 1.2 Genealogical classification

Yeri is classified as a member of the Torricelli phylum, a family which includes approximately fifty languages spoken by an estimated 80,000 people (Laycock 1968; Wurm 2007; Lewis et al. 2013). The language was originally classified as Torricelli based on a ten-word vocabulary list collected by Fr. Brian Barnes and published in Laycock (1968). My own more extensive research on Yeri supports this classification.

Given the very limited nature of available data on Torricelli languages, the subgrouping and exact classification of languages within the family is far from certain. Lewis et al. (2013) divide Torricelli into seven branches: Kombio-Arapesh, Maimai, Marienberg, Monumbo,

Urim, Wapei-Palei, and West Wapei, with Yeri classified as a member of the Wapei subgroup of the Wapei-Palei branch, as shown in Figure 1.2. Within this classification, Yeri is grouped with 22 other Wapei-Palei languages and 11 other Wapei languages. Yeri's closest geographic relative, Agi (ISO 639-3 [aif]), is classified as a Palei language. To more easily compare this classification of Yeri with other classifications, the number of languages included in each group is provided in parentheses ( ) within the figure.

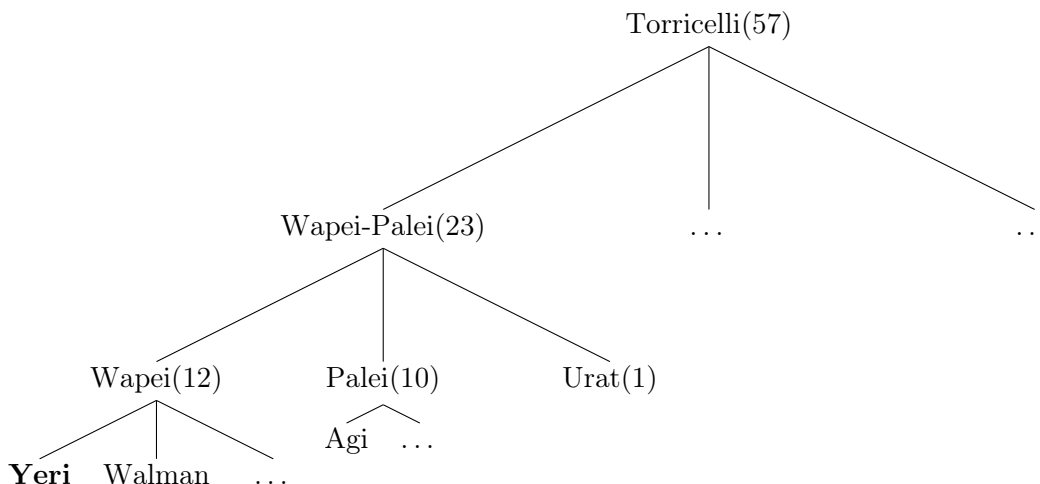


Figure 1.2: Lewis et al. (2013) Yeri classification

A different subgrouping is presented in Hammarström et al. (2015). Here Yeri is classified in a much smaller subgroup named West Palei, shown in Figure 1.3. In this subgrouping, Yeri is classified as being most closely related to Agi, which is placed in the same subgroup.

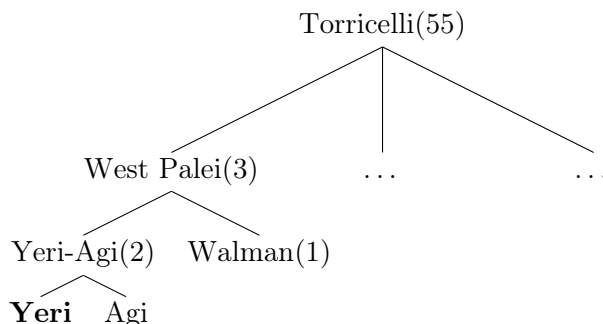


Figure 1.3: Hammarström et al. (2015) Yeri classification

More research into other Torricelli languages is needed before subgroupings can be stated with any certainty. However, from my own fieldwork on Yeri and Agi, there is very strong evidence from cognates and shared innovations that Agi is Yeri's closest genealogical relative. For this reason, whatever the larger subgrouping facts turn out to be, Yeri and Agi should

be placed in the same subgroup, quite likely in the same relation to Walman as shown in the Hammarström et al. (2015) classification.

### 1.3 Common typological features of Torricelli languages

When Laycock first began research in this area, he noticed several characteristics that appeared common to the languages he classified as Torricelli languages. In Laycock (1968), he describes these languages as often having three points of articulation, a voicing contrast which is associated with prenasalization, and a vowel inventory with between five and eight vowels. Torricelli languages which are further west geographically tend to have seven to eight vowels, while those languages in the family which are further east tend to have five to six vowels. Additionally, the languages are described as frequently having contrastive stress, but rarely having tonal differences.

Yeri can be described as a typical Torricelli language in regards to all of these features, with the exception of contrastive stress. Stress is frequently predictable in the language, and serves more of a demarcating function with the penultimate syllable typically receiving primary stress (see section 2.4 for information on stress.).

Laycock (1968) also describes several morphological and syntactic characteristics shared by Torricelli languages. For example, most Torricelli languages have at least two to three genders or nouns classes, and mark arguments on the verb, typically via subject prefixes and object suffixes. The languages are also known to commonly have multi-verb constructions, and to lack case marking on core nominals. Furthermore, unlike most Papuan languages which have SOV word order, Torricelli languages are known for having SVO word order.

Yeri can also be described as having the morphological and syntactic characteristics Laycock (1968) described for a Torricelli language. It has two genders, marks arguments on the verb, has frequent multi-verb constructions, and lacks case marking on core nominals. The standard word order is SVO. Table 1.1 provides a summary of these characteristics.

Table 1.1: Yeri in relation to ‘typical’ Torricelli languages as described by Laycock (1968)

|                                                   | Torricelli languages | Yeri |
|---------------------------------------------------|----------------------|------|
| Three places of articulation?                     | Yes                  | Yes  |
| Voicing contrast associated with prenasalization? | Yes                  | Yes  |
| Vowel inventory with 5-8 vowels?                  | Yes                  | Yes  |
| Contrastive stress?                               | Yes                  | No   |
| Tone?                                             | No                   | No   |
| At least 2-3 genders/noun classes?                | Yes                  | Yes  |
| Argument marking on verb?                         | Yes                  | Yes  |
| Multi-verb constructions?                         | Yes                  | Yes  |
| Case marking on nominals?                         | No                   | No   |
| SVO word order?                                   | Yes                  | Yes  |

## 1.4 Sociolinguistic situation

In this section I present some background information to situate the Yeri language and its speakers into the larger sociolinguistic context. In section 1.4.1 an overview of nearby languages is presented along with information on the interaction Yeri speakers typically have with these nearby villages. I then present a brief description of clans and the importance of clan membership for land ownership and marriage practices in section 1.4.2. Lastly, I describe the current level of Yeri language proficiency in the village in section 1.4.3.

### 1.4.1 The larger linguistic area

The Yeri village is a part of a larger linguistic area which supports a high degree of linguistic diversity, and the Yeri village is located in close proximity to a variety of related Torricelli languages. There appears to be a large degree of language contact among the villages, though communication between speakers of different languages is now often conducted in Tok Pisin, the lingua franca of the area. The map provided in Figure 1.4 shows the location of the Yeri village and the closest neighboring villages.

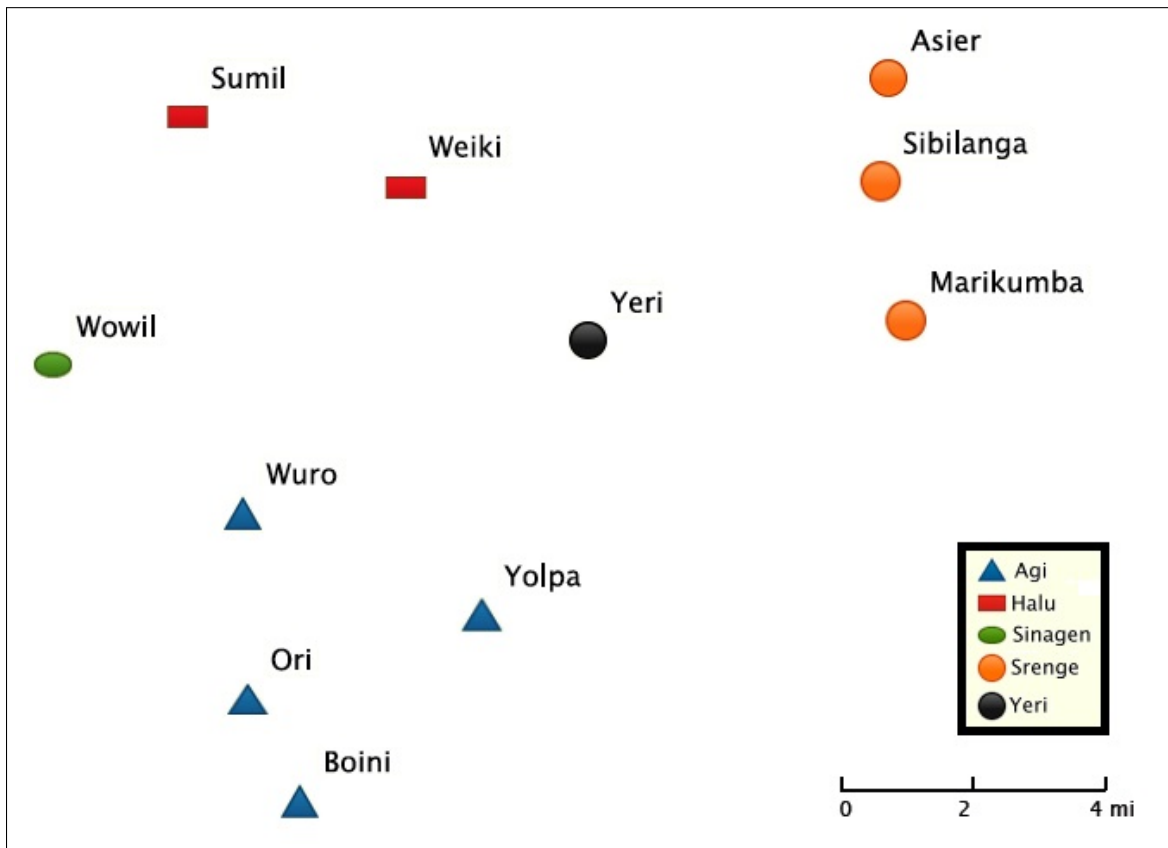


Figure 1.4: The larger linguistic area: Village data points courtesy of Geonames, used under Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 License, Modified to add a data point for Sibilanga village, regularize village name spelling, and include symbols to differentiate language use

Villages which speak the same language are indicated by icons of the same shape and color (or shade of gray in black and white copies of this grammar). A key is provided to better interpret the map. Sibilanga, Marikumba, and Asier speak Srenge (also known as Aruop, ISO 639-3 [lsr]). Sumil and Weiki villages speak Halu (no current ISO 639-3 code). Yolpa, Boni, and Wuro speak Agi (ISO 639-3 [aif]). Note that although Wuro is viewed as speaking Agi, the form of Agi spoken in this village is much more similar to Yeri than the Agi spoken in the other villages. All of these languages are Torricelli languages and are related to a greater or lesser degree to Yeri.

Furthermore, these villages are located within walking distance of each other, and people from one village visit other villages for a variety of reasons. For instance, members of one village may visit other villages to see relatives who have married into these other villages. Additionally, when events like funerals, court hearings, or singsings (celebrations) are held in one village, members of other villages will often travel to that village.

Although Yeri speakers can marry within the Yeri village as long as they are not marrying

within the same clan (see section 1.4.2), there is a history of intermarriage between Yeri and all of the villages within the area. In particular, at one point in the past there was a great deal of intermarriage between Yeri village and Wuro village. This may be related to the reason for the greater similarity to Yeri that the Agi spoken in Wuro shows as compared to the Agi spoken in the other Agi-speaking villages. However, at some point after this period of increased intermarriage occurred, the older generations are described as having declared a strong alliance between the two villages and explicitly calling for a halt in such frequent intermarriage. Yeri members indicate that marriages between Wuro and Yeri villages have just recently begun again.

Traditionally, marriages in this area involved bride exchanges. A woman from one village would be married to a man in another village and one of his sisters (immediate or classificatory) in return would then be married to a man from the first village. This is still practiced within the area today. However, an alternative has also arisen whereby a man, and by extension his family, agrees to provide a ‘bride price’ to the family of the woman taken to wife. This bride price occurs instead of a sister exchange. Furthermore, patrilocal residence is practiced within this area. For this reason, the married couple tends to reside with or near the the husband’s family after marriage.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to intermarriage, there is also a history of fighting within the area, especially, as Yeri speakers will often describe it, ‘pre-missionary contact’. In particular, Yeri members tell stories of frequent fighting in the past between Yeri and Yolpa villages as well as Yeri and Weiki villages. These fights are often attributed to land boundary disputes, retaliation for attacks on village members, or retaliation for the stealing of women from the village.

Very positive relations are described as existing between Yeri and Wuro and Yeri and Marikumba villages during this time. Yeri speakers say that in the past, members of these villages have sometimes supported Yeri during conflicts with other villages. Although disagreements still arise between all villages within this area today, relations are described as being much less violent. When conflicts do arise, there are official channels that can be used to manage the disputes, like the court hearings that are held in different villages as needed.

### 1.4.2 Clans

Although Yeri is spoken in a single village, the village itself is made up of members from a variety of different clans. Clans are patrilineal in that membership in a clan is determined on the basis of male lineage, with children belonging to their father’s clan. When a woman marries a man from another clan, she is adopted into her husband’s clan, and any children she gives birth to will belong to her husband’s clan as well.

<sup>1</sup>Although common, patrilocal residence is not obligatory, and there are exceptions. For instance, one newly married couple in the village lived several months of the year near each family.

This clan system is true of the larger area around Yeri. Clan members can tell various legend stories specific to the clan, and membership in a clan plays a large role in land ownership, the acceptability of potential spouses, and where the marriage couple resides after marriage. In particular, members of the same clan are socially not permitted to marry, and after marriage, there is a general practice of patrilocal residence whereby married couples live with or near the husband's family. In 2012, there were members of seven clans living in the Yeri village including: (i) moran snake clan, (ii) wapon pig clan, (iii) selmian pig clan, (iv) bird of paradise clan, (v) makel clan, (vi) halupala clan, and (vii) yiluabuga clan.<sup>2</sup>

### 1.4.3 Language vitality

In this section I describe the current endangerment of the Yeri language. Section 1.4.3.1 presents an overview of the current level of language proficiency in the Yeri village. Section 1.4.3.2 provides information on the narrowing of linguistic domains in which Yeri is used, and section 1.4.3.3 briefly discusses several traditional registers involving vocabulary substitution that are no longer in active use.

#### 1.4.3.1 Current language proficiency

Of the 100-150 or so members of the village, only the oldest generation appears to speak an unsimplified variety of the language or chooses to use the language on a regular basis. Speakers between approximately 25 and 40 years of age can speak Yeri, albeit a simplified form of the language, but nonetheless prefer to use Tok Pisin, even within the village. Speakers younger than 25 have less proficiency in the language, and almost always use Tok Pisin.

With the exception of the oldest generation of fluent Yeri speakers, female speakers on average have stronger Yeri language skills than male speakers. Female speakers between 25 and 40 show less simplification in their Yeri and often talk for longer periods of time in Yeri than their male counterparts. This pattern is more pronounced in speakers under 25, where males can typically produce only the simplest of utterances, often with obvious difficulty and discomfort with having to use the language. Female speakers in this age range show a greater degree of proficiency than males, although females still prefer to use Tok Pisin.

As a general rule, mothers use Tok Pisin with their children. In fact, this general preference for Tok Pisin in child-directed speech is true across generations. Even fluent Yeri speakers from the oldest generation typically address children in Tok Pisin. Furthermore, in my time in the village, children always spoke Tok Pisin, although they may have some passive knowledge of the Yeri language. In conclusion, Yeri is clearly an endangered language,

---

<sup>2</sup>Yiluabuga refers to the name of a spirit woman.



as shown by the general preference for using Tok Pisin by most speakers under 40 and the overwhelmingly predominant use of Tok Pisin by children.

#### 1.4.3.2 The narrowing of linguistic domains

Based on discussions with Yeri speakers and my own observations, I will briefly discuss the narrowing of domains in which Yeri is used. While a more detailed study of language loss in the village could prove fruitful, practical considerations necessitate I make only a few broad observations here. The situation in Yeri appears to be similar to that of the larger language area in which Yeri is based.<sup>3</sup>

Although villages in this area are still relatively isolated, speakers have long been in general contact with nearby villages. Historically, this produced a pattern of multilingualism for the area, which is particularly visible when the oldest generation of Yeri speakers is considered. Most of these speakers are also proficient in one or two other languages spoken in nearby villages.

There is also a general practice of language accommodation within the area. When someone who does not speak Yeri joins a conversation, the language often shifts to a language known by everyone.<sup>4</sup> However, with the spread of Tok Pisin as the lingua franca for the area, proficiency in the languages of nearby villages has decreased. Children in the Yeri village speak only Tok Pisin, with perhaps some passive knowledge of Yeri.<sup>5</sup> The situation is similar in other nearby villages. As a result of this shift in language proficiency, the cultural practice of language accommodation often results in a shift to Tok Pisin, especially when members of younger generations are involved. This in turn results in fewer situations where local languages are used.

In addition to visiting nearby villages, some speakers are now making semi-regular trips outside of the area to larger towns like Maprik, Aitape, Wewak, or Vanimo. While difficult due to practical considerations (e.g. this is dependent on vehicles being available, functioning, and so on, as well as road conditions dependent on weather), speakers within the village travel to these larger towns to sell cocoa and purchase material goods. All of this is indicative of the relative widening of the average villager's daily life to include more and more domains where Tok Pisin is the predominantly used language. In fact, many domains like school,

<sup>3</sup>See Kulick (1992) for more detailed observation of language endangerment in a village similar to the Yeri village.

<sup>4</sup>Sometimes this practice of accommodation results in a complete shift in language. However, when the group involves older speakers of several languages, it is not uncommon for each speaker to speak their own local language and for conversation participants to use their own knowledge of other languages to understand the other speakers. In this way, speakers may actively produce one language to communicate, but passively use another to understand another's speech.

<sup>5</sup>How much is understood is unclear, since children will often not respond to utterances directed to them in Yeri, regardless of whether they understand them.

politics, commerce, and church are associated with Tok Pisin to such an extent that even older Yeri speakers interacting with other fluent Yeri speakers often switch to Tok Pisin when discussing these topics.

There also appears to be a general shift in the village away from a more traditional culture. This was visually exemplified during cultural celebrations. At these times, the older speakers would wear only traditional clothing. Yeri speakers around the age of 30 or 40 wore traditional clothing as well as a minimum of non-traditional clothing underneath this garb. However, the youngest generation wore all of their regular non-traditional clothing underneath the traditional clothing. The Yeri language is often associated with this more traditional culture, as for example in several recorded texts which discuss the loss of the Yeri language alongside the loss of different facets of the traditional culture (e.g. traditional clothing, or segregated diets for men and women).

Finally, the population of the village is quite small, at around 100-150 people in 2012. This size results in fewer potential spouses within the village. Yeri women therefore often marry men from other villages and Yeri men often find brides from outside the village. Given the tradition of patrilocal residence in the area whereby a married couple frequently lives near the husband's family and the fact that Yeri is only spoken in the Yeri village, children born from these matches often have only one parent who speaks Yeri and may grow up away from the Yeri village. For those children who grow up outside of the village, situations where the Yeri language would be heard are greatly reduced. While older generations who grew up in situations like these show evidence of speaking the mother's language fluently as well as the local language of that village, this does not appear to be the case for more recent generations.

For those children who grow up in the Yeri village, primary school is conducted in Tok Pisin at a school shared with the nearby Yolpa village where Agi is spoken. Communication in school and with peers is in Tok Pisin, which likely also influences the younger generation's preference for Tok Pisin. Along these same lines, any higher schooling must be sought in other villages or cities like Aitape and may involve children living with extended kin. As these relatives often do not speak Yeri, this provides additional reinforcement of Tok Pisin as the child's preferred language of communication.

#### 1.4.3.3 The loss of traditional Yeri registers

**An overview** Consultants describe two domains as traditionally having special registers which involved vocabulary substitution. These domains include child-directed speech and speech that occurred in the mountains. Although these registers are no longer used, older speakers describe them as being actively used during their childhood. Little is remembered regarding the vocabulary substitution in child-directed speech, but I present a brief description

of the mountain language below.

**The mountain language** Yeri speakers describe a distinct ‘mountain language’ that was traditionally used when speakers were traveling or staying in the mountains. This mountain language can be understood as a system of vocabulary substitution and was used to avoid offending spirits that lived in the mountains. It was believed that if you did not make these vocabulary substitutions while in the mountains, it might result in storms or floods that could harm you. Table 1.2 presents common vocabulary substitutions from this mountain register.

| Table 1.2: Mountain language vocabulary substitutions |                         |                        |                     |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|
| Yeri                                                  | gloss                   | Yeri mountain register | gloss               |
| nanula                                                | ‘fish’                  | nebal hare             | ‘tree leaf’         |
| nol                                                   | ‘bird’                  | nebal hare             | ‘tree leaf’         |
| sahal                                                 | ‘bush knife’            | nebal wabran           | ‘half tree’         |
| wopakal                                               | ‘bow’                   | nebal wabra            | ‘half tree’         |
| harogil                                               | ‘axe’                   | puyu                   | ‘rock, money’       |
| wual                                                  | ‘pig’                   | puyu                   | ‘rock, money’       |
| wo                                                    | ‘sun, day’              | puyu                   | ‘rock, money’       |
| hur                                                   | ‘sago flour’            | puyu                   | ‘rock, money’       |
| yati                                                  | ‘sago palm, sago jelly’ | wul                    | ‘water, river’      |
| manoi                                                 | ‘grease’                | wul                    | ‘water, river’      |
| nalu                                                  | ‘cassowary’             | welia neigela          | ‘welia tree bottom’ |
| hedia                                                 | ‘mustard’               | hasiwuagi              | ‘wild mustard’      |
| pueti                                                 | ‘betel nut’             | bobua                  | ‘wild betel nut’    |
| neigal                                                | ‘cuscus’                | sirika                 | ‘new shoot’         |
| nati                                                  | ‘coconut’               | wibel                  | ‘wibel vine’        |
| yabra                                                 | ‘lap-lap’               | nabiai yiwo            | ‘spirit skin’       |
| kraltariena                                           | ‘kraltariyena fish’     | hiloki te              | ‘taro she’          |

Some Yeri words substitute for several words. In particular, *wul* ‘water, river’, *puyu* ‘rock, money’, *nebal hare* ‘tree leaf’, and *nebal wabra* ‘half tree’ are frequent substitutions for other words. Given that hunting was an important activity during time in the mountain, it is not surprising that many words denoting weapons or hunted animals show vocabulary substitution. While some patterns are noticeable regarding which words are substituted, many of these patterns have exceptions. For instance, the phrase *nebal hare* ‘tree leaf’ is substituted for several hunted animals (e.g. *nanula* ‘fish’, *nol* ‘bird’). However not all hunted animals (e.g. *wual* ‘pig’, *nalu* ‘cassowary’) show *nebal hare* as a substitution. Similarly, although *nebal wabra* is substituted for several words denoting weapons (e.g. *sahal* ‘bush knife’, *wopakal* ‘bow’), *puyu* is substituted for *harogil* ‘axe’.

## 1.5 Previous research

There has been little research conducted on the Yeri language and almost no material that has been published. In fact, the only published linguistic material on Yeri that I am aware of involves a list of ten words collected by Fr. Brian Barnes and published in Laycock (1968). In regards to unpublished material, I have been able to find the following sources which include Yeri data: (i) two recordings made by Matthew Dryer including the elicitation of some basic vocabulary and sentences, (ii) a children's story translated by my primary consultant Leo Ainaris and two other speakers for Matthew Dryer, (iii) a short list of words and three to four sentence stories collected by an SIL team, again with the help of Leo Ainaris, and (iv) approximately thirty minutes to an hour of Yeri recordings available online via the Global Recording Network, which involve Yeri translations of short Biblical messages. This is a complete list of all previous data on the Yeri language that I am aware of at present.<sup>6</sup>

## 1.6 Methodology

This grammar is based on personal fieldwork totaling 45 weeks over the course of three trips to Sandaun Province, Papua New Guinea to work with Yeri speakers. The initial trip was 14 weeks in length. During this time, I was based at a guest house in the nearby village of Sibilanga. Yeri speakers walked to this village to work with me, and I made initial contacts which provided me with a place to stay within the Yeri village for the duration of my future trips. A short stay within the Yeri village occurred during this trip.

The second trip in 2012 was 19 weeks in length, while the third trip in 2014 totaled 12 weeks. During my second and third trips to the field, I lived in the Yeri village and Yeri was my principle language of communication. With the exception of my two primary consultants and one or two other speakers, English was not well known in the village, and I chose to use Yeri rather than Tok Pisin to communicate.

Speaking Yeri allowed me to glean additional insights into the language outside of specific sessions with a consultant, and greatly contributed to my understanding of the language in general. For obvious reasons, my use of the language as the de-facto method of communication resulted in rapid improvement of my own communication in the language. This in turn facilitated my understanding of more complex constructions, my ability to notice several less frequent constructions which might otherwise not have been noted, and resulted in additional feedback in the form of corrections to my own Yeri utterances. It also had the added benefit of providing a degree of entertainment to any visitors to the Yeri village, each of whom seemed to find a foreigner speaking Yeri an amusing sight to behold.

<sup>6</sup>Although no discussion is made of the language itself, Beran & Craig (2005: 40-42) does briefly discuss traditional shields used in the Yeri village.

### 1.6.1 Speakers and consultants

I was fortunate enough to work with a variety of wonderful people during my time in the field. The village as a whole was quite enthusiastic about the documentation project, and people who contributed to the project fell into two broad categories: (1) ‘speakers’ and (2) ‘consultants’. Speakers consisted of those people who told stories, held conversations, and let their speech be recorded. In general, the goal was to record as many speakers as were willing. Consultants consisted of those people who additionally worked with me to analyze language data. Consultant work could come in the form of slowly repeating and translating previously recorded language data, answering questions, providing grammaticality judgements, or completing other linguistic tasks to improve my understanding of the language.

Many people served in both roles. I distinguish the two roles here simply to note that although most people in the village who could speak Yeri served as speakers in the project at some point, a smaller subset served as consultants. The number of consultants was limited by practical considerations. Although the village as a whole was enthusiastic and most people were happy to act as speakers, given the endangerment of the language, not everyone had the proficiency to act as a consultant, and others did not have the time or simply did not enjoy the tasks. As a general rule, the people who most frequently acted as consultants were those speakers with the greatest proficiency in Yeri who showed the most interest in the documentation project and arranged to have time free to work with me.

Consultants for the Yeri documentation project include: John Sirio, Leo Ainaris, Ansel Nibisan, Vero Nibisan, Josepa Yikaina, John Nibisan, and Peter Muai. Of these, John Sirio and Leo Ainaris served as principle consultants and devoted hundreds of hours to the project. Without their hard work and dedication to the preservation of their language, this grammar would not exist. Speakers involved in the Yeri documentation project include much of the Yeri village.

### 1.6.2 Data collection

An effort was made to collect a corpus that was as large and as representative as possible given practical constraints. This goal resulted in several consequences. Most obviously, I made a special effort to collect recordings in any genres or noticeably different contexts I came across during my time in the village. This includes: (1) legend stories, (2) autobiographical narratives, (3) procedurals, (4) two-person conversations, (5) conversations with larger numbers of participants, (6) public discourse, (7) church oratory, (8) songs, (9) oral history, (10) descriptions, (11) child-directed speech, (12) written stories (both spontaneously produced by speakers literate in Tok Pisin and also stories produced later in the orthography created for the language), as well as (13) simplified varieties of the language, these often being

produced by the younger generation.

These were generally recorded using a Handy Zoom H4N, though at times a Marantz PMD-660 or a Tascam DR-07 were employed for the task depending on practical issues. Most recordings consist of only audio due to the lack of electricity in the village and larger area. However, video recordings were made when recording conditions were conducive. This was done with a JVC Everio Camcorder (CZ-MS120SE Dual Memory) when sufficient solar power was available or a Fujifilm Finepix S6800 when batteries could be spared for video recording. Lastly, when recording was not possible, written transcriptions alone were produced.

An additional consequence of my goal for a corpus as large and representative as possible is that there are more recordings of some speakers than others. Anyone who wished to be recorded speaking Yeri was accommodated whenever they wished to be recorded. Some wished to do this more often than others, and for this reason, there are more recordings of speakers which were particularly enthusiastic about the project. However, given the limited number of speakers and the general enthusiasm of the whole village for the project, I made a special effort to record something from everyone who could speak the language. On the whole, I believe I was successful in this endeavor, though of course practical considerations resulted in some speakers with only very short recordings (e.g. some semi-speakers were not as comfortable speaking Yeri, some speakers were older and had health issues), and some speakers with no recordings (e.g. speakers not currently living in the village).

A final consequence of this goal is that I recorded whenever speakers wished to be recorded. Where speakers were willing, I moved to locations more conducive to better recordings. Where this would disrupt the nature of the data being recorded (e.g. spontaneously arising conversations, telling stories around a fire, conversations involving large groups of people, descriptions of objects or events in sight, etc.), I made recordings in situ. As a result, for some recordings, the recording quality is not ideal. However, in these cases I felt strongly that moving speakers to a better recording location (e.g. away from the river which the village is situated along, waiting until morning when frogs are not as vocal) would result in either no recording being made or an unnatural or forced conversation. I tried to balance the desire for good recordings with the desire for natural and spontaneous speech. For this reason, some recordings are of better quality than others, especially when multiple speakers are involved.

### 1.6.3 Data types

Linguistic data can be collected in a variety of ways, each with its own set of advantages and disadvantages to be kept in mind during analysis. For clarity, I have listed the strategies I used to collect data and the most obvious strengths and weaknesses of each data type. For each example in the grammar, I have indicated how the data was collected. Ideally,

this information will allow linguists to more easily determine how best to interpret the data I have collected, and how much reliability, naturalness, etc. should be attributed to data collected in each way. The data types are listed in alphabetical order and can be understood as follows:

**answer (ANS)** This type of data was collected by asking a consultant to provide acceptable answers to a question in the Yeri language. The Yeri question could have been initially offered by the consultant, present in a recording, or prompted by any type of elicitation (e.g. guided elicitation, direct elicitation). This strategy was commonly used to reach a better understanding of a question's meaning. For instance, when asked to use the applicative form of a verb in a sentence (guided elicitation), consultants frequently used the form in a question. To better understand how the meaning of this question differed from the corresponding question where the verb occurred without the applicative morpheme, I would often ask the consultant to give possible answers to these questions.

**corrections (CO)** This type of data was collected whenever a consultant corrected another Yeri utterance. The utterance was often one made by me, a non-native speaker, or a less fluent Yeri speaker. However, sometimes consultants would correct a recorded utterance by another fluent speaker. When this happened, the consultants would often indicate that either (i) there was a speech error in the utterance or (ii) there was another way of phrasing an utterance that they preferred.

**direct elicitation (DE)** This type of data results from my providing a word or simple sentence, typically in English, but sometimes in Tok Pisin, and having the consultant provide a Yeri translation. This type of data collection generally occurred at the beginning of my first trip and served to facilitate quick identification of the most common Yeri morphology, as well as a quick buildup of examples for phonological analysis. It also served as a quick way to collect vocabulary to be added to the dictionary. An attempt was made to restrict generalizations from this data to those which are phonological or morphological in nature. Sentence elicitation was often influenced by speaker knowledge of English and sometimes resulted in less natural speech. For this reason, directly elicited data was initially used as a foundation for parsing and understanding natural data collected later. Despite this, directly elicited examples are often provided as examples in the grammar for ease of illustration. Textual examples are often quite long and complex and can be difficult to parse. In these cases, directly elicited examples may be provided for illustration, with naturally occurring examples provided afterwards as evidence that parallel examples can be found in natural speech.

**elicited situation (ES)** This type of data is collected by first describing a hypothetical situation to a consultant and then asking what could be said in this context. For example, I might describe a situation where the consultant's wife just used the last of their salt. If a cousin came to the house to ask if the consultant had any salt, how might the consultant respond to his cousin. After I describe a situation, the consultant might provide several possible responses or he might ask additional questions about the situation before the providing possible responses.

**grammaticality judgements (GJ)** This type of data involved a consultant judging a Yeri utterance. These often resulted in clearly affirmative answers, with the consultant providing several other parallel examples, or clearly negative answers, with the consultant laughing at an ungrammatical example. At times, however, this resulted in the consultant pausing to think and then providing me with a slightly different sentence, one often including a different form of the verb, for example. I have endeavored to only provide examples of clear grammaticality judgements in the grammar, those judgements where speakers had strong opinions as to an utterance's grammaticality. Whenever the consultant indicated uncertainty regarding a grammaticality judgement, I have used a question mark (?) to make transparent this uncertainty. As a general rule, when utterances were judged ungrammatical, speakers would often repeat the bad examples and say either *wilua* 'bad' or *hiro* 'no' to indicate their unacceptability. Finally, at times, consultants would spontaneously provide adjusted examples back to me and indicate that these were better ways to express the meaning. These adjusted examples are classified as corrections.

**guided elicitation (GE)** This type of data involved my providing a specific word form (or two or three word forms), typically chosen from forms which occurred in recorded natural speech, to a consultant. The consultant would then provide me with one or more Yeri sentences using that word form. For example, in a recorded conversation, I might notice an unusual form like *abero*, a less common form of *ar* 'go'. Later, when working with consultants, I would provide the form *abero*, and they would think of situations where they could use *abero*. Sometimes, I might request they use it in a short utterance. Other times I would request they use it over the course of several utterances. This could sometimes provide me with enough context to better understand the meaning of the word form. It is worth noting that not all consultants were able to do this. However, several consultants who had completed higher levels of education (grade 7 or 8) were able to consistently give data in this way. The advantage to this form of elicitation is that I can avoid possibly 'creating' a new form if the form given is selected from natural speech. Additionally, the resulting Yeri sentences were



not directly translated from English or Tok Pisin, and this helped avoid less natural examples or calques which could sometimes be noticed in direct elicitation contexts. Finally, this type of elicitation was sometimes paired with paradigm elicitation or grammaticality judgements. In the case of paradigm elicitation, the consultant would provide the form as described in the description of paradigm elicitation before then using this form in a sentence. For utterances collected in this way, I indicate both data types and include the provided word form(s) in square brackets afterwards (e.g. PE+GE-[word form(s)]). In the case of grammaticality judgements, several consultants were asked if a word form was good Yeri. If they judged the word form grammatical, they were asked to use it in an utterance. For utterances collected in this way, I indicate both data types and include the provided word form(s) in square brackets afterwards (e.g. GJ+GE-[word form(s)]).

**metadata (MD)** This type of data includes any data collected about any of the data in this project. It was collected in order to aid myself and others in interpreting the data by helping to establish the context in which the data was collected. Some examples of metadata I collected include: (i) speaker metadata (e.g. name, age, language proficiencies, previous places the speaker lived, etc.), (ii) recording metadata (e.g. date of recording, location of recording, who participated in the recording, what equipment was used to record, what languages are present in the recording, etc.), and (iii) administrative metadata (e.g. has a recording been transcribed? translated? glossed? etc.).

**offered speech (OS)** This type of data was collected whenever a consultant offered an utterance in Yeri without any prompting from me. Any data collected in this way can be assumed to be natural speech.

**paradigm elicitation (PE)** This type of data was employed to fill in paradigm gaps, especially those forms which were less frequent in natural data. In these situations, I would provide a Yeri form and a consultant would provide the missing form. For example, number is optionally marked in Yeri and many nouns did not occur in a plural form in the large corpus of natural data recorded. To collect plural forms, I would first give the consultant several examples like *nol/nolmi* ‘bird’, *nebo/neboi* ‘dog’. After speakers recognize the relationship between the forms, I would provide them with a singular form for which I had no plural form, and the consultant would provide the plural. A general effort was made when doing paradigm elicitation to do this with multiple consultants for greater reliability.

**pictures (P)** This type of data includes pictures of items and events involved in life within

the Yeri village. This includes pictures of the village, the speakers, cultural tools, cultural events, such as marriages or celebrations, as well as pictures of different fauna, flora and objects. Many involve specific items or events that Yeri speakers asked be recorded.

**recorded natural speech (RNS)** This type of data involved recording Yeri speech from one or more Yeri speakers at a time, and then translating the recording with the help of a consultant. This includes the bulk of the data collected in this documentation project and can be further classified according to different genres like legends, autobiographies, procedurals, conversations, church oratory, songs, and so on. As a general rule, data collected in this way can be assumed to be completely natural Yeri for the context in which it was collected. At times, when speakers wished to be recorded but were not sure what to talk about, I suggested possible topics (e.g. politics, what did you do yesterday, describe how your daughter got married, etc.). Regardless of topic however, examples which come from recorded natural speech can be understood to illustrate spontaneous natural language use.

**recorded written speech (RWS)** This type of data includes the recording of a consultant reading aloud something previously written, whether it was an untrained written speech or a trained written speech.

**simple example elicitation (SE)** This type of data was collected in a way parallel to grammaticality judgements. I would provide a simple Yeri utterance to the consultant, and ask them to repeat the utterance and judge it grammatical or ungrammatical. If it was grammatical, they were then asked to translate the utterance. However, there is one important distinction between simple example elicitation and grammaticality judgements. For simple example elicitation, I only provided utterances that were clearly grammatical. These utterances were collected specifically to serve as less complex examples for various grammatical phenomenon than other recorded examples in the corpus. This collection strategy was used for expediency and all utterances collected in this way can be verified as grammatical by comparing them to utterances collected by more reliable data collection strategies (e.g. recorded natural speech, offered speech, elicited situation, guided elicitation, written texts, etc.). Examples were judged by consultants to serve as an additional precautionary measure against inadvertent grammatical errors introduced by me. However, this precautionary measure is to some extent redundant because almost all of these examples were provided to me at some point previously by a consultant. Frequently, this data collection strategy was used to record useful examples as quickly as possible that were originally collected only via written means.

**stimulus tasks (ST)** This type of data includes utterances made in the process of completing a stimulus task. These tasks were designed to prompt certain types of information or types of speech which are not easily elicited and do not frequently occur in spontaneous speech. For example, the consultant might look at a set of pictures and tell a story about them.

**trained written language (TWL)** This type of data is similar to the untrained written speech, but specifically refers to those consultants who worked closely with me during this project and used the same orthography I did in my work on Yeri. Consultants chose to write legend stories, autobiographical narratives, descriptions of different animals, and other texts. At times after sessions, they would think of relevant examples to help me understand an issue I had questioned them about and write these examples down as well.

**untrained written language (UWL)** This type of data comes from speakers who chose to write in the Yeri language. This includes short Yeri utterances printed on signs or written as notes, as well as longer stories. These speakers were literate in Tok Pisin and extended this knowledge spontaneously to the Yeri language. Stories written in this way have been made available in the archive as is, without any spelling adjustments by me.

Regardless of how the data was collected, however, I follow Matthewson (2004) in that I take consultant translations and comments regarding the meaning of words as clues to the meaning of a morpheme rather than as direct evidence for the meaning of a morpheme. In other words, frequent translation of a Yeri morpheme with a particular English word or construction is not taken as conclusive evidence that this is the exact meaning of the morpheme. Instead, I understand these translations as the consultant's best attempt at translating the morpheme's meaning into another language, often a foreign language. I then examine the occurrence of the morpheme in natural texts and attempt to determine the morpheme's meaning based on these occurrences in combination with frequent translations or consultant comments regarding meaning.

For instance, consultants frequently translate a /p/ verbal morpheme as 'also' and when asked about the meaning of the morpheme frequently make statements like 'It means 'also''. However, additional examination of the morpheme in natural speech showed that the morpheme did not always mean 'also' since it could also express contrastive focus or meanings like 'still'. Based on these examples, I chose to analyze the morpheme as an additive morpheme (see section 8.2.2). In this way, frequent translation of the morpheme as 'also' served as a clue to its meaning, but was not taken as conclusive proof that the morpheme was best analyzed as a dedicated 'also' morpheme.

### 1.6.4 The Yeri corpus

My goal with the creation of the Yeri corpus was to create a lasting record of the language that can be accessed and used by anyone interested in the language. I briefly describe the process I used to create the Yeri corpus in section 1.6.4.1. An overview of the corpus is presented in section 1.6.4.2. How to access the corpus is discussed in section 1.6.4.3 and details on how to easily search through the corpus are provided in section 1.6.4.4.

However, I wish to emphasize here that this section presents information on the corpus as it was while I was writing the grammar, and not which files may be currently available in the archive. While some files are available, many are currently being updated to incorporate what I have learned since they were originally annotated. Furthermore, as the corpus is being expanded, both in terms of the number of files included (as more files are processed) and in terms of the amount of annotation (as additional annotation is added to previously included files), I urge the reader to refer to the archive in the future for an updated overview of the corpus, as well as a more detailed explanation of corpus conventions than could be provided here.

#### 1.6.4.1 Creating the corpus

In this section, I present an overview of how I created the Yeri corpus and which software was used during its creation. I began by recording various types of data (see section 1.6.3) while in the field. This was done by writing data in field notebooks (including metadata), taking pictures, and recording data with an audio or video recorder. At the end of each day, files were backed up. Upon return from the field, data was backed up again in several locations. Where electricity permitted, file processing was done in the field. However, given the limited electricity available in the field, much of this was done upon return from the field.

For pictures, file processing involved attaching metadata to the picture, while for written data, this involved scanning and photographing field notebooks before attaching metadata to the file. These could then be archived. Audio and video recordings had very similar file processing workflows, although video recordings included an initial step that audio recordings did not. Due to the size of video files, these files had to be converted to a format that was small enough for use in Elan and for streaming in the archive. For these files, I used Handbrake to convert the original archive-quality file format to an mp4 file format that could be used in Elan. I used iMovie to extract the audio from the recording. This permitted me to see the wave form in Elan and facilitated faster segmentation.

At this point, file processing was the same for video and audio recordings. Video and audio recordings were segmented, transcribed, and translated in Elan. A subset of

recordings were exported to Toolbox to more quickly and consistently add glossing and part of speech information before being re-imported to Elan to enable complex searches with regular expressions across the entire time-aligned corpus. Once basic annotation was included, files were ‘bundled’ together (e.g. archive-quality file, lower-quality working file, annotation file) and metadata was attached to the bundle. Once metadata was added, all types of data (pictures, written data, video and audio recordings) could be archived.<sup>7</sup>

Software used in the creation of the corpus was chosen on the basis of several criteria, including archival quality output, a preference for non-proprietary software (where available and easy to use), efficiency, and ease of use. In the case of glossing software, Toolbox was selected over Fieldworker’s Language Explorer (Flex) for reasons of timing. When I began this project, Flex still had a large number of idiosyncratic bugs and it was not possible to easily move data back and forth between Elan and Flex. In the writing of this grammar, I relied very heavily on Elan’s powerful searching capabilities, especially of glossed texts, and chose to remain with Toolbox rather than lose this functionality by switching to Flex.<sup>8</sup> Despite using Toolbox to gloss my data, I preferred to use FileMaker Pro as my lexical database because of its greater flexibility and more intuitive interface. Perhaps most importantly, it permitted me to store detailed lexical information which could then be quickly exported to formats that were archivable (e.g. .txt files) and also easily manipulated computationally (e.g. tab-delimited, comma-delimited, XML).<sup>9</sup> A basic diagram of the workflow used in the Yeri Documentation Project is provided in Figure 1.5 with slightly different processes included for video recordings, audio recordings, pictures, and written data. Dotted lines represent optional steps, unbroken lines represent obligatory steps, and arrowheads represent the direction of workflow.

---

<sup>7</sup>Note that Thieberger & Berez (2012) advocate for archiving as an ongoing process to be done as each item is collected throughout a project rather than archiving each item at the end of a project. I also advocate for this, but was unfortunately unable to implement it myself in this project.

<sup>8</sup>Given advances in Flex, I would choose Flex for new projects, though there are still many things that could be improved about the program.

<sup>9</sup>For instance, I was able to export specific fields from the lexical database into a format that was easily adjusted to work with LaTeX. This enabled the efficient creation of Appendix C: the Yeri-English abridged dictionary and Appendix D: the English-Yeri abridged dictionary. It also permits the quick export of various fields to create dictionaries aimed at differing audiences (e.g. a dictionary for historical linguists, Yeri speakers, etc).

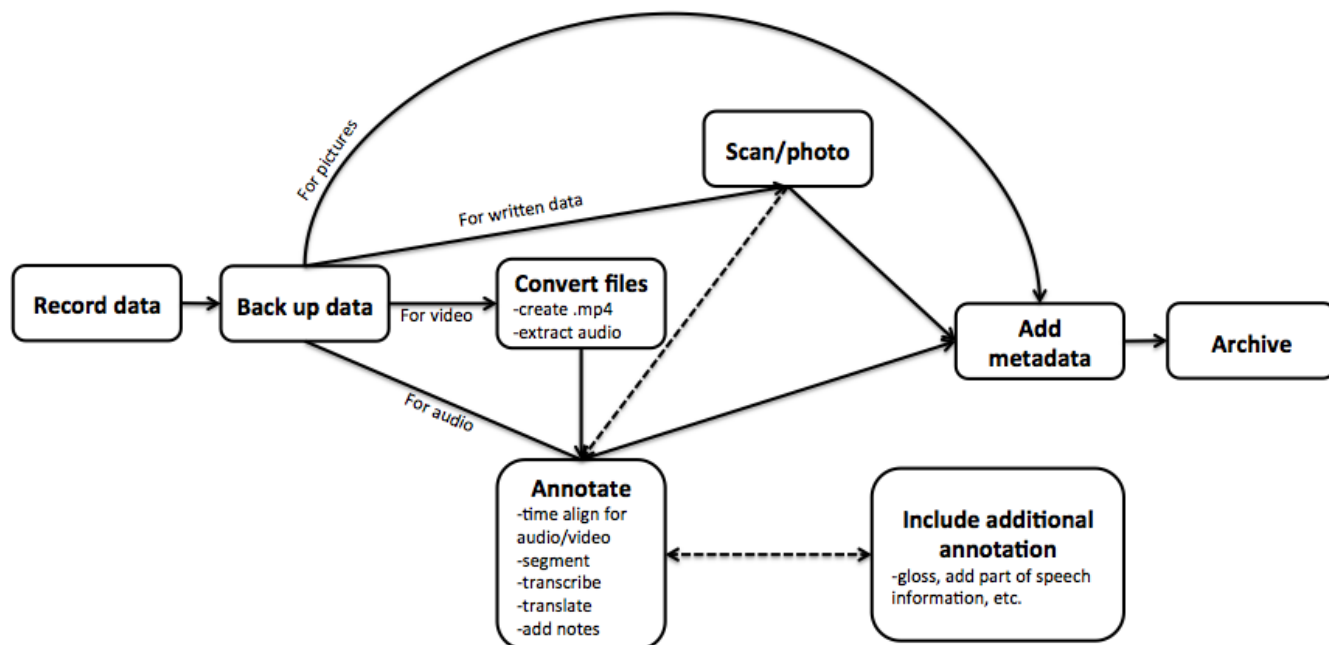


Figure 1.5: An overview of the project workflow

#### 1.6.4.2 An overview of the corpus

In the Yeri corpus, there are over 3000 language files of various lengths and various mediums, including video recordings, audio recordings, and data recorded on paper. This number includes language files of any data type (see section 1.6.3), with the exception of pictures which are not counted in this number. Together these files constitute the primary data on which this grammar is based. In this section, I have attempted to provide some approximate statistics regarding the size of the corpus, but time did not permit detailed calculation, especially for files which have not been typed.

The language files constitute over 150 hours of recorded language data.<sup>10</sup> Of this, almost six hours are time-aligned and glossed, making detailed searches with regular expressions possible, while the remaining hours include only basic transcription, translation, and some general notes.<sup>11</sup> Searches across the entire corpus could be made involving transcription,

<sup>10</sup>Note that this number includes recordings of natural recorded speech where each recording contains predominantly Yeri (with only a short introduction in English by me) as well as recordings of elicitation sessions which may include English prompts, questions, and translations, or recordings of translations which include Yeri and another language.

<sup>11</sup>Note that not all language files that were glossed and searchable for the purpose of creating this grammar are currently available (either with or without glossing annotation) in the archive. Many of these are in the process of being updated and will be made available once this has been completed. I have, however, been careful to ensure that any recordings which included examples used in this grammar are available in the archive to be listened to.

translation, and speaker, with more detailed searches involving word class, morpheme gloss, morpheme form, and a variety of other characteristics (as well as the conjunction of these characteristics) possible for those files with more annotation. Searches were generally done using ELAN software, which permitted easy playback for audio or video recordings. The Yeri corpus also includes over 3500 pages of written data.<sup>12</sup>

#### 1.6.4.3 Accessing the corpus

The Yeri corpus is currently archived at The Language Archive (TLA). In order to access the corpus, you need only go to the website of the archive and follow their protocols to access materials.<sup>13</sup> This may involve creating an account with the archive before then searching for the materials you would like to access through a search portal.

For people using the digital form of the grammar, clicking on the recording ID of any example in the grammar will open a browsable view of the archived recording from The Language Archive in your web browser. This provides you with quick access to the relevant example in the recording, where you can listen to the utterance and those preceding or following it.<sup>14</sup>

#### 1.6.4.4 Using the corpus

The Yeri corpus is quite large (see section 1.6.4.2 for details) and given the time limits of this type of dissertation grammar, it is not practical to include transcription, translation, glossing, and part of speech information for every file. Furthermore, the corpus is continually expanding as new files are included or annotation is added to previously included files.

For this reason, I include various types of searchable metadata to aid the user in locating files that are relevant to them. All ‘bundles’ in the corpus (e.g. any archive-quality recordings, streamable, lower-quality recordings, and annotations files which pertain to the same event or data) can be assumed to have basic metadata including: (i) which speakers provided the data, (ii) what languages are used, (iii) when and where the data was recorded, (iv) how the language data was collected, (v) the topic(s) discussed in the recording, and (vi) the level of annotation included. Additional metadata may also be included related to recording quality (e.g. background noise and acceptability of recording for possible acoustic analysis).

<sup>12</sup>This number includes my own notes from various sessions with Yeri speakers, pages from consultants who wrote stories, as well as transcriptions and translations for different Yeri recordings that I made while working with consultants to analyze this data.

<sup>13</sup>Note that clicking on the language archive’s name in the digital form of the grammar will take you to the archive’s current URL. This has been provided as a convenience. Should the URL change, it will be necessary to search for the archive’s new URL to access the corpus.

<sup>14</sup>These hyperlinks will refer you to a simple version of the annotated file archived for the purpose of linking the grammar examples to the archived recording.

At a basic level, recordings may have a rough phonemic transcription and a free translation in an associated Elan annotation file. A subset of recordings have also been glossed and annotated for part of speech. To determine what level of annotation a particular file has, you should consult the file's metadata. For those who download all or part of the corpus and wish to search within it, some basic information regarding the structure of the data included in Elan files may facilitate your searching. The tier structure used in this project was chosen to enable export to Toolbox for glossing.<sup>15</sup> The basic tier structure for the Elan files can be summarized as follows:

**ref@SPK** This is a reference tier which provides a unique reference number for each annotation.

One is included for each participant and annotations on this tier are automatically labeled according to the format: RecordingID.DDD (where DDD refers to a number which is incremented by 1 for each new annotation). For instance, the first three annotations on the recording 120601-009 would be 120601-009.001, 120601-009.002, and 120601-009.003. The participant is indicated by an abbreviation on the reference tier label (indicated here by the SPK following the @ symbol). The abbreviation is typically two capital letters, but can sometimes be longer. For instance, ref@LA is the reference tier for Leo Ainaris (LA), and ref@JS is the reference tier for John Sirio (JS). See the speaker participant glossary for a list of speaker abbreviations. Reference tiers are directly associated with time information and are not daughters to any other tier. Reference tiers serve as parent tiers for transcription and translation tiers.

**tx@SPK** This is a transcription tier. A basic phonemic transcription is provided in this tier, and the tier is symbolically associated with the reference tier for the same participant. For instance, tx@LA is a daughter tier which is symbolically associated with ref@LA.

**ft@SPK** This is a free translation tier where a translation is provided in English. A free translation is provided in this tier, and the tier is symbolically associated with the reference tier for the same participant. For instance, ft@LA is a daughter tier which is symbolically associated with ref@LA.

**notes** This is a general all-purpose notes tier. Contextual or paralinguistic information can be included here as well as notes on unusual pronunciations, morphological forms, syntactic structures, or meanings. I also frequently use this tier to provide additional information on how an utterance should be interpreted (e.g. what a personal pronoun might refer to, etc.). The notes tier is directly associated with time information and is not a daughter to any other tier.

---

<sup>15</sup>Note however, that given the flexibility of Elan, it is possible to quickly change this tier structure to permit export to Flex or other programs.



Figure 1.6 illustrates this basic tier structure in an Elan annotation file with basic annotation.

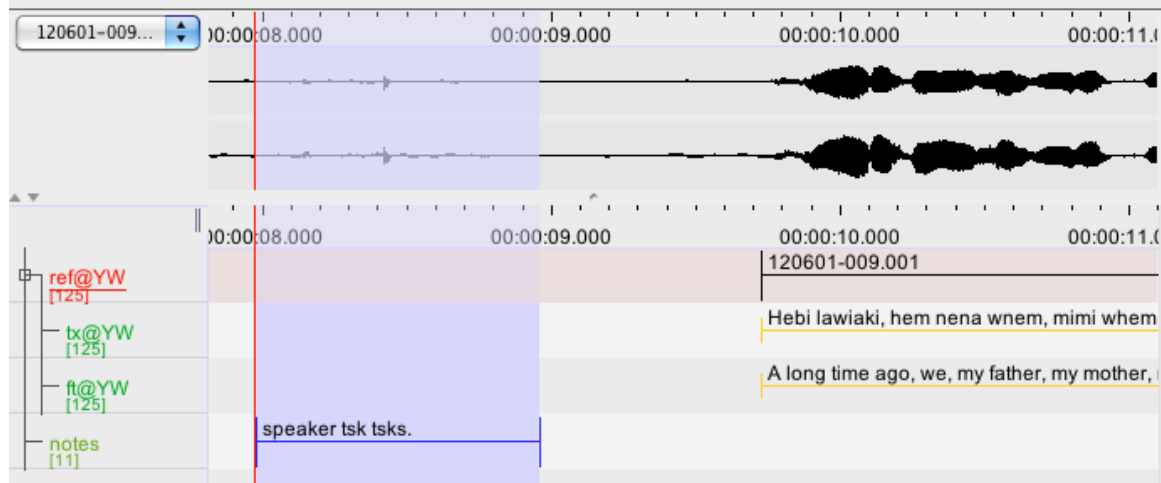


Figure 1.6: Basic Elan tier structure

For easy searching, each tier is a distinct type. The basic types include: ref, tx, ft, and notes. By searching the tx tier, you can search all participant speech, and by searching the ft tier, you can search all translations. The same is true for the notes tier. Note that this section only provides a description of the basic tier structures and types in the Yeri corpus. This is not a complete list of tiers and types. Furthermore, as the corpus grows, these structures or hierarchies may expand. For this reason, anyone wishing to do complex searches across the Yeri corpus is advised to read the most recent description of tiers and types located within the archive, as this will be updated as the corpus expands.

## 1.7 Data presentation

This section provides information on how Yeri examples will be presented in the grammar. Section 1.7.1 details how examples were selected. Section 1.7.2 explains the types of information presented in examples and how to interpret this information. Section 1.7.3 explains the types of hyperlinks available in the digital version of the grammar and how to utilize these links to more efficiently navigate the document. Lastly, section 1.7.4 describes a distinction I make throughout the grammar regarding lexically conditioned allomorphs and phonologically conditioned allomorphs.

### 1.7.1 Selecting examples

As a general rule, I have attempted to pull examples from better quality recordings when discussing topics specifically related to sound (e.g. phonology, morphophonology, discussion of a morpheme's form, variable pronunciations, and so on). However, when discussing topics unrelated to these issues, I use examples from any recordings in the corpus, and where recordings are unavailable, written transcriptions.

As mentioned in section 1.6.2, spontaneous naturally occurring discourse was not interrupted to move to locations more conducive to quality recording. For this reason, recording quality can be lower for these recordings. While these recordings do have more background noise than others, speech is still easily understood and suitable for illustrating statements about morpheme occurrence, syntax, discourse, and a variety of other generalizations. In fact, it is often these recordings which provide the only examples of phenomena which are less frequent, harder to elicit, or primarily occur in natural conversation.

Finally, I have made an effort to include simple examples for ease of understanding. Where possible, these examples come from spontaneous speech. Where examples from spontaneous speech are particularly complex and ill-suited for exemplifying a phenomenon or where discourse examples are not found in the recordings currently processed for more extensive searches, examples which were directly elicited or collected via simple example elicitation may be provided. An effort was also made to include the more complex examples from natural discourse after these elicited examples to make it clear that the phenomenon occurs in spontaneous speech and in non-elicited contexts.<sup>16</sup>

### 1.7.2 Interpreting examples

Examples generally include a transcription, a morpheme by morpheme gloss, and a free translation in the three-line format in widespread use among linguists. In this format, an utterance from the language under discussion is presented on the first line, divided into morphemes, the smallest units of linguistic meaning. The second line includes a short descriptive label in English regarding the meaning of each morpheme, referred to as a gloss. When these labels correspond with grammaticalized morphemes or common linguistic terminology, linguists conventionally abbreviate the label and use small capital letters.

An effort has been made to follow standard glossing conventions as described by the Leipzig glossing rules. However, this is not always possible or economical. Some particularly frequent morpheme labels have been shortened from their standard glosses for reasons of space. For other morphemes, no standard gloss is available. For this reason, a list of abbreviations

<sup>16</sup>Note, however, that a lack of natural discourse examples does not mean no examples could be found. Time did not always permit such examples to be included. Readers who wish to check for themselves can search the corpus for additional examples as desired.

is provided to ensure that abbreviations are always interpretable in the future. Furthermore, given the optionality of agreement in certain contexts in Yeri, it is not always possible to determine if agreement has or has not occurred in a specific example. For consistency, I gloss these examples throughout the grammar as if agreement has occurred except in those cases where I wish to more explicitly illustrate the grammaticality of agreement morphemes not occurring or in contexts where I explicitly state that agreement is uncommon (e.g. core object suffixes before the applicative suffix *-ki*, see section 7.7.3).<sup>17</sup>

Throughout the grammar, I make a distinction in whether I segment two elements with a space, a hyphen, or an equal sign. I utilize spaces to segment free unbound morphemes or words, hyphens to segment bound affixes, and equal signs to segment those elements which show sufficient behavior to distinguish them from prototypical unbound free words or morphemes and prototypical tightly bound affixes.<sup>18</sup> I refer to elements segmented with the equal sign as ‘clitics’.

Although the label ‘clitic’ is used with a wide range of meanings by various linguists, I use the term here only as a means of labeling those elements which are not easily categorized as completely unbound words or completely bound morphemes. Specifically, I employ the label ‘clitic’ to refer to ‘any form which shows some range of behavior that makes me wish to distinguish it from completely free unbound words and morphemes on the one hand and tightly bound morphemes on the other hand.’ Given this definition, elements labeled ‘clitic’ may have very different behavior from each other. In each case where I segment with an equal sign and label an element a clitic, I explicitly describe the element’s behavior so that linguists can interpret for themselves how it might be classified according to their own definitions (see section 3.5.4 for this description as it relates to the relational clitic and section 4.2 for this description as it relates to pronominal clitics).

The third line includes several pieces of information. Most importantly, the third line is a free translation into English of the utterance on the first line. However, I have also included additional information about how the data was collected, who provided the data, and where the utterance can be found (either a specific time in a recording or a page in a notebook). I hope by doing this to improve both the transparency of the data collection process, and the accountability of the claims made in the grammar to the data.

Information regarding the type of data enables users to more accurately judge the examples

<sup>17</sup>For instance, subject agreement on directional verbs is optional when these verbs function as the first verb in a multi-predicate clause (see section 13.2). Throughout the grammar, where it is unclear whether the third person plural *Ø*- subject prefix has occurred on a directional verb or whether the subject prefix has been omitted, I gloss these examples with a subject prefix. I only gloss these examples without third person plural subject prefixes when I am discussing the grammaticality of omitting subject prefixes.

<sup>18</sup>As a general rule, I use spaces to segment instances of complete reduplication, and hyphens to segment instances of partial reduplication (see section 2.6). I do, however, make an exception for ideophones and reduplications which appear to have been lexicalized (e.g. *malmal* ‘how many, how much’). These are usually written as a single word.

provided in support of these generalizations. Information regarding the speaker allows linguists to consider potentially relevant issues relating to dialect, age, language proficiency, and other characteristics related to a particular speaker. It also makes transparent how much of the data comes from specific individual speakers and how representative the grammar might be for the language community.<sup>19</sup> Finally, information regarding the location of the utterance enables users to quickly locate the utterance in context to (i) verify the analysis of the utterance, (ii) confirm the claim being made, or (iii) allow for the exploration of alternative hypotheses.

With this in mind, after the free translation on the third line, the recording label and the time in seconds where the utterance begins are provided in parentheses for those utterances where practical issues permitted recording.<sup>20</sup> Information about the way the data was collected and the type of data is indicated by a series of abbreviations. For example, data collected by direct elicitation is indicated by the abbreviation DE, data collected by recording speakers talking naturally or telling stories is indicated by RNS, and so on. Detailed information about the different types of data collected and how each type was collected is available in section 1.6.3 and in the glossary following the grammar named ‘Data Types’. Note that for data collected by guided elicitation (GE), I have included the word form(s) used to elicit the utterance in square brackets following the data type abbreviation (e.g. GE-[provided word form(s)]).

Furthermore, speakers were proud of their contributions and wished to be acknowledged. After the abbreviation for data type is provided, I have included a short abbreviation indicating the speaker for each utterance. A list of the speakers referenced in the grammar is available following the grammar, and a discussion regarding the role of speakers and consultants can be found in section 1.6.1.

Example (1.1) illustrates the standard format of glossed examples in the grammar. The utterance listed on the first line begins at 185.991 seconds into the recording labeled 120517-001. The utterance comes from an oral text (RNS) told by John Sirio (JS). The meaning of each morpheme in the utterance is labeled on the second line and the free translation is provided on the third line.

<sup>19</sup>Note, however, that this is more relevant in considering the range of speakers who contributed to the project. As described in section 1.6.3, many examples used in the grammar to illustrate complex phenomena were collected specifically to provide simpler examples of a phenomenon than could be found in recorded natural speech. These simple examples were collected from a smaller pool of consultants for practical reasons and are not reflective of how representative the overall corpus may be.

<sup>20</sup>Batteries bought nearby were unable to power the recording equipment for longer than 15 minutes. For this reason, all batteries had to be brought with the linguist, and weight limits with respect to the last flight greatly restricted the number of batteries that could be brought. Although solar powered batteries were used, their usefulness was directly proportionate to the amount of sunlight available. Given the length of field trips, battery usage had to be carefully monitored. Additionally, some speakers were happy to provide data, answer questions, provide judgements or forms to be included in the corpus, but preferred not to be recorded.

- (1.1) hem ta m-y-aya maŋa-∅?  
 1SG FUT 1SG-2-give.R what-SG.F  
 ‘What will I give you (sg or pl)?’ (120517-001:185.991) RNS, JS

For some examples, it is useful to include additional information. For these examples, I may include additional lines to aid the reader in understanding a particularly complex utterance. There are four types of additional lines that may be included: (i) a line for an additional level of transcription, (ii) a line for a more literal translation (LT), (iii) a line for an alternate translation (AT), and (iv) a line for details regarding the context of the utterance (CI).

The additional transcription line will precede a typical example and provide additional information regarding the pronunciation of the Yeri. This is often useful when discussing (morpho)phonological processes which may obscure the identification of morphemes in an utterance. When I include an additional transcription line to discuss (morpho)phonological processes, the first line will provide a phonetic transcription, while the second line will be the default orthographic transcription, described in section 2.2. Consider the example in (1.2). Although the verb in this example is *ogiwa* ‘ask’, two morphophonological processes combine to obscure the identification of this verb, including the deletion of the /g/ (see section 2.5.10) and the pronunciation of /oi/ in this position as [ɛi] (see section 2.5.5). Including an additional phonetic transcription line facilitates the discussion of these morphophonological issues.

- (1.2) ʉɛm ta mɛimiwa ti.  
 hem ta m-o<i><m>giwa te-i.  
 1SG FUT 1SG-ask.R<PL><IPFV> 3-PL  
 ‘I will ask them.’ (120621-001:39.211) RNS, JS

The literal translation line will follow the typical example and provide a translation of the Yeri which more closely reflects the Yeri syntax or how a particular meaning is expressed. Given the differences in Yeri syntax and English syntax, a more literal translation may not always be completely standard English. As a general rule, the free translation presents an attempt to best express the Yeri meaning in easily understandable standard English, while the literal translation presents an attempt to express the meaning in a way that more closely reflects the syntactic structure of an example or provides more information on exactly how the meaning is expressed in Yeri. An example is provided in (1.3), where the literal translation, despite sounding stilted in English, helps to convey the fact that the quantifier *sapiten* ‘many’ is acting as a predicate in Yeri. Note that literal translation lines will always begin with the abbreviation LT for *Literal Translation*.

- (1.3) yem ta sapiten y-aro ...  
 2PL FUT many 2PL-go.R ...  
 ‘Many of you (pl) will go ...’ (120704-001:121.053) GE-[no meno yotun], JS  
 LT: ‘You (pl) will be many and go ...’

Similarly, the alternate translation line is provided to more easily discuss examples which can acceptably be translated into English in several ways. This is often useful to describe examples where the interpretation of an utterance is particularly dependent on previous discourse or context. For instance, the subject prefix *n-* can indicate either a second person singular subject or a third person singular masculine subject. Where context or previous discourse does not disambiguate or where examples are taken out of context, these utterances can express several possible meanings. The use of an alternate translation line helps make this explicit. Consider example (1.4), which can be translated in several ways when taken out of context. One possible alternate translation is provided for illustration. When the alternate translation line occurs, it will always begin with the abbreviation AT for *Alternate Translation*.

- (1.4) ta n-b-nobia, “n-or<me>.”  
 FUT 3SG.M-1SG-talk.R 2SG-lie.R<IPFV>  
 ‘He will say to me, “You (sg) sleep now.”’ (120601-012:174.017) RNS, YW  
 AT: ‘You (sg) will tell me he’s sleeping now.’
- (1.5) tinogil yot-u-∅ harkroki-l ta hiro ∅-di<me>di.  
 village DEM-MDIST-SG.F chicken-PL FUT NEG 3PL-stand.I<IPFV>  
 ‘There are no chickens in that village.’ (140410-044:442.489) DE, LA  
 AT: ‘That village has no chickens.’

Like the literal and alternate translation lines, the line for details regarding context will also follow the typical example, but will instead provide additional information regarding the context of an utterance. When presenting examples to demonstrate the meaning of certain morphemes or the distinction between alternate structures, basic English translations do not always prove adequate. In these contexts, additional information about context can often be helpful.

For instance, in example (1.6), the location of the future tense particle *ta* (see section 10.1.1.2) before the subject of the verb *ori* ‘hit’, rather than in its more usual position immediately preceding the verb, indicates contrastive focus on the subject *Koni* (see section 14.2.5). By adding details regarding the context of the utterance to a fourth line, it is easier to discuss this difference in meaning. In this example, the speaker is specifying that it will be Koni who scrapes the sago, not Koni’s wife who was discussed in the preceding utter-

ance. An additional context line will always begin with the abbreviation CI for *Contextual Information*.

- (1.6) ta Koni n-ori-wa- $\emptyset$   
 FUT Koni 3SG.M-hit.R-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘Koni will scrape it.’ (120524-000:183.369) RNS, LN  
 CI: Ana will not scrape the sago. It will be Koni who scrapes the sago.

At times, I include additional bolding or square brackets [ ]. These have been added to either aid the reader in identifying a particular part of the example under discussion or to aid the reader in understanding the syntactic structure of the example. Where this occurs, an effort has been made to include in-text discussion of exactly what has been bolded or placed in brackets and why this was done. Where discussion focuses on stress, I use acute accents to mark primary stress and grave accents to mark secondary stress. Where discussion refers to syllables, I use a period to indicate a syllable boundary.<sup>21</sup> I also use italics to indicate an in-text orthographic transcription, forward slashes to indicate a phonemic transcription, and square brackets to indicate a phonetic transcription. Translations are provided in single quotes. Lastly, the segmented Yeri line in a glossed example can be assumed to be a morphophonemic transcription written in Yeri orthography.

Ideally, including this additional information will allow claims made in the grammar to be more easily understood and investigated by others (especially given the hyperlinks available in the digital version, discussed in section 1.7.3). This could be as simple as verification by readers that the referenced utterance does in fact occur and is analyzed appropriately. However, I hope that this will also encourage future readers to study the language in more detail, either to offer suggested improvements to analyses or to describe phenomena that were beyond the scope of this project. I have endeavored to produce the best possible grammar in the time available, but anyone who studies language is well aware that any language is too complex to ever be completely explained (or likely even understood) by any one person in the space of a few years, no matter how dedicated that person may be.

### 1.7.3 Hyperlinks (digital form only)

Given the interconnected nature of language phenomena, the digital form of this grammar has been created to facilitate locating related information quickly, even when this information is located in a distant section of the grammar. This includes several more common hyperlinks which the user can click on to move to the corresponding section of the grammar. For instance,

<sup>21</sup>Syllable boundaries have been determined by considering several types of data, stress patterns, phonotactic constraints, allophonic variation, and slow careful pronunciations.

each section of the table of contents links to the corresponding section in the grammar. Similarly, cross-references in the text are linked to the section being cross-referenced.

An effort has been made to include links to the glossary when using terminology, both language specific, in which case the definitions are my own, as well as terms taken from other linguists, in which case the definition is either given in the words of the original linguist or closely paraphrased, with a citation provided. Each term is defined within text upon first mention. Subsequent mentions may or may not include an in-text definition, but can always be looked up in the glossary. In the digital form of the grammar, any use of a term can be clicked on to jump to the corresponding definition in the supplemental glossary of terms. Additionally, citations link to the corresponding bibliographic entry, and URLs open the corresponding page in a browser. The result of clicking on these hyperlinks is summarized in the following list.

**Table of contents** links to the corresponding section

**Cross-reference** links to the section which was cross-referenced

**Terminology** links to the entry in Appendix E: the glossary of terms

**Citation** links to the corresponding bibliographic entry

**URLS** opens the website in a browser window

I have also added several less common hyperlinks which relate specifically to the language data being discussed. These are summarized in the following list and described in the remainder of this section.

**Yeri form** links to the entry in Appendix C: the Yeri-English abridged dictionary

**Yeri meaning** links to the entry Appendix D: the English-Yeri abridged dictionary

**Gloss** links to the list of abbreviations

**Recording label** links to the corresponding section of the archived recording via ANNEX

**Data type abbreviation** links to Appendix F: a list and description of data types

**Speaker abbreviation** links to Appendix F: the speaker participant list

Hyperlinks have been created for any of these forms regardless of whether they occur within prose or within glossed examples. For instance, here is an in-text mention of a Yeri word: *haluagil* ‘mountain’. Clicking on the Yeri word, indicated in italics, links you to the corresponding entry for this word in Appendix C: the Yeri-English abridged dictionary.



Clicking on the meaning, indicated in single quotes, links you to the corresponding entry in Appendix D: the English-Yeri abridged dictionary.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, clicking *aya* within example (1.7) links you to the corresponding entry for this Yeri verb in the Yeri-English abridged dictionary, while clicking ‘give’ on the second line links you to the entry for this verb in the English-Yeri abridged dictionary. Additionally, glosses which are indicated by small capital letters (consider FUT in the same example) are linked to the list of abbreviations for ease of reference.

- (1.7) hem ta m-y-aya maŋa-Ø?  
 1SG FUT 1SG-2-give.R what-SG.F?  
 ‘What will I give you (sg or pl)?’ (120517-001:185.991) RNS, JS

For users who are connected to the internet, clicking on the recording label opens a browser window to the corresponding section of the archived recording in The Language Archive by using ANNEX, where the reader can listen to the utterance in context. Information on how to use ANNEX to quickly browse archived recordings containing examples in this grammar can be found in section 1.6.4.3.

Finally, clicking on data type abbreviations, like RNS, takes you to the corresponding list of abbreviations which includes a description of the collection technique and obvious advantages or disadvantages to the technique. The same is true for speaker abbreviations like JS which are linked to a speaker participant list. PDF viewers typically have a ‘back’ button that can be used to return to the previous section once the user is finished looking at the information in the hyperlinked section.

It is my hope that these additional hyperlinks will allow users to more easily navigate the document and locate desired information quickly. Even more so, I hope that these links will more clearly integrate the grammar with the language corpus that serves as the basis for it and with the dictionary where specific lexical information is provided.

#### 1.7.4 A note on allomorph terminology

As described in section 1.7.3, terms are defined upon first mention with in-text uses hyperlinked to a terminological glossary. The reader is encouraged to consult the glossary should any confusion arise regarding the meaning of a specific term. However, given the important distinction I make between what I refer to as ‘lexical allomorphs’ and ‘phonological allomorphs’ and the fact that many readers may only be referencing a specific portion of the grammar, it seemed prudent to include an explicit description of the terms in the introductory chapter.

<sup>22</sup>Note that only orthographic transcriptions have hyperlinks. Phonemic or phonetic transcriptions are not linked.

Throughout the grammar, I distinguish the terms ‘allomorph’, ‘lexical allomorph’, and ‘phonological allomorph’. I use the term ‘lexical allomorph’ to refer to a lexically conditioned form of a morpheme, while I use the term ‘phonological allomorph’ to refer to a phonologically conditioned form of a morpheme.<sup>23</sup> The term ‘allomorph’ can be understood as a blanket term which makes no reference to possible conditioning factors, and only indicates that a particular form is one possible way to realize a morpheme. My use of ‘allomorph’ should be understood as inclusive of both lexical allomorphs and phonological allomorphs.

Given these definitions, it is possible for a lexical allomorph of a morpheme to have phonological allomorphs. This simply means that one morpheme has several forms which are determined based on the class of the lexical item (e.g. inflectional class 7 selects the plural lexical allomorph *-(e)tV* while inflectional class 5 selects the plural lexical allomorph *-agia*) and one of these lexical allomorphs has additional forms which are determined based on phonological conditioning (e.g. the lexical allomorph *-(e)tV* has three forms *-ti*, *-ta*, and *-eti* which are selected based on the form of the noun root.). I refer to these three forms as phonological allomorphs.

To aid in distinguishing lexical allomorphs and phonological allomorphs, I refer to specific lexical allomorphs more abstractly than phonological allomorphs. For example, a lexical allomorph which has the three phonological allomorphs *-egal*, *-gal*, and *-gil* is referred to as *-(e)gVl* (see section 5.4.2.1). The parenthesis indicates that the initial vowel is not a part of all phonological allomorphs for the lexical allomorph. The V indicates that some phonological allomorphs have different vowels in this position.

## 1.8 Organization of the grammar

Grammars are often consulted, referenced, or skimmed, but are generally not read cover to cover, and this brings about one of the inherent difficulties in writing a grammar, that of organizing it. As anyone who works with language knows, it can be difficult to separate out specific ‘portions’ of a language in order to explain each phenomenon separately. Rather, the phenomena are often interconnected and discussing ‘phonology’ invariably leads into territory traditionally carved out as ‘morphology’, morphology delves into the ‘syntax’, and syntax has been known on occasion to weave back into ‘phonology’, and so on. I have endeavored to organize the morphology of the grammar primarily by form and the syntax by function. That said, exceptions are frequently made to this general organizing philosophy, and cross-references have been liberally added to aid location of desired information. In this section, I provide a concise overview as to the organization of the grammar into chapters.

<sup>23</sup>While I just as easily could have used the terms ‘lexically conditioned allomorph’ or ‘phonologically conditioned allomorph’, the longer forms can be a bit cumbersome upon frequent use.

The Yeri grammar is divided into fifteen chapters. Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the language, including geographic, genealogical, and sociolinguistic information on Yeri as well as a description of the methodology of the project and the conventions followed within the grammar. Chapter 2 revolves around the Yeri phonological system. This chapter presents information on phonemic contrasts, allophonic distributions, phonotactic constraints, suprasegmental issues, and morphophonological rules. Chapter 3 provides a summary of the word classes found in the language and the criteria used for determining word class membership. Chapter 4 provides a description of the syntax of a simple clause.

Chapter 5 focuses on nouns and describes morphemes that can occur on nouns as well as the Yeri number and gender systems. Agreement and the various agreement classes are also discussed in this chapter. Nominal phrases and their internal structure is discussed in chapter 6. Chapter 7 is devoted to verbs and the morphemes that can occur on verbs, including subject and object morphemes, realis/irrealis mood morphemes, and valency changing morphemes, while chapter 8 describes the imperfective and additive morphemes which can occur on most predicates, verbal or non-verbal. The rationale for an infixal analysis of several Yeri morphemes is presented in chapter 9. The location and meaning of clause particles is presented in chapter 10, while chapter 11 revolves around negation, and chapter 12 focuses on questions.

Multi-predicate clauses, those clauses which include more than one predicate, verbal or non-verbal, are discussed in chapter 13. Finally, chapter 14 is devoted to clause linkage, and chapter 15 concludes with a discussion of several strategies Yeri utilizes to connect utterances into larger discourse. Supplemental materials include several glossed Yeri texts, a Yeri-English abridged dictionary, an English-Yeri abridged dictionary, a glossary of terms, a list of common bound morphemes, a description of data types, a list of abbreviations, a list of Yeri speakers who contributed to the project, an index, and a bibliography.

With the table of contents, the index, the hyperlinked cross-references, and this organizational overview, it is my hope that the user can navigate to whatever topic interests them with as little effort and delay as possible. Furthermore, since some readers will be interested in just a specific phenomenon, I have also included a purposely brief grammatical overview of the language in section 1.9. It is my intention for this section to quickly give linguists an overall feel for the language and allow readers to situate whichever Yeri phenomenon they are curious about within the wider context of the language. It may also provide readers with a better idea of how the language encodes certain grammatical categories and how to more easily locate descriptions of these categories in the grammar.

## 1.9 Grammatical overview

Yeri has thirteen consonants and five vowels in its phoneme inventory (see section 2.1). Two vowels /i/ and /u/ have both glide and vowel allophones. The language shows a basic contrast in three places of articulation for stops, (i) bilabial, (ii) alveolar, and (iii) velar, while the voicing contrast in plosives is associated with prenasalization. The language has only one fricative (the alveolar /s/), three nasals (/m, n, ŋ/), and three approximants (/l, r, ʍ/). Primary stress typically falls on the penultimate syllable and results in vowel lengthening (see section 2.4.1), though some words show alternate stress patterns (see sections 2.4.2 and 2.4.3). Unstressed vowels are frequently shortened and reduced to a [ɪ] or deleted entirely (see section 2.4.7), and processes of epenthesis (see section 2.4.9) and vowel coalescence (see section 2.4.8) are active in the language. Vowel disharmony (also referred to as vowel dissimilation in the literature) is found in specific morphological contexts (see section 2.5.6).

The language is a head-marking agglutinating language with a basic word order of SVO, though OV is also common in texts (see section 4.3). The locus of bound morphology falls on the verb, including a degree of non-concatenative morphology. For instance, a basic distinction between realis and irrealis mood (see section 7.6) is signaled by the quality of the first vowel(s) in the verb root. Morphemes on verbs cross-reference subject and object (see section 7.3). Subjects as well as first and second person objects are marked via a paradigm of prefixes for all verbs. Third person objects are cross-referenced as infixes, suffixes or one of several augmented suffixes (those suffixes preceded by an augment allomorph) depending on the class of the verb. Many verbs can alter valency by prefixation of a detransitivizing *d*-morpheme (see section 7.5) or suffixation of an applicative morpheme (see section 7.7.3). It is also common for additional arguments to be added by including an additional nominal phrase or object morpheme (see section 7.7).

Yeri has predicate morphemes which can occur on most word classes in Yeri as long as they are operating predicatively (see chapter 8). The location of these morphemes can be either before the root, within the root, or after the root, depending on the word class or subclass the morpheme occurs on. When the morphemes occur with genitive pronouns or a set of adjectives I call WGN adjectives (see section 3.5.1), they precede the lexical root. When they occur with nouns or ideophones, they follow the lexical root. When these morphemes occur on verbs, they are infixes in a typologically unusual location, namely after the first syllable of the verb root.

Unlike verbs, nominal morphology is quite limited. Unless operating predicatively, productive nominal morphology is mostly restricted to reduplication (see section 2.6) and optional number marking (see section 5.4.2). A few nouns permit overt gender suffixes (see section 5.3.2), or a locative morpheme (see section 5.6).

Number marking is complex in Yeri (see section 5.4.1). Most nouns have a form which can occur in semantically singular or plural contexts, what I call a general form in accordance with Corbett (2000). Depending on the class of the noun, this form may trigger grammatically singular agreement, grammatically plural agreement, or optional semantic agreement. The general form may or may not occur in opposition to another form depending on the class of noun. When it does, the opposing form, what I call an explicit form, only occurs in contexts that are singular or contexts that are plural, again based on the class of the noun.

Overt number marking on the noun is generally done via suffixation and involves a variety of inflectional classes (see section 5.4.2). Some inflectional classes select for plural morphemes, some select for singular morphemes, and still others select for both singular and plural morphemes. Furthermore, general forms may be analyzed as being composed of a noun root and a number morpheme. This means that general forms may be singular or plural morphologically, while still occurring in both semantically singular and semantically plural contexts. Explicit forms always occur with a number suffix that indicates which semantic contexts, singular or plural, they can occur in.

Gender is a somewhat more fluid category than in many better-known European languages. Some semantic principles related to size and shape appear relevant to the assignment of gender in lower-level animals or inanimate objects (see section 5.3.4.2). Furthermore, feminine nouns are frequently marked with masculine gender to indicate a particularly large specimen, while masculine nouns will sometimes show feminine agreement to indicate a smaller or weaker entity (see section 5.3.4.4). For many nouns, both masculine or feminine agreement are equally acceptable without a change in meaning (see section 5.3.4.3). Feminine can be analyzed as the ‘default’ gender in several contexts (see section 5.5.8), an unusual characteristic cross-linguistically (Corbett 1991, 2007; Newell 2005).

Lexical items can be divided into five types based on the type of agreement they can show (see section 5.5). The agreement classes are: (i) the PGN agreement class, which can show person, gender, and number agreement, the GN agreement class, which can show only gender and number agreement, (iii) the G agreement class, which can show only gender agreement, (iv) the N agreement class, which can show only number agreement, and the I agreement class (I for ‘invariant’), which can show no agreement. Furthermore, agreement is optional in certain contexts.

Nominal phrases frequently occur without nouns (see section 6.3), and it is not uncommon for nominal phrases to occur without any overt indication as to their interpretation (see section 4.7.3). Nominal phrases are frequently coordinated via conjunctions, juxtaposition, or an *and*-verb which shows subject agreement with the first conjunct and object agreement with the second conjunct (see section 6.7). Additionally, although the language has two prepositions (see section 3.10), spatial relationships are usually encoded via nominal phrases

including relational nouns (see section 6.6).

As expected for a Torricelli language, tense is not marked on the verb. Rather, the language has clause particles which can express tense, as well as several other meanings (see chapter 10). The location of these clause particles can delimit clauses and indicate focus (see section 14.2.5). Multi-predicate clauses (see chapter 13), single clauses which involve more than one predicate, are frequent in texts, and the asyndetic coordination of clauses is common (see section 14.1.1), often blurring the distinction between sentence and paragraph. While the language does make use of several clause linkers, it is common for intonation alone to link clauses (see section 15.2).

## Chapter 2

# Phonology

This chapter focuses on Yeri phonology. Section 2.1 presents an overview of segmental phonology, including a description of the Yeri phonemic system. Section 2.2 details the orthography used throughout the grammar, and section 2.3 focuses on phonotactic rules in Yeri. Section 2.4 provides a description of the Yeri stress system as well as vowel reduction and epenthesis processes active in the language, while Yeri morphophonological rules are presented in section 2.5. The chapter concludes in section 2.6 with an overview of complete and partial reduplication in the language.

Throughout this chapter, in-text orthographic transcriptions are given in italics, phonemic transcriptions in slashes, and phonetic transcriptions in square brackets. I provide orthographic, phonemic, and phonetic transcriptions consistently in the beginning of the chapter to make explicit the relationship between these transcriptions. However, I include only an orthographic transcription consistently throughout the grammar. Beginning in section 2.5, the orthographic transcription is the primary transcription and I include phonemic or phonetic transcriptions sporadically only where discussion warrants it.

### 2.1 Segmental phonology

Yeri distinguishes 13 consonants, and five vowels. Consonant phonemes are described in section 2.1.1, and vowel phonemes are described in section 2.1.2. High vowel phonemes, which have consonant and vowel allophones, are discussed in both sections with detailed discussion presented in section 2.1.2.2.

### 2.1.1 Consonants

Table 2.1 lists the consonant phonemes in Yeri.<sup>1</sup> Orthographic representations appear in angled brackets < > following the IPA symbol.<sup>2</sup> These orthographic symbols will be used throughout the rest of the grammar.

Table 2.1: Consonant phonemes

|              | labial | alveolar | palatal | velar |
|--------------|--------|----------|---------|-------|
| plosives     | p, b   | t, d     |         | k, g  |
| nasals       | m      | n        |         | ŋ     |
| fricatives   |        | s        |         |       |
| approximants | (w)    | l, r     | (j)<y>  | ʍ<h>  |

Note that two approximants listed in the table are given in parenthesis.<sup>3</sup> This is because these sounds are analyzed as allophones of the corresponding vowels, /i/ and /u/. I refer to these phonemes as ‘high vowels’ throughout the grammar, and these two vowels, /i/ and /u/, should be understood as having both a consonant and a vowel allophone. Specifically, the back high vowel can be understood as having the two allophones [u] and [w], and the front high vowel can be understood as having the two allophones [i] and [j]. Throughout the grammar, I may place either the vowel or the consonant symbol in slashes / / (e.g. using /w/ or /u/ to refer to the back high vowel) when referring to these phonemes. However, my analysis should always be understood as there being two high vowel phonemes with each phoneme having a vowel allophone and a glide allophone. For detailed information on these two approximant sounds, see section 2.1.2.2.

Evidence for phonemic contrast within the same manner of articulation is presented in sections 2.1.1.1-2.1.1.4, which are devoted to each manner. Here I only briefly present evidence illustrating the contrast between the most similar sounding phonemes which share the same place of articulation, specifically /ŋ/, /g/, /w/, and /ʍ/ <h>. Minimal pairs demonstrating the contrast between each of these phonemes in word-initial position are provided in Table 2.2. I include a phonemic transcription in slashes and an orthographic transcription in the column following the phonemic transcription (see section 2.2 for a description of the orthography).

<sup>1</sup>Within the plosive category the first phoneme listed in a column is classified as voiceless and the second is classified as voiced. This voicing is associated with prenasalization (see section 2.1.1.1). Note also there is one lexical item in the database, *yaʔa* ‘here’ which contains a glottal stop.

<sup>2</sup>Angled brackets in examples indicate an infix.

<sup>3</sup>Note also that the voiced velar approximant is listed under the labial column for simplicity, but as a labiovelar consonant it could alternatively be listed under the velar column.



Table 2.2: Minimal pairs for velar phonemes

| phonemes        | written | phonemic | gloss       | written | phonemic | gloss        |
|-----------------|---------|----------|-------------|---------|----------|--------------|
| /ŋ/ and /g/     | ŋulŋul  | /ŋulŋul/ | ‘squeal’    | gulgul  | /gulgul/ | ‘thump’      |
| /ŋ/ and /ʉ/ <h> | ŋan     | /ŋan/    | ‘one’       | han     | /ʉan/    | ‘male’       |
| /ʉ/ <h> and /w/ | hugil   | /ʉugel/  | ‘strainer’  | wugil   | /wugel/  | ‘pants’      |
| /ʉ/ <h> and /g/ | hurhur  | /ʉurʉur/ | ‘slide’     | gurgur  | /gurgur/ | ‘rapids’     |
| /w/ and /g/     | gawo    | /gawo/   | ‘open door’ | wawo    | /wawo/   | ‘she set it’ |
| /w/ and /ŋ/     | wan     | /wan/    | ‘heart’     | ŋan     | /ŋan/    | ‘one’        |

### 2.1.1.1 Plosives

Yeri has six plosive phonemes consisting of a voiced and a voiceless phoneme at bilabial, alveolar, and velar places of articulation. This three-way contrast in the place of articulation for plosives is common among Torricelli languages (Laycock 1968). Table 2.3 lists minimal and near-minimal pairs demonstrating that all plosive phonemes contrast word-initially as well as word-medially.

Table 2.3: Minimal pairs illustrating plosive voicing contrasts

|          |             | voiceless |           |                | voiced  |           |              |
|----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|---------|-----------|--------------|
|          | environment | written   | phonemic  | gloss          | written | phonemic  | gloss        |
| bilabial | #_          | popo      | /popo/    | ‘float’        | bobo    | /bobo/    | ‘bark’       |
|          | V_V         | hapini    | /ʉapeni/  | ‘potato’       | haben   | /ʉaben/   | ‘haben bird’ |
| alveolar | #_          | ta        | /ta/      | ‘future tense’ | da      | da        | ‘her, it’    |
|          | V_V         | oti       | /ote/     | ‘hold’         | odi     | /ode/     | ‘and, with’  |
| velar    | #_          | kulkual   | /kulkual/ | ‘peel off’     | gulgual | /gulgual/ | ‘roll’       |
|          | V_V         | oki       | /oke/     | ‘use’          | ogi     | /oge/     | ‘eat’        |

Voiced plosives have two allophones: (i) a prenasalized allophone and (ii) a voiced allophone. The occurrence of each is predictable to a degree, though both allophones occur in free variation in certain positions.<sup>4</sup> A brief summary of allophone distribution with voiced plosives is provided in Table 2.4.

<sup>4</sup>Specifically, voiced plosives can optionally be prenasalized in word-initial position in fast speech when the preceding word ends in a vowel. It is also common for voiced plosives to be pronounced with prenasalization when they occur as the first segment of a reduplicated ideophone. Lastly, the first singular object prefix *b-* is frequently (though not obligatorily) prenasalized even when it occurs as the first segment of a verb.

Table 2.4: A summary of voiced plosive allophone distribution

|    | position          | phonetic realization                 |
|----|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
| #_ | word-initially    | voiced plosives are not prenasalized |
| C_ | after a consonant | voiced plosives are not prenasalized |
| V_ | after a vowel     | voiced plosives are prenasalized     |
| _# | word-finally      | voiced plosives do not occur         |

Examples demonstrating this allophonic distribution are presented in Table 2.5, where the voiced allophone occurs in word-initial position or following a consonant, while the prenasalized allophone occurs following vowels.

Table 2.5: Examples demonstrating voiced plosive allophones

| phoneme | position | written  | phonemic    | phonetic                   | gloss            |
|---------|----------|----------|-------------|----------------------------|------------------|
| /b/     | #_       | bumira   | /bumira/    | [bumira]                   | ‘bumira bird’    |
|         | C_       | dolbi    | /dolbe/     | [dɔlbi]                    | ‘be hungry’      |
|         | V_       | lahabi   | /lauqabi/   | [lauqam <sup>b</sup> bi]   | ‘yesterday’      |
| /d/     | #_       | dalan    | /dalan/     | [dalan]                    | ‘dalan lizard’   |
|         | C_       | habalda  | /uqabalda/  | [uqam <sup>b</sup> balda]  | ‘habalda lizard’ |
|         | V_       | maladi   | /malade/    | [malan <sup>d</sup> di]    | ‘afternoon’      |
| /g/     | #_       | gogala   | /gogala/    | [gɔ <sup>ɣ</sup> gala]     | ‘gogala fish’    |
|         | C_       | malgil   | /malgel/    | [malgil]                   | ‘bee’            |
|         | V_       | haluagil | /uqaluagel/ | [uqaluag <sup>ɣ</sup> gil] | ‘mountain’       |

Voiceless plosives show less variation in pronunciation, though the voiceless velar phoneme can optionally be slightly fricated as in example (2.1). While the first instance of *ki* ‘already’ shows no frication of the /k/, the second occurrence does.

- (2.1) jε paki ki nar ania paki? wɔ si<sup>m</sup>belial si<sup>m</sup>belial ta  
ye paki ki n-ar ania-∅ paki? wo sibelial sibelial ta  
2SG paki already 2SG-go.to.R where-SG.F paki sun long long FUT  
nana. xi uqimalmi mala<sup>n</sup>dema jɔta, jε ki  
n-ana. ki hemal-mi, malade-ma yot-a-∅, ye ki  
3SG.M-come.R already night-IPFV afternoon-IPFV DEM-PROX-SG.F 2SG already  
namina.  
n-a<me>na.  
2SG-come.R<IPFV>  
‘You (sg) have gone where exactly? A whole day has passed. It is evening now or late afternoon now, and you (sg) are just now coming back.’ (120517-001:1145.393)  
RNS, JS

### 2.1.1.2 Nasals

Yeri distinguishes three nasals at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar places of articulation: /m, n, ŋ/. Two of these, /m/ and /n/, occur in onset and coda position. The velar nasal /ŋ/ phoneme, however, only ever occurs in onset position. This is almost always word-initial onset position (e.g. *ŋa* ‘one’), though it can also occur in word-internal position due to the reduplication of ideophones (section 3.4). Note, however, that the corpus does show two words where it occurs word-medially outside of these contexts: *neŋo* ‘son’ and *maŋa* ‘what, who, which’. Minimal pairs illustrating Yeri nasal contrasts are provided in Table 2.6.

Table 2.6: Minimal pairs for nasal phonemes

| environment | bilabial: /m/ |          |               | alveolar: /n/ |          |                     |
|-------------|---------------|----------|---------------|---------------|----------|---------------------|
|             | written       | phonemic | gloss         | written       | phonemic | gloss               |
| #_          | mogi          | /mogi/   | ‘moss’        | nogi          | /nogi/   | ‘associated others’ |
| V_V         | hame          | /ʉame/   | ‘creek’       | hane          | /ʉane/   | ‘hane snake’        |
| _#          | tem           | /tem/    | ‘they (rare)’ | ten           | /ten/    | ‘he’                |
|             |               |          |               |               |          |                     |
| environment | velar: /ŋ/    |          |               | alveolar: /n/ |          |                     |
|             | written       | phonemic | gloss         | written       | phonemic | gloss               |
| #_          | ŋi            | /ŋi/     | ‘grunt’       | ni            | /ni/     | ‘intestine’         |
| V_V         | maŋa          | /maŋa/   | ‘what’        | mana          | /mana/   | ‘I come’            |
|             |               |          |               |               |          |                     |
| environment | velar: /ŋ/    |          |               | bilabial: /m/ |          |                     |
|             | written       | phonemic | gloss         | written       | phonemic | gloss               |
| #_          | ŋiŋi          | /ŋiŋi/   | ‘grunt’       | mimi          | /mimi/   | ‘mother’            |
| V_V         | neŋo          | /neŋo/   | ‘son’         | nemo          | /nemo/   | ‘coconut milk’      |

### 2.1.1.3 Fricatives

Yeri has a single fricative phoneme /s/ which is pronounced at the alveolar place of articulation. The alveolar sibilant is voiceless and almost always occurs in onset position. While a few ideophones (section 3.4) and some proper nouns show coda /s/, this is not common. The only other context where /s/ can occur in coda position involves partial reduplication (section 2.6.2). Table 2.7 provides several examples of the fricative phoneme in onset and coda position (see section 2.3 for more information on syllable structure). A period is used to symbolize a syllable boundary.

Table 2.7: The fricative /s/

| onset /s/                  | written  | phonemic   | gloss   |
|----------------------------|----------|------------|---------|
| [a.sɔr]                    | asor     | /asor/     | ‘rinse’ |
| [si. <sup>m</sup> bɛ.lial] | sibelial | /sebelial/ | ‘long’  |
| [ʉa.la.si]                 | halasi   | /ʉalasi/   | ‘net’   |

| coda /s/         | written       | phonemic      | gloss                      |
|------------------|---------------|---------------|----------------------------|
| [prias]          | prias         | /prias/       | ‘move up and down’ (IDEO)  |
| [sa.pɔs]         | Sapos         | /sapos/       | ‘Sapos land’ (PN)          |
| [was.wa.sɔl.kia] | was-w-asolkia | /waswasolkia/ | ‘they do very badly’ (RED) |

#### 2.1.1.4 Approximants

There are five approximant sounds in Yeri. These are [w], [j], [l], [r], and [ʉ]. Two of these, [j] and [w], appear best classified as allophones of the two corresponding high vowels (/i/ and /u/). Depending on the environment, the high vowel phonemes are predictably pronounced as either vowels or as glides. Given this distribution, [j] and [w] are discussed in section 2.1.2.2 alongside their high vowel counterparts.

The remaining three approximants, /l/, /r/, and /ʉ/ <h> do not alternate with vowels and are analyzed as distinct phonemes. The alveolar approximants /l/ and /r/ are always written as /l/ and /r/, but the velar approximant /ʉ/ is orthographically represented as <h> in accordance with speaker preferences.<sup>5</sup>

**The alveolar approximants: /l/ and /r/** Yeri distinguishes two approximants at the alveolar place of articulation /l/ and /r/. The phoneme /l/ is articulated by making a closure at the alveolar ridge and passing air across the sides of the tongue. The phoneme /r/ is produced as a trill, with several taps produced in quick succession against the alveolar ridge with additional lip rounding. Although both alveolar approximants can occur as onsets or codas, /r/ is very rare in word-initial position. Table 2.8 provides minimal and near-minimal pairs to illustrate the contrast between /l/ and /r/ word-initially, intervocalically, and word-finally.

<sup>5</sup>Speakers were unfamiliar with the symbol <ʉ>, and preferred to use the symbol <h> instead.

Table 2.8: Minimal and near-minimal pairs for lateral phonemes

| liquid: /l/ |         |          |                        |            | trill: /r/ |          |                        |                |
|-------------|---------|----------|------------------------|------------|------------|----------|------------------------|----------------|
|             | written | phonemic | phonetic               | gloss      | written    | phonemic | phonetic               | gloss          |
| #_          | lobe    | /lobe/   | [lɔ <sup>m</sup> bɛ]   | ‘mushroom’ | robal      | /robal/  | [rɔ <sup>m</sup> bal]  | ‘robal tree’   |
|             | Lagosi  | /lagosi/ | [la <sup>ɰ</sup> gɔsi] | ‘Lagosi’   | ragusi     | /ragusi/ | [ra <sup>ɰ</sup> gusi] | ‘ragusi plant’ |
| V_V         | ogela   | /ogela/  | [ɔ <sup>ɰ</sup> gɛla]  | ‘cut open’ | ogera      | /ogera/  | [ɔ <sup>ɰ</sup> gera]  | ‘chase’        |
| _#          | ol      | /ol/     | [ɔl]                   | ‘cut’      | or         | /or/     | [ɔr]                   | ‘lie, sleep’   |

**The velar approximant: /ɰ/ <h>** Yeri has an additional velar approximant /ɰ/ which is orthographically represented as <h>. The phoneme occurs intervocally and word-initially, and has two allophones: a velar allophone [ɰ] and a palatal allophone [j]. The palatal allophone is due to assimilation in place of articulation and optionally occurs between two high vowels. In all other positions, the velar allophone [ɰ] occurs.

Example (2.2) illustrates the occurrence of both allophones in the pronunciation of the negative morpheme *hiro*. When *hiro* follows *tiawai* ‘short’, it immediately follows a front high vowel and the palatal allophone occurs. However, when the negative particle follows *yo* ‘path’, which does not end in the front high vowel, the velar allophone occurs, resulting in the pronunciation [ɰiro]. The example includes an initial phonetic transcription line.

- (2.2) nɔ<sup>m</sup>bia,    “ta jeiwił                      ni<sup>m</sup>bɛl<sup>ɰ</sup>gi tiawai    jiro ʝɔ    ɰiro  
 Ø-nobia,    “ta y-o<i>wił                      nebal-gi tiawa-i    hiro yo    hiro  
 3PL-talk.R FUT 2PL-take.R<PL> tree-PL    short-PL NEG path NEG  
 wi<sup>n</sup>a<sup>m</sup>bɛ.”  
 w-Ø=nabe-Ø.”  
 REL-SG=good-SG.F  
 ‘They said, “If you (pl) want to go by car, no, the road is not good.”’ (120606-000:156.212) RNS, JS

That this pronunciation is optional can be seen by comparing examples (2.3) and (2.4). Although the velar approximant occurs in the same phonological environment in both examples, it is pronounced as a palatal approximant in (2.3) and a velar approximant in (2.4). It is common for the approximant to be pronounced as [ɰ] even when between front high vowels.

- (2.3) ni<sup>m</sup>bɛlgi tiawai    jiro ɛɔ.  
 nebal-gi tiawa-i    hiro Ø-ero.  
 tree-PL    short-PL NEG 3PL-go.I  
 ‘The cars don’t go.’ (120605-000:548.110) RNS, JS

- (2.4) ni<sup>m</sup>bɛlgi tiawai    ʉiɾɔ.  
           nebal-gi tiawa-i    hiro  
           tree-PL    short-PL NEG  
           ‘There were no cars.’ (140410-047:165.923) OS, LA

The velar approximant phoneme /ʉ/ is very susceptible to deletion, and many words have two alternate pronunciations, one with the approximant and one without, as shown in Table 2.9. The optional deletion of /ʉ/ in word-initial position is responsible for those exceptions to the generalization that all nouns begin with a consonant (see section 5.1).

Table 2.9: Optional deletion of /ʉ/ <h>

| written    | phonemic     | phonetic<br>(no /ʉ/ deletion) | phonetic<br>(with /ʉ/ deletion) | gloss        |
|------------|--------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------|
| hiloki     | /ʉɛloke/     | [ʉilɔki]                      | [ilɔki]                         | ‘taro’       |
| hilogil    | /ʉɛlogel/    | [ʉilɔ <sup>ɣ</sup> gil]       | [ilɔ <sup>ɣ</sup> gil]          | ‘arm’        |
| hamote     | /ʉamote/     | [ʉamɔtɛ]                      | [amɔtɛ]                         | ‘individual’ |
| harkanogil | /ʉarkanogel/ | [ʉarkano <sup>ɣ</sup> gil]    | [arkano <sup>ɣ</sup> gil]       | ‘snake’      |

Note that where /ʉ/ would occur adjacent to a consonant, the approximant is commonly deleted as well.<sup>6</sup> For instance, the vowel in the initial unstressed syllable in *hiwora* /ʉewora/ ‘wife’ can be optionally deleted (see section 2.1.2.1). When this deletion occurs, the word is frequently pronounced as [wɔra].

Deletion of /ʉ/ is also responsible for those contexts where the singular feminine infix *-he-* is pronounced as *-Ø-* (see section 7.3.3.1) and where the /ʉ/ of first person genitive pronouns is deleted following a masculine /n/ morpheme (see section 3.5.4 and section 6.4.1).

### 2.1.2 Vowels

Yeri has five vowel phonemes: /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/, and /a/. I use the phonemic symbol /e/ to refer to the vowel phoneme that is phonetically realized as either [ɛ] or [i], and I use the phonemic symbol /o/ to refer to the vowel phoneme that is phonetically realized as [ɔ]. The vowel phonemes are summarized in Table 2.10, where orthographic representations are presented in angled brackets < >. For any vowels with more than one orthographic representation, the choice of symbol is dependent on the pronunciation of the phoneme (with some minor exceptions) and is explained in section 2.1.2.2 for high vowels and section 2.1.2.1 for /e/. An overview of the orthography used in this grammar is presented in section 2.2.

<sup>6</sup>Vowel deletion or the addition of other morphemes are the most common causes for /ʉ/ occurring in this position.

Table 2.10: Vowel phonemes

|      | front    | back     |
|------|----------|----------|
| high | i <y, i> | u <w, u> |
| mid  | e <e, i> | o <o>    |
| low  | a <a>    |          |

Two of Yeri's vowel phonemes, /i/ and /u/, have both consonant and vowel allophones. I use the label 'high vowel' to distinguish these from other vowel phonemes, and the labels 'back high vowel' and 'front high vowel' to distinguish the two phonemes from each other. The back high vowel can be understood as having the two allophones [u] and [w], and the front high vowel can be understood as having the two allophones [i] and [j]. Throughout the grammar, I may place either the vowel or the consonant symbol in slashes / / (e.g. using /w/ or /u/ to refer to the back high vowel) when referring to these phonemes. However, my analysis should always be understood as Yeri having two high vowel phonemes with each phoneme having a vowel allophone and a glide allophone. For detailed information on these two approximant sounds, see section 2.1.2.2.

Furthermore, although /e/ is listed as a mid-vowel, /e/ triggers the same allomorphs as the high vowels /i/ and /u/ in contexts where vowel disharmony occurs (see section 2.5.6). This is likely due to its more frequent realization as the allophone [i] (see section 2.1.2.1). To avoid confusion, I refer to the set of /i/, /e/, and /u/ as 'harmony high vowels'. This is distinct from my use of the label 'high vowels' which includes only /i/ and /u/.

### 2.1.2.1 The realization of /e/

Yeri has a process of vowel reduction/deletion (see section 2.4.7) and this process is particularly common with the vowel /e/. In fact, the vowel /e/ is so frequently reduced that its reduced allophone [i] is by far its most frequent realization. Furthermore, many instances of /e/ are never realized as anything besides [i] because the vowel is never placed in a context where it would be pronounced as [ɛ].

Despite this, there is clear evidence that [ɛ] and [i] do not contrast with each other, but rather alternate in a pattern of complementary distribution or free variation depending on environment. For this reason, I analyze the two vowels as allophones of the same phoneme which I refer to as /e/.

There are a number of factors that are relevant to the pronunciation of /e/ including (i) whether the vowel receives primary stress, (ii) whether it occurs in a final syllable or a non-final syllable, (iii) whether it occurs in an open or closed syllable, (iv) whether the syllable is closed by a liquid or a nasal, and (v) whether the vowel is preceded by an obstruent or a sonorant. I discuss the pronunciation of /e/ first in closed syllables and then in open

syllables. After this, I explain ‘apparent exceptions’ to these rules as being nonetheless predictable due to alternate stress patterns and morphophonological rules. I then describe several contexts where additional morphology and alternate stress patterns result in /e/ being pronounced as [ɛ] despite usually being pronounced as [i]. Lastly, I present an overview for my reasons in including the allophones of /e/ within the orthography.

**Pronunciation in closed syllables** When /e/ occurs in a closed syllable, its pronunciation is dependent on (i) whether that closed syllable is a final syllable or not, (ii) whether that closed syllable is stressed or not, and (iii) whether that closed syllable contains a nasal or a liquid coda. The rules can be summarized as follows:

- /e/ is pronounced as [i] in non-final closed syllables.  
(e.g. *pinyalgi* /penjalgi/ [pinjálgi] ‘cliff’, *winyawi* /wenjawi/ [winjáwi] ‘younger brother’)
- /e/ is pronounced as [ɛ] or [i] in final syllables closed by nasals.  
(e.g. *ten* /ten/ [tɛn] or [tɪn] ‘he’, *tem* /tem/ [tɛm] or [tɪm] ‘they’)
- /e/ is pronounced as [i] in unstressed final syllables closed by liquids.  
(e.g. *akubil* /akubel/ [akú<sup>m</sup>bil] ‘cover in’, *ohorkil* /ouʔorkel/ [ʔuʔórkil] ‘flee’)
- /e/ is pronounced as [ɛ] in stressed final syllables closed by liquids.  
(e.g. *pikel* /pekel/ [pikél] ‘post’, *ahoper* /auʔoper/ [auʔopér] ‘push’)

When /e/ occurs in a final syllable with a nasal coda, it can be pronounced as either [ɛ] or [i]. This is most easily seen with third person personal pronouns in the language like *ten* /ten/ ‘he’ and *tem* /tem/ ‘they’, which can be pronounced as [tɛn] or [tɪn] and [tɛm] or [tɪm] respectively.

Since the vast majority of words which have final syllables with a liquid coda take the default penultimate stress pattern (see section 2.4.1), this results in the final syllable being unstressed and /e/ being pronounced as [i]. In fact, most verbs fit this pattern (e.g. *akubil* /akubel/ ‘cover in’, *ohorkil* /ouʔorkel/ ‘flee’). The only context where the /e/ in the final syllable of these verbs can receive stress is when additional prefixes result in stress shifting onto the final syllable. This is uncommon, but when it does occur /e/ can be pronounced as [ɛ] in these final syllables (e.g. [niwɔ.ʔɔr.kél] ‘it fled from us’; this example is discussed later in this section, as example (2.7)).

Only a small handful of verbs select for an alternate stress pattern that places stress on the final syllable. For these verbs, the final /e/ occurs in a stressed syllable with a liquid coda and is therefore pronounced as [ɛ] (e.g. *gayuper* /gajuper/ [gájupér] ‘drown’, *ahoper* /auʔoper/ [áʔopér] ‘push’). When these verbs occur with additional morphology, like the



applicative morpheme *-ki* (see section 7.7.3), the /e/ occurs in an non-final syllable and is pronounced as [i] (e.g. *ahoperki* /aʊpoperki/ [a.ʊp.pír.ki]).

This alternation in pronunciation depending on whether /e/ occurs in a final or non-final syllable can also be seen with nouns like *wanel* /wanel/ ‘wanel banana’, which occur with an alternate stress pattern that places stress on the final syllable (i.e. [wanél]). Since the /e/ occurs in a stressed final syllable closed by a liquid, it is pronounced as [ɛ]. When the plural allomorph *-hegal* (see section 5.4.2.2) is suffixed to the noun though, the /e/ occurs in a non-final closed syllable and is pronounced as [i] (i.e. *wanelhegal* /waneluɣegal/ [wa.níl.hé.ɣgal]).

In the same way that the /e/ in *wanel* /wanel/ ‘wanel banana’ is pronounced as a [i] when it occurs in a non-final closed syllable, any instances of /e/ that occur in non-final syllables with nasal codas are also pronounced as [i]. While nasal codas are not as common as liquid codas, nouns like *pinyalgi* /penjalgi/ ‘cliff’ demonstrate the pronunciation of /e/ as [i] in this context.

Examples demonstrating each of these rules are provided in Table 2.11. The first two columns give the meaning and the Yeri phonemic transcription of the root. The remaining four columns give phonetic transcriptions to illustrate how the pronunciation of /e/ within a word shifts depending on which environment it occurs in. For some words, additional morphemes like *-ki* (see section 7.7.3) or *-hegal* (see section 5.4.2.2) are added to illustrate a shift in environment and the resulting change in pronunciation. Relevant instances of /e/ are underlined in the phonetic transcriptions.

Table 2.11: The pronunciation of /e/ in closed syllables

| gloss             | Yeri root  | non-final closed syllable | final closed syllable |                        |                      |
|-------------------|------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
|                   |            |                           | nasal coda            | liquid coda unstressed | liquid coda stressed |
|                   |            | [i]                       | [ɛ] or [i]            | [i]                    | [ɛ]                  |
| ‘he’              | /ten/      |                           | [tɛn], [tᵢn]          |                        |                      |
| ‘they’            | /tem/      |                           | [tɛm], [tᵢm]          |                        |                      |
| ‘cover in’        | /akubel/   | [akuᵐbᵢlki]               |                       | [akúᵐbᵢl]              |                      |
| ‘flee’            | /ouɔorkel/ |                           |                       | [ɔuɔ́rkᵢl]             | [niwɔuɔ́rkᵢl]        |
| ‘push’            | /aʊpoper/  | [ahɔ́pírki]               |                       |                        | [aʊpɔ́rᵢ]            |
| ‘wanel banana’    | /wanel/    | [wanᵢluɣégál]             |                       |                        | [wanᵢl]              |
| ‘cliff’           | /penjalgi/ | [pᵢnjélgi]                |                       |                        |                      |
| ‘younger brother’ | /wenjawi/  | [wᵢnyáwᵢ]                 |                       |                        |                      |

**Pronunciation in open syllables** When /e/ occurs in an open syllable, its pronunciation is dependent on (i) whether that syllable is a final syllable or not, (ii) whether that syllable is stressed or not, and (iii) whether the /e/ is preceded by an obstruent or a sonorant. The

rules can be summarized as follows:

- /e/ is pronounced as [ɛ] in open syllables with primary stress.  
(e.g. *mukela* /mukela/ ‘sugar glider’, *yamega* /jamega/ ‘yamega fish’, *yipeta* /jipeta/ ‘yipeta vine’)
- /e/ is pronounced as [i] or is deleted in unstressed open syllables, with phonotactic constraints determining whether the vowel is reduced or deleted.  
(e.g. the plural of *mukela* ‘sugar glider’: [mukláʔgil], alternate stress on *yamega* ‘yamega fish’: [yámga]/[yámĩʔga], the plural of *yipeta* ‘yipeta vine’: [jipitáʔgil])
- /e/ is pronounced as [ɛ] or [i] in final open syllables with a sonorant onset.  
(e.g. *hame* /ɰame/ [ɰámɛ] or [hámi] ‘creek’, *hare* /ɰare/ [háɛ] or [hári] ‘leaf’)
- /e/ is pronounced as [i] in final open syllables with an obstruent onset unless the word can occur with word-final stress.  
(e.g. *nati* /nate/ [nati] ‘coconut’, *mawasi* /mawase/ [mawasi] ‘star’)

There are two general rules regarding the pronunciation of /e/ in an open syllable, with some specific caveats needed to explain the behavior of word-final open syllables with /e/. I first discuss the more general rules, before turning to open final syllables.

When an /e/ in an open syllable receives primary stress, /e/ is pronounced as [ɛ]. In fact, the vast majority of instances where /e/ is pronounced as [ɛ] occur in this specific context. Words like *mukela* /mukela/ ‘sugar glider’, *yamega* /jamega/ ‘yamega fish’, and *yipeta* /jipeta/ ‘yipeta vine’ demonstrate this context. Since each word takes penultimate stress according to the default stress rule (see section 2.4.1), the /e/ in the penultimate syllable of each noun is pronounced as [ɛ].

When an /e/ occurs in an unstressed open syllable, the /e/ is either pronounced as [i] or is deleted entirely. Whether the /e/ is deleted depends on phonotactic constraints. Where deletion of an /e/ results in an acceptable phonotactic sequence (either an acceptable complex cluster or an acceptable coda consonant + onset consonant sequence, see section 2.3), deletion can occur. For instance, when *mukela* /mukela/ ‘sugar glider’ occurs with a plural suffix (see section 5.4.2.1), primary stress does not fall on the syllable with /e/. Since obstruent liquid clusters are acceptable in Yeri (see section 2.3.1.1), the plural of *mukela* shows complete deletion (i.e. *mukelagil* /mukelagel/ [mukláʔgil]).

Note that this deletion is very common, but is not obligatory. It is acceptable for /e/ to be pronounced as [i] in these contexts as well. For instance, the noun *yamega* /jamega/ ‘yamega fish’ typically occurs with stress on its penultimate syllable. However, stress shift (see section 2.4.6) will sometimes result in stress falling on the vowel in the syllable preceding

/e/. When this occurs, the acceptability of nasal codas permits complete deletion of the /e/. While deletion is acceptable (i.e. [jámg]), it is also very common for /e/ to be pronounced as [i] (i.e. [jámiᵑga]).

Lastly, where deletion would result in an unacceptable phonotactic sequence (see section 2.3), /e/ is pronounced as [i]. An example of this can be seen with the plural form of the noun *yipeta* /jipeta/ [jipéta] ‘yipeta vine’, which selects for the *-(e)gVl* plural suffix (see section 5.4.2.1). Since /pt/ is not an acceptable cluster or coda onset sequence, the plural form of this noun is pronounced as [jipitáᵑgil] with /e/ pronounced as [i].

The pronunciation of /e/ is slightly more complex in final open syllables and is dependent in part on the final syllable onset consonant. As might be expected given the distribution of the allophone [ɛ] in stressed open syllables, the pronunciation of /e/ also depends on whether the word takes the default penultimate stress pattern (see section 2.4.1) or an alternate stress pattern which places stress on the final syllable (see sections 2.4.2 and 2.4.3).

When /e/ occurs in a final open syllable, it can be pronounced as [ɛ] or [i] if it has a sonorant onset. The two allophones occur in free variation, with slower enunciated speech typically showing the [ɛ] variant and faster speech showing the reduced variant. This can be seen in the pronunciation of nouns like *hame* /uame/ ‘creek’, *hane* /uane/ ‘hane snake’, *hare* /uare/ ‘leaf’, *male* /male/ ‘also’, and *maye* /maje/ ‘cassava’. Each of these words can be pronounced with a word-final [ɛ] or [i].

When /e/ occurs in a final open syllable with an obstruent onset, /e/ is pronounced as [i]. Examples like *nati* /nate/ [nati] ‘coconut’ and *mawasi* /mawase/ [mawasi] ‘star’ demonstrate the pronunciation of /e/ as [i] in this context. When plural suffixes (see section 5.4.2) are added to these nouns which result in the /e/ being located in a stressed open syllable, the /e/ is pronounced as [ɛ] (e.g. [natéᵑgal], [mawaséᵑgal]). Examples demonstrating each of these rules are provided in Table 2.12. The first two columns give the meaning and the Yeri phonemic transcription of the root. The remaining four columns give phonetic transcriptions to illustrate how the pronunciation of /e/ within a word shifts depending on which environment it occurs in. For some words, additional morphemes have been added to illustrate a different environment and the resulting change in pronunciation (e.g. the singular allomorph *-eti* (see section 5.4.2.5) and the plural allomorph *-gil* (see section 5.4.2.1)). Relevant instances of /e/ are underlined in the phonetic transcriptions, with the obvious exception of instances where /e/ was deleted.

Table 2.12: The pronunciation of /e/ in open syllables

| gloss          | root      | non-final open syllable         |                            | final open syllable |                          |
|----------------|-----------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|
|                |           | unstressed                      | stressed                   | sonorant _#         | obstruent _#             |
|                |           | deletion, [i]                   | [ɛ]                        | [ɛ] or [i]          | [i]                      |
| ‘creek’        | /ɰame/    |                                 |                            | [ɰámɛ], [ɰámɪ]      |                          |
| ‘leaf’         | /ɰare/    |                                 |                            | [ɰárɛ], [ɰári]      |                          |
| ‘coconut’      | /nate/    |                                 | [natɛ̃ <sup>ɰ</sup> gal]   |                     | [náti]                   |
| ‘star’         | /mawase/  |                                 | [mawasɛ̃ <sup>ɰ</sup> gal] |                     | [mawási]                 |
| ‘sugar glider’ | /mukela/  | [muklá <sup>ɰ</sup> gil]        | [mukɛ̃ <sup>ɰ</sup> la]    |                     |                          |
| ‘yamega fish’  | /jamega/  | [jámgá], [jámi <sup>ɰ</sup> ga] | [jamɛ̃ <sup>ɰ</sup> ga]    |                     |                          |
| ‘yipeta vine’  | /jipeta/  | [jipítá <sup>ɰ</sup> gil]       | [jipɛ̃ <sup>ɰ</sup> ta]    |                     |                          |
| ‘cross river’  | /arkekai/ | [árkíkái]                       |                            |                     |                          |
| ‘bamboo’       | /ɰeli/    | [ɰíliɛ̃ <sup>ɰ</sup> ti]        | [ɰíliɛ̃ <sup>ɰ</sup> ti]   |                     | [ɰíliɛ̃ <sup>ɰ</sup> ti] |

**Apparent ‘exceptions’** All apparent exceptions to these rules can be explained and are predictable when additional factors are taken into account. These factors are: (i) alternate stress patterns (see sections 2.4.2 and 2.4.3), (ii) morphophonological rules (see section 2.5.3), and (iii) specific restrictions regarding the pronunciation of /e/ with ideophones (see sections 2.4.4 and 3.4). The rules regarding the pronunciation of /e/ in these contexts can be summarized as follows.

- /e/ can be pronounced as [ɛ] or [i] in word-final open syllables in words which occur, optionally or otherwise, with word-final stress (e.g. *lobe* /lobe/ [lɔ<sup>m</sup>bɛ] or [lɔ<sup>m</sup>bɪ] ‘mushroom’, *hilpote* /ɰelpote/ [ɰílpɔ̃<sup>ɰ</sup>ɛ] or [ɰílpɔ̃<sup>ɰ</sup>ti] ‘hilpote tree’)
- /e/ can optionally be pronounced as [ɛ] when stress shift (see section 2.4.6) results in stress falling on the last syllable (e.g. *aroti* /arote/ [arótɪ] or [arótɛ] ‘cook in a leaf’)
- The irrealis vowel /e/ is always acceptably pronounced in its reduced form [i], though specific verbs optionally permit the irrealis vowel to be pronounced as [ɛ] in stressed open syllables (e.g. *alia* /alia/ ‘drop’ as [íliá] in the irrealis, *arwal* /arual/ ‘cry, weep’ as [éruál] or [írúál] in the irrealis).
- /e/ is always pronounced as [i] in closed syllables of ideophones (e.g. *dildil* /deldel/ [díldil] ‘shiver’).

There is a small class of words like *lobe* /lobe/ ‘mushroom’ and *hilpote* /ɰelpote/ ‘hilpote tree’ in which an /e/ can be pronounced as [ɛ] or [i] in an open final syllable with an obstruent onset. These are words which permit an alternate stress pattern (see sections 2.4.2 and 2.4.3). This alternate stress pattern results in stress falling on the final /e/. As is clear from the pronunciation of /e/ in open non-final syllables, stress is an important factor in

the pronunciation of /e/ as [ɛ]. Where stress can fall on a word-final /e/ the possibility of pronouncing the /e/ as [ɛ] remains, even when preceded by an obstruent.

For some of these words (e.g. *lobe* /lobe/ ‘mushroom’) the alternate stress pattern does not appear to be the predominant stress pattern. These words frequently occur with penultimate stress, and the final /e/ can be pronounced as [ɛ] or [i] regardless of which stress pattern occurs (e.g. [lɔ<sup>m</sup>bɛ], [lɔ<sup>m</sup>bi], or [lɔ<sup>m</sup>bɛ]). For other words like *hɪlpote* /ɥelpote/ ‘hɪlpote tree’, the alternate stress pattern is the predominant stress pattern that occurs on the word (e.g. [ɥílpɔtɛ]). Any instances of the word-final /e/ being pronounced in a reduced form for these words is due to stress shift (see section 2.4.6), which results in stress falling on another syllable.

Lastly, some words like *aroti* /arote/ ‘cook in a leaf’, which almost never show stress on a final /e/, can show this final /e/ being pronounced as [ɛ] when factors result in stress shifting off of the usual penultimate syllable and onto the final syllable. When this occurs, it is possible for the word-final /e/ to be pronounced as [ɛ] (e.g. [dán.rɔ.tɛ], see example (2.5) discussed later in this section). Examples of words which show a word-final /e/ being pronounced as [ɛ] are given in Table 2.13.

Table 2.13: The pronunciation of /e/ in obstruent\_# position

| gloss            | root      | final open syllable                        |                         |
|------------------|-----------|--------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
|                  |           | obstruent_#<br>unstressed                  | obstruent_#<br>stressed |
| ‘mushroom’       | /lobe/    | [lɔ <sup>m</sup> bi], [lɔ <sup>m</sup> bɛ] | [lɔ <sup>m</sup> bɛ]    |
| ‘hɪlpote tree’   | /ɥelpote/ | [ɥílpɔtɪ]                                  | [ɥílpɔtɛ]               |
| ‘cook in a leaf’ | /arote/   | [arótɪ]                                    | [dánrɔtɛ]               |

For information on the pronunciation of /e/ as an irrealis vowel, see section 2.5.3. The pronunciation of /e/ as [i] in closed syllables in ideophones is likely related to the realization of stress in reduplication which is briefly discussed in section 2.4.4. For now, I simply stipulate this pronunciation and leave more detailed investigation into stress and reduplication for future research.

**Alternations between [i] and [ɛ]** There are two contexts in particular where /e/ is almost always pronounced as [i]: (i) word-final open syllables following obstruents and (ii) word-final unstressed syllables closed by liquids. We find evidence, however, that these vowels are best analyzed as instances of /e/ when additional morphology or alternate stress patterns (see sections 2.4.2 and 2.4.3) places these vowels in contexts where /e/ is pronounced as [ɛ].

For example, nouns which are pronounced with a word-final [i] show this vowel being

pronounced as [ɛ] if additional morphology results in the vowel occurring in an open penultimate syllable. This is because the default stress rule in Yeri places primary stress on the penultimate syllable (see section 2.4.1) and /e/ is pronounced as [ɛ] in stressed open syllables. Examples are provided in Table 2.14 showing the pronunciation of /e/ as [i] or [ɛ] depending on whether it receives stress in an open syllable.

Table 2.14: The pronunciation of /e/ as [ɛ] or [i] depending on stress

| gloss           | phonemic | unstressed word-final |          | stressed open syllable |
|-----------------|----------|-----------------------|----------|------------------------|
|                 |          | phonetic              | morpheme | phonetic               |
| ‘star’          | /mawase/ | [mawasi]              | -gal     | [mawasɛ̃gal]           |
| ‘small knife’   | /malke/  | [malki]               | -gi      | [malkɛ̃gi]             |
| ‘lagi rat’      | /lage/   | [lãgi]               | -gal     | [lãgɛ̃gal]            |
| ‘walking stick’ | /tuake/  | [tuaki]               | -gal     | [tuakɛ̃gal]            |
| ‘deep water’    | /walte/  | [walti]               | -gal     | [waltɛ̃gal]            |
| ‘afternoon’     | /malade/ | [malãdi]             | -ma      | [malãdɛ̃ma]           |

Where additional morphology does not place /e/ in a stressed open syllable, it is pronounced [i]. For instance, while *nati* /nate/ ‘coconut’ is pronounced as [na.tɛ̃gal] when it occurs with *-gal*, it is pronounced as [nati] when it occurs with the plural suffix *-l*. Similarly, *lagi* /lage/ ‘lagi rat’ is pronounced as [lãgɛ̃gal] with the plural suffix *-gal*, but as [lãgi.ɯɛ̃gal] when it occurs with the plural suffix *-hegal*.<sup>7</sup>

Finally, although this alternation between [i] and [ɛ] is particularly common when additional morphemes result in a word-final /e/ occurring in a stressed open syllable, the alternation occurs in other contexts as well. For instance, words which usually show penultimate stress can show word-final stress when morphology results in the antepenultimate syllable being heavier than usual (see section 2.4.2). In these contexts, stress can occur on what is in most other contexts an unstressed /e/. This stress can optionally result in the vowel being pronounced as [ɛ] rather than [i].

For example, when a verb like *aroti* /arote/ ‘cook in a leaf’ occurs with object infixes the antepenultimate syllable may have a coda consonant or a diphthong that it does not usually have.<sup>8</sup> In these contexts, it can optionally show stress on the final syllable as with the verb *aroti* /arote/ ‘cook in a leaf’ in example (2.5), where it is pronounced as [danrɔtɛ̃]. As expected, this shift in stress can optionally result in contexts where /e/ is pronounced as [ɛ]. That this pronunciation as [ɛ] is optional can be seen in example (2.6), where the word-final /e/ is pronounced as [i] in [beimrɔti]. An additional phonetic transcription line is

<sup>7</sup>Many nouns can be acceptably pluralized with more than one plural suffix. See section 5.4.2.15 for information.

<sup>8</sup>In example (2.5), the /e/ in the third person singular masculine infix *-ne-* is deleted. This results in the /n/ from the infix being syllabified as a coda (i.e. [dan.rɔ.tɛ̃]).

included above the regular orthography transcription line in these examples to more clearly demonstrate the pronunciation of /e/ in this context.

- (2.5) ti danrɔtɛ nanula wilɔpɛn wi<sup>n</sup>di.  
 te-i Ø-d-a<ne>rote nanu-la w-Ø=lope-n w-Ø=de-i.  
 3-PL 3PL-REFL-cook.in.leaf.R<SG.M> fish-SG REL-SG=big-SG.M REL-SG=3-PL  
 ‘They cooked their big fish themselves.’ (140409-161:223.458) GJ+GE-[danerote],  
 JS

- (2.6) mimi wiɥɛm beimrɔti ɥuri  
 mimi w-Ø=hem b-a<i><me>roti hur-i  
 mother REL-SG.F=1SG 1SG-cook.in.leaf.R<PL><IPFV> sago.flour-PL  
 wi<sup>m</sup>bamia.  
 w-b-a<me>ya.  
 3SG.F-1SG-give.R<IPFV>  
 ‘My mother will cook sago flour and give me (it).’ (120601-012:195.530) RNS, YW

Finally, when /e/ occurs in an unstressed final syllable closed by /l/, the vowel is pronounced as [i]. However, when stress shift (see section 2.4.6) results in stress occurring on this syllable, the vowel can be pronounced as [ɛ]. An example is provided in (2.7), where the verb *ohorkil* /oɥɔrkɛl/ ‘flee’ is pronounced with an [ɛ] in the final syllable only when the final syllable is stressed. This shift in pronunciation is illustrated on the additional phonetic transcription line preceding the usual orthography transcription line.

- (2.7) ɥɛm matia wuɛl la niwɔɥɔrkɛl laɥa<sup>m</sup>bi.  
 hem m-atia wual la n-w-ohorkil lahabi.  
 1SG 1SG-see.R pig PST 3SG.M-1PL-flee.R yesterday  
 ‘I saw the pig that ran away from us yesterday.’ (140408-206:987.535) DE, JS

**Assimilation of /e/** Lastly, it is also not uncommon for /e/ to show optional assimilation when adjacent to specific phonemes. For instance, /e/ can optionally be pronounced as [i] when adjacent to the front high vowel /i/ and can optionally be pronounced as [u] when adjacent to the back high vowel /u/. This assimilated pronunciation is more frequent in faster, less enunciated speech, and is less common in slower, more enunciated speech.

Examples (2.8)-(2.11) demonstrate the optionality of this assimilatory process. The /e/ in *hewi* /ɥewi/ ‘lime’ is pronounced as /e/ in (2.8), but /u/ in (2.9).<sup>9</sup> Parallel to this, the /e/ of *heya* /ɥeja/ ‘bilum’ is pronounced as /e/ in (2.10), but /i/ in (2.11). The common pronunciation of the second person pronoun *ye* /je/ ‘you (sg)’ as [ji], also seen in (2.11), is due to this optional assimilation process.

<sup>9</sup>Note the pronunciation of /e/ as [i] in example (2.8), where /e/ occurs following the front high vowel and preceding the back high vowel in *yewalti* ‘seed’.

- (2.8) ta natrɛ                      nɪ<sup>m</sup>bɛl jiwɛlti ɔtu  
 ta n-atr-e-∅                      nebal yewal-ti yot-u-∅  
 FUT 2SG-see.R-AUG-SG.F tree eye-SG DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 nama<sup>n</sup>da                      ʉɛwi.  
 n-a<ma>da-∅                      hewi.  
 3SG.M-be.like.R<IPFV>-SG.F lime  
 ‘You will see that the cocoa there is like lime.’ (120608-002:212.558) RNS, JS

- (2.9) ta ʉuwi ʉuwi amɔtiwa.  
 ta hewi hewi ∅-a<m>oti-wa-∅.  
 FUT lime lime 3PL-hold.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘The stuff that is the color of lime will grow on it.’ (120608-002:288.610) RNS, JS

- (2.10) tɛ      puju ʉirka malmal      wɔr              ʉɛja.  
 te-∅,      puyu hirka malmal      w-or              heya.  
 3-SG.F rock new how.many 3SG.F-lie.R bilum  
 ‘She has how much money in the bilum?’ (140417-007:1400.471) DE, JS

- (2.11) ji      nɔki              ʉija ʉija nɔtiwa.  
 ye n-oki              heya heya n-oti-wa-∅.  
 2SG 2SG-use.R bilum bilum 2SG-hold.R-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘You use bilums to carry it.’ (120608-002:184.407) RNS, JS

It is also possible for /e/ to optionally be pronounced as [u] when adjacent to a bilabial consonant. This pronunciation can be seen in example (2.12), where the /e/ in *arketal* /arketal/ ‘split’ is pronounced as [u] when immediately preceded by the imperfective infix *-m-*.<sup>10</sup>

- (2.12) ta ʉɔrmia              si      wan narmutal              ŋa              siwɛi ta  
 ta h-ormia              si      wan n-ar<m>ketal              ŋa-∅              siwɛi ta  
 FUT 1PL-stay.R.IPFV again heart 3SG.M-split.R<IPFV> one-SG.F again FUT  
 si      ʉinɔmɛ<sup>m</sup>bia.  
 si      h-no<me>bia.  
 again 1PL-talk.R<IPFV>  
 ‘We will sit and again think about the other one and we will talk again.’ (120520-000:642.255) RNS, TW

**Representing the vowel /e/ in the orthography** Although the rules regarding the pronunciation of /e/ as [ɛ] or [i] are simple and logical given the vowel reduction/deletion explanation for the current distribution, the number of relevant parameters that must be

<sup>10</sup>Velar phonemes are deleted when immediately preceded by the imperfective or additive allomorphs *-m-* or *-p* (see section 8.4.1.2).



taken into account for each instance of the vowel and the additional morphophonological and alternate stress rules which obscure the general pattern would make it difficult for a reader to quickly determine the correct pronunciation of the phoneme if all instances of the phoneme were represented as /e/. For this reason, I have chosen to distinguish these two allophones of /e/ in the orthography and in the glossed examples throughout the rest of the grammar.<sup>11</sup>

Given that all examples are linked to archived recordings, this has the additional benefit of avoiding reader confusion between the pronunciation of words in recordings and the underlying representation. The choice to represent these two allophones with distinct symbols in the orthography has several other benefits. The most obvious of these is related to stress in Yeri since the pronunciation of /e/ is dependent on stress. Although I present some information regarding the stress system in the language and some of the alternate stress patterns that can occur in the language (see section 2.4), there is much more research to be done into Yeri stress, lexical and sentential. For this reason, while I present some patterns that can indicate that a word might occur with an alternate stress pattern, stress cannot be assumed to be completely predictable at the moment, though additional research may one day allow for predictability. Since, for reasons of time, the abridged dictionaries included after the grammar do not mark which words occur (optionally or otherwise) with these alternate stress patterns, the only way for the reader to determine how to pronounce any instances of /e/ in these words is for the [ɛ] and [i] allophones themselves to be represented orthographically.

By representing the [ɛ] and [i] allophones in the orthography, the acceptability of an irregular stress pattern can be extrapolated from the abridged dictionary for words which contain the vowel /e/ on the basis of whether it is written as <e> or <i>. Where <e> is written in a non-final open syllable, primary stress can be assumed to occur on this vowel (e.g. *mukela* /mukela/ [mukéla] ‘sugar glider’). Where <i> is written in an open syllable, primary stress can be assumed not to occur on the vowel (e.g. *hiliēti* /ɰeliēte/ [ɰiliéti] ‘bamboo’). Where <e> is written in a final open syllable with an obstruent onset (e.g. *hīlpote* /ɰelpote/ [ɰílpɔté] ‘hīlpote tree’) or in a final syllable closed by a liquid (e.g. *wanel* /wanel/ [wanél] ‘wanel banana’), the word can be assumed to at least optionally permit word-final stress.<sup>12</sup> By representing the allophones [ɛ] and [i] in the orthography, the reader can tell from the spelling that words like *pine* /pene/ [piné] ‘wing’, *pikel* /pekel/ [pikél] ‘post’, and *pirmite* /permete/ [pirmité] ‘a light gray lizard’ occur with alternate stress patterns that place stress on the final syllable.

<sup>11</sup>Note that I do not represent the pronunciation of /e/ as [i] or [u] due to assimilation in the orthography.

<sup>12</sup>Note that where /e/ is only rarely pronounced as [ɛ] for reasons of unusual stress shift (see section 2.4.6), vowels are always written as <i> (e.g. *aroti* /arote/ ‘cook in a leaf’ as [aróti] usually but [danrɔté] in example (2.5) or *ohorkil* /ouɰorkel/ as [ɔɰɔrkil] usually but [niwɔɰɔrkél] in example (2.7)).

### 2.1.2.2 High vowels

The high vowels /u/ and /i/ appear best analyzed as having two allophones each: (i) a vowel pronunciation and (ii) a glide pronunciation. In other words, /i/ has the two allophones [i] and [j], and /u/ has the two allophones [u] and [w].<sup>13</sup> Which allophone occurs is predictable based on the phonological environment it occurs in, and when additional morphemes occur, the environment can change and result in the occurrence of a different allophone.

Throughout the grammar, I may place either the vowel or the consonant symbol in slashes (e.g. using /w/ or /u/ to refer to the back high vowel) when referring to these phonemes. I may also refer to /i/ as (i) the front high vowel, or (ii) the palatal glide, and refer to /u/ as (i) the back high vowel, or (ii) the labiovelar glide in text. Lastly, the back high vowel is represented by the orthographic symbols <u> or <w>, while the front high vowel is represented by the orthographic symbols <i> or <y>, as selected by speakers. I only use the symbol ‘j’ in phonetic or phonemic transcriptions when the glide allophone occurs. A description of when the vowel symbol and when the consonant symbol is used to represent a high vowel in the Yeri orthography is presented at the end of this section. Regardless of how I represent a high vowel in the grammar though, my analysis should always be understood as Yeri having two high vowel phonemes /i/ and /u/ with each phoneme having a vowel allophone and a glide allophone, as shown in Figure 2.3.

<sup>13</sup>Additional evidence for the vowel pronunciation and the glide pronunciation as belonging to the same phoneme can be found in native speaker untrained spellings which can vary in whether the vowel or consonant symbol is used. (e.g. *howi* and *houi* used to write *Howi* ‘Howi hamlet’ or *yapunda* and *iapunda* used to refer to *Yapuda* ‘Yapunda village’. Images of the vowel spelling for these words can be seen in Figure 2.1 for *Howi* and Figure 2.2 for *Yapuda*, both of which come from native speaker untrained writing.

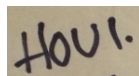


Figure 2.1: Labels on a map drawn of the village UWL, JS



Figure 2.2: Sign on the Yapunda fermentry UWL, JS

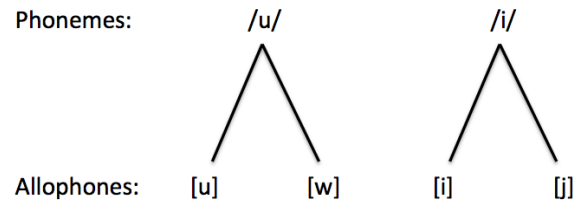


Figure 2.3: The high vowel phonemes

In all but one context, the front and back high vowels (/i/ and /u/) show parallel allophonic distributions.<sup>14</sup> I therefore present an overview of how high vowels in general are pronounced in different contexts, and indicate two exceptions to these rules immediately afterwards. Each exception involves the pronunciation of high vowel argument prefixes. Note that because both high vowels show the same general allophonic distribution, examples with either /i/ or /u/ are provided for illustration and are indicative of the pronunciation of both /i/ and /u/ in a particular context.

The allophonic distribution for high vowels can be understood as follows, with the relevant phonological environment provided first, which allophone occurs second, and an illustrative example third:

**C\_#:** High vowels are pronounced as vowels.

(e.g. *darku* /darku/ [darku] ‘run’)

**#\_#:** High vowels are pronounced as vowels.

(e.g. *i* /i/ [i] ‘eh’)

**#\_C:** High vowels are pronounced as vowels.

(e.g. *iki* /iki/ [iki] ‘precede (irrealis)’)

**C\_C:** High vowels are pronounced as vowels.

(e.g. *moniketa* /moniketa/ [mɔnikɛta] ‘water snake’)

**V\_V:** High vowels are pronounced as glides.

(e.g. *lolewa* /lolewa/ [lɔləwa] ‘thing’)

**#\_V:** High vowels are pronounced as glides.

(e.g. *yo* /jo/ [jɔ] ‘path’)

**C\_V:** High vowels are pronounced as on-glides.

(e.g. *pucti* /puete/ [puɛti] ‘betel nut’)

<sup>14</sup>A front high vowel argument prefix is usually pronounced as a vowel when it occurs between two consonants, while a back high vowel argument prefix is pronounced as a glide in this context.

**V\_#:** High vowels are pronounced as off-glides.

(e.g. *malmilou* /malmelou/ [malmilɔu] ‘malmilou lizard’)

**V\_C:** High vowels are pronounced as off-glides.

(e.g. *haiketa* /ɰaiketa/ [ɰaiketa] ‘white cockatoo, white’)

**Exception for #\_C:** Morphemes which consist of a single high vowel are pronounced as glides, including argument prefixes and the relational clitic.

(e.g. *ynobia* /jnobia/ [jinɔ<sup>m</sup>bia] ‘you (pl) spoke’, *wnobia* /wnobia/ [winɔ<sup>m</sup>bia] ‘she spoke’, and *whem* /wɰem/ [wiɰem])

**Exception for C\_C:** Back high vowel argument prefixes are pronounced as glides.

(e.g. *mwnobia* /mwnobia/ [miwinɔ<sup>m</sup>bia] ‘I spoke to you’)

**Exception for #\_V:** High vowels are pronounced as on-glides when they function as part of a realis or irrealis VV sequence.

(e.g. *ieki* /ieki/ [iɛki] ‘precede’)

That high vowels argument prefixes are pronounced as glides even when they precede a consonant is likely related to the fact that all other argument prefixes are single consonant phonemes (see section 7.3). It is possible that the high vowels in this context are pronounced as consonants on analogy with the other argument prefixes. Along the same lines, when the back high vowel argument prefix occurs between two consonants, it is also exceptionally pronounced as a glide. However, the front high vowel argument prefix is usually, though not always, pronounced as a vowel in this context, as is the default pronunciation for high vowels between contexts.

### Representing the high vowels in the orthography and in the rest of the grammar

Both the consonant symbol and the corresponding vowel symbol are used in representing high vowels in the orthography. Note that I use the consonant symbol ‘y’ to express the the front high vowel rather than ‘j’.<sup>15</sup> The use of symbols is almost completely parallel to the choice of allophone in each context, with a few simplifications and exceptions to regularize spelling. High vowels are spelled with the vowel symbol when they occur in these environments: (i) C\_#, (ii) #\_#, (iii) #\_C, (iv) C\_C, (v) C\_V, (vi) V\_#, and (vii) V\_C. High vowels are spelled with a consonant symbol when they occur in these environments: (i) V\_V, and (ii) #\_V.

There are three important exceptions to these spelling generalizations. One involves the spelling of argument prefixes and the relational clitic. Argument prefixes are almost always

<sup>15</sup>The decision to use <y> was based on speaker preference.

pronounced as glides, with the exception of the front high vowel argument prefix between consonants. For simplicity, all argument prefixes are spelled with the consonant symbol. Parallel to this, the relational clitic is pronounced as a glide and is represented with the consonant symbol.

The second exception involves the spelling of high vowels in verbs like *aya* /aja/ [aja] ‘give’. High vowels are always spelled according to the bare form of the verb. In this example, the high vowel is pronounced as a glide in this form of the verb and is therefore written with the consonant symbol regardless of what other morphemes may occur on the verb and change the environment of the high vowel. For example, when additional infixes occur on the verb, this may result in a shift in the high vowel’s pronunciation. For instance, an /e/ can optionally be deleted in the imperfective infix so that *-me-* can be pronounced as [me] or [m]. When this infix occurs with the verb *aya*, the high vowel may be pronounced as a glide when /e/ is not deleted (i.e. [ameja]) or as an on-glide when /e/ is deleted (i.e. [amia]). Regardless of whether the vowel is deleted, I represent the high vowel with the consonant symbol to regularize the spelling of the verb (i.e. *ameya* or *amya* depending on deletion of the /e/).

The third exception involves the spelling of words which end in sequences of a vowel followed by a high vowel (e.g. *sakirou* ‘sakirou spear’). When these words occur with additional morphemes that would result in the high vowel being pronounced as a glide, I continue to use the vowel symbol to spell these words (e.g. *sakirouegal* ‘sakirou spear (pl)’). This was also done to regularize the spelling of these words.

### 2.1.2.3 Evidence for vowel contrast

Minimal and near-minimal pairs demonstrating the contrast between each pair of vowel phonemes in word-final position are presented in Table 2.15. For clarity, orthographic, phonemic and, phonetic representations are provided for each pair. Furthermore, since the vowel /e/ can be pronounced as either [ɛ] or [i] word-finally depending on stress and the preceding consonant (see section 2.1.2.1), examples are provided demonstrating the vowel /e/ contrasting with the other four vowels in both its [ɛ] pronunciation and its [i] pronunciation.

Table 2.15: Minimal and near-minimal pairs to illustrate vowel contrasts in \_# position

|         | written | phonemic  | phonetic              | gloss          | written | phonemic  | phonetic              | gloss               |
|---------|---------|-----------|-----------------------|----------------|---------|-----------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| i vs. ε | nobi    | /nobi/    | [nɔ <sup>m</sup> bi]  | ‘tree wallaby’ | nobi    | /nobe/    | [nɔ <sup>m</sup> bɪ]  | ‘nobi fish’         |
| i vs. ε | nobi    | /nobi/    | [nɔ <sup>m</sup> bi]  | ‘tree wallaby’ | lobe    | /lobe/    | [lɔ <sup>m</sup> bɛ]  | ‘mushroom’          |
| i vs. u | tabi    | /tabi/    | [ta <sup>m</sup> bi]  | ‘mouth’        | tabu    | /tabu/    | [ta <sup>m</sup> bu]  | ‘shoulder’          |
| i vs. a | ti      | /ti/      | [ti]                  | ‘they’         | ta      | /ta/      | [ta]                  | ‘future tense’      |
| i vs. ɔ | hewi    | /uɣewi/   | [uɣɛwi]               | ‘lime’         | hewo    | /uɣewo/   | [uɣɛwɔ]               | ‘bottom’            |
| u vs. ε | watu    | /watu/    | [watu]                | ‘watu taro’    | nati    | /nate/    | [natɪ]                | ‘coconut’           |
| u vs. ε | halu    | /uɣalu/   | [uɣalu]               | ‘halu tree’    | hale    | /uɣale/   | [uɣalɛ]               | ‘land’              |
| u vs. ɔ | anu     | /anu/     | [anu]                 | ‘smell’        | ano     | /ano/     | [anɔ]                 | ‘push’              |
| u vs. a | hubu    | /uɣubu/   | [uɣu <sup>m</sup> bu] | ‘knee’         | huba    | /uɣuba/   | [uɣu <sup>m</sup> ba] | ‘hawk’              |
| ε vs. ɔ | ki      | /ke/      | [kɪ]                  | ‘already’      | ko      | /ko/      | [kɔ]                  | ‘still, yet, first’ |
| ε vs. ɔ | ye      | /je/      | [jɛ]                  | ‘you (sg)’     | yo      | /jo/      | [jɔ]                  | ‘path’              |
| ε vs. a | te      | /te/      | [tɛ]                  | ‘third person’ | ta      | /ta/      | [ta]                  | ‘future tense’      |
| ε vs. a | hiloki  | /uɣeloke/ | [uɣɪlɔki]             | ‘taro’         | hiloka  | /uɣeloka/ | [uɣɪlɔka]             | ‘pincher’           |
| ɔ vs. a | ano     | /ano/     | [anɔ]                 | ‘push’         | ana     | /ana/     | [ana]                 | ‘come’              |

#### 2.1.2.4 Neutralization of vowel contrasts

Open syllables in Yeri permit the occurrence of all monophthong vowels, as demonstrated in Table 2.16. Examples are provided showing each vowel in a first, second, or third syllable.

Table 2.16: Vowels in open syllables

| vowel | syllable | written | phonemic  | phonetic                  | gloss                     |
|-------|----------|---------|-----------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| a     | 1        | pareki  | /pareke/  | [pa.rɛ.kɪ]                | ‘ant’                     |
|       | 2        | gakaria | /gakaria/ | [ga.ká.ria]               | ‘look everywhere’         |
|       | 3        | nanula  | /nanula/  | [na.nú.la]                | ‘fish’                    |
| ε     | 1        | tinabo  | /tenabo/  | [ti.ná. <sup>m</sup> bɔ]  | ‘traditional men’s house’ |
|       | 2        | awera   | /awera/   | [a.wɛ.ra]                 | ‘lie flat’                |
|       | 3        | taguane | /taguane/ | [tá. <sup>ɳ</sup> gua.nɛ] | ‘taguane tree’            |
| u     | 1        | mukela  | /mukela/  | [mu.kɛ.la]                | ‘sugar glider’            |
|       | 2        | sirupia | /serupia/ | [si.rú.pia]               | ‘rash’                    |
|       | 3        | kirapu  | /kerapu/  | [kɪ.rá.pu]                | ‘kirapu sago’             |
| ɔ     | 1        | lobehi  | /lobeuɪ/  | [lɔ. <sup>m</sup> bɛ.hɪ]  | ‘rib, side’               |
|       | 2        | aroti   | /arote/   | [a.ró.tɪ]                 | ‘cook in a leaf’          |
|       | 3        | nihewo  | /niɣewo/  | [ni.uɣ.wɔ]                | ‘smoke’                   |
| i     | 1        | yipeta  | /jipeta/  | [ji.pɛ.ta]                | ‘yipeta vine’             |
|       | 2        | turkina | /turkina/ | [túr.ki.na]               | ‘ice’                     |
|       | 3        | tumani  | /tumani/  | [tu.má.ni]                | ‘building’                |

In unstressed or closed syllables however, not all monophthong vowels contrast. In particular, the contrast between /e/ and /i/ and the contrast between /e/ and /a/ is neutralized in certain contexts.

**/e/ and /i/** The vowels /e/ and /i/ are neutralized in all non-final syllables closed by /l/. This neutralization is easiest to see by comparing nouns with word-final open syllables to their corresponding plural form since some plural allomorphs provide a final /l/ coda consonant and add a syllable. For instance, the noun *heya misi* /ʉɛja misi/ ‘old bilum’ suffixes *-l-gal* (see section 5.4.2.13) to create the plural form *heya misilgal* /ʉɛja misilgal/ [ʉɛja misilgal] ‘old bilums’. In this context, /i/ is pronounced as [i] in a stressed non-final syllable closed by /l/. When this is compared to *yirkuarki* /jirkuarke/ ‘sandfly’ and one of its possible plural forms *yirkuarkilgal* /jirkuarkegal/ [jirkuarkegal], neutralization between /i/ and /e/ can be seen in this context. This is because /e/ is pronounced as [i] in all non-final closed syllables (see section 2.1.2.1) and /i/ is pronounced as [i] in all non-final syllables closed by /l/. Final stressed syllables closed by /l/ do not show neutralization of /e/ and /i/ because /e/ is pronounced as [ɛ] in this context (see section 2.1.2.1).

**/e/ and /a/** The neutralization of the contrast between /e/ and /a/ in syllables closed by /l/ is slightly more complex and varies depending on stress and whether the vowels occur in final syllables or non-final syllables. In final stressed syllables closed by liquids, /e/ is pronounced as [ɛ] (e.g. *tagel* /tagel/ [tagél] ‘pandana meat’). In stressed syllables closed by /l/, /a/ can be pronounced as either [a] or [ɛ], with [ɛ] being the more common pronunciation (e.g. *yalmi hamei* /jalmi ʉamei/ [jálmiʉámɛi] or [jélmiháɛi] ‘grandparent, grandchild’). For this reason, when /a/ is pronounced as [ɛ] in a word-final stressed syllable, the contrast between /a/ and /e/ in this position is neutralized.

An example can be seen by comparing words like *nal* /nal/ ‘conch shell’ and *pikel* /pekel/ ‘post’. Both of these nouns select for a vowel-initial plural allomorph *-i* (see section 5.4.2.10). For this reason, the plural forms of these nouns demonstrate the two vowels contrasting in open stressed syllables: *nali* /nali/ [ná.li] and *pikeli* /pekeli/ [pi.ké.li]. In the singular however, the vowels occur in stressed final syllables closed by /l/ (i.e. *pikel* [pi.kél] and *nal* [nál] or [nél]). When the /a/ in *nal* is pronounced as [ɛ], the contrast between these two vowels is neutralized.

In unstressed syllables closed by /l/, the situation is different. First, /a/ is usually, though not always, pronounced as [ɛ] in unstressed syllables closed by /l/.<sup>16</sup> When nouns like *pala* /pala/ ‘branch’ occur with the plural suffix *-l* (see section 5.4.2.7), /a/ occurs in a closed unstressed syllable and is pronounced as [ɛ] (e.g. *palal* [pá.lɛl]). For this reason, one might expect neutralization of the contrast between /a/ and /e/ in unstressed syllables as well, especially given the neutralization of the two vowels in stressed final syllables closed by /l/. However, neutralization does not occur in this position due to the pronunciation of the

<sup>16</sup>While it is not obligatory for /a/ to be pronounced as [ɛ] in unstressed syllables closed by /l/, [ɛ] appears to be the more frequent pronunciation in this context.

vowel /e/ as [i] in unstressed closed syllables (see section 2.1.2.1). For example, when the noun *wanel* /wanel/ [wa.nél] ‘wanel banana’ occurs with the plural morpheme *-hegal* (see section 5.4.2.2), the plural form shows the /e/ being reduced to [i] in the unstressed closed syllable (i.e. [wa.níl.ʉ́é.ᵑgal]).

## 2.2 Yeri orthography

For quick reference, I include a list of all Yeri phonemes and their orthographic representations in Table 2.17. The orthography I use in this grammar is phonemic with the exception of the high vowels (/i/ and /u/) and the vowel /e/. The orthography represents allophones of these three phonemes for several reasons which are discussed in the sections corresponding to each phoneme, section 2.1.2.2 for high vowels and section 2.1.2.1 for /e/. For lexical items which are composed of reduplicated sequences, I represent the most frequent pronunciation. For instance, *bobua* ‘wild betel nut’ is composed of the reduplicated sequence /bua/ but the /ua/ in the reduplicant usually undergoes vowel coalescence (see section 2.4.8). Similarly, *girougerou* ‘gerougerou banana’ is composed of the reduplicated sequence /gerou/. However, the /e/ in the reduplicant is reduced to [i] (see section 2.4.7).

| Table 2.17: Orthographic representations |             |      |             |
|------------------------------------------|-------------|------|-------------|
| IPA                                      | orthography | IPA  | orthography |
| p                                        | p           | s    | s           |
| t                                        | t           | l    | l           |
| k                                        | k           | r    | r           |
| b, <sup>m</sup> b                        | b           | ʉ    | h           |
| d, <sup>n</sup> d                        | d           | w, u | w, u        |
| g, <sup>ᵑ</sup> g                        | g           | j, i | y, i        |
| m                                        | m           | ɛ, i | e, i        |
| n                                        | n           | ɔ    | o           |
| ŋ                                        | ŋ           | a    | a           |

I continue to provide both phonemic and phonetic transcriptions in section 2.4 to more clearly discuss issues related to stress and vowel reduction. However, for the remainder of the phonology chapter and the rest of the grammar, the orthographic transcription is the only transcription that will consistently be included.<sup>17</sup> Where discussion warrants it, I include additional phonetic or phonemic transcriptions for explanatory purposes. However, transcription can be assumed to be based on this orthography unless specifically indicated otherwise by words, slashes, or square brackets.

<sup>17</sup>Given discussion in the phonology chapter, a phonemic transcription is easily derived from this orthographic transcription.



## 2.3 Phonotactics

This section is devoted to presenting a description of phonotactic constraints in Yeri and detailing the composition of possible syllables.<sup>18</sup> I focus on consonants in section 2.3.1, including onset and coda consonants, while I focus on vowels, including VV sequences (sequences of two vowels), in section 2.3.2. Before turning to specific details regarding consonants and vowels though, I briefly outline acceptable syllable compositions here.

Yeri syllables do not require an onset consonant, a consonant which precedes the vowel in a syllable. It is, however, more common for a syllable to have an onset in the language. All phonemic consonants can act as consonant onsets. Complex onsets are less common and more restricted in terms of what consonants can co-occur. In summary, Yeri syllables can occur (i) without an onset, (ii) with a simple onset, and (iii) with a restricted set of complex onsets. Section 2.3.1.1 details permissible consonant onsets.

The remainder of the syllable can be composed of (i) a monophthong vowel, (ii) a monophthong vowel and a coda consonant, (iii) a VV sequence, (iv) a VV sequence and a coda consonant, or (v) a high vowel and a VV sequence.<sup>19</sup> The co-occurrence of a VV sequence and a coda consonant is infrequent and is briefly discussed in section 2.3.1.2 where I describe permissible coda consonants. Similarly, it is not common for a high vowel and a VV sequence to co-occur. This co-occurrence is briefly discussed in section 2.3.2, along with a description of permissible VV sequences. A summary of acceptable syllable compositions in Yeri is presented in Table 2.18. Optional elements of the syllable are indicated by parentheses, and possible elements that can occur in each part of the syllable are listed in each column.

Table 2.18: Composition of Yeri syllables

| (onset) | vowel(s)    | (coda) |
|---------|-------------|--------|
| none    | monophthong | none   |
| simple  | VV sequence | simple |
| complex |             |        |

### 2.3.1 Consonants

This section is devoted to a description of where specific consonants or sequences of consonants can occur in the syllable. In section 2.3.1.1, I discuss permissible onset consonants in Yeri, those consonants which can precede the vowel in a syllable, and in section 2.3.1.2 I discuss permissible coda consonants in Yeri, those consonants which can follow a vowel in a syllable.

<sup>18</sup>Evidence for syllable boundaries is based on a variety of evidence (e.g. evidence from allophonic distribution, stress patterns, natural pauses during slow enunciated speech).

<sup>19</sup>In fact, the last two possibilities are mostly restricted to ideophones or the irrealis form of irregular verbs (e.g. *dierpi* /dierpe/ [diérpi] ‘fight’ and *adewai* /adewai/ [á.ⁿduei] ‘chop them’).

### 2.3.1.1 Onset consonants

Onset consonants are not obligatory in Yeri, as demonstrated by words like *aga* ‘get’ or *or* ‘lie, sleep’. As is common cross-linguistically though, onset consonants are very common in the language. All phonemic consonants can occur as simple onsets in Yeri, as shown by examples in Section 2.3.1.1. Note that high vowels can also occur as simple onsets in their glide pronunciations. For each phoneme, the first example illustrates word-initial onsets, while the second example illustrates word-internal onsets. Syllable boundaries are represented by a period.

Table 2.19: Examples of simple onsets

|   | written | phonemic  | phonetic              | gloss               |
|---|---------|-----------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| p | palmian | /palmian/ | [pal.mian]            | ‘guria pigeon’      |
|   | apil    | /apel/    | [a.pil]               | ‘collect’           |
| t | tabi    | /tabi/    | [ta. <sup>m</sup> bi] | ‘mouth’             |
|   | hate    | /ɰate/    | [ɰa.tɛ]               | ‘cane’              |
| k | kua     | /kua/     | [kua]                 | ‘still, yet, first’ |
|   | lapaki  | /lapaki/  | [lapaki]              | ‘tongs’             |
| b | bumira  | /bumira/  | [bu.mi.ra]            | ‘bumira bird’       |
|   | lobe    | /lobe/    | [lɔ. <sup>m</sup> bɛ] | ‘mushroom’          |
| d | dalan   | /dalan/   | [da.lan]              | ‘dalan lizard’      |
|   | ada     | /ada/     | [a. <sup>n</sup> da]  | ‘chop’              |
| g | gakua   | /gakua/   | [ga.kua]              | ‘wash’              |
|   | aga     | /aga/     | [a. <sup>ŋ</sup> ga]  | ‘get’               |
| m | mani    | /mani/    | [ma.ni]               | ‘inside’            |
|   | hamei   | /ɰamei/   | [ɰa.mɛi]              | ‘people’            |
| n | nati    | /nate/    | [na.ti]               | ‘coconut’           |
|   | ana     | /ana/     | [a.na]                | ‘come’              |
| ŋ | ŋa      | /ŋa/      | [ŋa]                  | ‘one’               |
|   | nejo    | /nejo/    | [nɛ.ŋɔ]               | ‘son’               |
| s | sahal   | /sauɰal/  | [sa.ɰal]              | ‘bush knife’        |
|   | asor    | /asor/    | [a.sɔr]               | ‘rinse’             |

|   |         |           |                          |                         |
|---|---------|-----------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| w | weli    | /weli     | [wɛ.li]                  | ‘hot, painful’          |
|   | hawal   | /ɰawal/   | [ɰa.wal]                 | ‘feet’                  |
| j | yati    | /jate/    | [ja.ti]                  | ‘sago palm, sago jelly’ |
|   | kayubi  | /kajube/  | [ka.ju. <sup>m</sup> bi] | ‘loincloth’             |
| ɰ | hom     | /ɰom/     | [ɰɔm]                    | ‘sago dust’             |
|   | habaha  | /ɰabauɰa/ | [ɰa. <sup>m</sup> ba.ɰa] | ‘habaha stone’          |
| l | lahabi  | /lauɰabi/ | [la.ɰa. <sup>m</sup> bi] | ‘yesterday’             |
|   | yelu    | /jelu/    | [jɛ.lu]                  | ‘sugar cane’            |
| r | ririwɪl | /ririwel/ | [ri.ri.wɪl]              | ‘ririwɪl spear’         |
|   | ogera   | /ogera/   | [ɔ. <sup>ɰ</sup> gɛ.ra]  | ‘chase’                 |

Although /r/ can occur in onset position, it is almost nonexistent in word-initial position. Only three words in the corpus show word-initial /r/: *ririwɪl* /ririwel/ ‘ririwɪl spear’, *robal* /robal/ ‘robal tree’ and *ragusi* /ragusi/ ‘ragusi plant’. Additionally, most cases of the phoneme /ɲ/ as an onset consonant involve ideophones.<sup>20</sup> Outside of ideophones, /ɲ/ occurs in onset position in a very limited set of words including: (i) *ɲa* /ɲa/ ‘one’, (ii) *neɲo* /neɲo/ ‘son’, and (iii) *maɲa* /maɲa/ ‘what, who, which’.<sup>21</sup>

Yeri permits several complex clusters in onset position. Many of these clusters result due to the deletion of /e/ (see section 2.1.2.1 and section 2.4.7). Complex clusters composed of an obstruent first consonant (C1) followed by a liquid second consonant (C2) are particularly common. Examples are listed in Table 2.20. Cluster pronunciations are provided in the phonetic transcription and any deleted vowels are represented in the phonemic transcriptions. Glosses are provided in the second row beneath the transcriptions. Note that there are no examples in the corpus of complex onsets consisting of alveolar stops and /l/.

<sup>20</sup>Note that I am discussing the distribution of the phoneme /ɲ/ and this should not be confused with the phonetic sound [ɲ] which also occurs when the voiced velar plosive /g/ is prenasalized (i.e. [ɲg]). See section 2.1.1.1.

<sup>21</sup>Note that consultants describe *maɲa* /maɲa/ as a sequence of *mal* /mal/ ‘what, who, which’ and *ɲa* /ɲa/ ‘one’ (see section 12.3.2).

Table 2.20: Obstruent liquid sequences

| C1/C2 | l                       |             |               | r                                 |              |               |
|-------|-------------------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|---------------|
|       | written                 | phonemic    | phonetic      | written                           | phonemic     | phonetic      |
| p     | tipleikal<br>'lean-to'  | /tepleikal/ | [ti.plei.kal] | proti<br>'ash, grey'              | /prote/      | [prɔ.ti]      |
| t     | no examples             |             |               | daruotre<br>'step on'             | /darwotre/   | [dar.wɔ.trɛ]  |
| k     | tikleiga<br>'leaf stem' | /tekleiga/  | [ti.klei.ɰga] | kiruba<br>'kiruba bird'           | /keruba/     | [kru.mba]     |
| b     | blil<br>'appear'        | /blel/      | [blil]        | brilbral<br>'flop, argue'         | /brelbral/   | [bril.bral]   |
| d     | no examples             |             |               | drualdrua<br>'slip'               | /drualdrua/  | [drua.l.drua] |
| g     | niglola<br>'greens'     | /neglola/   | [ni.ɰglɔ.la]  | girougerou<br>'gerougerou banana' | /gerougerou/ | [grɔu.grɔu]   |
| s     | sleislei<br>'tiptoe'    | /sleislei/  | [slɛi.slɛi]   | sirupia<br>'rash'                 | /serupia/    | [sru.pia]     |

In addition to the more frequent clusters just described, Yeri also permits infrequent complex clusters which involve the alveolar fricative /s/ and a voiceless stop. This stop must be either /p/ or /k/ though, as sequences of /st/ are not found in the corpus. Furthermore, two infrequent clusters are composed of three consonants: /s/, /p/, and a liquid consonant (/l/ or /r/). Like obstruent liquid clusters, many of these clusters appear to be the result of the vowel reduction/deletion process described in section 2.4.7. Examples of these clusters are given in Table 2.21. Orthographic transcriptions are provided on the first row, phonemic transcriptions on the second row, phonetic transcriptions on the third row, and glosses on the fourth row. Note that cluster pronunciations are shown in the phonetic transcription on the third row, and any deleted vowels are given in the phonemic transcriptions on the second row.

Table 2.21: Clusters with /s/ and a voiceless obstruent

|          | spr        | spl                 | sp        | sk             | ps           |
|----------|------------|---------------------|-----------|----------------|--------------|
| written  | sipreina   | Splaga              | sipekil   | asikera        | psier        |
| phonemic | /sepreina/ | /seplaga/           | /sepekel/ | /asekera/      | /psier/      |
| phonetic | [sprɛi.na] | [splɑ.ŋga]          | [spɛ.kil] | [a.skɛ.ra]     | [psɛr]       |
| gloss    | 'litter'   | 'Sibilanga village' | 'little'  | 'carry at hip' | 'psier bird' |

Note that Yeri permits sequences of obstruent+high vowel+vowel, as shown in Table 2.22, where the high vowel is symbolized by HV. In this context the high vowel is pronounced as an on-glide (see section 2.1.2.2), and I mention these sequences here primarily to avoid their phonetic similarity with complex clusters in other languages from being overlooked. However,

I analyze the high vowel in these sequences as part of the nucleus of the syllable due to (a) its status as a vowel, and (b) evidence that sequences of high vowel+vowel show behavior parallel to monophthong vowels in the realization of realis and irrealis mood rather than onset+vowel sequences (see section 7.6). For this reason, most discussion regarding high vowel+vowel sequences is located in section 2.3.2 in the section focusing on vowel+vowel sequences.

Table 2.22: Obstruent high vowel sequences

| C1/HV | u                               |              |                 | i                             |            |                        |
|-------|---------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|------------|------------------------|
|       | written                         | phonemic     | phonetic        | written                       | phonemic   | phonetic               |
| p     | pueti<br>'betel nut'            | /puete/      | [puɛ.ti]        | piopio<br>'jump'              | /piopio/   | [piɔ.piɔ]              |
| t     | tuaki<br>'walking stick'        | /tuake/      | [tua.ki]        | tiawa<br>'short'              | /tiawa/    | [tia.wa]               |
| k     | kueikuei<br>'kueikuei frog'     | /kueikuei/   | [kuei.kuei]     | kierkier<br>'veranda, corner' | /kierkier/ | [kier.kier]            |
| b     | buerabuera<br>'bwerabwera bird' | /buerabuera/ | [buɛ.ra.buɛ.ra] | biarbiar<br>'river turtle'    | /biarbiar/ | [biar.biar]            |
| d     | duar<br>'duar tree'             | /duar/       | [duar]          | dieka<br>'circle, laze'       | /dieka/    | [diɛ.ka]               |
| g     | gilgual<br>'roll'               | /gulgual/    | [gul.gual]      | giekir<br>'bend'              | /gieker/   | [giɛ.kir]              |
| s     | suigan<br>'suigan bird'         | /suigan/     | [sui.gan]       | Siebu<br>'Siebu'              | /siebu/    | [siɛ. <sup>m</sup> bu] |

### 2.3.1.2 Coda consonants

Only sonorant consonants (/l, r, m, n/) occur in coda position. Examples illustrating the occurrence of sonorant consonants in coda position are provided in Table 2.23. For each sonorant consonant, the first two examples have word-final sonorant codas, while the third and fourth examples have word-internal sonorant codas. Syllable boundaries are represented by a period.

Table 2.23: Sonorant codas

|   | written   | phonemic    | phonetic                   | gloss            |
|---|-----------|-------------|----------------------------|------------------|
| l | nol       | /nol/       | [nɔl]                      | ‘bird’           |
|   | hawal     | /ɰawal/     | [ɰa.wal]                   | ‘feet’           |
|   | halma     | /ɰalma/     | [ɰal.ma]                   | ‘land’           |
|   | maltaɪ    | /maltaɪ/    | [mal.tai]                  | ‘maybe’          |
| r | wobir     | /wober/     | [wɔ. <sup>m</sup> bɪr]     | ‘roof’           |
|   | hur       | /ɰur/       | [ɰur]                      | ‘sago flour’     |
|   | pirkewial | /perkewial/ | [pɪr.kɛ.wial]              | ‘cucumber’       |
|   | tarkirou  | /tarkerou/  | [tar.ki.rɔu]               | ‘tarikrou bird’  |
| m | hom       | /ɰom/       | [ɰɔm]                      | ‘sago dust’      |
|   | hisiam    | /ɰesiam/    | [ɰi.siam]                  | ‘poinsetta’      |
|   | hamnagil  | /ɰamnagel/  | [ɰam.na. <sup>ɰ</sup> gil] | ‘bone’           |
|   | homnugii  | /ɰomnugi/   | [ɰɔm.nu. <sup>ɰ</sup> gi]  | ‘tulip tree’     |
| n | mulun     | /mulun/     | [mu.lun]                   | ‘hornet’         |
|   | neigran   | /neigran/   | [nei. <sup>ɰ</sup> gran]   | ‘a green parrot’ |
|   | wunmike   | /wunmeke/   | [wun.mi.kɛ]                | ‘wunmike cuscus’ |
|   | manmani   | /manmani/   | [man.ma.ni], [man.man.i]   | ‘necklace’       |

Although examples can be found with all sonorant consonants occurring in word-internal coda position, nasals are much less frequent codas than liquids within the word. For instance, very few nouns allow word-internal nasal codas and most of these involve reduplications (e.g. *manmani* /manmani/ ‘necklace’, *wunwun* /wunwun/ ‘wunwun rat’). Furthermore, although verbs permit nasal codas after the first syllable, these are morphemic, and involve either the third person singular masculine object morpheme (see section 7.3.3.1) or the imperfective morpheme (see section 8.4). Liquid codas, on the other hand, commonly occur in word-internal position. This is true of both nouns (e.g. *halma* /ɰalma/ ‘land’) and verbs (e.g. *dolbi* /dolbe/ ‘be hungry’). Finally, coda consonants can occur with VV sequences, though this is uncommon. The vast majority of examples where this occurs involve ideophones (e.g. *drualdruaal* /drualdruaal/ ‘slip’, *ɲirɲiar* /ɲiarɲiar/ ‘squeak’) or verb roots which have first syllable coda consonants and which select for the irrealis vowel /ie/ (see 7.6.1). For example *dorpi* /dorpe/ ‘fight’ selects for /ie/ as an irrealis vowel. For this reason, its irrealis form is *dierpi* /dierpe/. Note that, /ie/ as an irrealis vowel is infrequent and there are only a few verb roots with coda consonants in the first syllable that select it.

### 2.3.2 Vowels and VV sequences

In this section, I focus on the distribution of vowels within a syllable. All phonemic vowels in Yeri can function as the nucleus of a syllable alone (see Table 2.16 in section 2.1.2.4 for examples). However, it is also common for sequences of two vowels to occur in this context.

I refer to these vowel+vowel sequences as ‘VV sequences’, where V stands for vowel.<sup>22</sup>

There are eleven acceptable VV sequences in Yeri, all of which involve a high vowel, either the front high vowel or the back high vowel. I divide these sequences into two types: (i) those which begin with a high vowel and (ii) those which end with a high vowel. I refer to instances of a high vowel followed by a vowel as ‘HV+V sequences’ and instances of a vowel followed by a high vowel as ‘V+HV sequences’, where HV symbolizes a high vowel.

As described in section 2.1.2.2, high vowel phonemes in Yeri each have two allophones: a vowel and a corresponding glide. These two allophones alternate depending on phonological environment. Given this behavior, the high vowels in the VV sequences described in this section can be pronounced as glides or vowels depending on the environment the high vowel occurs in. A list of possible HV+V sequences in Yeri is provided in Table 2.24.

Table 2.24: High vowel+Vowel

| HV+V | written | phonemic  | phonetic                | gloss          |
|------|---------|-----------|-------------------------|----------------|
| ia   | hiari   | /ɰiari/   | [ɰia.ri]                | ‘waist’        |
| ua   | hapuaki | /ɰapuake/ | [ɰa.pua.ki]             | ‘hapuaki tree’ |
| ie   | hasieki | /ɰasieke/ | [ɰa.sie.ki]             | ‘fire’         |
| ue   | pueti   | /puete/   | [puɛ.ti]                | ‘betel nut’    |
| ui   | suigan  | /suigan/  | [sui. <sup>ɰ</sup> gan] | ‘suigan bird’  |
| io   | piopio  | /piopio/  | [piɔ.piɔ]               | ‘jump’         |

Regardless of pronunciation, however, there is some evidence that suggests high vowels in HV+V sequences may be best analyzed as part of the nucleus of the syllable, as might be expected of a vowel phoneme, rather than as part of the onset of the syllable. Specifically, HV+V sequences show some behavior distinct from that of an onset followed by a vowel and parallel to that of a single vowel in the realization of realis or irrealis mood (see section 7.6). While I analyze the high vowels in HV+V sequences as on-glides in the nucleus of the syllable based on this behavior, more research is needed to fully examine this issue.<sup>23</sup>

In addition to HV+V sequences, Yeri commonly shows V+HV sequences. Acceptable vowel+high vowel sequences in Yeri are listed in Table 2.25. Whether the high vowel in these VV sequences is analyzed as part of a complex nucleus or as a separate following onset is dependent on the structure of the rest of the word. There is evidence, however, that all possible V+HV sequences function as complex nuclei in at least some contexts. Furthermore, in the selection of several allomorphs (see section 2.5.6), the occurrence of a word-final V+HV sequence patterns with word-final closed syllables and some alternative stress patterns (see

<sup>22</sup>I refer to these as VV sequences rather than diphthongs because there is some evidence that VV sequences can also occur in contexts where the vowels are in distinct syllables.

<sup>23</sup>For instance, it is possible for high vowels to precede VV sequences, as is discussed at the end of this section. There is evidence that the high vowels that precede these VV sequences may be syllabified differently based on context.

section 2.4.2) suggest that high vowels which function as part of a complex nuclei may contribute to syllable weight in some contexts.<sup>24</sup>

Table 2.25: Vowel+High vowel

| V+HV | written | phonemic   | phonetic                  | gloss                   |
|------|---------|------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| ai   | haiketa | /ʔaiketa/  | [ʔai.kɛ.ta]               | ‘white cockatoo, white’ |
| ei   | neigal  | /neigal/   | [nɛi.ɳgal]                | ‘cuscus’                |
| ou   | hoharou | /ʔouʔarou/ | [ʔɔ.ʔa.rɔu]               | ‘bandicoot’             |
| oi   | wodomoi | /wodomoi/  | [wɔ. <sup>n</sup> dɔ.mɔi] | ‘wodomoi spear’         |
| au   | yaukela | /jaukela/  | [jau.kɛ.la]               | ‘light weight’          |

Lastly, it is possible for high vowels to precede VV sequences. This is uncommon but can be found in some examples of ideophones like *kueikuei* /kueikuei/ [kuei.kuei] ‘kueikuei frog’. Additionally, some cases of morphology also result in this sequence (e.g. when the plural suffix *-i* is attached to a word-final VV sequence *ade-wa-i* /adewai/ [a.<sup>n</sup>duɛi] ‘chop) them’). When this happens, the initial high vowel in a HV+VV sequence may be analyzed differently than the initial high vowel in an HV+V sequence.<sup>25</sup> More research into the syllabification of these high vowels is necessary to avoid presenting an overgeneralized picture, and I leave this issue for future research.

## 2.4 Stress, vowel reduction, and epenthesis

There is a default stress rule in Yeri which places primary stress on the penultimate syllable.<sup>26</sup> This stress rule is described in section 2.4.1. Although this is the most common location for primary stress to fall, it is not the only possible location. Section 2.4.2 describes an alternate stress pattern found in some trisyllabic words, while section 2.4.3 describes an uncommon stress pattern which places stress on the last syllable of specific disyllabic words.

The realization of stress in words which involve reduplication is briefly examined in section 2.4.4, and an overview of which morphemes are counted in the determination of primary lexical stress and which morphemes are not is presented in section 2.4.5. Section 2.4.6

<sup>24</sup>This is in opposition to HV+V sequences where there is evidence involving allomorph selection (see section 2.5.6) that the initial high vowel does not contribute to syllable weight.

<sup>25</sup>There is some suggestive evidence that there is an important distinction to be made here regarding whether a high vowel is syllabified as part of an onset or a nucleus in a particular context. For instance, the VV sequence /ai/ is pronounced as [ai] when it is formed across morpheme boundaries in word-final position preceded by a high vowel syllabified as a simple onset (e.g. *ori-wa-i* /oriwai/ [ɔ.ri.wai] ‘hold them’ where /u/ is syllabified as a simple onset; see section 2.5.4). However, this VV sequence is pronounced as [ɛi] when it is formed across morpheme boundaries in word-final position preceded by a high vowel not syllabified as a simple onset (e.g. *ania-i* /aniai/ [a.niɛi] ‘call them’ where /i/ is not a simple onset; see section 2.5.4).

<sup>26</sup>There is a great deal to be said regarding Yeri stress, vowel reduction, and epenthesis. While I have endeavored to be as thorough as possible throughout this section, much more research is necessary to fully understand the system.



illustrates a common process of stress shift when stress shifts off of the usual syllable due to additional morphology or the word's location in an utterance.

Where stress is located plays a role in the processes of vowel reduction/deletion and vowel coalescence in the language. These processes are the topics of sections 2.4.7 and 2.4.8 respectively. Finally, a process of vowel epenthesis is discussed in section 2.4.9.

### 2.4.1 Regular penultimate stress

Primary stress in Yeri generally falls on the penultimate syllable of a lexical item with secondary stress on alternate syllables preceding the main stress. Vowel length is the primary acoustic correlate to stress and stressed vowels are phonetically longer than their unstressed counterparts. This can be quickly seen by considering the duration of each vowel in trisyllabic words like *habaha* /ʉabauʉa/ [ʉa.<sup>m</sup>bá.ʉa] ‘habaha stone’.

Although all three vowels in the noun are the same vowel quality, the penultimate vowel has a noticeably longer duration than the vowels that occur in the antepenultimate or final syllables. Figure 2.4 illustrates the longer duration of the penultimate /a/ in the noun as compared to the /a/ in the first and last syllables. The duration in milliseconds is provided beneath each vowel.<sup>27</sup>

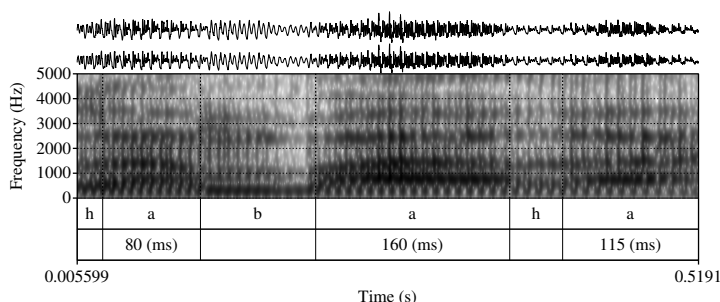


Figure 2.4: Penultimate stress in *habaha* ‘habaha stone’

Examples demonstrating this primary stress pattern are presented in the following tables, with disyllabic words shown in Table 2.26, trisyllabic words shown in Table 2.27, and quadrisyllabic words shown in Table 2.28.<sup>28</sup> Note that it is common for words to show penultimate stress even where non-penultimate syllables have a coda consonant (e.g. *sahal* /sauʉal/ [sá.ʉal] ‘bush knife’).

<sup>27</sup>The voiced bilabial plosive /b/ is prenasalized following vowels (see section 2.1.1.1) and <h> is the orthographic symbol for /ʉ/ (see section 2.1.1.4).

<sup>28</sup>For clarity, any affixes are indicated by hyphens in the written form. Note that the only affixes included are counted in the determination of primary lexical stress (see section 2.4.5).

Table 2.26: Penultimate stress in disyllabic words

| gloss          | written | phonemic  | phonetic               |
|----------------|---------|-----------|------------------------|
| ‘mouth’        | tabi    | /tabi/    | [tá. <sup>m</sup> bi]  |
| ‘language’     | wigal   | /wigal/   | [wí. <sup>ɰ</sup> gal] |
| ‘guria pigeon’ | palmian | /palmian/ | [pál.mian]             |
| ‘top’          | tupi    | /tupi/    | [tú.pi]                |
| ‘village’      | nogil   | /nogel/   | [nó. <sup>ɰ</sup> gil] |
| ‘see’          | atia    | /atia/    | [á.tia]                |
| ‘tree’         | nebal   | /nebal/   | [né. <sup>m</sup> bal] |
| ‘bush knife’   | sahal   | /sauqal/  | [sá.uqal]              |

Table 2.27: Penultimate stress in trisyllabic words

| gloss             | written     | phonemic     | phonetic                                  |
|-------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------------------------------------|
| ‘net’             | halasi      | /ʉalasi/     | [ʉa.lá.si]                                |
| ‘sandfly(pl)’     | yirkuarki-l | /jirkuarkel/ | [jir.kuár.kil]                            |
| ‘today’           | toyomial    | /tojomial/   | [tɔ.jó.miɛl]                              |
| ‘under’           | weisebia    | /weisebia/   | [wɛi.sé. <sup>m</sup> bia]                |
| ‘armpit’          | noglagia    | /noglagia/   | [no. <sup>ɰ</sup> glá. <sup>ɰ</sup> gial] |
| ‘tulip.tree (sg)’ | homnugi-l   | /ʉomnugel/   | [ʉɔm.nú. <sup>ɰ</sup> gil]                |

Table 2.28: Penultimate stress in quadrasyllabic words

| gloss                  | written      | phonemic      | phonetic                     |
|------------------------|--------------|---------------|------------------------------|
| ‘water snake’          | moniketa     | /moniketa/    | [mò.ni.ké.ta]                |
| ‘hoboyoria lizard’     | hoboyoria    | /ʉobojoia/    | [ʉò. <sup>m</sup> bɔ.jó.ria] |
| ‘pomaleka grasshopper’ | pomaleka     | /pomaleka/    | [pò.ma.lé.ka]                |
| ‘sarapiaka vine’       | sarapiaka    | /sarapiaka/   | [sà.ra.piá.ka]               |
| ‘chase away’           | opasewa      | /opasewa/     | [ò.pa.sé.wa]                 |
| ‘sakirou spear (pl)’   | sakirou-egal | /sakerouegal/ | [sàkrɔwɛ <sup>ɰ</sup> gal]   |
| ‘Yomalbiena path’      | Yomalbiena   | /jomalbiena/  | [jò.mɛl.bié.na]              |
| ‘caterpillar (pl)’     | sapuna-gil   | /sapunagel/   | [sà.pu.ná.gil]               |

Although primary lexical stress regularly falls on the penultimate syllable, not all affixes and clitics are counted in the determination of primary lexical stress. For this reason, I make a distinction between what I term stress-affecting forms, forms that count as part of a word in the determination of primary lexical stress, and stress-unaffected forms, forms that are not counted as part of a word in the determination of primary lexical stress. This differentiation is discussed in more detail in section 2.4.5. I note here only that I treat all prefixes, proclitics, and augment morphemes (see section 7.3.3.2) in Yeri as stress-unaffected forms.

## 2.4.2 Alternate stress patterns in trisyllabic words

Some words in Yeri do not occur with the default penultimate stress pattern (see section 2.4.1). Instead, these words display another stress pattern which places stress in trisyllabic words on the antepenultimate and the final syllable. While it is unclear whether primary stress is placed on the antepenultimate syllable or the final syllable, it is clear that sufficient stress occurs on the final syllable for /e/ to be pronounced as [ɛ] in words which show this stress pattern (e.g. *hɪlpote* /ʊɛlpote/ [ʊɪl.pɔ.tɛ] ‘hɪlpote tree’).

This alternate stress pattern is particularly common when: (i) the penultimate syllable is /i/ (e.g. *bumira* /bumira/ [búmirá] ‘bumira bird’), (ii) when the final syllable contains a V+HV sequence or a coda consonant (e.g. *malmilou* /malmelou/ [málmilóu] ‘malmilou lizard’), (iii) when the antepenultimate syllable is heavy and the final syllable has /e/ (e.g. *hɪlpote* /ʊɛlpote/ [ʊɪlpɔ.tɛ] ‘hɪlpote tree’), and (iv) when /e/ in a penultimate syllable occurs between an obstruent and a sonorant (e.g. *tarkirou* /tarkerou/ [tárkirou] ‘tarikrou bird’). The acceptability of this alternate stress pattern becomes more likely when words meet more than one of these patterns (e.g. *wolitai* /wolitai/ [wɔlitai] ‘small hut’ which has a penultimate /i/ and a heavy final syllable). Examples of nouns which show this exceptional stress pattern are provided in Table 2.29.

As expected, penultimate vowels which do not receive stress are often reduced or deleted (see section 2.4.7). The fourth context in particular, when /e/ occurs between an obstruent and a sonorant, is a common position for the reduction/deletion of /e/ when it does not receive stress (see section 2.1.2.1). For this reason, it is common for these words to show two pronunciations, one with this unusual stress pattern and the penultimate /e/ pronounced as [i] (e.g. [tárkiróu]) and another with the /e/ deleted and stress falling on the ‘new’ penultimate syllable (e.g. [tárkróu]), as shown in the table.

Table 2.29: An alternate stress pattern with trisyllabic words

| gloss                                                           | written  | phonemic   | phonetic                  |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|----------|------------|---------------------------|
| (i) penultimate /i/                                             |          |            |                           |
| ‘bumira bird’                                                   | bumira   | /bumira/   | [bú.mi.rá]                |
| ‘bird hut’                                                      | nanipe   | /nanipe/   | [ná.ni.pé]                |
| ‘croton’                                                        | hatipo   | /ʉatipo/   | [ʉá.ti.pó]                |
| ‘glass’                                                         | molipei  | /molipei/  | [mó.li.péi]               |
| ‘small hut’                                                     | wolitai  | /wolitai/  | [wó.li.tái]               |
| ‘design’                                                        | horikal  | /ʉorikal/  | [ʉó.ri.kál]               |
| (ii) final syllable has a coda consonant or a V+HV sequence     |          |            |                           |
| ‘malmilou lizard’                                               | malmilou | /malmelou/ | [mál.mi.lóu]              |
| ‘bandicoot’                                                     | hoharou  | /ʉouʉarou/ | [ʉó.ʉa.róu]               |
| ‘porotou tree’                                                  | porotou  | /porotou/  | [pó.rɔ.tóu]               |
| ‘karibei bird’                                                  | karibei  | /karebei/  | [ká.ri. <sup>m</sup> béi] |
| ‘legend’                                                        | pĩrsakai | /persakai/ | [pír.sa.kái]              |
| ‘halbunal lizard’                                               | halbunal | /ʉalɓunal/ | [ʉál.bu.nál]              |
| ‘malowen bird’                                                  | malowen  | /malowen/  | [má.lɔ.wén]               |
| (iii) heavy antepenultimate syllable and word-final /e/         |          |            |                           |
| ‘hĩlpote tree’                                                  | hĩlpote  | /ʉelpote/  | [ʉíl.pɔ.té]               |
| ‘a light gray lizard’                                           | pĩrmite  | /permete/  | [pír.mi.té]               |
| ‘walmine tree’                                                  | walmine  | /walmene/  | [wál.mi.né]               |
| ‘pĩrmore tree’                                                  | pĩrmore  | /permore/  | [pír.mɔ.ré]               |
| (iv) /e/ in penultimate syllable between obstruent and sonorant |          |            |                           |
| ‘tarĩkrou bird’                                                 | tarkirou | /tarkerou/ | [tár.ki.róu], [tár.krɔu]  |
| ‘yikiwou bird’                                                  | yikiwou  | /jikewou/  | [yí.ki.wóu], [yí.kuɔu]    |
| ‘wipĩla banana’                                                 | wipĩla   | /wipela/   | [wí.pĩ.lá], [wí.pla]      |
| ‘palpĩla tree’                                                  | palpĩla  | /palpela/  | [pál.pĩ.lá], [pál.plá]    |

### 2.4.3 Word-final stress in specific disyllabic words

A small class of disyllabic words in Yeri show variable stress assignment, either on the penultimate syllable or on the last syllable. Stress assignment can shift (see section 2.4.6) depending on various factors (e.g. nearby words, the location of the word in the utterances, speech rate). Many of the words which show this stress pattern have word-final codas or a word-final /e/. Examples are provided in Table 2.30.

Table 2.30: Variable stress assignment in specific disyllabic words

| gloss              | written | phonemic | penultimate stress<br>phonetic | final stress<br>phonetic |
|--------------------|---------|----------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| ‘descend’          | anor    | /anor/   | [ánɔr]                         | [anór]                   |
| ‘tree grub’        | hanol   | /ʉanol/  | [ʉánɔl]                        | [ʉanól]                  |
| ‘overripe coconut’ | haper   | /ʉaper/  | [ʉápɛr]                        | [ʉapér]                  |
| ‘plane tree’       | plane   | /plane/  | [piáne]                        | [piané]                  |
| ‘mushroom’         | lobe    | /lobe/   | [lóbɛ], [lóbɪ]                 | [lobé]                   |

Comparison with the closely related language Agi [iso 639-3 code: aif] suggests a likely historical explanation for this exceptional pattern. Agi cognates of words which show this variable stress pattern have a word-final /a/ that is lacking in the Yeri cognates. For example, consider Yeri [anór] ‘descend’ and the Agi cognate [anóra]. Like Yeri, Agi shows regular penultimate stress and cognates like *anóra* ‘descend’ fit the typical stress pattern. The loss of word-final /a/ in positions preceded by sonorants is a possible historical explanation for this uncommon stress pattern in Yeri.<sup>29</sup> Several Yeri words which show word-final stress and their Agi cognates, which were recorded while in the field, are presented in Table 2.31

Table 2.31: Irregular final stress with word-final codas

| gloss              | Yeri                 | Agi                    |
|--------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| ‘descend’          | [anór]               | [anóra]                |
| ‘tree grub’        | [ʉanól]              | [ʉanóla]               |
| ‘overripe coconut’ | [ʉapér]              | [ʉapára ]              |
| ‘plane tree’       | [piané]              | [bianára]              |
| ‘mushroom’         | [lɔ <sup>m</sup> bé] | [lɔ <sup>m</sup> bála] |

#### 2.4.4 Stress and reduplication

When words are composed of reduplicated elements in Yeri, stress often falls equally on the reduplicant and the base. Examples in Table 2.32 demonstrate this stress pattern.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup>These examples also provide evidence for a historical process of low vowel dissimilation in Yeri whereby sequences of aCa dissimilated to eCa. For more information on low vowel dissimilation, see Blust (1996), Lynch (2003), and Blevins (2009).

<sup>30</sup>For discussion on how this affects the pronunciation of /e/ in ideophones see sections 2.1.2.1 or 3.4.

Table 2.32: Equal stress on reduplicant and base

| gloss           | written   | phonemic    | phonetic                               |
|-----------------|-----------|-------------|----------------------------------------|
| ‘necklace’      | manmani   | /manmani/   | [mánmáni]                              |
| ‘pirupiru tree’ | pirupiru  | /pirupiru/  | [pírúpíru]                             |
| ‘mumu owl’      | mumu      | /mumu/      | [múmú]                                 |
| ‘slither’       | lulu      | /lulu/      | [lúlú]                                 |
| ‘shiver’        | dildil    | /deldel/    | [dǐldǐl]                               |
| ‘pupa’          | bubeibei  | /bubeibei/  | [bu <sup>m</sup> béi <sup>m</sup> béi] |
| ‘parapara yam’  | parapara  | /parapara/  | [párapára]                             |
| ‘parpar tree’   | parpar    | /parpar/    | [párpár]                               |
| ‘tutuka banana’ | tutuka    | /tutuka/    | [tútúka]                               |
| ‘beans’         | walwalda  | /walwalda/  | [wálwálda]                             |
| ‘cheek’         | yolyolgil | /joljolgil/ | [jóljólǵil]                            |
| ‘green parrot’  | dialdial  | /dialdial/  | [diáldiál]                             |

If additional suffixes occur, two stress patterns are acceptable. Either stress falls equally on the reduplicant and the base, or primary stress occurs on the penultimate syllable according to the default stress rule in Yeri (see section 2.4.1). Table 2.33 provides examples of both stress patterns when several nouns occur with the plural suffix *-(e)gVl* (see section 5.4.2.1).<sup>31</sup>

Table 2.33: Alternate stress patterns with reduplicated words

| gloss          | written     | phonemic      | equal stress            | penultimate stress      |
|----------------|-------------|---------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
|                |             |               | phonetic                | phonetic                |
| ‘green parrot’ | dialdialgil | /dialdialgel/ | [diáldiálgil]           | [dialdiálgil]           |
| ‘parpar tree’  | parpargil   | /parpargel/   | [párpárgil]             | [parpárgil]             |
| ‘mumu owl’     | mumugal     | /mumugal/     | [múmú <sup>ɰ</sup> gal] | [mumú <sup>ɰ</sup> gal] |

### 2.4.5 Primary lexical stress and form types

When it comes to calculating primary lexical stress, it is useful to distinguish two types of forms in Yeri, what I term (i) stress-affecting forms, forms that count as part of a word in the determination of primary lexical stress, and (ii) stress-unaffected forms, forms that are not counted as part of a word in the determination of primary lexical stress. An example of a stress-affecting form is the applicative suffix *-ki* (see section 7.7.3). When this morpheme is suffixed to a verb, it is counted in the determination of which syllable is penultimate and therefore receives primary stress according to the default stress rule (see section 2.4.1). For instance, when the applicative suffix *-ki* occurs on the verb *aga* /aga/ [á.<sup>ɰ</sup>ga] ‘get’, it is counted as the final syllable and primary stress falls on the second /a/ (i.e. *agaki*

<sup>31</sup>This plural lexical allomorph has three phonological allomorphs. Two of these phonological allomorphs *-gil* and *-gal* are illustrated here..

/agaki/ [a.ʔgá.ki]). Most suffixes in Yeri can be categorized as stress-affecting forms (e.g. *-(e)gVl* (see section 5.4.2.1), *-(e)tV* (see section 5.4.2.5), *-wɪl* (see section 5.4.2.5), *-agia* (see section 5.4.2.3), *-aguei* (see section 5.4.2.4), etc.).

This behavior is in opposition to stress-unaffected forms which are not counted as part of a word in the determination of primary lexical stress. For instance, the verb *ori* /ori/ [ʒri] ‘hit’ is disyllabic. When it occurs with *-wa* (glossed AUG for augment morpheme, see section 7.3.3.2), a stress-unaffected form which obligatorily precedes third person object suffixes with certain verbs, stress falls on the initial /o/ of the verb rather than /i/. If *-wa* were counted in the determination of primary stress, it would have been treated as the final syllable and /i/ would receive stress according to the default stress rule (see section 2.4.1). Since stress falls on /o/, *-wa* can be categorized as a stress-unaffected form.<sup>32</sup>

All augment allomorphs, those allomorphs, like *-wa*, with no semantic meaning which are suffixed to specific verb classes before third person object suffixes (*-∅* for singular feminine, *-n* for singular masculine, *-i* or *-m* for plural, see section 7.3.3.2), can be classified as stress-unaffected forms.<sup>33</sup> Where the consonants preceding and following /e/ are acceptable phonotactic clusters (see section 2.3), it is very common for complete deletion to occur if the verb occurs with an augment allomorph, as in *anokil* /anokel/ [a.nó.kil] ‘bite’ (i.e. *anokil-a-∅* /anokela/ [á.nó.klá]). Where these consonants are not acceptable clusters, reduction to [i] occurs, as in *gowil* /gowel/ [gɔ.wil] ‘count’ (i.e. *gowil-a-∅* /gowela/ [gówilá]).

Where this deletion of /e/ (see section 2.1.2.1 and section 2.4.7) results in a disyllabic sequence, stress can fall on either syllable and varies in natural speech. It more commonly falls on the final syllable when an additional singular masculine or plural morpheme occurs on the augment allomorph, as in *apil* /apel/ [á.pil] ‘collect’ (i.e. *apil-a* /apela/ [á.pla] or [a.plá], but typically *apil-a-n* /apelan/ [a.plán] or *apil-a-i* /apelai/ [a.plái]). This variability in stress placement is likely due to Yeri’s dispreference for stressing adjacent syllables which results in the rhythmic stress found in Yeri more generally (see section 2.4.6).

Examples of how several verbs with stress-unaffected forms are stressed can be found in Table 2.34. Note that there is a class of verbs (also illustrated in Table 2.34) which show a stem-final vowel alternation when they occur with the augment allomorph *-wa* (see section 7.4.1). For instance, the verb *gara* /gara/ [gára] ‘dig’ is a member of this class and is pronounced with a stem-final /e/ when it occurs with *-wa* (i.e. *garewa* /garewa/). This results in two possible pronunciations, [gárua] when /e/ is deleted or [gáriwá] when /e/ is reduced to [i].

<sup>32</sup>Note that where a syllable is pronounced between the stressed syllable and the stress-unaffected form, the stress-unaffected form may also be stressed (e.g. [ʒriwá] with both /o/ and /a/ stressed).

<sup>33</sup>For this reason, augment allomorphs which include the vowel /e/ are typically pronounced as [ɛ] (e.g. *nanía* ‘go in’ with the augment allomorph *-we* is pronounced as [náníawé]).

Table 2.34: Stress and augment allomorphs

| gloss          | written | phonemic | augment | phonetic                                    |
|----------------|---------|----------|---------|---------------------------------------------|
| ‘count’        | gowil   | /gowel/  | -a      | [gówilá]                                    |
| ‘bite’         | anokil  | /anokel/ | -a      | [ánoklá]                                    |
| ‘collect’      | apil    | /apel/   | -a      | [áp̥la], [aplá], [áp̥ilá]                   |
| ‘hold’         | oti     | /ote/    | -wa     | [ótua], [ɔtuá], [ót̥iwá]                    |
| ‘dig’          | gare    | /gare/   | -wa     | [gár̥ua], [gáriwá]                          |
| ‘chop’         | ade     | /ade/    | -wa     | [á <sup>n</sup> dua], [á <sup>n</sup> diwá] |
| ‘split’        | atar    | /atar/   | -e      | [átaré]                                     |
| ‘pull’         | alkial  | /alkial/ | -e      | [álkialé]                                   |
| ‘drill a hole’ | nakou   | /nakou/  | -e      | [ńakɔwé]                                    |
| ‘squeeze’      | gawor   | /gawor/  | -e      | [gawɔré]                                    |
| ‘chase’        | ogera   | /ogera/  | -we     | [ɔ <sup>u</sup> grawé]                      |
| ‘die’          | nakia   | /nakia/  | -we     | [nákiawé]                                   |

In addition to augment allomorphs, all prefixes and pro-clitics can be classified as stress-unaffected forms. This is because monosyllabic roots receive primary stress, even when preceded by prefixes or clitics. For instance, when the locative prefix *t̥i-* /te-/ (see section 5.6) precedes the monosyllabic noun root *wul* /wul/ [wul], primary stress falls on the root (i.e. *t̥i-wul* /tewul/ [tiwúl]).

Additional evidence of this tendency for monosyllabic roots to receive primary lexical stress, even when prefixation creates additional preceding syllables, can be seen with the few monosyllabic verb roots in Yeri. For example, *gei* /gei/ [gei] ‘leave’ and *ol* /ol/ [ɔl] ‘cut’ regularly receive primary stress even when subject or object prefixes precede these roots, resulting in additional syllables (e.g. *m-gei* /mgei/ [mi.<sup>u</sup>géi] ‘I put’, *n-b-ol* /nbol/ [ni.<sup>m</sup>ból] ‘it cut me’).<sup>34</sup>

This preference for placing primary lexical stress on monosyllabic roots rather than preceding syllables resulting from prefixes or clitics can also be seen with the relational clitic.<sup>35</sup> This clitic precedes personal pronouns to create genitive pronouns (see section 3.5.4). When the relational clitic precedes a monosyllabic personal pronoun (e.g. *hem* /ɥem/ [ɥem] ‘I, me’), primary stress falls on the personal pronoun, the final syllable (e.g. *w-ei=hem* /weɥem/ [weɥém] ‘my plural thing’). If the relational clitic were counted in the determination of primary lexical stress, stress would instead fall on the relational clitic.

The lack of primary stress on the relational clitic can be seen in Table 2.35, where the location of primary stress is marked on examples involving the relational clitic preceding a

<sup>34</sup>Note the epenthetic [i] vowels (see section 2.4.9).

<sup>35</sup>The relational clitic is one of the few instances in the grammar where I use the label ‘clitic’ and employ the convention of an equal sign to segment rather than a hyphen. As described in section 1.7.2, this is done to indicate that the element displays unusual behavior distinguishing it from prototypical free morphemes or words and prototypical tightly bound morphemes in Yeri. See section 3.5.5 for discussion of this unusual behavior.



monosyllabic personal pronoun.<sup>36</sup> As gender, number, and predicate morphemes can occur on the relational clitic (see section 3.5.5), I have included forms of the second person genitive pronoun with singular feminine, singular masculine, plural, and imperfective morphemes occurring on the relational clitic. In each example in the table, the relational clitic precedes the second person singular personal pronoun *ye* /je/ ‘you (sg)’. Note that the initial /w/ of the relational clitic is always pronounced as a glide (see section 2.1.2.2). Where this /w/ immediately precedes a consonant, an epenthetic vowel occurs (see section 2.4.9).<sup>37</sup>

Table 2.35: Stress and the relational clitic

| gloss                    | morphemes               | written | phonemic | phonetic   |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------|----------|------------|
| ‘it (fem) is yours’      | w-∅=<br>REL-SG.F=       | w       | /w/      | [wɨjɛ́]    |
| ‘it (masc) is yours’     | w-n=<br>REL-SG.M=       | wn      | /wn/     | [winjɛ́]   |
| ‘they are yours’         | w-ei=<br>REL-PL=        | wei     | /wei/    | [weɨjɛ́]   |
| ‘it (fem) is yours now’  | w-∅-ma=<br>REL-SG.F-ma= | wma     | /wma/    | [wɨmajɛ́]  |
| ‘it (masc) is yours now’ | w-n-ma=<br>REL-SG.M-ma= | wnma    | /wnma/   | [winmajɛ́] |
| ‘they are yours now’     | w-ei-ma=<br>REL-PL-ma=  | weima   | /weima/  | [weɨmajɛ́] |

## 2.4.6 Stress shift

In isolation, most words show one stress pattern, typically the more common penultimate stress pattern (see section 2.4.1), and less frequently, one of the alternate stress patterns (see section 2.4.2 or section 2.4.3). However, when words are combined into longer utterances, stress can shift to syllables that do not usually receive stress in isolation. This appears related to larger issues revolving around sentential stress, like rhythm, stress clash, level of enunciation, and speech rate.<sup>38</sup> In this section, I note only that stress can shift to a less

<sup>36</sup>Examining primary stress when the relational clitic precedes disyllabic personal pronouns like *hebi* /ɥɛbi/ ‘we, us’ provides no evidence regarding the inclusion or exclusion of the clitic in calculating primary stress.

<sup>37</sup>Note, however, that primary lexical stress falls on the monosyllabic root even when the relational clitic does not include an epenthetic vowel, such as when it occurs with the plural morpheme *-ei* (e.g. *w-ei=* /wei=/ [wei=]).

<sup>38</sup>Vowels which receive primary stress are longer in duration than their unstressed counterparts (see section 2.4.1). Furthermore, it is common for vowels in unstressed syllables to be reduced (see section 2.4.7), which results in shorter duration. Yeri tends to avoid stressing adjacent syllables, and this results in a type of ‘rhythmic stress’, where longer stressed syllables are separated by shorter unstressed (and frequently reduced) syllables. Stress can shift from its usual location on a word (as determined by the word’s lexical stress pattern in isolation) to another location based on its context within a larger utterance. However, more research is needed to explain exactly what factors determine the location of stress in longer combinations of words.

typical location depending on other morphemes (see example (2.7) in section 2.1.2.1) or words in an utterance. I leave an analysis detailing the factors involved in determining the location of stress in longer utterances to future research.

It is easiest to see this stress shift with trisyllabic words, especially those which show regular penultimate stress on the vowel /e/ in isolation. In natural discourse, it is not uncommon for stress to shift on these words to the syllable immediately preceding the /e/. When stress does not occur on the penultimate /e/, this vowel is reduced to [i] or deleted completely depending on phonotactic constraints (see section 2.3). As noted previously, more research is needed to determine exactly what factors influence whether stress falls in its usual location within a word or whether it shifts. However, there is a tendency for the /e/ to be stressed when speakers enunciate and speak more slowly. In faster less enunciated speech, /e/ is more often reduced and stress shifts to the preceding syllable. Examples of words which can show this stress shift when they occur in combination with other words are provided in Table 2.36.

Table 2.36: Examples of stress shift

| gloss      | written | phonemic  | penultimate stress<br>phonetic | stress shift<br>phonetic |
|------------|---------|-----------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| ‘garden’   | tihelo  | /teʷelo/  | [tɪʷélɔ]                       | [tɪʷɪlɔ]                 |
| ‘forest’   | hogeta  | /ʋogeta/  | [ʋo <sup>ɔ</sup> géta]         | [ʋo <sup>ɔ</sup> gíta]   |
| ‘forest’   | hogena  | /ʋogena/  | [ʋo <sup>ɔ</sup> géna]         | [ʋo <sup>ɔ</sup> gína]   |
| ‘shake’    | akukeli | /akukeli/ | [akukéli]                      | [akúkɪli], [akúkli]      |
| ‘lie flat’ | dawera  | /dawera/  | [dawéra]                       | [dáwira]                 |

Examples (2.13) and (2.14) demonstrate this shift in the location of stress on *yamega* /jamega/ ‘yamega fish’. In example (2.13), stress falls on the penultimate syllable as is usual for the word. In example (2.14), stress falls on the syllable preceding the /e/. An additional phonetic transcription line precedes the usual orthographic transcription line.

- (2.13) wámiakan                      nanúla jamé<sup>n</sup>ga.  
w-a<me>ya-ka-n                nanu-la yamega.  
3SG.F-give.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.M fish-SG yamega.fish  
'She gave him a yamega fish.' (120517-001:165.328) RNS, JS
- (2.14) uáre jámga                  wunám<sup>m</sup>bi                      ná<sup>n</sup>di wu<sup>n</sup>di kó<sup>n</sup>di                      játi.  
hare yamega                  w-∅=nabe-∅                      nadi wdi                  ki ∅-odi                      yatì.  
leaf yamega.fish REL-SG=good-SG.F very SUB already 3PL-make.R sago  
'The yamega leaf is very good for making sago.' (140214-044:19.380) GE-[hare  
yamega], JS

This stress shift is particularly common for disyllabic verbs which occur with the im-

perfective allomorph *-me-*. For instance, the vowel in the imperfective allomorph *-me-* is stressed in (2.15), but stress shifts to the vowel in the previous syllable (the /o/ in *dodi* /dodi/ ‘stand’) in (2.16).

- (2.15) min<sup>ɔ</sup>m<sup>ɪ</sup>bia<sup>n</sup>dái,      “jɪ<sup>n</sup>dəm<sup>ɛ</sup><sup>n</sup>di.”  
 m-nobia-da-i,      “y-do<me>di.”  
 1SG-talk.R-AUG-PL 2PL-stand.R<IPFV>  
 ‘I told them “You (pl) stay.”’ (120409-002:416.031) RNS, AS

- (2.16) áɔ      dɔmdi      tɪu<sup>ɛ</sup>war.  
 Ø-aro      Ø-do<me>di      tɪhewar  
 3PL-go.R 3PL-stand.R<IPFV> upriver  
 ‘They went and stood upriver.’ (120409-002:730.230) RNS, AS

## 2.4.7 Vowel reduction/deletion

Yeri monophthong vowels in unstressed syllables often undergo a process of vowel reduction whereby vowels are more centralized. This generally results in vowels being pronounced as [ɪ] or deleted entirely depending on phonotactic constraints (see section 2.3). For example, although stress usually falls on the /u/ in *yuta* /juta/ ‘female’ when it is pronounced in isolation, stress does not fall on the /u/ when it occurs in the utterances shown in example (2.17). In this example, the vowel is reduced and pronounced as [ɪ]. This vowel reduction/deletion process occurs more frequently in faster, less enunciated speech. An additional phonetic transcription precedes the usual orthographic transcription line in the following examples.

- (2.17) jɔ<sup>ɪ</sup>gi      wɛɪ<sup>n</sup>di      jɪta      nɔ<sup>ɪ</sup>guɛl.  
 yogi      w-ei=de-i      yuta      nogual.  
 traditional.skirt REL-PL=3-PL woman PL  
 ‘The skirts are for women.’ (120410-001:95.114) RNS, JS

Another example is given in example (2.18) with the pronunciation of the word *haraharahi* /ɥaraɥaraɥi/ ‘friend’. In this example, since /r/ is an acceptable coda consonant, the second /a/ is deleted entirely resulting in the pronunciation [ɥaraɥaraɥi].<sup>39</sup>

- (2.18) wən<sup>ɔ</sup>m<sup>ɪ</sup>bia<sup>n</sup>da,      “ɥaraɥaraɥi.”  
 w-nobia-da-Ø,      “haraharahi.”  
 3SG.F-talk.R-AUG-Ø friend  
 ‘She said to her, “Friend.”’ (120410-006:157.120) RNS, YW

<sup>39</sup>/ɥ/ is symbolized as <h> orthographically. See section 2.1.1.4.

Although all vowels can undergo vowel reduction, the vowel /e/ is by far the most common vowel to show reduction or deletion. In fact, vowel reduction/deletion is so common with this vowel that [i] is the more common pronunciation of the /e/ phoneme. Regular allophonic rules result in its systematic pronunciation as [i] in unstressed open syllables and unstressed non-final closed syllables (see section 2.1.2.1). This is described in detail in section 2.1.2.1. Here I present only a few brief examples in Table 2.37 showing (i) the complete reduction of /e/ where phonotactic constraints permit deletion, and (ii) its pronunciation as [i] in environments where phonotactic constraints do not permit deletion. This occurs due to the shift in stress caused by the suffixation of the plural morpheme *-(e)gVl* (see section 5.4.2.1).

Table 2.37: Reduction or deletion of /e/

|                     | written | phonemic  | singular<br>phonetic    | plural <i>-gil</i><br>phonetic           |
|---------------------|---------|-----------|-------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| ‘bush’              | nibera  | /nebera/  | [ni <sup>m</sup> béra]  | [ni <sup>m</sup> brá <sup>ɰ</sup> gil]   |
| ‘sandpaper tree’    | homega  | /uɔmega/  | [uɔmɛ <sup>ɰ</sup> ga]  | [uɔmgá <sup>ɰ</sup> gil]                 |
| ‘sugar glider’      | mukela  | /mukela/  | [mukéla]                | [muklá <sup>ɰ</sup> gil]                 |
| ‘eel’               | sohena  | /souɛna/  | [souɛ́na]               | [souɛ́ná <sup>ɰ</sup> gil]               |
| ‘termite’           | hageta  | /uɔageta/ | [uɔa <sup>ɰ</sup> géta] | [uɔa <sup>ɰ</sup> gitá <sup>ɰ</sup> gil] |
| ‘breadfruit liquid’ | nibeta  | /nebeta/  | [ni <sup>m</sup> béta]  | [ni <sup>m</sup> bitá <sup>ɰ</sup> gil]  |

Lastly, it is important to note that vowel reduction/deletion is not restricted to unstressed non-final syllables. It is also common for the few words in which word-final /e/ is pronounced as [ɛ] to show reduction or deletion of this word final vowel in spontaneous speech (e.g. *lobe* /lobe/ ‘mushroom’ is often pronounced as [lɔ<sup>m</sup>bi] in faster speech). Example (2.19) demonstrates the complete deletion of the word-final /e/ in the noun *hate* /uɔte/ ‘cane’ in fast speech.

- (2.19) ɔki                      uɔtɔlawɛ.  
 Ø-oki-Ø                      hate Ø-ola-we-Ø.  
 3PL-use.R-SG.F cane 3PL-sew.R-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘They use cane to sew it.’ (140421-155:22.611) RNS, JS

## 2.4.8 Vowel coalescence

Yeri shows a process of optional vowel coalescence whereby two HV+V sequences /ia/ and /ua/ can be pronounced as /e/ and /o/ respectively. For instance, if the verb *gara* ‘dig’ is indexed for a third person singular feminine object, it is pronounced as either [garua] (see section 7.4.1) with /ua/ or [garɔ] with /o/, as in (2.20). Note that the verb occurs with the imperfective morpheme in example (2.20) and is pronounced as [gamirɔ]. A phonetic

transcription line showing this pronunciation is provided before the usual orthographic transcription line.

- (2.20)    ʷɛm ta    aɾɔ    mɪ<sup>ɔ</sup>gamɪɾɔ                      maji            wɪrmuɛl.  
              hem ta    aɾo    m-ga<me>re-wa-∅                mayi            wɪrmual.  
              1SG   FUT go.R 1SG-dig.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F mayi.yam wɪrmual  
              ‘I will go and dig the wɪrmual yams.’ (140304-018:122.154) GE-[wɪrmual], LA

Although examples like [garua] almost always show the V+HV pronunciation rather than the monophthong pronunciation, examples involving reduplication frequently show the V+HV sequence in the base with the reduplicant showing the monophthong. Consider /buabua/ which refers to a type of tree. In its more frequent pronunciation *bobua* [bɔ<sup>m</sup>bua] ‘wild betel nut’, the monophthong /o/ occurs in the first syllable, the reduplicant, and /ua/ occurs in the base, the second syllable. Along the same lines, nouns like *lelia* /lialia/ [lélia] ‘limbum’ only rarely show pronunciations like [lialia] which clearly demonstrate their reduplicated status. Like *bobua* ‘wild betel nut’, the reduplicant almost always shows the monophthong in its usual pronunciation while the base shows the V+HV pronunciation.

Given examples like these, the monophthong pronunciation appears to be related to suprasegmental issues like stress and the length of the vowel.<sup>40</sup> In ideophones, for example, vowel nuclei in the reduplicant are frequently reduced or shortened (see section 3.4). Furthermore, in contexts where additional morphology results in syllables containing these V+HV sequences to receive no stress, they often show vowel coalescence. For instance, *bobua* can select for two plural allomorphs *-gil* /-gel/ (see section 5.4.2.1) or *-hegal* /-ʷegal/ (see section 5.4.2.2). When it occurs with *-gil*, the base syllable receives stress and is still pronounced as /ua/ (i.e. [bɔ<sup>m</sup>bua<sup>ɔ</sup>gil]). However, when it occurs with *-hegal*, both instances of /ua/ are pronounced as /o/ (e.g. [bɔ<sup>m</sup>bɔʷɛ<sup>ɔ</sup>gal]). Vowel coalescence also appears to be particularly common preceding /l/ (e.g. *dalkolial* /dalkolial/ ‘catch fire’ can also be pronounced as [dalkɔləl]). While I point out the clear relationship with suprasegmental factors here and the more frequent occurrence before /l/, more research beyond what was possible for this grammar is needed to say more on vowel coalescence in Yeri.

### 2.4.9 Epenthesis

The epenthetic vowel in Yeri is typically realized as [i], which shows an expected brief duration, generally between 20 and 40 milliseconds. Since the vowel [i] is a common epenthetic vowel in northern Papua New Guinea, as in the Lower Sepik language Yimas (Foley 1991), and it

<sup>40</sup>In fact, the occurrence of the monophthong pronunciation in the reduplicant and the pronunciation of /e/ as [i] in all closed syllables within ideophones (see section 2.1.2.1) is likely related to the realization of stress in reduplication (see section 2.4.4) and the general tendency for reduplicants to be pronounced quickly in more reduced and less prominent forms (see section 2.6.2).

has also been described as one of the more common epenthetic vowels cross-linguistically (Lombardi 2002), it is unsurprising to find [i] as an epenthetic vowel in Yeri. Note, however, that although [i] is the usual realization of the epenthetic vowel, the vowel can optionally be fronted when adjacent to the front high vowel (e.g. *ynobia* /jnobia/ [jinɔ<sup>m</sup>bia] ‘you (pl) speak’) and can optionally be rounded or rounded and backed when adjacent to the back high vowel (e.g. *whem* /wɥem/ [wɥɥem], [wuɥem] ‘my’).

Epenthetic vowels are inserted in contexts where a consonant cannot be syllabified due to phonotactic constraints. For instance, subject prefixes consist of a single consonant. When these morphemes occur with a vowel-initial verb root like *or* /or/ ‘lie, sleep’, they can be easily syllabified as an onset with the verb’s initial vowel functioning as the nucleus of the syllable.

Table 2.38: Subject prefixes with the verb *or* ‘lie, sleep’

|       | SG            | PL            |
|-------|---------------|---------------|
| 1     | m-or<br>[mɔr] | h-or<br>[ɥɔr] |
| 2     | n-or<br>[nɔr] | y-or<br>[jɔr] |
| 3SG.F | w-or<br>[wɔr] | ∅-or or w-or  |
| 3SG.M | n-or<br>[nɔr] | [ɔr], [wɔr]   |

However, when argument prefixes occur on consonant-initial verb roots like *nobia* /nobia/ ‘talk’, they cannot be syllabified as onsets or nuclei due to phonotactic constraints (see section 2.3).<sup>41</sup> In other words, the subject prefix and the initial consonant, in this example /n/, are not permissible complex onsets and none of the subject prefixes can be syllabified as nuclei here. While high vowels do have vowel allophones, argument prefixes are exceptional in that they are always pronounced as glides in this context (see section 2.1.2.2). For this reason, an epenthetic [i] vowel is inserted to permit argument prefixes to be syllabified, as shown in Table 2.39. The one exception to argument prefixes being pronounced as glides is when the second person object prefix occurs between consonants. In this context, the front high vowel is usually pronounced as a vowel, though it is acceptable for the front high vowel to be pronounced as a glide with an additional epenthetic vowel inserted.

<sup>41</sup> An alternative analysis could analyze the prefixes as /Ce-/ with the /e/ being deleted when followed by a vowel-initial morpheme (see section 2.5.2) and reduced in unstressed syllables (see section 2.1.2.1). While this could account for the pronunciation of the first person plural object prefix between consonants, this analysis cannot account for the pronunciation of the second person object prefix between consonants (see section 7.3.2). Also, an additional rule would need to be assumed which prohibits stress from falling on the /e/ in an argument prefix in order to account for why the vowel is never pronounced as [ɛ] when it precedes monosyllabic consonant-initial roots like *gei* /gei/ ‘leave’ (e.g. [ni<sup>u</sup>gɛi] rather than [nɛ<sup>u</sup>gɛi]).

Table 2.39: Subject prefixes with the verb *nobia* ‘talk’

|        | SG                                                              | PL                                                                           |
|--------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1      | m-nobia<br>[mi.nɔ. <sup>m</sup> bia]                            | h-nobia<br>[ʰi.nɔ. <sup>m</sup> bia]                                         |
| 2      | n-nobia<br>[ni.nɔ. <sup>m</sup> bia]                            | y-nobia<br>[ji.nɔ. <sup>m</sup> bia], [ji.nɔ. <sup>m</sup> bia]              |
| 3-SG.F | w-nobia<br>[wi.nɔ. <sup>m</sup> bia], [wɰ.nɔ. <sup>m</sup> bia] | ∅-nobla or w-nobia                                                           |
| 3SG.M  | n-nobia<br>[ni.nɔ. <sup>m</sup> bia]                            | [nɔ. <sup>m</sup> bia], [wi.nɔ. <sup>m</sup> bia], [wɰ.nɔ. <sup>m</sup> bia] |

Another common example of epenthesis can be seen in the pronunciation of the relational clitic when the morpheme does not occur with the plural morpheme *-ei*. In this context, an epenthetic vowel either [i] or [ɰ] (due to the preceding /w/) is inserted before the following consonant (e.g. *whem* /wɰem/ [wiɰem] or [wɰɰem] ‘my’).

## 2.5 Morphophonology

This section is devoted to a discussion of Yeri morphophonology. The section is broadly divided into rules involving vowels which are presented first and rules involving consonants which are presented second. In section 2.5.1, I discuss a process of regressive vowel harmony. Section 2.5.2 focuses on the deletion of /e/ preceding vowel-initial morphemes, and section 2.5.3 details the pronunciation of /e/ when it functions as an irrealis vowel. Section 2.5.4 and section 2.5.5 describe the pronunciation of /ai/ and /oi/ when the sequences are formed across a morpheme boundary. Vowel disharmony in Yeri and its occurrence with plural morphemes, predicate morphemes, and object morphemes is discussed in section 2.5.6. The pronunciation of verb-final HV+V sequences when followed by the applicative morpheme *-ki* or the preposition *danua* is discussed in section 2.5.7.

I begin discussing morphophonological rules revolving around consonants in section 2.5.9. In this section, I detail the deletion of the alveolar nasal /n/ in specific contexts. This is followed by section 2.5.10, where I describe the deletion of velars, particularly /k/ when infixation occurs. Finally, section 2.5.11, is devoted to the co-occurrence of imperfective and additive morphemes in verbs.

### 2.5.1 Regressive vowel harmony

Yeri displays an optional process of regressive vowel harmony which occurs across morpheme boundaries.<sup>42</sup> When an /a/ in one morpheme immediately precedes another morpheme with a first syllable rhyme of /o/, the /a/ in the first morpheme may be pronounced as /o/.<sup>43</sup> This is common with clause particles, and is demonstrated in examples (2.21)-(2.24), where the particles *la* ‘past tense’ (see section 10.1.1.1), *ba* ‘strong belief’ (see section 10.1.4), and *pa* ‘later, then’ (see section 10.1.5) are pronounced as [ɔ], [bɔ], and [pɔ] respectively. Additional phonetic transcription lines are included preceding the usual orthographic transcription line.

- (2.21) mimi wɔwɛm ɔ kɔ niŋgɔ kua.  
 mimi w-∅=hem la ko nigo-∅ kua.  
 mother REL-SG.F=1SG PST still child-SG.F still  
 ‘My mother was still a child then.’ (120528-006:35.870) RNS, JS

- (2.22) ɥasiɛkil ɔ ɔwɛŋga la wariɛtɛma.  
 hasiɛki-l la ∅-o<he>ga la wari-eti-ma.  
 fire-PL PST 3PL-eat.R<SG.F> PST charcoal-SG-IPFV  
 ‘The fire burned it to charcoal.’ (140422-030:54.160) GE-[warietima], JS  
 LT: ‘The fire ate it, it is charcoal now.’

- (2.23) ɔ nɔnɛwil mɔti jɔtun nanmɔ  
 ba n-o<ne>wil moti yot-u-n n-a<ne><m>wo  
 SB 2SG-take.R<SG.M> pot DEM-MDIST-SG.M 2SG-set.R<SG.M><IPFV>  
 ɥasiɛkil.  
 hasiɛki-l.  
 fire-PL  
 ‘For sure you (sg) should get that pot there and put it on the fire.’ (120517-001:1854.966) RNS, JS

- (2.24) ti ta pɔ dɔɛ wɔmiɥɔrkil.  
 te-i ta pa ∅-dore w-o<me>horkil.  
 3-PL FUT then 3PL-get.up.R 3PL-flee.R<IPFV>  
 ‘Then they will get up and run away.’ (120528-006:235.840) RNS, JS

The optionality of the process is illustrated in (2.25) and (2.26), where regressive vowel harmony does not occur.

<sup>42</sup>Note that the morphemes in question appear to always be free morphemes, or at the least (see section 3.5.5), not tightly bound morphemes.

<sup>43</sup>Note that phonologically null morphemes do not block this process as shown by (2.22) and (2.24), where the third person plural subject prefix ∅ occurs between the morphemes and regressive vowel harmony still occurs. By phonologically null morphemes, I mean contexts where the absence of an overt morpheme is used to code a meaning.



- (2.25) jɛ ta nɔmriwa.  
 ye ta n-o<me>ri-wa-∅.  
 2SG FUT 2SG-hit.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘You (sg) will scrape it.’ (120409-002:266.033) RNS, AS

- (2.26) la nɔ nɔ<sup>ɔ</sup>gil jipu<sup>n</sup>da.  
 la n-o nogil Yipuda.  
 PST 3SG.M-stay.R village Yapunda.village  
 ‘He was at Yapunda.’ (120528-008:28.460) RNS, JS

Regressive vowel harmony is particularly common when predicate morphemes occur with the WGN adjective *lope* /lope/ ‘big’ (see section 3.5.1.1). When the imperfective morpheme or the additive morpheme occur with the WGN adjective *lope* ‘big’, regressive vowel harmony results in the /a/ from the predicate morpheme being pronounced as an /o/ because of the initial /o/ in the WGN adjective root. Examples (2.27) and (2.28) illustrate regressive vowel harmony with the WGN adjective *lope* ‘big’. While speakers describe forms where regressive vowel harmony does not occur as acceptable, predicate morphemes typically undergo regressive vowel harmony in natural speech. In particular, forms like [mɔlope] or [bɔlope], where the initial /w/ of the relational clitic is also omitted, are frequent.

This omission of the initial /w/ in the relational clitic may have its origin in the location of stress. The initial /w/ is omitted only when predicate morphemes occur and the plural morpheme *-ei* does not occur, and these contexts are exactly the contexts where the following syllable is stressed and no gender or number morphemes occur on the relational clitic. Since the initial /w/ of the relational clitic is always pronounced as a glide (see section 2.1.2.2), this results in an initial /w/ preceding a consonant-initial stressed syllable. In most contexts an additional epenthetic vowel occurs to permit syllabification, but in this context it is common for the initial /w/ to be omitted altogether.

- (2.27) ɔtua skul ta mɔlope<sup>n</sup>dai.  
 yot-ua-∅ skul ta ma=lope-∅=da-i  
 DEM-DIST-SG.F school FUT IPFV=big-SG.F=NVPC-PL  
 ‘There the school will be a bit big.’ (120517-000:268.790) RNS, JS

- (2.28) ni<sup>ɔ</sup>gɔngɔn ɔtun nɔr ɥamuel mɔlope<sup>n</sup>.  
 nigo-n-gon yot-u-n n-or hamual ma=lope-n.  
 child-SG.M-RED DEM-MDIST-SG.M 3SG.M-lie.R belly IPFV=big-SG.M  
 ‘That baby in the stomach was big.’ (120517-001:1439.260) RNS, JS

Note that when *lope* /lope/ ‘big’ occurs in the plural, however, regressive vowel harmony is uncommon. In other words, the the WGN adjective almost always occurs as *weimalopi* [weimalɔpi] or *weibalopi* [weibalɔpi] and not *weimolopi* [weimolɔpi] or *weibolopi* [weibalɔpi].

### 2.5.2 Deletion of /e/ before vowel-initial morphemes

The vowel /e/, written as <e> or <i> (see section 2.1.2.1), is deleted before vowel-initial morphemes. This vowel deletion is particularly obvious when gender and number suffixes are considered. The same set of suffixes, - $\emptyset$  for singular feminine, -*n* for singular masculine, and -*i* or -*m* for plural, occur across a variety of word classes in Yeri. When these suffixes occur on words which end in /e/, vowel deletion is always triggered by the vowel-initial plural suffix -*i*. As the singular feminine suffix - $\emptyset$ , the singular masculine suffix -*n*, and the plural suffix -*m* are not vowel-initial, deletion is not triggered and the /e/ remains. Several examples from different word classes are shown occurring with - $\emptyset$ , -*n*, and -*i* in Table 2.40. A phonetic transcription is provided below each example in square brackets. Note the deletion of /e/ when the plural suffix -*i* occurs.

Table 2.40: Deletion of /e/ before vowel-initial morphemes

| gloss          | root                             | SG.F (- $\emptyset$ )                            | SG.M (- <i>n</i> )                     | PL (- <i>i</i> )                      |
|----------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| ‘third person’ | /te/<br>[tɛ]                     | te- $\emptyset$<br>[tɛ]                          | te-n<br>[tɛn]                          | te-i<br>[ti]                          |
| ‘big’          | /lope/<br>[lɔpɛ]                 | w- $\emptyset$ =lope- $\emptyset$<br>[wɪlɔpɛ]    | w- $\emptyset$ =lope-n<br>[wɪlɔpɛn]    | weilope-i<br>[weilɔpi]                |
| ‘birth’        | /awode/<br>[awɔ <sup>n</sup> dɛ] | awodi- $\emptyset$<br>[awɔ <sup>n</sup> dɛ]      | awodi-n<br>[awɔ <sup>n</sup> dɛn]      | awodi-i<br>[awɔ <sup>n</sup> di]      |
| ‘chase’        | /ogera/<br>[ɔ <sup>ɰ</sup> gɛrɛ] | ogera-we- $\emptyset$<br>[ɔ <sup>ɰ</sup> gɛrɛwɛ] | ogera-we-n<br>[ɔ <sup>ɰ</sup> gɛrɛwɛn] | ogera-we-i<br>[ɔ <sup>ɰ</sup> gɛrawi] |

Additional examples of the deletion of /e/ can be seen when the third person plural infix -*i*- (see section 7.3.3.1) co-occurs with the irrealis vowel /e/ (see section 7.6). As described in section 2.1.2.1, /e/ is usually realized as [i] when it acts as an irrealis vowel.<sup>44</sup> In Table 2.41, several verbs which select object infixes are shown in their realis and irrealis forms, first with a consonant-initial morpheme (the third person singular masculine infix -*ne*-) and then with a vowel-initial morpheme (the third person plural infix -*i*-).<sup>45</sup> When -*ne*- occurs with trisyllabic verbs, the /e/ is always reduced or deleted (see section 7.3.3.1). When these verbs occur in the irrealis with a masculine object, a consonant-initial infix follows the irrealis vowel /e/. For this reason, the irrealis vowel /e/ (realized as [i]) is pronounced. However, when it is the vowel-initial third person plural infix which follows the irrealis vowel /e/, the

<sup>44</sup>Section 2.1.2.1 also presents the few contexts where the irrealis vowel /e/ can be pronounced as [ɛ].

<sup>45</sup>When the plural infix occurs with the realis vowel /a/, a morphophonological rule results in the pronunciation [ɛi] (see section 2.5.4).

vowel is deleted.

Table 2.41: Plural infixation and the irrealis

| gloss  | R/3SG.M                       | I/3SG.M                                 | R/PL                               | I/PL                              |
|--------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| ‘boil’ | a<ne>repia<br>[anɾɛpia]       | i<ne>repia<br>[inɾɛpia]                 | a<i>repia<br>[ɛiɾɛpia]             | i<i>repia<br>[iɾɛpia]             |
| ‘burn’ | a<ne>guti<br>[anguti]         | i<ne>guti<br>[inguti]                   | a<i>guti<br>[ɛi <sup>ɰ</sup> guti] | i<i>guti<br>[i <sup>ɰ</sup> guti] |
| ‘ask’  | o<ne>giwa<br>[ɔŋgiwa]         | i<ne>giwa<br>[iŋgiwa]                   | o<i>giwa<br>[ɛi <sup>ɰ</sup> giwa] | i<i>giwa<br>[i <sup>ɰ</sup> giwa] |
| ‘take’ | o<ne>wil<br>[ɔnwɪl], [ɔnɛwɪl] | i<ne>wil, i<ne>wil<br>[inwɪl], [inɛwɪl] | o<i>wil<br>[ɛiwɪl]                 | i<i>wil<br>[iwɪl]                 |

That the deletion of /e/ is not limited to the third person plural object morpheme but occurs with any vowel-initial morpheme can be seen by considering the plural forms of nouns. For instance, nouns like *lobe* /lobe/ ‘mushroom’ or *hare* /ɥare/ ‘leaf’ are in inflectional class 13 and select the plural allomorph *-ia* (see section 5.4.2.11). The resulting plural forms are *lobia* /lobia/ [lɔ<sup>m</sup>bia] and *haria* /ɥaria/ [ɥaria] rather than \**lobeia* /lobeja/ [lɔ<sup>m</sup>beja] and \**hareia* /ɥareja/ [ɥareja]. Additional examples include *hane* /ɥane/ ‘hane snake’ (plural: *hanial* [ɥanial]), and *hate* /ɥate/ ‘cane’ (plural: *hatial* [ɥatial]). When a consonant-initial morpheme follows /e/, the vowel remains. For example, *nanipe* /nanipe/ ‘bird hut’ selects for the inflectional class 1 plural phonological allomorph *-gal* (see section 5.4.2.1), and the resulting plural form *nanipegal* [nanipe<sup>ɰ</sup>gal] shows no deletion of /e/.

Additional nouns which show /e/ deletion are members of inflectional class 5 like *pogi* /poge/ ‘base of sago main stem’ and *paluagi* /paluage/ ‘paluagi fish’, which select for the vowel-initial allomorph *-agia* (see section 5.4.2.3). The resulting plural forms are *pogagia* [pɔ<sup>ɰ</sup>ga<sup>ɰ</sup>gia] and *paluagagia* [palua<sup>ɰ</sup>ga<sup>ɰ</sup>gia], where the word-final final /e/ (realized as [i] in the singular), is deleted with the suffixation of the plural allomorph. Additional examples include *nobi* /nobe/ ‘nobi fish’ (plural: *nobaguei* [nɔ<sup>m</sup>ba<sup>ɰ</sup>guei]) and *woniamɪ* /woniamɛ/ ‘woniamɪ bird’ (plural: *woniamaguei* [wɔ<sup>n</sup>iam<sup>ɰ</sup>guei]) which select for the vowel-initial plural allomorph *-aguei*. When nouns ending in a word-final /e/ (often realized as [i] word-finally) select for a consonant-initial allomorph, the /e/ is not deleted. For instance, nouns like *pareki* /pareke/ ‘ant’ (plural: *parekil* [pærɛkil]) or *nati* /nate/ ‘coconut’ (plural: *natil* [natil]) select for the consonant-initial plural allomorph *-l*. For this reason, deletion of /e/ does not occur.

Lastly, when clause particles which end in /e/ precede vowel-initial words in fast speech, the word-final /e/ of the clause particle can optionally be deleted. For instance, *ki* ‘already’ (see section 10.1.2) precedes the verb *odi* ‘make’ in example (2.29) and the /e/ is deleted.

- (2.29)    ɥare jamga            wana<sup>m</sup>bi            na<sup>n</sup>di wu<sup>n</sup>di kɔ<sup>n</sup>di            jati.  
           hare yamega        w-Ø=nabe-Ø        nadi wdi    ki Ø-odi            yati.  
           leaf yamega.fish REL-SG=good-SG.F very SUB already 3PL-make.R sago  
           ‘The yamega leaf is very good for making sago.’ (140214-044:19.380) GE-[hare  
           yamega], JS

### 2.5.3 Irrealis mood and the reduction of /e/

For verbs which select for the irrealis vowel /e/, this vowel can always be pronounced in a reduced form regardless of stress. In fact, for the vast majority of verbs, this vowel is always pronounced in a reduced form due to allophonic rules (see section 2.1.2.1). For trisyllabic verbs, this is because the /e/ irrealis vowel would occur in an unstressed non-final syllable. For disyllabic verbs with initial closed syllables, this is because the /e/ would occur in a non-final closed syllable.

It is only disyllabic verbs with initial open syllables that are exceptional in showing irrealis /e/ being pronounced as [i]. While some of these verbs do show the irrealis vowel /e/ being pronounced as [ɛ] infrequently, the irrealis vowel is much more frequently pronounced in a reduced form. I present examples of disyllabic verbs with open initial syllables showing a reduced form of the irrealis vowel /e/ in Table 2.42.<sup>46</sup>

Table 2.42: The reduction of the irrealis vowel /e/

|        | realis  |                     | irrealis [i] |                     |
|--------|---------|---------------------|--------------|---------------------|
|        | written | phonetic            | written      | phonetic            |
| ‘sit’  | dawo    | [dáwɔ]              | diwo         | [díwɔ]              |
| ‘get’  | aga     | [á <sup>ɰ</sup> ga] | iga          | [í <sup>ɰ</sup> ga] |
| ‘get’  | alia    | [ália]              | ilia         | [ília]              |
| ‘come’ | ana     | [ána]               | ina          | [ína]               |
| ‘call’ | ania    | [ánia]              | inia         | [ínia]              |

A handful of verbs show the irrealis vowel /e/ being pronounced as [ɛ] more frequently, as long as the irrealis vowel occurs in an open syllable. These verbs typically select for object infixes or show the irrealis vowel preceding /r/, though this is not exceptionless. Examples are shown in Table 2.43.

<sup>46</sup>The deletion of /e/ does occur in this context. However, [i] usually occurs when these forms are elicited, even when the subject prefix Ø- is the only argument prefix preceding the verb root. Most instances of complete deletion occur in faster speech. For instance, /e/ is often deleted in the irrealis form of *dawo* ‘sit’ in natural discourse with stress falling on the /o/.

Table 2.43: The pronunciation of the irrealis vowel /e/ as [ɛ]

|                  | realis<br>written | phonetic | irrealis [i]<br>phonetic | irrealis [ɛ]<br>phonetic |
|------------------|-------------------|----------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| ‘go’             | ar                | [ar]     | [ir]                     | [ɛrɔ]                    |
| ‘cry, weep’      | arwal             | [arual]  | [irual]                  | [ɛrual]                  |
| ‘cook in a leaf’ | aroti             | [arɔti]  | [irɔti]                  | [ɛrɔti]                  |
| ‘hang’           | dawil             | [dawil]  | [diwil]                  | [dɛwil]                  |
| ‘give’           | aya               | [aja]    | [ija]                    | [ɛja]                    |
| ‘stick into’     | aki               | [aki]    | [iki]                    | [ɛki]                    |

#### 2.5.4 The pronunciation of /ai/ as [ɛi]

When the V+HV sequence /ai/ is formed across morpheme boundaries in Yeri, the sequence is pronounced as [ai] or [ɛi] depending on context. When the sequence occurs in a non-word-final position, it is pronounced as [ɛi]. For instance, the verb *dago* ‘wear’ occurs with the plural infix *-i* (see section 7.3.3.1) in example (2.30), and the resulting /ai/ sequence is pronounced as [ɛi]. To more clearly illustrate the pronunciation of /ai/ in different contexts, additional phonetic transcriptions are included in the examples within this section.

- (2.30) mi<sup>n</sup>dɛi<sup>ŋ</sup>gɔ                      jɔ<sup>ŋ</sup>gi.  
 m-da<i>go                      yogi.  
 1SG-wear.R<.RPL> traditional.skirt  
 ‘I will wear a yogi.’ (120601-012:243.332) RNS, YW  
 CI: *Yogi* triggers plural agreement and refers to a type of traditional female clothing.

The pronunciation of /ai/ is more complicated in word-final position. When /ai/ is formed across morpheme boundaries and is not preceded by a high vowel, /ai/ is pronounced as [ai]. For example, the plural suffix *-i* occurs with the preceding augment allomorph *-a* (see section 7.3.3.2) on the verb *gowil* ‘count’ in example (2.31). The resulting /ai/ is pronounced as [ai] because it occurs word-finally and is not preceded by a high vowel.

- (2.31) ta    uɪɛmalde                      ta    wi<sup>ŋ</sup>gowilai.  
 ta    h-iɛmal-de-∅                      ta    w-gowil-a-i.  
 FUT 1PL-hear.R-AUG-SG.F    FUT 3PL-count.R-AUG-PL  
 ‘We will hear (the results) when they count them (the votes).’ (120621-001:521.758)  
 RNS JS

When this sequence is formed across morpheme boundaries in word-final position and is preceded by a high vowel, pronunciation depends on the syllabification of the preceding

high vowel. When the immediately preceding high vowel is syllabified as a simple onset, the sequence /ai/ is pronounced as [ai], as in (2.32). In this example, the plural suffix *-i* follows the augment allomorph *-wa* on the verb *ori* ‘hit’ (i.e. *oriwai* [ó.ri.wái] ‘hit them’).

- (2.32)    nana            nōriwai            wí<sup>n</sup>di nɔ<sup>n</sup>di            tumani.  
           n-ana            n-ori-wa-i            wdi    n-odi            tumani.  
           2SG-come.R 2SG-hit.R-AUG-PL SUB    2SG-make.R building  
           ‘You (sg) come hit them (the posts) to build the house.’ (120522-002:101.110)  
           RNS, JS

However, when the preceding high vowel is not syllabified as a simple onset, the sequence /ai/ is pronounced as [ɛi]. For example, when /i/ follows a morpheme which ends in /ia/ like *wia* ‘two’ or *ania* ‘call’, the resulting /ai/ sequence is pronounced as [ɛi] (i.e. *wiai* /wiai/ [wiɛi] ‘two’ and *aniai* /aniai/ [á.niɛi] ‘call them’). This pronunciation is shown in (2.33), where the plural suffix *-i* occurs on the verb *ania* ‘call’.

- (2.33)    ti    ta    ɰiɾɔ si    ɛɾɔ    iniɛi            ɰamɛi ɰiɾɔ.  
           te-i    ta    hiro si    Ø-ero    Ø-inia-i            hamei hiro.  
           3-PL FUT NEG again 3PL-go.I 3PL-call.I-PL people NEG  
           ‘They will not go again and call the people.’ (120621-001:1028.650) RNS, AS

The rules can be summarized as follows:

**/ai/ is pronounced as [ai]** across morpheme boundaries if (a) word-final and not immediately preceded by a high vowel or if (b) word-final and preceded by a high vowel syllabified as a simple onset.

**/ai/ is pronounced as [ɛi]** across morpheme boundaries in all other positions.

Although /ai/ is pronounced as [ai] word-finally when not following a high vowel syllabified as a simple onset, as with the verb *gowil* ‘count’ in the example previously provided in (2.31), the sequence can nonetheless be pronounced as [ɛi] in this context in particularly rapid speech.<sup>47</sup> This is demonstrated in example (2.34), where the final /ai/ of *ngowilai* is pronounced as [ɛi].

<sup>47</sup>This is parallel to the acceptability of voiced plosives being pronounced with prenasalization in word-initial position in faster speech if the preceding word ends in a vowel (see section 2.1.1.1).

- (2.34) jε ni<sup>ɲ</sup>gɔwɪɛi wi<sup>n</sup>di tumani wije ta  
 ye n-gowil-a-i wdi tumani w-∅=ye ta  
 2SG 2SG-count.R-AUG-PL PREP building REL-SG.F=2SG FUT  
 nɔ<sup>n</sup>dia.  
 n-odi-a-∅.  
 2SG-make.R-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘You (sg) count them for your (sg) house you (sg) will build.’ (120522-002:110.134)  
 RNS, JS

When this /ai/ sequence is reduplicated word-finally (see section 2.6.2), this can result in the first sequence being pronounced as [ɛi], while the word-final reduplicated sequence is pronounced as [ai], assuming it is not preceded by a high vowel syllabified as a simple onset. Example (2.35) demonstrates partial reduplication of the verb *aruba* ‘do well, decorate’ which results in distinct pronunciations of the sequence /ai/ in the reduplicant and in the base. Similarly, example (2.36) illustrates differing pronunciations of /ai/ when complete reduplication of the numeral *ɲa* ‘one’ occurs and the reduplicated sequence is spoken quickly.

- (2.35) ɔtuei ta ɥina<sup>m</sup>bri ɥarubɛibai.  
 yot-u-i, ta h-nabir-e-i h-aruba-i-bai.  
 DEM-MDIST-PL FUT 1PL-sharpen.R-AUG-PL 1PL-do.well.R-PL-RED  
 ‘Those, we will sharpen them very carefully.’ (120522-002:172.856) RNS, JS
- (2.36) ɥelɔl ɲɛi ɲai psɪɾma ɛtai.  
 helol ɲa-i ɲa-i psia ∅-er<ma> yot-a-i.  
 work one-PL one-PL arrive 3PL-arrive.R<IPFV> DEM-PROX-PL  
 ‘A lot of work is happening now.’ (120620-012:159.714) RNS, JS

It is important to note that these rules regarding the pronunciation of /ai/ in different contexts are generally true of the lexicon as a whole. However, several exceptions to this pattern (e.g. *haiketa* [ɥaiketa] ‘white cockatoo, white’, *henei* [ɥɛɲɛi] ‘blood, red’) necessitate the restriction of these rules to only contexts where /a/ and /i/ belong to separate morphemes. Several contexts where this occurs include: (i) morphology involving the plural morpheme as demonstrated in the previous examples, (ii) lexicalized phrases like *tata yailuan* (pronounced [tateiluan] in examples like (2.37), and (iii) contexts where a demonstrative (see section 6.2.7) follows a word ending in /a/, as in example (2.38) with the particle *ba* (see section 10.1.4) or (2.39) with the WGN adjective *ilua* ‘bad’ (see section 3.5.1.1).

- (2.37) tateiluan ɥarkrɔkil ɥirɔ.  
 tata yailua-n harkroki-l hiro.  
 older.sibling poor-SG.M chicken-PL NEG  
 ‘Poor brother has no chickens.’ (120524-004:320.012) RNS, JS

- (2.38) beitua                      la    ɯarɔ              nɔ<sup>m</sup>bia              ɯir              batas.  
           ba yot-ua-∅              la    h-aro              ∅-nobia              h-er              Batas.  
           SB DEM-DIST-SG.F PST 1PL-go.R 1PL-talk.R 1PL-go.to.I Batas  
           ‘For sure, we went because we wanted to go to Batas.’ (120606-000:440.573) RNS,  
           JS

- (2.39) wiluɛita                                              ki              wɔr              ɛta.  
           w=ilua-∅ yot-a-∅                                      ki              w-or              yot-a-∅.  
           REL=bad-SG.F DEM-PROX-SG.F already 3SG.F-lie.R DEM-PROX-SG.F  
           ‘The bad one was lying here.’ (140407-189:447.010) DE, LA

Lastly, borrowings suggest that historically, this rule was active throughout the phonology. For example, a common type of banana is called *miaga seina* ‘Chinese banana’ in Yeri. There is no [tʃ] in Yeri and the sound is pronounced as [s]. Of interest here though, the sequence /ai/ in ‘China’ is pronounced as [ɛi], resulting in the pronunciation [seina] ‘China’.

### 2.5.5 The pronunciation of /oi/ as [ɛi]

Similar to the pronunciation of /a/ followed by the infix *-i-* (see section 2.5.4), when the plural infix *-i-* follows the /o/ realis vowel (see section 7.6), the sequence /oi/ is pronounced as [ɛi].<sup>48</sup> Examples are presented in (2.40) and (2.41), where the verbs *ogiwa* ‘ask’ and *owi* ‘take’ occur with a plural object *hamei* ‘people’. This results in the plural infix following the /o/ realis vowel and the sequence is pronounced as [ɛi]. An additional phonetic transcription is included preceding the orthographic transcription throughout this section to more clearly illustrate this pronunciation.

- (2.40) ɯɛigiwa                      ti    ɯamɛi.  
           h-o<i>giwa              te-i    hamei.  
           1PL-ask.R<PL> 3-PL people  
           ‘We asked the men.’ (120606-000:69.415) RNS, JS

- (2.41) tɛn    ta    nɛiwil                                      ɯamɛi.  
           te-n    ta    n-o<i>wil                                      hamei.  
           3-SG.M FUT 3SG.M-take.R<PL> people  
           ‘He will take people.’ (120520-000:192.941) RNS, AS

Note that the V+HV sequence /oi/ is pronounced as [ɛi] only when the sequence involves the plural infix *-i-*. When this sequence results from the plural suffix *-i*, the default pronunciation [oi] occurs, as in examples (2.42) and (2.43) with the verbs *aro* ‘forehead carry’ and *gako* ‘chop up’.

<sup>48</sup>There is strong evidence that the /o/ realis vowel is historically \*a.



- (2.42) matia ana uɪwɔra wi<sup>n</sup>di kɔni na<sup>ŋ</sup>gɛ<sup>m</sup>bia  
 m-atia Ana hiwora w-∅=di Koni nage-bia  
 1SG-see.R Ana wife REL-SG=3 Koni limbum.basket-PL  
 aroɪ.  
 ∅-aro-i.  
 3PL-forehead.carry-PL  
 ‘I saw Ana and Koni’s wife and they carried the limbum with them.’ (120524-000:129.759) RNS, LN

- (2.43) wi<sup>n</sup>darkɔka widarku wi<sup>n</sup>darku wɔki ɥare lɔlɛwa  
 w-darkoka w-darku w-darku w-oki-∅ hare lolewa  
 3SG.F-rush.R 3SG.F-run.R 3SG.F-run 3SG.F-o.R-SG.F leaf thing  
 wi<sup>ŋ</sup>gakɔi.  
 w-gako-i.  
 3SG.F-chop.up.R-PL  
 ‘She hurried to take and cut the leaves.’ (120517-001:254.580) RNS,JS

### 2.5.6 Vowel disharmony

In this section, I frequently make a distinction between what I call lexical allomorphs, which are lexically conditioned forms of a morpheme and what I call phonological allomorphs, which are phonologically conditioned forms of a morpheme (see section 1.7.4 for more discussion on this distinction). This section is devoted to describing a process of vowel disharmony that is active in the language in the selection of several phonological allomorphs. I describe the selection of plural phonological allomorphs in section 2.5.6.1, imperfective and additive phonological allomorphs in section 2.5.6.2, and third person object phonological allomorphs in section 2.5.6.3.

All but one of these morphemes can be described as undergoing the same vowel disharmony process whereby the monophthong vowels /i/, /e/, and /u/ trigger a low vowel phonological allomorph and all other vowels or VV sequences (see section 2.3.2) trigger a phonological allomorph with /e/. Given that /e/ patterns with high vowels in Yeri across several phenomena in the language due to its more frequent allophonic realization [i] (see section 2.1.2.1), I refer to this process as ‘high vowel disharmony’ and the vowels /i/, /e/, and /u/ as ‘harmony high vowels’. In contexts where high vowel disharmony is active, the harmony high vowels trigger low vowel phonological allomorphs and all other monophthongs or VV sequences trigger a phonological allomorph with /e/. The last morpheme can be described as undergoing this same vowel disharmony process in some contexts, but a more restricted vowel disharmony process in other contexts.

### 2.5.6.1 Plural morphemes

The default plural suffix on nouns in Yeri *-(e)gVI* has three phonological allomorphs (see section 5.4.2.1). Two of these *-gal* /-gal/ and *-gil* /-gel/ are selected based on the vowel(s) in the preceding syllable.<sup>49</sup> In nouns like *mumu* ‘mumu owl’, *hayir* ‘hayir tree’ or *lagi* ‘lagi rat’, where the vowel in the syllable immediately preceding is a monophthong harmony high vowel (/i, e, u/), the low vowel phonological allomorph *-gal* is selected, as shown in Table 2.44.

Table 2.44: Plural vowel disharmony: the phonological allomorph *-gal*

| gloss          | singular | plural      |
|----------------|----------|-------------|
| ‘mango’        | libi     | libi-gal    |
| ‘hayir tree’   | hayir    | hayir-gal   |
| ‘yabanul tree’ | yabanul  | yabanul-gal |
| ‘mumu owl’     | mumu     | mumu-gal    |
| ‘bird hut’     | nanipe   | nanipe-gal  |
| ‘lagi rat’     | lagi     | lagi-gal    |
| ‘strainer’     | hugil    | hugil-gal   |

However, as Table 2.45 shows, nouns like *huba* ‘hawk’, *henei* ‘blood, red’, or *yamiho* ‘yamiho frog’, which do not end in one of these monophthong vowels, select the harmony high vowel phonological allomorph *-gil*.

Table 2.45: Plural vowel disharmony: the phonological allomorph *-gil*

| gloss         | singular  | plural        |
|---------------|-----------|---------------|
| ‘hawk’        | huba      | huba-gil      |
| ‘marpal yam’  | marpal    | marpal-gil    |
| ‘yamiho frog’ | yamiho    | yamiho-gil    |
| ‘blood, red’  | henei     | henei-gil     |
| ‘vine’        | moi       | moi-gil       |
| ‘earthworm’   | halmiebia | halmiebia-gil |
| ‘legend’      | pirsakai  | pirsakai-gil  |

### 2.5.6.2 Predicate morphemes

Vowel disharmony also occurs with what I refer to as ‘predicate morphemes’, an imperfective and an additive morpheme that can occur on most word classes operating as predicates (see chapter 8). For all word classes where predicate morphemes follow the root, the choice of phonological allomorph is determined by the vowel(s) in the preceding syllable. When the vowel in the immediately preceding syllable is a monophthong harmony high vowel (/i, e, u/),

<sup>49</sup>The vowel /e/ is realized as [i] in unstressed syllables closed by liquids. This results in the suffix /-gel/ being pronounced as [gil] (see section 2.1.2.1).

the low vowel phonological allomorph *-Ca* /-Ca/ is selected, *-ma* /-ma/ for the imperfective morpheme and *-pa* /-pa/ for the additive morpheme. Otherwise, the phonological allomorph *-Ci* /-Ce/ is selected, *-mi* /-me/ for the imperfective morpheme and *-pi* /-pe/ for the additive morpheme.<sup>50</sup> Table 2.46 provides examples of phonological allomorph selection.

Table 2.46: Predicate allomorphy: *-Ca* vs. *-Ci*

| gloss        | stem     | IPFV        | ADD         |
|--------------|----------|-------------|-------------|
| ‘wife’       | hiwora   | hiwora-mi   | hiwora-pi   |
| ‘night’      | hemal    | hemal-mi    | hemal-pi    |
| ‘teenager’   | turega   | turega-mi   | turega-pi   |
| ‘morning’    | maleikia | maleikia-mi | maleikia-pi |
| ‘elder, old’ | hodehi-l | hodehi-l-ma | hodehi-l-pa |
| ‘top’        | tupi     | tupi-ma     | tupi-pa     |
| ‘afternoon’  | maladi   | maladi-ma   | maladi-pa   |

Note that predicate morphemes follow any gender or number suffixes that occur and show vowel disharmony with the vowel(s) in the immediately preceding syllable. In other words, with singular and plural forms of nouns like *hiwora* ‘wife’, distinct phonological allomorphs may be selected depending on whether the noun occurs with a plural morpheme. For instance, the singular form of the noun *hiwora* occurs with the harmony high vowel phonological allomorph *-mi* /-me/ because the vowel in the preceding syllable is /a/ (i.e. *hiworami* [ʔiʷɔrami]). However, when the same morpheme occurs with a plural form of the same noun, the low vowel phonological allomorph *-ma* /-ma/ occurs because of the harmony high vowel in the preceding syllable, either /i/ or /e/ depending on whether *-gi* or *gil* occurs to indicate plural number (i.e. *hiworagilma* [ʔiʷɔra<sup>h</sup>gilma] or *hiworagima* [ʔiʷɔra<sup>h</sup>gima]).<sup>51</sup>

With verbs, predicate morphemes occur within the verb root as an infix (see section 8.4 and chapter 9), and it is the following vowel that conditions the choice of phonological allomorph. When the vowel in the immediately following syllable is /e/, a harmony high vowel which is frequently realized as [i] (see section 2.1.2.1 and section 8.5.2.1), the low vowel phonological allomorph *-Ca-* /-Ca-/ (*-ma-* /-ma-/ for the imperfective or *-pa-* /-pa-/ for the additive) is selected. However, when the following vowel is /a/ (a low vowel), the harmony high vowel phonological allomorph *-Ce-* /Ce-/ (*-me-* /-me-/ for the imperfective or *-pe-* /-pe-/ for the additive) is selected. Table 2.47 illustrates vowel disharmony in the selection of the imperfective phonological allomorph with the verbs *oba* ‘shoot’, *opa* ‘to be rained on’, and *goba* ‘bend in half’. Note that vowel disharmony only occurs in a small class of verbs which also show a stem-final vowel alternation between /e/ and /a/ (e.g. [bɔ<sup>m</sup>bi] ‘they shoot me’

<sup>50</sup>The vowel /e/ is realized as [i] in this context (see section 2.1.2.1).

<sup>51</sup>See section 5.4.2.15 for discussion of this variation in the selection of number morphemes.

but [ɔne<sup>m</sup>ba] ‘they shoot me). This vowel alternation is the focus of section 7.4.

Table 2.47: Predicate allomorphy: *-Ca-* and *-Ce-*

| gloss             | 1SG    | 3-SG.M   | 1SG/IPFV   | 3SG.M/IPFV   |
|-------------------|--------|----------|------------|--------------|
| ‘shoot’           | b-obi  | o<ne>ba  | b-o<me>ba  | o<ne><ma>bi  |
| ‘to be rained on’ | b-opi  | o<ne>pa  | b-o<me>pa  | o<ne><ma>pi  |
| ‘bend in half’    | b-gobi | go<ne>ba | b-go<me>ba | go<ne><ma>bi |

### 2.5.6.3 Augment morphemes and pronominal clitics

There are several forms in Yeri which undergo vowel disharmony and are used in the referencing of objects. Two of these forms are analyzed as what I call augment allomorphs, allomorphs which do not express a meaning of their own, but which obligatorily precede object suffixes on specific verb classes (see section 7.3.3.2). In this section, I first discuss the augment allomorph *-(w)V*, which is used in combination with gender and number suffixes for a class of verbs to refer to third person objects. I then turn to discussion of vowel disharmony in a type of pronominal form I refer to as a ‘bare non-verbal pronominal clitic’ = *dV* (see section 4.2). Lastly, I discuss how when the same form occurs with verbs as an augment allomorph (segmented as *-dV* in this context), it undergoes a more restricted type of vowel disharmony.

**The augment allomorph *-wV*** Yeri has a large number of verbs which select for what I call augment allomorphs, allomorphs which have no meaning and which precede the typical gender and numbers suffixes for third person objects (see section 7.3.3.2). One of these augment allomorphs *-(w)V* is a lexical allomorph (see section 1.7.4) with four phonological allomorphs: *-e*, *-a*, *-we*, and *-wa*. A phonological allomorph is selected based on vowel disharmony and the form of the syllable the augment allomorph follows. When the syllable it follows ends in a single monophthong vowel or an HV+V sequence, a phonological allomorph beginning with a /w/ is selected (either *-we* or *-wa*). When the the syllable it follows ends in a V+HV sequence or a consonant, a phonological allomorph with a single vowel is selected (either *-e* or *-a*).

When the vowel in the immediately preceding syllable is a monophthong harmony high vowel /i, e, u/, then a low vowel phonological allomorph (i.e. *-a*, or *-wa*) is selected as in Table 2.48. For instance, the vowel /e/ (realized as [i]) in the verb *apil* ‘collect’ triggers the selection of *-a*, and the /i/ in the verb *gosi* ‘drain’ triggers the selection of *-wa*.

Table 2.48: Augment allomorph vowel disharmony:  $-(w)a$ 

| gloss     | root   |          | 3SG.F                 | 3SG.M      |
|-----------|--------|----------|-----------------------|------------|
| ‘collect’ | apil   | /apel/   | apil-a- $\emptyset$   | apil-a-n   |
| ‘bite’    | anokil | /anokel/ | anokil-a- $\emptyset$ | anokil-a-n |
| ‘drag’    | agir   | /ager/   | agir-a- $\emptyset$   | agir-a-n   |
| ‘count’   | gowil  | /gowel/  | gowil-a- $\emptyset$  | gowil-a-n  |
| ‘drain’   | gosi   | /gosi/   | gosi-wa- $\emptyset$  | gosi-wa-n  |
| ‘blow on’ | ati    | /ati/    | ati-wa- $\emptyset$   | ati-wa-n   |
| ‘hit’     | ori    | /ori/    | ori-wa- $\emptyset$   | ori-wa-n   |
| ‘run’     | darku  | /darku/  | darku-wa- $\emptyset$ | darku-wa-n |

However, when the vowel in the immediately preceding syllable is not a monophthong harmony high vowel, then a harmony high vowel phonological allomorph with /e/ (i.e.  $-e$ , or  $-we$ ) is selected, as in Table 2.49. For instance, the /a/ in *atar* ‘split’ triggers the selection of  $-e$ , and the V+HV sequence /ou/ in *altou* ‘cover’ triggers the selection of  $-e$ .

Table 2.49: Augment allomorph vowel disharmony:  $-(w)e$ 

| gloss     | root   |          | 3SG.F                 | 3SG.M      |
|-----------|--------|----------|-----------------------|------------|
| ‘descend’ | anor   | /anor/   | anor-e- $\emptyset$   | anor-e-n   |
| ‘split’   | atar   | /atar/   | atar-e- $\emptyset$   | atar-e-n   |
| ‘squeeze’ | gawor  | /gawor/  | gawor-e- $\emptyset$  | gawor-e-n  |
| ‘rinse’   | asor   | /asor/   | asor-e- $\emptyset$   | asor-e-n   |
| ‘pull’    | alkial | /alkial/ | alkial-e- $\emptyset$ | alkial-e-n |
| ‘cover’   | altou  | /altou/  | altou-e- $\emptyset$  | altou-e-n  |
| ‘chase’   | ogera  | /ogera/  | ogera-we- $\emptyset$ | ogera-we-n |
| ‘mend’    | ola    | /ola/    | ola-we- $\emptyset$   | ola-we-n   |
| ‘die’     | nakia  | /nakia/  | nakia-we- $\emptyset$ | nakia-we-n |

**The bare non-verbal pronominal clitic = $dV$**  Vowel disharmony also occurs in the selection of phonological allomorphs for what I term the bare non-verbal pronominal clitic (bare pronominal clitic for short) (see section 4.2 for a discussion of the various types of pronominal forms including pronominal clitics).<sup>52</sup> This lexical allomorph = $dV$  has two phonological allomorphs, a low vowel allomorph = $da$  and a harmony high vowel allomorph = $de$ . Unlike the previously discussed allomorphs, vowel disharmony is not obligatory with the bare non-verbal pronominal clitic = $dV$ . While phonological allomorphs can be selected on the basis of vowel disharmony, one form, the low vowel form (i.e. = $da$ ) is always acceptable, even where vowel disharmony would select the harmony high vowel form (i.e. = $de$ ). Furthermore,

<sup>52</sup>Pronominal clitics are one of the few times where I use the label ‘clitic’ and employ an equal sign rather than a hyphen or a space to segment. See section 1.7.2 for discussion regarding what this distinction means and section 4.2 for discussion regarding the behavior this signifies for pronominal clitics.

only some speakers still show dissimilated forms of the bare pronominal clitic. Among younger speakers in particular, =*da* is the only form used.

Given the use of =*da* as the default form in most circumstances, I demonstrate vowel disharmony with bare pronominal clitics in the possessive ‘have’ construction (see section 4.6.5). This is the context where vowel disharmony most frequently occurs. I also include examples of a construction where the name of a village is immediately followed by a bare pronominal clitic to refer to the people from that village. This is another common context for vowel disharmony.

Parallel to the other examples of vowel disharmony in Yeri, when the vowel in the syllable immediately preceding the bare pronominal clitic is a monophthong harmony high vowel /i, e, u/, the low vowel phonological allomorph, =*da*, is selected. For instance, the /e/ in the noun *hare leaf*, the /i/ in the noun *mali* ‘stick’ and the /u/ in the village name *Nawun* ‘Wuro village’ triggers the =*da* phonological allomorph of the bare pronominal clitic.

Table 2.50: The bare non-verbal phonological allomorph: =*da*

| gloss              | root    |           | pronominal clitic     |
|--------------------|---------|-----------|-----------------------|
| ‘large intestines’ | nuake   | /nuake/   | nuake=da- $\emptyset$ |
| ‘leaf’             | hare    | /ɥare/    | hare=da- $\emptyset$  |
| ‘stick’            | mali    | /mali/    | mali=da- $\emptyset$  |
| ‘Yeri’             | Yeri    | /jeri/    | Yeri=da-i             |
| ‘Wuro village’     | Nawun   | /nawun/   | Nawun=da-i            |
| ‘Yonomil hamlet’   | Yonomil | /jonomel/ | Yonomil=da-i          |
| ‘Yobil mountain’   | Yobil   | /jobel/   | Yobil=da-i            |
| ‘yababu greens’    | yababu  | /jababu/  | yababu=da-i           |
| ‘mawu tree’        | mawu    | /mawu/    | mawu=da-i             |

When the vowel in the syllable immediately preceding the bare pronominal clitic is not one of these vowels, the /e/ phonological allomorph, =*de*, is selected. For instance, the /a/ in *Splaga* ‘Sibilanga village’ and the /o/ in *Kopom* ‘Kopom village’ trigger the harmony high vowel phonological allomorph =*de*. Examples are provided in Table 2.51.

Table 2.51: The bare non-verbal phonological allomorph: =*de*

| gloss               | root     |            | pronominal clitic |
|---------------------|----------|------------|-------------------|
| ‘Sibilanga village’ | Splaga   | /seplaga/  | Splaga=de-i       |
| ‘Yapunda village’   | Yapuda   | /japuda/   | Yapuda=de-i       |
| ‘Marikumba village’ | Markebal | /markebal/ | Markebal=de-i     |
| ‘America’           | Amerika  | /amerika/  | Amerika=de-i      |
| ‘Kopom village’     | Kopom    | /kopom/    | Kopom=de-i        |
| ‘yamiho frog’       | yamiho   | /jameɥo/   | yamiho=de-i       |

**The augment allomorph  $-dV$**  There is another augment allomorph, in addition to  $-(w)V$  which undergoes vowel disharmony. This augment allomorph  $-dV$  (see section 7.3.3.2) is identical in form to the bare pronominal clitic  $=dV$  (see section 4.2). I analyze the augment allomorph and the pronominal clitic as a single form which shows slightly different behavior depending on whether it occurs with a verb or whether it occurs in a non-verbal clause as a bare non-verbal pronominal clitic. When it occurs as a pronominal clitic, the allomorph displays behavior associated with less tightly bound morphemes, and when it occurs as an augment allomorph, it displays behavior associated with more tightly bound morphemes. This is symbolized by my segmenting the pronominal clitic with an equal sign and the augment allomorph with the hyphen.

While both the pronominal clitic and the augment allomorph undergo vowel disharmony, the augment allomorph shows a more restricted version of vowel disharmony, and it is for this reason, that I discuss it here separately from the pronominal clitic. When the form functions as an augment allomorph, the harmony high vowel phonological allomorph (i.e.  $-de$ ) is selected when the vowel in the immediately preceding syllable is the monophthong vowel /a/, while the low vowel phonological allomorph (i.e.  $-da$ ) is selected in all other environments. Several examples of verbs which select for this augment are shown in Table 2.52.

Table 2.52: The augment lexical allomorph:  $-dV$ 

| gloss          | root     |            | 3SG.F                    | 3SG.M         | 3PL                          |
|----------------|----------|------------|--------------------------|---------------|------------------------------|
| ‘talk’         | nobia    | /nobia/    | nobia-da- $\emptyset$    | nobia-da-n    | nobia-da-i, nobia-da-m       |
| ‘smell’        | anu      | /anu/      | anu-da- $\emptyset$      | anu-da-n      | anu-da-i, anu-da-m           |
| ‘cross river’  | okirkai  | /okerkai/  | okirkai-da- $\emptyset$  | okirkai-da-n  | okirkai-da-i, okirkai-da-m   |
| ‘laugh’        | arkuagil | /arkwagel/ | arkuagil-da- $\emptyset$ | arkuagil-da-n | arkuagil-da-i, arkuagil-da-m |
| ‘be happy’     | datiki   | /datiki/   | datiki-da- $\emptyset$   | datiki-da-n   | datiki-da-i, datiki-da-m     |
| ‘pass to’      | awoka    | /awoka/    | awoka-de- $\emptyset$    | awoka-de-n    | awoka-de-i, awoka-de-m       |
| ‘be in a pile’ | dolyulma | /doljulma/ | dolyulma-de- $\emptyset$ | dolyulma-de-n | dolyulma-de-i, dolyulma-de-m |

Finally, when the  $-dV$  allomorph is used to refer to applicative objects (see section 7.7), vowel disharmony is optional. The low vowel phonological allomorph  $-da$  is always acceptable in this context, even where vowel disharmony would select  $-de$ .

### 2.5.7 /ia/ final verbs and $-ki$ or *danua*

For verbs ending in /ia/, the final /a/ can optionally be deleted before suffixing the applicative morpheme  $-ki$  (see section 7.7.3). This is clear from examples like (2.44) or (2.45), where the verbs *ania* ‘call’ and *atia* ‘see’ show deletion of this final /a/, and examples (2.46) and (2.47), where this deletion does not occur.

- (2.44) nua wi<sup>n</sup>dɛn winɔ<sup>m</sup>bia daniki mal?  
 nua w-∅=de-n w-nobia, “d-ania-ki mal?”  
 mother REL-SG=3-SG.M 3SG.F-talk.R MDL-call.R-APPL what  
 ‘His mom said, “What are you (sg) calling for?”’ (120517-001:1852.275) RNS, JS
- (2.45) maɟa narɔ natiki danua puɟu ɰirka tɛ  
 maɟa-n n-aro n-atia-ki danua-∅ puyu hirka te-∅  
 what-SG.M 3SG.M-go.R 3SG.M-see-APPL PREP-SG.F rock new 3-SG.F  
 wi<sup>n</sup>dɛn.  
 w-∅=de-n.  
 REL-SG=3-SG.M  
 ‘Who went to see about money for her?’ (120621-001:643.978) RNS, YM
- (2.46) jɛm baniaki maɟa?  
 yem b-ania-ki maɟa-∅?  
 2PL 1SG-call.R-APPL what-SG.F  
 ‘What are you (pl) calling me for?’ (140423-035:43.155) GJ+GE-[baniaki], LA
- (2.47) ti ki ana jatiaki maɟa?  
 te-i ki ∅-ana ∅-y-atia-ki maɟa-∅?  
 3-PL already 3PL-come.R 3PL-2-see.R-APPL what-SG.F  
 ‘What did they come to see you (sg or pl) for?’ (140423-035:144.407) GJ+GE-[yatiaki], LA

This deletion of /a/ from verbs which end in /ia/ can also optionally occur when the preposition *danua* ‘for, to, at’ (see section 3.10.2) immediately follows, as demonstrated by (2.48) with the verb *alia* ‘drop’.

- (2.48) wan winjɛm ta jali danuan maɟan?  
 wan w-n=yem ta y-alia-∅ danua-n maɟa-n?  
 heart REL-SG.M=2PL FUT 2PL-drop.R-SG.F PREP-SG.M what-SG.M  
 ‘Your (pl) mind, you (pl) will vote for whom?’ (120621-001:328.478) RNS, JS

### 2.5.8 Optional subject prefix omission before prefixes

This section describes the optional omission of subject prefixes (see section 7.3.1) when they precede another prefix, either an object prefix (see section 7.3.2) or the detransitivizing *d-* prefix (see section 7.5).<sup>53</sup> While examples do occur in natural speech demonstrating the grammaticality of subject prefix omission in this context, this omission is nonetheless infrequent in the corpus.<sup>54</sup> Examples (2.49)-(2.52) demonstrate the omission of subject

<sup>53</sup>Object prefixes and the detransitivizing *d-* prefix are the only prefixes that can occur between subject prefixes and the verb root (see section 7.2).

<sup>54</sup>There is one exception to this. When the object prefix *w-* (1PL) follows the subject prefix *w-* (3SG.F) or *w-* (3PL), the omission of the subject prefix is obligatory. This is discussed later in the section.



prefixes in contexts where they would co-occur with object prefixes or the detransitivizing *d-* prefix. In these examples, only the object or detransitivizing prefixes occurs, the first person singular object prefix *b-* in example (2.49), the second person object prefix *y-* in example (2.50), the first person plural object prefix in example (2.51), and the detransitivizing prefix *d-* in example (2.52).

- (2.49) *te-∅ b-aya nanu-la.*  
 3-SG.F 1SG-give.R fish-SG  
 ‘She gave me fish.’ (140409-168:16.970) GJ, JS
- (2.50) *hebi y-nobia ye.*  
 1PL 2-talk.R 2SG  
 ‘We told you (sg).’ (140409-168:39.729) GJ, JS
- (2.51) *yem w-ori hebi.*  
 2PL 1PL-hit.R 1PL  
 ‘You (pl) hit us.’ (140409-168:56.770) GJ, JS
- (2.52) *ŋa-∅ yot-u-∅, nuate ŋa-∅ yot-u-∅, nigo-∅*  
 one-SG.F DEM-MDIST-SG.F female one-SG.F DEM-MDIST-SG.F child-SG.F  
*d-awil-a-∅*  
 MDL-hang-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘Another one there, a female one there, a baby hung on her.’ (120621-004:164.239)  
 RNS, TW

Examples (2.53) and (2.54) illustrate the optionality of subject prefix omission with object prefixes. In example (2.53), the third person singular feminine subject prefix *w-* co-occurs with the first person singular subject prefix *b-*. Example (2.54) demonstrates the third person singular masculine subject prefix *n-* co-occurring with the second person object prefix *y-*.

- (2.53) *mimi w-∅=hem w-b-a<i><me>rōte hur-i*  
 mother REL-SG.F=1SG 3SG.F-1SG-cook.in.leaf.R<PL><IPFV> sago.flour-PL  
*w-b-a<me>ya*  
 3SG.F-1SG-give.R<IPFV>  
 ‘My mother will cook sago flour and give me (it).’ (120601-012:195.530) RNS, YW
- (2.54) *nebal ta n-y-o<me>ri.*  
 tree FUT 3SG.M-2-hit.R<IPFV>  
 ‘The tree branch will hit you (sg or pl).’ (120601-009:195.126) RNS, YW

There is only one position where this co-occurrence of subject prefix and object prefix is not permitted. When the subject prefix and the object prefix consist of an identical phoneme,

the subject prefix is always omitted. For example, when the subject is third person singular feminine and the object is first person plural, the two prefixes are identical and only the object prefix occurs. Example (2.55) demonstrates this co-occurrence restriction.

- (2.55) te- $\emptyset$  ki w-aga-ki homnugi-i hebi.  
 3-SG.F already 1PL-get.R-APPL tulip.tree-PL 1PL  
 ‘She collected tulip for us.’ (2010-B1.pdf:117) DE, LA

### 2.5.9 /n/ deletion

The alveolar nasal can be deleted in certain contexts where it occurs adjacent to a consonant across morpheme boundaries.<sup>55</sup> While this typically involves the nasal preceding a consonant-initial morpheme, it can also involve the nasal following a morpheme that ends in a consonant. The omission of the subject prefixes *n-* (2SG) and *n-* (3SG.M) before object prefixes and the detransitivizing prefix *d-* is discussed in section 2.5.8 because all subject prefixes can be omitted in this context and not just those consisting of the alveolar nasal. In this section, I only discuss the deletion of /n/ (i) before consonant-initial verbs, (ii) before consonant-initial plural suffixes, and (iii) following /l/.

These are not the only contexts where /n/ occurs adjacent to a consonant, but the remaining contexts involve additional complicating factors that require more research before analysis. For instance, /n/ can occur adjacent to a consonant as part of a reduplicated sequence. However, there is a degree of variation in the number of segments reduplicated in this context (see section 2.6.2). Examples that might be analyzed as involving optional /n/ deletion could be alternatively analyzed as simply reduplicating fewer segments.

Also, several of the remaining contexts involve instances where /n/ always indicates masculine gender. Since (a) Yeri permits many nouns to trigger feminine or masculine agreement (see section 5.3.4.3), (b) feminine gender is frequently indicated by a phonologically null morpheme, literally the absence of an overt masculine or plural morpheme, (see section 5.5.8), and (c) Yeri agreement is optional in certain contexts (see section 5.5), much more research into gender is necessary to determine if these are contexts where a lack of /n/ should be analyzed as /n/ deletion rather than feminine gender or simple lack of agreement. For the purposes of this grammar, I set these more complex contexts aside for future research.

Lastly, it is worth noting that although I describe this as /n/ deletion when adjacent to a consonant across morpheme boundaries, the most contexts which clearly involve deletion occur adjacent to /d/, /g/, or /l/. A summary of contexts where /n/ deletion can occur is presented in Table 2.53 for easy reference.

<sup>55</sup>Note that if /n/ precedes the phoneme /ɰ/ <h>, /ɰ/ <h> is always deleted, never /n/ (see section 3.5.4).

Table 2.53: Possibility of /n/ deletion

|                                                | Is /n/ deletion possible? | frequency?                                              |
|------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| Before object prefix                           | Yes                       | optional, uncommon                                      |
| Before detransitivizing prefix <i>d-</i>       | Yes                       | optional, not uncommon                                  |
| Before C-initial verb                          | Yes                       | optional, not uncommon                                  |
| Before C-initial plural morphemes:             | Yes                       | obligatory                                              |
| Following /l/<br>(even across a word boundary) | Yes                       | optional, uncommon<br>(except with lexicalized phrases) |

I discuss /n/ deletion before consonant-initial verbs in section 2.5.9.1, /n/ deletion before consonant-initial plural suffixes in section 2.5.9.2, and /n/ deletion following /l/ in section 2.5.9.3.

### 2.5.9.1 Optional deletion before consonant-initial verbs

The second person singular or third person singular masculine subject prefix can optionally be omitted when immediately preceding consonant-initial verbs.<sup>56</sup> For example, the verb roots *nania* ‘go in’ and *nola* ‘dislike’ begin with the root initial consonant /n/. In examples (2.56)-(2.60), an identical subject prefix indicating second person singular *n-* or third person singular masculine *n-* occurs. In (2.58) and (2.59) though, the subject prefix is omitted with these verbs.

- (2.56) ta n-aro n-aro n-nania.  
 FUT 3SG.M-go.R 3SG.M-go.R 3SG.M-go.in.R  
 ‘It goes and goes and goes inside.’(120601-012:108.734)(120601-012:108.734) RNS,  
 YW

<sup>56</sup>Given the obligatory omission of the subject prefix *w* before the object prefix *w-* (see section 2.5.8), it is possible that the omission of the alveolar nasal prefix *n-* could be explained by a phonological tendency to avoid sequences of two identical segments in Yeri. While this analysis has some merit and could result in a larger generalization, the fact that *n-* is only optionally omitted (and frequently occurs with common verbs like *nobia* ‘talk’) while the first in a sequence of /w/ prefixes is obligatorily omitted shows that these two phenomena display some differences in their behavior and weakens the potential generalization.

Furthermore, when subject prefix omission is viewed from this alternative perspective, one wonders why the prefix *n-* is also optionally omitted before g-initial verb roots. An answer to this question might be found in the morphophonological rule whereby /n/ is deleted before consonant-initial plural suffixes (see section 2.5.9.2). This rule could potentially be expanded to result in the optional deletion of *n-* before g-initial verb roots, though any expansion of this rule would require that third person singular masculine object infixes not be deleted before /g/ (e.g. the verb *oga* ‘eat’ shows no deletion of /n/ when it precedes /g/, as in *o<ne>ga*, which is often pronounced as [ón.ga] due to vowel reduction/deletion (see section 2.4.7). However, the expansion of this rule would again involve combining a phenomenon which is obligatory (/n/ deletion before consonant-initial suffixes) with one that is optional (/n/ deletion before g-initial verbs). For this reason, I mention this possibility for completeness but analyze subject prefix omission as optionally occurring before consonant-initial roots rather than invoking an optional rule of omission before identical segments.

- (2.57) paki n-nole-wa-i nanu-bia lolewa yot-ua-∅?  
 paki 2SG-dislike.R-AUG-PL fish-PL thing DEM-DIST-SG.F  
 ‘You (sg) really don’t want the fish there?’ (120517-001:183.635) RNS, JS
- (2.58) tama nobia nole-wa-∅ ta n-a<m><pe>lia-∅  
 PROH talk.R dislike.R-AUG-SG.F FUT 2SG-drop.R<IPFV><ADD>-SG.F  
 ‘Don’t say you (sg) don’t want to vote also.’ (120621-001:185.031) RNS, JS
- (2.59) w-o<ne>wil w-gei-ka-n na<me>nia hula mani  
 3SG.F-take.R<SG.M> 3SG.F-leave.R-AUG-SG.M go.in.R<IPFV> hole inside  
 w-gare-wa-n yot-u-n  
 3SG.F-dig.R-AUG-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
 ‘She took him and put him inside the hole that she dug.’ (120517-001:296.690)  
 RNS, JS

Despite the optional omission of *n-* subject prefixes in this environment, particularly common verbs such as *nobia* ‘talk’ generally show the prefix as in (2.60).

- (2.60) lahabi n-nobia.  
 yesterday 3SG.M-talk.R  
 ‘Yesterday he spoke.’ (120524-000:516.760) RNS, LN

Examples with d-initial verbs and g-initial verbs are provided in (2.61)-(2.64). In example (2.61), the subject prefix *n-* occurs with the verb *dodi* ‘stand’, while the prefix is omitted from the same verb in (2.62).

- (2.61) aro n-dodi n-a<me>nia-∅ nua nakal w-ei=de-n.  
 go.R 3SG.M-stand.R 3SG.M-call.R<IPFV>-SG.F mother father REL-PL=3-SG.M  
 ‘He stood and called for his parents.’ (120517-001:1840.764) RNS, JS
- (2.62) te-n dodi n-a<me>de-wa-n.  
 3-SG.M stand.R 3SG.M-chop.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘He stood chopping it.’ (120517-001:1401.180) RNS, JS

Example (2.63) illustrates the alveolar nasal subject prefix *n-* occurring with the g-initial verb *gordi* ‘follow’. However the alveolar nasal prefix *n-* is omitted from the same verb in (2.64).

- (2.63) nakal male n-gordi hiwora yot-u-∅.  
 father also 3SG.M-follow.R wife DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘Father also followed his wife there.’ (120517-001:1943.930) RNS, JS
- (2.64) tama gorwedi phillip yot-ua-n.  
 PROH follow.R phillip DEM-DIST-SG.M  
 ‘Don’t you (sg) follow Phillip there.’ (120621-001:627.840) RNS, JS

### 2.5.9.2 Before consonant-initial plural suffixes

Most nouns which end with /n/ select a vowel-initial plural morpheme. However, it is nonetheless possible for some /n/ final words to attach a consonant-initial plural suffix. When this happens, the /n/ is obligatorily deleted.

Examples illustrating obligatory /n/ deletion with number morphemes are provided in Table 2.54. Note that many nouns may suffix more than one plural morpheme to explicitly indicate plural number (e.g. *dalan* /dalan/ ‘dalan lizard’, see section 5.4.2.13). Also, many nouns can be pluralized in more than one way (*dalan* /dalan/ ‘dalan lizard’, see section 5.4.2.15).

| Table 2.54: /n/ deletion |         |                   |                 |
|--------------------------|---------|-------------------|-----------------|
| gloss                    | noun    | plural suffix(es) | plural form     |
| ‘sand’                   | hilian  | -l-gil            | hīlialgil       |
| ‘limbum palm’            | hadipen | -gi               | hadipegi        |
| ‘dalan lizard’           | dalan   | -l-gil, -l        | dalalgil, dalal |

### 2.5.9.3 Optional deletion following /l/

Yeri shows optional, but infrequent, deletion of /n/ following /l/ across morpheme boundaries. Examples of optional /n/ deletion occur in example (2.65) with *miagal neiga*, in example (2.66) with *wadual normia*, and in example (2.67) with *nohorkil namero*. In each of these examples, the subject prefix *n-* is deleted following a word-final /l/ in the preceding word.

- (2.65) tɛn    nɔki            miag<sup>ɔ</sup>gɛl    ɛi<sup>ɔ</sup>ga            nɛi<sup>m</sup>bɔr.  
 te-n    n-oki            miaga-l    n-o<i>ga            n-a<i>bor.  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-use.R banana-PL 3SG.M-eat.R<PL> 3SG.M-finish.R<PL>  
 ‘Then he took the bananas and finished eating them.’ (120517-001:1777.655) RNS, JS

- (2.66) tɛn    ta    sia    narma                            namnɔ<sup>n</sup>da  
 te-n    ta    psia    n-ar<ma>                            n-a<me>no-da-∅  
 3-SG.M FUT arrive 3SG.M-arrive.R<IPFV> 3SG.M-push.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F  
 wa<sup>n</sup>duɛl ɔrmia                            ɛtan.  
 wadual n-ormia                            yot-a-n.  
 head    3SG.M-stay.R.IPFV DEM-PROX-SG.M.  
 ‘When it grows big, it will push its head out from the mother’s pouch.’ (120611-004:375.851) RNS, JS

- (2.67) noki jawi wiɛ niepou wi<sup>n</sup>damił  
 n-oki yawi w-n=ye n-y-iepou w-d-a<me>wił  
 2SG-use.R tail REL-SG.M=2SG 3SG.M-2-roll.R 3SG.F-MDL-hang.R<IPFV>  
 namoti ni<sup>m</sup>bəl pala nɔʊpɔrkil amɛɔ.  
 n-a<m>oti nebal pala n-ohorkil a<me>ro.  
 2SG-hold.R<IPFV> tree branch 2SG-flee.R go.R<IPFV>  
 ‘You (sg) use your (sg) tail, your (sg) tail to hold on to the tree branch and flee.’  
 (120611-004:417.234) RNS, JS

In (2.68) and (2.69), the /n/ from *nadi* ‘only’ is deleted following *wual* ‘pig’ and *yewal* ‘eye’.

- (2.68) ta mɔnɛ<sup>ŋ</sup>ga wuɛl a<sup>n</sup>di.  
 ta m-o<ne>ga wual nadi.  
 FUT 1SG-eat.R<SG.M> pig only  
 ‘I will eat pig only.’ (120601-012:323.288) RNS, YW

- (2.69) ... ‘jewel’ a<sup>n</sup>di  
 ... ‘yewal’ nadi  
 ... eye only  
 ‘... there is only the word ‘yewal’.’ (120720-001:1814.373) PE, YW  
 CI: The consultant is saying that there is no other way besides the Yeri word *yewal* to say ‘eyes’.

In example (2.70), the subject prefix *n* is deleted following the noun *wual* ‘pig’, and in example (2.71), the /n/ in *nogi* ‘associated others’ is deleted following the noun *nakal* ‘father’

- (2.70) wuɛl ɔ<sup>n</sup>dinian?  
 wual n-odinia-n  
 pig 3SG.M-how.R-SG.M  
 ‘What is the pig like?’ (140417-007:27.324) DE, JS
- (2.71) wia wɛi<sup>n</sup>di kipa ɛtai, wia wɛi<sup>n</sup>di  
 wia w-ei=di-∅ kiyipa yot-a-i, wia w-ei=di-∅  
 hand REL-PL=3-SG.F earlier.today DEM-PROX-PL hand REL-PL=3-SG.F  
 lawiaki nakal<sup>ŋ</sup>gi  
 lawiaki nakal nogi  
 long.ago father ASSOC  
 ‘the way of this time and the way of our parents long ago’ (120608-003:32.580)  
 RNS, JS

Examples like (2.72) and (2.73) demonstrate the optionality of this /n/ deletion rule. In example (2.72), /n/ is deleted, while in example (2.73), it is not deleted.

- (2.72) ‘tipleikəl’ a<sup>n</sup>di  
 ‘tipleikal’ nadi  
 shelter only  
 ‘There is only the word ‘*tipleikal*.’ (120720-001:1554.800) PE, YW  
 CI: The consultant is saying that there is no plural form of the word *tipleikal* ‘lean-to’.

- (2.73) noki            tuaki            nε<sup>m</sup>bəl na<sup>n</sup>duan.  
 n-oki            tuaki            nebal    n-ade-wa-n.  
 3SG.M-use.R walking.stick tree    3SG.M-chop.R-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘He took a stick and cut it.’ (120517-001:678.086) RNS, JS

Several common phrases which illustrate /n/ deletion have become lexicalized as a single word in Yeri. For example, *wual* ‘pig’ followed by *neigal* ‘cuscus’ has become lexicalized as the word *wualeigal* meaning wildlife or protein. Similarly, *wual nebo* has become lexicalized as *wualebo* meaning fool.

### 2.5.10 Predicate morphemes and velar deletion

When predicate morphemes (see chapter 8) occur on verbs, they are located after the first syllable of the verb root (see chapter 9 and section 8.4). A subset of verbs select for a *-C-* allomorph (*-m-* for the imperfective and *-p-* for the additive morpheme). When the *-C-* allomorph is located immediately before a /k/, the /k/ is deleted. Verbs like *darkoka* ‘rush’ which select the *-Ce-* allomorph and verbs like *oka* ‘drink’ which select the *-Ca-* allomorph demonstrate that /k/ deletion is restricted to verbs which select the *-C-* allomorph. The resulting forms of these verbs (IPFV: *darmekoka*, IPFV: *omaki*) show no /k/ deletion. Several examples of /k/ deletion are provided in Table 2.55.

Table 2.55: The *-C-* allomorph and /k/ deletion

| gloss      | root     | IPFV        |                          | ADD         |                          |
|------------|----------|-------------|--------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|
| ‘laugh’    | arkuagil | ar<m>kuagil | [armua <sup>ɰ</sup> gil] | ar<p>kuagil | [arpua <sup>ɰ</sup> gil] |
| ‘run’      | darku    | dar<m>ku    | [darmu]                  | dar<p>ku    | [darpu]                  |
| ‘vomit’    | olkal    | ol<m>kal    | [ɔlmal]                  | ol<p>kal    | [ɔlpal]                  |
| ‘go along’ | garkoi   | gar<m>koi   | [garmoi]                 | gar<p>koi   | [garpɔi]                 |
| ‘help’     | okirki   | o<m>kirki   | [ɔmirki]                 | o<p>kirki   | [ɔpirki]                 |
| ‘precede’  | ieki     | ie<m>ki     | [iɛmi]                   | ie<p>ki     | [iɛpi]                   |
| ‘bend’     | giekir   | gie<m>kir   | [giɛmir]                 | gie<p>kir   | [giɛpir]                 |
| ‘fall’     | uakir    | ua<m>kir    | [uamir]                  | ua<p>kir    | [uapir]                  |
| ‘walk’     | eikia    | ei<m>kia    | [eimia]                  | ei<p>kia    | [eipia]                  |

Fewer verbs which select *-C-* have a /w/ in a position immediately following the allomorph.

However, when the *-C-* allomorph immediately precedes a /w/, the high vowel is also deleted as in Table 2.56.

Table 2.56: The *-C-* allomorph and /w/ deletion

| gloss     | root  | IPFV     |         | ADD      |         |
|-----------|-------|----------|---------|----------|---------|
| ‘hang’    | awil  | a<m>wil  | [amɪl]  | a<p>wil  | [apɪl]  |
| ‘be from’ | eiwa  | ei<m>wa  | [ɛɪma]  | ei<p>wa  | [ɛɪpa]  |
| ‘tie’     | iewua | ie<m>wua | [iɛmua] | ie<p>wua | [iɛpua] |

If a verb which takes object infixes selects for the *-C-* allomorph, the occurrence of the *-C-* allomorph immediately before a /g/ results in the deletion of that /g/. Examples are shown in Table 2.57, where verbs like *ogiwa* ‘ask’ show deletion of /g/ when it occurs with the predicate allomorph *-C-*.

Table 2.57: The *-C-* allomorph and /g/ deletion

| gloss          | root  | IPFV     |         | ADD      |         |
|----------------|-------|----------|---------|----------|---------|
| ‘ask’          | ogiwa | o<m>giwa | [ɔmiwa] | o<p>giwa | [ɔpiwa] |
| ‘cut open’     | ogela | o<m>gela | [ɔmɛla] | o<p>gela | [ɔpɛla] |
| ‘burn’         | aguti | a<m>guti | [amuti] | a<p>guti | [aputi] |
| ‘carry in bag’ | dogir | do<m>gir | [dɔmir] | do<p>gir | [dɔpir] |

Verbs like *dogir* ‘carry in bag’ which optionally occur with either the *-C-* allomorph or the *-Ce-* allomorph demonstrate that /g/ deletion only occurs with the *-C-* allomorph. When the verb occurs with the *-Ce-* allomorph, the resulting forms *domegir* and *dopegir* show no deletion.

### 2.5.11 Imperfective *-m-* preceding /p/

When the imperfective morpheme immediately precedes /p/, the sequence is pronounced as /b/. Voiced plosives in Yeri are pronounced as prenasalized stops intervocalically (see section 2.1.1.1), and sequences of /mp/ in the language are almost nonexistent.<sup>57</sup> For this reason, when an imperfective morpheme immediately precedes a voiceless bilabial plosive /p/, the allomorph is pronounced with a voiced prenasalized plosive [ᵐb] rather than an /m/.

For example, the verb *operi* ‘pour’ selects for the *-C-* allomorph. The imperfective form of *operi* ‘pour’ results in the imperfective morpheme immediately preceding /p/ (i.e. o<m>peri). For this reason, the imperfective form is pronounced as /oberi/ [ɔᵐbɛri]. Additional examples are presented in Table 2.58.

<sup>57</sup>There is an exception to this involving the imperfective forms of the highly irregular verb *opa* ‘to be rained on’.



Table 2.58: The imperfective morpheme before /p/

| gloss        | root     | IPFV        |                       |
|--------------|----------|-------------|-----------------------|
| ‘pour’       | operi    | o<m>peri    | [ɔ <sup>m</sup> bɛri] |
| ‘collect’    | apil     | a<m>pil     | [a <sup>m</sup> bil]  |
| ‘roll’       | iepou    | ie<m>pou    | [iɛ <sup>m</sup> bɔu] |
| ‘sew limbum’ | gopua    | go<m>pua    | [gɔ <sup>m</sup> bua] |
| ‘separate’   | galpisia | gal<m>pisia | [galbisia]            |

This morphophonological rule is also relevant in the pronunciation of verbs when the imperfective and the additive morpheme co-occur (see section 8.4.3). This is because when the imperfective morpheme precedes the additive morpheme, it always occurs in its *-C-* allomorph, regardless of the allomorph usually selected by the verb.<sup>58</sup> In this context, the imperfective allomorph *-m-* and the initial /p/ of the additive allomorph are adjacent and therefore pronounced as /b/. Table 2.59 provides the additive forms of several verbs and the corresponding form of the verb when the imperfective morpheme co-occurs with the additive morpheme. Note that /k/ is deleted following the *-C-* allomorph (see section 2.5.10) and /b/ is pronounced without prenasalization following consonants (see section 2.1.1.1).

Table 2.59: The imperfective allomorph *-C-* preceding the additive morpheme

| gloss          | root     | ADD         |                          | IPFV and ADD   |                                       |
|----------------|----------|-------------|--------------------------|----------------|---------------------------------------|
| ‘cross river’  | okirkai  | o<p>kirkai  | [ɔpirkai]                | o<m><p>kirkai  | [ɔ <sup>m</sup> birkai]               |
| ‘run’          | darku    | dar<p>ku    | [darpɔ]                  | dar<m><p>ku    | [darbu]                               |
| ‘pull’         | alkial   | al<p>kial   | [alpial]                 | al<m><p>kial   | [albial]                              |
| ‘laugh’        | arkuagil | ar<p>kuagil | [arpua <sup>ŋ</sup> gil] | ar<m><p>kuagil | [arbua <sup>ŋ</sup> gil]              |
| ‘carry in bag’ | dogir    | do<pe>gir   | [dɔpɛ <sup>ŋ</sup> gir]  | do<m><pe>gir   | [dɔ <sup>m</sup> bɛ <sup>ŋ</sup> gir] |
| ‘cover’        | altou    | al<pe>tou   | [alpɪtɔu]                | al<m><pe>tou   | [albitɔu]                             |
| ‘lie, sleep’   | or       | or<pe>      | [ɔrpɛ]                   | or<m><pe>      | [ɔrbɛ]                                |
| ‘make’         | odi      | o<pa>di     | [ɔpa <sup>n</sup> di]    | o<m><pa>di     | [ɔ <sup>m</sup> ba <sup>n</sup> di]   |
| ‘let’          | osi      | o<pa>si     | [ɔpasi]                  | o<m><pa>si     | [ɔ <sup>m</sup> basi]                 |

## 2.6 Reduplication

This section focuses on Yeri reduplication. I use the label ‘reduplication’ to cover examples which can be analyzed as having an initial part that is identical to a latter part, excluding the application of regular phonological processes in the language (e.g. vowel reduction,

<sup>58</sup>Alternatively, one could argue that this context is not exceptional and the sequence of *-me-+pe-* results in the pronunciation /be/, while the sequence *-ma-+pa-* results in the pronunciation /ba/.

vowel coalescence). This includes cases where there is evidence for each part independently (e.g. some ideophones occur in a non-reduplicated form), as well as cases where there is no evidence that the parts exist outside of a particular form (e.g. some ideophones do not occur in a non-reduplicated form). I distinguish two types of reduplication, (i) ‘complete reduplication’, where an entire form is reduplicated, and (ii) ‘partial reduplication’, where only a portion of a form is reduplicated.

Both complete and partial reduplication can express (i) distributive meaning, (ii) greater intensity, or (iii) repetition of an action. However, it is more common for distributive meaning to be expressed by complete reduplication, and for greater intensity to be expressed by partial reduplication. Complete reduplication is described in section 2.6.1, while partial reduplication is described in section 2.6.2. Ideophones (described in section 3.4) occur in a reduplicated form more frequently than words in other word classes.

As a general rule, I use spaces to segment instances of complete reduplication, and hyphens to segment instances of partial reduplication throughout the grammar. I make an exception, however, for ideophones and reduplications which appear to have been lexicalized (e.g. *malmal* ‘how many, how much’). These are usually written as a single word.

### 2.6.1 Complete reduplication

Distributive meaning in Yeri can be expressed by the complete reduplication. In example (2.74), the noun *nogil* ‘village’ is repeated to mean ‘each village’ and in example (2.75), the noun *yiki* ‘day’ is repeated to mean ‘each day’.

- (2.74) hem ta m-eikia m-a<me>r nogil nogil.  
 1SG FUT 1SG-walk.R 1SG-go.to.R<IPFV> village village  
 ‘I will walk to each village.’ (120518-000:157.124) RNS, JS
- (2.75) yiki yiki w-anor w-o<Ø>ba nanu-la Molaha walti.  
 day day 3PL-descend.R 3PL-shoot.R<SG.F> fish-SG Molaha.swamp deep.water  
 ‘Each day they go down and kill fish at Molaha pool.’ (120712-003:40.930) RNS, PM

Furthermore, complete reduplication of numerals can express distributive number as in (2.76) and (2.77), where the repetition of the numeral *ŋa* expresses the meaning ‘each one’. In example (2.76), the speaker is saying that she will give the addressees one each, while in example (2.77), the speaker is indicating that the man heard each of the people included in his group speak.

- (2.76) teipa m-y-a<me>ya yem ŋa-Ø ŋa-Ø.  
 then 1SG-2-give.R<IPFV> 2PL one-SG.F one-SG.F  
 ‘Afterward I will give each of you (pl) one.’ (120623-002:324.407) RNS, YW

- (2.77) n-ieda                    hebi ŋa-n            ŋa-n            h-nobia.  
 3SG.M-hear.R 1PL one-SG.M one-SG.M 1PL-talk.R  
 ‘He heard each of us talk.’ (120524-005:251.690) RNS, JS

Cross-linguistically, the use of complete reduplication is a common means of expressing distributive meaning, according to Gil (2013). Gil points to iconicity as an explanation for this cross-linguistic tendency. He writes, “The use of reduplication to express distributivity is clearly of iconic motivation: repeated copies of the numeral correspond to multiple sets of objects’ (Gil 2013).

Complete reduplication can also express greater intensity, as in examples (2.78) and (2.79), where the adverbs *yomial* ‘slow, quiet’ and *nanala* ‘alone’ (see section 3.7) are reduplicated.

- (2.78) n-arkia-ka-n yomial yomial, ki n-a<me>ro.  
 2SG-shoulder.carry.R-AUG-SG.M slow slow already 2SG-go.R<IPFV>  
 ‘You (sg) carry it very slowly and go.’ (120704-001:202.541) GE-[meno], JS
- (2.79) hem lawiaki nanala nanala m-o yot-u-∅ m-a<∅>guti  
 1SG long.ago alone alone 1SG-stay.R DEM-MDIST-SG.F 1SG-burn.R<SG.F>  
 nebal yewal-ti.  
 tree eye-SG  
 ‘For a long time, I sat there all by myself drying the cocoa beans.’ (120608-002:101.675) RNS, JS

### 2.6.2 Partial reduplication

Partial reduplication most frequently targets the beginning of a fully inflected word in Yeri. There is a degree of variation in the number of segments that are reduplicated. Corpus examples show anywhere from the first two to the first four segments being reduplicated, with three being the most common. Examples (2.80)-(2.82) come from natural speech and illustrate this variation in the number of segments that are reduplicated, with example (2.80) showing two reduplicated segments, example (2.81) showing three, and example (2.82) showing four. As a general rule, any segments that are reduplicated tend to be pronounced quickly and in less enunciated and more reduced forms than their usual pronunciation.

- (2.80) Ø-o                      tu-tupi.  
3PL-stay.R RED-top  
'They live way up high.' (120611-004:239.910) RNS JS
- (2.81) hem male m-o                      mda-m-dawialta, wan    turtur.  
1SG also 1SG-stay.R RED-1SG-fear.R    heart beat.  
'I also sat and was very frightened, my heart was pounding.' (120524-005:197.470)  
RNS JS

- (2.82) y-no<∅>gir                      yayo-y-a<∅>yomia.  
 2PL-write.R<SG.F> RED-2PL-hide.R<SG.F>  
 ‘You (pl) write and really hide it.’ (120608-003:325.630) RNS JS  
 CI: You (pl) write secret letters.

When words show partial reduplication, they are typically understood as expressing (i) greater intensity or (ii) repetition. In examples (2.83) and (2.84) the quantifier *sapiten* shows partial reduplication, with two segments reduplicated in example (2.83) and three segments reduplicated in example (2.84). The reduplicated quantifier is understood as expressing greater intensity than a non-reduplicated form.

- (2.83) nalu              sa-sapiten nadi w-o<∅>ga                      wobla              yot-u-∅.  
 cassowary RED-many very 3SG.F-eat.R<SG.F> wobla.tree DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘Very many cassowaries were eating that fruit tree.’ (120623-002:81.625) RNS,  
 YW

- (2.84) hate tita              w-∅=hem              sap-sapiten.  
 cane tita.cane REL-SG.F=1SG RED-many  
 ‘I have a whole lot of the tita cane.’ (140224-015:144.825) GE-[hate tita], LA  
 LT: ‘My tita cane is many.’

Example (2.85) shows the partial reduplication of a GN adjective *tiawa* /tiawa/ ‘short’ to express greater intensity.

- (2.85) mayi              tia-tiawa-i              yot-ua-i  
 mayi.yam RED-short-PL DEM-DIST-PL  
 ‘the very short yams there’ (140304-012:126.576) GE-[mayi], LA

Examples (2.86)-(2.88) demonstrate inflected verbs being partially reduplicated to express repetition of the action. In example (2.86), four segments are reduplicated, while three segments are reduplicated in (2.87) and (2.88).

- (2.86) te-∅              yot-a-∅                      hogi-h-o<∅>giwa.  
 3-SG.F DEM-PROX-SG.F RED-1PL-ask.R<SG.F>  
 ‘This girl here, we asked her and asked her.’ (120517-001:1204.770) RNS JS
- (2.87) ana              nor-n-ori                      danua-i              n-aro              n-aro              no  
 come.R RED-3SG.M-hit.R PREP-PL 3SG.M-go.R 3SG.M-go.R until  
 n-a<i>bor.  
 3SG.M-finish.R<PL>  
 ‘He came and scraped for them for a while and he went and went until he completed them.’ (120623-002:291.941) RNS, YW

- (2.88) kokowowo            harkroki yot-u-n            nom-no<me>bia  
 cock.a.doodle.doo chicken    DEM-MDIST-SG.M RED-talk.R<IPFV>  
 nom-no<me>bia.  
 RED-no<IPFV>  
 ‘Cock-a-doodle-doo! That rooster is crowing and crowing.’ (120517-001:634.481)  
 RNS JS

It is possible for non-sonorant consonants to end up in coda position due to partial reduplication. For instance, /s/ is the last reduplicated segment in example (2.89), where the verb form *wasolkia* shows reduplication of the sequence /was/. In this example, partial reduplication expresses greater intensity.

- (2.89) w-odi-a- $\emptyset$             was-w-asolkia- $\emptyset$ .  
 3PL-make.R-AUG-SG.F RED-3PL-do.badly.R-SG.F  
 ‘They make it very badly.’ (120522-002:64.510) RNS JS

For WGN adjectives, those adjectives which occur with the relational clitic (see section 3.5.1.1), reduplication targets the adjective root rather than the relational clitic. Unlike other word classes which show variability in the number of reduplicated segments, typically two to four segments, WGN adjectives reduplicate the first four segments beginning with the WGN adjective root. The relational clitic which precedes these roots is not reduplicated.

Reduplication with WGN adjectives expresses greater intensity. Examples are shown in (2.90) and (2.91), where the segments /nabe/ and /lope/ are reduplicated. Note that the /e/ preceding the plural suffix *-i* in (2.92) and (2.93) is deleted because it precedes a vowel across a morpheme boundary (see section 2.5.2). For this reason, the plural suffix *-i* is reduplicated as the fourth segment.<sup>59</sup> This is distinct from examples like (2.91) where the masculine suffix *-n*, as the fifth segment, is not reduplicated, as none of the preceding segments is deleted.

- (2.90) uɔrmia            uɔ<sup>h</sup>ga            ni            nuakɛda  
 h-ormia            h-o< $\emptyset$ >ga            ni            nuake=da- $\emptyset$   
 1PL-stay.R.IPFV 1PL-eat.R<SG.F> intestine large.intestines=NVPC-SG.F  
 wina<sup>m</sup>bina<sup>m</sup>bɛ.  
 w- $\emptyset$ =nabe-nabe- $\emptyset$ .  
 REL-SG=RED-good-SG.F  
 ‘We stayed and ate very good food.’ (120524-005:586.008) RNS, JS
- (2.91) ni<sup>m</sup>bɛl jiwɛlti    warepia            wilɔpɪlɔpɛn.  
 nebal yewal-ti w-a< $\emptyset$ >repia    w- $\emptyset$ =lope-lope-n.  
 tree eye-SG 3PL-boil.R<SG.F> REL-SG=RED-big-SG.M  
 ‘They boiled a lot of rice.’ (120524-005:589.380) RNS, JS

<sup>59</sup>This is not the same as complete reduplication of an inflected word, however, since the relational clitic which occurs with WGN adjectives is not reduplicated and depending on the form of the WGN adjective not all segments are reduplicated.

- (2.92) ta nɔluqai weina<sup>m</sup>bina<sup>m</sup>bi nina<sup>m</sup>bri.  
 ta n-ol-ha-i w-ei=nabi-nabe-i n-nabir-e-i.  
 FUT 2SG-cut-AUG-PL REL-PL=RED-good-PL 2SG-sharpen.R-AUG-PL  
 ‘You (sg) will cut the very good ones and sharpen them.’ (120522-002:155.076)  
 RNS, JS

- (2.93) ʉɛlɔl wɛilɔpilɔpi na<sup>n</sup>di.  
 helol w-ei=lopi-lope-i nadi.  
 work REL-PL=RED-big-PL very  
 ‘The work is very very big.’ (120522-002:315.183) RNS, JS

There are three N adjectives in the lexical database that begin with /se/, and these three lexical items show unusual reduplication behavior. There are two reduplication patterns, one which reduplicates everything except the initial /se/ and one which reduplicates only the initial /se/. While the N adjective *sipeki* /sepeke/ ‘little’ can occur with either reduplication pattern (e.g. [sipikilpekil], [sisipekil]), the N adjective *sibelial* /sebelial/ ‘long’ only displays the first reduplication pattern (e.g. [sibɛliɛlbeliɛl]), and the N adjective *sirual* /serual/ ‘straight’ only displays the second reduplication pattern (e.g. [sisiruel]).

The N adjectives *sibelial* ‘long’ and *sipeki* ‘little’ permit reduplication of up to five segments following this sequence. For instance, *sibelial* is frequently reduplicated as [si<sup>m</sup>bliɛlbeliɛl], and *sipekil*, the singular form of *sipeki* is frequently reduplicated as [sipikilpekil]. Given that /se/ is not reduplicated in these examples, one might wonder whether partial reduplication is targeting the end of these adjectives rather than the beginning. However, when the plural form of *sibelial* is reduplicated, the plural suffix is not reduplicated (i.e. [si<sup>m</sup>bliɛlbeliɛlgi]). This would suggest that reduplication is targeting the beginning of the adjective. Unlike *sibelial* ‘long’, the N adjectives *sirual* ‘straight’ and *sipeki* ‘little’ show reduplication of only the /se/ (e.g. [sisipekil] and [sisiruel]).

Although partial reduplication most often targets the beginning of an inflected word, there are a few examples which show it targeting the end of an inflected word. One verb in particular, *aruba* /aruba/ ‘do well, decorate’ always shows partial reduplication which targets the end of the inflected word. This is shown in (2.94) and (2.95).

- (2.94) yot-u-i, ta h-nabir-e-i h-aruba-i-bai.  
 DEM-MDIST-PL FUT 1PL-sharpen.R-AUG-PL 1PL-do.well.R-PL-RED  
 ‘Those, we will sharpen them very carefully.’ (120522-002:172.856) RNS, JS

- (2.95) w-aruba-n-ban.  
 3PL-do.well.R-SG.M-RED  
 ‘They do it properly.’ (120522-003:254.317) RNS JS

Additional examples are shown in (2.96) and (2.97), where partial reduplication targets the end of the interrogative words *nia* ‘where’ and *odinia* ‘how, do in what way’.

- (2.96) ta m-nobia hamei w-ei=di- $\emptyset$  tinogil hamei w-ei=di ania-i-niai.  
 FUT 1SG-talk.R people REL-PL=3-SG.F village people REL-PL=3 where-PL-RED  
 ‘I will tell the people of the village and the people of somewhere else.’ (120528-002:209.050) RNS, JS

- (2.97) ta  $\emptyset$ -odinia-i-niai?  
 FUT 3PL-how.R-PL-RED  
 ‘How will they look?’ (120518-001:360.880) RNS, JS

## Chapter 3

# Word classes

This chapter is devoted to the range of word classes identified in this grammar and the criteria used to determine word class membership. Section 3.1 provides some notes regarding the selection of criteria. The remainder of the chapter focuses on specific details regarding the classification of each word class in turn.

Section 3.2 and section 3.3 present information on verbs and nouns respectively. Section 3.4 provides the criteria for classification as an ideophone as well as a basic overview of this word class. The classification of lexical items into the adnominal word class and a description of the various subclasses of adnominals is the focus of section 3.5. Those lexical items which occur with a verbal copula are described in section 3.6.

The remaining sections provide information on word classes which are much more limited in the number of members within them. A small class of adverbs are discussed in section 3.7. Section 3.8 describes a small class of degree words, and section 3.9 focuses on clause particles. Section 3.10 presents information on the behavior of the two prepositions in Yeri, *wɔ̃* and *danua*. Section 3.11 and section 3.12 focus on conjunctions and subordinators respectively. Finally, information on a small class of exclamation words can be found in section 3.13 and information on the behavior of an unusual word *nadi* ‘only’ is located in section 3.14.

### 3.1 The selection of word class criteria

Some word classes like verbs are sharply delimited from other word classes in Yeri on the basis of several morphological constructions aligning in the exact range of lexical items that can occur within them. However, this is the exception in Yeri. It is not common for large numbers of morphological or syntactic constructions to delimit the same set of words in the language, unless the group of words delimited involves the vast majority of Yeri words. For instance, Yeri morphological and syntactic constructions frequently crosscut what



might ‘traditionally’ be viewed as different word classes. A morphological example of this involves the occurrence of the same gender or number morphemes on some or all members of several ‘traditionally identified’ word classes (e.g. nouns, verbs, adjectives, demonstratives, quantifiers, numerals, prepositions, conjunctions, etc). See section 5.5.7 for information.

Syntactic examples include constructions which permit a large number of ‘traditionally identified’ word classes (e.g. nouns, verbs, adjectives, demonstratives, quantifiers, numerals and ideophones) to function as nominal phrases, modifiers, or predicates on their own (see section 6.1, section 6.2, and section 4.4). Given this, for many word classes, it was simply not possible to base membership on the alignment of several constructions which delimited the same set of lexical items.

For this reason, I want to explicitly acknowledge that what Croft (2001) refers to as ‘methodological opportunism’ was necessarily employed here. By this I mean that specific constructions have been, to at least some degree, arbitrarily selected as criteria for word class membership. The construction I have selected often results in classes that more closely align with ‘traditional’ word classes to make it easier for the reader to follow the description. However, choosing different constructions to base word class membership on could easily result in what many linguists might view as more unusual word classes.<sup>1</sup> Given this, Yeri word classes should simply be understood as a group of lexical items which can acceptably occur in whatever construction or constructions have been selected as definitional for that word class. The following sections detail what those constructions are.

## 3.2 Verbs

Verbs can be distinguished as a word class on the basis of morphology alone. Yeri verbs show three morphological characteristics that other word classes never show, and lexical items are placed in this word class on the basis of these characteristics, including: (i) subject prefixes which indicate subject agreement (see section 7.3.1), (ii) a morphological distinction between realis and irrealis mood (see section 7.6), and (iii) predicate morphemes which occur as infixes after the first syllable of the verb root (see section 8.4).<sup>2</sup>

I further divide verbs into two subclasses on the basis of whether the verb requires an object. These subclasses are described below.

**intransitive verbs** Verbs which require only a subject.

<sup>1</sup>One potentially useful alternate classification could be based on the agreement classes described in section 5.5. However, while this categorization as word classes would simplify the description of agreement, it complicates the discussion of other phenomena.

<sup>2</sup>Two verbs distinguish realis and irrealis mood only when they occur with predicate morphemes (see section 7.6), and a small subset of verbs show irregular placement of predicate morphemes (see section 8.4.1.4).

**transitive verbs** Verbs which require a subject and an object.

I also frequently refer to two semantically defined subclasses of intransitive verbs: (i) ‘directional verbs’, verbs which express direction, and (ii) ‘posture verbs’, verbs which express the position or orientation of an entity. These two classes of verbs, despite only requiring a subject, frequently occur with an applicative object referring to a location. Verbs are discussed in greater detail in chapter 7.

### 3.3 Nouns

Words are difficult to classify as nouns in Yeri on the basis of morphological criteria alone. This is not because members of the class do not share several formal characteristics, but because (i) not all nouns share all of these characteristics and (ii) other word classes may also show some of these characteristics. For example, while it is common for Yeri nouns to have two forms, one which explicitly marks number and one which does not, many nouns have a single invariant form. For this reason I avoid the use of morphological criteria.

Since it is common for Yeri nouns to function as subjects and objects, this might at first glance appear to be an ideal syntactic criterion to use in the distinction of word classes. However, Yeri permits several word classes to function as nominal phrases without overt constructional modification (see section 6.1) and when this occurs, word classes which are clearly not nouns can function as subjects and objects. For this reason, I do not use this as a criterion.

Instead I choose to classify a lexical item as a noun on the basis of a construction which requires nouns to precede adnominals that modify them when they co-occur in the same nominal phrase (see section 6.2). In this way, it is possible to distinguish nouns from adnominals. For example, the nominal phrases *yawi sibelial* ‘long tail’ and *huba wlopen* ‘big hawk’ are both instances of this construction, and the words *yawi* ‘tail’ and *huba* ‘hawk’ can be classified as nouns based on examples like these.

However, it is important to distinguish the adnominal construction (see section 6.2) from the inalienable possessive construction (see section 6.4.2) which permits a possessor noun to precede a possessee noun and from the classificatory noun construction (see section 6.5) which permits nouns referring to a class to precede a noun referring to a member of that class. For instance, the nominal phrase *neigal yawi* ‘cuscus’s tail’ shows the noun *yawi* ‘tail’ following the noun *neigal* ‘cuscus’. However, this is an instance of the inalienable possessive construction, as is clear from the possessive meaning and is not used to classify words as nouns. Similar to this, the nominal phrase *nol huba* ‘hawk’ shows the noun *huba* ‘hawk’ following a noun *nol* ‘bird’. This is an example of the classificatory noun construction since *huba* is a type of *nol* ‘bird’. This construction is also not used to classify words as nouns.

Note that while I specifically classify lexical items as nouns according to position within the adnominal construction, many nouns often (but not obligatorily) show the following formal characteristics:

- being consonant-initial
- having a distinct form that explicitly indicates number
- triggering gender and/or number agreement on other word classes
- showing dissimilated predicate morphemes after the root

Although most members of the noun class show all or most of these formal characteristics, none of these characteristics apply to every member of the class.<sup>3</sup> More detailed information on nouns can be found in chapter 5.

Lastly, I distinguish several subclasses of nouns. These subclasses are: (i) personal pronouns, (ii) proper nouns, (iii) relational nouns, which are frequently used in possessive constructions to express spatial relationships, and (iv) temporal nouns, which are frequently used as adjunct nominal phrases to situate events in time.

All four subclasses meet the criteria for being included in the noun word class.<sup>4</sup> Personal pronouns can be distinguished from other subclasses of nouns on the basis of morphosyntactic criteria.<sup>5</sup> Specifically, these are the only nouns which combine with the relational clitic to

<sup>3</sup>However, it is only due to the optional deletion of /u/ <h> word initially (see section 2.1.1.4) that some nouns have vowel-initial variants.

<sup>4</sup>Given the inclusion of personal pronouns as part of the class of nouns, the label ‘nominal’ rather than ‘noun’ might be more accurate. However, as I use the label ‘nominal’ to refer to nominal phrases at times in the grammar, I keep to the label ‘noun’ here to more clearly distinguish the word class from the phrase.

<sup>5</sup>Yeri has what are conventionally referred to as personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, interrogative pronouns, indefinite pronouns, and possessive pronouns. However, I only make explicit use of the label ‘pronoun’ in two contexts: (i) ‘personal pronouns’ which I categorize as a subclass of nouns (see this section and section 4.2), and (ii) ‘genitive pronouns’ which express possession (e.g. ‘my’, ‘mine’) and are the result of combining the relational clitic and personal pronouns (see section 3.5.4). I classify personal pronouns as a subclass of the noun word class since they precede adnominals in the adnominal construction (see section 6.2). I classify genitive pronouns as a subclass of adnominals because they follow nouns in the adnominal construction (see section 6.4.1). If the term ‘pronoun’ is used without specification as to whether it refers to ‘personal pronouns’ or ‘genitive pronouns’ in this grammar (e.g. first person pronoun), it is in reference to personal pronouns. Note that I do not use the label ‘pronoun’ to refer to words which can ‘substitute’ for a noun or noun phrase as some linguists use the term in part because it does not appear to be a useful generalization in Yeri. However, it is worth pointing out here that Yeri nominal phrases do not require nouns (see section 6.3). For this reason, most word classes that can function as part of a nominal phrase can also function as the sole element of a nominal phrase (see section 6.1). In this way, what are conventionally referred to as personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, interrogative pronouns, indefinite pronouns, and possessive pronouns can all be found in Yeri. For demonstratives in particular, I distinguish the nominal use of demonstratives from other uses (see section 6.2.7). For interrogatives, my discussion indicates that an interrogative word like *maŋa* ‘what, who, which’ can be used nominally and adnominally in both interrogative (see section 12.3) and non-interrogative uses (see section 12.3.7).

create genitive pronouns (see section 3.5.4). A list of personal pronouns is provided below. Note that gender is only distinguished with third person singular forms.

Table 3.1: Personal pronouns

|       | SG  | PL      |
|-------|-----|---------|
| 1     | hem | hebi    |
| 2     | ye  | yem     |
| 3SG.F | te  | ti, tem |
| 3SG.M | ten |         |

There is no inclusive/exclusive distinction encoded in the personal pronouns, although this meaning can be conveyed through the use of a verb *ode* meaning ‘and, with’ (see section 6.7.2), as in examples (3.1) and (3.2). More information on personal pronouns can be found in section 4.2 which explains the choice between personal pronouns and bound person forms in Yeri clauses.

- (3.1) n-nobia, “h-a<me>ro m-y-odi.”  
 3SG.M-talk.R 1PL-go.R<IPFV> 1SG-2-and.R  
 ‘He said, “We’ll go, me and you (sg or pl).”’ (120517-001:1110.911) RNS, JS
- (3.2) hem m-ode-n la nigo-i.  
 1SG 1SG-and.R-SG.M PST child-PL  
 ‘We were children.’ (120524-005:339.570) RNS, JS

The remaining three noun subclasses, proper nouns, relational nouns, and temporal nouns, are distinguished on the basis of semantics for descriptive purposes. Proper nouns are not discussed further in the grammar, but include those labels given as names to individualized entities like people, specific landmarks, etc. Proper nouns are listed in the Yeri-English and English-Yeri abridged dictionaries as ‘pn’. Information on relational nouns can be found in section 6.6. Finally, temporal nouns are discussed in more detail in their use as predicates in section 4.6.1.3 and in their use as adjunct nominal phrases in section 4.7.3.

### 3.4 Ideophones

**Phonological characteristics** Ideophones form a distinct class in Yeri on the basis of phonological and morphological criteria. Ideophones (i) can occur in a reduplicated form, (ii) select predicate morphemes that follow the root and do not undergo vowel disharmony (see section 8.5.1), and (iii) can occur with the applicative suffix *-ki* (see section 7.7.3). A word is classified as an ideophone if it has these three characteristics.

With regards to the phonological composition of ideophones, there is an overwhelming tendency for roots to permit complete reduplication, though longer or more phonologically complex roots will more often show partial reduplication in natural discourse.<sup>6</sup> Regardless of whether complete or partial reduplication has occurred, phonological processes like vowel reduction (see section 2.4.7) can apply to reduplicated forms. For instance, *girilgeril* refers to a type of frog, named so for the sound it makes, and is the result of the complete reduplication of *geril*. However, vowel reduction usually results in the ideophone being pronounced as [grilgeril] or [girilgeril] where the first /e/ (in the reduplicant) is reduced or deleted due to lacking primary stress, while the second /e/ (in the base) is retained because it receives primary stress (see section 2.4.1).

Similarly, ideophones like *prias* ‘move up and down’ show vowel reduction in their completely reduplicated forms (e.g. *prisprias*). Whenever a syllable involving both a VV sequence and a coda is reduplicated, the VV sequence is reduced to [i] in the reduplicated syllable (e.g. *prisprias*). This reduction does not occur when there is no coda consonant in the relevant syllable (e.g. *sleislei* ‘tiptoe’). Also, when a labial or velar consonant is adjacent to a reduced vowel, it can be pronounced as [i] or [ɯ] (e.g. *bulbal* [bɯlbal]/[bilbal] ‘break into pieces’ or *ɲirɲiar* [ɲɯrɲiar]/[ɲirɲiar] ‘squeak’).<sup>7</sup> Table 3.2 lists several example ideophones which show complete reduplication.

Table 3.2: Ideophones and complete reduplication

| Yeri     | gloss                 | Yeri         | gloss         |
|----------|-----------------------|--------------|---------------|
| kolkol   | ‘shout’               | sleislei     | ‘tiptoe’      |
| palpal   | ‘fly’                 | hurhur       | ‘slide’       |
| bobo     | ‘bark’                | popo         | ‘float’       |
| sirsir   | ‘dance’               | boubou       | ‘boom’        |
| salsal   | ‘boil’                | turtur       | ‘beat’        |
| piapia   | ‘blow’                | dirdir       | ‘sit quietly’ |
| birbar   | ‘crack’               | dildil       | ‘shiver’      |
| girgir   | ‘grunt’               | piopio       | ‘jump’        |
| hilihil  | ‘crackle like a fire’ | pikualpikual | ‘cough’       |
| halhal   | ‘angry’               | girilgeril   | ‘geril frog’  |
| gilgual  | ‘roll’                | birbiar      | ‘twisted’     |
| milmual  | ‘shift’               | ɲirɲiar      | ‘squeak’      |
| sikisaki | ‘make noise’          | tikiltekil   | ‘cough’       |
| dildal   | ‘silent’              | brilbral     | ‘flop, argue’ |

For ideophones that show partial reduplication, the first two or three segments of the

<sup>6</sup>A handful of lexical items may occur only in the *ela* construction, and as such are unusual in not showing reduplicated forms. These words meet the other ideophone criteria though, and are classified as irregular ideophones.

<sup>7</sup>Both pronunciations are listed in the Yeri-English and English-Yeri abridged dictionaries.

base are reduplicated.<sup>8</sup> Several examples of ideophones showing partial reduplication are shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Ideophones and partial reduplication

| Yeri       | gloss             | Yeri       | gloss               |
|------------|-------------------|------------|---------------------|
| gilgilei   | ‘bounce’          | pisipisial | ‘flap’              |
| pitipitial | ‘speckled, sweat’ | milmelial  | ‘flash’             |
| sisekia    | ‘trick’           | pirpirua   | ‘split into pieces’ |

Finally, ideophones prove exceptions to several phonological generalizations that can be made regarding all other word classes. For instance, ideophones make up the vast majority of Yeri words which have an /ŋ/ onset (e.g. *ŋiŋi* ‘grunt’) and are the only words which permit /s/ as a word-final coda (e.g. *prias* ‘move up and down’).<sup>9</sup> Additionally, when the vowel /e/ occurs in a closed syllable in an ideophone, it is always pronounced as [i] regardless of whether the closed syllable is a final syllable (see section 2.1.2.1). This may be related to the interaction between reduplication and stress since stress tends to fall equally on both reduplicants in ideophones (see section 2.4.4) and reduplicants tend to be pronounced more quickly and with less enunciation. However, I leave this question for future research.

**Meaning and usage** The majority of ideophones have event or action-oriented semantics like *palpal* ‘fly’ or *dildil* ‘shiver’ and encode meanings which relate to specific manners of movement or specific sounds. Of the approximately 100 ideophones in the lexical database, more detailed semantic investigation indicates that at least 40 have clear sound-related meanings and the number is likely much higher.<sup>10</sup> Several examples of ideophones with sound-related meanings are shown in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Ideophones with sound-related meanings

| Yeri       | gloss             | Yeri     | gloss                    |
|------------|-------------------|----------|--------------------------|
| sikisaki   | ‘make noise’      | boubou   | ‘boom’                   |
| tikiltekil | ‘cough’           | bobo     | ‘bark’                   |
| ŋirŋiar    | ‘squeak’          | kolkol   | ‘shout’                  |
| ŋiŋi       | ‘grunt’           | brulbrul | ‘the sound of the river’ |
| pikiapikia | ‘vomiting noises’ | hihihi   | ‘crackle like a fire’    |
| pirŋuar    | ‘snore’           | titirual | ‘drip’                   |

<sup>8</sup>Note when the reduplicant ends in a consonant that cannot function as a coda consonant in Yeri, an additional epenthetic [i] may occur between the reduplicant and the base (e.g. *pitipitial* but *pirpirua*). See section 2.4.9 for information on epenthesis.

<sup>9</sup>There are a few proper nouns that show /s/ as a word-final coda, but it is unclear if these are native Yeri words.

<sup>10</sup> This is because animals are frequently named for the sounds they make (e.g. *miakua girilgeril* ‘geril frog’). However, time restrictions did not permit me to investigate the exact semantics of many of these ideophones and initial requests for the meaning of these words results in a description of the animal.

Like most word classes, ideophones can occur as the sole element of a predicate, as in (3.3), but it is more common for ideophones to occupy a slot in a multi-predicate clause, a single clause which includes more than one predicate, as in (13.64) and (3.5). See section 4.6.2 for more information on ideophone predicates and section 13.4 for discussion of ideophones in multi-predicate clauses.

- (3.3) hem dildil.  
1SG shiver  
'I was shivering.' (120524-005:163.810) RNS, JS
- (3.4) Wagin ye girgir n-a<me>ro.  
Wagin 2SG scoot 2SG-go.R<IPFV>  
'Wagin, you scoot over.' (140313-077:13.113) GE-[nemual], LA  
LT: 'Wagin, you scoot going.'
- (3.5) ta w-dodi gilgilei w-aro w-ana.  
FUT 3SG.F-stand.R bounce 3SG.F-go.R 3SG.F-come.R  
'It will just stand wobbling to and from.' (120522-002:135.413) RNS, JS

When ideophones function as predicates, they can occur with pronominal forms that show the gender and number of an optional applicative object (see section 5.5.2.9). While the pronominal forms that occur with ideophones are less tightly bound to the ideophone than object affixes in the language, I do analyze these pronominal forms as bound morphemes (see section 4.2). I classify ideophones in the GN agreement class for this reason since they can occur with bound forms that show gender and number (see section 5.5.2). For more information on pronominal forms with ideophones (see section 4.2.2).

Ideophones can also occur as the sole element of a nominal phrase (see section 6.1). In fact, in a few cases, the ideophone's use to refer to an animal or insect has become conventionalized to such a degree that they appear to act more like nouns than ideophones. For example, *milmil* refers to a buzzing sound and frequently occurs on its own to refer to a class of flying insects that buzz loudly (e.g. bees and wasps). Similarly, many animal species are named for their calls. For example, *miakua kueikuei* refers to a frog species known for making a call that sounds like [kweikwei]. In cases like these you can get the same default plural marking shown with nouns, as in *kueikueigil* 'many kueikuei frogs' (see section 5.4.2.1).<sup>11</sup>

**The *ela* construction** Finally, some ideophones can occur with a verb *ela* 'be'.<sup>12</sup> When ideophones occur with this verb, they occur in a non-reduplicated form. This is shown by

<sup>11</sup>The word class for these lexical items is listed in the Yeri-English and English-Yeri abridged dictionaries as *ideo/n*.

<sup>12</sup>The verb *ela* always selects for an ideophone complement.

examples like (3.6), where *piopio* ‘jump’ occurs in its reduplicated form and example (3.7), where it occurs in its non-reduplicated form with *ela*. When ideophones occur in a reduplicated form, they indicate several repetitions of the sound or action. When they occur in a non-reduplicated form with the verb *ela*, they indicate a single occurrence of the sound or action. This ‘repetition’ meaning is one of the meanings expressed by reduplication more generally in the language (see section 2.6).

- (3.6) *piopio*  $\emptyset$ -a<me>ro.  
 jump 3PL-go.R<IPFV>  
 ‘They’ll jump away.’ (120623-007:36.820) RNS, YW  
 CI: The frogs will hop away.

- (3.7) *h-ela pio h-ar<m>kou nebal-gi tiawa-i h-a<me>na he.*  
 1PL-be jump 1PL-ascend.R<IPFV> tree-PL short-PL 1PL-come.R<IPFV> CNT  
 ‘We jumped up on the car and we came.’ (120524-005:683.700) RNS, JS

In example (3.24), the ideophone *bou* ‘boom’ occurs with the verb *ela* in its non-reduplicated form. In this use, it indicates that the generator will make one loud noise when it breaks.

- (3.8) *ta n-ela bou yot-ua-n.*  
 FUT 3SG.M-be boom DEM-DIST-SG.M  
 ‘It will go boom there.’ (120416-000:1011.808) RNS, JS  
 CI: The generator will break and make a loud noise.

Another example is given in (3.9), where the ideophone *prias* occurs with *ela* in its non-reduplicated form, while the immediate following ideophone *pisial* occurs in its reduplicated form.

- (3.9) *wia w-ei=hem yot-a-i  $\emptyset$ -ela prias, pisipisial.*  
 hand REL-PL=1SG DEM-PROX-PL 3PL-be up.and.down flap  
 ‘My hands here went up and down and the skin kept splitting.’ (120524-005:812.000)  
 RNS, JS

### 3.5 Adnominals

The adnominal word class is defined on the basis of the same construction used to define nouns (see section 3.3), what I refer to as the ‘adnominal construction’ (see section 6.2). Whenever nouns and adnominals co-occur in the same nominal phrase, the adnominal follows



the noun it modifies. Any lexical items which follow the noun in this construction and do not belong to another word class based on morphosyntactic criteria are classified as adnominals.

The adnominal word class in Yeri is quite large and is helpfully subdivided into various subclasses distinguished on the basis of semantic criteria. These subclasses are intended to aid in cross-linguistic comparison and to simplify discussion regarding general ordering tendencies within a nominal phrase (see section 6.2). These subclasses are: (i) adjectives, (ii) demonstratives, (iii) numerals/quantifiers, and (iv) genitive pronouns.

Discussion regarding each adnominal subclass is presented in sections 3.5.1-3.5.4, before I turn to discussion of what I term a relational clitic. This clitic occurs as part of two types of adnominal: (i) a subtype of adjective which I call WGN adjectives (see section 3.5.1.1) and (ii) genitive pronouns (see section 3.5.4). I present detailed description of the relational clitic's behavior in each of these contexts as well as an explanation for why it is classified as a clitic in section 3.5.5.

### 3.5.1 Adjectives

As a general rule, adjectives most often function as modifiers or predicates, and words are classified in the adjective subclass of adnominals in Yeri on the basis of semantics. Adjectives can then be classified into the three smaller subclasses on the basis of their formal properties. I refer to these three classes as (i) 'WGN adjectives', (ii) 'GN adjectives', and (iii) 'N adjectives'. These three subclasses are labeled on the basis of their agreement possibilities and co-occurrence with a /w/ relational clitic (see section 3.5.5), with W referring to the relational clitic, GN referring to the acceptability of gender and number agreement, and N referring to the acceptability of only number agreement. Adjective subclasses and the criteria used for membership can be summarized as follows:

**WGN adjectives** Adjectives which occur with the /w/ relational clitic as well as gender and number morphemes

**GN adjectives** Adjectives which can occur with gender and number morphemes, but not the relational clitic

**N adjectives** Adjectives which can only occur with number morphemes

#### 3.5.1.1 WGN adjectives

There are only three WGN adjectives and these express meanings common to an adjective class cross-linguistically including 'good', 'bad', and 'big'. Like GN adjectives, these words occur with gender and number suffixes (- $\emptyset$ , -*n*, -*i*), and are classified in the GN agreement

class (see section 5.5.2).<sup>13</sup> Unlike any of the other adjective subclasses, WGN adjectives co-occur with the relational clitic.<sup>14</sup>

I analyze this /w/ relational clitic (see section 3.5.5) as the same clitic which occurs with personal pronouns to create genitive pronouns (see section 3.5.4). When the relational clitic occurs with WGN adjectives roots, it shows one less form than it does with personal pronouns. Where it varies depending on gender, number, and predicate morphemes with pronouns, it varies only for number and predicate morphemes with WGN adjectives. For discussion of predicate morphemes and their occurrence with WGN adjectives see 8.3.2.

The basic forms for WGN adjectives are shown in Table 3.5.<sup>15</sup> Gender and number suffixes (- $\emptyset$  for singular feminine, -*n* for singular masculine, and -*i* for plural) can occur with all WGN adjective roots. Furthermore, number suffixes can occur on the /w/ relational clitic which precedes the WGN adjective root, either -*ei* for plural, or - $\emptyset$  for singular. With one WGN adjective *ilua* ‘bad’, number is not distinguished on the relational clitic. Where the initial /w/ of the relational clitic precedes a consonant, an epenthetic vowel is inserted (see section 2.4.9).

Table 3.5: WGN adjective forms

| meaning                  | root | SG.F                                 | SG.M                      | PL             |
|--------------------------|------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------|
| Bare forms (no IPFV/ADD) |      |                                      |                           |                |
| ‘big’                    | lope | w- $\emptyset$ =lope- $\emptyset$    | w- $\emptyset$ =lope-n    | w-ei=lope-i    |
| ‘good’                   | nabe | w- $\emptyset$ =nabe- $\emptyset$    | w- $\emptyset$ =nabe-n    | w-ei=nabe-i    |
| ‘bad’                    | ilua | w=ilua- $\emptyset$                  | w=ilua-n                  | w=ilua-i       |
| Imperfective forms       |      |                                      |                           |                |
| ‘big’                    | lope | w- $\emptyset$ -ma=lope- $\emptyset$ | w- $\emptyset$ -ma=lope-n | w-ei-ma=lope-i |
| ‘good’                   | nabe | w- $\emptyset$ -ma=nabe- $\emptyset$ | w- $\emptyset$ -ma=nabe-n | w-ei-ma=nabe-i |
| ‘bad’                    | ilua | w- $\emptyset$ -ma=ilua- $\emptyset$ | w- $\emptyset$ -ma=ilua-n | w-ma=ilua-i    |
| Additive forms           |      |                                      |                           |                |
| ‘big’                    | lope | w- $\emptyset$ -ba=lope- $\emptyset$ | w- $\emptyset$ -ba=lope-n | w-ei-ba=lope-i |
| ‘good’                   | nabe | w- $\emptyset$ -ba=nabe- $\emptyset$ | w- $\emptyset$ -ba=nabe-n | w-ei-ba=nabe-i |
| ‘bad’                    | ilua | w- $\emptyset$ -ba=ilua- $\emptyset$ | w- $\emptyset$ -ba=ilua-n | w-ba=ilua-i    |

<sup>13</sup>Judgements on the acceptability of WGN adjectives with the plural suffix -*m* differ. While *ilua* ‘bad’ was judged grammatical with the plural suffix -*m*, my consultants disliked the suffix -*m* occurring on the other WGN adjectives *nabe* ‘good’ and *lope* ‘big’. Since the suffix -*m* is not common in Yeri, there is often variation across speakers as to the acceptability of the suffix -*m* on various lexical items.

<sup>14</sup>The relational clitic is one of the few elements in the grammar that I refer to as a ‘clitic’ and segment with an equal sign rather than a space or a hyphen. See section 1.7.2 for a description of what is meant by this label and distinction in segmentation and section 3.5.5 for a description of why I segment the relational clitic specifically in this way.

<sup>15</sup>See section 8.3.2 for discussion of the rare contexts where the /w/ of this relational clitic can optionally be omitted.

Note that several morphophonological processes in Yeri (see section 2.5.1 and section 2.5.4) affect the pronunciation of adjective forms which include predicate morphemes. See section 8.3.2 for a description.

### 3.5.1.2 GN adjectives

GN adjectives occur with gender and number morphemes ( $-\emptyset$  for feminine,  $-n$  for masculine, and  $-i$  for plural), and are classified in the GN agreement class (see section 5.5.2). A list of several GN adjectives is given in Table 3.6.<sup>16</sup>

Table 3.6: GN adjective forms

| gloss             | root  | SG.F               | SG.M    | PL      |
|-------------------|-------|--------------------|---------|---------|
| ‘short’           | tiawa | tiawa- $\emptyset$ | tiawa-n | tiawa-i |
| ‘empty, only’     | yepia | yepia- $\emptyset$ | yepia-n | yepia-i |
| ‘old, brown, dry’ | losia | losia- $\emptyset$ | losia-n | losia-i |

Examples (3.10) and (3.11) demonstrate the GN adjectives *yepia* ‘empty, only’ and *losia* ‘old, brown, dry’ in natural discourse. In example (3.10), *yepia* modifies the noun *tumani* ‘building’ and agrees in gender and number with the noun. In example (3.11), the adjective *losia* modifies *wual neigal* ‘protein’.<sup>17</sup> The use of masculine gender on *losia* indicates a large piece of protein. See section 5.3.4.4 for discussion on the use of gender to highlight a physical property like large size.

- (3.10) tumani yepia- $\emptyset$  ki w-d-a<m>wo yot-u- $\emptyset$ .  
 building empty-SG.F already 3SG.F-MDL-set.R<IPFV> DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘There’s nothing in the house.’ (120503-000:45.000) RNS, JS  
 LT: ‘An empty house is sitting there.’

- (3.11) wɔnmil wuɛlei<sup>16</sup>gel ɔsian ɔtun  
 w-o<ne><me>wil wual neigal losia-n yot-u-n  
 3SG.F-take.R<SG.M><IPFV> pig cuscus dry-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
 wanmirepia.  
 w-a<ne><me>repia.  
 3SG.F-boil.R<SG.M><IPFV>  
 ‘She took the dry protein and boiled it.’ (120517-001:1308.355) RNS, JS

<sup>16</sup>Less frequently, GN adjectives may occur with the plural morpheme  $-m$  (e.g. *tiawam*). However, the acceptability of GN adjective forms with  $-m$  appears to vary depending on the specific lexical item as well as the speaker. Where  $-m$  is acceptable, it is listed in the lexical entry in the Yeri-English and English-Yeri abridged dictionaries.

<sup>17</sup>This literally means ‘pig cuscus’. This is a common collocation that means ‘protein’. Note that it is pronounced as /wualeigal/ due to the deletion of /n/ following /l/ (see section 2.5.9.3).

Unlike WGN adjectives (see section 3.5.1.1), GN adjectives do not occur with the relational clitic.

### 3.5.1.3 N adjectives

N adjectives can only occur with number morphemes, and are classified in the N agreement class (see section 5.5.4). Unlike WGN adjectives (see section 3.5.1.1) or GN adjectives (see section 3.5.1.2), this subclass does not occur with gender morphemes. Furthermore, N adjectives also never occur with the relational clitic. There are very few N adjectives in Yeri. A list of N adjectives is given in Table 3.7.

Table 3.7: N adjective forms

| gloss      | root     | SG       | PL          |
|------------|----------|----------|-------------|
| ‘little’   | sipeki   | sipeki-l | sipeki-i    |
| ‘long’     | sibelial | sibelial | sibelial-gi |
| ‘straight’ | sirual   | sirual   | sirual-gi   |
| ‘female’   | yuta     | yuta     | yuta-gi     |
| ‘male’     | hawei    | hawei    | hawei-gil   |
| ‘male’     | han      | han      | han-gil     |
| ‘female’   | nuate    | nuate    | nuate-i     |

Examples (3.12) and (3.13) illustrate the N adjectives *sipeki* ‘little’ and *sibelial* ‘long’ in natural discourse. In example (3.12), *sipeki* modifies the noun *neigal* ‘cuscus’ and agrees in number with the noun. In example (3.13), *sibelial* functions as a predicate and agrees in number with *yawi* ‘tail’.

- (3.12) neigal sipeki-i yot-u-i            Ø-o            tapo.  
 cuscus little-PL DEM-MDIST-PL 3PL-stay.R tree.hole  
 ‘Those small cuscuses live in the hole of the tree.’ (120621-004:140.425) RNS, TW

- (3.13) yawi w-Ø=de-n            sibelial.  
 tail REL-SG=3-SG.M long  
 ‘Its tail is very long.’ (120611-004:98.737) RNS, JS

## 3.5.2 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are a subclass of adnominals. Membership in the class is determined on the basis of semantics and is intended to aid in cross-linguistic comparison. There are two demonstrative roots, one which occurs with several additional morphemes and one which has a single invariant form. I discuss the demonstrative *yot-*, which shows gender and number

agreement, in section 3.5.2.1, and the demonstrative *yaʔa*, which never shows agreement, in section 3.5.2.2.

### 3.5.2.1 The demonstrative *yot-*

The most frequently used demonstrative root in Yeri, *yot-*, inflects for proximity to speaker as well as gender and number. Since it occurs with gender and number morphemes, it is classified in the GN agreement class (see section 5.5.2). Its uses can be categorized into four types: a nominal use (e.g. ‘*This* is big.’ or ‘A dog is *this*.’), an adnominal use (e.g. ‘*This* dog is big.’), a locative use, (e.g. ‘He scraped sago *here*.’ or ‘He is *here*.’), and a temporal use (e.g. ‘*Now* he is scraping sago.’).<sup>18</sup> Each form of the demonstrative is easily decomposable into three parts: (1) a bound root *yot-*, (2) a suffix referring to proximity (*-a*, *-u*, *-ua*), and (3) a gender and/or number suffix (*-∅* for singular feminine, *-n* for singular masculine, and *-i* or *-m* for plural). Table 3.8 provides a list with all possible forms of this demonstrative root.

Table 3.8: Forms of the demonstrative *yot-*

|               | proximal (PROX) | mid (MDIST) | distal (DIST) |
|---------------|-----------------|-------------|---------------|
| feminine      | yot-a-∅         | yot-u-∅     | yot-ua-∅      |
| masculine     | yot-a-n         | yot-u-n     | yot-ua-n      |
| plural        | yot-a-i         | yot-u-i     | yot-ua-i      |
| plural (rare) | yot-a-m         | yot-u-m     | yot-ua-m      |

The demonstrative system involves a three-way division regarding deictic reference. For objects near to the speaker, the proximal suffix *-a* occurs. For objects that are very distant from the speaker, the distal suffix *-ua* occurs. When the object is not near to the speaker but neither is it very far from the speaker, the suffix *-u* occurs, which I gloss as MDIST for ‘mid distal’ to signify a distance between proximal and distal.<sup>19</sup>

I present the examples in (3.14)–(3.16) to demonstrate one common use of these three deictic morphemes to signal something very near to the speaker (proximal), something across the river (mid distal), and something beyond the village (distal). In example (3.14), the speaker is talking about himself. The demonstrative that modifies the first person pronoun *hem* is the form that indicates the closest proximity to the speaker. In fact, when demonstratives occur with first person pronouns, they always occur in this form.

<sup>18</sup>Since Yeri permits nominal phrases without nouns (see section 6.3), distinguishing the nominal and adnominal use in certain contexts is not always possible.

<sup>19</sup>Not surprisingly, the speaker’s perspective is important in the choice of whether the proximal, mid distal, or distal morpheme is selected. For instance, a distal demonstrative might be used to refer to a bush knife located on the other side of the village, while a proximal demonstrative might be used to refer to the village a few kilometers away from the speaker’s current position. This is an acceptable usage of demonstratives even though the bush knife on the other side of the village is much closer in terms of objective distance than the village located a few kilometers away.

- (3.14) hem yot-a- $\emptyset$  helol hiro sipeki-i m-odi- $\emptyset$  sipeki-l  
 1SG DEM-PROX-SG.F work NEG little-PL 1SG-and.R-SG.F little-SG  
 yot-a- $\emptyset$  h-aria-da- $\emptyset$ .  
 DEM-PROX-SG.F 1PL-do.R-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘Me here, the work I’ve done with the little one here is not small.’ (120524-000:548.409) RNS, JS  
 CI: *sipekil yota* is acting as a nominal phrase here referring to a person.

In example (3.15), the speaker is talking about a group of people that live on the other side of the river. Since most of the houses in the Yeri village are located on this river, the other side of the river is not usually viewed as being very distant. However, it is far enough away that speakers typically do not use the closest proximity form.

- (3.15) te-m yot-u-m w-o wul woli yot-u- $\emptyset$  w-odi Roland,  
 3-PL DEM-MDIST-PL 3PL-stay.R water side DEM-MDIST-SG.F 3PL-and.R Roland  
 nogolgoi w-ei=nabe-i.  
 children REL-PL=good-PL  
 ‘They there that live on the other side of the river with Roland, they are good children.’ (140228-055:249.042) GJ+GE-[yotum], JS

In example (3.16), the speaker is describing people coming from another distant village and the distal form of the demonstrative occurs.

- (3.16) te-m yot-ua-m ki w-a<me>na ta w-a<me>r  
 3-PL DEM-DIST-PL already 3PL-come.R<IPFV> FUT 3PL-go.to.R<IPFV>  
 nia-i yot-ua-i?  
 where-PL DEM-DIST-PL  
 ‘They over there coming now, where will they go?’ (140228-055:268.121) GJ+GE-[yotuam], JS

The same gender and number suffixes that occur on demonstratives also occur on several other word classes in Yeri (see section 5.5.7). The feminine form is the typical form used in situations where the gender of the referent is unknown as in (3.17), and is also the simplest morphologically, represented by a zero suffix  $-\emptyset$ .

- (3.17) ki ma $\eta$ a- $\emptyset$  yot-u- $\emptyset$ ?  
 already what-SG.F DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘What’s that?’ (2010-B2.pdf:43) DE, LA

Demonstrative pronunciation can vary quite dramatically. For slow and carefully articulated pronunciations, the root is generally pronounced as is written in Table 3.8, with each segment of the demonstrative root *yot-* [jɔt] clearly pronounced. Examples (3.18) and (3.19) demonstrate this more enunciated pronunciation.

- (3.18) wonela yot-u-n n-a<me>na.  
centipede DEM-MDIST-SG.M 3SG.M-come.R<IPFV>  
'That centipede is coming.' (140407-192:36.860) GJ, LA
- (3.19) wual hawei yot-u-n w-∅=lope-n.  
pig male DEM-MDIST-SG.M REL-SG=big-SG.M  
'That male pig is big.' (140416-016:1211.438) GE-[wlopen], JS

However, in speech which is articulated much more quickly, pronunciation can vary from a form without the initial high vowel being pronounced, as in (3.20) and (3.21), to a form where the initial high vowel is not pronounced but causes fronting of the vowel to /e/, as in (3.21)-(3.23). It is also common for both the initial high vowel and the /o/ to be unpronounced as in (3.24) and (3.25), where only the /t/ from the demonstrative root is pronounced. Which pronunciation occurs depends on several factors including stress and the vowel quality of the preceding word. I leave the exact detailing of factors to future research.

- (3.20) ualua<sup>ɰ</sup>gil ɔtuan  
haluagil yot-ua-n  
mountain DEM-DIST-SG.M  
'that mountain' (120517-001:2311.130) RNS, JS  
CI: The speaker is talking about a mountain far to the west of his location.
- (3.21) ti ɔta ta wɔ ɛta.  
te-∅ yot-a-∅ ta w-o yot-a-∅.  
3-SG.F DEM-PROX-SG.F FUT 3SG.F-stay.R DEM-PROX-SG.F  
'This one will sit here.' (120429-000:502.302) RNS, YP
- (3.22) uana uɔrmia ɛta.  
h-ana h-ormia yot-a-∅  
1PL-come.R 1PL-stay.R.IPFV DEM-PROX-SG.F  
'We came and are staying here.' (120518-003:370.540) RNS, LN
- (3.23) ti wɔrmia ɛtu nɔ<sup>ɰ</sup>gil ni<sup>ɰ</sup>gɔ.  
te-i w-ormia yot-u-∅ nogil ni<sup>ɰ</sup>go-∅.  
3-PL 3PL-stay.R.IPFV DEM-MDIST-SG.F village child-SG.F  
'They are staying there at a small hamlet.' (120518-003:355.904) RNS, LN
- (3.24) ta nɛla bɔu tuan.  
ta n-ela bou yot-ua-n.  
FUT 3SG.M-be.R boom DEM-DIST-SG.M  
'It will go boom there.' (120416-000:1011.808) RNS, JS  
CI: The generator will break and burst open.

- (3.25) *nəbəl jiwəl̥ti sapiten məki tuan.*  
*nebal yewal-ti sapiten moki yot-ua-n.*  
 tree eye-SG many very DEM-DIST-SG.M  
 ‘There are very many kaukau beans there to carry.’ (120416-000:55.909) RNS, LA

It is also possible for the demonstrative *yot-* to express temporal meaning, as in (3.26), where *yot-* expresses the meaning ‘now’.

- (3.26) *yot-a-∅ hiro ma=ilua-∅.*  
 DEM-PROX-SG.F NEG IPFV=bad-SG.F  
 ‘Now it is bad.’ (120613-001:228.600) RNS, LA

This temporal meaning is particularly clear in examples like (3.27) or (3.28). Given that all Yeri speakers also speak Tok Pisin, it is common for Tok Pisin words to occur in Yeri speech. In these examples, the speaker’s original utterance included the Tok Pisin word *nau* ‘now’. When consultants translate these sentences, they often wish to replace the Tok Pisin word with a Yeri word. When they replace the Tok Pisin word *nau*, they frequently use the proximal demonstrative as its Yeri translational equivalent.<sup>20</sup> The use of the proximal demonstrative to replace Tok Pisin *nau* is indicated in the examples by a slash.

- (3.27) *ki m-o<he>mo nau/yot-a-∅.*  
 already 1SG-eat.R.IPFV<SG.F> now/DEM-PROX-SG.F  
 ‘I am eating it now.’ (120601-012:314.431) RNS+CO, YW  
 AT: ‘I am eating it here’.
- (3.28) *hem m-ie<m>ki nau/yot-a-∅.*  
 1SG 1SG-precede.R<IPFV> now/DEM-PROX-SG.F  
 ‘I am going ahead now.’ (120712-003:351.215) RNS+CO, PM

### 3.5.2.2 The demonstrative *yaʔa*

There is also another demonstrative in the language, *yaʔa* ‘here’, which is unrelated to the demonstrative root *yot-*. This demonstrative occurs less frequently, has a single invariant form, and does not have nominal or temporal uses.<sup>21</sup> The distinction between *yaʔa* and the proximal forms of the demonstrative *yot-* is unclear.

When questioned, consultants describe situations like those in (3.29)-(3.31) to illustrate common uses of this demonstrative. Example (3.29) can be said if a person spots the bush knife that someone is looking for. In (3.30), the girl looking for the bush knife, Turegal,

<sup>20</sup>More time and research is needed to determine the exact range of locations where the demonstrative can occur and whether the demonstrative can also express distal temporal meaning.

<sup>21</sup>This is also the only lexical item in the database containing a glottal stop.



questions the speaker as to where they saw the bush knife. The listener's response to that question, shown in example (3.31), can consist of only *yaʔa* if the person gestures to where the bush knife is.

- (3.29) sahal      w-n=ye      yaʔa, Turegal.  
bush.knife REL-SG.M=2SG here Turegal  
'Your bush knife is here, Turegal.' (140424-090:141.539) OS, LA

- (3.30) o    ania-n?  
oh where-SG.M  
'Oh, where?' (140424-090:145.136) OS, LA

- (3.31) yaʔa.  
here  
'Here.' (140424-090:147.379) OS, LA

Although the vast majority of examples in natural speech involve *yaʔa* occurring in clause-final position, grammaticality judgements of *yaʔa* are presented in (3.32)-(3.35) to illustrate the acceptability of *yaʔa* occurring in other less common positions. I classify *yaʔa* as an adnominal because examples like (3.35), where *yaʔa* immediately follows the noun *woga* 'older sister' in the same nominal phrase, are judged acceptable.<sup>22</sup>

- (3.32) woga      w-∅=de-n      yaʔa w-o<∅>ga      yati tumani mani.  
older.sister REL-SG=3-SG.M here 3SG.F-eat.R<SG.F> sago building inside  
'His big sister here eats sago inside the house.' (140423-030:440.697) GJ, LA
- (3.33) woga      w-∅=de-n      w-o<∅>ga      yati yaʔa tumani mani.  
older.sister REL-SG=3-SG.M 3SG.F-eat.R<SG.F> sago here building inside  
'His big sister is eating sago here inside the house.' (140423-030:1126.540) GJ, LA
- (3.34) woga      w-∅=de-n      w-o<∅>ga      yati tumani mani yaʔa.  
older.sister REL-SG=3-SG.M 3SG.F-eat.R<SG.F> sago building inside here  
'His big sister is eating sago inside the house here.' (140423-030:1430.778) GJ, LA
- (3.35) woga      yaʔa w-∅=de-n,      w-o<∅>ga      yati tumani mani.  
older.sister here REL-SG=3-SG.M 3SG.F-eat.R<SG.F> sago building inside  
'The big sister here that is his is eating sago inside the house.' (140423-030:808.607)  
GJ, LA

<sup>22</sup>However, given that the vast majority of natural occurrences show *yaʔa* in clause-final position, it is possible that additional time and research would provide evidence that *yaʔa* is better classified as a class 3 clause particle. Examples like these would then be analyzed as unusual, but unusual in the same way that the class 3 clause particle *he* can occur in these positions when *woga* or *woga wden* is treated as a nominal predicate in a non-verbal clause (see section 4.6.1). If *yaʔa* were reclassified as a class 3 clause particle however, it would be the only class 3 clause particle that can function as the sole element of a predicate, something that is common for adnominals (see section 4.6.3).

Additional examples from natural speech are presented in (3.36)-(3.38).

- (3.36) w-d-awil                      wul    Hamil            tihewar yaʔa.  
 3SG.F-MDL-hang.R water Hamil.river upriver here  
 ‘It [a village] is near the Hamil river here.’ (120605-000:809.140) RNS, JS
- (3.37) m-nobia,    “hiro nolka-ti yaʔa.”  
 1SG-talk.R NEG flood-SG here  
 ‘I said, “No, the water flood is here.”’ (120620-012:396.027) RNS, KL
- (3.38) toyomial ta    Ø-w-o<me>ri                      hebi yaʔa.  
 today    FUT 3PL-1PL-hit.R<IPFV> 1PL here  
 ‘Today they will kill us here.’ (120524-005:551.843) RNS, JS

### 3.5.3 Numerals and Quantifiers

Yeri has two numerals (*ŋa* ‘one’ and *wia* ‘two’) and two quantifiers (*sapiten* ‘many’, and *peigilia* ‘some, few’). Each of these lexical items is common, can occur in the adnominal construction (see section 6.2), and is classified as an adnominal. Furthermore, each numeral and quantifier shows distinct agreement behavior. I discuss the two numerals first in section 3.5.3.1 and present an overview of how larger numeral expressions are formed, before turning to the two quantifiers in section 3.5.3.2.

#### 3.5.3.1 Numerals

All numerals above two are formed either through juxtaposition of *ŋa* ‘one’ and *wia* ‘two’ or through a periphrastic expression including *hiilogil* ‘arm’ or *hawal* ‘feet’. The numeral *ŋa* shows gender and number agreement possibilities (-Ø for singular feminine, -*n* for singular masculine, and -*i* for plural), and is classified in the GN agreement class (see section 5.5.2). Examples (3.39)-(3.42) demonstrate this agreement pattern. The numeral *ŋa* occurs with the singular feminine suffix -Ø in example (3.39), and the singular masculine suffix -*n* in example (3.40).

- (3.39) ŋa-Ø      yot-u-Ø,                      nuate ŋa-Ø      yot-u-Ø,                      nigo-Ø  
 one-SG.F DEM-MDIST-SG.F female one-SG.F DEM-MDIST-SG.F child-SG.F  
 d-awil-a-Ø  
 MDL-hang-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘Another one there, a female one there, a baby hung on her.’ (120621-004:164.239)  
 RNS, TW

- (3.40) h-o,            ta    h-o            wona ɲa-n.  
 1PL-stay.R FUT 1PL-stay.R moon one-SG.M  
 ‘We will stay for one month.’ (120601-012:105.371) RNS, YW

A plural morpheme can occur on *ɲa* when the numeral’s form is determined by a pluralia tantum noun (see section 5.4.1.6). These nouns have a single form which always triggers plural grammatical agreement regardless of semantic number. This is illustrated in example (3.41), where *ɲa* occurs with the plural morpheme *-i* due to the pluralia tantum noun *mineigi* ‘unspecified period of time’.

- (3.41) hebi ta    h-ormia            mineigi    ɲa-i    maltai ta    h-a<me>lia  
 1PL FUT 1PL-stay.R.IPFV time.period one-PL maybe FUT 1PL-drop.R<IPFV>  
 nebal hare danua hamei.  
 tree leaf PREP people  
 ‘We will stay and one week later maybe cast our votes.’ (120613-001:380.270)  
 RNS, JS

In addition to expressing the meaning ‘one’, the numeral *ɲa* can express indefinite meaning, as in (3.42), as well as the meaning ‘another, other’, as in (3.43).

- (3.42) h-garkua            h-atia            nebal-gi tiawa-i    ɲa-i    Ø-ana  
 1PL-wash.self.R 1PL-see.R tree-PL short-PL one-PL 3PL-come.R  
 Ø-a<me>ro.  
 3PL-go.R<IPFV>  
 ‘We bathed and saw a car come going (the wrong way).’ (120520-000:330.741)  
 RNS, AS  
 CI: The car came towards them, but was going away from the direction they wanted to go.

- (3.43) hebi ta    h-ar            nebal-gi tiawa-i    ɲa-i.  
 1PL FUT 1PL-go.to.R tree-PL short-PL one-PL  
 ‘We will go by another car.’ (120520-000:603.066) RNS, AS

Unlike *ɲa* ‘one’, the numeral for ‘two’ inflects for gender (*wiai* for feminine gender, *wiam* for masculine gender), but not for number. For this reason, it is classified in the G agreement class (see section 5.5.3). Furthermore, this numeral is unique in inflecting for gender regardless of number.<sup>23</sup> This is the only context where Yeri maintains a gender

<sup>23</sup>The numeral *wia* ‘two’ can modify both explicitly-plural forms or general forms, forms which make no reference to number. It occurs with gender morphemes regardless of whether the noun it modifies triggers semantic or grammatical number agreement. For more information on the Yeri number system and what it means to have a general forms, see section 5.4.1. For more information on agreement behavior of *wia* ‘two’, see section 5.3.3 and section 5.5.3.

distinction in the plural. Examples (3.44) and (3.45) show the numeral *wia* in its feminine form with *hamote yuta* ‘female’ and *miakua* ‘frog’, while example (3.46) shows the numeral in its masculine form with the masculine noun *wona* ‘moon, month’. Note the use of *wia* to mean ‘a few’ in example (3.45).

- (3.44) Salpini n-o<∅>wil                      hamote yuta    wia-i.  
 Salpini 3SG.M-take.R<SG.F> individual woman two-F  
 ‘Salpini married two wives.’ (120712-003:672.850) RNS, PM
- (3.45) aro m-gei-ka-∅                      miakua wia-i    yot-u-∅                      w-or<me>  
 go.R 1SG-leave.R-AUG-SG.F frog      two-F DEM-MDIST-SG.F 3SG.F-lie.R<IPFV>  
 heya mani.  
 bilum inside  
 ‘I went and put a few frogs in the bag.’ (120621-003:350.864) RNS, AS
- (3.46) m-ormia                      wona wia-m te-i    ∅-b-aya.  
 1SG-stay.R.IPFV moon two-M 3-PL 3PL-1SG-give.R  
 ‘I will stay two months and they will give me it (food).’ (120601-012:256.202)  
 RNS, YW

Examples (3.47) and (3.48) demonstrate the same morphemes for gender agreement with the plural nouns *helol* ‘year’ and *hamei* ‘people’. In example (3.47), *helol* triggers feminine agreement, while in example (3.48), *hamei* is understood as referring to men and the numeral occurs with a masculine gender suffix.<sup>24</sup>

- (3.47) hem m-o                      tinogil yot-a-∅                      helol wia-i    hilogi-l woli ŋa-i  
 1SG 1SG-stay village DEM-PROX-SG.F work two-F arm-SG side one-PL  
 w-ar                      woli ŋa-i      siwei yot-u-i.  
 3SG.F-go.to.R side one-PL again DEM-MDIST-PL  
 ‘I stayed in the village nine years.’ (120524-000:334.357) RNS, LN  
 LT: ‘I stayed in this village for two years, one hand, one to go to the other side, and another again there.’
- (3.48) te-i hamei wia-m yot-a-i                      wdi w-ode-∅                      w-o                      hiro h-iria  
 3-PL people two-M DEM-PROX-PL SUB 3PL-and.R-SG.F 3PL-stay.R NEG 1PL-do.I  
 helol h-iruba-i  
 work 1PL-do.well.I-PL  
 ‘Those two men there who sat with her didn’t do good work.’ (120615-001:367.017)  
 RNS, JS

<sup>24</sup> Although longer numeral expressions typically follow a conventionalized pattern described later in this section, example (3.47) shows the acceptability of less conventionalized forms of counting in spontaneous speech.

When plural nouns are modified by a single numeral, they trigger gender agreement on the numeral *wia* ‘two’, but trigger plural number agreement on the numeral *ŋa* ‘one’. Despite this, when the numeral *ŋa* ‘one’ co-occurs with *wia* ‘two’ to express a larger numeral, the numeral *ŋa* shows the same agreement as *wia*. Since the meaning ‘three’ is expressed by juxtaposition of *wia* and *ŋa*, this means that when the numeral expression ‘three’ occurs with a plural noun, the numeral *ŋa* shows the same gender agreement that occurs on *wia*. Agreement forms for the numeral expressions one through four are provided in Table 3.9.

|         | Table 3.9: Numeral forms |             |                                    |
|---------|--------------------------|-------------|------------------------------------|
|         | F                        | M           | PL                                 |
| ‘one’   | ŋa-∅                     | ŋa-n        | ŋa-i                               |
| ‘two’   | wia-i                    | wia-m       | wia-m, wia-i                       |
| ‘three’ | wia-i ŋa-∅               | wia-m ŋa-n  | wia-i ŋa-∅, wia-m ŋa-n, wia-i ŋa-i |
| ‘four’  | wia-i wia-i              | wia-m wia-m | wia-i wia-i, wia-m wia-m           |

Example (3.49) and example (3.50) both demonstrate a numeral expression indicating ‘three’ with a plural noun.<sup>25</sup> Example (3.49) shows both *wia* ‘two’ and *ŋa* ‘one’ in their feminine forms, while example (3.50) shows both numerals in their masculine forms. A numeral expression indicating ‘four’ is shown in example (3.51).

- (3.49) te-i wia-i ŋa-∅ ∅-arkou ∅-ana ∅-ormia Yomalbiena.  
 3-PL two-F one-SG.F 3PL-ascend.R 3PL-come.R 3PL-stay.R.IPFV Yomalbiena  
 ‘Three of them came up and are staying at Yomalbiena.’ (120712-003:545.374)  
 RNS, PM

- (3.50) hem nogolgoi wia-m ŋa-n.  
 1SG children two-M one-SG.M  
 ‘I have three children.’ (140312-052:212.119) DE, LA

- (3.51) te-i ∅-b-nobia ∅-w-nobia hebi, “puyu hirka wia-i wia-i yem ta  
 3-PL 3PL-1SG-talk.R 3PL-1PL-talk.R 1PL rock new two-F two-F 2PL FUT  
 y-aga-i.”  
 2PL-get.R-PL  
 ‘They said to us, “It will be four kina for you (pl) to buy them.”’ (120520-000:494.228) RNS, AS

An expression involving the noun *hiłogil* ‘arm’ and the noun *woli* ‘side’ is used to convey the meaning ‘five’ as well as the more literal ‘one hand’ (i.e. *hiłogil woli* ‘one hand, five’). An additional *woli* or the repetition of the entire expression (i.e. *hiłogil woli woli* or *hiłogil woli hiłogil woli*), literally ‘arm side side’ or ‘arm side arm side’ can signify ‘ten’.

<sup>25</sup>Personal pronouns are categorized as a subclass of nouns. See section 3.3.

To express ‘fifteen’ or ‘twenty’ both hands are counted, *hilogil woli woli* ‘both hands’, followed by the necessary number of feet’, *hilogil woli woli hawal woli* ‘both hands one foot, fifteen’ or *hilogil woli woli hawal woli woli* ‘both hands, both feet, twenty’. There is a general practice of pausing between each set of ‘ten’. Additional examples are presented in Table 3.10.

Table 3.10: Numeral expressions

|    | Yeri                                                         |
|----|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| 5  | <i>hilogil woli</i>                                          |
| 10 | <i>hilogil woli woli</i>                                     |
| 15 | <i>hilogil woli woli, hawal woli</i>                         |
| 20 | <i>hilogil woli woli, hawal woli woli</i>                    |
| 25 | <i>hilogil woli woli, hawal woli woli, hilogil woli</i>      |
| 30 | <i>hilogil woli woli, hawal woli woli, hilogil woli woli</i> |

There is an additional periphrastic expression that can be used should the speaker desire to express more specific numbers in Yeri. The speaker first counts the desired number of ‘fives’, before specifying how many numbers make up the next set of five. Example (3.52) involves a periphrastic expression meaning ‘seven’, literally, ‘one hand, two go to the other side’.

- (3.52) *hebi, nol hilka w-Ø=hebi, hilogi-l woli, wia-i w-ar woli.*  
 1PL bird white.ghost REL-SG.F=1PL arm-SG side two-F 3SG.F-go.to.R side  
 ‘We, our clans number seven.’ (120528-001:444.438) RNS, JS  
 CI: The meaning ‘clan’ is conventionally expressed by *nol hilka*.

Examples (3.53)-(3.55) illustrate uses of this construction to express ‘nine’, ‘twelve’, and ‘fourteen’ respectively.<sup>26</sup> Note that example (3.53) demonstrates a less frequent form of the construction where *ar woli* is omitted.

- (3.53) *hebi, hilogi-l woli wia-m wia-m.*  
 1PL arm-SG side two-M two-M  
 ‘We were nine.’ (120524-005:236.190) RNS, JS

<sup>26</sup>In this construction the verb *ar* ‘go’ shows some variation in subject agreement. It can show semantic plural agreement, as in example (3.54), where it occurs with the plural subject prefix *Ø-*. However, it can also show grammatical agreement, as in example (3.55), where it occurs with the singular masculine subject prefix *n-*. Given examples like (3.55) which demonstrate singular masculine grammatical agreement, it should presumably also be possible for the verb to show singular feminine grammatical agreement with the feminine form of the numeral *wia*. However, since a *w-* subject prefix could signify either singular feminine grammatical agreement or plural semantic agreement, there is no way to distinguish whether a *w-* subject prefix is expressing grammatical or semantic agreement with feminine forms of the numeral *wia*. For example, the subject prefix on *ar* ‘go’ in example (3.52) could be glossed as either 3SG.F or 3PL. It is glossed as 3SG.F in this example only as a way to explicitly demonstrate the acceptability of this gloss.

- (3.54) pikel-i hilogi-l woli hilogi-l woli wia-i Ø-ar woli wdi tumani  
 post-PL arm-SG side arm-SG side two-F 3PL-go.to.R side PREP building  
 w-Ø=ye ta n-odi-a-Ø.  
 REL-SG.F=2SG FUT 2SG-make.R-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘Twelve posts are for your (sg) house that you (sg) build.’ (120522-002:113.211)  
 RNS, JS
- (3.55) hebi hamei, hilogi-l woli hilogi-l woli, wia-m wia-m n-a<me>r  
 1PL people arm-SG side arm-SG side two-M two-M 3SG.M-go.to.R<IPFV>  
 hawal woli.  
 feet side  
 ‘We were fourteen people.’ (120524-005:225.640) RNS, JS

The number of words needed to express a numeral through this construction increases with more specific numerals or with larger numerals. For this reason, speakers generally prefer to use the Tok Pisin numerals in most contexts where a larger or specific numeral is desired. This use of Tok Pisin numerals is demonstrated in example (3.56) with *sevenpela* ‘seven’ and in example (3.57) with ‘fourteenpela’.

- (3.56) sevenpela clan w-Ø=di-Ø nogil Yeri  
 sevenpela clan REL-SG=3-SG.F village Yeri  
 ‘seven clans of Yeri’ (120528-001:406.612) RNS, JS
- (3.57) fourteenpela hebi ta h-a<me>ro toyomial.  
 fourteenpela 1PL FUT 1PL-go.R<IPFV> today  
 ‘Fourteen of us will go today.’ (120524-005:677.326) RNS, JS

Although Tok Pisin is generally used for larger or more specific numerals, Yeri speakers can and do use Yeri to discuss larger less specific numerals. One way to do this is to simply use a numeral under ten and let context to determine whether this numeral should be interpreted as the number of ‘tens’, ‘hundreds’, or ‘thousands’. Examples (3.58) and (3.59) illustrate this use. Nothing in the previous discourse or later discourse specifies ‘hundred’. It is context and real world knowledge which distinguishes between the unlikely meanings ‘two’, or ‘twenty’, and ‘five’ or ‘fifty’, and the more likely meanings ‘two hundred’ and ‘five hundred’.

- (3.58) wia-i nadi yot-ua-Ø ki Ø-a<me>na.  
 two-F only DEM-DIST-SG.F already 3PL-come.R<IPFV>  
 ‘Only two hundred there was brought back.’ (120420-000:861.010), RNS, JS

- (3.59) puyu hilogi-l woli m-aya-ka-n n-o<he>wil nebal yewal-ti.  
 money arm-SG side 1SG-give.R-AUG-SG.M 3SG.M-take.R<SG.F> tree eye-SG  
 ‘I gave him five hundred kina and he got the cocoa.’ (120420-000:821.820) RNS, JS

Additionally, there are a few specific nouns like *muaki* ‘finger’ which have become conventionalized to mean ‘hundred’ as in (3.60).

- (3.60) h-a<me>ya-ka-n muaki wia-m wia-m.  
 1PL-give.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.M hundred two-M two-M  
 ‘We gave him about four hundred kina.’ (120605-000:663.468) RNS, JS

Lastly, Yeri makes no distinction in form between cardinal and ordinal numbers. In example (3.61) for instance, the same form of the numeral *wia* ‘two’ occurs to express the ordinal number ‘second’.

- (3.61) wual clan wia-i w-Ø=di Komiti.  
 pig clan two-F REL-SG=3 Committee  
 ‘The second pig clan is Committee’s.’ (120528-001:91.810) RNS, JS  
 CI: Committee is used as a proper noun to refer to a particular person here.

### 3.5.3.2 Quantifiers

There are only two quantifiers in Yeri, *sapiten* ‘many’ and *peigilia* ‘some, few’, both of which are frequent in discourse. As a general rule, speakers prefer to use a quantifier rather than providing a more specific number, likely in part due to the cumbersome nature of expressing large specific numbers in Yeri. While both quantifiers show the same distribution in Yeri syntax (see sections 4.6.3, 6.1, and 6.2), they show different agreement behavior with *sapiten* ‘many’ showing only number agreement, resulting in its classification in the N agreement class (see section 5.5.4.3), and *peigilia* ‘some, few’ showing both gender and number agreement, resulting in its classification in the GN agreement class (see section 5.5.2.5).<sup>27</sup> Table 3.11 lists the possible agreement forms for quantifiers.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup>Note that Yeri not only shows a great deal of grammatical number agreement, but in many contexts does not obligatorily mark number agreement. For this reason, quantifier agreement forms may not always be indicative of gender or number, semantic or grammatical (see section 5.4.1 for an overview of the Yeri number system).

<sup>28</sup>One consultant judged the quantifier form *sapiti*, a form parallel to the singular feminine forms in the language, to be grammatical. This never occurred in natural discourse, however, and it is not clear how reliable this judgement is. I mention it here to be thorough, but do not discuss it further in the grammar.



Table 3.11: Quantifier forms

|             | SG.F     | SG.M      | PL        |
|-------------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| ‘some, few’ | peigilia | peigilian | peigiliai |
|             | SG       |           | PL        |
| ‘many’      | sapiten  |           | sapiti    |

Examples (3.62) and (3.63) demonstrate quantifiers and nouns occurring in the same nominal phrase. As adnominals, quantifiers follow nouns that they modify in the adnominal construction (see section 6.2). Example (3.62) demonstrates the quantifier *peigilia* modifying the plural noun *hamei* ‘people’, while example (3.63) demonstrates the quantifier *sapiten* modifying the noun *wona* ‘moon, month’.<sup>29</sup>

- (3.62) hulula w- $\emptyset$ =di hamei peigilia-i.  
 sago.grub REL-SG=3 people some-PL  
 ‘The sago grub belongs to some people.’ (120529-001:284.968) RNS, JS

- (3.63) wona sapiten ko n-or kua.  
 moon many still 3SG.M-lie.R still  
 ‘Many months still remain.’ (140424-071:60.180) DE, LA

Note that there does not appear to be a quantifier that means ‘all’ in Yeri. When the translational equivalents of English sentences including ‘all’ are elicited, consultants use *sapiten* ‘many’. However, additional questioning reveals that the given Yeri translation could be used in contexts where ‘all’ would not be acceptable.<sup>30</sup> Note that it is possible to express a meaning like ‘all’ with the verb *abor* ‘finish’ in examples like (3.64).

- (3.64) h-oki- $\emptyset$  yati h-o< $\emptyset$ >ga h-a< $\emptyset$ >bor.  
 1PL-use.R-SG.F sago 1PL-eat.R<SG.F> 1PL-finish.R<SG.F>  
 ‘We got the sago and ate it all.’ (120601-009:118.270) RNS, YW

### 3.5.4 Genitive pronouns

Genitive pronouns are classified as a type of adnominal rather than a type of noun because of their location in the adnominal construction (see section 6.2). This is distinct from

<sup>29</sup>The noun *wona* ‘moon, month’ is a singularia tantum noun and always triggers singular agreement, shown by the subject prefix on the verb *or* ‘lie, sleep’ (see section 5.4.1.7). In contexts like this, the explicitly-plural form of *sapiten* (i.e. *sapiti*) does not occur.

<sup>30</sup>Most examples of ‘all’ as a translation for *sapiten* occur in direct elicitation contexts, where consultants provide Yeri translations for English sentences. When consultants translate Yeri utterances with *sapiten*, the typical translation is either ‘many’ or ‘a lot’.

the behavior of personal pronouns in this construction. While personal pronouns precede adnominals in the adnominal construction, genitive pronouns follow nouns in the adnominal construction (see section 6.4).

An example demonstrating the location of genitive pronouns when they co-occur with nouns in the same nominal phrase is provided in (3.65). In this example, the genitive pronoun *whem* ‘my’ follows the noun *mimi* ‘mother’ in the nominal phrase. This is in opposition to example (3.66), where the pronoun *hebi* ‘we, us’ precedes the adnominal in the nominal phrase *hebi wiam*.

- (3.65) *mimi w-∅=hem la ko nigo-∅ kua.*  
 mother REL-SG.F=1SG PST still child-SG.F still  
 ‘My mother was still a child then.’ (120528-006:35.870) RNS, JS

- (3.66) *ye n-w-atia hebi wia-m.*  
 2SG 2SG-1PL-see.R 1PL two-M  
 ‘You (sg) saw us two (male).’ (140408-197:181.649) DE, JS

Despite this difference in location and word class membership, genitive pronouns are formed through the addition of an initial /w/ relational clitic to personal pronouns, which agree in person, gender, and number with the possessor. Note that third person personal pronouns show a slight change in form when used in this context. Specifically, the /t/ of *te* is pronounced as /d/ (i.e. *de*).<sup>31</sup>

I refer to the initial /w/ element that combines with personal pronouns to create genitive pronouns as a ‘relational clitic’, since it occurs in an *almost* identical form with WGN adjective roots (see section 3.5.5).<sup>32</sup> The relational clitic precedes the personal pronoun and shows gender and number agreement with the possessee. If the possessee is plural, a plural morpheme *-ei* occurs on the relational clitic (e.g. *weihem* ‘my (plural possessee)’, *weiye* ‘your (plural possessee)’). For possesseees which are singular in number, gender morphemes occur on the relational clitic: *-∅* for feminine and *-n* masculine (e.g. *wnye* ‘your (singular masculine possessee)’, *wye* ‘your (singular feminine possessee)’).

Taken as a whole, genitive pronouns inflect for the number and gender of the possessee as well as the person, number, and gender of the possessor, and are classified in the PGN

<sup>31</sup>I treat this as a variant of the third person personal pronoun *te*. Alternatively, one could analyze this as a form of the augment allomorph *-dV* (see section 7.3.3.2) or the bare non-verbal pronominal clitic *=dV* (see section 4.2). However, the analysis advocated here has the advantage of requiring only one generalization to express the distribution of first, second, and third person personal pronouns in the formation of genitive pronouns. An alternative analysis requires two generalizations, one to indicate that only first and second person personal pronouns co-occur with the relational clitic to form first and second person genitive pronouns, and another to indicate what form co-occurs with the relational clitic to form third person genitive pronouns.

<sup>32</sup>It is likely related to the form of the preposition *wɗi* and the subordinator *wɗi* as well, but neither of these lexical items permits predicate morphemes the way genitive pronouns and WGN adjectives do.

agreement class.<sup>33</sup> More information on the range of agreement that occurs on genitive pronouns can be found in section 5.5.1. Table 6.1 lists the basic genitive pronoun forms.<sup>34</sup>

Table 3.12: Genitive pronoun forms

| PSR/PSE | Personal pronoun | 3SG.F                           | 3SG.M                           | 3PL                  |
|---------|------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1SG     | hem              | w- $\emptyset$ =hem             | w-n=hem                         | w-ei=hem             |
| 2SG     | ye               | w- $\emptyset$ =ye              | w-n=ye                          | w-ei=ye              |
| 3SG.F   | de- $\emptyset$  | w- $\emptyset$ =de- $\emptyset$ | w- $\emptyset$ =de- $\emptyset$ | w-ei=de- $\emptyset$ |
| 3SG.M   | de-n             | w- $\emptyset$ =de-n            | w- $\emptyset$ =de-n            | w-ei=de-n            |
| 1PL     | hebi             | w- $\emptyset$ =hebi            | w-n=hebi                        | w-ei=hebi            |
| 2PL     | yem              | w- $\emptyset$ =yem             | w-n=yem                         | w-ei=yem             |
| 3PL     | de-i             | w- $\emptyset$ =de-i            | w- $\emptyset$ =de-i            | w-ei=de-i            |
|         | de-m             | w- $\emptyset$ =de-m            | w- $\emptyset$ =de-m            | w-ei=de-m            |

Deletion of the voiceless velar approximant /w/ <h> following /n/ (see section 2.1.1.4) occurs in the formation of first person genitive pronouns. When the possessee is a singular feminine object and shows - $\emptyset$  for agreement, the first person genitive pronouns *whem* ‘my (feminine possessee)’ and *webi* ‘our (feminine possessee)’ show the initial /w/ <h> found in their regular forms (*hem* ‘I, me’, *hebi* ‘we, us’). However, when singular masculine possessee agreement occurs, the singular masculine suffix -n occurs on the relational clitic and immediately precedes the personal pronouns beginning in /w/. This results in the deletion of the initial /w/ <h> of the first person personal pronouns *hem* and *hebi* (i.e. *wnem* rather than \**wnhem*, *wnebi* rather than \**wnhebi*). This pronunciation is shown in (3.67) and (3.68).

- (3.67) wɛm wan winɛm wɪrɔ wɪn<sup>m</sup>bɛn.  
 hem, wan w-n=hem hiro w- $\emptyset$ =nabe-n.  
 1SG heart REL-SG.M=1SG NEG REL-SG=good-SG.M  
 ‘I feel very bad.’ (120620-012:78.326) RNS, KL

<sup>33</sup>For phonological reasons, the gender of the possessee is neutralized in the bare form of third person genitive pronouns, those forms which do not occur with a predicate morpheme (see section 5.5.1.3). Given the acceptable variation in the gender agreement triggered by many nouns (see section 5.3.4.3, and section 5.3.4.4), it is frequently not possible to know what gender is triggered by the noun on the bare form of a third person genitive pronoun unless gender is triggered on another lexical item. For the sake of simplicity and consistency, I gloss the gender agreement of the possessee on bare forms of third person genitive pronouns in examples throughout the grammar as - $\emptyset$  (SG). In this context, it does not appear possible to distinguish possessee gender, even though possessee gender is distinguished in this location when predicate morphemes co-occur.

<sup>34</sup>Note that predicate morphemes can also occur on the relational clitic. The form and location of predicate morphemes on the relational clitic is the same when the relational clitic occurs on both genitive pronouns and WGN adjectives. This predicate morpheme similarity in conjunction with the similarity in number agreement on the relational clitic when it occurs with genitive pronouns and WGN adjectives is part of why I analyze the /w/ clitic that occurs with genitive pronouns as the same /w/ clitic that occurs with WGN adjectives. See section 3.5.5 for a comparison of agreement on the relational clitic with genitive pronouns and with WGN adjectives, and see section 8.3.1 for discussion of predicate morphemes and their occurrence on genitive pronouns.

- (3.68) wɔwi      win<sup>m</sup>bi      jɔtan      ki      nɛlmuɛl  
           wowi      w-n=hebi      yot-a-n      ki      n-al<m>kual  
           forehead REL-SG.M=1PL DEM-PROX-SG.M already 3SG.M-turn.color.R<IPFV>  
           danua.  
           danua-Ø.  
           PREP-SG.F  
           ‘Our mind here, it knows how to do it.’ (120518-000:249.873) RNS, JS  
           CI: The speaker is describing how he and another man know how to write and can  
           translate Yeri.

### 3.5.5 The relational clitic

In almost all contexts, genitive pronouns and WGN adjectives occur with what I term a relational clitic. This clitic precedes personal pronoun roots on genitive pronouns and WGN adjective roots on WGN adjectives. This section is devoted (i) to comparing the relational clitic’s behavior with WGN adjectives and its behavior with genitive pronouns, (ii) to presenting evidence for why I analyze the relational clitic as a single clitic rather than two distinct clitics (one which occurs with WGN adjectives and one which occurs with genitive pronouns) and (iii) to explaining why its behavior resulted in it being labeled a clitic rather than a separate word or a bound affix.

**Comparing WGN adjectives and genitive pronouns: The relational clitic’s idiosyncratic allomorphy** The relational clitic displays several irregularities in gender, number, and predicate morpheme form, and the same irregularities are visible when it occurs with genitive pronouns and with WGN adjectives. Specifically, the relational clitic is (i) the only element that indicates plural number by *-ei*, (ii) the only element where the additive morpheme alone is indicated by /b/ rather than /p/, and (iii) the only element where the phonological allomorphs *-mo* for the imperfective and *-bo* for the additive occur.<sup>35</sup>

Note that there is exactly one difference in inflection depending on the relational clitic’s occurrence with genitive pronouns or WGN adjectives. When the clitic occurs with genitive pronouns, gender and number can be distinguished on the relational clitic, while only number can be distinguished on the relational clitic when it occurs with WGN adjectives. Note that gender and number agreement on the relational clitic refers to the possessee with genitive pronouns, which is distinct from gender and number agreement on the personal pronoun root, which refers to the possessor (see section 3.5.4). This agreement behavior is distinct from WGN adjectives, where number agreement on the relational clitic refers to the same

<sup>35</sup>There are a handful of verbs which infix *-i-*, and because of a morphophonological rule, this results in a pronunciation involving [ei]. See section 2.5.5. However, these verbs select for *-i-*, and not *-ei*.

thing as number agreement on WGN adjective roots, namely the thing being described as ‘good’ or ‘big’.

A comparison of the possible forms of the relational clitic when it occurs with genitive pronouns as opposed to when it occurs with WGN adjectives is provided in Table 3.13. The first column indicates which context (with genitive pronouns or with WGN adjectives) is under consideration, while the second, third, and fourth columns list any morphemes that can occur in that position on the relational clitic and how they are glossed. The fifth column indicates what type of lexical root the relational clitic occurs with.

| Table 3.13: The relational clitic |          |               |                     |                       |
|-----------------------------------|----------|---------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| occurs with                       | /w/      | gender/number | predicate morphemes | lexical root          |
| genitive pronouns                 | w- (REL) | -∅ (SG.F)     | none                | personal pronoun root |
|                                   |          | -n (SG.M)     | -ma (IPFV)          |                       |
|                                   |          | -ei (PL)      | -ba (ADD)           |                       |
| WGN adjectives                    | w- (REL) | -∅ (SG)       | none                | WGN adjective root    |
|                                   |          | -ei (PL)      | -ma (IPFV)          |                       |
|                                   |          |               | -ba (ADD)           |                       |

**Evidence for a single clitic analysis** I analyze both genitive pronouns and WGN adjectives as being preceded by the same clitic for several reasons. With both genitive pronouns and WGN adjectives, the relational clitic (i) shows the same initial /w/ morpheme, (ii) displays almost the exact same range of idiosyncratic inflections and allomorph forms, and (iii) requires gender, number, and predicate morphemes to occur in the same order.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, these are the only two contexts where predicate morphemes precede the lexical root (see section 8.3). I argue that this similarity regarding the unusual location of predicate morphemes on genitive pronouns and WGN adjectives is because the predicate morphemes are located on the same clitic. It is only because the relational clitic precedes personal pronoun and WGN adjectives roots, that predicate morphemes also precede these roots.

**Evidence for its status as a ‘clitic’** The relational clitic is one of the few instances in the grammar where I use the label ‘clitic’ and employ an equal sign rather than a space or a hyphen when glossing examples. As described in section 1.7.2, this should be understood as indicating only that a particular element shows some range of behavior that makes it desirable to distinguish it from prototypically free unbound words or morphemes on the one hand and tightly bound morphemes on the other hand. Specifically, although the relational

<sup>36</sup>Note predicate morphemes can be pronounced as *-Co* with WGN adjectives, but not with genitive pronouns. However, this pronunciation is due to a morphophonological rule of regressive vowel harmony in Yeri (see section 2.5.1), and none of the Yeri personal pronoun forms would trigger this rule.

clitic shows several types of behavior that are prototypical of bound affixes, it also shows several types of behavior that are prototypical of unbound free words.

Like a prototypical bound affix, the relational clitic cannot occur on its own and always co-occurs with a lexical root. Furthermore, no words can be pronounced between the relational clitic and its following lexical root, nor can the relational clitic be pronounced on its own. It is always pronounced in conjunction with the following lexical root.<sup>37</sup> All of this behavior is common behavior for a bound affix in Yeri.

However, unlike a prototypical bound affix, gender, number, and predicate morphemes can occur on the relational clitic, as shown earlier in this section. This is common behavior for a free unbound word and would suggest that the clitic is itself an element with distinct morphemes, separate from the lexical root it precedes. Additionally, agreement occurs twice on WGN adjectives and genitive pronouns, once on the relational clitic and once on the lexical root. This behavior would be more expected of a sequence of two free words with their own unique morphology than of a bound affix and a root.

The relational clitic also behaves more like a free unbound word than like a bound affix when it comes to partial reduplication in Yeri. While bound affixes are reduplicated when they occur in the relevant section of a lexical item showing partial reduplication, the relational clitic does not undergo reduplication when WGN adjectives show initial partial reduplication (see section 2.6.2). Examples of partial reduplication with WGN adjectives are provided in (3.69) and (3.70). In each example, no part of the relational clitic is reduplicated despite the fact that WGN adjectives show initial partial reduplication, and bound affixes located in the relational clitic's position would be expected to be reduplicated.

- (3.69)    uɔʁmia            uɔʁ<sup>h</sup>ga            ni            nuakɛda  
              h-ormia            h-o<∅>ga            ni            nuake=da-∅  
              1PL-stay.R.IPFV 1PL-eat.R<SG.F> intestine large.intestines=NVPC-SG.F  
              wina<sup>m</sup>bina<sup>m</sup>bɛ.  
              w-∅=nabe-nabe-∅.  
              REL-SG=RED-good-SG.F  
              ‘We stayed and ate very good food.’ (120524-005:586.008) RNS, JS

- (3.70)    ni<sup>m</sup>bɛl jiwɛlti    warepia            wilɔpɪlɔpɛn.  
              nebal    yewal-ti w-a<∅>repia            w-∅=lope-lope-n.  
              tree    eye-SG 3PL-boil.R<SG.F> REL-SG=RED-big-SG.M  
              ‘They boiled a lot of rice.’ (120524-005:589.380) RNS, JS

Lastly, when predicate morphemes occur on the relational clitic, they can undergo a process of vowel harmony that is typical of free unbound morphemes in Yeri (see section 2.5.1).

<sup>37</sup>If the relational clitic were pronounced on its own, one might expect that it would be pronounced as [u] (see section 2.1.2.2) when it occurred without masculine, plural, or predicate morphemes in parallel to the high vowel particle /i/. However, it does not appear to ever be pronounced this way in the corpus.

This is shown in example (3.71), where the imperfective morpheme *-ma* is pronounced as [mɔ] because of the /o/ of *lope* /lope/ ‘big’ in the following syllable. Bound affixes in Yeri do not participate in this vowel harmony process.

- (3.71)    ʉamɔtɛ    juta    jɔtu                    ki            wi<sup>n</sup>damɔɾɛ  
              hamote    yuta    yot-u-∅                ki            w-da<m>ore  
              individual woman DEM-MDIST-SG.F already 3SG.F-get.up.R<IPFV>  
              ture<sup>ŋ</sup>gami    mɔlɔɾɛ.  
              turega-mi    ma=lope-∅.  
              teenager-IPFV IPFV=big-SG.F  
              ‘That girl there is becoming a young lady and she is getting bigger.’ (120705-004:107.203) RNS, JS

To summarize, I use the label ‘clitic’ and the equal sign to signify that the relational clitic displays the following behavior: (i) it cannot occur on its own, (ii) it cannot be separated from its following lexical root, (iii) it is always pronounced in conjunction with its following lexical root, (iv) it permits gender, number, and predicate morphemes to occur on it, (v) it shows either distinct agreement from the following root (i.e. genitive pronoun) or results in agreement being marked twice on the full word form, once on the relational clitic and once on the following lexical root (i.e. WGN adjectives), (vi) it does not undergo reduplication when WGN adjectives show initial partial reduplication, and (vii) it undergoes a process of regressive vowel harmony.

Given this unusual behavior, the relational clitic can be understood as displaying behavior typically associated with both free unbound words and bound morphemes. It is for this reason, that I refer to it as a ‘clitic’ and use the equal sign to delimit the form. Note that since the relational clitic occurs with its own gender, number, and predicate morphemes, I segment each of these morphemes as part of the relational clitic, and place the equal sign between the end of the relational clitic and the beginning of the following lexical root. In other words, the relational clitic can be understood as consisting of an initial /w/ morpheme, which is followed by gender/number morphemes, which are in turn followed by predicate morphemes.

### 3.6 Copula words

Lexical items are classified within the copula word class on the basis of their occurrence with the verbal copula *o*. For ease of reference, I use the label ‘copula word expression’ to refer to the combination of verbal copula and its copula word complement, as well as an optional

degree word (see section 3.8).<sup>38</sup>

In example (3.72), the copula word *bilgi* ‘strong’ occurs with the verbal copula to modify the noun *hamote* ‘individual’, while in examples (3.73) and (3.74) the copula words *weli* ‘hot, painful’ and *sopeina* ‘dry’ co-occur with a verbal copula to express that the subject is ‘warm’ or ‘dry’.

- (3.72) ye hamote-n n-o bilgi-l ye ta n-odi tumani.  
 2SG individual-SG.M 3SG.M-COP.R strong-SG 2SG FUT 2SG-make.R building  
 ‘If you (sg) are a strong man, you (sg) will build a house.’ (120522-002:337.020)  
 RNS, JS

- (3.73) te-n n-o weli.  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-COP.R hot  
 ‘He is warm.’ (120611-004:434.499) RNS, JS

- (3.74) mani w-Ø=de-n ki w-o sopeina.  
 inside REL-SG=3-SG.M already 3SG.F-COP.R dry  
 ‘Its inside is dry.’ (120608-002:265.220) RNS, JS

Table 3.14 provides a list of the most common copula words in the corpus. Many copula words have forms that explicitly indicate plural number and are classified in the N agreement class (see section 5.5.4).<sup>39</sup> However, some copula words have a single invariant form and are classified in the I agreement class (see section 5.5.5). Where explicitly-plural forms exist, they are listed in the table.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup>Unlike adnominals which are defined based on their ability to follow a noun in the adnominal construction (see sections 3.5 and 6.2), copula words cannot occur following nouns in this construction unless they co-occur with a verbal copula. The obligatory verbal copula distinguishes copula words from other adnominals like adjectives. Note that some nouns are homophonous with copula words and can occur following a noun in the inalienable possessive construction (see section 6.4.2). These nouns show distinct but related meanings to the corresponding copula word (e.g. *silka* ‘edge, sharp’, or *haiketa* ‘white cockatoo, white’).

<sup>39</sup>Although some copula words have explicitly plural forms, these forms are never obligatory. For instance, it is common for a verbal copula with a plural subject prefix to co-occur with the non-plural form of a copula word (see section 5.5.4.1).

<sup>40</sup>Note that some nouns like *henei* ‘blood, red’ or *haiketa* ‘white cockatoo, white’ can express two related senses: (i) a physical entity, and (ii) a property concept related to that physical entity (commonly a color associated with the physical entity). When they refer to the physical entity, they behave like nouns. When they express the property concept meaning, they behave like copula words and occur with a verbal copula.



Table 3.14: Copula word forms

| gloss                   | singular | plural                 |
|-------------------------|----------|------------------------|
| ‘dry’                   | sopeina  | sopeina-l              |
| ‘heavy’                 | meno     | meno-l                 |
| ‘ash, grey’             | pro-ti   | pro-wil                |
| ‘strong’                | bilgi-l  | bilgi-i                |
| ‘cold’                  | miaga    | miaga-l                |
| ‘green, new’            | hirka    | hirka-l                |
| ‘itchy’                 | hohagi-l | hohagi-i               |
| ‘soft, weak’            | hobi     | hobi-l                 |
| ‘thick’                 | mabırka  | mabırka-l, mabırka-gil |
| ‘blood, red’            | henei    | henei-gil              |
| ‘edge, sharp’           | silka    | silka-l                |
| ‘poki beetle, black’    | poki     | poki-l                 |
| ‘white cockatoo, white’ | haike-ta | haike-wil              |
| ‘hot, painful’          | weli     | invariant, weli-gal    |
| ‘brittle’               | piru     | invariant, piru-gal    |
| ‘thin’                  | yowelia  | invariant, yowelia-gil |
| ‘blue’                  | niwal    | invariant, niwal-gil   |
| ‘plenty’                | hahelia  | invariant              |
| ‘shine’                 | bikar    | invariant              |

Although copula words co-occur with a verbal copula, many copula words are homophonous with nouns which occur without a verbal copula.<sup>41</sup> Given this, some examples of what at first glance appear to be copula words occurring without a verbal copula are in fact instances of the inalienable possessive construction where two nouns are juxtaposed (see section 6.4.2). For instance, in example (3.75), the lack of verbal copula results in *silka* being interpreted with its nominal meaning ‘a sharp edge’ and not the meaning it has as a copula word ‘to be sharp’. Only when it occurs with the verbal copula as in (3.76) is it interpreted with the meaning ‘to be sharp’.

- (3.75) harogi-l silka.  
 axe-SG sharp  
 ‘the axe’s sharp point’ (140404-024:643.521) SE, LA

- (3.76) harogi-l n-o silka.  
 axe-SG 3SG.M-COP.R sharp  
 ‘The axe is sharp. (140404-024:626.588) SE, LA

<sup>41</sup>In fact, given the clear relation in semantics, it is likely that many copula words originated by extension of the original noun’s meaning.

### 3.7 Adverbs

There is a small class of words in Yeri which can function as the sole element of a non-verbal predicate in addition to being able to modify a predicate when they occur in one of three positions: (i) clause-initially, (ii) immediately before the predicate they modify, or (iii) clause-finally.<sup>42</sup> I refer to this word class as adverbs. The most frequent adverbs are listed in Table 3.15.<sup>43</sup>

| Table 3.15: Adverbs |                  |
|---------------------|------------------|
| Yeri                | meaning          |
| yomial              | ‘slow, quiet’    |
| nanala              | ‘alone’          |
| niagil              | ‘same, together’ |

Example (3.77) demonstrates the adverb *yomial* ‘slow, quiet’ functioning as a negated non-verbal predicate, while example (3.78) demonstrates the adverb modifying the intransitive verb *dore* ‘get up’ to provide information about the manner of the verb.

- (3.77) ta hiro yomial.  
 FUT NEG slow  
 ‘He will not be slow.’ (120611-004:262.623) RNS, JS

- (3.78) yomial dore.  
 slow get.up.R  
 ‘He slowly got up.’ (120517-001:558.024) RNS, JS

Adverbs can either be modified by degree words (see section 3.8) as in (5.103) or reduplicated (see section 2.6), as in (3.80)-(3.82), to express greater intensity as compared to the use of a single adverb alone.

<sup>42</sup>At present, there is only a small number of words in the corpus that are classified as adverbs. This is partly because there is at least some overlap in words which meet most of the criteria for classification as an adverb and words which clearly meet the criteria for classification as adnominals or clause particles. I classify adverbs as a separate word class rather than a subclass of adnominals because these words do not appear to be grammatical in the adnominal construction (see section 6.2), which is the criterion used for classification in the adnominal word class. Furthermore, the few adnominals that meet most of the criteria for classification as an adverb cannot occur clause-initially unless they are functioning as a nominal phrase (see chapter 6). The clause particles that meet most of the criteria for classification as an adverb cannot be modified by a degree word (see section 3.8) or reduplicated (see section 2.6) like adverbs (or adnominals), nor can they function as the sole element of a non-verbal predicate (see section 4.6). Given this, there is a clear distinction in the behavior of what I classify as adverbs from the behavior of adnominals and clause particles. However, I do acknowledge that there is a degree of arbitrariness to exactly which behavior is considered in the determination of word classes along the lines of what Croft (2001) refers to as ‘methodological opportunism’.

<sup>43</sup>Note that many of the meanings that are frequently denoted by manner adverbs in other languages are expressed in Yeri by verbs (e.g. *daruba* ‘do well’, *dasolkia* ‘do badly’, *darku* ‘do quickly’).

- (3.79) yomial nadi aro m-oki hawal m-asor-e-i.  
 slow very go.R 1SG-use.R feet 1SG-rinse.R-AUG-PL  
 ‘I very slowly went and cleaned my legs.’ (120621-003:346.283) RNS, AS
- (3.80) n-arkia-ka-n yomial yomial, ki n-a<me>ro.  
 2SG-shoulder.carry.R-AUG-SG.M slow slow already 2SG-go.R<IPFV>  
 ‘You (sg) carry it very slowly and go.’ (120704-001:202.541) GE-[no meno dai], JS
- (3.81) hem lawiaki nanala nanala m-o yot-u-∅ m-a<∅>guti  
 1SG long.time alone alone 1SG-stay.R DEM-MDIST-SG.F 1SG-burn.R<SG.F>  
 nebal yewal-ti.  
 tree eye-SG  
 ‘For a long time, I sat there all by myself to dry the cocoa beans.’ (120608-002:101.675) RNS, JS
- (3.82) niagil niagil ∅-eikia.  
 together together 3PL-walk.R  
 ‘They walked together.’ (120613-001:225.480) RNS, LA

### 3.8 Degree words

Yeri has a small class of degree words which follow the element they modify and are used to express a greater degree of intensity, typically translated as ‘very’. Degree words can modify verbs, adjectives, quantifiers, ideophones, copula words, and adverbs. Unlike many other word classes, degree words cannot function as predicates (see section 4.6) or as the sole element of a nominal phrase (see section 6.1). Degree words are invariant and occur with neither gender nor number morphemes. For this reason, they are classified in the I agreement class (see section 5.5.5). Yeri has three words I classify as degree words: (i) *nadi*, (ii) *laladil*, and (iii) *moki*.

Although, *laladil* and *moki* occur in natural speech, they are much less frequent than *nadi*. Within the corpus, the vast majority of degree word tokens are instances of *nadi*.<sup>44</sup> For instance, in both example (3.83) and example (3.84), *nadi* follows the element it modifies, here the quantifier *sapiten* ‘many’. In example (3.83), *sapiten* is modifying the noun *nalu* ‘cassowary’ resulting in the meaning ‘very many cassowaries’ while in example (3.84), the quantifier *sapiten* ‘many’ is functioning as a predicate resulting in the interpretation ‘are very many’.

<sup>44</sup>Yeri has a homophone *nadi* ‘only’ which displays behavior that is different from the degree words described here. For information on this word, see section 3.14.

- (3.83) nalu sa-sapiten nadi w-o-<∅>ga wobla yot-u-∅.  
 cassowary RED-many very 3SG.F-eat.R<SG.F> wobla.tree DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘Very many cassowaries were eating that fruit tree.’ (120623-002:81.625) RNS, YW

- (3.84) nalu yot-u-n sa-sapiten nadi.  
 cassowary DEM-MDIST-SG.M RED-many very  
 ‘Those cassowaries, there were many of them.’ (120623-002:78.518) RNS, YW

The degree word *nadi* modifies various copula words in (3.85)-(3.87) including *poki* ‘black’, *worpeti* ‘yellow’, and *bilgil* ‘strong’.

- (3.85) te-n ta n-o poki nadi.  
 3-SG.M FUT 3SG.M-COP.R black very  
 ‘It looks very black.’ (120611-004:169.110) RNS, JS

- (3.86) wipul te-n n-o worpe-ti nadi  
 wipul.cuscut 3-SG.M 3SG.M-COP.R yellow-SG very  
 ‘Wipul, it is very yellow.’ (120611-004:195.250) RNS, JS

- (3.87) ye n-o bilgi-l nadi, ...  
 2SG 2SG-COP.R strong-SG very ...  
 ‘If you (sg) are very strong, ...’ (120522-002:348.613) RNS, JS

The degree word *nadi* modifies a WGN adjective in example (3.88), and the intransitive verbs *dolbi* ‘be hungry’ and *dawialta* ‘fear’ in (3.89) and (3.90).

- (3.88) te-n w-∅=lope-lope-n nadi.  
 3-SG.M REL-SG=big-big-SG.M very  
 ‘He is very very big.’ (140213-022:205.568) GE-[huba dul], LA

- (3.89) hem m-dolbi nadi.  
 1SG 1SG-be.hungry.R very  
 ‘I am very hungry.’ (120517-001:1915.390) RNS, JS

- (3.90) hem m-dawialta nadi.  
 1SG 1SG-fear.R very  
 ‘I was very afraid.’ (120524-005:540.118) RNS, JS

Examples illustrating the use of *moki* ‘very’ to signal greater intensity are provided in (3.91) and (3.92), where *moki* modifies the quantifier *sapiten* ‘many’ and the GN adjective *sibelial* ‘long’.

- (3.91) nebal yewal-ti sapiten moki yot-ua-n.  
 tree eye-SG many very DEM-DIST-SG.M  
 ‘There are very many kaukau beans there.’ (120416-000:55.909) RNS, LA

- (3.92) ki h-nobia sibelial-belial moki yot-ua-n.  
 already 1PL-talk RED-long-long very DEM-DIST-SG.M  
 ‘We have talked a very long time there.’ (120524-000:904.816) RNS, JS

The degree word *laladil* ‘very’ in particular shows a very restricted distribution, and almost always occurs following either *sipeki* ‘little’ or *tiawa* ‘short’ in the corpus. Examples are provided where *laladil* follows *sipeki* in (3.93) and (3.94), and *tiawa* in (3.95). In example (3.95), note that *nadi* is not a degree word, but rather a homophone which expresses the meaning ‘only’. For discussion of this homophone, see section 3.14.

- (3.93) nogil Yeri nogil sipeki-l laladil.  
 village Yeri village little-SG very  
 ‘Yeri village is a tiny village.’ (120528-001:453.551) RNS, JS
- (3.94) hasieki-l sipeki-i laladil Ø-dalkuelial Ø-or<pe> yot-u-i.  
 fire-PL little-PL very 3PL-catch.fire.R 3PL-lie.R<ADD> DEM-MDIST-PL  
 ‘Only a small amount of fire lit there.’ (120420-000:525.860) RNS, JS
- (3.95) pirsakai tiawa-Ø laladil nadi.  
 legend short-SG.F very only  
 ‘It’s only a short story.’ (120410-006:224.300) RNS, YW

### 3.9 Clause particles

Clause particles are a class of words which cannot act as the sole element of a predicate (see section 4.6) and which occur in a restricted set of syntactic positions. These locations include (i) clause-initial position, (ii) immediately preceding the predicate the particle holds scope over, and (iii) clause-final position. Note that not all clause particles can occur in each of these positions, but that clause particles must occur in one of these positions. A lexical item is classified as a particle for the purposes of this grammar if it shows this restricted distribution and cannot act as a predicate.

I further subdivide clause particles into three subclasses based on the exact subset of locations that a clause particle can occur in. Each of these subclasses is described in more detail in chapter 10. Here I only briefly summarize the distribution of each subclass of clause particles.

**class 1** a clause particle that can occur in clause-initial position and before the predicate it holds scope over. It can occur only once in a clause.

**class 2** a clause particle that can occur in any of the three positions. It can occur twice in a clause as long as one of the positions is clause-final position.

**class 3** a clause particle that can only occur in clause-final position. It can occur only once in a clause.

A list of particles is provided in Table 3.16.<sup>45</sup>

| Table 3.16: Clause particles |              |                     |
|------------------------------|--------------|---------------------|
| subclass                     | Yeri         | gloss               |
| class 1                      | la           | ‘past tense’        |
|                              | ta           | ‘future tense’      |
|                              | ki           | ‘already’           |
|                              | tomal, komal | ‘don’t’             |
|                              | ba           | ‘strong belief’     |
|                              | teipa, pa    | ‘later, then’       |
| class 2                      | siwei, si    | ‘again, back’       |
|                              | kua, ko      | ‘still, yet, first’ |
|                              | hiro         | ‘no’                |
| class 3                      | he           | ‘continuous’        |
|                              | la           | ‘assumed truth’     |
|                              | mai          | ‘polar question’    |

### 3.10 Prepositions

Yeri has two prepositions: (i) *wɔi* and (ii) *danua* (or alternatively *nua*). Lexical items are classified as prepositions if (i) they cannot serve as the sole element of a predicate and if (ii) they select for a following complement nominal phrase.<sup>46</sup> Both prepositions have broad uses, and the following sections are devoted to discussion of each of these prepositions, with *wɔi* described in section 3.10.1 and *danua* in section 3.10.2. Note that these are distinct from relational nouns (see section 6.6) which are used to express spatial relations in Yeri. While relational nouns are a semantic subclass of nouns, and therefore precede adnominals when they are modified by adnominals in the same nominal phrase (see section 6.2), prepositions cannot be modified by adnominals.

<sup>45</sup>Note that this is not a complete list of all possible particles. However, I leave investigation into other particles for future research.

<sup>46</sup>Note that one of these prepositions, *danua* can optionally occur without this complement nominal phrase, but only when gender and number morphemes occur on the preposition in place of the complement nominal phrase.

### 3.10.1 *wɗi*

The first preposition *wɗi* does not appear to be acceptable with gender or number morphemes, and for this reason, is classified in the I agreement class (see section 5.5.5). The preposition is homophonous with a third person genitive pronoun (see section 3.5.4) that can be used in the alienable possessive construction (see section 6.4.3) and a common clause linker (see section 14.2.1). Given the high frequency of *wɗi* and the relatedness of its various uses, much more research is needed to describe all of its senses in detail. I focus here on its use with a nominal phrase complement to modify a predicate. In this context, *wɗi* can convey a wide range of meaning including ‘about, concerning’, ‘for’, ‘to’, ‘at’, and a use that introduces the time at which an event occurs. In the examples, I place the preposition’s complement nominal phrase in square brackets [ ].

In (3.96) and (3.97) *wɗi* occurs in its ‘about’ use. In each of these examples the nominal phrase it occurs with expresses the topic of conversation, *hanogil* ‘ground’ in example (3.96) and *kiyipa* ‘earlier today’ in example (3.97).

- (3.96) h-nobia wɗi [hanogil].  
 1PL-talk.R PREP ground  
 ‘We talk about the land.’ (120524-005:53.360) RNS, JS

- (3.97) ta m-nobia wɗi [kiyipa].  
 FUT 1SG-talk.R PREP earlier.today  
 ‘I will talk about earlier today.’ (120607-002:17.036) RNS, JS

The preposition *wɗi* occurs with *hem* in example (3.98) to convey who or what the rooster will come close to, while in example (3.99) it occurs with *hebi* to express who it is that the office will be good to.

- (3.98) harkroki nadi yot-u-n ta n-ana tayipier wɗi [hem] ...  
 chicken only DEM-MDIST-SG.M FUT 3SG.M-come.R near PREP 1SG ...  
 ‘That rooster only there will come close to me ...’ (120517-001:536.951) RNS, JS

- (3.99) ki tumani w-∅=lope-∅ ki w-∅=nabe-∅ wɗi [hebi], ...  
 already building REL-SG=big-SG.F already REL-SG=good-SG.F PREP 1PL ...  
 ‘If the office is good to us, ...’ (120524-000:687.858) RNS, LN

In (3.100) *wɗi* occurs meaning ‘for’ in its purpose sense. In this example, the speaker is explaining how to build a house. Before you build the house, he says that you have to count the posts for the house you will build.

- (3.100) ye n-gowil-a-i wdi [tumani w-Ø=ye ta  
 2SG 2SG-count.R-AUG-PL PREP building REL-SG.F=2SG FUT  
 n-odi-a-Ø].  
 2SG-make.R-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘You (sg) count them for your (sg) house that you (sg) will build.’ (120522-002:110.134) RNS, JS

The preposition *wdi* also occurs with nominal phrases which denote the time at which something occurred. In (3.101) it occurs with a complex nominal phrase with an unmarked relative clause to convey the meaning ‘in that year I already said’.

- (3.101) wdi [helol yot-u-i ki m-eiwere-wa-Ø] mimi  
 PREP work DEM-MDIST-PL already 1SG-name.R-AUG-SG.F mother  
 w-Ø=hem la kua nego kua sipeki-l.  
 REL-SG.F=1SG PST still daughter still little-SG  
 ‘In that year that I have said, my mother was still a child and small.’ (120528-006:33.200) RNS, JS  
 CI: In previous utterances, the speaker explicitly references a particular year.

In example (3.102) *wdi* combines with another complex nominal phrase with an unmarked relative clause to express the meaning ‘at that time they call Monday’.

- (3.102) yem ta y-o<i><me>wil nebal-gi tiawa-i wdi [mineigi  
 2PL FUT 2PL-take.R<PL><IPFV> tree-PL short-PL PREP time.period  
 w-eiwera monday].  
 3PL-name.R monday  
 ‘You (pl) will take the cars at the time they call Monday.’ (120524-005:373.533)  
 RNS, JS

Additional examples are provided in (3.103) and (3.104). In these examples, *wdi* occurs in its ‘about’ use with complex nominal phrases describing what will be talked about. Note the second occurrence of *wdi* in example (3.104) is not an example of the preposition *wdi*. The second *wdi* introduces a clause which modifies *wia weinabi* ‘good hand’ (see section 14.2.1 for information on the clause linker *wdi*).

- (3.103) ta si m-nobia wdi [nigo-n-gon w-n=hem Wilkei  
 FUT again 1SG-talk.R PREP child-SG.M-RED REL-SG.M=1SG Wilkei  
 n-odi nogolgoi w-ei=hem].  
 3SG.M-and.R children REL-PL=1SG  
 ‘I will talk about my son Wilkei and my daughters.’ (120518-001:19.230) RNS, JS



- (3.104) ta m-nobia wdi [wia w-ei=nabe-i wdi Ø-odi tumani  
 FUT 1SG-talk.R PREP hand REL-PL=good-PL SUB 3PL-make.R building  
 w-Ø=nabe-Ø].  
 REL-SG=good-SG.F  
 ‘I will talk about the good way to build a good house.’ (120522-002:16.367) RNS, JS

### 3.10.2 *danua*

The preposition *danua* almost always occurs with either a nominal phrase complement or with a suffix indicating the gender and number of the complement.<sup>47</sup> For this reason, it is classified in the GN agreement class (see section 5.5.2). Detailed information regarding the agreement of the preposition *danua* is located in section 5.5.2.7. Here, I focus primarily on the meaning of the preposition.

Like *wdi*, the preposition *danua* covers a wide range of meanings. It is particularly common for the preposition to express a benefactive meaning, as in (3.105) and (3.106).

- (3.105) te-n ta n-ana n-w-aria-da-Ø yo danua hebi o?  
 3-SG.M FUT 3SG.M-come.R 3SG.M-1PL-do.R-AUG-SG.F path PREP 1PL or  
 ‘Will he come and make the road for us?’ (120621-001:850.788) RNS, TW
- (3.106) hebi ta h-alia-Ø nebal hare danua-n.  
 1PL FUT 1PL-drop.R-SG.F tree leaf PREP-SG.M  
 ‘We will vote for him.’ (120621-001:74.191) RNS, TW  
 CI: Slips of paper are dropped into a bin to vote.

However, the preposition has a much broader meaning than ‘benefactive’, as illustrated by examples (3.107)-(3.109), where no benefactee is involved. In example (3.107), the complement of the preposition *danua* refers to the people who have angered another group. In example (3.108), it refers to a person who may or may not have had something done to her. It refers to the item that was forgotten in example (3.109). More research into the preposition is needed to present a detailed description of the various senses of *danua* and I leave this to future research.

- (3.107) paki ta te-i wan halhal danua hebi.  
 paki FUT 3-PL heart angry PREP 1PL  
 ‘They are angry with us?’ (120528-001:382.091) RNS, JS

<sup>47</sup>The few examples which show *danua* with a clausal complement are discussed in section 12.3.2.2.

- (3.108) hem hiro m-iga- $\emptyset$  mal danua- $\emptyset$  hiro.  
 1SG NEG 1SG-get.I-SG.F what PREP-SG.F NEG  
 ‘I did not do anything to her.’ (120517-001:1569.760) RNS, JS  
 CI: *aga mal* is the conventional expression for ‘do what’ or ‘do something’.
- (3.109) hem ki wan d-nawia danua losi w-ei=de- $\emptyset$ .  
 1SG already heart MDL-come.out.R PREP name REL-PL=3-SG.F  
 ‘I forgot its name.’ (120621-004:176.436) RNS, TW

Infrequent examples like (3.110) and (3.111) occur where the preposition is instead pronounced as *nua* instead of *danua*.<sup>48</sup>

- (3.110) n-oki- $\emptyset$  nebal n-alkial-e- $\emptyset$  nua- $\emptyset$   
 3SG.M-use.R-SG.F tree 3SG.M-pull.R-AUG-SG.F PREP-SG.F  
 n-alkial-e- $\emptyset$  nua- $\emptyset$  n-alkial-e- $\emptyset$  nua- $\emptyset$  ...  
 3SG.M-pull.R-AUG-SG.F PREP-SG.F 3SG.M-pull-AUG-SG.F PREP-SG.F ...  
 ‘He took the tree and he pulled it and pulled it and pulled it ...’ (120517-001:1391.670) RNS, JS
- (3.111) hiro n-ide-wa-n n-ilkial-e-i nua-n hiro.  
 NEG 3SG.M-chop.I-AUG-SG.M 3SG.M-pull.I-AUG-PL PREP-SG.M NEG  
 ‘He did not cut it properly.’ (120621-004:53.779) RNS, TW

Additional examples from natural speech illustrating the preposition *danua* are provided in (3.112)-(3.115).

- (3.112) hebi ki h-i< $\emptyset$ ><m><p>giwa-ki danua- $\emptyset$ .  
 1PL already 1PL-ask.I<SG.F><IPFV><ADD>-APPL PREP-SG.F  
 ‘We should ask her for our thing.’ (120620-018:277.020) RNS, JS
- (3.113) n-o<ne>giwa danua Wilkei o n-nobia danua- $\emptyset$  wikal  
 3SG.M-ask.R<SG.M> PREP Wilkei or 3SG.M-talk.R PREP-SG.F language  
 maja- $\emptyset$ ?  
 what-SG.F  
 ‘He asked you about Wilkei or he talked about what?’ (120520-000:372.522) RNS, TW
- (3.114) ta hiro h-itr-e-i helol ta  $\emptyset$ -iria-da- $\emptyset$  danua hebi hiro.  
 FUT NEG 1PL-see.I-AUG-PL work FUT 3PL-do.I-AUG-SG.F PREP 1PL NEG  
 ‘We will not see the work they do for us.’ (120621-001:865.994) RNS, TW

<sup>48</sup>This suggests that historically *danua* may have been composed of an object morpheme /da/ followed by *nua*. There is some agreement evidence in favor of this analysis, but for reasons of time, this avenue of inquiry is left for future research.

- (3.115) yuta    nogual    Ø-aria-da-Ø                    danua han-gil.  
           woman PL        3PL-do.R-AUG-SG.F PREP    male-PL  
           ‘The girls do something for men.’ (120608-003:602.170) RNS, JS

### 3.11 Conjunctions

Yeri has a small class of conjunctions which share several formal characteristics. For the purposes of this grammar, a word is classified as a conjunction in Yeri if it (i) can coordinate nominal phrases or clauses, (ii) occurs after a coordinated element, and (iii) is optional after the last coordinated element.<sup>49</sup> Yeri conjunctions are listed in Table 3.17. Detailed information on the use of conjunctions to coordinate nominal phrases can be found in section 6.7.3, while their use in coordinating clauses is described in section 14.1.2.

Table 3.17: Conjunctions

| Yeri | meaning |
|------|---------|
| o    | ‘or’    |
| no   | ‘or’    |
| nia  | ‘or’    |

### 3.12 Subordinators

There is a small class of optional clause linkers which serve to overtly link a subordinate clause to a nominal phrase or another clause. I refer to these subordinate clause linkers as ‘subordinators’. A list of subordinators in Yeri are given in Table 3.18. For more information on the use of subordinate clause linkers, see the section on subordination in section 14.2.

Table 3.18: Common subordinators

| Yeri  | meaning         |
|-------|-----------------|
| wdi   | ‘that, for, of’ |
| no    | ‘until’         |
| nomal | ‘after’         |

### 3.13 Exclamatives

There is a class of words in Yeri which occur alone to express a speaker’s surprise, pain, excitement, or other noticeable emotional state. I refer to these words as ‘exclamatives’.

<sup>49</sup>Yeri has a verb *ode* ‘and, with’ which can conjoin nominal phrases (see section 6.7.2).

There are four exclamatives that are common in the corpus. These are: *wagiluage*, *ake*, *yai*, and *apata*. Two of these have common pronunciation variants. The exclamative *ake* is frequently pronounced as *ke*, and the exclamative *apata* is frequently pronounced as *eipata*.

Examples (3.116)-(3.119) illustrate the use of several exclamatives in natural discourse.

- (3.116) nua w-nobia, “yai! nepo w-n=hem nepo w-n=hem.”  
 mother 3SG.F-talk.R oh! son REL-SG.M=1SG son REL-SG.M=1SG  
 ‘His mother said, “Oh! my son, my son.”’ (120517-001:2034.770) RNS, JS
- (3.117) ake! hem paki m-odinia yot-a-Ø?  
 oh 1SG paki 1SG-how.R DEM-PROX-SG.F  
 ‘Oh! What is happening to me here?’ (120517-001:1448.491) RNS, JS
- (3.118) w-nobia, “ke! mimi wual!”  
 3SG.F-talk.R oh mother pig  
 ‘She said, “Oh! Mother, there’s a pig!”’ (120621-003:203.897) RNS, AS
- (3.119) wagiluage.  
 oh  
 ‘Oh!’ (120524-000:121.430) RNS, LN

### 3.14 The word *nadi* ‘only’

Yeri has a word *nadi* which displays unique behavior in that it can modify nominal phrases to express the meaning ‘only’. The word follows the nominal phrases it modifies and is homophonous to the degree word *nadi* ‘very’, which is discussed in section 3.8. Examples like (3.120)-(3.122) illustrate *nadi* holding scope over a nominal phrase functioning as the object of the transitive verb *oga* ‘eat’. For instance, in example (3.120), *nadi* follows the nominal phrase *wual* ‘pig’ and describes a situation where the speaker will eat only pig, and not other types of food. The nominal phrases modified by *nadi* are enclosed in square brackets.

- (3.120) ta m-o<ne>ga [wual] nadi.  
 FUT 1SG-eat.R<SG.M> pig only  
 ‘I will eat pig only.’ (120601-012:323.288) RNS, YW

Similarly in (3.121) and (3.122), *nadi* follows the nominal phrases *yati no henei* ‘red sago’ and *huri* ‘sago flour’ to indicate that the speaker will only eat red sago or sago flour.

- (3.121) m-o<Ø>ga [yati w-o henei] nadi.  
 1SG-eat.R<SG.F> sago 3SG.F-COP.R blood only  
 ‘I ate the red sago only.’ (120601-012:253.732) RNS, YW  
 CI: I didn’t eat the white sago.

- (3.122) m-o<i>ga      [hur-i]      nadi m-or<me>.  
1SG-eat.R<PL> sago.flour-PL only 1SG-lie.R<IPFV>  
‘I ate only sago flour before sleeping.’ (120601-012:199.556) RNS, YW

## Chapter 4

# Basic clausal syntax

This chapter focuses on the syntax of a simple clause. Grammatical relations and the range of grammatical roles referenced in the grammar are described in section 4.1, while section 4.2 discusses the range and selection of pronominal forms. Section 4.3 details information on word order in Yeri. Section 4.4 presents a brief overview of the types of clauses in the language, with more detailed information on verbal clauses being provided in section 4.5 and more detailed information on non-verbal clauses being provided in section 4.6. Several elements that can optionally occur in a clause are discussed in section 4.7.

### 4.1 Grammatical relations

This section is devoted to describing grammatical relations in the language, and what is meant by terms like ‘subject’ and ‘object’ in this grammar. I focus on verbal predicates in section 4.1.1 and non-verbal predicates in section 4.1.2.

#### 4.1.1 Verbal predicates

For verbal predicates (see section 4.5), the notion of ‘subject’ and ‘object’ are defined on the basis of bound person forms which occur on the verb. For ease of discussion, I will refer to any bound person forms as ‘indexes’, according to the definition proposed in Haspelmath (2013).

Yeri can be classified as an accusative language in that the only argument of an intransitive verb, indicated by S, and the argument of a transitive verb that is an agent (or is treated like an agent), indicated by A, show the same type of verbal indexing. Both S and A arguments are indexed via the first prefix slot on the verb. The argument of a transitive verb that is a patient (or is treated like a patient), indicated by P, is indexed via a distinct set of verbal agreement morphemes. Depending on the person of the patient and the class of the

verb, the P argument is indexed by either prefixes, infixes, suffixes, or augmented suffixes (suffixes which occur with a preceding augment allomorph, see section 7.3.3.2). More detailed information on argument marking with verbs is located in section 7.3.

Examples to demonstrate this distinction in behavior are provided in (4.1)-(4.5). In (4.1), the intransitive verb *or* ‘lie, sleep’ occurs. The single argument of this verb is the S argument which is indexed by a prefix, here the third person singular masculine morpheme *n-*, in the first slot on the verb. In (4.2)-(4.5), the transitive verbs *ori* ‘hit’, *oba* ‘shoot’, and *aga* ‘get’ demonstrate the same behavior for the A argument. The third person singular masculine morpheme *n-* occurs in the first prefix slot on the verb. For clarity, the indexes for S, A, and P arguments are bolded.

- (4.1) *te-n la n-or.*  
 3-SG.M PST 3SG.M-lie.R  
 ‘He slept.’ (140407-196:11.758) GJ, LA

- (4.2) *nebal ta n-y-o<me>ri.*  
 tree FUT 3SG.M-2-hit.R<IPFV>  
 ‘The tree branch will hit you (sg or pl).’ (120601-009:195.126) RNS, YW

- (4.3) *n-o<ne>ba malual.*  
 3SG.M-shoot.R<SG.M> ground.wallaby  
 ‘He shot the ground wallaby.’ (120601-009:38.110) RNS, YW

- (4.4) *te-n n-aga-n.*  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-get.R-SG.M  
 ‘He bought it (masc.).’ (140404-023:63.830) DE, LA

- (4.5) *te-n n-ori-wa-n.*  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-hit.R-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘He hit him.’ (140404-023:24.553) DE, LA

Unlike S and A arguments, the P argument in (4.2) is indexed as a prefix in the second slot on the verb, the second person prefix *y-*. In (4.3), the P argument is indexed as an infix, the third person singular masculine *-ne-*. Example (4.4) and example (4.5) demonstrate transitive verbs like *aga* ‘get’ and *ori* ‘hit’, where the P argument is indexed via a suffix and an augmented suffix respectively. Figure 4.1 provides a diagram illustrating this distinction in behavior.

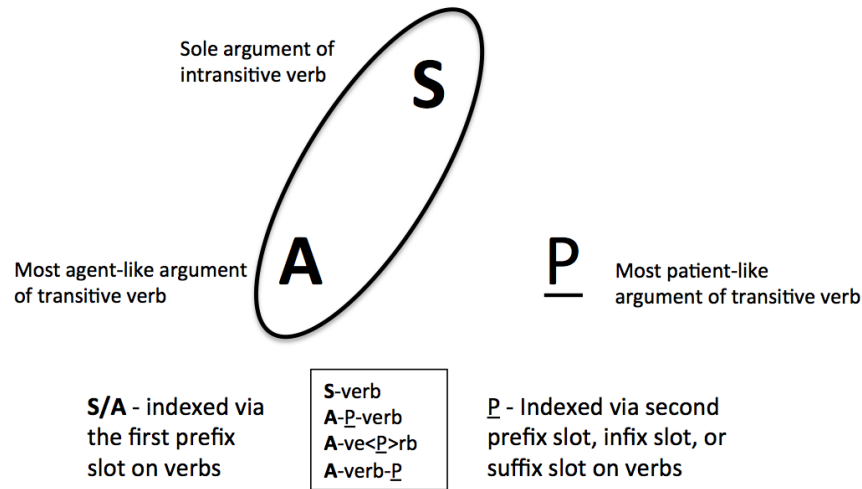


Figure 4.1: Grammatical relations

Given this basic distinction in the behavior between the S argument and the A argument on the one hand and the P argument on the other, I use the term ‘subject’ to refer to any argument which can be indexed via the first prefix slot on verbs, and I refer to these prefixes as ‘subject prefixes’. Similarly, I use the term ‘object’ to refer to any argument which can be indexed by one of the possible object slots (either the second prefix, an infix, or a suffix slot). I additionally call these morphemes ‘object prefixes’, ‘object infixes’, ‘object suffixes’, and ‘object augmented suffixes.’<sup>1</sup>

While subjects are indexed on the verb regardless of whether a subject nominal phrase co-occurs, objects may, but do not have to be, indexed on the verb when an object nominal phrase occurs (see section 7.8). An example is shown in (4.6), where an object augmented suffix, here *-wa*, is omitted due to an immediately following coreferential object nominal phrase *yati* ‘sago palm, sago jelly’.

- (4.6)  $\emptyset$ -a<me>ro       $\emptyset$ -o<me>ri      yati.  
 3PL-go.R<IPFV> 3PL-hit.R<IPFV> sago  
 ‘They were going to beat the sago.’ (120517-001:1622.930) RNS, JS

Nominal phrases like *yati* are nonetheless classified as objects, since object indexes can co-occur with them. That object indexes can co-occur with overt nominal objects is shown in (4.7), where the object augmented suffix *-wa* co-occurs with the nominal phrase *yati* ‘sago palm, sago jelly’.

<sup>1</sup>Note that although subjects and objects can be indexed on the verb, in specific contexts they may not be indexed. See section 2.5.9 for information on the omission of subject prefixes before consonant-initial verb roots, section 2.5.8 for information on subject prefix omission before prefixes, and section 13.2 for information on subject prefix omission in multi-predicate clauses.



- (4.7) hebi h-aro h-ori-wa- $\emptyset$  yati h-a<me>na.  
 1PL 1PL-go.R 1PL-hit.R-AUG-SG.F sago 1PL-come.R<IPFV>  
 ‘We scraped the sago before coming.’ (120409-002:827.710) RNS, AS

Furthermore, third person singular feminine nominal objects may sometimes be indexed by means of a phonologically null suffix or infix, depending on the class of the verb and where stress falls (see section 7.3.3.1).<sup>2</sup> Examples are shown in (4.8) and (4.9) with the verbs *aga* ‘get’ and *ogiwa* ‘ask’.<sup>3</sup>

- (4.8) ki aro a<sup>ŋ</sup>ga ni<sup>ŋ</sup>glola.  
 ki  $\emptyset$ -aro  $\emptyset$ -aga- $\emptyset$  niglola.  
 already 3PL-go.R 3PL-get.R-SG.F greens  
 ‘They went to get greens.’ (120409-002:445.554) RNS, AS

- (4.9) mana mo<sup>ŋ</sup>giwa mimi.  
 m-ana m-o< $\emptyset$ >giwa mimi.  
 1SG-come.R 1SG-ask.R<SG.F> mother  
 ‘I came and asked his mother.’ (120529-002:332.764) RNS, TW

Nominal phrases like *niglola* ‘greens’ and *mimi* ‘mother’ are also classified as objects despite the lack of an index with overt phonological material. This is because minimal adjustment to the nominal phrase so as to create a masculine or plural object, as shown in (4.10) with the verb *aga* ‘get’ and (4.11) with the verb *ogiwa* ‘ask’, results in optional indexing on the verb with an overt morpheme. For this reason, I conclude that these feminine nominal phrases are objects parallel to their masculine or plural counterparts, but are simply indexed by means of a phonologically null morpheme.<sup>4</sup> I refer to any of these objects as ‘core objects’ throughout the grammar when I wish to distinguish them from applicative objects, which are discussed later in this section.

- (4.10) h-ana h-oki miaga h-aga-n.  
 1PL-come.R 1PL-use.R banana 1PL-get.R-SG.M  
 ‘We came and got a banana.’ (120621-004:216.786) RNS, TW
- (4.11) te- $\emptyset$  w-dore w-o<ne><m>giwa nakal.  
 3-SG.F 3SG.F-get.up.R w-ask.R<SG.M><PL> father  
 ‘She got up and was asking father.’ (120520-004:208.720) RNS, AS

<sup>2</sup>I use the expression ‘phonologically null affix’ to denote situations where the absence of an overt affix codes something.

<sup>3</sup>The verb *ar* ‘go’ in example (4.8) can be glossed as having a third person plural subject prefix  $\emptyset$ - (see section 7.3.1) or as lacking a subject prefix due to its occurrence as a directional verb in a multi-predicate clause (see section 13.2).

<sup>4</sup>Strong evidence indicates that historically these phonologically null morphemes consisted of the velar approximant /w/ <h> and a vowel.

Yeri also shows a productive pattern of indexing what I refer to as ‘applicative objects’ on verbs (see section 7.7). By this, I mean that speakers can introduce an additional argument to a predicate simply by including an additional object. This is done by including an additional object index, an additional object nominal phrase, or both. These additional objects show some semantic patterns with respect to their interpretation, and for this reason, I divide the category of applicative objects into ‘benefactive objects’ and ‘locative objects’ for ease of discussion.

The second person plural object prefix on the verb *aria* ‘do’ in example (4.12) indexes a benefactive object referring to the person who benefits from the man taking care of paperwork. The third person plural augmented suffix on the verb *dawil* ‘hang’ indexes a locative object, the location of the lights, in example (4.13). Applicative objects are discussed in detail in section 7.7.

- (4.12) n-y-a<me>ria-da-Ø.  
 3SG.M-2-do.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘He will do it for you (sg or pl).’ (120524-000:294.811) RNS, JS
- (4.13) ta n-atr-e-i hasieki-l Ø-d-awil-a-i woli woli.  
 FUT 2SG-see.R-AUG-PL fire-PL 3PL-MDL-hang-AUG-PL side side  
 ‘You (sg) see many lights on them.’ (120528-006:197.130) RNS, JS

I also make a distinction between objects like the ones described above and nominal phrases like *wigal* ‘language’ in example (4.14). It is useful to have a term to refer to these nominal phrases because there is a sense in which they can be viewed as semantic objects of the verb. However, as these nominal phrases are never indexed on the verb, I do not classify them as grammatical objects. I use the term ‘non-grammatical object’ to refer to nominal phrases like these.

- (4.14) Ø-nobia wigal  
 1PL-talk.R language  
 ‘We’ll talk.’ (120420-000:1006.115) RNS, LA

Lastly, Yeri has a verbal copula *o* ‘be’ which obligatorily occurs with a copula word (see section 3.6 and section 7.7.1.2). I use the label ‘copula complement’ to refer to this obligatory copula word. An example is provided in (4.15), where the copula word *silka* ‘edge, sharp’ serves as the copula complement to the verbal copula.

- (4.15) harogi-l n-o silka.  
 axe-SG 3SG.M-COP.R sharp  
 ‘The axe is sharp. (140404-024:626.588) SE, LA

### 4.1.2 Non-verbal predicates

For non-verbal predicates, I treat the single argument of a non-verbal predicate as the subject of that predicate.<sup>5</sup> Like verbal predicates, the subject of a non-verbal predicate precedes the predicate, and can be optionally omitted.

I treat predicates composed of nominal phrases, ideophone phrases, adnominal phrases, and adverb phrases as non-verbal predicates. See section 4.6 for detailed discussion of these non-verbal predicates. The single argument of any of these predicates would therefore be classified as a subject in this grammar.

In (4.16), *ten* ‘he’ is the subject of the nominal predicate, while in (4.17), *hem* ‘I, me’ is the subject of the ideophone predicate. I use the label ‘nominal predicate’ to refer to a nominal phrase functioning as a predicate (see section 4.6.1) and the label ‘ideophone predicate’ to refer to an ideophone phrase functioning as a predicate (see section 4.6.2).

- (4.16) *te-n la hamote-n.*  
 3-SG.M PST individual-SG.M  
 ‘He was a person.’ (120517-001:2464.645) RNS, JS

- (4.17) *hem dildil.*  
 1SG shiver  
 ‘I was shivering.’ (120524-005:163.810) RNS, JS

In example (4.18), *hebi* ‘we, us’ is the subject of the adnominal predicate, while in example (4.19), *hem* ‘I, me’ is the subject of the adverb predicate. I use the label ‘adnominal predicate’ to refer to an adnominal phrase functioning as a predicate (see section 4.6.3) and the label ‘adverb predicate’ to refer to an adverb phrase functioning as a predicate (see section 4.6.4).

- (4.18) *hebi la w-ei=nabe-i.*  
 1PL PST REL-PL=good-PL  
 ‘We were good.’ (120608-003:411.170) RNS, JS

- (4.19) *hem nanala.*  
 1SG alone  
 ‘I am alone.’ (120518-002:387.470) RNS, JS

Note that some nominal predicates and some adnominal predicates show agreement with their subject, as demonstrated by the masculine suffix on *hamote* ‘individual’ in (4.16) and

<sup>5</sup>Note that ideophones can occur with applicative objects, as discussed later in this section. For ideophones, I treat the argument that is the agent (or is treated like an agent) as the subject and the argument that is a patient (or is treated like a patient) as the applicative object. Only the applicative object can optionally be represented by a pronominal clitic (see section 4.2.2).

by the plural morpheme on *nabe* ‘good’ in (4.18). Agreement is dependent on the lexical item and agreement patterns are described in section 5.5.

Lastly, although applicative objects are far more common with verbal predicates (see section 7.7), it is grammatical for an applicative object to be added to some non-verbal clauses. This is not uncommon with ideophone predicates and with what I call the ‘possessive ‘have’ construction’. This is a non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction (see section 4.6.5).

These applicative objects must be realized as either a nominal phrase or as a pronominal form (see section 4.2) that can occur in non-verbal clauses. Pronominal forms which can occur in non-verbal clauses are discussed in section 4.2.2. Here I note only that I refer to these as ‘pronominal clitics’ for short and segment them with an equal sign. See section 1.7.2 for a description of my use of this symbol for segmentation, and section 4.2 for a description of why I use the symbol in this context.

Example (4.20) illustrates the occurrence of an applicative object with the ideophone *bobo* ‘bark’. In this example, the non-verbal pronominal clitic =*dan* expresses the applicative object, the person being barked at by the dog.

- (4.20) *nebo ki bobo=da-n.*  
 dog already bark=NVPC-SG.M  
 ‘The dog barks at him.’ (140211-027:1310.703) GJ, JS

Example (4.21) illustrates the occurrence of an applicative object =*da* in the possessive ‘have’ construction.

- (4.21) *te-∅ pine-i=da-∅.*  
 3-SG.F wing-PL=NVPC-SG.F  
 ‘It has wings on it.’ (120705-003:824.105) GE-[peni da], JS

## 4.2 Pronominal forms

Classifying pronominal elements as bound or nonbound is not a trivial matter in Yeri. While some clear differences in behavior are observable, it would be misleading to label elements as free forms or bound forms without including more detailed information on the exact differences in behavior for each element. This is because not all elements display complete uniformity in behavior with other elements classified in the same way and because careful examination of behavior suggests a third intermediate group which I refer to as ‘non-verbal pronominal clitics’ (‘pronominal clitics’ for short), due to their distribution. This section is included to describe exactly what the distinctions are between what I classify as ‘personal

pronouns’, ‘pronominal affixes’, and ‘pronominal clitics’, and to explain the choice between each of these elements in various contexts.<sup>6</sup>

For ease of discussion, I use the label ‘pronominal form’ throughout the grammar as a blanket term for both personal pronouns and bound person forms in Yeri. I classify both pronominal affixes and pronominal clitics as bound person forms.<sup>7</sup> Table 4.1 gives a list of pronominal forms from least bound (personal pronouns) to most bound (pronominal affixes), with pronominal clitics falling in between personal pronouns and pronominal affixes.<sup>8</sup>

The table also provides additional information on several characteristics that relate to each pronominal form’s classification as ‘bound’ or ‘nonbound’. These characteristics are: (i) whether the element alone can occur as the first element in the adnominal construction, (ii) whether the element can be coreferential with all other types of pronominal forms, (iii) whether the element can function as a subject nominal phrase, (iv) whether the element can refer to the applicative object of an ideophone or the possessor in the non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction (which is also referred to as the possessive ‘have’ construction in this grammar, see section 4.6.5), and (v) whether the element (at least optionally) displays vowel disharmony.<sup>9</sup> These behavioral characteristics are indicated in the table by the labels ‘adnominal construction?’, ‘coref?’, ‘subject NP?’, ‘non-verbal clause?’, and ‘vowel disharmony?’ respectively.

<sup>6</sup>See section 3.3 for information on my language-specific use of the term ‘pronoun’. Although, Yeri has what are conventionally referred to as personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, interrogative pronouns, indefinite pronouns, and possessive pronouns due to the optionality of nouns in Yeri nominal phrases (see section 6.3), I only make explicit use of the label ‘pronoun’ in two contexts within the grammar: (i) ‘personal pronouns’ which I categorize as a subclass of nouns (see section 3.3), and (ii) ‘genitive pronouns’ which I categorize as a subclass of adnominals (see section 6.2.6). In this section, I am referring only to ‘personal pronouns’. See section 6.2.7 and section 12.3 for information on the nominal use of demonstratives and interrogatives respectively.

<sup>7</sup>For this reason, I refer to pronominal affixes and pronominal clitics as ‘indexes’ (see section 4.1).

<sup>8</sup>The bare pronominal clitic =*dV* is identical in form to an augmented suffix -*dV* (see section 7.3.3.2). I analyze these as the same form which displays subtle differences in behavior depending on whether it occurs as an augmented suffix or as a non-verbal pronominal clitic. These subtle differences in behavior are symbolized by the distinction between the hyphen and the equal sign described in section 1.7.2. See section 7.3.3.2 for information on this element’s use as an augment allomorph and section 4.2.2 for its uses as a non-verbal pronominal clitic.

<sup>9</sup>While I briefly mention vowel disharmony in this section, I do not discuss this phenomenon in detail. For more detailed information on vowel disharmony, see section 2.5.6. Note also that stress may help further distinguish these forms, but I leave this issue for more detailed future research.

Table 4.1: The types of pronominal forms and their behavior

| type                                         | example | adnominal<br>construction? | coref?     | subject<br>NP? | non-verbal<br>clause? | vowel<br>disharmony? |
|----------------------------------------------|---------|----------------------------|------------|----------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| personal pronouns                            | te-n    | <b>yes</b>                 | <b>yes</b> | <b>yes</b>     | <b>yes</b>            | no                   |
| imperfective non-verbal<br>pronominal clitic | =mia-n  | no                         | no         | no             | <b>yes</b>            | no                   |
| additive non-verbal<br>pronominal clitic     | =pia-n  | no                         | no         | no             | <b>yes</b>            | no                   |
| bare non-verbal<br>pronominal clitic         | =dV-n   | no                         | no         | no             | <b>yes</b>            | <b>yes</b>           |
| verbal object<br>augmented suffixes          | -(w)V-n | no<br>no                   | no<br>no   | no<br>no       | no<br>no              | <b>yes</b><br>no     |
| verbal object<br>suffixes                    | -n      | no                         | no         | no             | no                    | no                   |
| verbal object<br>infixes                     | -ne-    | no                         | no         | no             | no                    | no                   |
| verbal object<br>prefixes                    | b-      | no                         | no         | no             | no                    | no                   |
| verbal subject<br>prefixes                   | n-      | no                         | no         | no             | no                    | no                   |

There are two important distinctions that can be made regarding the different types of pronominal forms. First, pronominal forms can be divided into nonbound personal pronouns and bound person forms. These two groups show different behavior in (i) the acceptability of their use in the adnominal construction, (ii) their ability to be coreferential with all other types of pronominal forms, and (iii) their ability to serve as the sole element of a subject nominal phrase. This is the focus of section 4.2.1.

Second, pronominal clitics can be distinguished from the other bound person forms. While tightly bound person forms (subject prefixes, object prefixes, object infixes, object suffixes, and object augmented suffixes) can only occur attached to a verb, pronominal clitics can occur in non-verbal clauses. Specifically, pronominal clitics can index the applicative object of an ideophone, the possessor index in the non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction, and the thing being described by an adnominals. This is the focus of section 4.2.2.

Three groups of pronominal forms result from these two distinctions: (i) personal pronouns, (ii) pronominal clitics, and (iii) pronominal affixes. Pronominal clitics can be understood as intermediate between personal pronouns and pronominal affixes in that they show some

characteristics associated with bound elements, but cannot be classified as prototypical affixes. Although this three-way distinction can be made, it would be misleading to say that there is no overlap among the groups. For instance, the bare pronominal clitic  $=dV$  is identical in form to the augmented suffix  $-dV$ . One could understand this as the language choosing to use the augmented suffix  $-dV$  when no additional imperfective or additive meaning is desired in these non-verbal clause contexts. However, when the form is used in specific non-verbal contexts, there is no root to which it attaches and it is located on the basis of syntax. I analyze these as the same element which shows subtle differences in its behavior depending on context.

Given this behavior, I separate all personal pronouns by a space, all pronominal affixes by a hyphen, and all pronominal clitics by an equal sign. My use of the equal sign should only be interpreted as indicating that a particular morpheme shows some range of behavior that makes it desirable to distinguish it from completely free unbound words or morphemes on the one hand and tightly bound morphemes on the other hand.<sup>10</sup> Not all morphemes which are segmented with the equal sign share the same behavior.

In this case, pronominal clitics are separated by an equal sign because they display a distinct range of behavior from that of the other two pronominal form groups: personal pronouns and pronominal affixes. Specifically, pronominal clitics cannot (i) occur as the first element of the adnominal construction, (ii) be coreferential with all other pronominal form types, or (iii) function as the sole element of a subject NP like personal pronouns can. However pronominal clitics can occur in specific non-verbal contexts without attaching to a lexical root, which pronominal affixes cannot do.

#### 4.2.1 Personal pronouns

Yeri personal pronouns, listed in Table 4.2, can be distinguished from all other pronominal forms in several ways. First, personal pronouns precede adnominals in the adnominal construction (see section 6.2). This is shown in (4.22), where the personal pronoun *hebi* ‘we, us’ is followed by the adnominal *wia* ‘two’. This is the explanation for their being classified in the noun word class (see section 3.3). Other pronominal forms (i.e. pronominal clitics and affixes) cannot occur in this construction.

<sup>10</sup>See section 1.7.2 for more detailed description regarding the segmentation conventions used in this grammar and how they should be understood.

Table 4.2: Personal pronouns

|       | SG  | PL      |
|-------|-----|---------|
| 1     | hem | hebi    |
| 2     | ye  | yem     |
| 3SG.F | te  | ti, tem |
| 3SG.M | ten |         |

- (4.22) ye n-w-atia hebi wia-m.  
 2SG 2SG-1PL-see.R 1PL two-M  
 ‘You (sg) saw us two (male).’ (140408-197:181.649) DE, JS

Second, personal pronouns can always function as coreferential nominal phrases with any other pronominal form regardless of clause type.<sup>11</sup> Example (4.23) illustrates the acceptability of the first person singular pronoun as a coreferential nominal phrase with the object prefix in example (4.23), while example (4.24) illustrates this behavior with the third person singular feminine pronoun *te* and the object augmented suffix *-ka*. In each example, the personal pronoun refers to the same entity as the pronominal affix. This behavior is discussed in more detail with verbal predicates in section 7.8 in the chapter on verbs.

- (4.23) te-∅ ki w-b-ori hem.  
 3-SG.F already 3SG.F-1SG-hit.R 1SG  
 ‘She hit me.’ (120517-001:429.415) RNS, JS

- (4.24) te-n n-arkia-ka-∅ te-∅.  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-shoulder.carry.R-AUG-SG.F 3-SG.F  
 ‘He carried her.’ (140409-158:724.480) GJ, JS

Examples (4.25) and (4.26) demonstrate the acceptability of coreferential nominal phrases consisting of personal pronouns with pronominal clitics. In these examples, the personal pronouns are coreferential with the imperfective and additive pronominal clitics *=mia* and *=pia*.<sup>12</sup>

- (4.25) te-n kolkol=*mia*-n te-n.  
 3-SG.M shout=IPFV.NVPC-SG.M 3-SG.M  
 ‘He’s shouting at him.’ (140211-027:61.480) GJ, JS

<sup>11</sup>Most examples of other pronominal forms were judged ungrammatical if made coreferential with a pronominal form that was not a personal pronoun. Note, however, that some variation in grammaticality judgements did occur with the bare pronominal clitic *=dV*. This is not too surprising since the pronominal clitics are intermediate in boundedness between personal pronouns and affixes. The variation in acceptability simply indicates the intermediate level of boundedness that pronominal clitics display.

<sup>12</sup>Grammaticality judgements demonstrate the grammaticality of personal pronouns co-occurring with imperfective and additive forms. However, this does not appear to be common in natural speech.



- (4.26) te-n      kolkol=pia-n                      te-n.  
 3-SG.M shout=ADD.NVPC-SG.M 3-SG.M  
 ‘He also called to him.’ (140211-027:227.063) GJ, JS

Third, personal pronouns are the only type of pronominal form that can function as the sole element of a subject nominal phrase. An example is provided in (4.27), where the first person singular pronoun acts as the subject of the verb *aya* ‘give’.

- (4.27) hem ta    m-y-aya      maŋa-Ø?  
 1SG FUT 1SG-2-give.R what-SG.F  
 ‘What will I give you (sg or pl)?’ (120517-001:185.991) RNS, JS

#### 4.2.2 Pronominal forms in non-verbal clauses

This section briefly presents information on the range of pronominal forms that can express the applicative object of ideophone predicates (see section 4.6.2), the possessor index in the possessive ‘have’ construction (see section 4.6.5), and the element being described by an adnominal predicate (see section 4.6.3).

**The applicative object with ideophone predicates** Although applicative objects are more common with verbal predicates, it is grammatical for an applicative object to be added to non-verbal clauses with ideophone predicates (see section 4.6.2). Since ideophones never occur with pronominal affixes, applicative objects cannot be indexed on the ideophone predicate by object affixes as they are with verbs. Instead, applicative objects with ideophone predicates are always realized as either a nominal phrase (including nominal phrases consisting of only a personal pronoun) or a non-verbal pronominal clitic (i.e. =*dV*, =*mia*, or =*pia*).

There are no first or second person non-verbal pronominal clitics, and so first or second person applicative objects are obligatorily expressed by nominal phrases.<sup>13</sup> However, there are third person pronominal clitics. For this reason, third person applicative objects can be expressed by either a nominal phrase (including nominal phrases consisting of only a personal pronoun) or by a pronominal clitic. The choice of pronominal clitic form is (a) dependent on whether additional imperfective or additive semantics are expressed and (b) dependent on an optional process of vowel disharmony (see section 2.5.6) when no imperfective or additive semantics are expressed.<sup>14</sup> However, it is more common to see vowel disharmony occur

<sup>13</sup>These nominal phrases most frequently consist of a single first or second person personal pronoun, but can also include coordinated nominal phrases like *hem myode ye* ‘me and you’ (see section 6.7).

<sup>14</sup>Note that =*da* is the default bare pronominal clitic that occurs when vowel disharmony does not occur (see section 2.5.6.3). Note also that although pronominal clitics cannot refer to a first or second person referent with ideophone predicates, they can technically be used with first or second person possessors as possessor indexes in the possessive ‘have’ construction/non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction (see section 4.6.5). This, however, is rare.

with the bare pronominal clitic when it occurs in the possessive ‘have’ construction as the possessor index (see section 4.6.5). For this reason, I demonstrate optional vowel disharmony later in this section when I discuss the form of possessor indexes in the possessive ‘have’ construction.

In examples (4.28) and (4.29) the ideophone *bobo* occurs with an applicative object referring to the thing being barked at. In example (4.28), the applicative object is expressed by the personal pronoun *ten*. In example (4.29), it is expressed by the bare pronominal clitic =*dan*.

- (4.28) *nebo ki bobo te-n.*  
 dog already bark 3-SG.M  
 ‘The dog barked at him.’ (140211-027:1299.465) GJ, JS

- (4.29) *nebo ki bobo=da-n.*  
 dog already bark=NVPC-SG.M  
 ‘The dog barked at him.’ (140211-027:1310.703) GJ, JS

Examples (4.30) and (4.31) demonstrate the occurrence of imperfective and additive pronominal clitics to express the applicative object of the ideophones *sleislei* ‘tiptoe’ and *pikiapikia* ‘vomiting noises’.

- (4.30) *te-n sleislei=mia-n.*  
 3-SG.M tiptoe=IPFV.NVPC-SG.M  
 ‘He is walking slowly towards him.’ (140404-023:2633.248) GJ, LA

- (4.31) *te-n pikiapikia=pia-∅.*  
 3-SG.M vomit=ADD.NVPC-SG.F  
 ‘He did vomit on her.’ (140404-023:2906.334) GJ, LA  
 AT: ‘He vomited on her too’. (in addition to the other person he vomited on).

**The possessor index in the possessive ‘have’ construction** For detailed information on the possessive ‘have’ construction, see section 4.6.5. This section focuses only on the range of pronominal forms which can function as possessor indexes in the construction, those pronominal forms which show gender and number agreement with the possessor. While possessor indexes are not obligatory in the construction, when possessor indexes do occur, they are always expressed by one of the non-verbal pronominal clitics.<sup>15</sup> For instance, example (4.32) shows a bare pronominal clitic as the possessor index.

<sup>15</sup>These pronominal forms can also occur referring to first or second person possessors. This is the only context I am aware of where these pronominal forms can be interpreted in this way.

- (4.32) *heya w-∅=hem yot-a-∅ puyu hirka=da-∅.*  
 bilum REL-SG.F=1SG DEM-PROX-SG.F rock new=NVPC-SG.F  
 ‘My bilum has money in it.’ (120705-003:268.372) GE-[puyu hirka pia], JS

When the bare non-verbal pronominal clitic functions as a possessor index, vowel disharmony can optionally occur (see section 2.5.6 for more information). Where disharmony does not occur, as in example (4.32), the default form =*da* is selected. When vowel disharmony does occur, the phonological allomorph =*da* is chosen when the preceding syllable consists of a monophthong harmony high vowel /i, e, u/, as in (4.33), and the phonological allomorph =*de* is chosen in all other contexts. For instance, the preceding /i/ in the plural form of *pine* ‘wing’ conditions the choice of =*de* in example (4.33), while the preceding /a/ in *puyu hirka* conditions the choice of =*de* in (4.34).

- (4.33) *te-∅ pine-i=da-∅.*  
 3-SG.F wing-PL=NVPC-SG.F  
 ‘It has wings on it.’ (120705-003:824.105) GE-[peni da], JS

- (4.34) *hamote-n yot-u-n, puyu hirka=de-n.*  
 individual-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M rock new=NVPC-SG.M  
 ‘That man has money.’ (140404-024:221.498) DE, LA

Additional examples are shown in (4.35)-(4.37).

- (4.35) *yiwo w-∅=de-n nibeta=de-n.*  
 skin REL-SG=3-SG.M breadfruit.liquid=NVPC-SG.M  
 ‘Its bark has sap.’ (2010-LA-Descriptions.pdf:62) TWL, LA
- (4.36) *ta y-atr-e-n hare-ia w-ei=lope-i=da-n.*  
 FUT 2PL-see.R-AUG-SG.M leaf-PL REL-PL=big-PL=NVPC-SG.M  
 ‘You will see it has big leaves.’ (2010-LA-Descriptions.pdf:62) TWL, LA
- (4.37) *ŋa-n horikal=de-n.*  
 one-SG.M design=NVPC-SG.M  
 ‘One does not have a design (on it).’ (2010-LA-Descriptions.pdf:48) TWL, LA

To express additional imperfective or additive semantics, an imperfective or additive non-verbal pronominal clitic is selected. For instance, example (4.38) shows the use of an imperfective non-verbal pronominal clitic referring to the possessor *yati* ‘sago palm, sago jelly’ in the possessive ‘have’ construction, while example (4.39) shows the use of an additive non-verbal pronominal clitic referring to the possessor *heya* ‘bilum’ in the possessive ‘have’ construction.

- (4.38) yati ma=ilua- $\emptyset$ , pareki=mia- $\emptyset$ .  
 sago IPFV=bad-SG.F ant=IPFV.NVPC-SG.F  
 ‘The sago is bad now, it has ants on it now.’ (140312-037:100.500) GE-[pareki],  
 LA
- (4.39) heya w- $\emptyset$ =hem yot-a- $\emptyset$ , puyu hirka=pia- $\emptyset$ .  
 bilum REL-SG.F=1SG DEM-PROX-SG.F rock new=ADD.NVPC-SG.F  
 ‘My bag here, it does have money in it.’ (120705-003:253.760) GE-[puyu hirka  
 pia], JS

**Pronominal clitics with adnominals** While it is possible for pronominal clitics to occur with adnominal predicates, many examples that superficially look like pronominal clitics occurring with adnominal predicates are actually, upon closer examination, instances of the possessive ‘have’ construction with a possessee nominal phrase including an adnominal and a possessor index (see section 4.6.5). For this reason, much more research into examples that cannot be analyzed as involving the possessive ‘have’ construction is necessary to provide a more detailed description of adnominal predicates and pronominal clitics. I mention the acceptability of pronominal clitics with adnominal predicates here only briefly to provide information concerning the unusual interpretation of these examples.

At the present, I have only found examples which must be analyzed as pronominal clitics occurring with adnominal predicates where the pronominal clitic is plural. Furthermore, the plural pronominal clitic expresses a special meaning in each of these examples. Specifically, when a plural pronominal clitic occurs with an adnominal predicate, it indicates that the adnominal should be understood as expressing only a small degree. For instance, in example (4.40), the speaker is describing two birds and specifying that they are not very short, but a little short.

- (4.40) te-i sipeki-i tiawa-i=da-i.  
 3-PL little-PL short-PL=NVPC-PL  
 ‘They are small and a bit short.’ (2010-LA-Descriptions.pdf:45) TWL, LA

Furthermore, it is acceptable to use the plural pronominal clitic to express this ‘lesser degree’ meaning even when the element described by the adnominal would not normally trigger plural number. This can be seen in example (4.41), where the speaker is specifying that the money will not be very big, but only a ‘little big’ or just enough to do what is needed. The plural pronominal clitic occurs to express this ‘lesser degree’ meaning even though *puyu* ‘rock, money’ normally triggers singular masculine agreement, as shown by the singular masculine suffix on the WGN adjective *lope* ‘big’. For this reason, I do not analyze pronominal clitics in this context as expressing any type of agreement. Instead, the plural

pronominal clitic occurs in a fixed form and appears to function more like a degree word (see section 3.8) in this context.

- (4.41) puyu ta w- $\emptyset$ =lope-n=da-i.  
 money FUT REL-SG=big-SG.M=NVPC-PL  
 ‘The money should be big enough.’ (120528-002:400.670) RNS, JS  
 AT: ‘The money will not be really big, but a little big.’

### 4.3 Word order

The predominant clausal word order in Yeri is Subject Verb Object (SVO), where the subject precedes the verb and the object follows the verb, shown in (4.42) and (4.43). This is a common characteristic of Torricelli languages, unlike Papuan languages more generally, which typically show verb final order (Foley 1986: 10).

- (4.42) nebo w-ogera hoharou.  
 dog 3SG.F-chase.R bandicoot  
 ‘The dog chased a bandicoot.’ (140404-023:133.555) DE, LA
- (4.43) hamote- $\emptyset$  yuta w-ogera hamote-n han.  
 individual-SG.F woman 3SG.F-chase.R individual-SG.M male  
 ‘The woman chased a man.’ (2010-B1.pdf:37) DE, LA

When the order of the two nominals is altered, the meaning is changed. The nominal preceding the verb is interpreted as the subject with the nominal following the verb interpreted as the object. This shift in meaning can be seen in (4.44) and (4.45) when these examples are compared to (4.42) and (4.43). In particular, example (4.44), where the given interpretation is counter to what might be expected in real life and the third person singular feminine index *w-* on *ogera* ‘chase’ is consistent with either nominal phrases acting as subject, demonstrates the importance of word order in the interpretation of subject and object.

- (4.44) hoharou w-ogera nebo.  
 bandicoot 3SG.F-chase.R dog  
 ‘The bandicoot chased the dog.’ (140404-023:150.081) DE, LA
- (4.45) hamote-n han n-ogera hamote- $\emptyset$  yuta.  
 individual-SG.M male 3SG.M-chase.R individual-SG.F woman  
 ‘The man chased a woman.’ (2010-B1.pdf:37) DE, LA

Examples from natural discourse illustrating SVO word order with two overt nominals are provided in (4.46)-(4.49). Square brackets are included in example (4.49) to more clearly delimit the object nominal phrase.

- (4.46) nena n-o<ne><ma>bi nalu.  
 father 3SG.M-shoot.R<SG.M><IPFV> cassowary  
 ‘My father shot the cassowary.’ (120601-009:35.396) RNS, YW
- (4.47) nakal n-o<ne>mo pueti.  
 father 3SG.M-eat.R.IPFV<SG.M> betel.nut  
 ‘His father chews betel nut.’ (120517-001:950.325) RNS, JS
- (4.48) Yonara n-a<m>wodi Wodomoi.  
 Yonara 3SG.M-birth.R<IPFV> Wodomoi  
 ‘Yonara sired Wodomoi.’ (120518-003:207.426) RNS, LN
- (4.49) ta hasieki-l Ø-o<Ø>mo [nebal yewal-ti w-d-awo  
 FUT fire-PL 3PL-eat.R.IPFV<SG.F> tree eye-SG 3SG.F-MDL-set.R  
 sareiga yot-u-n].  
 drying.box DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
 ‘The fire will burn the tree beans there on the box.’ (120608-002:145.116) RNS, JS

Similarly, when both overt nominals are pronouns, the order is predominantly SVO, as in (4.50) and (4.51).

- (4.50) te-Ø ki w-b-ori hem.  
 3-SG.F already 3SG.F-1SG-hit.R 1SG  
 ‘She hit me.’ (120517-001:429.415) RNS, JS
- (4.51) hebi ta hiro h-girdi-da-i hiro.  
 1PL FUT NEG 1PL-follow.I-AUG-PL NEG  
 ‘We will not follow them.’ (120621-001:1023.790) RNS, AS

Although examples occur in natural discourse which involve both an overt nominal subject and object, it is much more common for a sentence to involve only one overt nominal, as in (4.52), or no overt nominal at all, as in (4.53) or (4.54). This is related to the tendency Yeri has to represent participants that are active in discourse by only pronominal forms, especially bound pronominal forms, if they are referenced at all (see section 15.1.1).

- (4.52) wonela n-o<ne>wil.  
 centipede 3SG.M-take.R<SG.M>  
 ‘He took the centipede.’ (120517-001:592.478) RNS, JS
- (4.53) ta Ø-w-ori.  
 FUT 3PL-1PL-hit.R  
 ‘They will beat us.’ (120613-001:361.155) RNS, JS

- (4.54) y-b-ogera.  
 2PL-1SG-chase.R  
 ‘You (pl) chased me.’ (120517-001:2350.780) RNS, JS

Finally, while the language almost always shows SV order, both VO and OV word orders are acceptable in the language. Examples like (4.55)-(4.57) demonstrate OV order. Object nominal phrases are enclosed in square brackets.

- (4.55) hiro te-i [hur-i nadi] Ø-o<i>ga.  
 NEG 3-PL sago.flour-PL only 3PL-eat.R<PL>  
 ‘No, they ate only the fried sago.’ (120517-001:2423.145) RNS, JS
- (4.56) [wogil] n-ori-wa-n.  
 kundu.drum 3SG.M-hit.R-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘You (sg) beat the kundu drum.’ (120517-001:527.012) RNS, JS
- (4.57) [wonela] n-o<ne>wil.  
 centipede 3SG.M-take.R<SG.M>  
 ‘He took the centipede.’ (120517-001:592.478) RNS, JS

## 4.4 Overview of clause types

I make a basic distinction between simple clauses, which have a single predicate, and multi-predicate clauses, which have more than one predicate. Multi-predicate clauses are described in chapter 13. This section is devoted to the various types of simple clauses.

When the predicate in a simple clause is a verb, the clause can be referred to as a verbal clause. These clauses are the focus of section 4.5. Note that since the copula in Yeri is a type of verb, any clauses containing a verbal copula are classified as verbal clauses.

When the predicate in a simple clause does not contain a verb, the clause can be referred to as a non-verbal clause. Non-verbal clauses are frequent in Yeri since nominal phrases, ideophone phrases, adnominal phrases, and adverb phrases can function as predicates without a verb. Section 4.6 discusses non-verbal clauses.

Lastly, there is a non-verbal clause type, what I refer to as the ‘possessive ‘have’ construction’ or as the ‘non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction’, which is opaque in that two nominal phrases occur but there is no evidence for interpreting either nominal phrase as a predicate. In fact, given the relationship between this construction and the posture verb construction (see section 7.7.1.4), the possessive ‘have’ construction appears to have arisen historically by omitting the posture verb which functions as the predicate in the original posture verb construction. Table 4.3 provides a list of Yeri clause types.

Table 4.3: Basic clause types

|                   |                                |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| Verbal clause     | Intransitive verbal predicate  |
|                   | Transitive verbal predicate    |
| Non-verbal clause | Nominal predicate              |
|                   | Adnominal predicate            |
|                   | Ideophone predicate            |
|                   | Adverb predicate               |
|                   | Possessive ‘have’ construction |

Note that each type of predicate can express the meanings associated with what I have labeled predicate morphemes (i.e. an imperfective morpheme and an additive morpheme). However, the location of the predicate morpheme differs depending on which word class it occurs on. For information on the form, distribution, and use of these predicate morphemes, see chapter 8.

## 4.5 Verbal clauses

Yeri has two types of verbal predicates: intransitive verbal predicates and transitive verbal predicates. Intransitive verbal predicates are composed of intransitive verbs, verbs which require only a subject, while transitive verbal predicates are composed of transitive verbs, verbs which require a subject and an object. In this section, I present a brief overview of each verbal predicate type and indicate how verbs like *aya* ‘give’ which frequently have two semantic objects or *o* ‘be’ which co-occurs with a copula word are classified. I then turn my attention specifically to intransitive verbal predicates in section 4.5.1, and transitive verbal predicates in section 4.5.2.

Note that Yeri has a common applicative construction which adds an additional object to a predicate. When the applicative construction occurs with intransitive verbs, it results in the intransitive verb occurring with one object, an applicative object. When this construction occurs with transitive verbs, it results in the transitive verb occurring with two objects, a core object and an additional applicative object. This applicative construction and its occurrence with verbs is the focus of section 7.7, and is not discussed further in this chapter. A summary of verbal predicate types is provided in Table 4.4.



Table 4.4: Verbal predicate types

| predicate type                | requires          | number of objects          | number of objects       |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
|                               |                   | without applicative object | with applicative object |
| intransitive verbal predicate | intransitive verb | none                       | one                     |
| transitive verbal predicate   | transitive verb   | one                        | two                     |

As explained in section 4.1, some verbs frequently occur with what I term non-grammatical objects. As this label indicates, I do not count non-grammatical objects as grammatical objects. For this reason, verbs like *aya* ‘give’ which have only one grammatical object, but which frequently occur with a non-grammatical object are classified as transitive verbal predicates and are discussed in section 4.5.2 along with other transitive verbs.

Furthermore, although it is common in Yeri for non-verbal word classes to function as predicates without verbs (see section 4.6), copula words must occur with a verbal copula to express the meaning associated with that copula word.<sup>16</sup> For ease of reference, I use the label ‘verbal copula predicate’ as a way to more easily distinguish verbal predicates that contain a verbal copula from verbal predicates which contain any other verb. However, the verbal copula is an intransitive verb, and for this reason, verbal copula predicates are best understood as a type of intransitive verbal predicate rather than as a distinct verbal predicate type. Intransitive verbal predicates which are composed of a verbal copula are discussed in the section on intransitive verbal predicates in section 4.5.1. Note that like most Yeri verbs, the verbal copula can occur with the applicative construction. When this happens, it results in the verbal copula occurring with one object, an applicative object, just like other intransitive verbs. See section 7.7.1.2 for information on the interpretation of its applicative object.

### 4.5.1 Intransitive verbal predicates

Intransitive verbal predicates require an intransitive verb, a verb which requires only a subject. Examples are provided in (7.118)-(4.61) with the intransitive verbs *oniga* ‘sing, dance’, *dolbi* ‘be hungry’, *almo* ‘die’, and *arwal* ‘cry, weep’. In each of these examples, the verbs occur with only a subject, indicated by subject prefixes and an optional subject nominal phrase.

<sup>16</sup>Some nouns are homophonous with copula words. When these words express their meaning as nouns, they can function as part of a nominal predicate (see section 4.6.1) without need of a verbal copula. Additionally, one or two copula words can also be classified as N adjectives and can occur as the sole element of a non-verbal predicate in this use.

- (4.58) m-oniga kua.  
1SG-sing.R still  
'I will sing first.' (120518-003:16.895) RNS, LN
- (4.59) hem m-dolbi nadi.  
1SG 1SG-be.hungry.R very  
'I am very hungry.' (120517-001:1915.390) RNS, JS
- (4.60) mimi w-Ø=yem ki w-almo.  
mother REL-SG.F=2PL already 3SG.F-die.R  
'Your (pl) mother is dead.' (120410-008:192.520) RNS, YW
- (4.61) Ø-ar<me>wal.  
3PL-cry.R<IPFV>  
'They were crying.' (120517-001:2191.930) RNS, JS

**The intransitive verbal copula and copula words** Unlike many other word classes (see section 4.6), copula words cannot serve as the sole element of a non-verbal predicate, as demonstrated by the ungrammaticality of examples like (4.62) and (4.63) with the copula words *weli* 'hot, painful' and *bilgi* 'strong'.

- (4.62) \*te-n welī.  
3-SG.M hot  
'He is warm.' (140404-024:610.439) GJ LA
- (4.63) \*te-n bilgi-l.  
3-SG.M strong-SG  
'He is strong.' (140404-024:619.272) GJ, LA

Instead, copula words must co-occur with a verbal copula. I treat the verbal copula as an intransitive verbal predicate and copula words as complements of the verbal copula. Several copula words including *weli* 'hot, painful', *bilgi* 'strong', *haiketa* 'white', and *worpeti* 'yellow' can be seen occurring with the verbal copula in (4.64)-(4.67).

- (4.64) te-n n-o welī.  
3-SG.M 3SG.M-COP.R hot  
'He is warm.' (120611-004:434.499) RNS, JS
- (4.65) ye n-o bilgi-l nadi, ...  
2SG 2SG-COP.R strong-SG very ...  
'If you (sg) are very strong, ...' (120522-002:348.613) RNS, JS

- (4.66) hawiyagil w- $\emptyset$ =de-n      w-o      haike-ta.  
 hair      REL-SG=3-SG.M 3SG.F-COP.R white.cockatoo-SG  
 ‘Its fur, it is white.’ (120611-004:71.400) RNS, JS

- (4.67) yewal w-ei=de-n       $\emptyset$ -o      worpe-wil.  
 eye      REL-PL=3-SG.M 3PL-COP.R yellow-PL  
 ‘Its eyes are very yellow.’ (120611-004:67.121) RNS, JS

Note that I am aware of a very small number of copula words that infrequently occur without a verbal copula. This acceptability appears restricted to specific lexical items (e.g. *yautueti* ‘blunt’). Furthermore, it is unclear if all speakers permit these specific lexical items to occur without the verbal copula or if this acceptability is restricted to only some speakers. In the Yeri-English and English-Yeri glossaries, I list these irregular lexical items as CW/N ADJ to indicate that they can occur in the construction used to define copula words as well as the constructions used to define N adjectives. An example of *yautueti* acting as a non-verbal predicate is provided in example (4.68).

- (4.68) sahal      salgi w- $\emptyset$ =de-n      hiro n-ie      silka, yautu-eti nadi.  
 bush.knife edge REL-SG=3-SG.M NEG 3SG.M-COP.I sharp blunt-SG very  
 ‘The bush knife’s edge is not sharp. It’s very blunt.’ (140313-078:76.474) GE-[salgi],  
 LA

#### 4.5.2 Transitive verbal predicates

Transitive verbal predicates require a transitive verb, a verb which requires a subject and an object. Examples (4.69) and (4.70) illustrate the transitive verbs *alkial* ‘pull’ and *ogiwa* ‘ask’. In example (4.69), the subject of *alkial* is indicated by a subject prefix, while the object is indicated by an object morpheme and a coreferential nominal phrase *hanolbia*, the plural form of *hanol* ‘tree grub’. In example (4.70), the subject of the verb *ogiwa* is indicated by a subject prefix and a coreferential nominal phrase *hiwora* ‘wife’, while the object is indicated by an object infix *-ne-*.

- (4.69) w-al<m>kial-e-i      hano-lbia.  
 3SG.F-pull.R<IPFV>-AUG-PL tree.grub-PL  
 ‘She pulled the crabs.’ (120621-004:115.230) RNS, TW
- (4.70) hiwora w-o<ne><m>giwa.  
 wife      3SG.F-ask.R<SG.M><IPFV>  
 ‘His wife asked him.’ (120517-001:1143.902) RNS, JS

**Transitive verbs with frequent non-grammatical objects** Yeri treats verbs like *aya* ‘give’, which can *semantically* be viewed as having a subject and two objects (a recipient and an item that is given), in the same way that it treats other transitive verbs. These verbs require a subject and an object, and occur with two indexes, a subject index and an object index referring to the recipient. In (4.71) and (4.72) the object is indexed by prefixes, while in (4.73) and (4.74) the object is indexed as an augmented suffix (see section 7.3.3.2). Note that in these examples, no information is provided regarding what item was given.

- (4.71) awo, lahabi      n-b-aya.  
           yes    yesterday 3SG.M-1SG-give.R  
           ‘Yes, yesterday he gave me (something).’ (120524-000:243.869) RNS, LN

- (4.72) w-b-a<me>ya                      w-b-a<me>ya                      hem.  
           3SG.F-1SG-give.R<IPFV> 3SG.F-1SG-give.R<IPFV> 1SG  
           ‘She gave and gave me (something).’ (120520-000:317.387) RNS, AS

- (4.73) hem m-a<me>ya-ka-n.  
           1SG 1SG-give.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.M  
           ‘I gave him (something).’ (120520-000:511.450) RNS, AS

- (4.74) te-∅      male m-aya-ka-∅.  
           3-SG.F also 1SG-give-AUG-SG.F  
           ‘She also I gave her (something).’ (120621-003:229.122) RNS, AS

However, verbs like *aya* ‘give’ can also occur with a nominal phrase referring to the item that was given. Since these nominal phrases can never be indexed on the verb, I do not classify them as grammatical objects, either core objects or applicative objects. Instead, as explained in section 4.1, I use the term ‘non-grammatical object’ to refer to them. When verbs like *aya* occur with two nominal phrases, one referring to the grammatical object, the recipient, and one referring to the non-grammatical object, the thing that is given, the default order can be schematized as: Verb+Item Given+Recipient, with only the recipient being indexed on the verb. Simple examples were elicited for clarity and are shown in (4.75) and (4.76).

- (4.75) hem ki              m-aya-ka-∅                      pone mimi.  
           1SG already 1SG-give.R-AUG-SG.F shell mother  
           ‘I gave the bowl to mother.’ (140404-023:915.723) DE, LA

- (4.76) ki              m-aya-ka-∅                      pone tata.  
           already 1SG-give.R-AUG-SG.F shell older.sibling  
           ‘I gave the bowl to big sister.’ (140404-023:952.753) DE, LA

Example (4.77) comes from natural discourse and illustrates the item being given, *niglola yepia* ‘only greens’, preceding the recipient nominal phrase, *nogolgoi* ‘children’. Similarly, in example (4.78), the nominal phrase referring to the item that was given, *yati* ‘sago palm, sago jelly’, precedes the recipient nominal phrase, *hebi* ‘we, us’. In both examples the recipient is indexed on the verb as well as via a coreferential nominal phrase.

- (4.77) w-aya-ka-i                      niglola yepia- $\emptyset$                       nogolgoi.  
 3SG.F-give.R-AUG-PL greens empty-SG.F children  
 ‘She gave only greens to those girls.’ (120410-008:76.220) RNS, YW

- (4.78) hiro n-w-eya                      yati hebi.  
 NEG 2SG-1PL-give.I sago 1PL  
 ‘You (sg) did not give us sago.’ (120529-002:284.308) RNS, JS

In example (4.79) the recipient is indexed via an augmented suffix and overtly expressed with a coreferential nominal phrase, indicated in square brackets. This phrase immediately follows the nominal phrase referring to the given item, here *puyu* ‘rock, money’.

- (4.79) h-a<me>ya-ka-i                      puyu [nena mimi w- $\emptyset$ =de- $\emptyset$   
 1PL-give.R<IPFV>-AUG-PL money father mother REL-SG=3-SG.F  
 milhagil                      w-ei=de- $\emptyset$ ].  
 brother.of.sister REL-PL=3-SG.F  
 ‘We will give the money to her father and mother and brothers.’ (120528-003:526.690) RNS, JS

Note that although having the non-grammatical object nominal phrase precede the recipient nominal phrase is the default order, the reverse order is also acceptable, as in (4.80).

- (4.80) ta  $\emptyset$ -a<me>ya-ka-n                      hodehi-l moni,  $\emptyset$ -a<me>ya-ka-n  
 FUT 1PL-give.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.M elder-SG moni, 1PL-give.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.M  
 puyu hirka.  
 rock new  
 ‘We’ll give the elder money, we’ll give him money.’ (120601-012:126.637) RNS, YW

Additionally, it is very common for the grammatical object or the non-grammatical object to occur at the left periphery of the clause, and this location is likely related to information structure. For instance, in example (4.81) the recipient nominal phrase *ten yotan Wilkei* ‘the boy Wilkei’ occurs at the left periphery of the clause, and the preceding utterances describe Wilkei’s coming to see his sister Carmen who then gives him a fish. However in example (4.82), almost the same information is being conveyed but the non-grammatical

object nominal phrase referring to the item that was given, here *nanula* ‘fish’, occurs in this special position, and the preceding utterances relate to whether a fish was given to Wilkei.

- (4.81) te-n yot-a-n Wilkei w-a<me>ya-ka-n nanu-la.  
 3-SG.M DEM-PROX-SG.M Wilkei 3SG.F-give.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.M fish-SG  
 ‘This small boy Wilkei, she gave him a fish.’ (120405-000:94.101) RNS, AS
- (4.82) nanu-la ki m-aya-ka-n.  
 fish-SG already 1SG-give.R-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘I already gave him a fish.’ (120405-000:174.179) RNS, AS

## 4.6 Non-verbal clauses

The following sections will be devoted to illustrating the types of non-verbal clauses in Yeri. In section 4.6.1, I discuss non-verbal clauses which consist of nominal phrases functioning as predicates, what I call nominal predicates. Following this, I present information on ideophone predicates in section 4.6.2, adnominal predicates in section 4.6.3, and adverb predicates in section 4.6.4. Finally, I present information in section 4.6.5 on a non-verbal clause devoted to expressing possession which I refer to as the ‘possessive ‘have’ construction’.

### 4.6.1 Nominal predicates

Any nominal phrase can function as a predicate in a non-verbal clause in Yeri. Throughout the grammar, I refer to nominal phrases functioning as predicates as ‘nominal phrase predicates’, or ‘nominal predicates’ for short. Chapter 6 presents detailed information regarding the structure of nominal phrases. In this section, I first present an overview of nouns as nominal predicates in section 4.6.1.1 before moving to more complex nominal phrases, including nominal phrases without a noun, in section 4.6.1.2. Lastly, I present evidence that temporal nominal phrases can also function as predicates in section 4.6.1.3.

#### 4.6.1.1 Simple nominal predicates

Although nominal predicates are common in Yeri, nouns act as predicates less frequently than verbs or other word classes which express more action- or event-oriented semantics. Examples of nouns acting as nominal predicates are provided in (4.83) and (4.84). Example (4.83) comes from a story where a man can change his shape. The speaker is specifying that at this point in the story, the protagonist is no longer in the shape of a bird, but has in fact, transformed back into a man. In example (4.84), the speaker is describing what he might say if someone was insulting him or treating him as if he was unable to understand something, like an animal might not be able to understand speech.

- (4.83) te-n la hamote-n.  
 3-SG.M PST individual-SG.M  
 ‘He was a person.’ (120517-001:2464.645) RNS, JS
- (4.84) hem hiro nebo. hem hamote-n.  
 1SG NEG dog. 1SG individual-SG.M  
 ‘I am not a dog. I am a man.’ (140404-023:1426.852) GE-[hiro nebo], LA

Nouns which describe life stages or label classes of objects are some of the more frequent nouns to act as predicates. For instance, nouns which refer to life stages like *nigo* ‘child’ and *turega* ‘teenager’ can be seen functioning as predicates in (4.85) and (4.86). Examples like (4.87) and (4.88) demonstrate a common pattern whereby nouns like *harkanogi* ‘snake’ and *neigal* ‘cuscus’ which label groups of plants or animals function as predicates to classify particular species as being members of the group.

- (4.85) hiro, hem la nigo-n.  
 NEG 1SG PST child-SG.M  
 ‘No, I was just a child.’ (120524-005:195.803) RNS, JS
- (4.86) te-n hiro turega.  
 3-SG.M NEG teenager  
 ‘He is not a young adult.’ (140410-043:97.163) GE-[hiro turega], LA
- (4.87) lubia harkanogi-l.  
 lubia.snake snake-SG  
 ‘Lubia is a snake.’ (140421-166:10.393) RNS, JS
- (4.88) malual neigal.  
 ground.wallaby cuscus  
 ‘Malual is a cuscus.’ (140421-170:13.501) RNS, JS

Other examples of nouns acting as predicates involve situations where the class of something is in question. For instance, example (4.89) occurs in a story about a man who can change his shape. In this utterance, the speaker is specifying that the man was not a bird at that particular moment in the story. There is no explicit mention of the man in this utterance because Yeri frequently makes no overt reference to participants when they are active in discourse (see section 15.1.1). However, previous discourse makes it clear that the use of *nol* ‘bird’ as a predicate in example (4.89) refers to the main character of the story.

- (4.89) la hiro nol.  
 PST NEG bird  
 ‘He was not a bird.’ (120517-001:2463.663) RNS, JS

It is also common for nouns acting as predicates to involve situations where the identity of something is questioned. In (4.90) and (4.91), the speaker imagined what he would say were someone to incorrectly identify a bird. In example (4.90), he uses a negated nominal predicate to indicate that the bird being pointed to is not *lamegi* ‘lamegi bird’, and in example (4.91), he uses a nominal predicate to indicate the bird’s correct identity.

- (4.90) yot-u-∅                      hiro nol lamegi.  
 DEM-MDIST-SG.F NEG bird lamegi.bird  
 ‘That is not the lamegi bird.’ (140410-043:34.931) ES, LA
- (4.91) yot-u-∅                      nol lopegi.  
 DEM-MDIST-SG.F bird lopegi.bird  
 ‘That is the lopegi bird.’ (140410-043:38.100) ES, LA

Similarly, in (4.92), the consultant imagined what might be said in a situation where two speakers were discussing what type of snake was hidden under the leaves, while in (4.93), the consultant imagined a situation where someone was being questioned about the identity of an item he would give to a friend. Note the use of the clause particle *ba* ‘strong belief’ to indicate the speaker’s strong belief in his assertion (see section 10.1.4).

- (4.92) ba ki                      harkanogi-l hane.  
 SB already snake-SG hane.snake  
 ‘It was the hane snake.’ (140404-023:1253.259) ES, LA
- (4.93) ba sahal.  
 SB bush.knife  
 ‘It will be a bush knife.’ (140404-023:1344.401) OS, LA

Another example of a noun functioning as a predicate can be seen in (4.95). This example involves the use of a personal pronoun which is a subclass of noun. In (4.94) and (4.95), the speaker is correcting a false assumption that it was the woman rather than the man who ate the fish. In example (4.94), the speaker explicitly says the woman, here *te* ‘she’, did not eat the fish. In example (4.95), the speaker continues, using the personal pronoun *ten* ‘he’ as a predicate to indicate that it was actually the man who ate the fish.

- (4.94) te-∅    la    hiro w-ie<he>ga                      nanu-la.  
 3-SG.F PST NEG 3SG.F-eat.I<SG.F> fish-SG  
 ‘She didn’t eat fish.’ (140410-046:114.422) ES, LA
- (4.95) la    te-n.  
 PST 3-SG.M  
 ‘It was him.’ (140410-046:116.436) ES, LA



That these nouns are acting as predicates is even more clearly discernible when nouns occur with predicate morphemes, as in (4.96) and (4.97). These morphemes are discussed further in chapter 8. I note here only that two morphemes, an imperfective morpheme and an additive morpheme, can occur on most word classes when those word classes are functioning as predicates. In example (4.96), the speaker is describing a tree that was planted long ago. To indicate that the tree is *now* old, he attaches a predicate morpheme frequently translated as ‘now’ to the nominal predicate *hodehil* ‘elder, old’. Similarly, in example (4.97) the noun *hiwora* ‘wife’ occurs with a predicate morpheme to indicate that a woman is now married.

- (4.96) marmar      yot-u- $\emptyset$                       hodehi-l-ma.  
           marmar.tree DEM-MDIST-SG.F elder-SG-IPFV  
           ‘That marmar tree is old now.’ (140304-004:82.633) GE-[marmar], LA

- (4.97) te- $\emptyset$       yot-u- $\emptyset$                       hiwora-mi.  
           3-SG.F DEM-MDIST-SG.F wife-IPFV  
           ‘That girl is a wife now.’ (140415-013:444.790) DE, LA

Lastly, Dryer (2007: 234) points out, “Many languages do not distinguish equational clauses from true predicate nominal clauses.” This appears to be the case in Yeri, where equational clauses like (4.98) and (4.99) show the same structure as nominal predicates.

- (4.98) te-n      megual      w- $\emptyset$ =de- $\emptyset$ .  
           3-SG.M husband REL-SG=3-SG.F  
           ‘He is her husband.’ (120608-003:617.880) RNS, JS

- (4.99) te- $\emptyset$       hiwora      w- $\emptyset$ =de-n.  
           3-SG.F wife      REL-SG=3-SG.M  
           ‘She is his wife.’ (120608-003:620.360) RNS, JS

#### 4.6.1.2 More complex nominal predicates

Although nominal phrases frequently consist of a single noun, any type of nominal phrase can function as a nominal predicate. More complex nominal predicates taken from natural discourse are presented in (4.100)-(4.103). The nominal phrase *hamei sapiten* ‘many people’ acts as a predicate in example (4.100). In example (4.101), the speaker is describing what a *kayubi* ‘loincloth’ is. Nominal phrases functioning as predicates are delimited by square brackets.

- (4.100) hebi hiro [hamei sapiten].  
           1PL NEG people many  
           ‘We are not many people.’ (120528-001:518.866) RNS, JS

- (4.101) kayubi [molil wabra wdi lawiaki yalmi hamei w-da<he>go].  
 loincloth molil.tree half SUB long.ago grandparent people 3PL-wear.R<SG.F>  
 ‘The loincloth, it’s a piece of tree bark that our ancestors wore a long time ago.’  
 (120410-001:18.191) RNS, JS

Similarly, in example (4.102), the complex nominal phrase *lolewa lawiaki yalmi hamei wotiwai wdi ki ori yati* acts as the predicate, where *lolewa* is the head and *lawiaki yalmi hamei woti -waiwai ki ori yati* is an unmarked relative clause (see section 14.2.1.1 for discussion of relative clauses.).<sup>17</sup> In example (4.103), the nominal phrase *hamoten no bilgil* acts as a nominal predicate to mean ‘be a strong man’.

- (4.102) yot-ua-Ø [lolewa lawiaki yalmi hamei w-oti-wa-Ø wdi  
 DEM-DIST-SG.F thing long.ago grandparent people 3PL-hold-AUG-SG.F SUB  
 ki Ø-ori yati].  
 already 3PL-hit.R sago  
 ‘That is the stuff that long ago our grandparents held it to beat sago.’ (120410-001:586.985) RNS, JS
- (4.103) ye [hamote-n n-o bilgil-l] ye ta n-odi tumani.  
 2SG individual-SG.M 3SG.M-COP.R strong-SG 2SG FUT 2SG-make.R building  
 ‘If you (sg) are a strong man, you (sg) will build a house.’ (120522-002:337.020)  
 RNS, JS

Furthermore, nominal phrases can occur without nouns (see section 6.3) and many word classes can act as the sole element of a nominal phrase (see section 6.1). Given this, it is possible for many word classes to occur in a nominal phrase acting as a nominal predicate on their own or in combination with other elements. This ‘nominal use’ must be distinguished from their occurrence as predicates outside of nominal phrases. I demonstrate this with a demonstrative, but similar examples could be provided for other modifiers (e.g. adnominal phrases, relative clauses).

Example (4.104) demonstrates the use of a nominal phrase consisting of only a demonstrative acting as a nominal predicate meaning ‘that one’.<sup>18</sup> This nominal use of the demonstrative is distinct from its locative use, shown in (4.105). See section 6.2.7 for information on the different uses of demonstratives and section 4.6.3 for a description of adnominal predicates.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup>Note that *oti* ‘hold’ is not glossed for mood. This is because this verb is one of the few verbs which does not distinguish mood when it occurs without predicate morphemes (see section 7.6).

<sup>18</sup>Given the classification of demonstratives as a type of adnominal (see section 6.2.7), examples like (4.104) could also be referred to as adnominal predicates. However, in this grammar, I typically refer to examples like (4.104) as nominal predicates in my description because these are best analyzed as nominal phrases without nouns acting as predicates.

<sup>19</sup>I use the label ‘adnominal predicate’ to refer to the adnominal word class functioning as predicates.

- (4.104) womala        hiro yot-ua-n.  
 hornbill.bird NEG DEM-DIST-SG.M  
 ‘The hornbill is not that (one).’ (140404-024:342.545) DE, LA

- (4.105) nawi yot-a-∅.  
 salt DEM-PROX-SG.F  
 ‘The salt is here.’ (140410-043:399.741) DE, LA

For more information on the composition of nominal phrases, see chapter 6.

#### 4.6.1.3 Temporal nominal predicates

This section briefly presents evidence that temporal nominal phrases can also function as predicates in non-verbal clauses. Temporal nominal phrases are a semantically defined class of nominal phrase which express temporal meaning. Many of these temporal nominal phrases consist of a single temporal noun (see section 3.3), but more complex temporal nominal phrases exist. Simple examples of two common temporal nominal predicates are shown in (4.106) and (4.107) with the temporal nouns *hemal* ‘night’ and *maleikia* ‘morning’.

- (4.106) la    hemal.  
 PST night  
 ‘It was night.’ (140404-023:1501.294) GJ, LA
- (4.107) ta    maleikia.  
 FUT morning  
 ‘It will be morning.’ (140404-023:1515.791) GJ, LA

That these temporal nominal phrases are functioning as predicates in non-verbal clauses is easier to see when they occur with predicate morphemes (see chapter 8) or when they are followed by clause particles (see chapter 10) which occur in clause-final position. For instance, in example (4.108), the temporal noun *hemal* ‘night’ occurs with the imperfective predicate morpheme.

- (4.108) ki        hemal-mi.  
 already night-IPFV  
 ‘It is night now.’ (120529-001:924.153) RNS, JS

In (4.109) and (4.110) the temporal nominal phrases *laharia* and *hemal tiawan* are immediately followed by the clause particle *he*, a class 3 clause particle that occurs in clause-final position (see section 10.3.1).

- (4.109) laharia he la h-alia-n n-d-awo wul.  
 2.days.before CNT PST 1PL-drop.R-SG.M 3SG.M-MDL-set.R water  
 ‘It was the day before yesterday. We set it in the river.’ (120529-002:653.948)  
 RNS, TW
- (4.110) hemal tiawa-n he, nebal tiawa-i Ø-a<me>na Ø-do<me>di.  
 night short-SG.M CNT tree short-PL 3PL-come.R<IPFV> 3PL-stand.R<IPFV>  
 ‘It was early morning, and the car came and waited.’ (120524-005:428.725) RNS,  
 JS

In (4.111) the temporal noun *maleikia* ‘morning’ occurs with an additive predicate morpheme and is functioning as a predicate. The occurrence of the class 2 clause particle *kua* preceding and following the noun presents additional evidence for its interpretation as a non-verbal predicate. This is because *kua* can only be pronounced as [kua] in clause-final position (see section 10.2.2).

- (4.111) awo ko maleikia-pi kua.  
 yes still morning-ADD still  
 ‘Yes, it is still morning.’ (140404-023:1994.434) GE-[maleikiapi], LA

#### 4.6.2 Ideophone predicates

Any ideophone phrase can function as a non-verbal predicate in a non-verbal clause, and I refer to ‘ideophone phrase predicates’ as ‘ideophone predicates’ for short.<sup>20</sup> These phrases can minimally consist of an ideophone (see section 3.4), but can also include a degree word modifying the ideophone (see section 3.8). Examples (4.112)-(4.115) demonstrate the ideophones *dildil* ‘shiver’, *palpal* ‘fly’, *pikiapikia* ‘vomiting noises’, and *sleislei* ‘tiptoe’ functioning as ideophone predicates. In example (4.116), the degree word *nadi* ‘very’ modifies the ideophone *turtur* ‘beat’.

- (4.112) hem dildil.  
 1SG shiver  
 ‘I was shivering.’ (120524-005:163.810) RNS, JS
- (4.113) te-n palpal.  
 3-SG.M fly  
 ‘He flies.’ (140404-023:2521.895) DE, LA

<sup>20</sup>While ideophone predicates can occur as the only predicate in a clause, ideophones more frequently occur in multi-predicate clauses alongside a verb (see chapter 13).

- (4.114) te-n pikiapikia.  
 3-SG.M vomit  
 ‘He vomits.’ (140404-023:2538.407) DE, LA
- (4.115) te-n sleislei.  
 3-SG.M tiptoe  
 ‘He walks slowly.’ (140404-023:2396.095) DE, LA
- (4.116) hem male wan turtur nadi.  
 1SG also heart beat very  
 ‘Me too, my heart really pounded.’ (120524-005:419.375) RNS, JS

### 4.6.3 Adnominal predicates

Yeri has a word class which I refer to as the adnominal word class (see section 3.5) due to their ability to be preceded by nouns in the adnominal construction (see section 6.2). Any adnominal phrase can function as a non-verbal predicate in a non-verbal clause, and I refer to these predicates as ‘adnominal phrase predicates’ or ‘adnominal predicates’ for short. I use this label be inclusive of all types of adnominals phrases acting as predicates. Note that adjectives and quantifiers can be modified by degree words (see section 3.8). While numerals and genitive pronouns cannot be modified by degree words, numerals are frequently multi-word expressions (see section 3.5.3) which show evidence for being analyzed as phrases and third person genitive pronouns frequently co-occur with possessor nominal phrases (see section 6.4.3) and this combination of genitive pronoun and possessor nominal phrase shows evidence for being analyzed as a phrase.<sup>21</sup>

Note that the only required element is an adnominal, and adnominals frequently function as the sole element of an adnominal predicate. This is shown in (4.117) and (4.118), where the adnominal predicates consist of only a WGN adjective *lope* ‘big’ and a quantifier *sapiten* ‘many’ respectively.

- (4.117) wual hawei yot-u-n w-∅=lope-n.  
 pig male DEM-MDIST-SG.M REL-SG=big-SG.M  
 ‘That male pig is big.’ (140416-016:1211.438) GE-[wlopen], JS
- (4.118) hate tita w-∅=hem sap-sapiten.  
 cane tita.cane REL-SG.F=1SG RED-many  
 ‘I have a whole lot of the tita cane.’ (140224-015:144.825) GE-[hate tita], LA  
 LT: ‘My tita cane is many.’

<sup>21</sup>The use of *nadi* with the meaning ‘only’ (see section 3.14) with these word classes should not be misunderstood as their occurrence with degree words in adnominal predicates.

Examples demonstrating the acceptability of degree words modifying an adjective and a quantifier are presented in (4.119) and (4.120).

- (4.119) helol w-ei=lope-i nadi.  
 work REL-PL=big-PL very.  
 ‘It is very big work.’ (120608-002:40.090) RNS, JS

- (4.120) nalu yot-u-n sa-sapiten nadi.  
 cassowary DEM-MDIST-SG.M RED-many very  
 ‘Those cassowaries, there were many of them.’ (120623-002:78.518) RNS, YW

Lastly, it is not uncommon for adnominals to function as the sole element of a nominal phrase (see section 6.1) since Yeri permits nominal phrases without nouns (see section 6.3). When adnominals occur in a nominal phrase functioning as a predicate, I typically refer to them as nominal predicates to emphasize their occurrence in a nominal phrase functioning as a predicate.

An adnominal functioning as the sole element of a nominal predicate can be seen in examples (4.121) and (4.122). In example (4.121), the demonstrative occurs in its nominal use and is interpreted as referring to a specific entity. It can be analyzed as a nominal phrase consisting of a single demonstrative. That the demonstrative refers to a specific entity rather than a location is clear from the following utterance, shown in (4.122), which specifies that the hornbill is a different bird. In this example, the numeral *ŋa* functions as the sole element of a nominal phrase to express the meaning ‘another one’. See section 4.6.1.2 for more information on complex nominal predicates.

- (4.121) womala hiro yot-ua-n.  
 hornbill.bird NEG DEM-DIST-SG.M  
 ‘The hornbill is not that (one).’ (140404-024:342.545) DE, LA

- (4.122) womala ŋa-n.  
 hornbill.bird one-SG.M  
 ‘The hornbill is another one.’ (140404-024:344.592) OS, LA

This section is devoted to discussion of adnominal predicates that are not functioning as part of a nominal phrase acting as a predicate. For easier cross-linguistic comparison, I describe adjective predicates in section 4.6.3.1, demonstrative predicates in section 4.6.3.2, numeral and quantifier predicates in section 4.6.3.3, and genitive predicates in section 4.6.3.4.

#### 4.6.3.1 Adjective predicates

All members of the adjective subclass can act as the sole element of a non-verbal predicate in a non-verbal clause. Note that WGN adjectives and GN adjectives (see sections 3.5.1.1

and 3.5.1.2) are classified as members of the GN agreement class (see section 5.5.2). This is in opposition to N adjectives (see section 3.5.1.3), which are classified as members of the N agreement class (see section 5.5.4). Given this, the form of WGN adjectives and GN adjectives can vary based on the gender and number of the subject when they act as predicates or the noun they modify when they act as modifiers, while N adjective forms only vary based on the number of the subject or noun being modified in these contexts.

As described in section 4.6.3, adnominal phrases can function as non-verbal predicates, referred to as adnominal predicates for short. Parallel to this, I refer to adjective phrases functioning as predicates as ‘adjective phrase predicates’, or ‘adjective predicates’ for short. Examples of adjective phrases acting as predicates are provided in (4.123)-(4.125), with the WGN adjective *nabe* ‘good’ in example (4.123), the GN adjective *tiawa* ‘short’ in example (4.124), and the N adjective *sibelial* ‘long’ in example (4.125).

- (4.123) hebi la w-ei=nabe-i.  
 1PL PST REL-PL=good-PL  
 ‘We were good.’ (120608-003:411.170) RNS, JS
- (4.124) hiro tiawa-n.  
 NEG short-SG.M  
 ‘It isn’t short.’ (140225-001:29.611) GE-[hewi sibelial], JS
- (4.125) yawi w-∅=de-n sibelial.  
 tail REL-SG=3-SG.M long  
 ‘Its tail is very long.’ (120611-004:98.737) RNS, JS

Example (4.126) illustrates the adjective *lope* ‘big’ being modified by the degree word *nadi* ‘very’ (see section 3.8). Examples like these demonstrate why adjective predicates are best understood as involving adjective phrases.

- (4.126) te-n w-∅=lope-lope-n nadi.  
 3-SG.M REL-SG=big-big-SG.M very  
 ‘He is very very big.’ (140213-022:205.568) GE-[huba dul], LA

Additional examples of adjective predicates from natural discourse are provided in (4.127)-(4.129).

- (4.127) h-oniga h-nobia, “wul Hamil, ye w-∅=lope-n  
 1PL-sing.R 1PL-talk.R water Hamil.river 2SG REL-SG=big-SG.M  
 w-∅=lope-n.”  
 REL-SG=big-SG.M  
 ‘We sang it, saying “Hamil river, you (sg) are very big.”’ (120623-007:659.750)  
 RNS, TW

- (4.128) nolka-ti hiro sipeki-l.  
 flood-SG NEG little-SG  
 ‘The flood was not small.’ (120520-004:381.380) RNS, AS
- (4.129) Ø-aro h-atr-e-i yo w=ilua-i.  
 1PL-go.R 1PL-see.R-AUG-PL path REL=bad-PL  
 ‘We saw that the road is bad.’ (120606-000:443.482) RNS, JS

#### 4.6.3.2 Demonstrative predicates

Demonstrative predicates are infrequent in Yeri discourse, although constructed examples are judged grammatical. The infrequency of demonstrative predicates is likely due to the common use of a posture verb construction to express locative statements. When a demonstrative is used locatively to refer to a location (e.g. ‘here’, ‘there’) it often co-occurs with a posture verb in this construction (see section 7.7.1.4).

Nonetheless, it is possible for demonstratives to occur as the sole element of a non-verbal predicate in a non-verbal clause, as in examples (4.130)-(4.134).<sup>22</sup> In (4.130)-(4.132) this location is near to the speaker and shows the proximal form of the demonstrative. In (4.133), the location is further from the speaker and the demonstrative occurs in its mid distal form *yotu*. In example (4.134), the less frequent demonstrative *ya?a* occurs.

- (4.130) nawi yot-a-Ø.  
 salt DEM-PROX-SG.F  
 ‘The salt is here.’ (140410-043:399.741) DE, LA
- (4.131) nanu-la yot-a-Ø.  
 fish-SG DEM-PROX-SG.F  
 ‘The fish is here.’ (140410-043:396.302) DE, LA
- (4.132) yati w-Ø=nabe-Ø yot-a-Ø.  
 sago REL-SG=good-SG.F DEM-PROX-SG.F  
 ‘The good sago is here.’ (140408-205:493.691) DE, JS
- (4.133) yati w=ilua-Ø yot-u-Ø.  
 sago REL=bad-SG.F DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘The bad sago is there.’ (140408-205:496.569) DE, JS
- (4.134) yati ya?a.  
 sago here  
 ‘Sago is here.’ (140424-090:137.254) OS, LA

<sup>22</sup>Unlike other adnominal subclasses (see section 4.6.3), there does not appear to be evidence specific to demonstratives for a ‘demonstrative phrase’.



Note that this locative use of a demonstrative is distinct from a nominal use of a demonstrative. For instance, in example (4.135), the demonstrative *yotuan* occurs as the sole element of a nominal phrase (see section 6.3) and is best understood as expressing the meaning ‘that one’ rather than ‘be there’. Examples involving nominal phrases without nouns functioning as predicates are discussed in section 4.6.1.2.

- (4.135) womala        hiro yot-ua-n.  
 hornbill.bird NEG DEM-DIST-SG.M  
 ‘The hornbill is not that (one).’ (140404-024:342.545) DE, LA

#### 4.6.3.3 Numeral and quantifier predicates

I first discuss numeral predicates, before turning to quantifier predicates in this section.

**Numeral predicates** Numeral phrases do not function as predicates as frequently as some other types of adnominal phrases in the language (e.g. adjective phrases). However, examples like (4.136) which come from natural discourse illustrate their grammatical acceptability. Furthermore, although numeral phrases can minimally consist of a single numeral, it is common for numeral phrases to involve longer multi-word expressions (see section 3.5.3.1). For instance, in examples (4.137)-(4.139) the numeral phrases *wiam ŋan* ‘three’, *hilogil woli* ‘five’, and *hilogil woli wiai war woli* ‘seven’ function as predicates in non-verbal clauses. Note that I refer to numeral phrases acting as predicates as ‘numeral phrase predicates’ or ‘numeral predicates’ for short.

- (4.136) nogolgoi w-ei=de-i        wia-i.  
 children REL-PL=3-PL two-F  
 ‘Their children were two.’ (120621-004:161.981) RNS, TW

- (4.137) wual-ia w-ei=hem    la    wia-m ŋa-n.  
 pig-PL REL-PL=1SG PST two-M one-SG.M  
 ‘My pigs were three.’ (140404-023:2072.949) DE, LA

- (4.138) hebi hilogi-l woli.  
 1PL arm-SG side  
 ‘We are five.’ (140410-049:10.213) DE, LA

- (4.139) hebi nol    hilka        w-Ø=hebi        hilogi-l woli wia-i    w-ar        woli.  
 1PL bird white.ghost REL-SG.F=1PL arm-SG side two-F 3SG.F-go.to.R side  
 ‘We, our clans number seven.’ (120528-001:444.438) RNS, JS

Additional examples of numeral predicates are presented in (4.140) and (4.141), which show numeral predicates co-occurring with the clause particles *ki* ‘already’ (see section 10.1.2) and *he* ‘continuous’ (see section 10.3.1) to more clearly demonstrate their use as predicates. See chapter 10 for information on clause particles.

- (4.140) wual-ia w-ei=hem ki wia-m he-ma.  
 pig-PL REL-PL=1SG already two-M CNT-IPFV  
 ‘My pigs are two now.’ (140404-023:2079.355) DE, LA  
 CI: I used to have one pig, but someone gave me another.

- (4.141) ye yot-a-∅ ki ŋa-n papi he-ma.  
 2SG DEM-PROX-SG.F already one-SG.M only CNT-IPFV  
 ‘You (sg) have one here now.’ (140404-023:2031.103) ES, LA  
 CI: You had two children, but only one is here now. Where is the other?

**Quantifiers predicates** Like numeral phrase, quantifier phrases can function as predicates in Yeri non-verbal clauses. I refer to quantifier phrases functioning as predicates as ‘quantifier phrase predicates’ and I use the label ‘quantifier predicate’ for short. The language has two quantifiers, *sapiten* meaning ‘many’ and *peigilia* meaning ‘some, few’ (see section 3.5.3.2), and each quantifier can be modified by degree words (see section 3.8). Quantifier phrases are shown operating as predicates in (4.142)-(4.144). Note the occurrence of a degree word modifier in example (4.142).<sup>23</sup>

- (4.142) nalu yot-u-n sa-sapiten nadi.  
 cassowary DEM-MDIST-SG.M RED-many very  
 ‘Those cassowaries, there were many of them.’ (120623-002:78.518) RNS, YW

- (4.143) te-i peigilia-i nadi.  
 3-PL some-PL very  
 ‘They were just a few.’ (140224-048:426.473) GE-[ti peigiliai], JS

- (4.144) halma w-∅=hebi lawiaki neigal la sap-sapiten.  
 land REL-SG.F=1PL long.ago cuscus PST RED-many  
 ‘In our land before, the cuscuses were many.’ (140404-023:2208.475) DE, LA

<sup>23</sup>Note that in example (4.143), the consultant was asked to provide an utterance using *ti peigiliai*, but nothing specifically required him to use the quantifier as a predicate. When prompted in this way other consultants have provided examples where the quantifier functioned as a modifier.

#### 4.6.3.4 Genitive predicates: ‘X is mine, X is NP’s’

Genitive phrases can function as non-verbal predicates in Yeri. I refer to genitive phrases acting as predicates as ‘genitive phrase predicates’ or ‘genitive predicates’ for short. Genitive phrases can minimally consist of a single genitive pronoun like *whem* ‘my’ (see section 3.5.4). However, it is also common for genitive phrases to consist of a third person genitive pronoun and a possessor nominal phrase like *wđi mimi* ‘mother’s’ (see section 6.4.3). Genitive phrases can be understood as a type of adnominal phrase, and like all adnominal phrases, can function as a non-verbal predicate (see section 4.6.3).

A single genitive pronoun functioning as a genitive predicate is demonstrated in (4.145)-(4.148).<sup>24</sup> In (4.145) the less common third person plural genitive pronoun *wdem* occurs, while in (4.146), the more frequent third person plural genitive pronoun *wđi* is shown. Example (4.147) includes an instance of the third person singular masculine genitive pronoun *wden* as well as a first person singular genitive pronoun *whem* functioning as a predicate. Example (4.148) also includes two genitive pronoun predicates, a second person plural possessor, *wyem*, and a third person plural possessor, *wdem*. For a list of all genitive pronoun forms, see section 3.5.4.

- (4.145) hanogil yot-ua- $\emptyset$                       w- $\emptyset$ =de-m.  
ground DEM-DIST-SG.F REL-SG=3-PL  
‘That land is theirs.’ (140307-058:60.976) GE-[wdem], JS
- (4.146) Poloyolpa=de-i                      w-nobia    hanogil w- $\emptyset$ =de-i.  
Yolpa.village=NVPC-PL 3PL-talk.R ground REL-SG=3-PL  
‘Yolpa people said that the land was theirs.’ (120524-005:54.960) RNS, JS
- (4.147) awo. wia-i w- $\emptyset$ =de-n.                      wia-i w- $\emptyset$ =hem.  
yes two-F REL-SG=3-SG.M two-F REL-SG.F=1SG  
‘Yes. Two are his. Two are mine.’ (120524-000:807.207) RNS, LN
- (4.148) lolewa yot-u- $\emptyset$                       hiro w- $\emptyset$ =yem,                      w- $\emptyset$ =de-m    yot-ua-m.  
thing DEM-MDIST-SG.F NEG REL-SG.F=2PL REL-SG=3-PL DEM-DIST-PL  
‘That stuff is not yours (pl); it’s theirs.’ (140307-058:108.163) GE-[wdem], JS

Genitive predicates may also consist of a third person genitive pronoun and a nominal phrase referring to the possessor. Examples are provided in (4.149)-(4.152). When overt

<sup>24</sup>Genitive pronouns are composed of the relational clitic and a personal pronoun (see section 3.5.4). The relational clitic is one of the few instances in the grammar where I use the label ‘clitic’ and employ an equal sign rather than a hyphen or space when glossing examples. As described in section 1.7.2, this should be understood as indicating only that a particular element shows some range of behavior that makes it desirable to distinguish it from prototypically free unbound words or morphemes on the one hand and tightly bound morphemes on the other hand. See section 3.5.5 for discussion on the unusual behavior of the relational clitic.

nominal phrase possessors occur, gender and number distinctions for the possessor are often neutralized on the genitive pronoun.<sup>25</sup> For instance, although the possessor in example (4.149) is singular and the possessor in example (4.150) is plural, both examples show the genitive pronoun form *w-di*, a form which is neutral with respect to the gender and number of the possessor. Information on the details of possessee and possessor agreement on genitive pronouns can be found in section 5.5.1.2.

Example (4.149) comes from a recording where the speaker is listing the different clans represented in Yeri village. He describes one of the pig clans as Roland's clan. Example (4.150) is from a speaker describing the different types of traditional clothing and tools. In this example, he describes one of these types of traditional clothing as belonging to men.

- (4.149) wual clan ŋa-Ø      w-Ø=di      Roland.  
 pig clan one-SG.F REL-SG=3 Roland  
 'Another pig clan is Roland's.' (120528-001:123.845) RNS, JS  
 CI: The speaker is listing the different clans represented in the Yeri village.

- (4.150) pade              w-Ø=di      han-gil.  
 male.clothing REL-SG=3 male-PL  
 'Pade belongs to men.' (120410-001:141.611) RNS, JS  
 CI: Pade is a type of traditional clothing worn only by men.

Examples (4.151) and (4.152) demonstrate genitive predicates with plural possesseees. Both *losi* 'name' and *nebalgi tiawai* 'car' always trigger plural agreement (see section 5.4.1.6). In example (4.151), the speaker is pointing out that the name Yapunda is not the Yeri village's name for itself, while in example (4.152), the speaker is indicating that the car belongs to people from the Mai village. Note that *Mai di yotui* is functioning as a nominal phrase meaning 'those Mai people'.<sup>26</sup>

- (4.151) losi    hiro w-ei=di-Ø      nogil    Yeri hiro.  
 name NEG REL-PL=3-SG.F village Yeri NEG  
 'The name does not belong to Yeri.' (120528-008:324.010) RNS, JS
- (4.152) nebal-gi tiawa-i    w-ei=de-i      Mai=de-i              yot-u-i.  
 tree-PL short-PL REL-PL=3-PL Mai.village=NVPC-PL DEM-MDIST-PL  
 'The car belongs to those Mai people.' (120420-000:97.230) RNS, LA

<sup>25</sup>Although it is more frequent for gender and number distinctions to be neutralized on the genitive pronoun when it is followed by a nominal phrase indicating the possessor, it is nonetheless possible for gender and number distinctions to be neutralized on the genitive pronoun regardless of whether it is acting as the sole element of a nominal phrase, as an adnominal expression, or as a predicate (see section 5.5.1.3).

<sup>26</sup>See section 2.5.6 for more information on vowel harmony in this context.

When genitive phrases operate as predicates, genitive pronouns within the phrase permit additional morphemes, what I label predicate morphemes (see chapter 8). This includes an imperfective *-ma* morpheme and an additive *-ba* morpheme.<sup>27</sup> Examples (4.153) and (4.154) are provided to illustrate imperfective and additive morphemes occurring on the genitive pronoun *webi* ‘our’. For discussion regarding the occurrence of these predicate morphemes on genitive pronouns, see section 8.3.1.

- (4.153) yawal yot-ua-i w-ei-ma=hebi.  
 sago.PL DEM-DIST-PL REL-PL-IPFV=1PL  
 ‘Those sago palms there are ours now.’ (120709-007:352.701) GE-[weimahebi], JS

- (4.154) yot-u-i, ta Ø-dodi yot-u-i, w-ei-ba=hebi.  
 DEM-MDIST-PL FUT 3PL-stand.R DEM-MDIST-PL REL-PL-ADD=1PL  
 ‘Those, the ones that stand there are also ours.’ (120709-007:396.318) GE-[weibahebi], JS

#### 4.6.4 Adverb predicate

Adverb phrases can function as predicates in non-verbal clauses, although it is more common for adverbs to modify predicates (see section 4.7.2). I refer to adverb phrases acting as predicates as ‘adverb phrase predicates’ or ‘adverb predicates’ for short. Adverb phrases can minimally consist of a single adverb, though it is also possible for adverbs to be modified by degree words (see section 3.8). Examples are provided in (4.155)–(4.157) with the adverbs *yomial* ‘slow, quiet’, *nanala* ‘alone’, and *niagil* ‘same, together’. Note in example (4.157), the adverb occurs with one of two predicate morphemes (see chapter 8), an additive morpheme translated here as ‘also’. This co-occurrence with a predicate morpheme presents additional evidence for the predicate use of adverb phrases.

- (4.155) ta hiro yomial.  
 FUT NEG slow  
 ‘He will not be slow.’ (120611-004:262.623) RNS, JS
- (4.156) hem nanala.  
 1SG alone  
 ‘I am alone.’ (120518-002:387.470) RNS, JS
- (4.157) halpina-gi niagil-pa.  
 sea.shell-PL same-ADD  
 ‘Halpinagi is also the same.’ (120410-001:126.245) RNS, JS

<sup>27</sup>Note that these predicate morphemes attach to the relational clitic which in turn attaches to a personal pronoun. See section 3.5.5 for information on this relational morpheme.

#### 4.6.5 The possessive ‘have’ construction

The following sections are devoted to the description of a non-verbal construction which expresses the notion of ‘having’, typically translated in English as ‘X has Y’. To distinguish it from genitive predicates which also express possession, I refer to it as the ‘possessive ‘have’ construction’. While this construction is a non-verbal construction, it is nonetheless clearly related to a verbal construction, what I term the posture verb construction, which can also be used to express possession. In fact, the possessive ‘have’ construction can be viewed as a variant of the posture verb construction where the posture verb has been omitted.

**An overview of the possessive ‘have’ construction** The possessive ‘have’ construction takes the form X+Y where X is the possessor and Y is the possessee. Although this form of the construction can sometimes be difficult to directly elicit, it is not an uncommon construction. It can be used to express both inalienable and alienable possessive relationships. For instance, in examples (4.158) and (4.159), the second nominal phrases refer to a kinship relationship, while in (4.160) the second nominal phrase refers to something that is only temporarily possessed. For clarity, the second nominal phrase is delimited by square brackets.

- (4.158) hem [nogolgoi wia-m ɲa-n].  
 1SG children two-M one-SG.M  
 ‘I have three children.’ (140312-052:212.119) DE, LA

- (4.159) te-n [yuta-gi wia-i].  
 3-SG.M woman-PL two-F  
 ‘He has two sisters.’ (140414-008:709.644) DE, JS

- (4.160) te-∅ [nawi si-sipeki-l].  
 3-SG.F salt RED-little-SG  
 ‘She has a little salt.’ (140414-008:718.216) DE, JS

Given the resemblance between the form of the possessive ‘have’ construction and the form of non-verbal clauses with nominal predicates (see section 4.6.1), it is not surprising that the same utterance may have two possible interpretations, one where the the second nominal phrase is interpreted as the possessee and one where the second nominal phrase is interpreted as a nominal predicate. For instance, (4.161) and (4.162) both involve two nominal phrases. However, the second nominal phrase *nawi* ‘salt, ocean’ is interpreted as a possessee nominal phrase in (4.161) while it is interpreted as a nominal predicate in (4.162).

- (4.161) awo, hem nawi.  
 yes 1SG salt  
 ‘Yes, I have salt.’ (140312-052:282.082) ES, LA

- (4.162) te-Ø nawi mai?  
 3-SG.F salt Q  
 ‘Is it the salt?’ (140414-008:684.298) OS, JS  
 CI: If someone is holding a container, you can ask if the container is the salt.

This is particularly obvious from the two possible translations provided by a consultant for example (4.163).

- (4.163) te-Ø nawi si-sipeki-l.  
 3-SG.F salt RED-little-SG  
 ‘She has a little salt. (140414-008:718.216) DE, JS  
 AT: ‘It is a bit of salt.’

In positive form, examples like these can be interpreted either way and are disambiguated by context and real world knowledge. However, the two interpretations are easily distinguished when negated due to the anomalous location of the negative particle (see section 10.2.3) with the possessive ‘have’ construction (see section 11.3.2). While the negative particle *hiro* precedes the nominal predicate, as in (4.164), it follows the possessee nominal phrase in the possessive ‘have’ construction, as in (4.165).

- (4.164) te-n yot-ua-n hiro hamote-n w-Ø=nabe-n.  
 3-SG.M DEM-DIST-SG.M NEG individual-SG.M REL-SG=good-SG.M  
 ‘That man is not a good man.’ (120623-007:448.140) RNS, YW
- (4.165) hebi wopakal hiro.  
 1PL bow NEG  
 ‘We have no bow.’ (120621-003:260.224) RNS, AS

The unusual location of the negative particle in the possessive ‘have’ construction is not surprising when it is compared to the related posture verb construction (see section 7.7.1.4). In (4.166) an example of a negated posture verb construction is given and the negative particle occurs in the position immediately preceding the verbal predicate, as expected for a verbal predicate (see section 11.2). In example (4.167), the corresponding version of the possessive ‘have’ construction is given. With the posture verb omitted, the location of the negative particle *hiro* appears anomalous, but the negative particle is exactly where it would be expected were the posture verb to occur. It is for this reason, that I also refer to the possessive ‘have’ construction as the non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction.

- (4.166) hem nebal hare hiro w-ir.  
 1SG tree leaf NEG 3SG.F-lie.I  
 ‘I do not have a book.’ (140312-052:1022.312) GJ, LA

- (4.167) hem nebal hare hiro.  
 1SG tree leaf NEG  
 ‘I do not have a book.’ (140312-052:1009.732) DE, LA

Note that it is possible for the negative particle to precede the second nominal phrase in a possessive ‘have’ construction. When it does, as in example (4.168), this indicates focus on the second nominal phrase.<sup>28</sup> In other words, the negative particle is specifically negating the nominal phrase *nogolgoi wiam* ‘two children’ in example (4.168), and therefore occurs in a location different from its default location. This is clear from the immediately following utterance, given in (4.169), which specifies that the speaker has three children. For more information on the distribution of clause particles in the possessive ‘have’ construction, see section 10.5 which describes this unusual location with respect to several other clause particles.

- (4.168) hem hiro nogolgoi wia-m.  
 1SG NEG children two-M  
 ‘I don’t have two children.’ (140312-052:209.814) DE, LA  
 CI: I don’t have *two children*. I have *three children*.
- (4.169) hem nogolgoi wia-m ŋa-n.  
 1SG children two-M one-SG.M  
 ‘I have three children.’ (140312-052:212.119) DE, LA

**Optional third person indexes** The possessor in a possessive ‘have’ construction can optionally be indexed by a non-verbal pronominal clitic or a pronominal clitic for short (see section 4.2). When a pronominal clitic refers to a possessor in this construction, I refer to this pronominal clitic as a ‘possessor index’.<sup>29</sup> That the gender and number of the non-verbal pronominal clitic is determined based on the possessor nominal phrase and not the possessee nominal phrase is clear from examples like (4.170) and (4.171). In (4.170), the pronominal clitic is a singular feminine form, either =*da* or =*de* depending on an optional vowel disharmony process (see section 2.5.6). In example (4.170), the possessor is a particular species of bat which has feminine gender, while the possessee nominal phrase *peni* ‘wings’ is plural. Similarly, in (4.171), the possessor index agrees with the masculine possessor nominal phrase *hamoten yotun* rather than the feminine gender possessee *puyu hirka* ‘money’.

<sup>28</sup>For information on the Yeri focus construction, see section 14.2.5.

<sup>29</sup>It is important to note that these possessor indexes are analogous to the locative object in the posture verb construction (see section 7.7.1.4). I refrain from referring to the possessor indexes as locative indexes primarily because of examples like example (4.171), which can be said even when the man is not carrying the money on him. While one could perhaps analyze examples like this as simply involving a more abstract location, for the purposes of this grammar, I have chosen just to note this connection and refer to the indexes in the possessive ‘have’ construction as possessor indexes.



- (4.170) te- $\emptyset$  pine-i=da- $\emptyset$ .  
 3-SG.F wing-PL=NVPC-SG.F  
 ‘It has wings on it.’ (120705-003:824.105) GE-[peni da], JS

- (4.171) hamote-n yot-u-n, puyu hirka=de-n.  
 individual-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M rock new=NVPC-SG.M  
 ‘That man has money.’ (140404-024:221.498) DE, LA

Another example is provided in (4.172), where the non-verbal pronominal clitic =*dan* agrees with the possessor *niawega pirmite* ‘a light gray lizard’.

- (4.172) niawega pirmite hiro hireiki=da-n.  
 lizard pirmite.lizard NEG scale=NVPC-SG.M  
 ‘The pirmite lizard does not have scales on it.’ (140313-029:53.090) GE-[niawega pirmite], LA

A third person plural possessor index is demonstrated in example (4.173) and agrees with the possessor nominal phrase *hawal* ‘feet’, which is a pluralia tantum noun (see section 5.4.1.6).

- (4.173) Yirkuri hawal ya ki lute-i=da-i.  
 Yirkuri feet ya already sore-PL=NVPC-PL  
 ‘Yirkuri’s foot has a sore on it.’ (140424-059:7.160) DE, LA

Examples (4.174) and (4.175) demonstrate complex possessee nominal phrases. In (4.174), the possessee nominal phrase consists of a head noun and a numeral modifier, *nia wiam* ‘two teeth’, while in example (4.175), the possessee nominal phrase consists of two coordinated nouns *nial miniagia* ‘front and back legs’.

- (4.174) wodomoi nia wia-m=da-n.  
 wodomoi.spear teeth two-M=NVPC-SG.M  
 ‘The wodomoi spear has two sharp teeth on it.’ (120410-001:343.646) RNS, JS
- (4.175) niawega nia-l minou-agia=de-n.  
 lizard teeth-PL front.leg-PL=3-SG.M  
 ‘A lizard has front and back feet on it.’ (140224-000:138.613) RNS, LA

The possessor can be omitted from the possessive ‘have’ construction as long as the possessor is recoverable from context or previous discourse. In example (4.176), the possessor nominal phrase *hamote yuta etu* does not occur within the same clause, but is recovered from the previous clause. As expected, the possessor index shows third person singular feminine agreement. Along the same lines, in example (4.177) the possessor index =*dan* agrees with a previously mentioned referent *pilgiyou*, a type of bee. For this reason, it shows singular masculine agreement.

- (4.176) hamote- $\emptyset$  yuta yot-u- $\emptyset$  w=ilua- $\emptyset$ . hireiki=da- $\emptyset$  nadi.  
 individual-SG.F woman DEM-MDIST-SG.F REL=bad-SG.F scale=NVPC-SG.F very  
 ‘That lady is bad. She has a lot of scars on her.’ (140227-014:76.639) GE-[hireiki], JS

- (4.177) hawer henei=da-n. w=ilua-n.  
 butt blood=NVPC-SG.M REL=bad-SG.M  
 ‘Its bottom has red on it. It’s bad.’ (120517-001:856.513) RNS, JS

Imperfective and additive non-verbal pronominal clitics can also function as the possessor index in this construction. When they occur they show the same number and gender agreement as the bare non-verbal pronominal clitic but convey additional imperfective or additive semantics (see section 8.2). An example with an imperfective non-verbal pronominal clitic is provided in example (4.178). See section 8.6 for more information.

- (4.178) yati sapo-ti=mia- $\emptyset$ . ma=ilua- $\emptyset$ .  
 sago mold-SG=IPFV.NVPC-SG.F IPFV=bad-SG.F  
 ‘The sago has mold on it. It’s bad.’ (140317-023:82.042) GE-[sapoti], LA

### Comparing the possessive ‘have’ construction and the posture verb construction

Despite the clear relationship between the two constructions, I treat the possessive ‘have’ construction as distinct from the posture verb construction for a number of reasons. First, without the posture verb, the possessive ‘have’ construction looks very different from the posture verb construction. This makes describing it in terms of the posture verb construction less intuitive. Second, the possessive ‘have’ construction can be described in simple terms as a basic X+Y construction where X is a possessor nominal phrase and Y is a possessee nominal phrase. Attempting to describe the possessive ‘have’ construction in terms of the posture verb construction results in a much more convoluted description. Third, applicative objects of all persons can be indexed via object indexes on the verb in the posture verb construction, while they can only be indexed by third person applicative object pronominal clitics (see section 4.2) in the possessive ‘have’ construction. Furthermore, the form of the third person applicative object indexes differs depending on which construction it occurs in.

For these reasons, I describe the possessive ‘have’ construction separately from the posture verb construction. However, the two constructions are clearly related and the nominal phrase referring to the possessee or the entity whose existence or location is under discussion in the possessive ‘have’ construction is analogous to the subject of the posture verb in the posture verb construction. For ease of discussion, I refer to this nominal phrase as the ‘PEL nominal phrase’ throughout this grammar, where P stands for the possessee, E stands for

the entity whose existence is under discussion and L stands for the entity whose location is being discussed.

Additionally, the optional indexes that can occur in the possessive ‘have’ construction are analogous to the locative objects, those applicative objects which depict locations, in the posture verb construction. A summary is presented in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Comparing the verbal and non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction

| verbal variant                                | non-verbal variant<br>(possessive ‘have’ construction) |
|-----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| subject of the posture verb                   | PEL nominal phrase                                     |
| locative object                               | possessor index                                        |
| clause-initial position                       | before the PEL nominal phrase                          |
| preceding the predicate/clause-final position | after the PEL nominal phrase                           |

Furthermore, this relationship between the constructions can explain several related phenomena, including (i) the anomalous location of the negative particle when it occurs with the possessive ‘have’ construction, (ii) the location of applicative object pronominal clitics in the possessive ‘have’ construction in relation to the negative particle, (iii) the interpretation of relational noun predicates as meaning ‘be located at the relational noun’ rather than ‘be the relational noun’, and (iv) the acceptable interpretation of single nominal phrases as existential statements. I do, however, alternatively refer to the possessive ‘have’ construction as the ‘non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction’ to more explicitly note this relationship between the constructions. For detailed information on the posture verb construction, see section 7.7.1.4.

## 4.7 Optional elements in a clause

There are several optional elements that can occur within a clause. These include: (i) clause particles, (ii) adverb phrases, (iii) adjunct nominal phrases, and (iv) prepositional phrases. Clause particles are described in , and adverb phrases are discussed in section 4.7.2. Adjunct nominal phrases and prepositional phrases are the focus of section 4.7.3 and section 4.7.4 respectively.

### 4.7.1 Clause particles

Clause particles can optionally occur in a clause. These particles can be divided into subclasses on the basis of the restricted set of positions a particle can occur in and the number of times a clause particle can occur in a clause. The distributions of the different subclasses can be summarized as follows:

**class 1** a clause particle that can occur in clause-initial position and before the predicate it holds scope over. It can occur only once in a clause.

**class 2** a clause particle that can occur in any of the three positions. It can occur twice in a clause as long as one of the positions is clause-final position.

**class 3** a clause particle that can only occur in clause-final position. It can occur only once in a clause.

Example (4.179) demonstrates a class 1 clause particle, *ta* ‘future tense’ (see section 10.1.1.2), occurring before the predicate it holds scope over.

- (4.179) hem ta m-y-aya maŋa-Ø?  
 1SG FUT 1SG-2-give.R what-SG.F  
 ‘What will I give you (sg or pl)?’ (120517-001:185.991) RNS, JS

Example (4.180) illustrates a class 2 clause particle, *siwei* ‘again, back’ (see section 10.2.1). In this example, the clause particle *siwei* occurs twice in the same clause, once before the predicate it holds scope over and once in clause-final position. Note the special pronunciation of *siwei* as [si] in non-clause-final position.

- (4.180) si h-a<me>na siwei.  
 again 1PL-come.R<IPFV> again  
 ‘We came back.’ (120606-000:452.159) RNS, JS

In example (4.181), the class 3 clause particle, *mai* ‘polar question’ (see section 10.3.3), occurs in clause-final position, and the class 1 clause particle, *ki* ‘already’ (see section 10.2.2), occurs before the predicate it holds scope over.

- (4.181) moti ki n-a<ne>wo hasieki-l mai?  
 pot already 2SG-set.R<SG.M> fire-PL Q  
 ‘Did you (sg) put the pot on the fire?’ (120517-001:1910.240) RNS, JS

For more detailed information on each of these subclasses and the meaning and use of individual clause particles, see chapter 10.

#### 4.7.2 Adverb phrases

When adverb phrases modify a predicate, they can occur in one of several locations. These locations include: (i) clause-initial position, (ii) immediately before the predicate they hold scope over, or (iii) clause-final position. While adverb phrases can minimally consist of a single adverb (see section 3.7), it is common for adverb phrases to include a degree word modifying the adverb (see section 3.8) or involve a reduplicated adverb (see section 2.6).

The adverb *yomial* ‘slow, quiet’ is one of the most common adverbs and is shown occurring in clause-initial position in (4.182) and in clause-final position in (4.183). The adverb is modified by the degree word *nadi* ‘very’ in example (4.182), and is completely reduplicated in example (4.183).

- (4.182) *yomial nadi pueti n-o<ne>ga.*  
 slow very betel.nut 2SG-eat.R<SG.M>  
 ‘Very slowly chew your (sg) betel nut.’ (120620-012:36.081) RNS, JS

- (4.183) *ye n-ir<m>kou yomial yomial.*  
 2SG 2SG-ascend.I<IPFV> slow slow  
 ‘You (sg) carry it carefully.’ (120704-001:188.516) GE-[meno], JS

The adverb phrase *yomial nadi* occurs immediately before the predicate it modifies in example (4.184), where it modifies the verbal predicate *ana* ‘come’ to express the manner in which the subject walks.

- (4.184) *hem m-ode-∅ yomial nadi h-a<me>na.*  
 1SG 1SG-and.R-SG.F slow very 1PL-come.R<IPFV>  
 ‘She and I very slowly came.’ (120621-003:318.775) RNS, AS

Example (4.185) demonstrates *nanala* ‘alone’ immediately preceding the verb it modifies, *ar* ‘go’. Similarly, in example (4.186), *niagil* ‘together’ modifies the verbal predicate *o* ‘be, stay, live’ and immediately precedes it.

- (4.185) *ki hem nanala m-aro yot-ua-∅.*  
 already 1SG alone 1SG-go.R DEM-DIST-SG.F.  
 ‘I was going by myself.’ (120517-001:380.012) RNS, JS
- (4.186) *nenā n-arkuagil n-ode-∅ Jenny niagil ∅-o.*  
 father 3SG.M-laugh.R 3SG.M-and.R-SG.F Jenny together 3PL-stay.R  
 ‘Father laughed with Jenny, and they stayed together.’ (120520-000:411.225) RNS, AS

### 4.7.3 Adjunct nominal phrases

I use the label ‘adjunct nominal phrase’ to refer to instances of nominal phrases which are not functioning as subjects, core objects, applicative objects, non-grammatical objects, or the complement of a prepositional phrase. These nominal phrases are never indexed on a predicate and are never obligatory.

Adjunct nominal phrases frequently serve to situate an action or event in time, and the semantic subclass of nouns that I refer to as ‘temporal nouns’ are particularly common in these nominal phrases. Table 4.6 provides a list of common adjunct nominal phrases which refer to time. Where pronunciation variants are known, they are included.

Table 4.6: Adjunct nominal phrases which refer to time

| Yeri                       | meaning                               |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| maleikia                   | ‘morning’                             |
| maladi                     | ‘afternoon’                           |
| hemal                      | ‘night’                               |
| wo hema                    | ‘sunrise’                             |
| wo nanor                   | ‘sunset’                              |
| wo wor tupi                | ‘noon’                                |
| himaleikia, hemal maleikia | ‘late night, early morning’           |
| himaladi, hemal maladi     | ‘late afternoon, early evening’       |
| kiyipa                     | ‘earlier today’                       |
| toyomial                   | ‘today’                               |
| toyiki                     | ‘tomorrow’                            |
| lahabi                     | ‘yesterday’                           |
| wo tiawa                   | ‘a short period of time within a day’ |
| wo sibelial                | ‘a long period of time within a day’  |
| wo                         | ‘sun, day’                            |
| wona                       | ‘moon, month’                         |
| minigi, mineigi            | ‘unspecified period of time’          |
| helol                      | ‘work’                                |
| lawiaki                    | ‘long ago’                            |
| tawiaki                    | ‘in the distant future’               |

Adjunct nominal phrases can occur in three positions (i) clause-initial position, (ii) immediately before the predicate they hold scope over, or (iii) clause-final position.<sup>30</sup> Clause-initial position is demonstrated in (4.187)-(4.189) with the adjunct nominal phrases *hemal* ‘night’, *maleikia* ‘morning’, and *lahabi* ‘afternoon’ ‘yesterday afternoon’.

- (4.187) hemal h-dodi      aro wo he-ma.  
 night 1PL-stand.R go.R sun CNT-IPFV  
 ‘At night, we waited until sunrise.’ (120520-000:94.475) RNS, AS

<sup>30</sup>I analyze nouns that occur in adjunct nominal phrases as nouns rather than adverbs because these lexical items can occur preceding adnominals in the adnominal construction (see section 3.3). This is in opposition to those lexical items classified as adverbs, which cannot occur in this context.

- (4.188) maleikia h-aro h-al<m>kial puyu hirka w-or tumani  
 morning 1PL-go.R 1PL-pull.R<IPFV> rock new 3SG.F-lie.R building  
 w-∅=lope-∅ yot-u-∅.  
 REL-SG=big-SG.F DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘In the morning, we went to withdraw money that was in the bank.’ (120606-000:111.991) RNS, JS

- (4.189) lahabi maladi hem m-nobia.  
 yesterday afternoon 1SG 1SG-talk.R  
 ‘Yesterday afternoon I spoke.’ (120621-003.:17.860) RNS, AS

Clause-final position can be seen in examples (4.190) and (4.191) with the adjunct nominal phrases *hemal* and *mineigi wiai*.

- (4.190) te-i ∅-aro psia ∅-ar<ma> hemal.  
 3-PL 3PL-go.R arrive 3PL-arrive<IPFV> night  
 ‘They went and arrived at night.’ (120520-000:304.433) RNS, AS

- (4.191) ki m-alkial-i nia-l mineigi wia-i.  
 already 1SG-pull.R-PL leg-PL time.period two-F  
 ‘I left (her) for two days.’ (120606-000:333.079) RNS, JS  
 CI: The collocation *alkiali nial* expresses the meaning ‘leave’.

It is also possible for adjunct nominal phrases to occur between a subject and the predicate when it occurs before the predicate it holds scope over. This can be either after particles, as in (4.192), or before particles, as in (4.193). See section 10.4.2 for more information on the positioning of clause particles and adjunct nominal phrases.

- (4.192) hem m-nobia, “hem ta hemal m-aro m-dal<m>ko-ki-da-i  
 1SG 1SG-talk.R 1SG FUT night 1SG-go.R 1SG-search.R<IPFV>-APPL-AUG-PL  
 miakua-l.”  
 frog-PL  
 ‘I said, “Tonight I will go look for frogs.”’ (120621-003:21.840) RNS, AS
- (4.193) hebi toyomial ta h-a<me>r wo n-anor.  
 1PL today FUT 1PL-go.to.R<IPFV> sun 3SG.M-descend.R  
 ‘Now we’ll go to Sandaun.’ (120606-000:123.894) RNS, JS

Less frequently, adjunct nominal phrases may indicate the location where an action or event takes place.<sup>31</sup> In examples (4.194)-(4.196), *wul* ‘water, river’, *tinogil* ‘village’, and *tihame* ‘creek’ can be classified as adjunct nominal phrases referring to locations. Adjunct nominal phrases which refer to locations are particularly common in clause-final position.

<sup>31</sup>Information regarding location is more frequently provided via locative objects (see section 4.1 and section 7.7).

- (4.194) te-i Ø-dorpi wul.  
 3-PL 3PL-fight.R water  
 ‘They fought at the river.’ (140404-023:585.766) SE, LA
- (4.195) ta hiro w-ie w-d-i<me>rua-Ø tinogil.  
 FUT NEG 3PL-stay.I 3PL-MDL-do.well.I<IPFV>-SG.F village  
 ‘They won’t live well in the village.’ (120518-001:275.581) RNS, JS
- (4.196) te-Ø w-orkibil yati ti-hame.  
 3-SG.F 3SG.F-squeeze.R sago LOC-creek  
 ‘She washed sago at the creek.’ (140404-023:324.380) SE, LA

#### 4.7.4 Prepositional phrases

Yeri has two prepositions *wɗi* and *danua*. These two prepositions along with complement nominal phrases can optionally occur within a clause. For instance, in example (4.197), the preposition *wɗi* occurs with the nominal phrase *hanogil* ‘ground’ to describe what was talked about.

- (4.197) h-nobia wɗi hanogil.  
 1PL-talk.R PREP ground  
 ‘We talk about the land.’ (120524-005:53.360) RNS, JS

The preposition *danua* and a complement nominal phrase occur in example (4.198) to provide additional information regarding why the man was worried.

- (4.198) wan n-o meno danua nigo-n-gon w-Ø=de-n.  
 heart 3SG.M-COP.R heavy PREP child-SG.M-RED REL-SG=3-SG.M  
 ‘He was worried about his son.’ (120517-001:403.567) RNS, JS  
 LT: ‘His heart was heavy about his son.’

For information on the use and meaning of prepositions, see section 3.10.



## Chapter 5

# Nouns

This chapter focuses on nouns. Section 5.1 describes the tendency for nouns to be consonant-initial, while section 5.2 describes those morphemes that can occur on nouns. I then present an overview of gender in section 5.3 and number in section 5.4, before turning to the complex system of gender and number agreement that can occur on other lexical items in section 5.5. I conclude in section 5.6 with a brief description of an unproductive locative prefix which can occur on some Yeri nouns.

### 5.1 Phonological characteristics

With very few exceptions, Yeri noun roots are consonant-initial. Only a small subset of noun roots can be considered partial exceptions to this generalization. These noun roots have both a consonant-initial pronunciation involving an initial /ɰ/ <h>, and a vowel-initial pronunciation without this initial /ɰ/ <h>. The vowel-initial pronunciation of these nouns is due to an optional rule deleting /ɰ/ <h> word-initially (see section 2.1.1.4). For example, *hamoten* ‘individual’ is often pronounced as [amóʔen], resulting in a vowel-initial pronunciation.

Other phonological rules may also result in the deletion of the initial consonant of a noun root. For example, the phrase *yewal namogi* ‘eye nose’ has become lexicalized as the expression for ‘face’. However, a rule of /n/ deletion following /l/ results in the deletion of the initial /n/ of *namogi* ‘nose’ in this context (see section 2.5.9.3 for more information).

### 5.2 Overview of nominal morphology

Yeri nouns are much less morphologically complex than Yeri verbs (see section 7.2). A template of morphemes that can occur on nouns is provided in Figure 5.1 for ease of reference.

I include a slash to indicate those morphemes which occupy the same position and do not co-occur.

EMPH-LOC-NounRoot-NUM/GDR-IPFV/ADD

Key: EMPH=emphatic, LOC= locative, NUM=number, GDR=gender, IPFV=imperfective, ADD=additive

Figure 5.1: A template of morphemes that occur on nouns

Sections of the grammar are devoted to each of these morphemes. To facilitate an overall understanding of nouns, brief explanations of each morpheme are provided below with a cross-reference to the corresponding section where detailed discussion is found.

**EMPH** emphatic reduplication. Partial reduplication of the first two or three segments of a noun indicates either greater intensity or greater number depending on the noun (see section 2.6.2).

**LOC** a locative prefix *ti-*. This prefix is restricted to specific nouns and is not productive. Its occurrence on the noun signifies a location near the noun (see section 5.6).

**NUM** a number suffix. Nouns are divided into 15 inflectional classes depending on the singular or plural morpheme(s) selected by the noun (see section 5.4).

**GDR** a gender suffix. The gender of a noun is obligatorily marked on a very small class of nouns, most of which refer to humans. Almost all of these show gender marking as a suffix as indicated in the template. However, at least two nouns show gender marking within the noun root (see section 5.3.2).

**IPFV** imperfective morpheme. The imperfective morpheme is a type of predicate morpheme. It can occur on verbs, nouns, ideophones, adnominals, adverbs, and some particles. When it occurs on nouns, it follows any gender or number morphemes and undergoes a process of vowel disharmony. The imperfective morpheme is often translated as ‘now’ (see section 8.5.2).

**ADD** additive morpheme. The additive morpheme is a type of predicate morpheme. It can occur on verbs, nouns, ideophones, adnominals, adverbs, and some particles. When it occurs on nouns, it follows any gender or number morphemes and undergoes a process of vowel disharmony. The additive morpheme is often translated as ‘also’ or ‘still’ (see section 8.5.2).

## 5.3 Gender

This section is devoted to providing information on the Yeri gender system. I present an overview of Yeri gender in section 5.3.1, while section 5.3.2 provides information on overt gender and covert gender in the language. Section 5.3.3 details the limited contexts where gender agreement occurs in the plural. I conclude by presenting information on gender assignment in section 5.3.4. The discussion of ‘default’ gender requires reference to information provided in section 5.5.8 on agreement classes. For this reason, I discuss the notion of ‘default gender’ in section 5.5.8 at the end of this chapter.

### 5.3.1 An overview of the gender system

To discuss gender in Yeri, it is useful to reference several terms as defined by Corbett (1991). Corbett distinguishes between ‘controller genders’, “the genders into which nouns are divided” and ‘target genders’ “the genders which are marked on adjectives, verbs, and so on” (Corbett 1991: 151).

With these concepts in mind, Yeri can be described as having two target genders, masculine and feminine, which are distinguished only in the singular. Yeri also has two controller genders: (i) nouns which trigger feminine gender agreement, and (ii) nouns which trigger masculine gender agreement. Note, however, that many inanimate nouns are not specified for one of the two controller genders. These nouns can trigger either masculine or feminine agreement. While some of these nouns may show a shift in meaning depending on gender (see section 5.3.4.4), some do not (see section 5.3.4.3).

There also exists a class of nouns in Yeri which almost never trigger gender agreement. This is because these nouns trigger grammatical plural agreement. As gender is almost never distinguished in the plural, the primary evidence that these nouns have a gender at all comes from gender agreement on the numeral *wia* ‘two’, which permits gender agreement with noun forms that trigger plural agreement (see section 3.5.3 or section 5.3.3 for discussion). I refer to these nouns as ‘pluralia tantum nouns’ (see section 5.4.1.6).

The diagram in Figure 5.2 displays an overview of Yeri gender agreement, with the two controller genders labeled masculine and feminine on the left, and the two target genders indicated by lines labeled with corresponding morphemes. The morphemes *-he-*, *-∅*, *-ha*, and *w-* all indicate feminine gender in the singular, while the morphemes *-ne-*, *-n*, *-na*, and *n-* all indicate masculine in the singular. In the plural, gender is almost never distinguished, and both genders show the same plural agreement forms. Morphemes which indicate plural number include *-hi-*, *i*, *-ei*, *-i*, *-m*, *∅*, and *w-*. There is one context where gender can be distinguished in the plural. For more information on the numeral *wia* ‘two’ and gender marking in the plural, see section 5.3.3 and section 5.5.3.

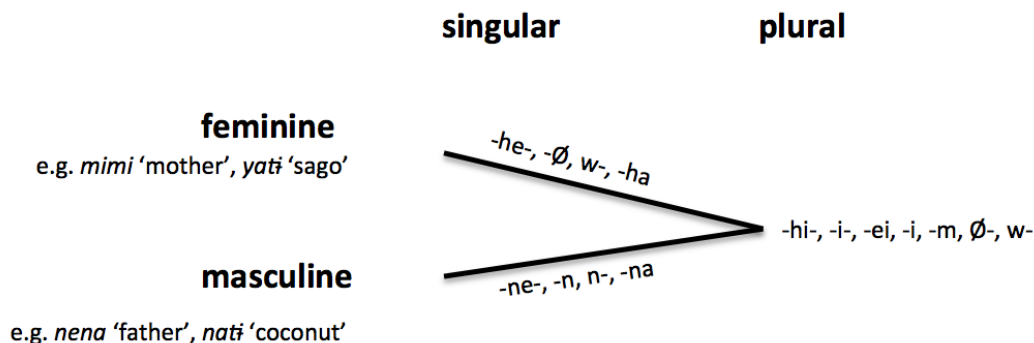


Figure 5.2: Gender agreement in Yeri

### 5.3.2 Overt vs. covert gender

Corbett also notes that the gender of nouns may or may not be clear from the form of the noun itself. He writes, “When the gender of a noun is clear from its form, we talk of overt gender; when the form does not give a clear indication of gender we are dealing with a covert gender system” (Corbett 1991: 117). While some nouns in a language may show overt gender, others may not. For this reason, he specifies that ‘a system may be overt to a greater or lesser degree’ (Corbett 1991: 117).

In Yeri, only a few select nouns overtly indicate their gender on their own form. These are typically words which refer to people. Examples include *hamote/hamoten* ‘individual’, *nigo/nigon* ‘child’, or *yalmiha/yalmina* ‘grandparent, grandchild’. For almost all of these nouns, it is a suffix which provides information about the gender, either  $\emptyset$  or *-ha* for feminine and *-n* or *-na* for masculine.<sup>1</sup>

However, there are four nouns in the corpus with related morphemes that occur in a different position. These include *woga* ‘older sister’ and *winoga* ‘older brother’ as well as *wiyawi* ‘younger sister’ and *winyawi* ‘younger brother’, where the form without an /n/ indicates feminine gender, and the form with an /n/ indicates masculine gender. In example (5.1), *woga* ‘older sister’ triggers feminine gender agreement on the verb (*w-*), while *winoga* ‘older brother’ triggers masculine gender agreement via *n-* in example (5.2).

- (5.1) *woga*            *w-nobia-da-n*.  
 older.sister 3SG.F-talk-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘The big sister told him.’ (120517-001:105.330) RNS, JS

<sup>1</sup>Note that the suffixes *-na* and *-ha* are limited in their occurrence to the noun *yalmi* ‘grandparent, grandchild’.

- (5.2) winoga n-o<he><me>wil.  
 older.brother 3SG.M-take.R<SG.F><IPFV>  
 ‘His brother got her.’ (120518-003:312.434) RNS, LN

The vast majority of Yeri nouns, however, show only covert gender in that there is nothing about the noun’s form that indicates its gender. For these nouns, only the agreement triggered on other elements indicates the gender of the noun. For human and upper-level animals, this gender is related to the natural sex of the entity, as shown in (5.3) and (5.4), where the nouns *nua* ‘mother’ and *nakal* ‘father’ trigger feminine and masculine gender agreement respectively.

- (5.3) nua w-dore.  
 mother 3SG.F-get.up.R  
 ‘Mother got up.’ (120517-001:1614.640) RNS, JS
- (5.4) nakal n-o<ne>mo pueti.  
 father 3SG.M-eat.R.IPFVSG.M betel.nut  
 ‘His father chews betel nut.’ (120517-001:950.325) RNS, JS

The same noun *wual* ‘pig’ triggers either feminine or masculine gender agreement in (5.5) and (5.6) depending on the natural sex of the animal.

- (5.5) wual yot-u-∅ w-ohorkil.  
 pig DEM-MDIST-SG.F 3SG.F-flee.R  
 ‘The female pig ran away.’ (140407-191:1114.684) DE, LA
- (5.6) wual yot-u-n n-o<me>horkil.  
 pig DEM-MDIST-SG.M 3SG.M-flee.R<IPFV>  
 ‘The male pig is running away.’ (140407-191:1130.355) DE, LA

Examples (5.7) and (5.8) illustrate the lack of gender marked overtly on the form of nouns like *yati* ‘sago palm, sago jelly’ and *nol* ‘bird’. Only the gender agreement shown with subject prefixes on the verb indicates the gender of the nouns.

- (5.7) hiro, yati w-dodi.  
 NEG sago 3SG.F-stand.R  
 ‘No, the sago palm stands.’ (120409-002:132.268) RNS, AS
- (5.8) nol n-o tupi.  
 bird 3SG.M-stay.R top  
 ‘The bird sat on top.’ (120517-001:2376.880) RNS, JS

### 5.3.3 Gender agreement in the plural

With one exception, gender can only be distinguished when the form of the noun triggers singular agreement. For example, the nouns *hare* ‘leaf’ and *miaga* ‘banana’ in (5.9) and (5.10) normally trigger distinct gender agreement in the singular. The feminine noun *hare* triggers feminine object agreement on the verb *owil* ‘take’ and *ano* ‘push’, while the masculine noun *miaga* triggers masculine object agreement on the verb *oga* ‘eat’.

- (5.9) ... ta h-o<he><me>wil hare yot-u-∅  
 ... FUT 1PL-take.R<SG.F><IPFV> leaf DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 h-a<me>no-da-∅ nau.  
 1PL-push.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F nau  
 ‘... we will be taking the paper and pushing it.’ (120524-000:351.490) RNS, JS

- (5.10) m-o<ne>mo miaga.  
 1SG-eat.R.IPFV<ne> banana  
 ‘I will eat the banana.’ (120601-012:158.938) RNS, YW

However, when these nouns occur in their plural forms, they show the same plural agreement forms. Consider examples (5.11) and (5.12), where both trigger the same plural object infix form *-i-* on the verb *owil* ‘take’.

- (5.11) w-okī hare-ia w-o<i>wil.  
 3SG.F-use.R leaf-PL 3SG.F-take.R<PL>  
 ‘She took the leaves.’ (120517-001:282.170) RNS, JS

- (5.12) te-∅ w-o<i><me>wil miaga-l.  
 3-SG.F 3SG.F-take.R<PL><IPFV> banana-PL  
 ‘She got bananas.’ (120409-002:605.840) RNS, AS

There is only one context where nouns that select different genders show different agreement forms in the plural. When plural referents occur with the numeral *wia* ‘two’, the numeral shows gender agreement, *-m* for masculine and *-i* for feminine.<sup>2</sup> Example (5.13) illustrates both the feminine and masculine forms of *wia* ‘two’. In this example, the numeral *wia* modifies two plural referents and it shows gender agreement based on the natural sex of the referents. Specifically, it occurs with the feminine gender morpheme *-i* when it modifies the plural form of *yuta* ‘female’ and it occurs with the masculine gender morpheme *-m* with it modifies the plural form of *han* ‘male’.

<sup>2</sup>Note that these gender suffixes are identical in form to two plural suffixes in Yeri, *-m* and *-i*. It is only the behavior of the suffixes on the numeral *wia* that indicates that these suffixes vary based on gender rather than number.

- (5.13) hem yuta-gi    wia-i    han-gil    wia-m.  
 1SG woman-PL two-PL male-PL two-M

‘I have two sisters and two brothers.’ (140407-198:280.296) DE, LA

Note that many nouns have a general form, a form that makes no reference to number (see section 5.4.1). For these nouns, it is acceptable for either the general form or the explicitly plural form of the noun to occur with the numeral *wia* ‘two’. Regardless of which form occurs, the numeral *wia* ‘two’ shows only gender agreement, as in examples (5.14) and (5.15), where the noun *sahal* triggers masculine gender on the numeral regardless of whether it occurs in its general form or its explicitly plural form. For more information on the agreement behavior of *wia* ‘two’, see section 5.5.3. This section details the agreement behavior of the G agreement class to which *wia* belongs.

- (5.14) hem m-aga-n    sahal    wia-m.  
 1SG 1SG-get-SG.M bush.knife two-M

‘I bought two knives.’ (120709-007:751.235) GE-[wnbahem], JS

- (5.15) sahal-gil    wia-m  
 bush.knife-PL two-PL

‘two bush knives.’ (140407-198:250.901) DE, LA

Lastly, although the numeral *ŋa* ‘one’ occurs with gender and number morphemes and is classified in the GN agreement class (see section 5.5.2), it is unusual in showing the same gender agreement as the numeral *wia* ‘two’ when the two numerals co-occur in the same numeral expression to indicate larger numerals like ‘three’. Note that when *ŋa* ‘one’ occurs on its own with a noun that triggers plural agreement, it occurs in its plural form. This can be seen in (5.16), where *ŋa* occurs with *losi* ‘name’, a pluralia tantum noun that triggers plural agreement (see section 5.4.1.6). Only when *ŋa* co-occurs with *wia* does it show the same gender marking as *wia*, as in (5.17) and (5.18).

- (5.16) niawega wanesi,    losi    ŋa-i    h-eiwere-wa-n    habalda.  
 lizard    wanesi.lizard name one-PL 1PL-name.R-AUG-SG.M habalda.lizard  
 ‘Lizard wanesi, another name we call it is habalda.’ (2010-DR000068:210.654)  
 RNS, JS

- (5.17) te-i    wia-i    ŋa-Ø    Ø-arkou    Ø-ana    Ø-ormia    Yomalbiena.  
 3-PL two-F one-SG.F 3PL-ascend.R 3PL-come.R 3PL-stay.R.IPFV Yomalbiena  
 ‘Three of them came up and are staying at Yomalbiena.’ (120712-003:545.374)  
 RNS, PM

- (5.18) hem nogolgoi    wia-m    ŋa-n.  
 1SG children two-M one-SG.M  
 ‘I have three children.’ (140312-052:212.119) DE, LA

### 5.3.4 Assigning gender

This section is devoted to the assignment of gender in Yeri. Section 5.3.4.1 focuses on gender assignment in nouns referring to humans and higher-level animals, while section 5.3.4.2 focuses on the issue of gender assignment in nouns referring to lower-level animals and inanimates. While humans and higher-level animals are typically assigned gender on the basis of natural sex, lower-level animals and inanimates are often assigned gender on the basis of semantic principles involving size and shape. Specifically, short, thick, round objects are often assigned feminine gender and tall, long, thin, or particularly large objects are often assigned masculine gender.

Despite these semantic tendencies, Yeri lower-level animals and inanimates typically do not show a fixed gender, but can freely vary. For some nouns, the change in gender does not appear to correlate with a change in meaning. These nouns are the focus of section 5.3.4.3. For others, the choice of gender can highlight physical characteristics of the specific referent, typically the size, with masculine indicating a larger than average referent and feminine indicating a smaller than average referent. This productive shift in meaning is discussed in section 5.3.4.4.

#### 5.3.4.1 Human and higher-level animals: Natural sex

The gender of human nouns is determined on the basis of biological sex. For example, *nua* ‘mother’ refers to a female human. As such *nua* has feminine gender, as shown in (5.19), where the third person singular feminine subject prefix *w-* occurs.

- (5.19) *nua*     *w-darku*     *w-ana*.  
          mother 3SG.F-run.R 3SG.F-come.R  
          ‘His mother came running.’ (120517-001:2008.360) RNS, JS

Along the same lines, since *nenā* ‘father’ is biologically male, this noun is assigned masculine gender and triggers the third person singular masculine subject prefix *n-* in (5.20).

- (5.20) *ki*     *nenā*     *n-iekewa-i*.  
          already father 3SG.M-be.angry.R-PL  
          ‘My father got angry with them.’ (120601-009:328.892) RNS, YW

Although examples like *nua* ‘mother’ and *nenā* ‘father’ have only one gender, other nouns which refer to humans can show variable gender agreement. Nouns like *nigo* ‘child’ occur with a masculine gender morpheme when the referent is a male, as in (5.21), and a feminine gender morpheme when the referent is female, as in (5.22). Note that *nigo* ‘child’ shows



partial reduplication in these examples (see section 2.6.2) and is an example of a noun which shows overt gender because gender suffixes directly occur on the noun.<sup>3</sup>

- (5.21) nigo-n-gon      yot-u-n      ki      n-almo      he.  
 child-SG.M-RED DEM-MDIST-SG.M already 3SG.M-die.R CNT

‘That boy is already dead.’ (120517-001:706.358) RNS, JS

- (5.22) nigo-Ø-go      w-Ø=yem      ta      w-ode-n      nigo-n-gon  
 child-SG.F-RED REL-SG.F=2PL FUT 3SG.F-and.R-SG.M child-SG.M-RED  
 w-n=hebi      w-ormia.  
 REL-SG.M=1PL 3SG.F-stay.R.IPFV

‘Your (pl) daughter will stay with our son.’ (120608-003:432.139) RNS, JS

There are some nouns, like *hodehil* ‘elder, old’ or *turega* ‘teenager’, which do not show overt gender and can also show variable gender agreement. The noun *hodehil* for instance refers to elders and can show feminine or masculine gender agreement depending on the natural gender of the referent in question. The referent is masculine in (5.23) and the verb *aya* ‘give’ occurs object marking on it. In (5.24), the referent is female and triggers the occurrence of the third person singular feminine subject prefix on the verb *owil* ‘take’, and the third person singular object morpheme on the verb *ode* ‘and, with’.

<sup>3</sup>See section 5.3.2 for information on nouns which display overt gender in Yeri.

- (5.23) ta Ø-a<me>ya-ka-n hodehi-l moni,  
FUT 3PL-give.R<IPFV>give.R-AUG-SG.M elder-SG money  
Ø-a<me>ya-ka-n puyu hirka.  
3PL-give.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.M rock new  
'We'll give the money to the old man.' (120601-012:126.637) RNS, YW
- (5.24) m-atia hodehi-l yot-u-Ø w-o<he>wil sick w=ilua-Ø  
1SG-see.R elder-SG DEM-MDIST-SG.F 3SG.F-take.R<SG.F> sick REL=bad-SG.F  
m-ode-Ø h-ormia m-go<Ø><ma>bì.  
1SG-and.R-SG.F 1PL-stay.R.IPFV 1SG-bend.in.half.R<SG.F><IPFV>  
'I saw the old lady there get sick. I was staying and waiting for her (to get better).'
- (120620-012:143.387) RNS, KL

Additionally, nouns referring to some higher-level animals generally show gender agreement for the sex of the specific referent.<sup>4</sup> These nouns typically refer to larger animals, like pigs or dogs, or involve animals where the genders are easily distinguished by physical characteristics, like chickens. In (5.25), the chicken is female and the verb *owil* ‘take’ occurs with the singular feminine infix *-he-*. Note the phrase *oki mula* is conventionally used to express meanings like ‘be upset’. In (5.26), the chicken discussed is male instead, resulting in masculine gender morphemes on the demonstrative.

- (5.25) m-oki- $\emptyset$  mula harkrokɨ w- $\emptyset$ =hem nogolgoi  $\emptyset$ -o<he>ba.  
 1SG-use.R-SG.F lips chicken REL-SG.F=1SG children 3PL-shoot.R<SG.F>  
 ‘I was upset about my chicken that the children shot.’ (120620-012:131.928) RNS,  
 KL
- (5.26) kokowowo harkrokɨ yot-u-n nom-no<me>bia  
 cock.a.doodle.doo chicken DEM-MDIST-SG.M RED-talk.R<IPFV>  
 nom-no<me>bia.  
 RED-talk.R<IPFV>  
 ‘Cock-a-doodle-doo! That rooster is crowing and crowing.’ (120517-001:634.481)  
 RNS, JS

Along the same lines, the pig being referred to in example (5.27) is male. For this reason, the subject prefix on the verb *aruarkil* ‘flee’ indicates masculine gender. However in example (5.28) the pig under discussion is female, and the subject prefix on the verb indicates feminine gender.

<sup>4</sup>Note that if size is particularly relevant in the discourse context, higher-level animals can trigger a gender distinct from the referent's natural sex. This is done to highlight the physical size of the referent and is described in section 5.3.4.4.

- (5.27) wual yot-u-n                      n-ar<me>uarkil.  
           pig   DEM-MDIST-SG.M 3SG.M-flee.R<IPFV>  
           ‘That (male) pig is running away.’ (140407-191:1153.620) DE, LA

- (5.28) wual yot-u-∅                      w-ar<me>uarkil.  
           pig   DEM-MDIST-SG.F 3SG.F-flee.R<IPFV>  
           ‘That (female) pig is running away.’ (140407-191:1158.380) DE, LA

For some animals, the male and female of the species are actually referred to by separate nouns. This happens most frequently when the female of the species looks noticeably different than the male. As would be expected, the noun which denotes the female of the species is assigned feminine gender, while the noun denoting the male of the species is assigned masculine gender. For instance, speakers describe *neigal wunmike* and *neigal hatomia* as being the same species, but *neigal wunmike* is female, as stated in example (5.29), and *neigal hatomia* is male, as stated in example (5.30).<sup>5</sup>

- (5.29) neigal wunmike                      nuate.  
           cuscus wunmike.cuscus female  
           ‘Wunmike cuscus is female.’ (140408-200:43.070) OS, JS

- (5.30) neigal hatomia                      hawei.  
           cuscus hatomia.cuscus male  
           ‘Hatomia cuscus is male.’ (140408-200:33.770) OS, JS

In accordance with their described biological sex, *neigal wunmike* is assigned feminine gender and *neigal hatomia* is assigned masculine gender, shown by the subject agreement on the irregular form of the verb *ayomia* ‘hide’ in (5.31) and (5.32).

- (5.31) neigal wunmike                      w-daryomia.  
           cuscus wunmike.cuscus 3SG.F-hide.self.R  
           ‘The wunmike cuscus hides.’ (140408-200:83.880) OS, JS

- (5.32) neigal hatomia                      n-daryomia.  
           cuscus hatomia.cuscus 3SG.M-hide.self.R  
           ‘The hatomia cuscus hides.’ (140408-200:53.200) OS, JS

Another example is provided in (5.33) and (5.34), where speakers describe the bird *nol lopegi* as being female and the bird *nol lamegi* as being male. Gender agreement is shown by the subject prefix on the verb *o* ‘be, stay, live’.

<sup>5</sup>Note that it was not possible to verify whether these two animals are in fact the same species. Scientists are continually discovering new species in the area and scientific documentation of these animals is still limited.

- (5.33) *nol lopegì w-o tupi.*  
 bird lopegì.bird 3SG.F-stay.R top  
 ‘The lopegì bird sits on top.’ (140408-200:118.450) OS, JS

- (5.34) *nol lamegì n-o tupi.*  
 bird lamegì.bird 3SG.M-stay.R top  
 ‘The lamegì bird is sitting on top’ (140408-200:100.300) OS, JS

When questioned, speakers specify that masculine gender agreement with *nol lopegì* and feminine gender agreement with *nol lamegì* is ungrammatical, as shown by (5.35) and (5.36).

- (5.35) \**nol lopegì n-o tupi.*  
 bird lopegì.bird 3SG.M-stay.R top  
 ‘The lopegì bird (male) sits on top.’ (140408-200:131.250) GJ, JS

- (5.36) \**nol lamegì w-o tupi.*  
 bird lamegì.bird 3SG.F-stay.R top  
 ‘The lamegì bird (female) sits on top.’ (140408-200:113.850) GJ, JS

As a general rule however, gender agreement with lower-level animals and inanimates is variable. For discussion of this variability in gender, see section 5.3.4.3 (where gender variability is not related to a shift in a meaning) and section 5.3.4.4 (where gender agreement emphasizes a particular characteristic).

#### 5.3.4.2 Lower-level animals and inanimates: Semantic principles

Lower-level animals, typically non-domesticated smaller animals, and inanimate objects are usually not assigned a gender on the basis of biological sex. Instead, there appear to be some semantic principles which may influence which gender is assigned. In the limited time available for this project, I was able to determine a few such principles involving: (i) size, (ii) shape, (iii) whether the item is a container, (iv) whether the item is a liquid, (v) whether the item is a granular substance, and (vi) whether the item is an abstract concept.

At a very general level, there appears to be a tendency for short, round objects to trigger feminine gender agreement, while tall, long, thin, or particularly big objects trigger masculine gender agreement.<sup>6</sup> For example, *miakua* ‘frog’, *hapini* ‘potato’, and *libi* ‘mango’ are typically feminine, while *harkanogil* ‘snake’, *likil* ‘long bamboo’, and *siahera* ‘crocodile’ are typically masculine. This size and shape association with gender has been noted for several other languages found in New Guinea, and I refer the reader to Foley (2000), Aikhenvald (2012), and Svärd (2015) for additional information on these correlations.

<sup>6</sup>This is of course relative to an object’s overall shape.

The remaining semantic principles I noticed resulted in classification as feminine. Specifically, most containers (e.g. *porpori* ‘basket’, *heya* ‘bilum’), liquids (e.g. *wul*, ‘water, river’, *nanuta* ‘urine’), tiny granular or powdery substances (e.g. *hilian* ‘sand’, *proti* ‘ash, grey’, *hom* ‘sago dust’), and abstract concepts (e.g. *deipanaweigil* ‘junction’, *parieti* ‘song’, and *wan* ‘mind/thoughts’) tend to trigger feminine gender.

Several illustrative examples of nouns and the gender typically assigned to them are provided in Table 5.1. Relevant semantic principles are listed in parentheses beside the gloss.

Table 5.1: Gender assignment by semantic principles

|                             | feminine |                               | masculine  |
|-----------------------------|----------|-------------------------------|------------|
| ‘mango’ (small, round)      | libi     | ‘snake’ (long, thin)          | harkanogil |
| ‘frog’ (small, round)       | miakua   | ‘wild betel nut’ (tall, thin) | bobua      |
| ‘potato’ (small, round)     | hapini   | ‘bush knife’ (long, thin)     | sahal      |
| ‘limbum’ (container)        | lelia    | ‘crocodile’ (long, thin, big) | siahera    |
| ‘basket’ (container)        | porpori  | ‘eel’ (long, thin)            | sohena     |
| ‘bilum’ (container)         | heya     | ‘wodomoi spear’ (long, thin)  | wodomoi    |
| ‘belly’ (container)         | hamual   | ‘bone’ (long, thin)           | hamnagi    |
| ‘pouch’ (container)         | hoboyon  | ‘ririwil spear’ (long, thin)  | ririwil    |
| ‘water, river’ (liquid)     | wul      | ‘betel nut’ (long, thin)      | pueti      |
| ‘urine’ (liquid)            | nanuta   | ‘stick’ (long, thin)          | mali       |
| ‘siweya yam’ (small, round) | siweya   | ‘nail’ (long, thin)           | pasialki   |
| ‘sago dust’ (granular)      | hom      | ‘arm’ (long, thin)            | hilogi     |
| ‘ash, grey’ (granular)      | proti    | ‘spine’ (long, thin)          | harei      |
| ‘song’ (abstract)           | parieti  | ‘tree’ (long, thin)           | nebal      |
| ‘legend’ (abstract)         | pirsakai | ‘bamboo’ (long, thin)         | hilieti    |

There are likely many more such smaller and more specific patterns to be identified and I leave it to future research to tease apart the details of Yeri gender assignment principles.<sup>7</sup> Note also that determining Yeri gender assignment principles is made more complicated by the fact that most lower-level animals and inanimate objects show variable gender (see section 5.3.4.3). In other words, these nouns are grammatical regardless of which gender they occur with. In this way, the question is not which gender is the noun always assigned, but which gender is the noun typically assigned. Despite this flexibility in gender however, there is some evidence for the influence of semantics on gender assignment (especially size) can be seen by considering those nouns where shifting gender does result in a productive shift in meaning (see section 5.3.4.4).

<sup>7</sup>Note that the generalizations I have made are by no means exceptionless. For instance, *tuaki* ‘walking stick’ typically shows feminine gender despite being long and thin. Some of these exceptions may be explained on the basis of culture or other semantic principles, especially with additional research. Furthermore, given the role of feminine gender as the ‘default’ gender in many contexts (see section 5.5.8), more research may identify a default rule assigning miscellaneous nouns feminine gender.

### 5.3.4.3 Variable gender with no obvious semantic change

Despite the semantic tendencies described in section 5.3.4.2, lower-level animals and inanimate nouns frequently show variable gender assignment, with the same noun triggering masculine gender morphemes in some contexts and feminine gender morphemes in other contexts. For instance, when the consultant is prompted to use the noun *hiwol* ‘breadfruit’ in several sentences, the noun triggers different gender agreement in different sentences. In example (5.37), the noun *hiwol* ‘breadfruit’ triggers a third person singular masculine subject prefix on the verb *akia* ‘go by way of’, while in example (5.38), the same noun triggers a third person singular feminine subject prefix on the verb *dodi* ‘stand’.

- (5.37) *hiwol wdi dodi n-akia tu-tupi.*  
 breadfruit usually stand.R 3SG.M-go.via.R RED-top  
 ‘The breadfruit tree stands on the top.’ (140227-033:16.775) GE-[*hiwol*], JS  
 CI: The breadfruit tree stands on top of the hill.
- (5.38) *hiwol la m-a<∅>wo w-dodi yot-u-∅*  
 breadfruit PST 1SG-set.R<SG.F> 3SG.F-stand.R DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 w-∅=nabe-∅.  
 REL-SG=good-SG.F  
 ‘That breadfruit I planted that stands there is good.’ (140227-033:47.286) GE-[*hur*], JS

It is important to note that this variability in gender cannot be explained away as a result of different referents or contexts. For instance, the noun *hur* ‘sago flour’ triggers a third person singular feminine subject prefix in example (5.39), but in the immediately following utterance which refers to the same entity, shown in (5.40), it triggers a third person singular masculine subject prefix. There is no obvious semantic reason for the noun triggering different gender agreement in (5.39) and (5.40).

- (5.39) *hur psia w-ar danua-∅ yati.*  
 sago.flour arrive 3SG.F-arrive.R PREP-SG.F sago  
 ‘The sago flour comes out for sago.’ (140227-031:17.297) GE-[*hur*], JS
- (5.40) *n-eiwa yati.*  
 3SG.M-be.from.R sago  
 ‘It is from sago palms.’ (140227-031:20.016) GE-[*hur*], JS

Additional constructed examples are given in (5.42)-(5.46), where speakers judge the nouns *wonela* ‘centipede’, *yati* ‘sago palm, sago jelly’, and *nalu* ‘cassowary’ as acceptable

with either feminine or masculine agreement.<sup>8</sup>

- (5.41) wonela yot-u- $\emptyset$  w-a<me>na.  
centipede DEM-MDIST-SG.F 3SG.F-come.R<IPFV>  
'That centipede is coming.' (140407-191:1183.270) DE, LA
- (5.42) wonela yot-u-n n-a<me>na.  
centipede DEM-MDIST-SG.M 3SG.M-come.R<IPFV>  
'That centipede is coming.' (140407-191:1193.410) GJ, LA
- (5.43) te- $\emptyset$  w-o<he>wil yati.  
3-SG.F 3SG.F-take.R<SG.F> sago  
'She took sago.' (140407-191:157.004) DE, LA
- (5.44) te- $\emptyset$  w-o<ne>wil yati.  
3-SG.F 3SG.F-take.R<SG.M> sago  
'She took sago.' (140407-191:161.518) GJ, LA
- (5.45) nalu yot-u- $\emptyset$  w-o< $\emptysetcassowary DEM-MDIST-SG.F 3SG.F-eat.R<SG.F> wobla.tree  
'That cassowary is eating wobla seeds.' (140407-191:51.200) GJ, LA$
- (5.46) nalu n-o< $\emptysetcassowary 3SG.M-eat.R<SG.F> wobla.tree  
'The cassowary is eating wobla seeds.' (140407-191:33.201) DE, LA$

#### 5.3.4.4 Changing gender to highlight a physical property

It has been noted that for some languages, “different genders can be chosen to highlight a particular property of a referent. This is a feature of languages where gender assignment is strongly correlated with semantic properties” (Aikhenvald 2012: 37). Physical characteristics relating to size and/or shape are properties commonly highlighted in this way, though which size is associated with which gender appears to be variable (Aikhenvald 2012). Svärd (2015) specifically focuses on this association with a sample of languages in New Guinea, and points out that “tall, long, or thin objects are considered masculine, whereas nouns denoting short, thick, or round objects are feminine” in four of the 20 languages he sampled.<sup>9</sup> For more information on gender in New Guinea languages specifically, I refer the reader to Foley (2000), Aikhenvald (2012), and Svärd (2015). I note here only that Olo, a related Torricelli

<sup>8</sup>Although consultants sometimes indicate a preference for one gender with these nouns, they describe both genders as acceptable.

<sup>9</sup>The languages in the sample which show this association are Abau (Sepik), Manambu (Ndu), Skou (Sko), and Taiap (isolate).

language, has been described as showing this size association with gender (McGregor & McGregor 1982: 55).

Like these languages, Yeri shows a similar propensity to associate feminine gender with short, round objects and masculine gender with tall, long, thin, or big objects. In particular, for some animals and inanimate nouns, a change in gender is used to highlight specific properties of the entity.<sup>10</sup> These nouns tend to occur with the same gender agreement the majority of the time and only trigger the opposing gender agreement when a property, usually size, is being emphasized. As a general rule, masculine gender is associated with a larger size than usual and feminine gender agreement is associated with a smaller size than usual. For example, the noun *yaki* ‘ginger’ often shows feminine gender, as in (5.48). If the speaker is referring to a piece of ginger that is particularly large, the speaker may use masculine gender agreement, as in (5.48), to emphasize its large size.

- (5.47) *yaki* w- $\emptyset$ =hem w-or heya.  
 ginger REL-SG.F=1SG 3SG.F-lie.R bilum  
 ‘My ginger is in the bilum.’ (140424-066:79.944) GJ, LA

- (5.48) *yaki* w-n=hem n-or heya.  
 ginger REL-SG.M=1SG 3SG.M-lie.R bilum  
 ‘My (large) ginger is in the bilum.’ (140424-066:86.838) GJ, LA

Similarly, the noun *neigal* ‘cuscus’ most frequently shows feminine gender, as in example (5.49). However, there are several different cuscus species. When the referent is one of these larger species or refers to a particularly large specimen of a specific species, the noun can trigger masculine gender agreement, as in example (5.50).<sup>11</sup>

- (5.49) *neigal* w-o yot-u- $\emptyset$ .  
 cuscus 3SG.F-stay.R DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘The cuscus is there.’ (140424-068:13.490) GJ, LA

- (5.50) *neigal* n-o yot-u-n.  
 cuscus n-stay.R DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
 ‘The cuscus is there.’ (140424-068:7.510) GJ, LA

<sup>10</sup>Despite this association of gender with size, some lower-level animals and inanimate nouns show variable gender without any obvious change in meaning. See section 5.3.4.3.

<sup>11</sup>See Aikhenvald (2012: 43) for a similar description of the Manambu language where “within a given species of animal, larger individuals are assigned masculine gender, and smaller individuals are assigned feminine gender.” Note also that Manambu shows the same interaction between natural sex and size that Yeri does. Aikhenvald writes, “if the referent’s sex is more important in the discourse context, it overrides the size-based assignment” (Aikhenvald 2012: 44).



The reverse is also acceptable. The noun *tumani* ‘building’ shows feminine gender agreement in most occurrences, as demonstrated by (5.51), where the verb *owil* ‘take’ shows feminine object marking.

- (5.51) *tumani nolka-ti w-o<he>wil he.*  
 building flood-SG 3SG.F-take.R<SG.F> CNT  
 ‘The house was taken by the flood already.’ (120623-007:964.790) RNS, YW

However, when the referent is viewed as particularly large or strong, such as in example (5.52), the noun can optionally show masculine gender agreement.

- (5.52) *tumani w-∅=lope-n w-∅=de-n yot-u-n ...*  
 building REL-SG=big-SG.M REL-SG=3-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M ...  
 ‘his big house there ...’ (140304-051:509.778) PE+GE-[geiboniwen], JS

That changing gender agreement is optional, even when the speaker clearly views the entity as large or strong, can be seen in (5.53). In this example, the WGN adjective *lope* ‘big’ and the demonstrative *yot-* modify the noun *tumani* ‘building’ and occur in their singular feminine forms rather than showing masculine gender agreement. This is in spite of the fact that the house is explicitly described as being large.

- (5.53) *h-a<me>r tumani w-∅=lope-∅ yot-u-∅.*  
 1PL-go.to.R<IPFV> building REL-SG=big-SG.F DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘We went to the big store.’ (120520-000:527.078) RNS, AS

## 5.4 Number

This section is devoted to the expression of number in Yeri. It is useful to make an initial distinction between what Corbett (2003) refers to as ‘agreement controllers’ and ‘agreement targets’. Corbett defines an agreement controller as ‘the element which determines the agreement’ and an ‘agreement target’ as ‘the element whose form is determined by agreement’ (Corbett 2003: 110). In this section, I present a basic overview of agreement controllers, both in terms of the agreement they trigger in section 5.4.1 and in terms of the various morphological forms they can take in section 5.4.2. For discussion of agreement targets, see section 5.5.

### 5.4.1 An overview of the number system

The Yeri number system is complex, involving at least 15 inflectional classes which select for a variety of number suffixes. Some nouns select for plural suffixes, some select for singular

suffixes, and some select for both plural and singular suffixes. Still others select for suppletive stems or show an invariant form regardless of semantic number.

The number system is complicated by the optionality of number marking in Yeri. The majority of Yeri nouns do not obligatorily express singular or plural number, but rather have a form which makes no reference to number. This form, referred to as a ‘general form’ by Corbett (2000: 10), can be used regardless of semantic number. Yeri nouns can be classified based on the behavior of this general form, with some general forms always triggering singular grammatical agreement, some general forms always triggering plural grammatical agreement, and some general forms always triggering semantic number agreement.

Furthermore, for some nouns, this general form is the only form of the noun. For other nouns, the general form occurs in opposition to a morphologically singular or morphologically plural form of the noun. Where the general form always triggers singular grammatical agreement, it occurs in opposition to a morphologically plural form of the noun, and where the general form always triggers plural grammatical agreement, it occurs in opposition to a morphologically singular form of the noun.

Given the complexity of this system, it is helpful to make a distinction between two types of forms, ‘general forms’ along the lines of (Corbett 2000) and what I term ‘explicit forms’. General forms can occur regardless of semantic number and can be understood as making no reference to number, while explicit forms always overtly indicate the number they express on the basis of their morphological form. In other words, whenever an explicit form occurs, number is being explicitly marked and this number is clear from the morphological form of the explicit form (e.g. there is a plural or singular morpheme that occurs).<sup>12</sup>

To more clearly explain this system, it is helpful to divide Yeri nouns into subclasses according to their behavior with regard to number. I classify nouns on the basis of (i) whether a noun has one or two forms, (ii) whether the noun has a general form, and (iii) what type of agreement is triggered by the general form, semantic agreement or grammatical agreement. A comparison of these classes is given in Table 5.2, where the first column lists the class, the second column indicates the number of forms a member of the class has, the third column indicates whether members of the class have a general form, and the fourth column indicates what type of agreement is triggered by the general form.

<sup>12</sup>This use of general form and explicit form is somewhat parallel to my use of the terms ‘general agreement form’ and ‘explicit agreement form’ in the discussion of lexical items which express agreement (see section 5.5.4). I use ‘general form’ and ‘explicit form’ to refer to an ‘agreement controller’, “the element which determines the agreement” (Corbett 2003). I use ‘general agreement form’ and ‘explicit agreement form’ to refer to an ‘agreement target’, “the element whose form is determined by agreement” (Corbett 2003).

Table 5.2: An overview of controller classes  
GF triggers

|                    | forms | GF? | what agreement?                |                 |
|--------------------|-------|-----|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| Controller class 1 | 2     | No  | no general form                | section 5.4.1.1 |
| Controller class 2 | 2     | Yes | singular grammatical agreement | section 5.4.1.2 |
| Controller class 3 | 2     | Yes | plural grammatical agreement   | section 5.4.1.3 |
| Controller class 4 | 2     | Yes | semantic agreement             | section 5.4.1.4 |
| Controller class 5 | 1     | Yes | semantic agreement             | section 5.4.1.5 |
| Controller class 6 | 1     | Yes | plural grammatical agreement   | section 5.4.1.6 |
| Controller class 7 | 1     | Yes | singular grammatical agreement | section 5.4.1.7 |

Note that although I make a distinction between whether a noun has one or two forms, in practice it can be difficult to distinguish whether certain nouns have one or two forms. This is because Yeri shows a great deal of variation in the existence of explicitly plural forms both within speakers and across speakers (see section 5.4.2.15). Lastly, although agreement is usually determined by the form of the noun in a nominal phrase, additional factors must be taken into account where nominal phrases involve coordinated elements (see section 6.7.4) or lack nouns (see section 6.3).

#### 5.4.1.1 Controller class 1: No GF (2 forms)

Yeri nouns which obligatorily express number via their own form and the agreement they trigger are quite limited. All personal pronouns, shown in Table 5.3, belong to this class. Third person plural pronouns are formed by the suffixation of *-m* (rare) or *-i* (common) to the form *te*. The second person plural pronoun can be analyzed as the result of suffixing the uncommon plural suffix *-m* to the form *ye*. The plural for the first person pronoun involves suppletion.

Table 5.3: Personal pronouns

|       | SG  | PL      |
|-------|-----|---------|
| 1     | hem | hebi    |
| 2     | ye  | yem     |
| 3SG.F | te  | ti, tem |
| 3SG.M | ten |         |

That pronouns obligatorily mark number is clear from examples (5.54)-(5.57). In example (5.54), the singular form *ten* is used, triggering singular subject agreement on the verb *or* ‘lie, sleep’. In example (5.55), the plural form *ti* is used, triggering plural subject agreement on the verb.

- (5.54) te-n n-or yot-u-n.  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-lie.R DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
 ‘He sleeps there.’ (140424-089:7.090) GJ, LA

- (5.55) te-i ∅-or yot-u-i.  
 3-PL 3PL-lie.R DEM-MDIST-PL  
 ‘They sleep there.’ (140424-089:10.300) GJ, LA

It is ungrammatical for a singular form of a pronoun to occur when the referent is plural in number, even if plural subject agreement occurs on the verb, as demonstrated by the ungrammatical example shown in (5.56). Similarly, it is ungrammatical for a plural form of a pronoun to occur if the referent is singular in number, even if singular subject agreement occurs on the verb, as shown by the ungrammatical example in (5.57).<sup>13</sup> In other words, singular referents require singular personal pronoun forms which always trigger singular number agreement, while plural referents require plural personal pronoun forms which always trigger plural number agreement.<sup>14</sup>

- (5.56) \*te-n ∅-or yot-u-i.  
 3-SG.M 3PL-lie.R DEM-MDIST-PL  
 ‘They sleep there.’ (140424-089:13.574) GJ, LA  
 AT: ‘He sleeps there.’

- (5.57) \*te-i n-or yot-u-n.  
 3-PL 3SG.M-lie.R DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
 ‘He sleeps there.’ (140424-089:25.719) GJ, LA  
 AT: ‘They sleep there.’

While all pronouns belong to this class, very few nouns in Yeri obligatorily express number. Several nouns which do obligatorily express number are provided in Table 5.4. Many of these are nouns which show overt gender (see section 5.3.2) or which show suppletive plurals.

<sup>13</sup>This mismatch in the semantic number of a referent and the general form’s number agreement and morphological form is acceptable with many nouns in Yeri. See sections 5.4.1.2, 5.4.1.3, 5.4.1.6, and 5.4.1.7 for discussion.

<sup>14</sup>Exceptions to this are rare and involve contexts with (i) the numeral *wia* ‘two’ or (ii) the numeral *ŋa* ‘one’ when it co-occurs with *wia*. These numerals show gender agreement even with pronoun forms that trigger plural agreement in all other contexts (see sections 3.5.3.1, 5.3.3), and 5.5.3). Note that even when *wia* ‘two’ or *ŋa* ‘one’ show gender agreement with these plural pronoun forms, other lexical items still show plural agreement.

Table 5.4: Nouns which obligatorily indicate singular and plural number

|                           | singular         | plural          |
|---------------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| ‘child’                   | nigo, nigon,     | nigoi, nogolgoi |
| ‘individual’              | hamote, hamoten  | hamei           |
| ‘grandparent, grandchild’ | yalmiha, yalmina | yalmi hamei     |

While many human nouns do not obligatorily express number (e.g. *woga* ‘older sister’, *winyawi* ‘younger brother’), most of the nouns that do obligatorily express number refer to humans. For example, the noun *nigo* ‘child’ has the singular forms *nigon* ‘son’ or *nigo* ‘daughter’ and a plural form *nigoi*. When this noun has a singular referent, only a singular form can occur, as in (5.58). When the noun has a plural referent, as it does in (5.59), only the plural form can occur.

- (5.58) paki nigo-n      nadi, sipeki-l laladil  
 paki child-SG.M only little-SG very  
 ‘I was just a boy, very small.’ (120524-005:401.430) RNS, JS

- (5.59) hem m-ode-n      la nigo-i.  
 1SG 1SG-and.R-SG.M PST child-PL  
 ‘We were children.’ (120524-005:339.570) RNS, JS  
 LT: ‘I and him were children.’

Using the singular form when the referent is plural or using a plural form when the referent is singular is considered ungrammatical, indicated by the asterisk in (5.60)-(5.62). In examples (5.60) and (5.61), the referent is plural, as indicated by *hem moden* ‘I and him’ and it is ungrammatical for a singular form of the noun *nigo* to occur. In example (5.62), the referent is singular, as indicated by *hem* ‘I, me’, and the plural form of the noun *nigo* is ungrammatical.

- (5.60) \* hem m-ode-n      la nigo-Ø.  
 1SG 1SG-and.R-SG.M PST child-SG.F  
 ‘We were children.’ (140424-059:116.840) GJ, LA  
 LT: ‘I and him were children.’

- (5.61) \* hem m-ode-n      la nigo-n.  
 1SG 1SG-and.R-SG.M PST child-SG.M  
 ‘We were children.’ (140424-059:121.355) GJ, LA  
 LT: ‘I and him were children.’

- (5.62) \* hem paki nigo-i      nadi, sipeki-l laladil  
 1SG paki child-PL only little-SG very  
 ‘I was just a boy, very small.’ (140424-059:126.339) GJ, LA

### 5.4.1.2 Controller class 2: Grammatically singular GF (2 forms)

In Yeri, a large number of nouns have a general form which always triggers singular grammatical agreement and which is in opposition to a morphologically plural form of the noun.<sup>15</sup> As explained in section 5.4.1, I refer to these morphologically plural forms as ‘explicit forms’, or when I need to be more specific, ‘explicitly-plural forms’. Table 5.5 provides several examples of these nouns.

Table 5.5: Nouns with grammatically singular general forms

|             | general form | explicitly-plural form |
|-------------|--------------|------------------------|
| ‘fish’      | nanula       | nanubia                |
| ‘ant’       | pareki       | parekil                |
| ‘tree grub’ | hanol        | hanolbia               |
| ‘sago grub’ | hulula       | hululpia               |
| ‘small fly’ | yomiliagi    | yomiliagil             |

For these nouns, the general form does not distinguish number and can occur in contexts where the referent is singular or plural. For example, the general form *pareki* ‘ant’ occurs in example (5.63), where only one ant is being referred to, but it also occurs in example (5.64), where more than one ant is referred to. In both of these examples, the general form triggers singular agreement, even when the number of ants being referred to is clearly more than one, as in the story where example (5.64) occurs. This is because the general forms of nouns like *pareki* are semantically general, but grammatically singular. Speakers hearing the general form know that this can refer to either a singular or a plural referent, but that number agreement will be singular regardless.

- (5.63) hem pareki nagolia      n-b-anokil.  
 1SG ant      nagolia.ant 3SG.M-1SG-bite.R  
 ‘The nagolia ant bit me.’ (140312-037:63.270) OS, LA

- (5.64) n-o<ne><me>wil      pareki.  
 3SG.M-take.R<SG.M><IPFV> ant  
 ‘He took the ants.’ (120517-001:793.493) RNS, JS

Other examples where the general form occurs even when more than one ant is under discussion are provided in (5.65) and (5.66). Note that in example (5.65), the third person plural subject agreement *w-* shown on the verb *anokil* ‘bite’ is due to agreement with the

<sup>15</sup>The general forms of nouns that belong to this class may or may not explicitly occur with a singular morpheme. For instance, the general form *nanula* ‘fish’ is analyzed as having a singular morpheme *-l(V)* (see section 5.4.2.6), while the general form *pareki* ‘ant’ is analyzed as not having a number morpheme (see section 5.4.2.7). Regardless of whether the general form is analyzed as having a number morpheme though, the general form triggers singular grammatical agreement.

coordinated nominal phrase *malgil pareki lolewa yotun* (see section 6.7.4). In example (5.66), the general form of the noun *pareki* occurs, although the sago is described as being covered in ants.<sup>16</sup>

- (5.65) malgil pareki lolewa yot-u-n                      wam-w-a<me>nokil-a-n.  
           bee    ant    thing   DEM-MDIST-SG.M RED-3PL-bite.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.M  
           ‘The bees and ants there were biting him.’ (120517-001:834.477) RNS JS
- (5.66) jati meilua                      parekimia.  
           yati ma=ilua-∅              pareki=mia-∅.  
           sago IPFV=bad-SG.F ant=IPFV.NVPC-SG.F.  
           ‘The sago is bad now, it has ants on it now.’ (140312-037:100.425) OS, LA

Although the general form can occur in contexts where the referent is plural, speakers can optionally choose to use the plural form of these nouns to explicitly indicate a plural referent. In examples like (5.67) or (5.68), speakers specify that more than one ant is being referred to by using the explicitly-plural form of *pareki* ‘ant’. When the explicitly-plural form is used, plural agreement is always triggered.

- (5.67) pareki-l n-o<i>wil.  
           ant-PL 3SG.M-take.R<PL>  
           ‘He took the ants.’ (120517-001:590.451) RNS, JS
- (5.68) pareki-l ∅-or              yo    te-i ∅-a<me>nokil.  
           ant-PL 3PL-lie.R path 3-PL 3PL-bite.R<IPFV>  
           ‘The ants on the road will bite.’ (140312-037:140.370) OS, LA

Given this behavior, the general forms of these nouns can be described as *semantically general* because they do not distinguish number (occurring in both singular and plural contexts), but *grammatically singular* because they always trigger singular agreement. The opposing explicitly-plural form only occurs in contexts where the referent is plural and always triggers plural agreement.

As another example, consider the noun *nanula* ‘fish’. If we consider only those contexts in which the general form of the noun *nanula* ‘fish’ occurs, we find contexts in which only one fish is being referenced, as in (5.69), as well as contexts in which more than one fish is under discussion, as in (5.70)-(5.72).

<sup>16</sup>Note that the noun *pareki* wouldn’t trigger agreement on any other word classes in this example, and so singular agreement is not seen. However, when speakers are questioned, they indicate that this utterance means that the sago is covered in ants.

- (5.69) n-o<he>ba                      nanu-la kraltariena                      na<he>kuar.  
 3SG.M-shoot.R<SG.F> fish-SG kraltariyena.fish skewer<SG.F>  
 ‘He stabbed the kraltariena fish and he skewered it.’ (120601-009:40.870) RNS,  
 YW
- (5.70) nanu-la w-∅=de-i                      Markebal=de-i                      ∅-apil-a-n  
 fish-SG REL-SG=3-PL Marikumba.village=NVPC-PL 3PL-collect.R-AUG-SG.M  
 ki                      ∅-ana                      wdi ∅-anibir-ha-n                      yot-ua-n.  
 already 3PL-come.R SUB 3PL-send.R-AUG-SG.M DEM-DIST-SG.M  
 ‘Marikumba’s fish, they brought them here to sell.’ (140424-059:147.161) SE+GJ,  
 LA
- (5.71) nogil                      ∅-o<∅>ga                      miakua nanu-la wual yati nadi.  
 village 3PL-eat.R<SG.F> frog                      fish-SG pig sago only  
 ‘It’s a village of eating frogs and fish, pigs and sago only.’ (120623-007:1303.940)  
 RNS, TW
- (5.72) ki                      nanu-la=mia-i                      yot-ua-i.  
 already fish-SG=IPFV.NVPC-PL DEM-DIST-PL  
 ‘Now it has many fish in it.’ (120705-002:328.953) GE-[nanula miai], JS

Regardless of how many fish are being referred to, the general form *nanula* always triggers singular agreement.<sup>17</sup> The ungrammaticality of plural agreement with *nanula* is shown by the consultant’s rejection of example (5.73). Given this behavior, the general form can be analyzed as semantically general, but grammatically singular.

- (5.73) \*te-∅                      w-a<i>repia                      nanu-la.  
 3-SG.F 3SG.F-boil.R<PL> fish-SG  
 ‘She boiled fish (pl).’ (140502-000:1843.928) GJ, LA

Despite the acceptability of using the general form *nanula* in contexts which refer to multiple fish, semantic plural number is only explicitly marked if the plural form *nanubia* is used. The use of the explicitly-plural form *nanubia* for multiple fish is demonstrated in examples (5.74) and (5.75). Note the plural object agreement with *nanubia* shown on the verb *owil* ‘take’ in (5.74) and the verb *nola* ‘dislike, refuse’ in (5.75).

- (5.74) w-o<i><me>wil                      nanu-bia w-a<me>ya-ka-n.  
 3SG.F-take<PL><IPFV> fish-PL 3SG.F-give.R<IPFV>give.R-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘She was taking the fish and she was giving him (it).’ (120517-001:158.520) RNS,  
 JS

<sup>17</sup>The plural agreement shown in example (5.72) on the pronominal clitic =*mia* and the demonstrative is not with the general form *nanula*, but with the possessor in the possessive ‘have’ construction (see section 4.6.5)



- (5.75) paki n-nole-wa-i                      nanu-bia lolewa yot-u- $\emptyset$ .  
 paki 2SG-dislike.R-AUG-PL fish-PL    thing DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘You (sg) don’t want the fish and such.’ (120517-001:183.635) RNS, JS

The explicitly-plural form *nanubia* always triggers plural agreement. This is clear from the ungrammaticality of examples like (5.76), where singular agreement occurs with the plural form.

- (5.76) \*te- $\emptyset$     w-a-< $\emptyset$ >repia                      nanu-bia.  
 3-SG.F 3SG.F-boil.R<SG.F> fish-PL  
 ‘She boiled fish (pl).’ (140502-000:1863.007) GJ, LA

Examples like these demonstrate that while semantic plural number can be explicitly marked with nouns in this subclass by using explicitly-plural forms like *parekil* or *nanubia*, number is not distinguished by general forms like *pareki* or *nanula*. While other nouns in Yeri have general forms where singular number can be made explicit due to semantic number agreement (see section 5.4.1.5), this is not possible with nouns whose general forms trigger grammatical singular agreement regardless of whether the referent is singular or plural. In fact, the only way to explicitly indicate semantic number when the general forms of these nouns occur is through the use of numerals, quantifiers, and other words which lexically encode number. Examples are provided in (5.77) and (5.78), where words which lexically indicate plural number co-occur with general forms. This is particularly easy to see in example (5.78), where the general form *yomiliagi* ‘small fly’ triggers singular grammatical agreement on the copula word *hahelia* ‘plenty’, which lexically indicates plural number.<sup>18</sup>

- (5.77) te- $\emptyset$     w-o<ne>wil                      nanu-la wia-m.  
 3-SG.F 3SG.F-take.R<SG.M> fish-SG two-M  
 ‘She took two fish.’ (140407-191:183.410) DE, LA
- (5.78) yomiliagi moki n-o                      hahelia moki yot-ua-n                      n-oti                      hare.  
 small.fly very 3SG.M-COP.R plenty very DEM-DIST-SG.M 3SG.M-hold leaf  
 ‘There are many flies holding that leaf.’ (140331-022:92.250) OS, LA

Although both general forms and explicitly-plural forms can occur when the referent is plural, as shown by (5.79) and (5.80), where both examples describe two bush knives, explicitly plural forms are much less frequent than general forms in the corpus.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup>Note that there is some evidence that the degree word *moki* ‘very’ may be unusual in being able to both precede and follow the element it modifies. However, there are not many examples of *moki* being used this way and more research into the construction is necessary.

<sup>19</sup>See section 5.5.3 for more discussion concerning examples with *wia* ‘two’. In these contexts, it is possible for a noun to trigger gender agreement on the numeral *wia* ‘two’, but number agreement, singular or plural depending on the form of the noun, on other modifiers.

- (5.79) hem m-aga-n            sahal            wia-m.  
 1SG 1SG-get.R-SG.M bush.knife two-M  
 ‘I bought two knives.’ (120709-007:751.235) GE-[wnbahem], JS
- (5.80) sahal-gil            wia-m w-ei=de-i            Colin Ø-uakir    Ø-a<me>nor  
 bush.knife-PL two-M REL-PL=3-PL Colin 3PL-fall.R 3PL-descend.R<me>  
 nolka-ti.  
 flood-SG  
 ‘Two knives of Colin’s fell into the flood.’ (120520-004:551.260) RNS, AS

#### 5.4.1.3 Controller class 3: Grammatically plural GF (2 forms)

A much smaller class of Yeri nouns has a general form which is in opposition to an explicitly-singular form of the noun. These nouns are all formed by the addition of a singular suffix, and their explicit forms (which trigger singular agreement) are longer than the opposing general form. Examples are shown in Table 5.6.<sup>20</sup>

Table 5.6: Nouns with grammatically plural general forms

|        | general form | explicitly-singular form |
|--------|--------------|--------------------------|
| ‘ear’  | megual       | megualti                 |
| ‘eye’  | yewal        | yewalti                  |
| ‘nose’ | namogi       | namogil                  |

For these nouns, the explicit form of the noun can occur to explicitly indicate singular number as in examples (5.81) or (5.82). Singular number agreement is always triggered when the explicit forms of the nouns in this subclass occur.

- (5.81) namogi-l w-n=ye            hiro sipeki-l.  
 nose-SG REL-SG.M=2SG NEG little-SG  
 ‘Your (sg) nose is not small.’ (140310-001:165.045) OS, LA
- (5.82) hane,            namogi-l w-Ø=de-n            n-o            poki nadi.  
 hane.snake nose-SG REL-SG=3-SG.M 3SG.M-COP.R black very  
 ‘The hane snake, his nose is very black.’ (140214-034:43.596) GE-[hane], JS

When the general form occurs, number is not distinguished and the form can occur in contexts with a singular referent, as in example (5.83) or in contexts with a plural referent, as in example (5.84). Regardless of the semantic number of the referent, grammatical plural agreement is always triggered by the general form of nouns in this subclass.

<sup>20</sup>General forms of nouns in this class may or may not be analyzed as having a plural suffix. For instance, the general form *namogi* is analyzed as having the plural suffix *-i* (see section 5.4.2.8), while the general form *yewal* ‘eye’ is analyzed as having no number suffix on it (see section 5.4.2.9). Regardless of whether a general form of a noun in this class is analyzed as having a number suffix, it triggers plural grammatical agreement

- (5.83) hane namogi-i Ø-o poki-l=da-n.  
 hane.snake nose-PL 3PL-COP.R black-PL=NVPC-SG.M  
 ‘The hane snake has a black nose on it.’ (140501-005:9.704) SE+GJ, LA
- (5.84) y-gi<i><ma>bi namogi-i w-ei=de-i hapini-gal  
 2PL-bend.in.half.I<PL><IPFV> nose-PL REL-PL=3-PL potato-PL  
 yot-ua-i.  
 DEM-DIST-PL  
 ‘You (pl) break the noses of those yams there.’ (140313-071:189.534) GE-[namogi], LA

Due to this behavior, the general forms of nouns like *namogi* ‘nose’ can be described as *semantically general* (they occur in contexts where the referent is singular or plural) but *grammatically plural* (because they always trigger plural agreement). The explicitly-singular form (e.g. *namogi*l) always triggers singular agreement and only occurs in contexts where the referent is singular.

#### 5.4.1.4 Controller class 4: Semantic agreement GF (2 forms)

Some nouns in Yeri have two forms, one of which is a general form that triggers semantic agreement. While the form of the general form itself can occur in contexts with both singular and plural referents, it is possible to determine whether it refers to a singular or a plural referent based on the agreement it triggers on other elements. Table 5.7 lists a few nouns which belong to this class.<sup>21</sup>

Table 5.7: Nouns with two forms, one of which is a general form that triggers semantic agreement

| gloss                   | general form | explicit form    |
|-------------------------|--------------|------------------|
| ‘sago palm, sago jelly’ | yati         | yati-egal, yawal |
| ‘bilum’                 | heya         | heya-gil         |
| ‘mayi yam’              | mayi         | mayi-gal         |

Examples (5.85) and (5.86) illustrate the general form *heya* ‘bilum’ occurring in contexts where only one string bag is being referred to. In example (5.85), singular feminine agreement with the noun occurs on the first person genitive pronoun and the third person singular feminine subject prefix *w-* occurs on the verb *or* ‘lie, sleep’. In example (5.86), singular masculine agreement with the noun occurs on the genitive pronoun and the third person singular masculine subject prefix *n-* occurs on the same verb.

<sup>21</sup>The noun *yati* ‘sago palm, sago jelly’ has two possible plural forms, see section 5.4.2.15. While the acceptability of more than one plural form is not uncommon in Yeri, the noun *yati* is somewhat unusual in that the two plural forms refer to distinct senses of the noun (i.e. *yawal* refers to the sago palms, and *yategal* refers to sago jelly).

- (5.85) heya w- $\emptyset$ =hem w-or yot-u- $\emptyset$ .  
 bilum REL-SG.F=1SG 3SG.F-lie.R DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘My bag is there.’ (140424-067:9.232) DE, LA

- (5.86) heya w-n=hem n-or yot-u-n.  
 bilum REL-SG.M=1SG 3SG.M-lie.R DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
 ‘My bag is there.’ (140424-067:24.636) GJ, LA

However, the general form can also occur in contexts where more than one string bag is being referred to, as in (5.87), where plural agreement is shown by the third person plural subject prefix  $\emptyset$  on the verb *or*, or (5.88), where plural possessee agreement is triggered on the genitive pronoun and plural object agreement is triggered on the verb *owil* ‘take’.

- (5.87) heya wia-i  $\emptyset$ -or yot-u-i.  
 bilum two-F 3PL-lie.R DEM-MDIST-PL  
 ‘Two bags are there.’ (140424-067:158.022) DE, LA
- (5.88) te-i  $\emptyset$ -w-nobia hebi, “y-i<i><me>wil heya w-ei=ye-m.”  
 3-PL 3PL-3SG.F-talk.R 1PL 2PL-take.I<PL><IPFV> bilum REL-PL=2SG-PL  
 ‘They told us, “You (pl) get your bilums.”’ (120520-000:438.594) RNS, AS

The explicitly-plural form of nouns in this class do not occur as frequently as the general forms. However, when more than one string bag is being referred to, it is acceptable for the explicitly-plural form *heyagil* to occur. This form always triggers plural agreement, as shown by the third person plural subject prefix on the verb *or* ‘lie, sleep’ in example (5.89).

- (5.89) heya-gil  $\emptyset$ -or yot-u-i.  
 bilum-PL 3PL-lie.R DEM-MDIST-PL  
 ‘The bags are there.’ (140424-067:28.895) PE+GE-[heyagil], LA

#### 5.4.1.5 Controller class 5: Semantic agreement GF (1 form)

Some nouns like *malgil* ‘bee’ have a single invariant form which always occurs regardless of whether the referent is singular or plural in number. This invariant form can be understood as a general form which triggers singular or plural agreement based on semantic number. For this reason, although the form of the general form itself does not encode semantic number, the agreement that occurs on other lexical items does explicitly encode semantic number. This is in opposition to pluralia tantum nouns (see 5.4.1.6) and singularia tantum nouns (see 5.4.1.7) whose single invariant form is best understood as a general form that triggers grammatical number agreement (either grammatical plural agreement for pluralia tantum nouns or grammatical singular agreement for singularia tantum nouns). Some examples of nouns whose general forms trigger semantic agreement are presented in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8: Nouns with only general forms that trigger semantic agreement

| gloss               | Yeri     |
|---------------------|----------|
| ‘bee’               | malgil   |
| ‘cuscus’            | neigal   |
| ‘ginger’            | yaki     |
| ‘sanguma, sorcerer’ | wiralgil |

Examples like (5.90) and (5.91) demonstrate that the general form *malgil* occurs when only one bee is being referred to, shown by singular masculine agreement on the verbs *o* ‘be, stay, live’ and *asolkia* ‘do badly’.

- (5.90) malgil n-o                      tapo.  
bee      3SG.M-stay.R tree.hole  
‘The bee is in the hole.’ (140424-060:22.505) GJ, LA

- (5.91) wdi      malgil yot-u-n                      hiro sipeki-l. n-d-asolkia.  
usually bee      DEM-MDIST-SG.M NEG little-SG 3SG.M-MDL-do.badly.R  
‘That bee is usually not small. It’s very bad.’ (120517-001:858.860) RNS, JS

Examples (5.92) and (5.93) show that the same form *malgil* occurs when the referent is semantically plural.<sup>22</sup> In each of these examples, *malgil* triggers a third person plural subject prefix on a verb to express the fact that more than one of these bees is being discussed.

- (5.92) malgil Ø-o                      tapo.  
bee      3PL-stay.R tree.hole  
‘The bees are in the hole.’ (140424-060:67.575) GJ, LA

- (5.93) malgil wia-m ŋa-n                      Ø-o                      tapo.  
bee      two-M one-SG.M 3PL-stay.R tree.hole  
‘Three bees are in the hole.’ (140424-060:43.161) GJ, LA

Additional examples of nouns with a single general form which triggers semantic agreement include *neigal* ‘cuscus’, and *yaki* ‘ginger’. In (5.94)-(5.96), the general form *neigal* occurs with both singular and plural referents, and it is only the subject prefix on the verb which indicates whether one or more than one cuscus is being referred to.

<sup>22</sup>Examples like (5.93) are unusual in that the numeral *ŋa* ‘one’ occurs with masculine agreement while the verb *o* ‘be, stay, live’ occurs with plural agreement. This is because *ŋa* shows the same agreement as *wia* ‘two’ when it co-occurs with *wia* to express larger numerals like ‘three’ (see section 3.5.3). The numeral *wia* belongs to the G agreement class and can only show gender agreement (see section 5.5.3). For this reason, examples like (5.93) illustrate a context where different modifiers show distinct agreement with the same noun.

- (5.94) neigal n-o                      yot-u-n.  
 cuscus 3SG.M-stay.R DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
 ‘The cuscus is there.’ (140424-068:7.510) DE, LA
- (5.95) neigal w-o                      yot-u-∅.  
 cuscus 3SG.F-stay.R DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘The cuscus is there.’ (140424-068:13.490) GJ, LA
- (5.96) neigal ∅-o                      yot-u-i.  
 cuscus 3PL-stay.R DEM-MDIST-PL  
 ‘The cuscuses are there.’ (140424-068:25.750) GJ, LA

Along the same lines, the single invariant form *yaki* ‘ginger’ is used to refer to a single ginger or many gingers in examples (5.97)-(5.99). Only agreement (subject agreement on the verb *or* ‘lie, sleep’, possessee agreement on the genitive pronoun, and number agreement on the WGN adjective *lope* ‘big’) indicates whether the referent is semantically singular or plural in number.<sup>23</sup>

- (5.97) yaki w-∅=hem                      w-or                      heya.  
 ginger 3SG.F-SG.F=1SG 3SG.F-lie.R bilum  
 ‘My ginger is in the bilum.’ (140424-066:79.944) GJ, LA
- (5.98) yaki w-n=hem                      n-or                      heya.  
 ginger 3SG.F-SG.M=1SG 3SG.M-lie.R bilum  
 ‘My (large) ginger is in the bilum.’ (140424-066:86.838) GJ, LA
- (5.99) yaki w-ei=lope-i                      w-ei=hem                      ∅-or                      heya.  
 ginger REL-PL=big-PL REL-PL=1SG 3PL-lie.R bilum  
 ‘My big gingers are in the bilum.’ (140424-066:72.974) GJ, LA

#### 5.4.1.6 Controller class 6: Grammatically plural GF (1 form)

Some Yeri nouns like *hawal* ‘feet’ have a single invariant form that occurs regardless of the semantic number of the referent being referred to. For nouns like *hawal*, this general form always triggers plural number agreement. For this reason, these nouns can be understood as *semantically general* in number in that they can refer to singular or plural referents, but *grammatically plural* in number in that they always trigger plural agreement. I refer to these nouns as ‘pluralia tantum nouns’. Table 5.9 lists several examples.

<sup>23</sup>Note that the masculine gender agreement shown in example (5.98) indicates the larger than average size of the ginger. See section 5.3.4.4 for discussion of this gender variability.

Table 5.9: Pluralia tantum nouns

| gloss  | Yeri  |
|--------|-------|
| ‘hand’ | wia   |
| ‘feet’ | hawal |
| ‘name’ | losi  |
| ‘work’ | helol |

For example, *wia* ‘hand’ can refer to one hand or more than one hand. This is clear from examples like (5.100), which can be translated as involving either a singular or a plural referent.

- (5.100) te-n ki n-go<i>ba wia w-ei=de-n.  
 3-SG.M already 3SG.M-bend.in.half.R<PL> hand REL-PL=3-SG.M  
 ‘He has broken his hands.’ (140424-064:37.511) GJ, LA  
 AT: ‘He has broken his hand.’

Regardless of whether *wia* refers to one or more than one hand, it always triggers plural agreement. This can be seen in example (5.100), where it triggers plural object agreement on the verb *goba* ‘bend in half’ and plural possessee agreement on the genitive pronoun regardless of whether the referent is singular or plural. Furthermore, singular agreement is considered ungrammatical, as shown by the consultant’s rejection of example (5.101).

- (5.101) \*te-n ki n-go<he>ba wia w-∅=de-n.  
 3-SG.M already 3SG.M-bend.in.half.R<SG.F> hand REL-SG.F=3-SG.M  
 ‘He has broken his hand.’ (140424-064:52.086) GJ, LA

Other examples are provided in (5.102)-(5.106) with the pluralia tantum nouns *hawal* ‘feet’ and *losi* ‘name’. Each of these nouns has a single invariant form which triggers plural agreement regardless of the semantic number of the referent. In example (5.102), the pluralia tantum noun *hawal* triggers plural agreement on the pronominal clitic =*dai* acting as an index in the possessive ‘have’ construction (see section 4.6.5), and it triggers plural object marking on the verb *asor* in example (5.103). Similarly, the pluralia tantum noun *losi* triggers plural agreement on genitive pronouns, the numeral *ŋa* ‘one’, and the verb *ania* in (5.104)-(5.106).

- (5.102) Yirkuri hawal ya ki lute-i=da-i.  
 Yirkuri feet ya already sore-PL=NVPC-PL  
 ‘Yirkuri’s foot has a sore.’ (140424-059:7.160) DE, LA

- (5.103) yomial nadi aro m-oki hawal m-asor-e-i.  
 slow very go.R 1SG-use.R feet 1SG-rinse.R-AUG-PL  
 ‘I went slowly and cleaned my legs.’ (120621-003:346.283) RNS, AS

- (5.104) nebal yot-u-n                      mawu      losi    w-ei=de-n.  
 tree   DEM-MDIST-SG.M mawu.tree name REL-PL=3-SG.M  
 ‘That tree there, mawu is its name.’ (140424-059:16.862) GJ, LA
- (5.105) niawega wanesi,              losi    ŋa-i      h-eiwere-wa-n                      habalda.  
 lizard    wanesi.lizard name one-PL 1PL-name.R-AUG-SG.M habalda.lizard  
 ‘Lizard wanesi, another name we call it is habalda.’ (2010-DR000068:210.654)  
 RNS, JS
- (5.106) n-a<me>nia-i                      n-a<me>nia-i                      n-a<me>nia-i  
 3SG.M-call.R<IPFV>-PL 3SG.M-call.R<IPFV>-PL 3SG.M-call.R<IPFV>-PL  
 n-w-a<me>nia                      losi    w-ei-hebi      Poloyolpa      Yipuda.  
 3SG.M-1PL-call.R<IPFV> name REL-PL=1PL Yolpa.village Yapunda.village  
 ‘He called them, he called them, he called our names, Yolpa and Yapunda.’  
 (120524-005:636.480) RNS, JS

#### 5.4.1.7 Controller class 7: Grammatically singular GF (1 form)

A small class of nouns in Yeri have a single invariant form which occurs regardless of whether the referent is singular or plural and which always triggers singular agreement. For this reason, this form can be understood as a general form in that its occurrence does not tell a listener anything about the semantic number of the referent. However, the general form is grammatically singular in that it always triggers singular number agreement even when referring to a plural referent. Analogous to pluralia tantum nouns, these nouns are called ‘singularia tantum nouns’, and should be understood as *semantically general* but *grammatically singular* invariant general forms.

The noun *wona* ‘moon, month’ occurs in examples like (5.107), where only one month is being discussed as well as in examples like (5.108), where multiple months are referred to. Regardless of the number of months, *wona* always triggers singular masculine agreement as evidenced by the subject prefix on the verb *or* ‘lie, sleep’ and agreement with the numeral *ŋa* ‘one’ in (5.107) and (5.108).

- (5.107) wona ŋa-n      ko    n-or                      kua.  
 moon one-SG.M still 3SG.M-lie.R still  
 ‘One month still remains.’ (140424-071:43.197) GJ, LA
- (5.108) wona sapiten ko    n-or                      kua.  
 moon many    still 3SG.M-lie.R still  
 ‘Many months still remain.’ (140424-071:60.180) GJ, LA



### 5.4.2 Number morphemes

Nouns which can occur with number morphemes can be divided into 15 inflectional classes, determined by the number morphemes that occur with the noun.<sup>24</sup> Due to the complexity of number allomorphy in Yeri, I make frequent reference to a distinction between lexical allomorphs, a lexically conditioned form of a morpheme, and phonological allomorphs, a phonologically conditioned form of a morpheme. Where I use the term ‘allomorph’, I make no reference to possible conditioning factors and only indicate that a form is one possible way to realize a morpheme. Finally, it is common in Yeri for lexical allomorphs to have phonological allomorphs. By this I mean that a specific subclass of nouns selects a phonological allomorph of a specific lexical allomorph on the basis of phonological form. More detailed discussion regarding my use of these terms is provided in section 1.7.4).

Nouns which participate in the nominal number system in Yeri can therefore be classified into inflectional classes based on the singular and/or plural allomorph selected. Within each inflectional class, the phonological form of the noun may select for additional phonological allomorph of the lexical allomorphs associated with that inflectional class. For example, nouns in inflectional class 1 are lexically specified for the inflectional class 1 allomorph *-(e)gVl*. Depending on the phonological form of the inflectional class 1 noun, one of three phonological allomorphs (*-gal*, *-gil*, or *-egal*.) may be selected.

A summary of the inflectional classes, including examples, is provided in Table 5.10.<sup>25</sup> Note that in this table, and the other tables throughout this section, forms listed in the singular column include both general forms which trigger grammatical singular agreement, and explicitly-singular forms which trigger singular agreement. Parallel to this, forms listed in the plural column include both general forms which trigger grammatical plural agreement and explicitly-plural forms which trigger plural agreement. Where additional allomorphs are included in different rows for an inflectional class, these allomorphs should be understood as phonological allomorphs.

<sup>24</sup>This analysis is based upon approximately 750 Yeri nouns which display two distinct forms. Most of these noun pairs come from elicitation, though some come directly from uses in oral or written texts. Additionally, the exact number of inflectional classes is somewhat arbitrary since the line between inflectional classes consisting of one or two members and simply specifying a noun for an irregular plural is blurry (see section 5.4.2.14).

<sup>25</sup>Note that any nouns which have a single invariant form, including nouns with a single general form that triggers semantic agreement (see section 5.4.1.5), pluralia tantum nouns (see section 5.4.1.6), singularia tantum nouns (see section 5.4.1.7), are not discussed here.

Table 5.10: Yeri inflectional classes

|                       | suffix(es) | singular | plural        | gloss                    |
|-----------------------|------------|----------|---------------|--------------------------|
| Inflectional class 1  | -gal       | puyu     | puyu-gal      | ‘rock, money’            |
|                       | -gil       | huba     | huba-gil      | ‘hawk’                   |
|                       | -egal      | neigran  | neigran-egal  | ‘a green parrot’         |
| Inflectional class 2  | -hegal     | lelia    | lelia-hegal   | ‘limbum’                 |
| Inflectional class 3  | -megal     | wobla    | wobla-megal   | ‘wobla tree’             |
| Inflectional class 4  | -pegal     | warha    | warha-pegal   | ‘hip bone’               |
| Inflectional class 5  | -agia      | pogi     | pogi-agia     | ‘base of sago main stem’ |
| Inflectional class 6  | -aguei     | harkibi  | harkibi-aguei | ‘harkibi snake’          |
| Inflectional class 7  | -eti, -wil | wori-eti | wori-wil      | ‘woriet̩ bird’           |
|                       | -ta, -wil  | haike-ta | haike-wil     | ‘white cockatoo, white’  |
|                       | -ti, -wil  | pro-ti   | pro-wil       | ‘ash, grey’              |
| Inflectional class 8  | -la, -bia  | nanu-la  | nanu-bia      | ‘fish’                   |
|                       | -l, -lbia  | hano-l   | hano-lbia     | ‘tree grub’              |
| Inflectional class 9  | -l         | puet̩    | puet̩-l       | ‘betel nut’              |
| Inflectional class 10 | -l, -i     | hilogi-l | hilogi-i      | ‘arm’                    |
| Inflectional class 11 | -ti        | yewal-ti | yewal         | ‘eye’                    |
| Inflectional class 12 | -i         | hiwol    | hiwol-i       | ‘breadfruit’             |
| Inflectional class 13 | -ia        | wual     | wual-ia       | ‘pig’                    |
| Inflectional class 14 | -gi        | nebal    | nebal-gi      | ‘tree’                   |
| Inflectional class 15 | -l-gal     | lapaki   | lapaki-l-gal  | ‘tongs’                  |
|                       | -l-gil     | tita     | tita-l-gil    | ‘tita cane’              |

The majority of Yeri nouns belong to inflectional class 1. Due to the overwhelming frequency of the inflectional class 1 lexical allomorph, as well as its application to borrowed words in Yeri, this is considered the default inflectional class. Any noun not lexically specified for an inflectional class is placed in this class by default and selects for a phonologically conditioned phonological allomorph of the inflectional class 1 allomorph (i.e. *-gal*, *-gil*, or *-egal*). This is discussed at length in section 5.4.2.1.

Inflectional class 2, inflectional class 3, and inflectional class 4 include nouns which select for the plural lexical allomorphs, *-hegal*, *-megal*, and *-pegal* respectively, discussed in section 5.4.2.2. These allomorphs are formally similar to the inflectional class 1 allomorph *-(e)gVl*, but are not phonologically predictable. For this reason, they are classified as separate lexical allomorphs.<sup>26</sup>

Inflectional class 5 nouns, discussed in section 5.4.2.3, and inflectional class 6 nouns, discussed in section 5.4.2.4, suffix the plural lexical allomorphs *-agia* and *-aguei* respectively. Nouns in inflectional class 7 on the other hand suffix a singular allomorph and a plural allomorph. The singular allomorph for this class has three phonological allomorphs *-ta*, *-eti*,

<sup>26</sup>Internal and comparative evidence indicates that each of these allomorphs is historically related to the inflectional class 1 lexical allomorph.

*-ti*, while the plural allomorph has a single form *-wil*. Inflectional class 7 is described in section 5.4.2.5. Nouns in inflectional class 8 are discussed in section 5.4.2.6. These nouns suffix a singular lexical allomorph with two phonological allomorphs *-∅* and *-la* and a plural allomorph with a single form *-bia*.

Nouns in inflectional class 9 suffix a plural allomorph *-l*, while inflectional class 10 nouns suffix both a singular allomorph *-l* and a plural allomorph *-i*. Note that the singular allomorph suffixed to inflectional class 10 nouns is identical in form to the plural allomorph suffixed to inflectional class 9 nouns. Information on inflectional class 9 and inflectional class 10 is provided in section 5.4.2.7 and section 5.4.2.8. Inflectional class 11, described in section 5.4.2.9, contains members which suffix only a singular lexical allomorph *-ti*. For this reason, the form that triggers plural agreement is shorter than the one which triggers singular agreement.

Nouns in inflectional class 12, inflectional class 13 and inflectional class 14 suffix plural allomorphs, *-i* for inflectional class 12, *-ia* for inflectional class 13, and *-gi* for inflectional class 14. Information can be found in sections 5.4.2.10-5.4.2.12 respectively. Inflectional class 15 nouns suffix two plural allomorphs which occur simultaneously. Description is located in section 5.4.2.13. Finally, I discuss suppletion and irregular number morphemes in section 5.4.2.14 and the frequent variability of number morpheme selection shown within and across speakers in section 5.4.2.15.

#### 5.4.2.1 Inflectional class 1: *-(e)gVl*

By far the largest group of nouns in Yeri take the inflectional class 1 plural allomorph. I refer to this lexical allomorph as the *-(e)gVl* allomorph. This allomorph has three phonological allomorphs *-gal*, *-gil*, and *-egal*, the choice between which is phonologically conditioned. When an inflectional class 1 noun ends in a nasal, the *-egal* allomorph is selected. Examples are provided in Table 5.11.

Table 5.11: Class 1 phonological allomorph: *-egal*

|                  | singular | plural       |
|------------------|----------|--------------|
| ‘malowen bird’   | malowen  | malowen-egal |
| ‘a green parrot’ | neigran  | neigran-egal |
| ‘pouch’          | hoboyon  | hoboyon-egal |
| ‘carrion insect’ | maren    | maren-egal   |
| ‘hornet’         | mulun    | mulun-egal   |
| ‘baby sling’     | piam     | piam-egal    |

When the inflectional class 1 noun does not end in a nasal, it occurs with one of the monosyllabic phonological allomorphs, either *-gal* or *-gil*, based on a process of vowel

disharmony.<sup>27</sup> When the vowel in the syllable immediately preceding the plural suffix is a monophthong harmony high vowel (/i, e, u/) then the phonological allomorph with the low vowel, *-gal*, is suffixed. For the purposes of vowel disharmony, /e/ patterns with the high vowels, while /o/ does not. Examples of nouns which select for the *-gal* phonological allomorph are presented in Table 5.12.

Table 5.12: Class 1 phonological allomorph: *-gal*

|                  | singular | plural      |
|------------------|----------|-------------|
| ‘wanesi lizard’  | wanesi   | wanesi-gal  |
| ‘hayir tree’     | hayir    | hayir-gal   |
| ‘mawu tree’      | mawu     | mawu-gal    |
| ‘roof’           | wobir    | wobir-gal   |
| ‘star’           | mawasi   | mawase-gal  |
| ‘wunmike cuscus’ | wunmike  | wunmike-gal |

When the vowel in the syllable immediately preceding the plural suffix is not a monophthong harmony high vowel, the phonological allomorph *-gil* is suffixed, as shown in Table 5.13.

Table 5.13: Class 1 phonological allomorph: *-gil*

|                  | singular | plural       |
|------------------|----------|--------------|
| ‘hawk’           | huba     | huba-gil     |
| ‘tree hole’      | tapo     | tapo-gil     |
| ‘grasshopper’    | pui      | pui-gil      |
| ‘blood, red’     | henei    | henei-gil    |
| ‘legend’         | pirsakai | pirsakai-gil |
| ‘tarikrou bird’  | tarkirou | tarkirou-gil |
| ‘hatomia cuscus’ | hatomia  | hatomia-gil  |
| ‘ground wallaby’ | malual   | malual-gil   |
| ‘marpal yam’     | marpal   | marpal-gil   |

Lastly, there is a special group of nouns which can take either the *-gil* or the *-egal* phonological allomorph, illustrated by the noun *sakirou* ‘sakirou spear’ (plural: *sakirou-gil* or *sakirou-egal*). While nouns which end in the VV sequence /ou/ can be pluralized with the *-gil* monosyllabic variant of the *-(e)gVl* allomorph, as expected for inflectional class 1 nouns where the vowel in the preceding syllable is not a high monophthong, they can also be pluralized with the *-egal* phonological allomorph. A generalization can therefore be made regarding nouns which can be pluralized by the *-egal* phonological allomorph.

**The *-egal* phonological allomorph** All inflectional class 1 nouns which end in a nasal

<sup>27</sup>This vowel disharmony process is not restricted to inflectional class 1 phonological allomorphs and is discussed in greater detail in section 2.5.6.

are pluralized with *-egal*, and nouns ending in the VV sequence /ou/ can optionally be pluralized by *-egal*.

Examples of the two acceptable pluralizations for nouns ending in /ou/ are given in Table 5.14.

Table 5.14: Class 1 phonological allomorphs: *-gil* or *-egal*

| gloss             | singular                 | plural: <i>-gil</i>               | plural: <i>-egal</i>                 |
|-------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| ‘malmilou lizard’ | malmilou<br>[mál.mi.lóu] | malmilou-gil<br>[mal.mi.lóu.ᵑgil] | malmilou-egal<br>[mál.mi.ló.wé.ᵑgal] |
| ‘tarikrou bird’   | tarkirou<br>[tár.ki.róu] | tarkirou-gil<br>[tár.ki.róu.ᵑgil] | tarkirou-egal<br>[tár.ki.ró.wé.ᵑgal] |
| ‘porotou tree’    | porotou<br>[pó.ró.tóu]   | porotou-gil<br>[pó.ró.tóu.ᵑgil]   | porotou-egal<br>[pó.ró.tó.wé.ᵑgal]   |
| ‘sakirou spear’   | sakirou<br>[sá.ki.róu]   | sakirou-gil<br>[sa.ki.róu.ᵑgil]   | sakirou-egal<br>[sá.ki.ró.wé.ᵑgal]   |

#### 5.4.2.2 Inflectional class 2, 3, and 4: *-hegal*, *-megal*, *-pegal*

The plural allomorphs for inflectional class 2, inflectional class 3, and inflectional class 4 are discussed together due to the similarity in their behavior. This is not unexpected given the close similarity in the form of the plural lexical allomorph for each class: *-hegal* for inflectional class 2, *-megal* for inflectional class 3, and *-pegal* for inflectional class 4. Additionally, each of these allomorphs has a form similar to that of the inflectional class 1 lexical allomorphs *-(e)gVl*, and like the inflectional class 1 phonological allomorph *-egal*, none of these allomorphs undergo vowel disharmony.

This is easily demonstrated by considering two nouns which take the *-hegal* allomorph, *tabu* ‘shoulder’ and *nibisa* ‘nibisa sago’. The noun *tabu* ‘shoulder’ ends in a high monophthong /u/, while the noun *nibisa* ‘nibisa sago’ ends in a low vowel /a/. Both nouns take the same allomorph *-hegal* despite the difference in the height of the vowel. Table 5.15 provides additional examples of nouns which select *-hegal*.

Table 5.15: Class 2 lexical allomorph: *-hegal*

|                  | singular | plural        |
|------------------|----------|---------------|
| ‘shoulder’       | tabu     | tabu-hegal    |
| ‘nibisa sago’    | nibisa   | nibisa-hegal  |
| ‘mango’          | libi     | libi-hegal    |
| ‘wibia cuscus’   | wibia    | wibia-hegal   |
| ‘narieti greens’ | narieti  | narieti-hegal |

The inflectional class 2, inflectional class 3, and inflectional class 4 plural allomorphs are all

uncommon, with *-hegal* occurring on approximately 15 nouns in the lexical database, *-megal* occurring on five nouns, and *-pegal* occurring on only one noun. Examples of inflectional class 3 and inflectional class 4 nouns which select for *-megal* or *-pegal* are provided in Table 5.16. Speaker consensus regarding the plural forms of these nouns was checked via paradigm elicitation with several consultants.

Table 5.16: Class 3 and 4 lexical allomorphs: *-megal* and *-pegal*

|                 | singular | plural        |
|-----------------|----------|---------------|
| ‘wipila banana’ | wipila   | wipila-megal  |
| ‘lubia snake’   | lubia    | lubia-megal   |
| ‘wobla tree’    | wobla    | wobla-megal   |
| ‘palpila tree’  | palpila  | palpila-megal |
| ‘hip bone’      | warha    | warha-pegal   |

#### 5.4.2.3 Inflectional class 5: *-agia*

There are 17 nouns from the database which belong to inflectional class 5. These nouns suffix a plural lexical allomorph *-agia*. It is worth noting that all nouns which suffix *-agia* either (i) end in /r/ (e.g. *mor* ‘mor sago palm’) or (ii) have /k/ or /g/ as a last consonant (e.g. *pogi* ‘base of sago main stem’, *sapaluka* ‘sapaluka snake’).<sup>28</sup> However, these generalizations are not sufficient to predict which nouns are members of inflectional class 5 given the many nouns in other inflectional classes which also end in /r/ or have a /k/ or /g/ last consonant. As described in section 2.5.2, /e/ is deleted when followed by a vowel-initial morpheme. This is what happens with nouns like *pogi* ‘base of sago main stem’ which end in /e/ (here realized as [i], see section 2.1.2.1). When these nouns occur with the plural allomorph *-agia*, the word-final /e/ is deleted and the plural form is pronounced as /pogagia/ [pɔ<sup>ɰ</sup>ga<sup>ɰ</sup>gia]. Table 5.17 lists several members of inflectional class 5.

Table 5.17: Class 5 lexical allomorph: *-agia*

|                          | singular  | plural         |
|--------------------------|-----------|----------------|
| ‘paluagi fish’           | paluagi   | paluagi-agia   |
| ‘palpaluka fish’         | palpaluka | palpaluka-agia |
| ‘duar tree’              | duar      | duar-agia      |
| ‘mor sago palm’          | mor       | mor-agia       |
| ‘base of sago main stem’ | pogi      | pogi-agia      |
| ‘sapaluka snake’         | sapaluka  | sapaluka-agia  |

<sup>28</sup>‘Last consonant’ here is not used to mean word final consonant, but rather the last consonant that occurs in the word. This consonant may or may not be followed by vowels.

#### 5.4.2.4 Inflectional class 6: *-agwei*

Inflectional class 6 includes approximately 22 nouns from the database. Nouns in this class suffix the plural lexical allomorph *-agwei*. Like inflectional class 5, all of the nouns which select for *-agwei* conform to a phonological generalization, though this generalization is not sufficient to predict membership in this inflectional class. All inflectional class 5 nouns either (i) end in a nasal or (ii) have a bilabial last consonant.<sup>29</sup> Examples of nouns in inflectional class 5 are listed in Table 5.18. Note the deletion of /e/ before the vowel-initial allomorph *-agwei* (see section 2.5.2).

Table 5.18: Class 6 lexical allomorph: *-agwei*

|                 | singular | plural        |
|-----------------|----------|---------------|
| ‘baby sling’    | piam     | piam-agwei    |
| ‘siagipa plant’ | siagipa  | siagipa-agwei |
| ‘sago dust’     | hom      | hom-agwei     |
| ‘poren fly’     | poren    | poren-agwei   |
| ‘nobi fish’     | nobi     | nobi-agwei    |
| ‘guria pigeon’  | palmian  | palmian-agwei |
| ‘woniami bird’  | woniami  | woniami-agwei |
| ‘wirima tree’   | wirima   | wirima-agwei  |

#### 5.4.2.5 Inflectional class 7: *-(e)tV*, *-wil*

Inflectional class 7 nouns suffix a singular lexical allomorph and a plural lexical allomorph. Approximately 30 nouns in the database belong to this class. While the singular lexical allomorph for this class *-(e)tV* has three phonological allomorphs (*-ti*, *-ta*, and *-eti*), the plural lexical allomorph has a single form *-wil*. Most nouns in this class occur with the default phonological allomorph *-ti*. However, noun roots which end in a high vowel select the phonological allomorph *-eti* and noun roots which end in /ke/ select the infrequent phonological allomorph *-ta*.<sup>30</sup> Examples of inflectional class 7 nouns are given in Table 5.19.

<sup>29</sup>‘Last consonant’ here is not used to mean word final consonant, but rather the last consonant that occurs in the word. This consonant may or may not be followed by vowels.

<sup>30</sup>Note there is one noun which proves an exception to these rules (e.g. *hoketi* rather than *\*hoketa*). This must be lexically specified.

Table 5.19: Class 7 lexical allomorphs:  $-(e)tV$  and  $-wil$ 

|                         | singular   | plural     |
|-------------------------|------------|------------|
| ‘wild pitpit’           | wagi-etɪ   | wagi-wil   |
| ‘worietɪ bird’          | wori-etɪ   | wori-wil   |
| ‘neck, throat’          | hilu-etɪ   | hilu-wil   |
| ‘hodiluetɪ greens’      | hodilu-etɪ | hodilu-wil |
| ‘labuketa fish’         | labuke-ta  | labuke-wil |
| ‘white cockatoo, white’ | haike-ta   | haike-wil  |
| ‘water snake’           | monike-ta  | monike-wil |
| ‘preiketa bird, phone’  | preike-ta  | preike-wil |
| ‘flood’                 | nolka-tɪ   | nolka-wil  |
| ‘ash, grey’             | pro-tɪ     | pro-wil    |
| ‘cloud, fog’            | yika-tɪ    | yika-wil   |

#### 5.4.2.6 Inflectional class 8: $-l(V)$ , $-(l)bia$

There are only five nouns in the database which belong to this inflectional class.<sup>31</sup> These nouns occur with the singular lexical allomorph  $-l(V)$  and the plural lexical allomorph  $-(l)bia$ . The singular lexical allomorph has two phonological allomorphs  $-la$  and  $-l$ , and the plural lexical allomorph also has two phonological allomorphs  $-bia$  and  $-lbias$ . Nouns which belong to this inflectional class are listed in Table 5.20.

Table 5.20: Class 8 lexical allomorphs:  $-l(V)$  and  $-(l)bia$ 

|               | singular | plural     |
|---------------|----------|------------|
| ‘bottom’      | neige-la | neige-bia  |
| ‘limbum palm’ | nage-la  | nage-bia   |
| ‘fish’        | nanu-la  | nanu-bia   |
| ‘tree grub’   | hano-l   | hano-lbia  |
| ‘thief’       | wayia-l  | wayia-lbia |

Nouns whose roots end in a monophthong harmony high vowel, like *nanula* ‘fish’ or *nagela* ‘limbum palm’, suffix the singular phonological allomorph  $-la$  and the plural phonological allomorph  $-bia$ . Nouns whose roots do not end in a monophthong harmony high vowel, like *hanol* ‘tree grub’, suffix the singular phonological allomorph  $-l$  and the plural phonological allomorph  $-lbias$ .<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup>Note that one irregular noun *hulula/hululpia* ‘sago grub’ is historically related to the nouns in this class.

<sup>32</sup>Alternatively, I could analyze nouns that end in /l/ in this class as occurring (i) with only a plural suffix  $-bia$  or (ii) with a singular suffix  $-\emptyset$  and a plural suffix  $-bia$ . However, given the frequency with which  $-l$  occurs as a singular suffix and as plural suffix, and how Yeri nouns frequently suffix more than one plural suffix, I have chosen to analyze these nouns with a singular suffix  $-l$  and a plural suffix  $-lbias$ .



### 5.4.2.7 Inflectional class 9: *-l*

Inflectional class 9 selects for a plural allomorph *-l* and includes about 80 nouns. Several of these nouns are listed in Table 5.21.

Table 5.21: Class 9 lexical allomorph: *-l*

|                     | singular | plural    |
|---------------------|----------|-----------|
| ‘butterfly’         | yolkaga  | yolkaga-l |
| ‘branch’            | pala     | pala-l    |
| ‘coconut’           | nati     | nati-l    |
| ‘ant’               | pareki   | pareki-l  |
| ‘part of a coconut’ | helu     | helu-l    |
| ‘older sister’      | woga     | woga-l    |

Nouns like *pala* ‘branch’ and *nati* ‘coconut’ are easily classified into this class. However, at first glance, nouns which end in /ga/ (e.g. *yolkaga* ‘butterfly’, plural form: *yolkagal*) could potentially be analyzed as inflectional class 1 nouns which selected for the *-gal* phonological allomorph. However, since *-gal* is selected based on a process of vowel disharmony (see section 2.5.6), this alternative analysis can be ruled out.<sup>33</sup>

### 5.4.2.8 Inflectional class 10: *-l, -i*

Inflectional class 10 nouns always occur with a number allomorph, either a singular allomorph *-l* or a plural lexical allomorph *-i*. The singular allomorph for inflectional class 10 nouns is identical in form to the plural allomorph for inflectional class 9 nouns. For this reason, large numbers of suffixed nouns end in *-l*, and speakers must know the opposing form before they can interpret whether the suffixed *-l* is a singular or plural allomorph. Note that /e/ (here realized as [i], see section 2.1.2.1) is deleted when followed by a vowel-initial morpheme (see section 2.5.2). For this reason, nouns like *lobehi* ‘rib, side’ are pronounced as /lobehi/ [lɔ<sup>m</sup>bɛuqi] in the plural where the word-final /e/ is deleted. Table 5.22 lists several examples of inflectional class 10 nouns.

<sup>33</sup>Additional evidence from stress also serves to clarify membership in inflectional class 9 as opposed to membership in inflectional class 1. This is because suffixing a phonological allomorph of the inflectional class 1 allomorph *-(e)gVl* almost always results in stress falling on a different syllable in the plural form of the noun. The only exceptions to this stress shift are nouns which show word-final stress in their non-pluralized form.

Table 5.22: Class 10 lexical allomorphs: *-l* and *-i*

|                 | singular    | plural      |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------|
| ‘rib, side’     | lobehi-l    | lobehi-i    |
| ‘wild fig tree’ | hobehi-l    | hobehi-i    |
| ‘arm’           | hilogi-l    | hilogi-i    |
| ‘tulip tree’    | homnugi-l   | homnugi-i   |
| ‘nose’          | namogi-l    | namogi-i    |
| ‘door’          | yobaliagi-l | yobaliagi-i |

#### 5.4.2.9 Inflectional class 11: *-ti*

This class consists of two body part terms, both of which occur in pairs and are listed in Table 5.23. Nouns in this class suffix only a singular lexical allomorph *-ti*. For this reason, the form that triggers plural number agreement is shorter than the form which triggers singular agreement.

Table 5.23: Class 11 lexical allomorph: *-ti*

|                | singular  | plural |
|----------------|-----------|--------|
| ‘eye’          | yewal-ti  | yewal  |
| ‘husband, ear’ | megual-ti | megual |

#### 5.4.2.10 Inflectional class 12: *-i*

Inflectional class 12 includes those nouns which suffix only a plural lexical allomorph *-i*. This class of nouns is relatively small with only about ten nouns in the lexical database falling into inflectional class 12. Table 5.24 lists several examples. Note that the form that triggers singular agreement for most nouns in this class ends in a final alveolar approximant. However, this phonological generalization cannot predict membership in this inflectional class because (i) nouns like *nebo* ‘dog’ do not end in a final alveolar approximant and (ii) many nouns which do end in a final alveolar approximant belong to other inflectional classes.

Table 5.24: Class 12 lexical allomorph: *-i*

|                    | singular | plural  |
|--------------------|----------|---------|
| ‘breadfruit’       | hiwol    | hiwol-i |
| ‘dog’              | nebo     | nebo-i  |
| ‘conch shell’      | nal      | nal-i   |
| ‘post’             | pikel    | pikel-i |
| ‘sago flour’       | hur      | hur-i   |
| ‘overripe coconut’ | haper    | haper-i |

#### 5.4.2.11 Inflectional class 13: *-ia*

Nouns in inflectional class 13 select for the plural lexical allomorph *-ia*. This class is small, with only three nouns in the database being classified as inflectional class 13. For two of these nouns, the form that triggers singular agreement ends in /e/. When the inflectional class 13 allomorph *-ia* is suffixed, this /e/ is deleted as described in section 2.5.2. Table 5.25 provides examples of nouns in inflectional class 13.

Table 5.25: Class 13 lexical allomorph: *-ia*

|            | singular | plural  |
|------------|----------|---------|
| ‘mushroom’ | lobe     | lobe-ia |
| ‘leaf’     | hare     | hare-ia |
| ‘pig’      | wual     | wual-ia |

#### 5.4.2.12 Inflectional class 14: *-gi*

Members of inflectional class 14 select for the plural lexical allomorph *-gi*. Most of these nouns end in /a/, but this is not sufficient to predict membership in inflectional class 14. There are very few members of this class, most of which are presented in Table 5.26.

Table 5.26: Class 14 lexical allomorph: *-gi*

|               | singular | plural     |
|---------------|----------|------------|
| ‘sea shell’   | halpina  | halpina-gi |
| ‘tree’        | nebal    | nebal-gi   |
| ‘small knife’ | malki    | malki-gi   |
| ‘clavicle’    | huma     | huma-gi    |

#### 5.4.2.13 Inflectional class 15: *-l-(e)gVl*

There are about a dozen inflectional class 15 nouns in the database. Unlike the previous classes, inflectional class 15 nouns are unusual in suffixing two plural allomorphs. Nouns in inflectional class 15 first suffix the plural lexical allomorph *-l* (the plural allomorph for inflectional class 9 nouns) followed by the plural lexical allomorph *-(e)gVl* (the plural allomorph for inflectional class 1). The *-(e)gVl* lexical allomorph has three phonological allomorphs (see section 5.4.2.1). Since the *-(e)gVl* allomorph is not immediately preceded by /n/ or /ou/ in this context, a monosyllabic phonological allomorph is chosen based on vowel disharmony (see section 2.5.6). Where the vowel in the preceding syllable is a monophthong harmony high vowel, such as in *lapaki* ‘tongs’, the phonological allomorph *-gal* is selected. Nouns where this is not the case, such as *tita* ‘tita cane’, select *-gil*.

There is an interesting generalization whereby almost all of the nouns in this class which

select *-gal* end in an /i/, while all of the nouns which select *-gil* end in either /a/ or /ia/. While this commonality cannot predict that these nouns will occur in inflectional class 15 (many nouns in inflectional class 1 or inflectional class 9 also end in /i, ia, a/), it is nonetheless worth noting that the range of word-final vowels appears to be restricted for this class. Examples of nouns which fall into inflectional class 15 are listed in Table 5.27.

Table 5.27: Class 15 lexical allomorphs: *-l-(e)gVl*

|               | singular  | plural          |
|---------------|-----------|-----------------|
| ‘tongs’       | lapaki    | lapaki-l-gal    |
| ‘old’         | heya misi | heya misi-l-gal |
| ‘tita cane’   | tita      | tita-l-gil      |
| ‘nawoka vine’ | nawoka    | nawoka-l-gil    |
| ‘mustard’     | hedia     | hedia-l-gil     |

#### 5.4.2.14 Suppletion and irregular number morphemes

The 15 inflectional classes presented here are the largest classes. Remaining nouns include those which have a suppletive plural form (e.g. *tumani* ‘building’, plural: *lapi*), nouns whose plural forms unpredictably contain more than one plural suffix (e.g. *moti* ‘pot’, plural: *molwilgal*), or those few nouns which form their plural by a lexical allomorph specific to one or two nouns (e.g. *nol* ‘bird’, plural: *nolmi*). The line between the 15 inflectional classes already described and nouns like *tumani*, *moti*, and *nol* is arbitrary.

For example, it would be simple to list these suppletive and irregular plurals as additional inflectional classes which include only one or two members, similar to what has already been done with the inflectional class 4 allomorph *-pegal* or the inflectional class 11 allomorph *-ti*. These nouns must be lexically specified for a number allomorph (or a suppletive form) just as the 15 inflectional classes described here must be. The plural forms for several of the most frequently used nouns which do not fall into one of the 15 inflectional classes previously described are listed in Table 5.28.

Table 5.28: Suppletion and irregular number morphemes

|                  | singular   | plural      |
|------------------|------------|-------------|
| ‘bird’           | nol        | nol-mi      |
| ‘shell’          | pone       | pone-ia-l   |
| ‘cane’           | hate       | hate-ia-l   |
| ‘pot’            | moti       | mol-wil-gal |
| ‘daughter, son’  | nego, nejo | nogolgoi    |
| ‘building’       | tumani     | lapi        |
| ‘garden’         | tihelo     | helol       |
| ‘younger sister’ | wiyawi     | weiyawi     |
| ‘older brother’  | winoga     | mogal       |

For less frequently used nouns which do not fall in one of the 15 inflectional classes described, unpredictable number forms are provided in the noun’s lexical entry in the Yeri-English or English-Yeri abridged dictionaries.

#### 5.4.2.15 Variation in number morpheme selection

Lastly, there is a great deal of variation both within and across speakers regarding number morphemes. While speakers always provide the same plural form for certain nouns like *hoketi* ‘breadfruit’ or *hanol* ‘tree grub’, it is common for nouns to show some degree of variability in one of their forms. For instance, when explicitly-plural forms are elicited, it is common for two consultants to provide different plural forms for the same noun. Furthermore, if explicitly plural forms are elicited from the same consultant at different times, it is not uncommon for the consultant to provide different forms at different times. Often, one of these forms involves a plural phonological allomorph from inflectional class 1, though this is not the only possible way that forms may vary. For instance, *yomiliagi* ‘small fly’ may occur with the plural allomorphs *-i* or *-agia*.

One tendency that should be pointed out involves the plural forms of nouns ending in a liquid. While this is not very common, speakers will sometimes provide plural forms for these nouns which occur with the plural phonological allomorph *-egal* from inflectional class 1. While this phonological allomorph is usually restricted to nouns in inflectional class 1 which end in a nasal or /ou/, some speakers will suffix it to nouns which end in a liquid (e.g. *hayir* ‘hayir tree’). This use is not surprising from a diachronic perspective since comparative evidence from Agi, which was recorded while in the field, points to the loss of word-final vowels in Yeri following sonorants and the initial /e/ of *-egal* is a reflex of these lost vowels. Several examples of nouns which show variation in their plural form are listed in Table 5.29.

Table 5.29: Variation in number morpheme selection

|                  | singular  | plural variant | plural variant |
|------------------|-----------|----------------|----------------|
| ‘habaha stone’   | habaha    | habaha-gil     | habaha-l       |
| ‘pincher’        | hiloka    | hiloka-gil     | hiloka-l       |
| ‘carrion insect’ | maren     | maren-egal     | maren-aguei    |
| ‘habrogil tree’  | habrogil  | habrogil-gal   | habrogil-hegal |
| ‘croton’         | hatipo    | hatipo-gil     | hatipo-hegal   |
| ‘hayir tree’     | hayir     | hayir-gal      | hayir-egal     |
| ‘water snake’    | moniketa  | moniketa-gil   | monike-wil     |
| ‘small fly’      | yomiliagi | yomiliagi-l    | yomiliagi-agia |
| ‘parka tree’     | parka     | parka-l        | parka-gil      |
| ‘poren fly’      | poren     | poren-egal     | poren-aguei    |

Additionally, there is often variation in whether a particular noun has more than one form. While there is a consensus from consultants that certain nouns like *hewi* ‘lime’ have a single invariant form, many nouns show variation in this respect. When this happens, it is often the case that the plural form provided involves a plural phonological allomorph from inflectional class 1.<sup>34</sup>

## 5.5 Agreement

Both gender and number agreement in Yeri are complex and depend on several factors like (i) whether the form of the noun is a general form or an explicit form (see section 5.4.1), (ii) whether the entity is human, a higher-level animal, a lower-level animal, or inanimate (see section 5.3.1), (iii) the natural sex of the entity (see section 5.3.4.1), (iv) the shape and size of the entity (see section 5.3.4.2), (v) whether the form of the noun triggers semantic or grammatical agreement (see section 5.4.1), (vi) whether the speaker wishes to emphasize the larger or smaller than average size of a referent (see section 5.3.4.4.), and (vii) whether the noun occurs in a coordinated nominal phrase (see section 6.7.4). The factors concerning gender agreement are discussed in section 5.3.1 and the factors concerning number agreement are discussed in section 5.4.1. These factors are not described further in this section. Here I focus only on presenting a brief overview of which lexical items which can occur with morphemes to show agreement (person, gender, or number).

In addition to some nouns (see section 5.3.2 and section 5.4.2), Yeri morphemes that indicate gender and number can occur on a variety of other word classes including adnominals (see section 3.5), copula words (see section 3.6), verbs (see section 3.2), prepositions (see

<sup>34</sup>This type of variation can make classifying nouns into one of the six classes described in section 5.4.1 difficult.

section 3.10), and conjunctions (see section 3.11).<sup>35</sup> However, not all members within each of these word classes can show the same agreement. Furthermore, not all members in each word class show the same agreement possibilities. For some word classes, a single member exceptionally agrees in gender and/or number (e.g. the conjunction *nia*).<sup>36</sup> For this reason, I have chosen not to divide discussion in this section on the basis of word class. Instead, I present description on the basis of agreement possibilities.

When word classes are considered as a whole, lexical items can be broadly categorized into five agreement classes on the basis of their agreement possibilities.<sup>37</sup> Each class is named based on which types of agreement can occur on the lexical item, with P for person agreement, G for gender agreement, and N for number agreement. Those lexical items that cannot show agreement are referred to as the I agreement class for ‘invariant’. The five agreement classes can be described as follows:

**PGN agreement class** lexical items that can show some form of person, gender, and number agreement

**GN agreement class** lexical items that can only show some form of gender, and number agreement

**G agreement class** lexical items that can only show some form of gender agreement

**N agreement class** lexical items that can only show some form of number agreement

**I agreement class** lexical items that are invariant and cannot show agreement

When viewed from this perspective, it is much simpler to describe the behavior of each agreement class. Lexical items can then be listed according to the agreement class they belong to. Membership in each agreement class can be summarized as follows:

**PGN agreement class** verbs, personal pronouns, genitive pronouns

**GN agreement class** the preposition *danua*, the conjunction *nia*, ideophones, and the following adnominals: WGN adjectives, GN adjectives, the numeral *ŋa* ‘one’, the quantifier *peigilia*, and the demonstrative root *yot-*

<sup>35</sup>Information on the exact gender and/or number morphemes that can occur with each lexical item can be found in the corresponding lexical entry in the Yeri-English or English-Yeri glossaries.

<sup>36</sup>Cross-linguistically it has been noted that “...even within a lexical class it may be necessary to label certain members as exceptionally agreeing in gender or failing to agree in gender.” (Corbett 1991: 135).

<sup>37</sup>Note that there are two unusual lexical items, *maga* ‘what, who, which’ and *malmal* ‘how many, how much’, which show an additional distinction based on whether the controller is human. The agreement behavior for these forms is described in section 12.3.2 and section 12.3.4 respectively, in the chapter on questions. I do not discuss them further in this section.

**G agreement class** the numeral *wia* ‘two’

**N agreement class** N adjectives, most copula words, and the quantifier *sapiten* ‘many’

**I agreement class** clause particles, degree words, adverbs, exclamatives, subordinators, a small subset of copula words, all conjunctions except *nia*, the preposition *wɗi*, the demonstrative *yaʔa*, the interrogative word *mal*, and the lexical item *nadi* ‘only’

I describe in more detail the lexical items which belong to each agreement class in the remainder of this section, with the PGN agreement class discussed in section 5.5.1, the GN agreement class in section 5.5.2, the N agreement class in section 5.5.4, the G agreement class in section 5.5.3, and the I agreement class in section 5.5.5. An overview of specific contexts showing agreement mismatch, optional agreement, or a lack of agreement where agreement might be expected is presented in section 5.5.6, while the parallels in agreement targets across word classes are discussed in section 5.5.7. Finally, in section 5.5.8, I describe several generalizations relating to the notion of ‘default gender’ in Yeri.

### 5.5.1 The PGN agreement class: Person, gender, and number agreement

There are three groups of lexical items which make up the PGN agreement class: verbs, personal pronouns, and genitive pronouns. I discuss these in section 5.5.1.1, section 5.5.1.2, and section 5.5.1.3 respectively.

#### 5.5.1.1 Verbs

Verbs can show person, gender, and number agreement. Since chapter 7 is devoted to verbs, I provide only a brief overview of agreement on verbs in this section. This agreement can be summarized as follows:

**First and second person subject prefixes** show only number agreement.

**First person object prefixes** show only number agreement.

**Second person object prefixes** do not show gender or number agreement.

**Third person subject prefixes** show gender and number agreement.

**Third person object affixes** show gender and number agreement.

For detailed information on verbal agreement, please see section 7.3 in the chapter on verbs.



### 5.5.1.2 Personal pronouns

Detailed information on personal pronouns and their occurrence with number morphemes has been previously discussed in this chapter in section 5.4.1.1. For this reason, this section only briefly presents an overview of gender and number morphemes and their occurrence on personal pronouns.

**First and second person personal pronouns** show only number agreement, either via suppletion or a plural suffix.

**Third person personal pronouns** show gender and number agreement, with gender only being distinguished in the singular.

### 5.5.1.3 Genitive pronouns

Here I describe the range of agreement with the possessor and with the possessee that occurs on genitive pronouns. It is important to note that genitive pronouns are composed of the relational clitic (see section 3.5.5) and a personal pronoun (see section 3.3). As mentioned in section 5.5.1.2, personal pronouns can show person, gender, and number agreement (with gender being distinguished only in the singular). The relational clitic can only show gender and number agreement. This agreement behavior can be summarized as follows:

**Genitive pronouns** are composed of (i) the relational clitic which shows gender and number agreement with the possessee and (ii) personal pronouns which show gender and number agreement with third person possessors, but only number agreement with non-third person possessors. When predicate morphemes do not occur on the relational clitic, the gender of the possessee is neutralized for phonological reasons when the possessor is third person.

I first discuss possessor agreement which is based on the form of the personal pronoun in section 5.5.1.3, before turning to possessee agreement which occurs on the relational clitic in section 5.5.1.3.

**Possessor agreement on genitive pronouns** Genitive pronouns are made up of a relational clitic and a personal pronoun referring to the possessor. When these personal pronouns function as part of a genitive pronoun, they show the same gender and number agreement as they usually do. Specifically, first and second person personal pronouns only permit number agreement. Third person personal pronouns, on the other hand, permit gender and number agreement, with gender only being distinguished in the singular. Agreement is

shown via suffixes,  $-\emptyset$  for singular feminine,  $-n$  for singular masculine, and  $-i$  or  $-m$  for plural agreement. The form of each personal pronoun when it co-occurs with the relational clitic as part of a genitive pronoun is provided in Table 5.30. Note that the form of third person pronouns varies when they occur as part of a genitive pronoun. In their typical use, they begin with a /t/ (i.e. *te*, *ten*, *ti*, *tem*), but when they are preceded by the relational clitic as part of a genitive pronoun, they begin with a /d/ (i.e. *de*, *den*, *di*, *dem*).

Table 5.30: Personal pronoun form as part of genitive pronouns

|       | SG  | PL      |
|-------|-----|---------|
| 1     | hem | hebi    |
| 2     | ye  | yem     |
| 3SG.F | de  | ti, tem |
| 3SG.M | den |         |

Examples (5.109)-(5.111) demonstrate the range of agreement for third person possessors, with example (5.109) demonstrating singular masculine agreement with the male possessor (Colin), example (5.110) demonstrating singular feminine agreement with the female possessor (Bethsiba), and example (5.111) demonstrating plural agreement with the plural possessor (Yolpa people).

- (5.109) h-atr-e-n                  Colin n-odi- $\emptyset$                   hiwora w- $\emptyset$ =de-n                  ta  
 1PL-see.R-e-SG.M Colin 3SG.M-and.R-SG.F wife          REL-SG=3-SG.M FUT  
 $\emptyset$ -o.  
 3PL-stay  
 ‘We saw Colin with his wife sitting.’ (120520-000:222.474) RNS, AS
- (5.110) Bethsiba paki ki                  w-ar                  ania- $\emptyset$                   w-odi                  meguar  
 Bethsiba paki already 3SG.F-go.to.R where-SG.F 3SG.F-and.R husband  
 w- $\emptyset$ =de- $\emptyset$ ?  
 REL-SG=3-SG.F  
 ‘Bethsiba, where did she go with her husband?’ (120607-002:113.102) GE-[ba], JS
- (5.111) Poloyolpa=de-i                  w-nobia                  hanogil w- $\emptyset$ =de-i.  
 Yolpa.village=NVPC-PL 3PL-talk.R ground REL-SG=3-PL  
 ‘Yolpa people said that the land was theirs.’ (120524-005:54.960) RNS, JS

When genitive pronouns occur in the alienable possessive construction with a nominal phrase referring to the possessor (see section 6.4.3), gender and number agreement with the nominal phrase is optional. Furthermore, it is particularly common for the third person pronoun *te* to occur in a reduced form, written as *di*, when agreement does not occur, and the non-reduced form, written as *de*, when agreement does occur. For instance, example (5.112) shows singular feminine agreement with *tumani* ‘building’ and the non-reduced form occurs.

- (5.112) helol w-ei=de- $\emptyset$  tumani hiro helol sipeki-i. helol w-ei=lopi-lope-i.  
 work REL-PL=3-SG.F building NEG work little-PL work REL-PL=RED-big-PL  
 ‘The big work for building the house is not simple work. It is very hard work.’  
 (120522-002:333.456) RNS, JS

The third person pronoun occurs in its reduced form *dī* in (5.113) with the singular feminine possessor *Bethsiba*, in (5.114) with the singular masculine possessor *Colin*, and in (5.115) with the plural possessor *yalmi hamei* ‘ancestors’.

- (5.113) ta megual w- $\emptyset$ =dī Bethsiba n-a<me>na, ...  
 FUT husband REL-SG=3 Bethsiba 3SG.M-come.R<IPFV> ...  
 ‘If Betsiba’s husband comes, ...’ (120615-000:530.900) RNS, LA
- (5.114)  $\emptyset$ -o<i>mo hawal w-ei=dī Wilkei.  
 3PL-eat<PL>.R feet REL-PL=3 Wilkei  
 ‘It was burning Wilkei’s leg.’ (120405-000:116.238) RNS, AS  
 CI: This refers to a time when fire, a noun which normally triggers plural agreement, burned Wilkei’s leg. When fire burns, it is expressed by the verb *oga* ‘eat’.
- (5.115) te-i  $\emptyset$ -nobia halma hanogil w- $\emptyset$ =dī yalmi hamei.  
 3-PL 3PL-talk.R land ground REL-SG=3 grandparent people  
 ‘They talk about the land boundaries of our ancestors.’ (120503-000:924.721) RNS, JS

**Possessee agreement on genitive pronouns** Gender and number agreement with third person possessors occurs via suffixes ( $-\emptyset$  for singular feminine,  $-n$  for singular masculine, and  $-i$  for plural) on the relational clitic preceding the personal pronoun.<sup>38</sup> For instance, in example (5.116), the gender of the nouns *nigo* ‘daughter’ and *nigon* ‘son’ is shown on the relational clitic, with *wyem* ‘your’ indicating feminine gender and *wnebi* ‘our’ indicating masculine gender.

- (5.116) nigo- $\emptyset$ -go w- $\emptyset$ =yem ta w-ode-n nigo-n-gon  
 child-SG.F-RED REL-SG.F=2PL FUT 3SG.F-and.R-SG.M child-SG.M-RED  
 w-n=hebi w-ormia.  
 REL-SG.M=1PL 3SG.F-stay.R.IPFV  
 ‘Your (pl) daughter will stay with our son.’ (120608-003:432.139) RNS, JS

Similarly, in (5.117) the form of the genitive pronoun shows masculine gender agreement with the possessee *yawi* ‘tail’, while in example (5.118) the form of the genitive pronoun shows feminine gender agreement with the possessee *wopakal* ‘bow’.

<sup>38</sup>Acceptable forms of genitive pronouns appear to only exist for third person possessors. No genitive pronoun forms were ever provided in natural discourse involving first or second person possessors and any attempts to elicit forms like these were unsuccessful or were judged ungrammatical.

- (5.117) n-okɪ yawi w-n=ye  
 2SG-use.R tail REL-SG.M=2SG  
 ‘You (sg) use your (sg) tail.’ (120611-004:417.234) RNS, JS  
 CI: A mother cuscus talks to her baby.

- (5.118) wopakal w-∅=ye paki w=ilua-∅ mai?  
 bow REL-SG.F=2SG paki REL=bad-SG.F Q  
 ‘Is your (sg) bow bad?’ (120606-012:66.512) RNS, JS

Examples (5.119)-(5.121) illustrate plural agreement with the possessee on several genitive pronouns. In example (5.119), the possessee is *losi* ‘name’, a pluralia tantum noun and the first person singular genitive pronoun shows plural agreement on the relational clitic. In example (5.120), the possessee is the nominal phrase *mimi nogi* which is plural, and the first person plural genitive pronoun shows plural possessee agreement on the relational clitic. Example (5.121) illustrates a third person genitive pronoun showing plural agreement with the pluralia tantum noun *hawal* ‘feet’.

- (5.119) losi w-ei=hem Ansela.  
 name REL-PL=1SG Ansela  
 ‘My name is Ansela.’ (120405-000:4.850) RNS, AS
- (5.120) ta mimi nogi w-ei=hebi yot-a-∅ ∅-nobia<me>bia.  
 FUT mother ASSOC REL-PL=1PL DEM-PROX-SG.F 3PL-talk.R<IPFV>  
 ‘Our mothers now will speak.’ (120601-012:112.964) RNS, YW
- (5.121) kolkol-ma hawal w-ei=de-n.  
 shout-IPFV feet REL-PL=3-SG.M  
 ‘He shouted for his leg.’ (1404045-000:122.175) RNS, AS

When the possessor is third person, there is a neutralization in the possessee gender contrast due to the prenasalization of voiced plosives after vowels. It is not possible to distinguish prenasalization of the /d/ from the singular masculine morpheme *-n* that occurs on the relational clitic. In examples (5.122) and (5.123), [wi<sup>n</sup>den] ‘his (masculine or feminine possessee)’ is the phonetic realization regardless of the gender of the possessee. In example (5.122), the possessee is female *hiwora* ‘wife’, while in example (5.123), the possessee is male, *nigon* ‘son’.

- (5.122) ta minɔ<sup>m</sup>bia uɣiwɔra wi<sup>n</sup>den jɔtun.  
 ta m-nobia hiwora w-∅=de-n yot-u-n.  
 FUT 1SG-talk.R wife REL-SG.F=3-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
 ‘I will tell his wife.’ (120420-000:2294.740) RNS, LA

- (5.123) ni<sup>ŋ</sup>gən                      wi<sup>n</sup>dən                      jətun                      ki                      ni<sup>n</sup>dərə.  
 nigo-n-gon                      w-n=de-n                      yot-u-n                      ki                      n-dore.  
 child-SG.M-RED REL-SG.M=3-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M already 3SG.M-get.up.R  
 ‘For his son there has come back to life.’ (120517-001:1042.532) RNS, JS

However, it is incorrect to say that possessee gender is never indicated when the possessor is third person. Evidence from the predicate use of these genitive pronouns shows that the possessee gender distinction is maintained where additional morphemes separate the possessee gender morpheme from the initial /d/ in the third person personal pronoun possessor. Examples (5.124) and (5.125) are provided to demonstrate the acceptability of possessee gender agreement when an additional predicate morpheme intervenes. See section 4.6.3.4 and section 8.3.1 for discussion of the predicate use of genitive pronouns and the use of predicate morphemes with genitive pronouns respectively.

In example (5.124), singular feminine agreement with the possessee *halma* ‘land’ can be distinguished on the genitive pronoun because the imperfective morpheme separates - $\emptyset$  from the third person personal pronoun *de*. Parallel to this, singular masculine agreement with the possessee *nakal* ‘father’ in example (5.125) is distinguished on the genitive pronoun because the imperfective morpheme separates -*n* from the third person personal pronoun *de*.

- (5.124) halma sipeki-l yot-u- $\emptyset$                       ki                      w- $\emptyset$ -ma=de-i                      mai?  
 land little-SG DEM-MDIST-SG.F already REL-SG.F-IPFV=3-PL Q  
 ‘That piece of land there it will be theirs now?’ (120709-007:1046.545) GE-[wmadi], JS
- (5.125) nakal w- $\emptyset$ =di                      Colin, nebo yot-u-n,                      ki                      n-aya-ka-i  
 father REL-SG=3 Colin dog DEM-MDIST-SG.M already 3SG.M-give-AUG-PL  
 te-i w-n-ma=de-i                      mai?  
 3-PL REL-SG.M-IPFV=3-PL Q  
 ‘Colin’s father, that dog, have you (sg) given it to them and it is theirs now?’  
 (120709-007:972.760) GE-[wnmadi], JS

Given the maintenance of the distinction when a predicate morpheme intervenes, the simplest and most likely analysis is that possessee gender agreement always occurs on genitive pronouns, regardless of the person of the possessor. The distinction is simply neutralized in this one context for phonological reasons. An overview of genitive pronoun forms without predicate morphemes is presented in Table 5.31. The gender, number, and form of each personal pronoun is provided in the first two columns, and the last three columns present the genitive pronoun that results when each personal pronoun combines with the relational clitic to agree with a singular feminine possessee, a singular masculine possessee, or a plural possessee respectively.

Table 5.31: Genitive pronouns and agreement

| PSR/PSE | personal pronoun | 3SG.F                           | 3SG.M                           | 3PL                  |
|---------|------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1SG     | hem              | w- $\emptyset$ =hem             | w-n=hem                         | w-ei=hem             |
| 2SG     | ye               | w- $\emptyset$ =ye              | w-n=ye                          | w-ei=ye              |
| 3SG.F   | de- $\emptyset$  | w- $\emptyset$ =de- $\emptyset$ | w- $\emptyset$ =de- $\emptyset$ | w-ei=de- $\emptyset$ |
| 3SG.M   | de-n             | w- $\emptyset$ =de-n            | w- $\emptyset$ =de-n            | w-ei=de-n            |
| 1PL     | hebi             | w- $\emptyset$ =hebi            | w-n=hebi                        | w-ei=hebi            |
| 2PL     | yem              | w- $\emptyset$ =yem             | w-n=yem                         | w-ei=yem             |
| 3PL     | d-i              | w- $\emptyset$ =de-i            | w- $\emptyset$ =de-i            | w-ei=de-i            |
|         | de-m             | w- $\emptyset$ =de-m            | w- $\emptyset$ =de-m            | w-ei=de-m            |

### 5.5.2 The GN agreement class: Only gender and number agreement

This section presents information on lexical items which can only show gender and number agreement and are therefore classified in the GN agreement class. Where possible, I present discussion regarding an entire subclass or word class. However, it is common for only specific members of a word class to belong to a particular agreement class. Where this happens, I present discussion on specific lexical items which show this agreement pattern. Those lexical items which can only show gender and number agreement can be summarized as follows:

**WGN adjectives** show gender and number agreement via suffixes on the root. Two WGN adjectives *lope* ‘big’ and *nabe* ‘good’ also show number agreement on the preceding relational clitic.

**GN adjectives** show gender and number agreement via suffixes.

**The demonstrative *yot-*** shows gender and number agreement via suffixes.

**The numeral *ɲa* ‘one’** shows shows gender and number agreement via suffixes.

**The quantifier *peigilia* ‘some, few’** shows (infrequent) gender and (frequent) number agreement via suffixes.

**The conjunction *nia* ‘or’** shows gender and number agreement via suffixes.

**The preposition *danua* ‘for, to, at’** shows gender and number agreement via suffixes.

**The interrogative word *nia* ‘where’** shows gender and number agreement via suffixes.

**Ideophones** show (infrequent) gender and number agreement via non-verbal pronominal clitics.

A description of WGN adjectives can be found in section 5.5.2.1, GN adjectives in section 5.5.2.2, the demonstrative *yot-* in section 5.5.2.3, the numeral *ɲa* in section 5.5.2.4, and the quantifier *peigilia* in section 5.5.2.5. Information on the conjunction *nia* is located in section 5.5.2.6, and information on the preposition *danua* is located in section 5.5.2.7. Lastly, I discuss ideophones in section 5.5.2.9.

### 5.5.2.1 WGN adjectives

WGN adjectives can occur with gender and number suffixes. Since the relational clitic displays number agreement when it occurs with *lope* ‘big’ and *nabe* ‘good’, but not when it occurs with *ilua* ‘bad’, I discuss *lope* ‘big’ and *nabe* ‘good’ first. Afterwards, I describe the behavior of *ilua* ‘bad’ when it comes to gender and number agreement.

In example (5.126), the WGN adjective *lope* ‘big’ occurs in its singular feminine form when it modifies the noun *tumani* ‘building’. The same WGN adjective occurs in its singular masculine form in example (5.127) when it modifies the noun *nebal* ‘tree’. Similarly, the WGN adjective *nabe* ‘good’ occurs in its singular feminine form when it modifies the noun *tumani* ‘building’ in example (5.128) and its singular masculine form when it modifies the noun *nigon* ‘son’ in example (5.129). Note that gender is expressed by the gender morpheme suffixed to the WGN adjective,  $-\emptyset$  for feminine and  $-n$  for masculine and gender.<sup>39</sup>

- (5.126) hamei w-ei=di- $\emptyset$  tumani w- $\emptyset$ =lope- $\emptyset$ .  
 people REL-PL=3-SG.F building REL-SG=big-SG.F  
 ‘the people of the parliament’ (120621-001:256.988) RNS, AS
- (5.127) hem ta m-ada yot-a-n nebal w- $\emptyset$ =lope-n  
 1SG FUT 1SG-chop.R DEM-PROX-SG.M tree REL-SG=big-SG.M  
 yot-a-n.  
 DEM-PROX-SG.M  
 ‘I will chop this big tree here.’ (120517-001:1355.571) RNS, JS
- (5.128) ta w-o<ma>di-a- $\emptyset$  tumani w- $\emptyset$ =nabe- $\emptyset$ .  
 FUT 3PL-make.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F building REL-SG=good-SG.F  
 ‘They will build the good house.’ (120517-000:254.518) RNS, JS
- (5.129) hem nigo-n-gon w- $\emptyset$ =nabe-n.  
 1SG child-SG.M-RED REL-SG=good-SG.M  
 ‘I am a good man.’ (120518-000:298.315) RNS, JS

However, WGN adjectives are unusual in that the relational clitic that occurs with *lope* and *nabe* also occurs with number morphemes. In (5.126)-(5.129), singular number is

<sup>39</sup>Gender is not distinguished in the plural except with the numeral *wia* ‘two’ (see sections 3.5.3, 5.3.3, and 5.5.2).

indicated by  $\emptyset$  on the relational clitic. However, in examples (5.130) and (5.131), where the WGN adjectives *lope* ‘big’ and *nabe* ‘good’ show plural agreement with the pluralia tantum nouns *helol* ‘work’ and *wia* ‘way’ (see section 5.4.1.6), plural number is indicated by *-ei* on the relational clitic in addition to the plural suffix *-i* on the WGN adjective root. In other words, number suffixes occur on the relational clitic when it occurs with these two roots in addition to the gender and number suffixes that occur on the WGN adjective roots themselves.

- (5.130) *helol w-ei=lope-i yot-u-i.*  
 work REL-PL=big-PL DEM-MDIST-PL  
 ‘It’s a very big job there.’ (120416-000:319.310) RNS, JS

- (5.131) *hiro  $\emptyset$ -iria wia w-ei=nabe-i.*  
 NEG 1PL-do.I way REL-PL=good-PL  
 ‘We don’t do the good things.’ (120514-000:161.455) RNS, LA

Unlike *lope* ‘big’ and *nabe* ‘good’, the WGN adjective *ilua* ‘bad’ only shows gender and number suffixes on the WGN adjective root. Number suffixes never occur on the preceding relational clitic. This can be seen by the form of the relational clitic in examples (5.132)-(5.134). While (5.132) and (5.133) demonstrate the singular feminine and the singular masculine forms of *ilua* ‘bad’ when it modifies the nouns *tumani* ‘building’ and *hamoten* ‘man’ respectively, example (5.134) shows the plural form of *ilua* when it modifies the plural form of the noun *pikel* ‘post’. Gender and number is visibly shown by the suffixes that occur on the WGN adjective root,  $\emptyset$  for singular feminine in example (5.132), *-n* for singular masculine in example (5.133), and *-i* for plural in example (5.134). Despite this, the relational clitic does not show a difference in form between examples (5.132) and (5.133), where it modifies a singular noun, and example (5.134), where it modifies a plural noun.

- (5.132) *tumani w=ilua- $\emptyset$*   
 building REL=bad-SG.F  
 ‘the bad house’ (120524-005:386.250) RNS, JS

- (5.133) *te-n hiro hamote-n w=ilua-n.*  
 3-SG.M NEG individual-SG.M REL=bad-SG.M.  
 ‘He is not a bad man.’ (140410-049:43.376) GJ, LA

- (5.134) *hiro, n-ol-ha-i pikel-i w=ilua-i, ...*  
 NEG 2SG-cut-AUG-PL post-PL REL=bad-PL ...  
 ‘No, if you (sg) cut the bad posts, ...’ (120522-002:132.000) RNS, JS



### 5.5.2.2 GN adjectives

All GN adjectives can occur with gender and number suffixes. In example (5.135), the GN adjective *yepia* ‘empty, only’ occurs in its singular feminine form when it modifies the noun *tumani* ‘building’, while it occurs in its singular masculine form when it modifies the noun *wul* ‘water, river’ in example (5.136). It occurs in its plural form in example (5.137), where it modifies the plural form of the noun *mayi* ‘mayi yam’.

- (5.135) hiro, tumani w-∅=de-i yot-u-∅ tumani yepia-∅.  
 NEG building REL-SG=3-PL DEM-MDIST-SG.F building empty-SG.F.  
 ‘Their house there was empty.’ (120621-003:190.887) RNS, AS
- (5.136) hiro wul yepia-n hiro.  
 NEG water only-SG.M NEG  
 ‘It was not plain water.’ (120705-003:568.204) GE-[yelu=pian], JS  
 CI: It was water filled with sugar and not plain water.
- (5.137) tihelo w-∅=di Pokan n-atr-e-i mayi-gal yepia-i nadi.  
 garden REL-SG=3 Pokan 2SG-see.R-AUG-PL mayi.yam-PL empty-PL only  
 ‘In Pokan’s garden, you (sg) see there are only yams.’ (140304-012:244.836)  
 GE-[mayi], LA

Examples (5.138)-(5.140) illustrate another GN adjective showing different agreement forms depending on the noun it modifies. The GN adjective *tiawa* ‘short’ occurs in its singular feminine form with the noun *pīrsakai* ‘legend’ in example (5.138), in its singular masculine form with the noun *nebal* ‘tree’ in example (5.139), and its plural form with the noun *mayi* ‘mayi yam’ in example (5.140).

- (5.138) pīrsakai tiawa-∅ laladil nadi.  
 legend short-SG.F very only  
 ‘It’s only a short story.’ (120410-006:224.300) RNS, YW
- (5.139) nebal tiawa-n yot-u-n te-i ta ∅-ormia-n.  
 tree short-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M 3-PL FUT 3PL-stay.R.IPFV-SG.M  
 ‘That short piece of tree there, they will sit on it.’ (140307-053:232.862) GE-[ormian], JS  
 CI: *nebal* is referring to a log here.
- (5.140) mayi tia-tiawa-i yot-ua-i  
 mayi.yam RED-short-PL DEM-DIST-PL  
 ‘the very short yams there’ (140304-012:126.576) GE-[mayi], LA

### 5.5.2.3 The demonstrative *yot-*

The demonstrative root *yot-* can occur with gender and number suffixes ( $-\emptyset$  for singular feminine,  $-n$  for singular masculine agreement, and  $-i$  or  $-m$  for plural agreement). The demonstrative occurs in its singular feminine form when it modifies *tumani* ‘building’ in example (5.141), and its singular masculine form when it modifies *nebal* ‘tree’ in example (5.142). In example (5.143), the demonstrative *yot-* occurs in its plural form.<sup>40</sup>

- (5.141) yem toyomial ta aro y-ormia tumani yot-a- $\emptyset$ .  
 2PL today FUT go.R 2PL-stay.R.IPFV building DEM-PROX-SG.F  
 ‘Now you (pl) will stay in this building here.’ (120524-005:476.510) RNS, JS
- (5.142) n-ormia n-nabir nebal yot-u-n.  
 3SG.M-stay.RIPFV 3SG.M-sharpen tree DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
 ‘So he stayed and he sharpened the tree.’ (120517-001.1647.670) RNS, JS
- (5.143) neigal sipeki-i yot-u-i  $\emptyset$ -o tapo.  
 cuscus little-PL DEM-MDIST-PL 3PL-stay.R tree.hole  
 ‘Those small cuscuses live in the hole of the tree.’ (120621-004:140.425) RNS, TW

### 5.5.2.4 The numeral *ŋa*

While *wia* ‘two’ can occur with only gender suffixes, the numeral *ŋa* ‘one’ can occur with both gender and number suffixes ( $-\emptyset$  for singular feminine,  $-n$  for singular masculine, and  $-i$  for plural). Example (5.144) illustrates the singular feminine form, the singular masculine form, and the plural form of the numeral *ŋa*. In this example the singular feminine form occurs when the numeral modifies the noun *toyiki* ‘tomorrow’. When the numeral modifies the noun *wona* ‘moon, month’, the singular masculine form occurs. In the same example, when the numeral modifies the pluralia tantum noun *helol* ‘year’, it occurs in its plural form.

- (5.144) toyiki ŋa- $\emptyset$  maltai wona ŋa-n yot-u-n helol ŋa-i  
 tomorrow one-SG.F maybe moon one-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M year one-PL  
 ŋa-i ta n-ana ...  
 one-PL FUT 2SG-come.R ...  
 ‘One tomorrow maybe, one month there, or one year from now, you (sg) will come ...’ (120520-004:187.140) RNS, JS

<sup>40</sup>Note the noun *neigal* belongs to the class of nouns which have a general form that triggers semantic agreement. See section 5.4.1.5. In this example, semantic plural agreement is shown on the N adjective *sipeki* ‘little’ and the demonstrative *yot-*.

### 5.5.2.5 The quantifier *peigilia*

The quantifier *peigilia* ‘some, few’ can occur with gender and number suffixes (- $\emptyset$  for singular feminine, -*n* for singular masculine, and -*i* or -*m* for plural). Examples (5.145)-(5.147) demonstrate the three possible forms of the quantifier *peigilia* ‘some, few’, with its singular feminine form occurring in example (5.145), its singular masculine form occurring in example (5.146), and its plural form occurring in example (5.147).

- (5.145) hem ta m-y-aya puyu hirka peigilia- $\emptyset$ .  
 1SG FUT 1SG-2-give.R rock green some-SG.F  
 ‘I will give you (sg or pl) a little money.’ (140403-041:448.874) GE-[peigilia], JS
- (5.146) nanu-la peigilia-n yot-ua-n ye n-a<m>pil-a-n.  
 fish-SG some-SG.M DEM-DIST-SG.M 2SG 2SG-collect.R<IPFV>AUG-SG.M  
 ‘Some fish pieces there, you (sg) get them.’ (140403-041:112.468) GE-[peigilian], JS
- (5.147) ta ye n-o<ne>ba n-a<me>ya-ka-i hamei peigilia-i  
 FUT 2SG 2SG-shoot.R<SG.M> 2SG-give.R<IPFV>-AUG-PL people some-PL  
 $\emptyset$ -o<ne>mo.  
 3PL-eat.R.IPFV<SG.M>  
 ‘If you (sg) kill it, you (sg) will give it to some men to eat.’ (120611-004:54.500)  
 RNS, JS

### 5.5.2.6 The conjunction *nia*

Of all the conjunctions in Yeri, the conjunction *nia* ‘or’ is the only conjunction that can occur with gender and number suffixes (- $\emptyset$  for singular feminine, -*n* for singular masculine, and -*i* or -*m* for plural). Agreement is with the subject of the conjoined clause, as in (5.148) and (5.149), or with the conjuncts, as in (5.150). In example (5.148), the conjunction *nia* occurs in its singular masculine form due to the singular masculine subject, while in example (5.149), the subject is plural and the conjunction *nia* occurs in its plural form. In example (5.150), *nia* occurs in its singular feminine form when it follows the noun *niglola* ‘greens’ but occurs in its singular masculine form when it follows the noun *nanula* ‘fish’. See sections 6.7.3, 12.2.1, and 14.1.2 for more discussion on *nia* ‘or’.

- (5.148) te-n n-ar Maprik nia-n n-ar Wiwak.  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-go.to.R Maprik or-SG.M 3SG.M-go.to.R Wewak  
 ‘He went to Maprik or he went to Wewak.’ (140417-020:564.430) GJ, LA

- (5.149) te-i hamei wia-m yot-ua-i Wagin n-odi Maheina ki  
 3-PL people two-M DEM-DIST-PL Wagin 3SG.M-and.R Maheina already  
 Ø-ina nia-m hiro nia-m?  
 3PL-come.I or-PL NEG or-PL  
 ‘Those two people, Wagin and Maheina, did they come or not?’ (140417-020:1510.000) GE-[niam], LA
- (5.150) te-i la Ø-o<he>ga niglola nia-Ø nanu-la nia-n?  
 3-PL PST 3PL-eat.R<SG.F> greens or-SG.F fish-SG or-SG.M  
 ‘They eat greens or fish?’ (140417-020:1429.910) DE, LA

### 5.5.2.7 The preposition *danua*

The preposition *danua* occurs with the same gender and number suffixes found on many other classes (-Ø for singular feminine gender, -n for singular masculine gender, and -i or -m for plural number). In examples (5.151)-(5.153) *danua* occurs in its singular feminine form, its singular masculine form, and its plural form respectively.

- (5.151) toyiki maleikia Ø-a<Ø><me>repia danua-Ø.  
 tomorrow morning 1PL-boil.R<SG.F><IPFV> PREP-SG.F  
 ‘Tomorrow morning we are cooking it for her.’ (120416-000:641.740) RNS, LA
- (5.152) hiro w-ierki danua-n.  
 NEG 3SG.F-show.I PREP-SG.M  
 ‘She didn’t show it to him.’ (120517-001:231.101) RNS, JS
- (5.153) hem m-dore m-go<ne>ba nalia danua-i.  
 1SG 1SG-get.up.R 1SG-bend.in.half.R<SG.M> tongue PREP-PL  
 ‘I got up and twist my tongue at them.’ (120409-002:513.310) RNS, AS

Note that when *danua* occurs with its nominal phrase complement, agreement is not obligatory. This can be seen in example (5.154), where *danua* occurs with a singular masculine nominal phrase and without the suffix -n, as well as in example (5.155), where *danua* occurs with a plural nominal phrase and without the plural suffix -i.

- (5.154) wan n-o meno danua nigo-n-gon w-Ø=de-n.  
 heart 3SG.M-COP.R heavy PREP child-SG.M-RED REL-SG=3-SG.M  
 ‘He was worried about his son.’ (120517-001:403.567) RNS, JS
- (5.155) yuta nogual Ø-aria-da-Ø danua han-gil.  
 woman PL 3PL-do.R-AUG-SG.F PREP male-PL  
 ‘The girls do something for men.’ (120608-003:602.170) RNS, JS

### 5.5.2.8 The interrogative word *nia*

The agreement behavior of *nia* (or *ania*) ‘where’ is described in detail in section 12.3.5 in the chapter on questions. I only briefly summarize it’s behavior here. The interrogative word *nia* shows gender and number agreement with the subject via suffixes (- $\emptyset$  for singular feminine, -*n* for singular masculine, -*i* or -*m* for plural). The interrogative word shows singular feminine agreement in (5.156), singular masculine agreement in (5.157), and plural agreement in (5.158).

- (5.156) te- $\emptyset$  ki w-or ania- $\emptyset$ ?  
 3-SG.F already 3SG.F-lie.R where-SG.F  
 ‘Where did she sleep?’ (140226-002:386.263) DE, JS

- (5.157) te-n ki n-or nia-n?  
 3-SG.M already 3SG.M-lie.R where-SG.M  
 ‘Where did he sleep?’ (140226-002:369.783) DE, JS

- (5.158) te-i ki  $\emptyset$ -or ania-i?  
 3-PL already 3PL-lie.R where-PL  
 ‘Where did they sleep?’ (140226-002:381.160) DE, JS

Gender and number agreement on the interrogative word *nia* is optional with third person subjects, as in (5.159), where *ania* occurs without a plural suffix despite the plural subject.

- (5.159) te-i  $\emptyset$ -ori yati ania?  
 3-PL 3PL-hit.R sago where  
 ‘Where did they scrape sago?’ (140414-010:1047.131) DE, JS

### 5.5.2.9 Ideophones

Ideophones only rarely occur with any gender or number morphemes. However, when ideophones occur with an applicative object, it is possible for a non-verbal pronominal clitic (see section 4.2) to index the applicative object. In this context, the non-verbal pronominal clitic occurs with gender and number morphemes referring to the applicative object. Section 4.2.2 is devoted to discussion of non-verbal pronominal forms in this context.

Here I only mention the acceptability of these pronominal clitics and present examples (5.160)-(5.162) to illustrate this grammaticality. The ideophone *lulu* ‘slither’ occurs with a singular feminine form of the imperfective pronominal clitic =*mia* in example (5.160), a singular masculine form in example (5.161), and a plural form in example (8.99). In each example, the pronominal clitic refers to the applicative object of the ideophone (i.e. the location the snake is slithering towards).

- (5.160) harkanogi-l lulu=mia- $\emptyset$ .  
 snake-SG slither=IPFV.NVPC-SG.F  
 ‘The snake slithers towards her.’ (2012-E1.pdf:26) DE, JS
- (5.161) harkanogi-l lulu=mia-n.  
 snake-SG slither=IPFV.NVPC-SG.M  
 ‘The snake slithers towards him.’ (2012-E1.pdf:26) DE, JS
- (5.162) harkanogi-l lulu=mia-i.  
 snake-SG slither=IPFV.NVPC-PL  
 ‘The snake slithers towards them.’ (2012-E1.pdf:26) DE, JS

### 5.5.3 The G agreement class: Only gender agreement

The numeral *wia* ‘two’ is the only lexical item that belongs to the G agreement class as well as the only lexical item which can show gender agreement even in the plural (see section 5.3.3). The agreement behavior of *wia* ‘two’ can be summarized as follows:

**The numeral *wia* ‘two’** shows only gender agreement (never number agreement) via suffixes (-*i* for feminine gender and -*m* for masculine gender)

In example (5.163), the numeral occurs in its feminine form when it modifies the noun *miakua* ‘frog’, while it occurs in its masculine form when it modifies the noun *wona* ‘moon, month’ in example (5.164).

- (5.163) aro m-gei-ka- $\emptyset$  miakua wia-i yot-u- $\emptyset$   
 go.R 1SG-leave.R-AUG-SG.F frog two-PL DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 w-or<me> hey a mani.  
 3SG.F-lie.R<IPFV> bilum inside  
 ‘I went and put a few frogs in the bag.’ (120621-003:350.864) RNS, AS
- (5.164) wona wia-m ɣa-n ko n-or kua, yot-a-n.  
 moon two-M one-SG.M still 3SG.M-lie.R still DEM-PROX-SG.M  
 ‘There are still three months.’ (120503-000:35.035) RNS, JS

In examples (5.165) and (5.166) both feminine and masculine forms of *wia* occur when it modifies plural nouns. Example (5.165) demonstrates the feminine form of the numeral when it modifies the plural form of *yuta* ‘female’, while example (5.166) shows its masculine form when it modifies the plural form of *pikel* ‘post’. Notice that the plural forms of *yuta* and *pikel* trigger the plural forms of several other elements, namely the genitive pronoun and the verb *ar* ‘go’ in example (5.165) and the demonstrative in example (5.166). It is only the numeral *wia* which occurs with feminine or masculine agreement rather than plural agreement.

- (5.165) yuta-gi wia-i w-ei=hem ta Ø-a<me>r Wiwak.  
 woman-PL two-F REL-PL=1SG FUT 3PL-go.to.R<IPFV> Wewak  
 ‘My two sisters are going to Wewak.’ (140408-206:1402.019) DE, JS
- (5.166) pikel-i wia-m yot-u-i  
 post-PL two-M DEM-MDIST-PL  
 ‘those two posts there’ (120704-001:361.606) GE-[o meno wiam], JS

This is particularly clear in examples like (5.167), where *wia* ‘two’ occurs in its feminine or masculine form depending on the natural gender of the noun it modifies.

- (5.167) hem yuta-gi wia-i han-gil wia-m.  
 1SG woman-PL two-PL male-PL two-M  
 ‘I have two sisters and two brothers.’ (140407-198:280.296) DE, LA

#### 5.5.4 The N agreement class: Only number agreement

The N agreement class is made up of those lexical items which can only show number agreement. Members of the N agreement class are listed below:

**Copula word which have two number forms** show number agreement via suffixes.

**N adjectives** show number agreement via suffixes.

**The quantifier *sapiten* ‘many’** shows number agreement via suffixes.

**The subordinator *wɔi* ‘that, for, of’** shows number agreement via suppletion.

All members of the N agreement class show optional number agreement. To more easily understand this agreement, it is useful to make a distinction between (i) an ‘explicit agreement form’, and (ii) a ‘general agreement form’.<sup>41</sup> While an explicit agreement form always expresses agreement as determined by its morphological form, the general agreement form does not. General agreement forms can occur in contexts that are consistent with their morphological form as well as contexts that are not consistent.

All members of the N agreement class have morphologically plural forms which always indicate plural number agreement. I classify the morphologically plural forms of lexical items in the N agreement class as explicit agreement forms. Furthermore, all members of the N agreement class have morphologically singular forms which can occur in contexts where

<sup>41</sup>These terms are parallel to my use of the terms ‘explicit form’ and ‘general form’ in section 5.4.1. While explicit forms and general forms describe forms that trigger agreement, explicit agreement forms and general agreement forms are used to describe forms that are selected based on agreement.

either singular or plural number agreement is triggered. For this reason, I classify these morphologically singular forms as general agreement forms.

I present a brief overview of these agreement forms in the following sections for each subclass. Copula words are described in section 5.5.4.1, while N adjectives are described in section 5.5.4.2. The quantifier *sapiten* is described in section 5.5.4.3. The agreement forms for the subordinator *wɗi* are briefly summarized in section 5.5.4.4.

### 5.5.4.1 Copula words

Copula words occur with a verbal copula, and this verbal copula shows the same gender and number agreement possibilities as a regular verb (see section 7.3). Table 5.32 lists the most common copula words and provides information on what number morphemes can occur with each copula word. Like nouns (see section 5.4.2.15), there is a degree of variation in plural forms. Some copula words like *weli* ‘hot, painful’ or *piru* ‘brittle’ vary in whether consultants describe them having a plural form, while others like *mabirka* ‘thick’ show more than one plural form. Where some consultants describe a copula word as having no plural form, ‘invariant’ is listed in the plural column of the table alongside any plural forms that may have been provided at other times. Where more than one plural form was described as acceptable, more than one plural form is listed in the plural column.

Table 5.32: Copula words and number morphemes

| gloss                   | singular | plural                 |
|-------------------------|----------|------------------------|
| ‘dry’                   | sopeina  | sopeina-l              |
| ‘heavy’                 | meno     | meno-l                 |
| ‘ash, grey’             | pro-ti   | pro-wil                |
| ‘strong’                | bilgi-l  | bilgi-i                |
| ‘cold’                  | miaga    | miaga-l                |
| ‘green, new’            | hirka    | hirka-l                |
| ‘itchy’                 | hohagi-l | hohagi-i               |
| ‘soft, weak’            | hobi     | hobi-l                 |
| ‘thick’                 | mabirka  | mabirka-l, mabirka-gil |
| ‘blood, red’            | henei    | henei-gil              |
| ‘edge, sharp’           | silka    | silka-l                |
| ‘poki beetle, black’    | poki     | poki-l                 |
| ‘white cockatoo, white’ | haike-ta | haike-wil              |
| ‘hot, painful’          | weli     | invariant, weli-gal    |
| ‘brittle’               | piru     | invariant, piru-gal    |
| ‘thin’                  | yowelia  | invariant, yowelia-gil |
| ‘blue’                  | niwal    | invariant, niwal-gil   |
| ‘plenty’                | hahelia  | invariant              |
| ‘shine’                 | bikar    | invariant              |



For those copula words which have a single invariant form, number agreement on the copula word is not possible. These copula words belong to the I agreement class and are described in section 5.5.5. However, most copula words have a morphologically singular form and a morphologically plural form, and I turn to the number agreement of these copula words here.

While the verbal copula obligatorily shows agreement, either grammatical or semantic agreement as determined by the noun, copula words only optionally show number agreement. The most common behavior, and the preferred prescriptive behavior, is for a morphologically singular form of a copula word to occur when singular agreement is expressed on the verbal copula and for a morphologically plural form of a copula word to occur when plural agreement is expressed on the verbal copula. For instance, in example (5.169), the noun *woli* ‘side’ triggers singular semantic agreement, as demonstrated by the singular agreement with the possessee shown on the genitive pronoun, and the third person singular masculine subject prefix on the verbal copula. The morphologically singular form of the copula word (i.e. *proti*) occurs in this example.

- (5.168) nagela            yot-u-n            woli w- $\emptyset$ =de-n            n-o            pro-ti.  
 limbum.basket DEM-MDIST-SG.M side REL-SG=3-SG.M 3SG.M-COP.R ash-SG  
 ‘The side of that limbum is dusty.’ (140313-067:139.885) GE-[woli], LA

In example (5.169), the noun *woli* triggers plural semantic agreement. For this reason, the genitive pronoun shows plural agreement with the possessee, the WGN adjective *ilua* shows plural agreement, and the verbal copula shows plural subject agreement. The morphologically plural form of the copula word (i.e. *prowil*) occurs in this example.

- (5.169) nage-bia            yot-u-i            woli w-ei=de-i            w=ilua-i.             $\emptyset$ -o  
 limbum.basket-PL DEM-MDIST-PL side REL-PL=3-PL REL=bad-PL 3PL-COP.R  
 pro-wil.  
 ash-PL  
 ‘The sides of those limbings are bad. They are dusty.’ (140313-067:155.717) DE,  
 LA

Although consultants describe this as the preferred prescriptive behavior, there are examples from natural speech which illustrate that the morphologically singular form of a copula word can occur even when plural agreement is expressed on the verbal copula. This is why I refer to the morphologically singular forms of these copula words as ‘general agreement forms’ (see section 5.5.4). For instance, in example (5.170), the noun *hobi* ‘body, life’ is a pluralia tantum noun which always triggers plural grammatical agreement (see section 5.4.1.6). This plural agreement with the possessee can be seen on the genitive pronoun, and the verbal copula shows plural agreement with *hobi* ‘body, life’ via the third person

plural subject prefix  $\emptyset$ . Despite the fact that *hobi* has clearly triggered plural agreement on other lexical items (i.e. the verbal copula, genitive pronoun), the morphologically singular form of the copula word *proti* is acceptable.

- (5.170) *hobi w-ei=de-n       $\emptyset$ -o      pro-ti pro-ti.*  
 body REL-PL=3-SG.M 3PL-COP.R ash-SG ash-SG  
 ‘His body was very grey.’ (140421-152:20.764) GE-[huba dul], JS

Although it is acceptable for a morphologically singular form (the general agreement form) of a copula word to occur even when plural agreement is triggered, the reverse is ungrammatical. In other words, if the verbal copula shows singular agreement, it is unacceptable for a morphologically plural form of a copula word to occur.<sup>42</sup> This behavior can be seen by comparison of examples (5.171)-(5.174). In each example, a verbal copula and a copula word function as a nominal phrase without a noun and this nominal phrase refers to the object of the verb *atia* ‘see’.<sup>43</sup> I have enclosed the relevant nominal phrase in square brackets. In each of these examples, the agreement shown on the verbal copula via subject prefixes is semantic.

Example (5.171) illustrates the morphologically singular form of *henei* ‘red’ occurring when semantic singular agreement is expressed on the verbal copula, while example (5.172) illustrates the morphologically singular form occurring when plural semantic agreement is expressed on the verbal copula. Example (5.173) illustrates the preferred prescriptive behavior showing the morphologically plural form occurring when plural agreement is triggered on the verbal copula.

- (5.171) *hem m-atia      [n-o      henei].*  
 1SG 1SG-see.R 3SG.M-COP.R blood  
 ‘I saw the red one.’ (140408-203:173.708) DE, JS
- (5.172) *hem m-atia      [ $\emptyset$ -o      henei].*  
 1SG 1SG-see.R 3PL-COP.R blood  
 ‘I saw the red ones.’ (140408-203:182.476) DE, JS
- (5.173) *hem m-atia      [ $\emptyset$ -o      henei-gil].*  
 1SG 1SG-see.R 3PL-COP.R blood-PL  
 ‘I saw the red ones.’ (140408-203:189.380) GJ, JS

However, even though the general agreement form can occur regardless of whether singular or plural agreement is expressed on the verbal copula, the morphologically plural form is

<sup>42</sup>This is the usual behavior when morphologically plural forms are explicit agreement forms and morphologically singular forms are general agreement forms. This is the case for all N agreement class words.

<sup>43</sup>For more information on nominal phrases without nouns, see section 6.3.

only grammatical when plural agreement is expressed on the verb. When the verbal copula expresses singular agreement, the morphologically plural form is judged ungrammatical, as in (5.174).

- (5.174) \*hem m-atia [n-o henei-gil].  
 1SG 1SG-see.R 3SG.M-COP.R blood-PL  
 ‘I saw the red one.’ (140408-203:195.085) GJ, JS

#### 5.5.4.2 N adjectives

All N adjectives optionally show number agreement via suffixes. Like all members of the N agreement class, the morphologically plural forms of N adjectives can be categorized as explicit agreement forms, which always indicate plural number agreement based on their morphological form, while all morphologically singular forms of N adjectives can be classified as general agreement forms which can occur in all contexts regardless of whether singular or plural number agreement is triggered. In other words, the general agreement form of an N adjective can occur in contexts where singular or plural agreement is triggered, while the morphologically plural form, the explicit agreement form, can only occur in contexts where plural agreement is triggered. This is demonstrated in examples (5.175)-(5.178).

In example (5.175), the noun *yati* ‘sago palm, sago jelly’ triggers singular agreement, as shown by the subject prefix on *dodi* ‘stand’ and the singular masculine suffix on *yot-*. In this example, the morphologically singular form, the general agreement form, *sibelial* ‘long’ occurs.

- (5.175) yati sibelial n-dodi yot-u-n.  
 sago long 3SG.M-stand.R DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
 ‘The tall sago palm is standing there.’ (140408-205:628.794) DE, JS

In example (5.176), however, the morphologically singular form, the general agreement form *sibelial* occurs even though plural agreement is triggered by the noun *mayi* ‘mayi yam’. That plural agreement is triggered by *mayi* is clear from the plural object infix that occurs on the verb *aya* ‘plant’.

- (5.176) mayi sibelial ta n-a<i>ya Ø-akia pinyalgi-i nadi.  
 mayi.yam long FUT 2SG-plant.R<PL> 3PL-go.via.R cliff-PL only  
 ‘The long yams, you (sg) have to plant them only on the cliff.’ (140304-016:100.180)  
 GE-[mayi sibelial], LA

Although it is acceptable for the general agreement form to occur regardless of whether singular or plural agreement is triggered, the explicitly plural form *sibelialgi* is only acceptable

when plural agreement is triggered. In (5.177) and (5.178), plural agreement is triggered by the plural form of the noun *nebal* ‘tree’ and the general form of the noun *mayi* ‘yam’ respectively, and the explicitly-plural form *sibelialgi* occurs. That the general form of *mayi* triggers plural agreement in example (5.178) is clear from the plural object infix on *aya* ‘plant’ and the plural suffix *-i* on the demonstrative.

- (5.177) *likil, nebal-gi sibelial-gi.*  
 long.bamboo tree-PL long-PL  
 ‘Likil are long pieces of wood.’ (140228-012:24.193) GE-[*likil*], LA
- (5.178) *mayi sibelial-gi yot-u-i y-a<i><me>ya*  
*mayi.yam long-PL DEM-MDIST-PL 2PL-give.R<PL><IPFV>*  
*∅-a<m>kia pinyalgi-i pinyalgi-i nadi.*  
*3PL-go.via.R<IPFV> cliff-PL cliff-PL only*  
 ‘The long yams, you (pl) have to plant them only along the cliffs.’ (140304-016:166.490) GE-[*mayi sibelial*], LA

#### 5.5.4.3 The quantifier *sapiten*

Unlike the quantifier *peigilia* ‘some, few’ (see section 5.5.2.5), the quantifier *sapiten* ‘many’ has only two possible forms: a morphologically singular form and a morphologically plural form. The morphologically singular form *sapiten* is the general agreement form, while the morphologically plural form *sapiti* is the explicit agreement form. Examples (5.179)-(5.181) demonstrate the two possible forms of the quantifier *sapiten* ‘many’. The general agreement form can be seen in contexts where singular or plural agreement is triggered, as shown by (5.179) and (5.180). In example (5.179), the general agreement form modifies *wona* ‘moon, month’, a singularia tantum noun which always triggers singular agreement (see section 5.4.1.7), while in example (5.180), the general agreement form modifies the plural form of the noun *miakua* ‘frog’.

- (5.179) *wona sapiten w-odi hebi h-aria helol.*  
 moon many 1PL-and.R 1PL 1PL-do.R work  
 ‘For many months, she stayed with us to do the work.’ (120615-001:355.855) RNS, JS
- (5.180) *hebi ta h-a<m>oti-wa-i miakua-l sa-sapiten.*  
 1PL FUT 1PL-hold.R<m>-AUG-PL frog-PL RED-many  
 ‘We’ll catch many frogs.’ (120621-003:143.838) RNS, AS

The explicit agreement form can only occur when plural agreement is triggered, as in (5.181), where the noun *nogolgoi* ‘children’ always triggers plural number agreement.

- (5.181) yot-a-i            ki            nogolgoi psia    w-ar<ma>            ki  
 DEM-PROX-PL already children arrive 3PL-arrive.R<IPFV> already  
 sa-sapit-i            he-ma.  
 RED-many-PL CNT-IPFV  
 ‘Here now, the children are becoming many now.’ (120528-001:523.794) RNS, JS

#### 5.5.4.4 The subordinator *wɔ̃i*

The subordinator *wɔ̃i* (see section 14.2.1) has two possible agreement forms when it occurs with a clause to modify a nominal phrase: a singular form *wɔ̃i* and a plural form *weidi* that agrees in number with the head it modifies. The singular form can be seen in example (5.182) where it agrees with *hamoten* ‘man’, while the plural form can be seen in example (5.183) where it agrees with *hamei* ‘people’.

- (5.182) m-a<me>r            m-ar<me>nia            hamote-n            [wɔ̃i n-dodi  
 1SG-go.to.R<IPFV> 1SG-see.R<IPFV> individual-SG.M SUB 3SG.M-stand.R  
 tumani].  
 building  
 ‘I went to see a man who stands in the classroom (the headmaster).’ (120524-000:62.968) RNS, LN
- (5.183) hamei [weidi w-aga-∅            nebal yewal-ti yot-u-∅]            w-nobia ...  
 people SUB.PL 3PL-get.R-SG.F tree eye-SG DEM-MDIST-SG.F 3PL-talk.R ...  
 ‘The people who bought the cocoa beans said ...’ (120524-003:377.090) RNS, JS

Although plural number agreement is common with *wɔ̃i*, its plural form *weidi* is not obligatory with heads that trigger plural number agreement. In these contexts, the singular form is also acceptable, as in (5.184), where *wɔ̃i* occurs in its singular form with the plural noun *hamei* ‘people’. While it is acceptable for the singular form *wɔ̃i* to occur with heads that trigger plural agreement, it is not acceptable for the plural form *weidi* to occur when the head triggers singular agreement. This is the typical agreement behavior for all members of the N agreement class.

- (5.184) hamei [wɔ̃i w-nole            helol]  
 people SUB 3PL-dislike.R work  
 ‘the people that refuse to work’ (120522-001:104.899) RNS, JS

#### 5.5.5 The I agreement class: No agreement

Lexical items that belong to the I agreement class do not show agreement. I agreement class members are listed in Table 5.33. Where every member of a word class shows no agreement,

I have explicitly indicated this (e.g. all degree words) and include a single example. For word classes where only some members do not show agreement, I have explicitly indicated which lexical members can be classified within the I agreement class. For instance, all conjunctions but *nia* ‘or’ can be classified in the I agreement class. I include a single example for each class of lexical items.

Table 5.33: The I agreement class: invariant words

| word class                         | example | gloss                  |
|------------------------------------|---------|------------------------|
| some copula words                  | hahelia | ‘plenty’               |
| conjunctions (all but <i>nia</i> ) | no      | ‘or’                   |
| all clause particles               | ta      | ‘future tense’         |
| all degree words                   | moki    | ‘very’                 |
| all exclamatives                   | ake     | ‘oh’                   |
| all subordinators                  | nomal   | ‘after’                |
| the preposition                    | wdi     | ‘for, about, of, from’ |
| the demonstrative                  | yaʔa    | ‘here’                 |
| the lexical item                   | nadi    | ‘only’                 |
| the interrogative word             | mal     | ‘what, who, which’     |

### 5.5.6 Agreement mismatches, optional agreement, and no agreement

Given the complexity of Yeri agreement, much more research into this topic is needed. This section is included solely to present an overview of contexts where I have seen that (i) agreement mismatch occurs, (ii) agreement is optional, or (iii) agreement does not occur as expected.

**Agreement mismatch** It is common for agreement mismatch to occur when the numeral *wia* ‘two’ is involved. This numeral always shows gender agreement with nouns that trigger plural agreement with other elements. When the numeral *ŋa* ‘one’ co-occurs with *wia* to express a larger numeral, it shows the same gender agreement as *wia* even when the element triggers plural agreement with other elements. Examples are provided in (5.185) and (5.186) where the numeral *ŋa* ‘one’ shows singular feminine with the plural noun *nogolgoi* ‘children’ and the third person plural pronoun respectively. See sections 3.5.3.1, 5.3.3 and 5.5.3 for discussion of this phenomenon.

- (5.185) hem nogolgoi wia-m ŋa-n.  
 1SG children two-M one-SG.M  
 ‘I have three children.’ (140312-052:212.119) DE, LA

- (5.186) te-i wia-i ŋa-Ø Ø-arkou Ø-ana Ø-ormia Yomalbiena.  
 3-PL two-F one-SG.F 3PL-ascend.R 3PL-come.R 3PL-stay.R.IPFV Yomalbiena  
 ‘Three of them came up and are staying at Yomalbiena.’ (120712-003:545.374)  
 RNS, PM

**Optional agreement** The exact range of contexts where agreement is optional is unclear. This section presents an overview of those contexts where I have evidence that agreement is optional. Where optional agreement has been previously discussed, a cross-reference to the relevant section is listed. Where it has not been discussed, I present discussion here.

First, several word classes show optional agreement when they are immediately followed by the nominal phrase with which they are agreeing. For instance, it is acceptable for Yeri verbs to occur without third person object indexes when they co-occur with an object nominal phrase. While this is not common with object infixes, it is common with object suffixes or augmented suffixes (see section 7.8.2 for an overview, and section 6.7.2 for discussion specifically on *ode* ‘and, with’). It is also common for the preposition *danua* ‘for, to, at’ to show optional agreement when it is immediately followed by its nominal phrase (see section 5.5.2.7), and for genitive pronouns to show optional possessor agreement when they co-occur with a nominal phrase referring to the possessor in the alienable possessive construction (see section 5.5.1.3).

Second, members of the N agreement class have a general agreement form that can occur regardless of whether singular or plural agreement is triggered. Agreement appears to always be optional with these lexical items. See section 5.5.4 for discussion.

Third, there are some contexts where lexical items show optional gender or number agreement with first or second person referents. This is discussed in the following section which focuses on agreement with first or second person referents.

**Agreement with first or second person referents** More research is needed into the agreement behavior of members of the GN agreement class with first or second person referents. While some members do not appear to permit gender agreement with the natural sex of a first or second person singular pronoun (e.g. the preposition *danua* ‘for, to, at’), some members can (e.g. WGN adjectives, GN adjectives, the interrogative word *nia* ‘where’). Examples (5.187) and (5.188) show the preposition *danua* occurring without agreement morphemes when its nominal phrase is the second person pronoun *ye*.

- (5.187) hem ta m-ormia tupi danua ye.  
 1SG FUT 1SG-stay.R.IPFV top for 2SG  
 ‘I will sit on top for you.’ (120517-001:219.825) RNS, JS  
 CI: The addressee is male.

- (5.188) te- $\emptyset$  ki w-y-oniga pari-eti  $\eta$ a- $\emptyset$  danua ye.  
 3-SG.F already 3SG.F-2-sing.R song-SG one-SG.F PREP 2SG  
 ‘She sang a song about you.’ (140219-010:1186.611) PE+GE JS  
 CI: The addressee is female.

Examples (5.189) and (5.190) illustrate gender agreement with the addressee occurring on the WGN adjective *nabe* ‘good’.

- (5.189) ye w- $\emptyset$ =nabe- $\emptyset$  mai?  
 2SG REL-SG=good-SG.F Q  
 ‘Are you good?’ (140407-198:437.980) DE, LA  
 CI: The consultant specified that this would be addressed to a female.

- (5.190) ye w- $\emptyset$ =nabe-n mai?  
 2SG REL-SG=good-SG.M Q  
 ‘Are you good?’ (140407-198:455.775) DE, LA  
 CI: The consultant specified that this would be addressed to a male.

However, more detailed investigation into some GN agreement class members demonstrate that gender agreement with first or second person pronouns is optional for at least some of these lexical items. For instance, the interrogative word *nia* ‘where’ (see section 12.3.5) can show gender agreement with first or second person referents. When it occurs with a masculine suffix *-n*, it indicates that the referent is male, as in (5.191). However, a form without a masculine suffix could refer to a male or a female, as in (5.192). It is unclear at this time if this is the case for all GN agreement class members that can show gender agreement with first or second person referents, or if this differs depending on the lexical item, word class, subclass, or domain where agreement occurs. More research is necessary.<sup>44</sup>

- (5.191) ye n-eiwa nia-n?  
 2SG 2SG-be.from.R where-SG.M  
 ‘Where are you (sg) from?’ (140414-010:1274.061) DE, JS  
 CI: The addressee is male.

- (5.192) ye n-eiwa nia?  
 2SG 2SG-be.from where  
 ‘Where are you (sg) from?’ (140414-010:1271.159) DE, JS  
 CI: The speaker can be male or female.

<sup>44</sup>This issue is complicated by the fact that even in contexts where agreement is clearly optional, such as with the interrogative word *nia* ‘where’, there is a tendency for consultants to interpret or translate forms without agreement morphemes as referring to singular feminine referents. For this reason, only carefully contextualized elicitation or corpus examples from contexts clearly referring masculine referents can shed light on this issue.



Detailed research into the acceptability of number agreement on GN agreement class members with first or second person plural referents is also necessary. While evidence indicates that number agreement on the interrogative word *nia* ‘where’ is ungrammatical with first or second person plural referents (see section 12.3.5), evidence shows that number agreement is acceptable with some other GN agreement class members (e.g. WGN adjectives, GN adjective, demonstratives). Example (5.193) demonstrates the ungrammaticality of plural agreement on *nia* with the second person plural addressee, while example (5.194) demonstrates the acceptability of number agreement on the demonstrative *yot-* with the second person plural referent *yem*.

- (5.193) \*ye-m ki y-ar nia-i?  
 2SG-PL already 2PL-go.to.R where-PL  
 ‘Where have you (pl) gone?’ (140226-002:639.498) GJ, JS

- (5.194) te-n wan n-y-o yem yot-ua-i yalmi hamei nogolgoi.  
 3-SG.M heart 3SG.M-2-stay.R 2PL DEM-DIST-PL grandparent people children  
 ‘He’s thinking about you all, the grandchildren.’ (120416-000:1264.690) RNS, JS

At this time, it is unclear exactly which specific GN agreement class members permit number agreement with first or second person plural referents, and which, like the interrogative word *nia* ‘where’ do not. Furthermore, it is unclear which GN agreement class members show this number agreement obligatorily and which show this agreement only optionally. More research is needed.

**Agreement does not occur as expected** There are a few unusual examples in the corpus which show a member of the GN agreement class without gender or number morphemes despite occurring with an element that normally triggers agreement. This was only discovered at the end of the third field trip and there was not enough time to investigate the phenomenon. At this time, it is unclear whether examples like these are best analyzed as speech errors, instances demonstrating simplification of the language given its endangered status, or contexts where agreement is not required. If more research were to determine that examples like these are in fact common, then, rather than stating specific contexts where agreement is optional with GN agreement class members as I have done in this grammar, a better analysis might parallel N agreement class members and specify a form as a general agreement form. This general agreement form could then be analyzed as always acceptable, or acceptable in specific contexts at least, regardless of the type of agreement triggered.

Several examples where agreement might be expected, but which show what could be analyzed as a general agreement form or a form without agreement morphemes are provided in (5.195)-(5.198). In example (5.195), the interrogative word *maya* ‘what, who, which’

occurs without a singular masculine suffix *-n* despite the noun *hamoten* triggering masculine agreement on other the verb *aya* ‘give’. Similarly, in example (5.196), *maŋa* occurs without a plural suffix *-i* despite the noun *wopsilil* triggering plural agreement on the demonstrative *yot-*.

- (5.195) *hamote-n maŋa [ta h-aya-ka-n]?*  
 individual-SG.M what FUT 1PL-give.R-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘Which person will we vote for?’ (120621-001:468.171) RNS, TW
- (5.196) *wopsilil maŋa yot-a-i [te-i yot-a-i ø-o<he>ga]?*  
 yams what DEM-PROX-PL 3-PL DEM-PROX-PL 3PL-eat.R<SG.F>  
 ‘What kind of these yams did they here eat?’ (120712-003:191.804) RNS, PM  
 LT: ‘It was what type of yams that they ate?’

In example (5.197), the second person genitive pronoun does not occur with a singular masculine morpheme to express agreement with the possessee *wopakal* ‘bow’ even though it triggers singular masculine agreement on the WGN adjective *ilua* ‘bad’.<sup>45</sup> The reverse is shown in example (5.198), where the second person genitive pronoun shows masculine agreement with *wopakal*, while the WGN adjective does not occur with a singular masculine morpheme.<sup>46</sup>

- (5.197) *wopakal w=ye paki w=ilua-n mai?*  
 bow REL=2SG paki REL=bad-SG.M Q  
 ‘Is your bow bad?’ (140407-198:1015.445) GJ, LA
- (5.198) *wopakal w-n=ye paki w=ilua mai?*  
 bow REL-SG.M=2SG paki REL=bad Q  
 ‘Is your bow bad?’ (140407-198:912.080) DE, LA  
 CI: The consultant immediately repeats this example with a singular masculine morpheme occurring on *ilua*. He clearly indicates that the example is better with masculine agreement on *ilua*. However, he also judges the utterance acceptable without singular masculine agreement on *ilua*.

<sup>45</sup>This form is glossed without the singular feminine morpheme *-ø* to explicitly signal the lack of agreement that appears to be occurring here. However, it could have alternatively been glossed with the singular feminine morpheme *-ø* since this is the form that occurs in other contexts when the possessee is feminine.

<sup>46</sup>The WGN adjective *ilua* has been glossed without the singular feminine suffix *-ø* to explicitly signal the lack of agreement that appears to be occurring here. However, *ilua* could have alternatively been glossed with the singular feminine suffix because this is the form that occurs in other contexts where the element triggering agreement is feminine.

### 5.5.7 Agreement target parallels across word classes

There is a great degree of overlap across word classes in agreement targets, ‘the element whose form is determined by agreement’ (Corbett 2003). A large number of lexical items belonging to different word classes occur with the same gender and number morphemes,  $-\emptyset$  for singular feminine,  $-n$  for singular masculine, and  $-i$  or  $-m$  for plural.<sup>47</sup>

Table 5.34 is provided to illustrate this similarity in agreement targets across various members of different word classes.<sup>48</sup> Note that the plural morpheme  $-m$  is listed in the table for completeness. In actual usage, this morpheme is very rare. Furthermore, there is some variation in speaker judgements on the acceptability of certain lexical items with  $-m$  and acceptability of the morpheme on one lexical item in a class or subclass does not indicate acceptability of the morpheme on all members of that class. For example, only the WGN adjective *ilua* ‘bad’ permits the plural morpheme  $-m$ . The other WGN adjectives *lope* ‘big’ and *nabe* ‘good’ were judged ungrammatical with  $-m$ .

Table 5.34: Agreement target parallels across word classes

| word class, subclass | which members                  | SG.F: $-\emptyset$    | SG.M: $-n$ | PL: $-i$   | PL: $-m$   |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|------------|------------|------------|
| personal pronouns    | third person                   | te- $\emptyset$       | te-n       | te-i       | te-m       |
| verbs                | with suffixes                  | aga- $\emptyset$      | aga-n      | aga-i      | aga-m      |
|                      | with augmented suffixes        | aya-ka- $\emptyset$   | aya-ka-n   | aya-ka-i   | aya-ka-m   |
| adnominals           | demonstrative <i>yot-</i>      | yota- $\emptyset$     | yota-n     | yota-i     | yota-m     |
|                      | WGN adjectives                 | wilua- $\emptyset$    | wilua-n    | wilua-i    | wilua-m    |
|                      | GN adjectives                  | tiawa- $\emptyset$    | tiawa-n    | tiawa-i    | tiawa-m    |
|                      | the quantifier <i>peigilia</i> | peigilia- $\emptyset$ | peigilia-n | peigilia-i | peigilia-m |
|                      | the numeral <i>ŋa</i>          | ŋa- $\emptyset$       | ŋa-n       | ŋa-i       | *ŋa-m      |
| nouns                | some overt gender nouns        | nigo- $\emptyset$     | nigo-n     | nigo-i     | unknown    |
| prepositions         | only <i>danua</i>              | danua- $\emptyset$    | danua-n    | danua-i    | danua-m    |
| conjunctions         | only <i>nia</i>                | nia- $\emptyset$      | nia-n      | nia-i      | nia-m      |

It’s also worth noting that there is a great deal of evidence that the verbal object infixes (see 7.3.3.1) are historically related to the agreement targets shown here, though there is no object infix corresponding to the plural  $-m$ .

<sup>47</sup>Although the table focuses on those gender and number morphemes which occur across the largest number of lexical items, other number suffixes can occur on more than one word class. For instance, plural  $-gi$ ,  $-(e)gVl$ ,  $-l$ , or singular  $-l$  also occur on more than one word class (e.g. nouns and adnominals, or nouns and copula words).

<sup>48</sup>This table is by no means complete. I include it here simply to illustrate that these morphemes occur on a large number of lexical items from various word classes.

### 5.5.8 The ‘default’ gender

While the occurrence of feminine gender as the ‘default’ or ‘unmarked’ gender appears to be uncommon cross-linguistically (Corbett 1991, 2007; Newell 2005), Aikhenvald (2012) does describe feminine gender as the “functionally unmarked choice in a few languages scattered around the world” (Aikhenvald 2012: 41). In this section, I present evidence that Yeri is one such language. With this in mind, however, it is important to specify exactly what is meant by the notion of ‘default gender’ since the idea of ‘default’ can be applied to distinct issues in the realm of gender (e.g. the gender that most nouns in the language are assigned, the gender that coinages or borrowings are assigned, the gender used to refer to unknown referents, the gender used to refer to non-typical controllers, the gender used to refer to a mixed group including more than one gender, etc.). More research is necessary to address all of the various ways in which the notion of ‘default’ could apply within the Yeri gender system. For reasons of time, I limit myself to describing four generalizations which indicate that the feminine gender can be analyzed as the ‘default’ gender in at least certain contexts.<sup>49</sup>

These generalizations are: (i) feminine gender agreement is most often phonologically null where masculine gender agreement is not, (ii) generic statements typically use the feminine gender, (iii) unknown referents in contexts which are not stereotypically or traditionally gendered typically take feminine gender, and (iv) there is a syncretic relationship between the third person feminine subject prefix *w-* and a common third person plural subject prefix *w-*. In the remainder of this section, I discuss each generalization in turn.

First, the most common realization of feminine gender agreement in Yeri is phonologically null, while masculine gender agreement is not phonologically null. This can be seen in the form of the demonstrative *yot-* in examples like (5.199) and (5.200). The natural sex of the pig is clear from the subject agreement shown on the verb *ohorkil* ‘flee’. Where the pig is male, the demonstrative *yot-* occurs with *-n*. Where the pig is female, the demonstrative *yot-* occurs with *-∅*.

- (5.199) wual yot-u-n                      n-o<me>horkil.  
           pig    DEM-MDIST-SG.M 3SG.M-flee.R<IPFV>  
           ‘The male pig is running away.’ (140407-191:1130.355) DE, LA

- (5.200) wual yot-u-∅                      w-ohorkil.  
           pig    DEM-MDIST-SG.F 3SG.F-flee.R  
           ‘The female pig ran away.’ (140407-191:1114.684) DE, LA

<sup>49</sup>As Corbett (2007: 273) states “defaults of different types may or may not line up together.” In other words, there is no reason to assume that the ‘default’ gender in all contexts will always be the same gender. While feminine gender can be analyzed as ‘default’ in certain contexts in Yeri, additional research may show other areas where masculine functions as the ‘default’.

Second, when generic statements are made, it is the feminine gender that is almost always used. For instance, although *nanula* ‘fish’ typically shows masculine gender, in statements referring to fish more generally, without a particular species in mind, feminine gender often occurs, as shown in example (5.201). Furthermore, nouns like *mada* ‘thing’ and *lolewa* ‘thing’ which frequently refer to unspecified items show feminine gender. This can be seen in examples (5.202) and (5.203), where the demonstrative *yot-*, the genitive pronoun *webi* ‘our’, and the verb *owil* ‘take’ all show feminine gender agreement with these nouns.

- (5.201) nanu-la w- $\emptyset$ =nabe- $\emptyset$ .  
 fish-SG REL-SG=good-SG.F  
 ‘Fish is good.’ (120416-000:699.900) RNS, JS
- (5.202)  $\emptyset$ -or mada yot-u- $\emptyset$ .  
 3PL-lie.R thing DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘It lay on that thing there.’ (120416-000:1192.120) RNS, LA
- (5.203) lolewa w- $\emptyset$ =hebi, ki te- $\emptyset$  maltai w-o<he>wil.  
 thing REL-SG.F=1PL already 3-SG.F maybe 1PL-take.R<SG.F>  
 ‘Our thing, she might get it for us’ (120620-018:271.450) RNS, JS

Third, when the gender is unknown in a context which is not stereotypically or traditionally associated with males or females, feminine gender typically occurs. This is shown in example (5.204), where the speaker is questioning the identity of something.

- (5.204) ki ma $\eta$ a- $\emptyset$  yot-u- $\emptyset$ ?  
 already what-SG.F DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘What’s that?’ (2010-B2.pdf:43) DE, LA

Note that this statement is not meant to imply that masculine gender is ungrammatical in these non-gendered contexts. Consultants consistently judge both genders as acceptable in non-gendered contexts where the gender is unknown. However, when examples from natural discourse are examined, feminine gender appears much more common when the gender is unknown and the context is not typically associated with one of the genders in particular.

Examples (5.205) and (5.206) are provided to demonstrate the grammaticality of either gender in these contexts. Subject agreement on the verb *aruarkil* ‘flee’ indicates gender agreement. Note that this verb has two acceptable pronunciations written as *ohorkil* and *aruarkil*.

- (5.205) nebo yot-u- $\emptyset$  w-ar<me>uarkil.  
 dog DEM-MDIST-SG.F 3SG.F-flee.R<IPFV>  
 ‘That dog is running away.’ (140407-191:1090.028) OS, LA

- (5.206)    *nebo yot-u-n*                      *n-o<me>horkil.*  
              dog   DEM-MDIST-SG.M 3SG.M-flee.R<IPFV>  
              ‘That dog is running away.’ (140407-191:1103.750) OS, LA

Fourth, there is syncretism in the subject prefix paradigm in Yeri, where a *w-* subject prefix can indicate either a third person singular feminine subject, as in (5.207), or a third person plural subject, as in (5.208).

- (5.207)    *te-∅*    *w-or.*  
              3-SG.F 3SG.F-lie.R  
              ‘She sleeps.’ (140408-184:16.453) DE, JS
- (5.208)    *te-i*    *w-or.*  
              3-PL 3PL-lie.R  
              ‘They sleep.’ (140408-184:38.577) DE, JS

This syncretism results in many contexts where it is unclear whether the subject is being classified as third person singular feminine or third person plural. This is not surprising since in many cases, these subjects can be understood as referring to generic or unspecified groups of people and could conceptually be understood either way, especially given the optionality of explicit number marking in Yeri (see section 5.4).

## 5.6 Locative prefix *ti-*

There is an unproductive locative prefix *ti-* which occurs on a very restricted class of nouns in Yeri. All of the nouns in the corpus which can occur with this prefix are listed in Table 5.35. While I list the forms here, it is important to emphasize that the morpheme is not productive and the meanings of forms which occur with this morpheme are not completely compositional. Synchronically, many of the nouns with this prefix have lexicalized meanings. Furthermore, some nouns like *tihopi* ‘low flat area’ or *tihewar* ‘upriver’ are not judged acceptable without the morpheme.

Table 5.35: Nouns that can occur with locative *ti-*  
                                          meaning without *ti-*                      meaning with *ti-*

|                |                |                  |                                       |
|----------------|----------------|------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>mani</i>    | ‘inside’       | <i>tumani</i>    | ‘building’                            |
| <i>nogil</i>   | ‘village’      | <i>tinogil</i>   | ‘at the village, outside the village’ |
| <i>wul</i>     | ‘water, river’ | <i>tiwul</i>     | ‘at the water’                        |
| <i>hewo</i>    | ‘bottom’       | <i>tihewo</i>    | ‘downriver’                           |
| <i>piaka</i>   | ‘outside’      | <i>tipiaka</i>   | ‘outside’                             |
| <i>namiagi</i> | ‘wild’         | <i>tinamiagi</i> | ‘in the bush’                         |
|                |                | <i>tihewar</i>   | ‘upriver’                             |
|                |                | <i>tihopi</i>    | ‘at a very low flat area’             |

Examples (5.209) and (5.210) demonstrate the noun *wul* ‘water, river’ occurring with and without the locative prefix.

- (5.209) hebi h-ana          h-ormia          wul    Haliebi.  
           1PL 1PL-come.R 1PL-stay.R.IPFV water Haliebi.river  
           ‘We came and sat at Haliebi river.’ (120601-009:330.644) RNS, YW

- (5.210) Ø-aro      Ø-ormia          ti-wul.  
           3PL-go.R 3PL-stay.R.IPFV LOC-water  
           ‘They went and sat at the river.’ (120405-000:132.900) RNS, AS

## Chapter 6

# Nominal phrases

This chapter is devoted to the structure of the nominal phrase in Yeri. All instances of nouns, with or without additional modifiers, are analyzed as nominal phrases. However, given the acceptability of nominal phrases without nouns in Yeri (see section 6.3), I also analyze other word classes as part of a nominal phrase whenever they occur in one of the syntactic positions where nouns and any optional modifiers can occur. Specifically, I treat these other word classes as part of a nominal phrase when they occur in the following syntactic positions: subject, core object, applicative object, non-grammatical object, nominal possessor, prepositional complement, and nominal adjunct.<sup>1</sup>

Section 6.1 presents information regarding what can function as a minimal nominal phrase, and section 6.2 details the range of word classes that can act as modifiers and the general ordering tendencies when more than one functions to modify the same noun. Nominal phrases without nouns are discussed in section 6.3. A basic description of adnominal possession is presented in section 6.4, and a classificatory noun construction is discussed in section 6.5. An overview of relational nouns is provided in section 6.6. Finally, the coordination of nominal phrases is summarized in section 6.7. Note that there is a common construction involving *wdi* that permits clauses to act as modifiers. This construction is described in section 14.2.1.1 in the chapter on clause linkage.

### 6.1 Minimal nominal phrases

This section is devoted to presenting information on what elements can function as a ‘minimal nominal phrase’ in Yeri, a term I use to describe the smallest units that can make up the

---

<sup>1</sup>Nouns and optional modifiers can also occur as the first or second conjunct of an and-verb. However, as conjuncts are morphosyntactically treated as the subject and the object of the and-verb, I do not include these as distinct additional syntactic positions in the provided list. Additionally, nominal adjunct position should be understood as referring to those syntactic positions where adjunct nominal phrases can occur (see section 4.7.3).



entirety of a nominal phrase. For instance, the most obvious minimal nominal phrase is a single noun. Yeri, however, permits several other elements to function as the sole element of a nominal phrase. In this section, I present a broad overview of what these elements are. Before presenting specific examples, however, there are three relevant generalizations that must first be discussed.

The first generalization is that Yeri permits nominal phrases without nouns (see section 6.3), and any elements that can modify a noun, including phrases or clauses, can also function as a nominal phrase without need of that noun. This includes adnominal phrases (see section 4.6.3), with the exception of the demonstrative *yaʔa*, as well as modifying clauses like relative clauses (see section 14.2.1.1), which can consist of a variety of different clause or predicate types (see section 4.4).<sup>2</sup>

The second generalization is that, in certain contexts, forms which are usually verbs or ideophones can occur in nominal phrases where they have syntactic properties implying that they are nouns. This generalization in combination with the first generalization means that when a form that is usually a verb or an ideophone occurs in a nominal phrase, there are two possible analyses for it: one where it occurs as part of a modifying element (e.g. an unmarked relative clause, see section 14.2.1.1) in a nominal phrase without a noun, and one where it shows syntactic properties suggesting it may be a noun. While the occurrence of nominal phrases without nouns appears to be very productive, forms that are usually ideophones or verbs only rarely appear to show syntactic properties indicative of a noun.

The third generalization is that Yeri permits some clauses to function as nominal phrases. In example (6.1), the nominal phrase composed of the clause shown in square brackets is the subject of the adjective predicate. More research is needed to say more about clauses acting as nominal phrases. In this section, I note only that examples demonstrating the acceptability of clauses as nominal phrases can be found in spontaneous speech.

- (6.1) [yem y-aro      y-o              tumani yot-ua-Ø]              hiro w-Ø=nabe-Ø.  
          2PL   2PL-go.R 2PL-stay.R building DEM-DIST-SG.F NEG REL-SG=good-SG.F  
          ‘Your (pl) going and staying in that house was not good.’ (120524-005:717.964)  
          RNS, JS

For semantic reasons, nouns (including the personal pronoun subclass) most frequently occur as the sole element of a nominal phrase, as shown in (6.2)-(6.5). In examples (6.2) and (6.3), the nouns *wo* ‘sun, day’ and *nol* ‘bird’ are nominal phrases serving as the subjects of the verbs *osia* ‘swell, heat’ and *o* ‘be, stay, live’. In examples (6.4) and (6.5), the personal pronouns *hem* ‘I, me’, *te* ‘she’, and *ten* ‘he’ are nominal phrases acting as the subjects of the verbs *ieki* ‘precede’, *gorwedi* ‘follow’, and *arwal* ‘cry, weep’.

<sup>2</sup>I have no examples of adverbs functioning as the sole element of a nominal phrase. However, I did not have a chance to investigate this possibility in the field.

- (6.2) wo n-w-osia.  
 sun 3SG.M-1PL-heat.R  
 ‘The sun heats us.’ (120621-001:230.245) RNS, AS  
 CI: The verb *osia* is used here to mean very strong uncomfortable heat.
- (6.3) nol n-o tupi.  
 bird 3SG.M-stay.R top  
 ‘The bird sat on top.’ (120517-001:2376.880) RNS, JS
- (6.4) hem m-ieki. te-∅ w-gorwedi.  
 1SG 1SG-precede.R 3-SG.F 3SG.F-follow.R  
 ‘I went ahead. She followed me.’ (120621-003:127.690) RNS, AS
- (6.5) te-n n-arwal.  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-cry.R  
 ‘He cried.’ (120405-000:142.504) RNS, AS

It is also common for members of the adnominal word class (i.e. adjectives, demonstratives, numerals, quantifiers, and genitive pronouns, see section 3.5) to serve as the only element of a nominal phrase in natural discourse. Examples (6.6) and (6.7) demonstrate the quantifier *peigilia* ‘some, few’ as a nominal phrase.

- (6.6) peigilia-i ta ∅-aro.  
 some-PL FUT 3PL-go.R  
 ‘Some will go.’ (120621-001:1030.662) RNS, AS
- (6.7) te-n nabir-e-i peigilia-i.  
 3-SG.M sharpen.R-AUG-PL some-PL  
 ‘He sharpens some.’ (140408-202:25.201) DE, JS

Numerals (see section 3.5.3) functioning as the sole element of a nominal phrase are illustrated in (6.8) and (6.9) with the numerals *ŋa* ‘one’ and *wia* ‘two’.

- (6.8) ŋa-n ta n-a<me>ro.  
 one-SG.M FUT 3SG.M-go.R<IPFV>  
 ‘One will go.’ (140408-202:53.106) DE, JS
- (6.9) te-i ∅-nabir-e-i wia-m ŋa-n.  
 3-PL 3PL-sharpen.R-AUG-PL two-M one-SG.M  
 ‘They sharpened three.’ (140408-202:100.562) DE, JS

Examples (6.10) and (6.11) illustrate the demonstrative *yot-* (see section 3.5.2.1) functioning as a nominal phrase, while examples (6.12)-(6.14) show several genitive pronouns (see section 3.5.4) in this context.

- (6.10) yot-u-n                      n-o                      haike-ta.  
 DEM-MDIST-SG.M 3SG.M-stay.R white.cockatoo-SG  
 ‘That one is white.’ (140408-202:137.508) DE, JS
- (6.11) womala                      hiro yot-ua-n.  
 hornbill.bird NEG DEM-DIST-SG.M  
 ‘The hornbill is not that (one).’ (140404-024:342.545) DE, LA
- (6.12) w-ei=hem                      Ø-or                      yot-u-i.  
 REL-PL=1SG 3PL-lie.R DEM-MDIST-PL  
 ‘Mine are lying there.’ (140407-189:264.730) DE, LA
- (6.13) w-n=hem                      yewal-ti wia-m ŋa-n                      n-or<me>                      ta  
 REL-SG.M=1SG eye-SG two-M one-SG.M 3SG.M-lie.R<IPFV> FUT  
 m-o<ne>mo.  
 1SG-o<SG.M>mo  
 ‘Mine was three sago balls lying there, and I ate them.’ (120601-012:303.536) RNS,  
 YW
- (6.14) yem y-o                      w-Ø=yem.  
 2PL 2PL-stay.R REL-SG.F=2PL  
 ‘You (pl) stay at yours (pl).’ (120608-002:112.259) RNS, JS  
 CI: You (pl) stay at your (pl) house.

Adjectives (see section 3.5.1) are also acceptable as the sole elements of a nominal phrase, as in (6.15)–(6.17). In example (6.15) and example (6.16), the N adjectives *sipeki* ‘little’ and *sibelial* ‘long’ function as the sole element of the nominal phrases. In example (6.17), a WGN adjective *lope* ‘big’ serves as the only element of a nominal phrase.

- (6.15) sipeki-l ta                      n-al<me>mo.  
 little-SG FUT 3SG.M-die.R<IPFV>  
 ‘The small one will die.’ (140217-003:13.141) GE-[sipekil], JS
- (6.16) h-nabir-e-i                      sibelial-gi.  
 1PL-sharpen-AUG-PL long-PL  
 ‘We will sharpen them, the long ones.’ (120522-002:165.134) RNS, JS
- (6.17) h-nabir-e-i                      w-ei=lope-i.  
 1PL-sharpen-AUG-PL REL-PL=big-PL  
 ‘We sharpen the big ones.’ (120522-002:167.664) RNS, JS

Unlike nouns and adnominals, copula words cannot occur as the only element of a nominal phrase. However, copula word expressions (see section 3.6) can constitute the

entirety of a nominal phrase. By this, I mean that a copula word co-occurring with the verbal copula (and an optional degree word) can serve as a nominal phrase, as in (6.18)-(6.21).<sup>3</sup> In example (6.18) and example (6.19), the subject nominal phrase of the verb *or* ‘lie, sleep’ is composed of a verbal copula and a form of the copula word *yautueti* ‘blunt’, either singular or plural. Example (6.20) demonstrates two nominal phrases made up of a verbal copula and the copula words *henei* ‘red’ or *poki* ‘black’. Example (6.21) shows a nominal phrase made up of the verbal copula and the copula word *henei* ‘red’ functioning as the object of the verb *atia* ‘see’.

- (6.18) n-o                    yautu-eti n-or                    yot-u-n.  
 3SG.M-COP.R blunt-SG 3SG.M-lie.R DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
 ‘The blunt one is lying there.’ (140408-203:113.485) DE, JS
- (6.19) Ø-o                    yautu-wil Ø-or                    yot-u-i.  
 3PL-COP.R blunt-PL 3PL-lie.R DEM-MDIST-PL  
 ‘The blunt ones are lying there.’ (140408-203:99.722) DE, JS
- (6.20) Ø-o                    henei-gil sapiten. Ø-o                    poki-l                    hiro sapiten.  
 3PL-COP.R red-PL many. 3PL-COP.R black-PL NEG many  
 ‘Red ones are many. Black ones are not many.’ (140217-002:106.775) GE-[o heneigil], JS
- (6.21) hem m-atia                    Ø-o                    henei-gil.  
 1SG 1SG-see.R 3PL-COP.R red-PL  
 ‘I saw the red ones.’ (140408-203:189.380) GJ, JS

When forms that are usually classified as verbs or ideophones occur in a nominal phrase, the analysis is somewhat more complex. Most of these examples are best analyzed as involving a modifying clause. This is frequently a headless unmarked relative clause (see section 14.2.1.1) when the form of the verb or ideophone is the sole element in the nominal phrase. For instance, example (6.22) shows the verb *giekir* ‘bend’ as the only element in the subject nominal phrase, and it is best analyzed as a headless unmarked relative clause.

- (6.22) Ø-giekir                    Ø-or                    yot-u-i.  
 3PL-bend.R 3PL-lie.R DEM-MDIST-PL  
 ‘The crooked ones are lying there.’ (140407-189:243.489) DE, LA

However, there are some examples where a form that is usually classified as a verb or an ideophone occurs in a nominal phrase and shows syntactic behavior suggesting that it may

<sup>3</sup>Note that some copula words are homophonous with nouns. These nouns express related but different meanings from the copula word. To express the copula word meaning as a nominal phrase, these lexical items must occur with the verbal copula in a copula word expression.

be analyzed as a noun. By this, I mean that the form can be modified by adnominals within the nominal phrase, as in (6.23)-(6.25), where *pikiapikia* ‘vomiting noises’ and *arwal* ‘cry, weep’ are modified by a genitive pronoun.

- (6.23) [pikiapikia w-Ø=hem]      hiro-mi.  
          vomit           REL-SG.F=1SG NEG-IPFV  
          ‘My vomiting is finished.’ (140407-189:486.992) DE, LA
- (6.24) te-n      n-b-ie              [pikiapikia w-Ø=hem].  
          3-SG.M 3SG.M-1SG-hear vomit           REL-SG.F=1SG  
          ‘He heard my vomiting.’ (140407-189:544.380) GJ, LA
- (6.25) ye    male n-ieda-n              [n-arwal      w-Ø=de-n              yot-u-n].  
          2SG also    2SG-hear.R-SG.M 3SG.M-cry.R REL-SG=3-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
          ‘You (sg) also can hear its (the generator) crying there.’ (120416-000:990.490)  
          RNS, JS

If, for instance, example (6.24) were best analyzed as involving a headless unmarked relative clause in a nominal phrase without a noun, one might expect the meaning to be something like ‘He heard my vomiting one’ (perhaps a child) where the noun was omitted rather than ‘He heard my vomiting’. That the nominal phrase is translated as ‘my vomiting’ would suggest that this example does not involve a headless unmarked relative clause.

Nevertheless, it is possible to analyze examples like these as involving a verb or an ideophone which is modified by an adnominal. However, I have chosen not to analyze them in this way due to a noticeable lack of productivity. While a few examples can be found in natural speech indicating that the pattern is grammatical in certain contexts at least, I had limited success eliciting additional examples, especially with verbs.

Furthermore, the limited examples available which involve forms that are usually classified as verbs in this context show almost no inflection, and the forms are almost always the same: a realis bare form of the verb with an initial /w/, the ‘default’ *w-* gender prefix (see section 5.5.8). Only rarely do examples occur with an initial /n/, the third person singular masculine subject prefix *n-*, as in example (6.25), and I am unaware of examples which show other inflection. Given these restrictions on verb forms, and the limited lexical items that show this behavior, I have chosen to analyze specific forms on a case by case basis as acceptably occurring in this position. Since this position is where nouns occur in the adnominal construction (see section 3.3), I have analyzed these specific forms as instances of nouns in this context. Additional examples are needed to examine this issue in more detail, and I leave the matter for future research.

## 6.2 Modifier ordering tendencies

Yeri has a range of elements which can occur within a nominal phrase to modify a noun in that phrase. I refer to these elements as ‘modifiers’. Many of these modifiers show gender and number agreement with the noun they modify based on the agreement class the modifier belongs to (see section 5.5). A summary of agreement is provided in section 5.5. Here I focus on the ordering of different modifiers within a nominal phrase when they modify the same noun. I focus here on examples of nominal phrases that include nouns. However, nouns are not obligatory in Yeri nominal phrases, and modifiers show the same ordering tendencies in nominal phrases without nouns as they do in nominal phrases with nouns (see section 6.3).

In nominal phrases with nouns, almost all modifiers follow the noun.<sup>4</sup> This is definitional in the case of adnominals (see section 3.5).<sup>5</sup> To describe ordering tendencies in more detail, however, I examine the order of various subclasses when they co-occur in a nominal phrase. After first presenting an overview in section 6.2.1, I consider personal pronouns in section 6.2.2. These are the one exception to the tendency for modifiers to follow the noun they modify since pronouns precede the noun. After personal pronouns, I discuss copula words in section 6.2.3, adjectives in section 6.2.4, numerals and quantifiers in section 6.2.5, genitive pronouns in section 6.2.6, and demonstratives in section 6.2.7.

Note that verbs and ideophones can also function as modifiers. However, when verbs and ideophones function as modifiers they are best analyzed as a part of a relative clause, either an unmarked relative clause or a clause that is overtly indicated by means of a relativizer *wɔ̃* (see section 14.2.1.1.). For instance, the ideophone *dɪldɪl* functions in an overtly marked relative clause to modify the noun *hamoten* ‘man’ in example (6.26), while in example (6.27) it occurs in an unmarked relative clause to modify the same noun.

- (6.26) te-n      hamote-n      wɔ̃ dɪldɪl.  
          3-SG.M individual-SG.M SUB shiver  
          ‘He is a person who shivers.’ (140407-189:619.513) GJ, LA

- (6.27) te-n      hamote-n      dɪldɪl.  
          3-SG.M individual-SG.M shiver  
          ‘He is a person who shivers.’ (140407-189:599.263) GJ, LA

### 6.2.1 An overview

When only one modifier occurs in a nominal phrase, ordering is simple. The modifier precedes or follows the noun it modifies as determined by its word class. However, when multiple

<sup>4</sup>This is not surprising since most modifiers belong to the adnominal word class (see section 3.5) and this ordering is definitional for the adnominal word class.

<sup>5</sup>I refer to this construction as the ‘adnominal construction’ and it places an adnominal after a noun it modifies.

modifiers occur modifying the same noun, ordering is variable and determined by scope. This acceptability of variable orders can be demonstrated by examples like (6.28) and (6.29) which show alternate orders of the copula word expression (i.e. the verbal copula and a copula word, see section 3.6) *o henei* ‘be red’ and the numeral *wia* ‘two’ with the plural form of the noun *nol* ‘bird’.

- (6.28) nol-mi     $\emptyset$ -o                    henei-gil    wia-m    pine-i    w-ei=de-i    ki  
 bird-PL 3PL-COP.R blood-PL two-M wing-PL REL-PL=3-PL already  
 $\emptyset$ -gobi.  
 3PL-bend.in.half.R  
 ‘Two red birds, their wings are broken.’ (140408-206:816.847) DE, JS

- (6.29) nol-mi    wia-m     $\emptyset$ -o                    henei-gil,    pine-i    w-ei=de-i    ki  
 bird-PL two-M 3PL-COP.R blood-PL wing-PL REL-PL=3-PL already  
 $\emptyset$ -gobi.  
 3PL-bend.in.half.R.  
 ‘Two birds that are red, their wings are broken.’ (140408-206:783.445) GJ, JS

Despite the grammaticality of variation in the order of modifiers, there is a tendency for certain word classes to follow other word classes when they modify the same noun. For instance, when a translation of the nominal phrase ‘two red birds’ is elicited, speakers typically provide the order shown in (6.28) with the copula word expression preceding the numeral. However, when consultants were provided with the alternate order shown in (6.29), consultants showed no hesitation in judging the utterance grammatical.

While Yeri nominal phrases in natural discourse generally include no more than two or three modifiers, one of which is typically a demonstrative, it is possible to determine a general default ordering tendency for most modifiers by comparing examples where different subclasses occur as modifiers and eliciting examples with more modifiers than is common. This default order is listed in Figure 6.1.<sup>6</sup>

3P.Pro + Noun + CW + Adj + Num/Quant + GenPro + Dem

Figure 6.1: Typical order of elements within a nominal phrase

The elicited example in (6.30) shows the occurrence of a copula word expression, an adjective, a numeral, and a demonstrative modifying the same noun, *nol* ‘bird’, and demonstrates this default order tendency. More detailed evidence for this default ordering tendency can be found in sections 6.2.2-6.2.7, where each subclass and its position within the nominal phrase is discussed.

<sup>6</sup>Abbreviations are as follows: 3P.Pro=third person personal pronoun, CW=copula word expression, Adj=adjective, Num=numeral, Quant=quantifier, Dem=demonstrative.

- (6.30) nol-mi Ø-o henei-gil w-ei=lope-i wia-m yot-u-i, pine-i  
 bird-PL 3PL-COP.R blood-PL REL-PL=big-PL two-M DEM-MDIST-PL wing-PL  
 w-ei=de-i ki Ø-gobi.  
 REL-PL=3-PL already 3PL-bend.in.half.R  
 ‘Those two big red birds, their wings are broken.’ (140408-206:732.789) DE, JS

Lastly, there is a preference for nominal phrases to contain a noun. For this reason, most of the examples in sections 6.2.2-6.2.7 involve examples of nominal phrases which include a noun. Despite this tendency, however, it is common for nominal phrases to occur without a noun in Yeri. This situation is the topic of section 6.3.

### 6.2.2 Third person personal pronouns

It is possible for a third person pronoun to act as a modifier, and when this happens, the third person pronoun precedes the modified noun and indicates definiteness or specificity.<sup>7</sup> Compare the elicited example (6.31), where the plural form of *han* ‘male’ is not modified by a personal pronoun, to example (6.32), where it is modified by the pronoun *ti*.

- (6.31) han-gil Ø-ar Maprik Ø-aro Ø-anibir hilian.  
 male-PL 3PL-go.to.R Maprik Ø-go.R 3PL-send.R sand  
 ‘Men went to Maprik to sell gold.’ (140408-206:93.448) DE, JS
- (6.32) te-i han-gil Ø-ar Maprik Ø-aro Ø-anibir hilian.  
 3-PL male-PL 3PL-go.to.R Maprik 3PL-go.R 3PL-send.R sand  
 ‘The men went to Maprik to sell gold.’ (140408-206:78.538) DE, JS

Examples from natural discourse are provided in (6.33) and (6.34).

- (6.33) n-a<ma>da nigo-n-gon sipeki-l Wilkei Colin te-i nogolgoi  
 3SG.M-be.like.R<IPFV> child-SG.M-RED little-SG Wilkei Colin 3-PL children  
 yot-u-i.  
 DEM-MDIST-PL  
 ‘He is like my small son Wilkei, Colin, and those kids there.’ (120518-001:47.690)  
 RNS, JS
- (6.34) h-o<i>giwa te-i hamei.  
 1PL-ask.R<PL> 3-PL people  
 ‘We asked the men.’ (120606-000:69.415) RNS, JS

<sup>7</sup>I include this section simply to illustrate the acceptability of the occurrence of third person pronouns in this context. Furthermore, while I analyze these personal pronouns as modifiers, additional research may demonstrate that these pronouns are better analyzed as not being modifiers, perhaps as the noun being modified or as the head of an unmarked relative clause. More research into the use of third person pronouns is necessary.



### 6.2.3 Copula words

Copula words co-occur with a verbal copula and can optionally be modified by a degree word (see section 3.8). I refer to this combination as a ‘copula word expression’. Copula word expressions follow the noun they modify, as in (6.35), where the copula word expression *o bilgil* ‘be strong’ modifies the noun *hamoten* ‘individual’. The subject of the verbal copula agrees with the noun modified and the copula word shows optional number agreement (see section 5.5.4.1). Another example is provided in (6.36), where the copula word expression *o miaga* ‘be cold’ modifies the noun *tumani* ‘building’.

- (6.35) ye hamote-n n-o bilgi-l ye ta n-odi tumani.  
 2SG individual-SG.M 3SG.M-COP.R strong-SG 2SG FUT 2SG-make.R building  
 ‘You (sg) are a strong man, you (sg) will build a house.’ (120522-002:337.020)  
 RNS, JS
- (6.36) aro n-or<me> tumani w-o miaga.  
 go.R 3SG.M-lie.R<IPFV> building 3SG.F-COP.R cold  
 ‘He went and was sleeping there in the hospital.’ (120528-008:292.463) RNS, JS  
 CI: The expression *o miaga* is conventionally used to refer to hospitals.

When a copula word expression co-occurs with another modifier to modify the same noun, the copula word expression typically occurs closest to the modified noun. In (6.37) the copula word expression precedes a numeral, while in example (6.38) and (6.39) it precedes a genitive pronoun and a demonstrative.

- (6.37) yiwo w-o walki ŋa-n n-ana n-o<he>wil meli  
 skin 3SG.F-COP.R white one-SG.M 3SG.M-come.R 3SG.M-take.R<SG.F> image  
 yot-ua-i.  
 DEM-DIST-PL  
 ‘One white skin came and took the pictures.’ (120623-007:710.673) RNS, TW
- (6.38) ... hem wan n-ormia yiwo w-o walki w-∅=hebi  
 ... 1SG heart 3SG.M-stay.R.IPFV skin 3SG.F-COP.R white REL-SG.F=1PL  
 h-ode-∅ h-o.  
 1PL-and.R-SG.F 1PL-stay.R  
 ‘... I am thinking about our white girl we stay with.’ (120620-012:465.737) RNS,  
 KL  
 LT: ‘My heart stays with our white skin who we live with her and we stay.’
- (6.39) puyu ∅-o haike-wil yot-ua-i hiro ∅-a<ma>dia  
 rock 3PL-COP.R white.cockatoo-PL DEM-DIST-PL NEG 3PL-be.like.R<IPFV>

$\emptyset$ -o            hirka nadi.  
 3PL-COP.R new    very  
 ‘Those white stones no, they are like new.’ (140311-084:35.609) GE-[o haikewil],  
 LA

## 6.2.4 Adjectives

Adjectives may show gender and/or number agreement with the noun they modify (depending on the subclass of adjective, see section 3.5 or section 5.5) and are positioned following the modified noun. Example (6.40) demonstrates the WGN adjective *lope* ‘big’ following the noun it modifies *hamoten* ‘man’, and occurring with the singular masculine morpheme.

- (6.40) nakal w- $\emptyset$ =di    Solomon male la    hiro hamote-n            w- $\emptyset$ =lope-n.  
          father REL-SG=3 Solomon also    PST NEG individual-SG.M REL-SG=big-SG.M  
          ‘Solomon’s father also was not big man.’ (120524-005:336.766) RNS, JS

When more than one modifier occurs, and one of the modifiers is an adjective, it typically precedes all other modifiers except copula word expressions. Example (6.41) demonstrates the copula word expression *o haiketa* ‘be white’, the WGN adjective *lope* ‘big’, and the demonstrative *yotun* all modifying the noun *neigal* ‘cuscus’ with the WGN adjective following the copula word expression and the demonstrative following the adjective.

- (6.41) neigal n-o            haike-ta            w- $\emptyset$ =lope-n            yot-u-n,  
          cuscus 3SG.M-COP.R white.cockatoo-SG REL-SG=big-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
          nigo-n            w- $\emptyset$ =de-n            n-or            hey-a.  
          child-SG.M REL-SG=3-SG.M 3SG.M-lie.R bilum  
          ‘That big white cuscus, its son is in the pouch.’ (140408-206:617.612) DE, JS

In example (6.42), a WGN adjective and a numeral co-occur and modify the noun *nogil* ‘village’, while in example (6.43) a WGN adjective and a genitive pronoun co-occur and modify the noun *yaki* ‘ginger’. In both examples, the adjective precedes the other modifier.

- (6.42) soldier w- $\emptyset$ =di- $\emptyset$             America, nogil    w- $\emptyset$ =lope-n            ŋa- $\emptyset$ ,    nogil  
          soldier REL-SG=3-SG.F America village REL-SG=big-SG.M one-SG.F village  
          w- $\emptyset$ =di- $\emptyset$             Turegal.  
          REL-SG=3-SG.F Turegal  
          ‘American soldiers, a big village, Turegal’s village.’ (120528-006:94.310) RNS, JS
- (6.43) yaki    w-ei=lope-i            w-ei=hem     $\emptyset$ -or            hey-a.  
          ginger REL-PL=big-PL REL-PL=1SG 3PL-lie.R bilum  
          ‘My big gingers are in the bilum.’ (140424-066:72.974) DE, LA

The elicited example in (6.44) includes more modifiers than is common and demonstrates the typical order of most adjectives, in this case a N adjective preceding all modifiers that are not copula word expressions. In this example, the noun *yati* ‘sago palm, sago jelly’ is modified by an N adjective, a numeral, and a genitive pronoun. The N adjective follows the noun and precedes the numeral and the genitive pronoun.

- (6.44) megual w-n=ye, yati sibelial-gi wia-m w-ei=de-n ma=ilua-i.  
 husband REL-SG.M=2SG sago long-PL two-M REL-PL=3-SG.M IPFV=bad-PL  
 ‘Your (sg) husband, his two tall sago palms are bad now.’ (140408-206:1319.163)  
 DE, JS

### 6.2.5 Numerals and quantifiers

When numerals or quantifiers modify another noun, they follow that noun, as in (6.45) or (6.46). While the numeral *ŋa* ‘one’ shows gender and number agreement with the noun it modifies (see section 5.5.2.4), the numeral *wia* ‘two’ shows only gender agreement (see section 5.5.3). Quantifiers show variable agreement, with *peigilia* ‘some, few’ sometimes showing gender agreement in addition to number agreement (see section 5.5.2.5), and *sapiten* ‘many’ sometimes showing an explicitly plural form distinct from its more common form (see section 5.5.4.3).

- (6.45) h-ormia minigi wia-i.  
 1PL-stay.R.IPFV time.period two-F  
 ‘We were staying for two weeks.’ (120524-005:117.490) RNS, JS
- (6.46) wona sapiten ko n-or kua.  
 moon many still 3SG.M-lie.R still  
 ‘Many months still remain.’ (140424-071:60.180) GJ, LA

Numerals and quantifiers typically follow copula word expressions and adjectives when they modify the same noun. Examples with numerals are provided in (6.47), where the numeral follows the copula word expression *o poki* ‘be black’, and in (6.48), where the numeral follows the WGN adjective *lope* ‘big’.

- (6.47) hem m-atia nebo-i Ø-o poki-l wia-m ...  
 1SG 1SG-see.R dog-PL 3PL-COP.R black-PL two-M ...  
 ‘I saw the two black dogs ...’ (140408-206:1143.244) DE, JS

- (6.48) lahabi hemal m-eikia m-o<i>ba hoharou-egal w-ei=lope-i  
 yesterday night 1SG-walk.R 1SG-shoot.R<PL> bandicoot-PL REL-PL=big-PL  
 wia-m.  
 two-M  
 ‘Last night I walked and shot two big bandicoots.’ (140217-002:45.860) DE, LA

When numerals or quantifiers co-occur with other modifiers to modify the same noun, the numeral or quantifier typically precedes any modifiers that are not adjectives or copula word expressions. In (6.49) a numeral and a genitive pronoun modify the same noun *heya* ‘bilum’ and the numeral precedes the genitive pronoun, while in (6.50) a quantifier and a genitive pronoun modify the noun *yaki* ‘ginger’ and the quantifier precedes the genitive pronoun.

- (6.49) hiwora w-∅=ye, heya wia-m w-ei=de-∅, yo ∅-or-a-i.  
 wife REL-SG.F=2SG bilum two-M REL-PL=3-SG.F path 3PL-lie.R-AUG-PL  
 ‘Your (sg) wife, her two bilums have holes in them.’ (140408-206:1273.597) DE, JS
- (6.50) yaki sapiten w-∅=hem w-or heya.  
 ginger many REL-SG.F=1SG 3SG.F-lie.R bilum  
 ‘My many gingers are in the bilum.’ (140424-066:48.209) DE, LA

In (6.51) and (6.52) numerals and quantifiers co-occur with the demonstrative *yot-* and precede the demonstrative.

- (6.51) yuta nogual wia-i yot-u-i  
 woman PL two-F DEM-MDIST-PL  
 ‘those two girls’ (120403-000:480.407) RNS, TW
- (6.52) nogolgoi sa-sapiten yot-ua-i w-ei=de-n.  
 children RED-many DEM-DIST-PL REL-PL=3-SG.M  
 ‘Those many children are his.’ (140416-016:714.354) GE-[weiden], JS

### 6.2.6 Genitive pronouns

Genitive pronouns show gender and number agreement with the noun they modify, the possessee, and are positioned following that noun. See section 5.5.1.3 for discussion on genitive pronoun agreement with the possessee and possessor. Example (6.53) demonstrates the occurrence of genitive pronouns after the noun they modify, here the noun *mimi* ‘mother’.

- (6.53) la ki ∅-ie<∅>ba mimi w-∅=hem, ...  
 PST already 3PL-shoot.I<SG.F> mother REL-SG.F=1SG ...  
 ‘If they had killed my mother, ...’ (120528-006:311.170) RNS, JS

When genitive pronouns modify the same noun as other modifiers, they typically follow copula word expressions, adjectives, numerals, and quantifiers, but precede demonstratives. In (6.54) and (6.55), the genitive pronoun follows the WGN adjective *lope* ‘big’ and the GN adjective *losia* ‘old, brown, dry’.

- (6.54) nogil w- $\emptyset$ =lope- $\emptyset$  w- $\emptyset$ =hebi.  
village REL-SG=big-SG.F REL-SG.F=1PL  
‘our big town’ (120528-008:74.467) RNS, JS

- (6.55) nati losia-n w-n=ye ta n-d-awo yot-u-n.  
coconut old-SG.M REL-SG.M=2SG FUT 3SG.M-MDL-set.R DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
‘Your (sg) old coconut will be there.’ (140416-016:747.539) DE, JS

In (6.56) and (6.57), the genitive pronoun follows the numeral *wia* ‘two’ and in (6.58), the genitive pronoun follows the quantifier *sapiten* ‘many’.

- (6.56) yuta-gi wia-i w-ei=hem ta  $\emptyset$ -a<me>r Wiwak.  
woman-PL two-PL REL-PL=1SG FUT 3PL-go.to.R<IPFV> wewak  
‘My two sisters will go to Wewak.’ (140408-206:1402.019) DE, JS

- (6.57) nogual yuta-gi wia-i w-ei=ye  $\emptyset$ -o nogil Yeri.  
PL woman-PL two-PL REL-PL=2SG 3PL-stay.R village Yeri  
‘Your (sg) two daughters live in the Yeri village.’ (2010-B3.pdf:123) DE, LA

- (6.58) yaki sapiten w- $\emptyset$ =hem w-or heya.  
ginger many REL-SG.F=1SG 3SG.F-lie.R bilum  
‘My many gingers are in the bilum.’ (140424-066:48.209) DE, LA

In examples (6.59) and (6.60), a genitive pronoun and a demonstrative modify the nouns *nakal* ‘father’ and *nigo* ‘child’ and the genitive pronoun precedes the demonstrative in both examples.

- (6.59) te-n n-ormia, nakal w- $\emptyset$ =de-n yot-u-n  
3-SG.M 3SG.M-stay.R.IPFV father REL-SG=3-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
n-ormia.  
n-stay.R.IPFV  
‘He sat, his father there sat.’ (120517-001:820.792) RNS, JS

- (6.60) nigo-n-gon w-n=hem yot-a-n ta n-da<m>ore.  
child-SG.M-RED REL-SG.M=1SG DEM-PROX-SG.M FUT 3SG.M-get.up.R<IPFV>  
‘My son here will wake up.’ (120517-001:830.681) RNS, JS

### 6.2.7 Demonstratives

When demonstratives modify a noun, they follow the noun they modify, as in example (6.61), where a demonstrative modifies the noun *nalu* ‘cassowary’.

- (6.61) *nalu yot-u-n sa-sapiten nadi.*  
 cassowary DEM-MDIST-SG.M RED-many very  
 ‘Those cassowaries, there were many of them.’ (120623-002:78.518) RNS, YW

When demonstratives co-occur with other modifiers, they typically follow all other modifiers. In example (6.62), a demonstrative and a copula word expression modify the noun *hasiekil* ‘fire’ and the demonstrative follows the other modifier.

- (6.62) *w-atia milmelial-ma n-a<ma>da hasieki-l w-o niwal-gil*  
 3SG.F-see flash-IPFV 3SG.M-be.like<IPFV> fire-PL 3PL-COP.R blue-PL  
*yot-ua-i.*  
 DEM-DIST-PL  
 ‘She saw the lights like blue fire there.’ (120528-006:228.960) RNS, JS

Examples (6.63)-(6.68) show demonstratives and adjectives modifying the same noun. In examples (6.63)-(6.65), the demonstrative follows the WGN adjective *lope* ‘big’.

- (6.63) *malgil w-∅=lope-n yot-u-n pilgiyou*  
 bee REL-SG=big-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M pilgiyou.bee  
*n-a<me>nokil-a-n.*  
 3SG.M-bite.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘That big bee pilgiyou is biting him.’ (120517-001:867.716) RNS, JS
- (6.64) *ta n-atia hamei w-ei=lope-i yot-u-i.*  
 FUT 3SG.M-see.R people REL-PL=big-PL DEM-MDIST-PL  
 ‘He will see the officers there.’ (120524-000:783.480) RNS, LN  
 LT: ‘He will see the big people there.’
- (6.65) *maleikia h-aro h-al<m>kial puyu hirka w-or tumani*  
 morning 1PL-go.R 1PL-pull.R<IPFV> rock new 3SG.F-lie.R building  
*w-∅=lope-∅ yot-u-∅.*  
 REL-SG=big-SG.F DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘In the morning, we went to the bank to withdraw some money.’ (120606-000:111.991) RNS, JS

In examples (6.66) and (6.67), the demonstrative follows the N adjectives *sibelial* ‘long’ and *sipeki* ‘little’. Example (6.68) shows the demonstrative following the GN adjective *tiawa* ‘short’.

- (6.66) hem m-ode- $\emptyset$  h-dore wul sibelial yot-a- $\emptyset$ .  
 1SG 1SG-and.R-SG.F 1PL-get.up water long DEM-PROX-SG.F  
 ‘She and I went up the long river here.’ (120621-003:153.452) RNS, AS
- (6.67) h-ormia nogil sipeki-l yot-u- $\emptyset$  Aitape nau.  
 1PL-stay.R.IPFV village little-SG DEM-MDIST-SG.F Aitape nau  
 ‘We were staying at the small town there, Aitape.’ (120524-000:460.019) RNS, JS
- (6.68) hasieki tiawa-n yot-u-n yopeka n-dodi-wa-n.  
 fire short-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M breath 3SG.M-stand.R-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘A small piece of fire there has steam coming out of it.’ (120705-004:538.488)  
 GE-[yopeka=pian], JS

In (6.69) and (6.70) the demonstrative *yot-* follows the numeral *wia* ‘two’, while in (6.71) the demonstrative follows the quantifier *sapiten* ‘many’.

- (6.69) te-i wia-i yot-u-i hem m-nobia-da-i te-i  $\emptyset$ -aro  
 3-PL two-F DEM-MDIST-PL 1SG 1SG-talk.R-AUG-PL 3-PL  $\emptyset$ -go.R  
 $\emptyset$ -dar<me>yomia.  
 3PL-hide.self.R<IPFV>  
 ‘Those two there I told them and they went and hid.’ (120520-000:520.260) RNS, AS
- (6.70) aro m-gei-ka- $\emptyset$  miakua wia-i yot-u- $\emptyset$  w-or<me>  
 go.R 1SG-leave.R-AUG-SG.F frog two-F DEM-MDIST-SG.F 3SG.F-lie.R<me>  
 hey man.  
 bilum inside  
 ‘I went and put a few frogs in the bag.’ (120621-003:350.864) RNS, AS
- (6.71) te- $\emptyset$  w-garkoi w-gor<me>di nogolgoi sa-sapiten  
 3-SG.F 3SG.F-go.along.R 3SG.F-follow.R<IPFV> children RED-many  
 yot-u-i.  
 DEM-MDIST-PL  
 ‘She walked along following the many kids there.’ (120529-001:430.350) GE-[wipir], JS

In (6.72) and (6.73) the nouns *nigo* ‘child’ and *neyo* ‘son’ are modified by both a genitive pronoun and a demonstrative with the demonstrative following the genitive pronoun.

- (6.72) neyo w- $\emptyset$ =de-n yot-u-n n-nobia-da-n n-oki  
 son REL-SG=3-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M 3SG.M-talk.R-AUG-SG.M 3SG.M-use.R  
 wogi.  
 dream  
 ‘His son there, he told him in a dream.’ (120517-001:447.913) RNS, JS

- (6.73) te-n nigo-n-gon w- $\emptyset$ =de-n yot-u-n ki  
 3-SG.M child-SG.M-RED REL-SG=3-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M already  
 n-ana he.  
 3SG.M-come.R CNT  
 ‘The boy of his there has come already.’ (120517-001:1222.159) RNS, JS

### 6.3 Nominal phrases without nouns

Although Yeri nominal phrases typically include nouns, nouns are not obligatory. This is particularly clear from the discussion in section 6.1 which demonstrates how adnominals, verbs, and ideophones can all serve as the sole element of a nominal phrase without any additional constructional modification. In fact, as a general rule, any modifying phrase or clause can occur in a nominal phrase without the noun it modifies. For instance, example (6.74) demonstrates a genitive phrase, a third person genitive pronoun and a possessor nominal phrase (i.e. *wɔ̃ mimi* in this example), occurring in the alienable possessive construction without an overt possessee to modify. The genitive phrase alone is functioning as an object nominal phrase, shown by the singular feminine object infix on the verb *owil* ‘take’. In this example, there is no overt possessee noun. Instead, there is an implicit noun that can only be determined by context or real world knowledge. Relevant nominal phrases are enclosed in square brackets.

- (6.74) n-o<he>wɪl [w- $\emptyset$ =di- $\emptyset$  mimi].  
 3SG.M-take.R<SG.F> REL-SG=3-SG.F mother  
 ‘He got my mother’s.’ (120601-009:169.897) RNS, YW CI: He got my mother’s  
 limbum.

When nominal phrases occur without nouns, the same default ordering tendency of modifiers described in section 6.2 (schematized in Figure 6.1) is seen. Example (6.75) demonstrates this default order for a nominal phrase composed of a copula word expression, a numeral, a genitive pronoun, and a demonstrative.

- (6.75) [ $\emptyset$ -o henei-gil wia-m ŋa-n w-ei=de-n yot-u-i]  $\emptyset$ -or  
 3PL-o.R blood-PL two-M one-SG.M REL-PL=3-SG.M DEM-MDIST-PL 3PL-lie.R  
 hewo.  
 bottom  
 ‘His three red ones there lie on the ground.’ (140217-003:108.490) DE, LA

Although it is possible to elicit examples like (6.75), where a nominal phrase is composed of a large number of elements, none of which is a noun, it is much more common for these types of nominal phrase to include between one and three elements, one of which is usually a



demonstrative or a genitive pronoun. For example the nominal phrase in (6.76) is composed of the N adjective *sipeki* ‘little’ and a demonstrative, while the nominal phrase in (6.77) consists of the copula word expression *o mabirka* ‘be thick’, and a demonstrative.

- (6.76) hebi helol yot-a-i       $\emptyset$ -odi- $\emptyset$       [sipeki-l yot-a- $\emptyset$ ]       $\emptyset$ -aria-da-i  
 1PL work DEM-PROX-PL 1PL-and.R-SG.F little-SG -PROX-SG.F 1PL-do.R-AUG-PL  
 yot-a-i.  
 DEM-PROX-PL  
 ‘Our work here, we and the little one here are doing it here.’ (120416-000:284.780)  
 RNS, LA

- (6.77) [ $\emptyset$ -o      mabirka-l yot-u-i]       $\emptyset$ -or.  
 3PL-COP.R thick-PL DEM-MDIST-PL 3PL-lie.R  
 ‘Those thick ones are lying.’ (140408-203:62.023) DE, JS

Example (6.78) illustrates a nominal phrase without a noun composed of a WGN adjective and a genitive pronoun, and example (6.79) shows a nominal phrase without a noun composed of a copula word expression and a genitive pronoun.

- (6.78) [w-ei=nabe-i      w-ei=hem]       $\emptyset$ -or      yot-u-i.  
 REL-PL=good-PL REL-PL=1SG 3PL-lie.R DEM-MDIST-PL  
 ‘My good ones are lying there.’ (140407-189:551.816) DE, LA
- (6.79) [w-o      mabirka w- $\emptyset$ =ye]      w-or      yot-u- $\emptyset$ .  
 3SG.F-COP.R thick REL-SG.F=2SG 3SG.F-lie.R DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘Your (sg) thick one is there.’ (140408-203:35.565) DE, JS

Additional examples illustrating nominal phrases without nouns are provided in (6.80)-(6.83).

- (6.80) hebi mimi nogi hebi h-o<he>wil      [w-o      meno  
 1PL mother ASSOC 1PL 1PL-take.R<SG.F> 3SG.F-COP.R heavy  
 w- $\emptyset$ =lope- $\emptyset$ ].  
 REL-SG=big-SG.F  
 ‘We, the mothers, we take the very big heavy load.’ (120621-001:249.024) RNS,  
 AS
- (6.81) hem m-aria-da-i      m-oki- $\emptyset$       [w-o      bilgi-l      w- $\emptyset$ =hem].  
 1SG 1SG-do.R-AUG.R-PL 1SG-use.R-SG.F 3SG.F-COP.R strong-SG REL-SG.F=1SG  
 ‘I made it using my strength.’ (120524-003:465.793) RNS, JS
- (6.82) [w-ei=lope-i      wia-m] ta       $\emptyset$ -a<me>na.  
 REL-PL=big-PL two-M FUT 3PL-come.R<IPFV>  
 ‘Two big ones will come.’ (140217-002:37.989) GJ, JS

- (6.83) hem male m-o<i>ba [w-ei=lope-i wia-m].  
 1SG also 1SG-shoot.R<PL> REL-PL=big-PL two-M  
 ‘I also shot two big ones.’ (140217-002:66.565) DE, JS

In the same way that modifiers like adnominal phrases or copula word expressions can occur in a nominal phrase without an overt modified noun, relative clauses functioning as modifiers can also occur in a nominal phrase without an overt modified noun. See section 14.2.1.1 for discussion.

## 6.4 Adnominal possession

Adnominal or attributive possession refers to the expression of a possessive relationship within a nominal phrase. Yeri has three ways to express this type of relationship: (i) the use of a genitive pronoun, (ii) an inalienable possessive construction and (iii) an alienable possessive construction. Genitive pronouns are composed of a /w/ relational clitic and a personal pronoun and they follow the possessee. The inalienable possessive construction is indicated via juxtaposition with a possessor preceding the possessee, while the alienable possessive construction involves the reverse order and an obligatory genitive pronoun. The formation and use of genitive pronouns is discussed in section 6.4.1. The inalienable and alienable constructions are described in section 6.4.2 and section 6.4.3 respectively. Finally, variation in the choice of possessive construction is described in section 6.4.4.

### 6.4.1 Genitive pronouns

Genitive pronouns are formed through the addition of an initial /w/ morpheme to a personal pronoun. This /w/ morpheme precedes the pronoun and shows gender and number agreement with the possessee while the personal pronoun agrees with the possessor. For this reason, Yeri genitive pronouns inflect for the number and gender of the possessee as well as the person, number and gender of the possessor. I refer to this initial /w/ morpheme as the ‘relational clitic’ (see section 3.5.5).<sup>8</sup>

Possessee gender and number is indicated on this relational clitic. If the possessee is plural, a plural morpheme *-ei* follows the initial /w/ of the relational clitic (e.g. *weihem* ‘my plural possessee’, *weiyē* ‘your (sg) plural possessee’). For possesseees which are singular in

<sup>8</sup>The relational clitic is one of the few instances in the grammar where I use the label ‘clitic’ and employ an equal sign rather than a space or hyphen when glossing examples. As described in section 1.7.2, this should be understood as indicating only that a particular element shows some range of behavior that makes it desirable to distinguish it from prototypically free unbound words or morphemes on the one hand and tightly bound morphemes on the other hand. See section 3.5.5 for discussion on the unusual behavior of the relational clitic.

number, gender is distinguished:  $-\emptyset$  for feminine and  $-n$  for masculine (e.g. *wye* ‘your (sg) singular feminine possessee’, and *wnye* ‘your (sg) singular masculine possessee’).

The relational clitic is attached to personal pronouns which refer to the possessor. For third person possessors, there is a slight change in form since the  $/t/$  in *te* is pronounced as  $/d/$  (i.e. *de*). Table 6.1 lists the basic genitive pronoun forms.<sup>9</sup> See section 3.5.4 for detailed information on the composition of genitive pronouns.

Table 6.1: Genitive pronouns and agreement

| PSR/PSE | personal pronoun | 3SG.F                           | 3SG.M                           | 3PL                  |
|---------|------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1SG     | hem              | w- $\emptyset$ =hem             | w-n=hem                         | w-ei=hem             |
| 2SG     | ye               | w- $\emptyset$ =ye              | w-n=ye                          | w-ei=ye              |
| 3SG.F   | de- $\emptyset$  | w- $\emptyset$ =de- $\emptyset$ | w- $\emptyset$ =de- $\emptyset$ | w-ei=de- $\emptyset$ |
| 3SG.M   | de-n             | w- $\emptyset$ =de-n            | w- $\emptyset$ =de-n            | w-ei=de-n            |
| 1PL     | hebi             | w- $\emptyset$ =hebi            | w-n=hebi                        | w-ei=hebi            |
| 2PL     | yem              | w- $\emptyset$ =yem             | w-n=yem                         | w-ei=yem             |
| 3PL     | de-i             | w- $\emptyset$ =de-i            | w- $\emptyset$ =de-i            | w-ei=de-i            |
|         | de-m             | w- $\emptyset$ =de-m            | w- $\emptyset$ =de-m            | w-ei=de-m            |

It is important to point out two processes that affect the pronunciation of genitive pronouns. The first involves the deletion of  $/w/$   $\langle h \rangle$  when  $/w/$   $\langle h \rangle$  is adjacent to a consonant (see section 2.1.1.4). This results in first person genitive pronouns being pronounced as *wnem* and *wnebi* rather than as *\*wnhem* or *\*wnhebi*. The effects of this rule for first person genitive pronouns are described in more detail in section 3.5.4.

The second process involves the neutralization of possessee gender distinctions when third person genitive pronouns occur without predicate morphemes. This is because without predicate morphemes separating the possessee gender morphemes, the prenasalization of the  $/d/$  in the third person personal pronoun *de* makes it difficult to distinguish whether a masculine  $/n/$  morpheme has occurred. The effects of this gender neutralization is described in more detail in section 3.5.4. Here I focus specifically on demonstrating the use of genitive pronouns in adnominal possession.

Genitive pronouns modify and therefore follow the possessee. To illustrate the range of possessee agreement, examples are provided with a second person plural possessor *yem*. Feminine possessee agreement is shown in (6.84), masculine in (6.85), and plural in (6.86). More detailed information on the range of possessee and possessor agreement shown on genitive pronouns can be found in section 5.5.1.3.

- (6.84) y-o $\langle he \rangle$ ga      y-o      tumani w- $\emptyset$ =yem.  
 2PL-eat.R $\langle SG.F \rangle$  2PL-stay.R building REL-SG.F=2PL

‘You (pl) eat and stay in your (pl) house.’ (120522-002:526.540) RNS, JS

<sup>9</sup>Note that predicate morphemes can also occur on the relational clitic. See section 8.3.1 for discussion.

- (6.85) wan w-n=yem ta y-ali danua-n maja-n?  
heart REL-SG.M=2PL FUT 2PL-drop.R PREP-SG.M what-SG.M  
‘Your (pl) mind, you (pl) will vote for whom?’ (120621-001:328.478) RNS, JS
- (6.86) nebal yewal-ti ta w-y-or<me> wia w-ei=yem.  
tree eye-SG FUT 3SG.F-2-lie.R<IPFV> hand REL-PL=2PL  
‘The cocoa will be left in your (pl) hands.’ (120416-000:205.920) RNS, JS

#### 6.4.2 The inalienable possessive construction: Juxtaposition

The inalienable construction is encoded via juxtaposition, with the possessor always preceding the possessee. It can be schematized as follows: [Possessor.NP+Possessee]<sup>NP</sup>.<sup>10</sup> Possessive relationships involving body parts, part-whole relationships, or relational nouns are typically encoded with the inalienable construction. In example (6.87), the inalienable possessive construction encodes the body part term *yawi* ‘tail’ as being possessed by *neigal* ‘cuscus’. Along the same lines, the inalienable possessive construction indicates that *haseliagi* ‘flesh’ is possessed by *wual* ‘pig’ in example (6.88).

- (6.87) te-i ta Ø-aro Ø-atr-e-n neigal yawi yot-u-n.  
3-PL FUT 3PL-go.R 3PL-see.R-AUG-SG.M cuscus tail DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
‘They will go and see the tail of the cuscus there.’ (120621-004:188.970) RNS, TW
- (6.88) wual haseliagi-l ki maja-n n-y-aya?  
pig flesh-SG already what-SG.M 3SG.M-2-give.R  
‘Who gave you (sg or pl) pig flesh?’ (140224-005:68.440) GE-[haseliagil], LA

The use of the inalienable possessive construction to encode part-whole possessive relationships is demonstrated in (6.89)-(6.91). In example (6.89), *padia* ‘wall’ is possessed by *tumani* ‘building’. In example (6.90), *pala* ‘branch’ is possessed by *nebal* ‘tree’. In example (6.91), *nibeta* ‘breadfruit liquid’ is possessed by *hiwol* ‘breadfruit’.

- (6.89) tumani padia yot-u-Ø ...  
building wall DEM-MDIST-SG.F ...  
‘the wall of the house there ... ’ (120623-007:755.310) RNS, TW
- (6.90) m-atia nebal pala hiro sipeki-l.  
1SG-see.R tree branch NEG little-SG  
‘I saw the branch wasn’t small.’ (120601-009:187.160) RNS, YW

<sup>10</sup>Note that Yeri also uses juxtaposition to coordinate nominal phrases. Although context and real world knowledge generally disambiguates between the two interpretations, utterances taken out of context or utterances where the listener does not have sufficient context may be ambiguous. See section 6.7.1 for information on coordination by juxtaposition and the potential ambiguity.

- (6.91) w-ada-ki            danua- $\emptyset$  hiwol            nibeta.  
 3PL-chop.R-APPL PREP    breadfruit-SG.F breadfruit.liquid  
 ‘They’ll cut it for the breadfruit’s sap.’ (120522-003:250.841) RNS, JS

Relational nouns (see section 6.6) also occur in the inalienable possessive construction. I use the term ‘relational nouns’ to refer to those nouns which are used, either alone or in conjunction with other nouns in a possessive relationship, to express spatial relationships. In (6.92) and (6.93) the relational nouns *mani* ‘inside’ and *tupi* ‘top’ serve as the possessee and immediately follow the possessor nominal phrase. Each of these examples come from natural discourse and as such illustrates how common it is for possessors and possesseees in the inalienable construction to consist of a single element. More complex examples can be found in section 6.6, where relational nouns are described in detail.

- (6.92) n-o                    nebal mani.  
 3SG.M-stay.R tree    inside  
 ‘He sat there inside the log.’ (120517-001:2016.847) RNS, JS
- (6.93) nigo-n-gon        w- $\emptyset$ =de-i    n-o                    nebal tupi.  
 child-SG.M-RED REL-SG=3-i 3SG.M-stay.R tree    top  
 ‘His son slept on top of the tree.’ (120517-001:2147.145) RNS, JS

Although kinship relationships are typically expressed with the alienable possessive construction (section 6.4.3), a few examples where this possessive relationship is encoded with the inalienable possessive construction do occur in natural discourse, as in (6.94) and (6.95). In each example the possessor nominal phrase consists of a proper noun referring to a wife, and the possessee is the noun for ‘husband’.

- (6.94) Turegal megual    n-okirkai                    n-aro             $\emptyset$ -do<me>di            wul  
 Turegal husband 3SG.M-cross.river.R 3SG.M-go.R 3PL-stand.R<IPFV> water  
 nemual w- $\emptyset$ =de-n.  
 middle REL-SG=3-SG.M  
 ‘Turegal’s husband crossed the river and stood in the middle of it.’ (140313-077:187.368) GE-[wul nemual wden], LA
- (6.95) yot-a- $\emptyset$             ta    m-atia    Selin megual    w- $\emptyset$ =di- $\emptyset$             Sumil  
 DEM-PROX-SG.F FUT 1SG-see.R Selin husband REL-SG=3-SG.F Sumil.village  
 yaʔa.  
 here  
 ‘Here, I will see Selin’s husband from Sumil.’ (120615-001:386.399) RNS, LA

Given the tendency for Yeri speakers not to load their nominal phrases with modifiers (see section 15.1), the most common examples of this construction in natural discourse involve

possessors and possessee consisting of a single word, as most of the previous examples demonstrated. This is especially true for possessor nominal phrases. Despite this tendency, it is possible to have additional modifiers of the possessee or for the possessor nominal phrase to contain modifiers, as in (6.96) and (6.97). In example (6.96), the possessor nominal phrase *tumani wlopen yotun* ‘that big building’ contains three words, while in example (6.97), the possessor nominal phrase *hiwora wye* ‘your wife’ contains two words and there is an additional modifier *wiam* ‘two’ of the possessee noun *heya* ‘bilum’.

- (6.96) tumani w-Ø=lope-n      yot-u-n      lobehi-i ta    n-atia    sahal  
 building REL-SG=big-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M rib-PL    FUT 2SG-see.R bush.knife  
 m-gei-ka-n      n-or.  
 1SG-leave.R-AUG-SG.M 3SG.M-lie.R  
 ‘At the side of the big house there, you (sg) will see the bush knife I left lying there.’ (140311-081:91.350) GE-[tumani wlopen yotun lobehi], LA  
 CI: *lobehi* functions as a relational noun meaning ‘side’ here.

- (6.97) hiwora w-Ø=ye,      heya wia-m, yo    Ø-or-a-i.  
 wife    REL-SG.F=2SG bilum two-M path 3PL-lie.R-AUG-PL  
 ‘Your (sg) wife’s two bilums have holes.’ (140408-206:1261.677) DE, JS

However as additional modifiers of the possessee are added, it becomes more common to add a genitive pronoun modifying the possessee. This genitive pronoun agrees with both the possessee and the possessor nominal phrase, and this agreement with both may help avoid confusion with particularly long possessor nominal phrases. Examples are shown in (6.98)-(6.101).

- (6.98) pueti    yot-u-n      pagi-i      w-ei=de-n      yot-u-Ø  
 betel.nut DEM-MDIST-SG.M betel.nut.pulp-PL REL-PL=3-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ...  
 ...  
 ‘That betel nut, its waste ...’ (120517-001:974.941) RNS, JS

- (6.99) nigo-n-gon    yot-u-n,      la    nebo n-anokil-a-n,      lute-i  
 child-SG.M-gon DEM-MDIST-SG.M PST dog    3SG.M-bite.R-AUG-SG.M sore-PL  
 w-ei=de-n,    ki    Ø-gar<m>keba.  
 REL-PL=3-SG.M already 3PL-scab.R<IPFV>  
 ‘That boy who the dog bit, his sore it is not healing.’ (140408-206:495.347) DE, JS

- (6.100) hiwora w-Ø=ye,      heya wia-m w-ei=de-Ø,    yo    Ø-or-a-i.  
 wife    REL-SG.F=2SG bilum two-M REL-PL=3-SG.F path 3PL-lie.R-AUG-PL  
 ‘Your (sg) wife’s two bilums have holes.’ (140408-206:1273.597) DE, JS

- (6.101) nol-mi w-ei=lope-i wia-m, pine-i w-ei=de-i Ø-gobi.  
 bird-PL REL-ei-big-PL two-M wing-PL REL-PL=3-PL 3PL-bend.in.half.R  
 ‘The two big birds, their wings are broken.’ (140408-206:831.838) DE, JS

### 6.4.3 The alienable possessive construction: Genitive pronoun and possessor nominal phrase

Unlike the inalienable possessive construction, the alienable construction shows the reverse word order, with the possessor following the possessee. Additionally, an obligatory third person genitive pronoun occurs between the possessee and the possessor nominal phrase. The construction can be schematized as follows: [Possessee + 3P.Genitive Pronoun + Possessor.NP]<sup>NP</sup>. Note that I refer to the combination of the genitive pronoun and the possessor nominal phrase as a ‘genitive phrase’. This is a subtype of adnominal phrase and it modifies the possessee.

Somewhat unexpectedly, kinship relations in Yeri are typically coded with the alienable possessive construction, as in (6.102)-(6.104). In each example the possessee, the kin term, precedes the genitive phrase consisting of the third person genitive pronoun and the possessor nominal phrase.<sup>11</sup>

- (6.102) kiyipa m-aro m-a<me>ya-ka-Ø nua w-Ø=d Dan  
 earlier.today 1SG-go.R 1SG-give.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F mother REL-SG=3 Dan  
 w-Ø=de-Ø.  
 REL-SG=3-SG.F  
 ‘Today I went and gave hers to Dan’s mother.’ (120420-000:863.530) RNS, JS
- (6.103) nakal w-Ø=di Solomon male la hiro hamote-n w-Ø=lope-n.  
 father REL-SG=3 Solomon also PST NEG individual-SG.M REL-SG=big-SG.M  
 ‘Solomon’s father also was not big man.’ (120524-005:336.766) RNS, JS
- (6.104) hem m-nobia hiwora w-Ø=di Colin.  
 1SG 1SG-talk.R wife REL-SG=3 Colin  
 ‘I told Colin’s wife.’ (120520-000:337.634) RNS, AS

An example of abstract possession and temporary possession are shown encoded by the alienable possessive construction in (6.105) and (6.106) respectively.

- (6.105) te-i w-ei=de-i nogil Poloyolpa Ø-a<me>na.  
 3-PL REL-PL=3-PL village Yolpa.village 3PL-come.R<IPFV>  
 ‘They of Yolpa village are coming.’ (140408-206:1641.964) DE, JS

<sup>11</sup>Example (6.102) also illustrates the genitive pronoun *wde* functioning as the sole element of a nominal phrase (see section 6.1), referring to the non-grammatical object of *aya* ‘give’, the thing that is given (see section 4.5.2).

- (6.106) hulula w-Ø=di hamei peigilia-i.  
 sago.grub REL-SG=3 people some-PL  
 ‘The sago grub belongs to some people.’ (120529-001:284.968) RNS, JS

#### 6.4.4 Variation in choice of possessive construction

Although the inalienable possessive construction typically encodes specific types of possessive relationships (e.g. those involving body part terms, part-whole relationships, relational nouns) that are distinct from those possessive relationships typically encoded by the alienable possessive construction (those involving kinship, temporary possession, abstract possession), both the inalienable possessive construction and the alienable possessive construction are judged grammatically acceptable for all possessive relationships. For instance, natural text examples like (6.107) and (6.108) can be found where body part terms occur in the alienable possessive construction even though the inalienable possessive construction is the preferred construction for possessive relationships involving body part terms.

- (6.107) Øo<i>mo hawal w-ei=di Wilkei.  
 3PL-eat.R.IPFV<PL> feet REL-PL=3 Wilkei.  
 ‘It burned Wilkei’s leg.’ (120405-000:116.238) RNS, AS
- (6.108) n-gei-ka-Ø d-a<m>wo hobi yawi w-ei=de-n  
 3SG.M-leave.R-AUG-SG.F MDL-set.R<IPFV> body tail REL-PL=3-SG.M  
 nigo-n-gon yot-u-n  
 child-SG.M-RED DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
 ‘He put them on the body of that son.’ (120517-001:803.736) RNS, JS

Given examples like these, the issue of which possessive construction is used to encode a specific possessive relationship is clearly one of frequency and preference rather than grammaticality. This is particularly clear from examples like (6.109)-(6.112), where the same possessive relationship can be encoded with either possessive construction. The possessee *yawi* ‘tail’ occurs in the inalienable possessive construction in example (6.109), but the alienable possessive construction in example (6.110).

- (6.109) niawega dalan yawi w-Ø=de-n sibelial n-odinia-n?  
 lizard dalan.lizard tail REL-SG=3-SG.M long 3SG.M-how.R-SG.M  
 ‘How long is the dalan lizard’s tail?’ (140414-008:1438.427) DE, JS
- (6.110) yawi w-Ø=di-Ø niawega dalan sibelial w-Ø=de-n  
 tail REL-SG=3-SG.F lizard dalan.lizard long REL-SG=3-SG.M  
 n-odinia-n?  
 3SG.M-how.R-SG.M  
 ‘How long is the dalan lizard’s tail?’ (140414-008:1447.269) GJ, JS



Similarly, the possessee *sahal* ‘bush knife’ occurs in the inalienable possessive construction in example (6.111), but the alienable possessive construction in example (6.112).

- (6.111) mimi sahal w- $\emptyset$ =de- $\emptyset$  n-or yot-a- $\emptyset$ .  
 mother bush.knife REL-SG=3-SG.F 3SG.M-lie.R DEM-PROX-SG.F  
 ‘Mother’s knife is there.’ (140503-018:225.444) GJ, LA

- (6.112) sahal w- $\emptyset$ =di- $\emptyset$  mimi n-or yot-a- $\emptyset$ .  
 bush.knife REL-SG=3-SG.F mother 3SG.M-lie.R DEM-PROX-SG.F  
 ‘Mother’s knife is there.’ (140503-018:215.942) GJ, LA

## 6.5 The classificatory noun construction

When naming specific plant or animal species, Yeri speakers frequently include what I refer to as a ‘classificatory noun’ before the name of the species. I use the term ‘classificatory noun’ for any noun that refers to a larger class that is placed before a word referring to a specific species or member of that class. The use of a classificatory noun is not obligatory, but is very common with flora and fauna.

For example, the classificatory noun *nol* ‘bird’ can precede the name of any type or species of bird, as in *nol womala* ‘hornbill bird’, *nol walkega* ‘bird of paradise’, or *nol huba* ‘hawk’. Note that a few words refer to more than one species of animal. For instance, *yamega* is the name of both a bird, *nol yamega*, and a fish, *nanula yamega*. For this small class of words, the classificatory noun serves to disambiguate which species is meant. Without the classificatory noun, only context and real world knowledge can disambiguate. Additional examples of the classificatory noun construction with the classificatory nouns *nol* ‘bird’, *nanula* ‘fish’, and *nebal* ‘tree’ are presented in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Examples of classificatory nouns  
example

| gloss           | classificatory noun | species  |
|-----------------|---------------------|----------|
| ‘bumira bird’   | nol                 | bumira   |
| ‘howen bird’    | nol                 | howen    |
| ‘yamega bird’   | nol                 | yamega   |
| ‘yamega fish’   | nanula              | yamega   |
| ‘halketa fish’  | nanula              | halketa  |
| ‘labuketa fish’ | nanula              | labuketa |
| ‘haripei tree’  | nebal               | haripei  |
| ‘hayir tree’    | nebal               | hayir    |
| ‘hilpote tree’  | nebal               | hilpote  |

While it is particularly common for classificatory nouns to precede other nouns, they can precede any word class which is used to label a species. Although the words which refer to species are most often classified as nouns, some are classified as ideophones. This is because Yeri frequently names species for the calls that they make. The word class which typically expresses these types of calls or sounds is the ideophone word class, and for this reason, it is not uncommon for an ideophone referring to these calls to be used to refer to the species itself. For example, *miakua kueikuei* refers to a frog species known for making a call that sounds like [kweikwei]. When ideophones are used to refer to a species, they can take on characteristics commonly associated with a noun, like occurring with the default plural morpheme for nouns *-(e)gVl*, see section 5.4.2.1).

## 6.6 Relational nouns

Yeri has a semantic category of nouns (see section 3.3) which are used, either alone or in conjunction with other nouns in a possessive relationship (see section 6.4), to express spatial relationships. I refer to these nouns as ‘relational nouns’. This section will be devoted to describing the behavior of relational nouns, providing evidence that relational nouns are in fact best analyzed as nouns rather than adpositions, and explaining how relational nouns are used to encode spatial relationships. Note that many body part terms in Yeri also function as relational nouns, a common cross-linguistic phenomenon. Table 6.3 provides a list of the most common relational nouns.

Table 6.3: Common relational nouns

|          | gloss    |         | gloss          |
|----------|----------|---------|----------------|
| tupi     | ‘top’    | hagil   | ‘back’         |
| hewo     | ‘bottom’ | lobehi  | ‘rib, side’    |
| mani     | ‘inside’ | tabi    | ‘mouth’        |
| weisebia | ‘under’  | salgi   | ‘edge’         |
| nemual   | ‘middle’ | neigela | ‘bottom’       |
| woli     | ‘side’   | hilueti | ‘neck, throat’ |

Relational nouns are not obligatorily possessed and the contexts where they do not function as possessors are the focus of section 6.6.2. However, it is very common for relational nouns to occur in possessive constructions to express spatial relationships.<sup>12</sup> Section 6.6.2 is devoted to the occurrence of relational nouns in the inalienable possessive construction and the alienable possessive construction. Section 6.6.3 provides evidence that the possessor nominal phrase and the relational nouns together constitute a nominal phrase. This nominal

<sup>12</sup>Although some relational nouns frequently occur with a variety of possessor nominal phrases, there are restrictions on the co-occurrence of relational nouns with possessor nominal phrases.

phrase shows the same behavior as nominal phrases which do not include relational nouns and can function as a subject or an object.

### 6.6.1 Relational nouns outside of possessive constructions

Relational nouns often occur as the sole element of a nominal phrase, as in (6.113), though they can also be modified, as in (6.114). As nominal phrases, they can function as non-arguments or arguments.<sup>13</sup> In example (6.113), the relational noun *woli* ‘side’ is the sole element of the nominal phrase functioning as a non-argument to indicate the location of the activity. In example (6.114), the relational noun *mani* ‘inside’ is modified by the genitive pronoun *wden*. This nominal phrase acts as the subject of the verbal copula and triggers third person singular feminine agreement on the verbal copula.

- (6.113) te-n      n-ada              nebal-gi woli.  
           3-SG.M 3SG.M-chop.R tree-PL side  
           ‘He cut trees on the other side.’ (140404-023:312.253) DE, LA

- (6.114) mani w-∅=de-n              ki              w-o              sopeina.  
           inside REL-SG=3-SG.M already 3SG.F-COP.R dry  
           ‘Its inside is dry.’ (120608-002:265.220) RNS, JS

In particular, relational nouns frequently function as the locative objects of posture verbs (see section 7.7.1.4), as in (6.115)-(6.117), where the relational nouns *woli* ‘side’, *tupi* ‘top’, and *mani* ‘inside’ occur with the posture verbs *ormia* ‘be, stay, live’, *dawo* ‘sit’, and *or* ‘lie, sleep’. I use the term ‘locative object’ to refer to applicative objects which express locations (see section 7.7).

- (6.115) ta      ∅-ormia              woli.  
           FUT 3PL-stay.R.IPFV side  
           ‘They will stay on the other side.’ (120623-007:639.970) RNS, TW

- (6.116) neigal n-d-awo              tupi.  
           cuscus 3SG.M-MDL-set.R top  
           ‘The cuscus is sitting above.’ (120621-003:245.622) RNS, AS

- (6.117) ta      n-or<me>              mani.  
           FUT 3SG.M-lie.R<IPFV> inside  
           ‘It will sleep inside.’ (120611-004:402.524) RNS JS

<sup>13</sup>While nominal phrases consisting of only relational nouns are common in non-argument positions, it is also common for nominal phrases consisting of other subclasses of nouns to occur in these positions.

### 6.6.2 Relational nouns as possesseees

While relational nouns alone can constitute a nominal phrase, it is very common for relational nouns to occur in combination with a possessor nominal phrase in a possessive construction. When this occurs, the relational noun functions as the possessee. In natural discourse, there is a clear preference for relational nouns to occur in the inalienable possessive construction, though speakers are happy to provide examples of relational nouns in the alienable possessive construction upon request. For detailed discussion regarding the structure of the inalienable possessive construction and the alienable possessive construction, see section 6.4.2 and section 6.4.3 respectively. A necessarily brief summary is provided here to discuss the use of relational nouns in these constructions.

The inalienable possessive construction (see section 6.4.2) has the basic structure [Possessor.NP+Possessee]<sup>NP</sup> and is formed via juxtaposition. Examples from natural discourse showing relational nouns occurring in the inalienable possessive construction are provided in (6.118) and (6.119). In these examples, the relational nouns *weisebia* ‘under’ and *mani* ‘inside’ function as the possesseees, while *haluagil* ‘mountain’ and *wul* ‘water, river’ function as the possessors.

- (6.118) h-o            haluagil   weisebia.  
                  1PL-stay.R mountain under  
                  ‘We live under the mountains.’ (120621-001:548.067) RNS, AS

- (6.119) ki            w-b-gara            m-or            wul, wul   mani.  
                  already 3SG.F-1SG-dig.R 1SG-lie.R water water inside  
                  ‘She buried me inside the river.’ (120517-001:431.451) RNS JS

A more complex example is provided in example (6.120), where the body part term and relational noun *lobehî* ‘rib, side’ occurs as the possessee and *tumani wlopen yotun* ‘that big house’ functions as the possessor nominal phrase.

- (6.120) tumani w-∅=lope-n            yot-u-n            lobehî-i, ta   n-atia  
                  building REL-SG=big-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M lobehî-PL FUT 2SG-see.R  
                  sahal            m-gei-ka-n            n-or.  
                  bush.knife 1SG-leave.R-AUG-SG.M 3SG.M-lie.R  
                  ‘At the side of the big house there, you (sg) will see the bush knife I left lying there.’ (140311-081:91.350) GE-[tumani wlopen yotun lobehî], LA

The relational noun *mani* ‘inside’ functions as the possessee in example (6.121) and the nominal phrase *moti no poki* ‘the black pot’ functions as the possessor.

- (6.121) yati m-gei-ka-∅ w-or moti n-o poki mani.  
 sago 1SG-leave.R-AUG-SG.F 3SG.F-lie.R pot 3SG.M-COP.R black.beetle inside  
 ‘I put the sago inside the black pot.’ (140310-060:653.434) OS, LA  
 LT: ‘The sago, I put it, it lies in the black pot’s inside.’

As more modifiers are included in the nominal phrase with the possessee and possessor, it is common for a genitive pronoun to modify the possessee. This genitive pronoun shows agreement with the possessee (in these examples the relational noun) and with the possessor nominal phrase. This can be seen in example (6.122), where the genitive pronoun *wden* shows singular agreement with the relational noun *neigela* ‘bottom’ and third person singular masculine agreement with the possessor nominal phrase *nebal sipekil* ‘small tree’.

- (6.122) n-ero di<me>di nebal sipeki-l neige-la w-∅=de-n  
 2SG-go.I stand.I<IPFV> tree little-SG bottom-SG REL-SG=3-SG.M  
 yot-u-n.  
 DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
 ‘You (sg) go and stand at that small tree’s stump.’ (140313-073:35.290) GE-[nebal sipekil neigela], LA

The use of an additional genitive pronoun can also be seen in (6.123) and (6.124). In example (6.123), the genitive pronoun *wde* shows third person singular feminine agreement with the possessor nominal phrase *tapo ŋa* ‘another tree hole’ and singular agreement with the relational noun *mani* ‘inside’. In example (6.124), the genitive pronoun *wden* shows third person singular masculine agreement with the possessor nominal phrase *wul* ‘water, river’ and singular agreement with the relational noun *nemual* ‘middle’.<sup>14</sup>

- (6.123) hem m-ogera neigal hoharou aro n-nania tapo ŋa-∅ mani  
 1SG 1SG-chase.R cuscus bandicoot go.R 3SG.M-go.in.R tree.hole one-SG.F inside  
 w-∅=de-∅.  
 REL-SG=3-SG.F  
 ‘I chased a bandicoot into the inside of another tree hole.’ (140310-060:837.485)  
 GE-[tapo ŋa mani], JS
- (6.124) Turegal megal n-okirkai n-aro do<me>di wul nemual  
 Turegal husband 3SG.M-cross.river.R 3SG.M-go.R stand.R<IPFV> water middle  
 w-∅=de-n.  
 REL-SG=3-SG.M  
 ‘Turegal’s husband crossed the river and stood in the middle of it.’ (140313-077:187.368) GE-[wul nemual wden], LA

<sup>14</sup>Since *wul* here refers to a river, singular masculine agreement with it is an example of the use of masculine agreement to emphasize the size or strength of the referent. See section 5.3.4.4.

This tendency is particularly easy to see with examples like (6.125). In this example the nominal phrase *wul Hamil hilueti* ‘Hamil river’s throat’ meaning the source of the Hamil river, is expressed in both ways. First, the possessor nominal phrase is *wul Hamil* ‘Hamil river’, but afterwards the speaker adds a demonstrative *wul Hamil yota* ‘this Hamil river’ or ‘the Hamil river here’ to the possessor nominal phrase. In the second repetition with the longer possessor nominal phrase, an additional genitive pronoun modifies the relational noun *hilueti* ‘neck, throat’.

- (6.125) wul Hamil hilu-eti, wul Hamil yot-a-n, hilu-eti  
 water Hamil.river neck-SG water Hamil.river DEM-PROX-SG.M neck-SG  
 w-Ø=de-n, yo w-Ø=lope-Ø w-or Ø-ar Aitape.  
 REL-SG=3-SG.M path REL-SG=big-SG.F 3SG.F-lie.R 3PL-go.to.R Aitape  
 ‘The highway that goes to Aitape is located at the source of the Hamil river.’  
 (140313-074:10.540) GE-[hilueti], LA  
 LT: ‘River Hamil’s throat, river Hamil there, its throat, the big road lies there  
 that goes to Aitape.’

Although relational nouns typically occur in the inalienable possessive construction, they are nonetheless permitted to occur in the alienable possessive construction. This construction can be schematized as: [Possessee + 3P.Genitive Pronoun + Possessor.NP]<sup>NP</sup>.

In both example (6.126) and example (6.127), the relational nouns *weisebia* ‘under’ and *neigela* ‘bottom’ function as the possessee in an alienable possessive construction with the nominal phrases *nebal wlopen* ‘big tree’ and *nebal duar* ‘duar tree’ acting as possessor nominal phrases. In each example, the third person genitive pronoun links the possessee to the possessor nominal phrase and may optionally show agreement with the possessor. For details of genitive pronoun agreement, see section 5.5.1.3.

- (6.126) harogi-l w-or weisebia w-Ø=di nebal w-Ø=lope-n.  
 axe-SG 3SG.F-lie.R under REL-SG=3 tree REL-SG=big-SG.M  
 ‘The axe is at the bottom of the big tree.’ (140313-066:97.481) GE-[weisebia wd  
 nebal wlopen], LA
- (6.127) n-ero di<me>di neige-la w-Ø=di-Ø nebal duar.  
 2SG-go.I stand<.IIPFV> bottom-SG REL-SG=3-SG.F tree duar.tree  
 ‘You (sg) go and stand at the stump of the quila tree.’ (140313-073:74.486) GJ,  
 LA

Examples like (6.128) demonstrate the acceptability of relational nouns in either possessive construction. In this example the relational noun *salgi* ‘edge’ first occurs in an inalienable possessive construction expressing ‘the edge of the bed’. This meaning is then immediately

rephrased showing the relational noun in an alienable possessive construction. In both instances, a genitive pronoun occurs which shows plural number agreement with the possessor *hapowil*.

- (6.128) hem m-or hapo-wil salgi w- $\emptyset$ =de-i nadi, salgi w- $\emptyset$ =de-i  
 1SG 1SG-lie.R sago.stick-PL edge REL-SG=3-PL only edge REL-SG=3-PL  
 hapo-wil nadi.  
 sago.stick-PL only  
 ‘I’m sleeping at the very edge of the bed, the edge of the bed.’ (140313-078:59.734)  
 GE-[salgi wdi hapowil], LA

### 6.6.3 Possessee relational nouns in subject or object NPs

In the examples given in the preceding section, the nominal phrases which included possessee relational nouns referred to optional locations. However, it is also possible for nominal phrases which include possessee relational nouns to function as the subject or object of a clause in the same way that any nominal phrase can. Examples (6.129) and (6.130) were specifically elicited to demonstrate nominal phrases like these functioning as the subject of a clause. In example (6.129), the relational noun *lobeh* ‘rib, side’ functions as the possessee in the inalienable possessive construction, while in example (6.130), the relational noun *salgi* ‘edge’ functions as the possessee in the alienable possessive construction.

In example (6.129), the nominal phrase including the relational noun functions as the subject of the predicate *no mabirka* ‘be thick’ and triggers third person singular masculine agreement.

- (6.129) sahal yot-u-n, lobeh-i w- $\emptyset$ =de-n, n-o mabirka  
 bush.knife DEM-MDIST-SG.M rib-PL REL-SG=3-SG.M 3SG.M-COP.R thick  
 nadi.  
 very  
 ‘That bush knife, its side, it’s very thick.’ (140311-081:420.246) GE-[sahal yotu-n lobehi wden], LA
- (6.130) sahal w-n=hem, salgi w- $\emptyset$ =di sahal w-n=hem hiro  
 bush.knife REL-SG.M=1SG edge REL-SG=3 bush.knife REL-SG.M=1SG NEG  
 n-ie silka, yautu-eti.  
 3SG.M-COP.I sharp blunt-SG  
 ‘My bush knife, the edge of my bush knife is not sharp, it’s dull.’ (140313-078:94.696) GE-[salgi wdi sahal wnem], LA

Additional examples can be provided demonstrating similarly structured nominal phrases functioning as objects. In (6.131), the nominal phrase *nebal wlopen weisebia wden* ‘the

bottom of the big tree’ serves as the object of the verb *ol* ‘cut’, while in example (6.132), the nominal phrase *haluagil neigela yotun* serves as the object of the verb *atia* ‘see’.<sup>15</sup>

- (6.131) te-n ki n-ol nebal w-∅=lope-n wisebia w-∅=de-n.  
 3-SG.M already 3SG.M-cut tree REL-SG=big-SG.M under REL-SG=3-SG.M  
 ‘He has chopped the bottom of the tree.’ (140313-066:64.835) GE-[nebal wlopen  
 wisebia wde-n], LA

- (6.132) ko n-itia haluagil neige-la yot-u-n.  
 still 2SG-see.I mountain bottom-SG DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
 ‘You (sg) look at the bottom of the mountain.’ (140313-073:88.815) GE-[haluagil  
 neigela], LA

In example (6.133) the phrase *moti mani wden* ‘the inside of the pot’ functions as the object of the verb *gakua* ‘wash’, as shown by the third person singular masculine object infix.

- (6.133) mimi ki hiro w-gi<ne>kua moti mani w-∅=de-n.  
 mother already NEG 3SG.F-wash.I<SG.M> pot inside REL-SG=3-SG.M  
 ‘Mother didn’t wash the inside of the pot.’ (140310-060:242.633) DE, LA

Examples (6.134)-(6.139) are provided to demonstrate other relational nouns as part of subject or object nominal phrases. Examples (6.134) and (6.135) include the relational noun *woli* ‘side’. In example (6.134), the nominal phrase *tumani yotun woli wden* functions as a subject to the verbal copula, and in example (6.135), the nominal phrase *wadual woli* ‘one side of the head’ functions as the object of the verb *ol* ‘cut’.

- (6.134) tumani yot-u-n woli w-∅=de-n n-o poki.  
 building DEM-MDIST-SG.M side REL-SG=3-SG.M 3SG.M-COP.R black  
 ‘The side of that house is black.’ (140313-067:109.809) DE, LA
- (6.135) wadual woli ya kiyipa ki n-ol-ha-∅.  
 head side ya earlier.today already 2SG-cut-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘One side of the head you (sg) have already cut it.’ (140313-067:258.160) GE-[woli],  
 LA

Examples (6.136) and (6.137) illustrate the relational noun *salgi* ‘edge’ as part of subject and object nominal phrases. The nominal phrase *sahal salgi wden* ‘the knife’s edge’ functions as the subject of the verbal copula in example (6.136), while the nominal phrase *salgi wdi tumani wobir* ‘the edge of the roof’ functions as an object of the verb *altou* ‘cover’ in example (6.137).

<sup>15</sup>The verb *ol* ‘cut’ only distinguishes mood when it occurs with predicate morphemes. See section 7.6.1 for discussion.



- (6.136) sahal salgi w- $\emptyset$ =de-n hiro n-ie silka, yautu-eti nadi.  
 bush.knife edge REL-SG=3-SG.M NEG 3SG.M-COP.I silka blunt-SG very  
 ‘The bush knife’s edge is not sharp. It’s very blunt.’ (140313-078:76.430) GE-[sahal salgi], LA
- (6.137) salgi w- $\emptyset$ =di- $\emptyset$  tumani wobir hiro n-altou-e-n.  
 edge REL-SG=3-SG.F building roof NEG 2SG-cover.R-AUG-n  
 ‘The edge of the house’s roof, you (sg) didn’t cover it.’ (140313-078:198.710)  
 GE-[salgi wdi tumani wobir], LA

Examples (6.138) and (6.139) include the relational noun *weisebia* ‘under’. In example (6.138), the nominal phrase *peni weisebia weiden* ‘under its wings’ functions as the subject, as shown by the third person plural agreement on the verbal copula, while the nominal phrase *nebal weisebia* functions as the object of the verb *ol* ‘cut’ in example (6.139).

- (6.138) pine-i weisebia w-ei=de-n  $\emptyset$ -o henei-gil.  
 wing-PL under REL-PL=3-SG.M 3PL-COP.R blood-PL  
 ‘Under its wings is red.’ (140409-170:185.681) SE, LA
- (6.139) Wagin ki n-ol-ha-n nebal weisebia.  
 Wagin already 3SG.M-cut-AUG-SG.M tree under  
 ‘Wagin has cut the underneath of the big tree.’ (140313-066:51.930) GE-[weisebia], LA

## 6.7 Coordination

Yeri has three ways to coordinate nominal phrases: (i) juxtaposition, (ii) the verb *ode* ‘and, with’, and (iii) conjunctions. I discuss coordination by juxtaposition in section 6.7.1, by and-verb in section 6.7.2, and by conjunctions in section 6.7.3. Agreement with coordinated nominal phrases is described in section 6.7.4. When more than two nominal phrases are coordinated, nominal phrases may be coordinated by different means. This is the focus of section 6.7.5.

### 6.7.1 Juxtaposition

The first way to coordinate nominal phrases involves simple juxtaposition of the nominal phrases. Example (6.140) shows the coordination of the personal pronoun *hem* ‘I, me’ and the proper noun *Ansela* through juxtaposition, while example (6.141) shows the coordination of *hagil* ‘men’ and *yuta nogual* ‘women’ in this way.

- (6.140) n-a<ma>da                      hem Ansela  
 3SG.M-be.like.R<IPFV> 1SG Ansela  
 ‘It is like me and Ansela’ (120608-003:414.060) RNS, JS
- (6.141) han-gil yuta    nogual Ø-ar                      tihabeta.  
 male-PL woman PL            3PL-go.to.R sago.swamp  
 ‘Men and women went to the bush.’ (140408-206:444.474) DE, JS

Examples (6.142) and (6.143) demonstrate the coordination of nominal phrases consisting of proper nouns. The proper names are hamlet names like *Mulhebi*, *Yowirmual*, *Yiwira*, *Yobil*, and *Yowalia* in (6.142) and the names of people like *Yalimen*, *Midopi*, and *wawi Howen* in (6.143).<sup>16</sup>

- (6.142) ... n-a<ma>da-Ø                      Mulhebi                      Yowirmual                      Yiwira Yobil  
 ... 3SG.M-be.like<IPFV>-SG.F Mulhebi.hamlet Yowirmual.hamlet Yiwira Yobil  
 Yowalia.  
 Yowalia.hamlet.  
 ‘... like the hamlets Mulhebi, Yowirmual, Yiwira, Yobil, and Yowalia.’ (120608-000:222.340) RNS, JS  
 LT: ‘... like Mulhebi, Yowirmual, Yiwira, Yobil, and Yowalia.’
- (6.143) n-a<m>wodi                      Yalimen Midopi wawi                      Howen.  
 3SG.M-birth.R<IPFV> Yalimen Midopi male.ancestor Howen  
 ‘He fathered Yalimen, Midopi, and ancestor Howen.’ (120712-003:605.820) RNS, PM

More complex nominal phrases are also acceptably coordinated in this way. In example (6.144), three nominal phrases are coordinated by juxtaposition, *nigongon sipekil Wilkei* ‘little son Wilkei’, *Colin*, and *ti nogolgoi yotui*.

- (6.144) n-a<ma>da                      nigo-n-gon                      sipeki-l Wilkei Colin te-i nogolgoi  
 3SG.M-be.like.R<IPFV> child-SG.M-RED little-SG Wilkei Colin 3-PL children  
 yot-u-i.  
 DEM-MDIST-PL  
 ‘He is like my small son Wilkei, Colin, and those kids there.’ (120518-001:47.690)  
 RNS, JS

Similarly, the complex nominal phrases *sahal wdi hiwora wdi Colin* ‘Colin’s wife’s bush knife’ and *sahal wnem* ‘my knife’ are juxtaposed in example (6.145).<sup>17</sup> Example (6.146)

<sup>16</sup>Note it is common for people to be named after animals. For instance, *howen* refers to a type of bird and can also be a male name.

<sup>17</sup>In example (6.145), the genitive phrase modifying the possessee *sahal* ‘bush knife’ includes the possessor nominal phrase, *hiwora wdi Colin* ‘Colin’s wife’, which involves another genitive phrase, *wdi Colin* ‘Colin’s’, modifying the possessee *hiwora* ‘wife’.

illustrates the coordination of three nominal phrases, *heya lolewa wden* ‘his bilum and things’, *malki wopakal wden* ‘his bow and kitchen knife’, and *lawi yobiai* ‘arrows’.

- (6.145) m-a<me>ga-ki            danua sahal            w-∅=di-∅            hiwora w-∅=di  
 1SG-get.R<IPFV>-APPL PREP bush.knife REL-SG=3-SG.F wife    REL-SG=3  
 Colin sahal            w-n=hem  
 Colin bush.knife REL-SG.M=1SG  
 ‘I buy the bush knife for Colin’s wife and my bush knife.’ (120520-000:581.222)  
 RNS, AS

- (6.146) ... heya lolewa w-∅=de-n            malki            wopakal w-∅=de-n  
 ... bilum thing REL-SG=3-SG.M small.knife bow            REL-SG=3-SG.M  
 lawi            yobia-i  
 thin.sago.stem bamboo.spear-PL  
 ‘... his bilum and belongings, his spear and bow and arrows’ (120601-009:204.153)  
 RNS, YW

In example (6.147), two nominal phrases (shown in brackets) which involve possessor nominal phrases in the alienable possessive construction (see section 6.4.3) are coordinated, with the first nominal phrase referring to the culture and traditions of the present and the second nominal phrase referring to the culture and tradition of the speaker’s ancestors.

- (6.147) [wia w-ei=di-∅            kiyipa            yot-a-i]            [wia w-ei=di-∅  
 hand REL-PL=3-SG.F earlier.today DEM-PROX-PL hand REL-PL=3-SG.F  
 lawiaki nakal nogi]  
 long.ago father ASSOC  
 ‘the way of this time and the way of our parents long ago’ (120608-003:32.580)  
 RNS, JS

As Yeri can express both coordination and possession by juxtaposition, context and real-world knowledge distinguishes between the possible meanings. Since juxtaposition typically encodes possession of body-parts, parts of a whole, and relational nouns (see section 6.4.2), there is often little ambiguity. However, it is worth noting that the less frequent examples where kinship relationships are encoded via juxtaposition can be ambiguous between a possessive interpretation, as in (6.148) and (6.149), or a coordinated interpretation, as in (6.150). This may be part of the reason why kinship relationships are not frequently encoded with the inalienable possessive construction. For information on the inalienable possessive construction, see section 6.4.2.

- (6.148) Turegal megual n-okirkai n-aro Ø-do<me>di wul  
 Turegal husband 3SG.M-cross.river.R 3SG.M-go.R 3PL-stand.R<IPFV> water  
 nemual w-Ø=de-n.  
 middle REL-SG=3-SG.M  
 ‘Turegal’s husband crossed the river and stood in the middle of it.’ (140313-077:187.368) GE-[wul nemual], LA
- (6.149) yot-a-Ø ta m-atia selin megual w-Ø=di-Ø Sumil  
 DEM-PROX-SG.F FUT 1SG-see.R selin husband REL-SG=3-SG.F Sumil.village  
 yaʔa.  
 here  
 ‘Here, I will see Selin’s husband from Sumil.’ (120615-001:386.399) RNS, LA
- (6.150) hem m-a<me>na m-ana m-ar<me>r-e-i Jenny mimi  
 1SG 1SG-come.R<IPFV> 1SG-come.R 1SG-see.R<IPFV>-AUG-PL Jenny mother  
 tata Tawan ...  
 older.sibling Tawan ...  
 ‘I came and saw Jenny, her mother, and her older sister Tawan ...’ (120621-003:49.419) RNS, AS

### 6.7.2 The verb *ode* ‘and, with’

In addition to juxtaposition (see section 6.7.1) and conjunctions (see section 6.7.3), there is a verb *ode* ‘and, with’ that can be used to coordinate nominal phrases. I refer to this verb as an ‘and-verb’ in accordance with a description of a similar verb in the related language Walman by Brown & Dryer (2008). This verb inflects for both the first nominal phrase and the second nominal phrase by means of subject and object indexes. In example (6.151), *hebi* ‘we, us’ and *ti* ‘they’ are coordinated and the verb *ode* shows first person plural subject agreement with *hebi* and third person plural object agreement via suffixes with the personal pronoun *ti*.

- (6.151) hebi h-ode-i te-i h-ormia.  
 1PL 1PL-and.R-PL 3-PL 1PL-stay.R.IPFV  
 ‘We sat with them.’ (120520-000:229.077) RNS, AS

Example (6.152) demonstrates third person singular feminine subject agreement with the first coordinated nominal phrase, *nigogo wyem*, and singular masculine agreement with the second coordinated nominal phrase, *nigongon wnebi*. Example (6.153) shows third person singular masculine subject agreement with the first coordinated nominal phrase, *nena* ‘father’, and singular feminine agreement with the second coordinated nominal phrase, *Jenny*.

- (6.152) nigo- $\emptyset$ -go      w- $\emptyset$ =yem      ta      w-ode-n      nigo-n-gon  
 child-SG.F-RED REL-SG.F=2PL FUT 3SG.F-and.R-SG.M child-SG.M-RED  
 w-n=hebi      w-ormia.  
 REL-SG.M=1PL 3SG.F-stay.R.IPFV  
 ‘Your (pl) daughter will stay with our son.’ (120608-003:432.139) RNS, JS
- (6.153) nena n-arkuagil      n-ode- $\emptyset$       Jenny niagil       $\emptyset$ -o.  
 father 3SG.M-laugh.R 3SG.M-and.R-SG.F Jenny together 3PL-stay.R  
 ‘Father laughed with Jenny, and they stayed together.’ (120520-000:411.225) RNS, AS

Although agreement is acceptable with both the first and the second coordinated nominal phrases (also referred to as conjuncts), if the second nominal phrase is third person then gender and number agreement is optional. In example (6.154), the second conjunct *Lagosi* refers to a woman, in example (6.155) the second conjunct *hamoten wdi nieki skol* ‘man who leads the school; headmaster’ refers to a man, and in example (6.156) the second conjunct refers to more than one person. Despite this, the verb *ode* ‘and, with’ shows no gender or number agreement with the second conjunct and occurs in the same form *ode*.

- (6.154) hem teipa dore      m-nobia      Sila w-odi- $\emptyset$       Lagosi.  
 1SG then get.up 1SG-talk.R Sila 3SG.F-and.R-SG.F Lagosi  
 ‘I got up and told Sila and Lagosi.’ (120520-000:498.514) RNS, AS
- (6.155) hebi la      h-dore      tinogil, m-odi      hamote-n      wdi n-ieki  
 1PL PST 1PL-get.up.R village 1SG-and.R individual-SG.M SUB 3SG.M-precede.R  
 school.  
 school  
 ‘We left the village, me and the school headmaster.’ (120606-000:48.920) RNS, JS
- (6.156) h-odi      hamei w-ei=lope-i      w-ei=de-i      tinogil yot-a- $\emptyset$ .  
 1PL-and.R people REL-PL-big-PL REL-PL=3-PL village DEM-PROX-SG.F  
 ‘We were with the big men from this village here.’ (120524-005:36.900) RNS, JS

Like all verbs in Yeri which can occur with object marking, *ode* ‘and, with’ shows object agreement via prefixes for first or second person objects. This is demonstrated in examples (6.157) and (6.158), where the second nominal phrase refers to a first person or a second person object.

- (6.157) yot-ua- $\emptyset$       te- $\emptyset$       w-a<me>na      w-b-odi      hem  
 DEM-DIST-SG.F 3-SG.F 3SG.F-come.R<IPFV> 3SG.F-1SG-and 1SG  
 m-ormia.  
 1SG-stay.R.IPFV  
 ‘There, she was coming to marry me.’ (120608-003:453.370) RNS, JS

- (6.158) hem ta m-y-odi h-darku nadi.  
 1SG FUT 1SG-2-and.R 1PL-run.R very  
 ‘I and you will go quickly.’ (120524-000:693.784) LN, LN

As discussed in section 7.8, coreferential nominal phrases are optional with all subject and object indexes. For this reason, it is possible for the subject and object indexes to be the only indication of the two coordinated elements. This is what happens in example (6.159).

- (6.159) hiro m-iede-∅ h-iria helol.  
 NEG 1SG-and.I-SG.F 1PL-do.I work  
 ‘I am not doing work with her now.’ (120606-000:335.267) RNS, JS

However, it is nonetheless quite common for at least one coreferential nominal phrase to occur, as in (6.160), where only the subject index has a coreferential nominal phrase, or (6.161), where only the object index has a conominal.<sup>18</sup>

- (6.160) hebi hiro h-iede-i hiro.  
 1PL NEG 1PL-and.I-PL NEG  
 ‘We didn’t go with them.’ (120520-000:297.761) RNS, AS
- (6.161) ta aro m-ode-∅ Turegal h-ormia yot-ua-∅ h-nobia  
 FUT go.R 1SG-and.R-SG.F Turegal 1PL-stay.R-IPFV DEM-DIST-SG.F 1PL-talk.R  
 wıgal wıgal.  
 language language  
 ‘I will go sit with Turegal, and we will talk.’ (120606-000:321.123) RNS, JS

Lastly, while it is more common for the and-verb to coordinate nominal phrases or co-occur with another predicate, examples like (6.162) demonstrate *ode* ‘and, with’ as the only predicate in a clause. When the and-verb occurs as the only predicate in a clause, it is particularly common for it to occur with the noun *wan* ‘heart’ in conventionalized expressions. For instance, example (6.163) illustrates the conventionalized way of saying ‘I don’t know’ where *wan* ‘heart’ follows the and-verb. Example (6.164) demonstrates a common expression where *wan* precedes the and-verb. This expression can be translated in several ways depending on context including ‘I love X’, ‘I miss X’, ‘I am thinking of X’ or ‘I am happy with X’.

- (6.162) ki hiro m-iede-n.  
 already NEG 1SG-and.I-SG.M  
 ‘I was not with him.’ (120517-001:378.938) RNS, JS

<sup>18</sup>Since the verb *ode* ‘and, with’ selects for object suffixes rather than augmented suffixes (see section 7.3.3.2 and section 7.8.4), an immediately following coreferential nominal phrase is common.

- (6.163) hem m-odi- $\emptyset$  wan.  
1SG 1SG-and.R-SG.F heart.

‘I don’t know.’ (120606-002:330.602) RNS, TW

- (6.164) hem m-nobia, “ooo wan n-y-o<me>da ye.”  
1SG 1SG-talk.R ooo heart 3SG.M-2-and.R<IPFV> 2SG

‘I said, “Oh, I am happy with you (sg).”’ (120606-000:262.070) RNS, JS

### 6.7.3 Conjunctions

In addition to juxtaposition (see section 6.7.1) and the and-verb *ode* (see section 6.7.2), nominal phrases can also be coordinated by one of three conjunctions, though these conjunctions can only express the meaning ‘or’. These conjunctions are: *o*, *no*, and *nia*.<sup>19</sup> All three conjunctions show the same distribution in that they occur after each conjoined element, with occurrence after the last conjoined element being optional. However, only one conjunction, *o*, is very frequent in natural discourse. The conjunction *no* is not as common as *o* in spontaneous speech, and most of the examples of *nia* in the corpus come from direct elicitation.

In example (6.165) the nominal phrase functioning as subject, *Stephen o maya-n maya-n*, is composed of two nominal phrases coordinated with *o*, while in example (12.27) the nominal phrase functioning as the object of the verb *atia* ‘see’, *neigal hoharou* ‘a cuscus or a bandicoot’, is composed of two nominal phrases coordinated with *no*.

- (6.165) Stephen o maya-n maya-n do<me>di he ...  
Stephen or what-SG.M what-SG.M stand.R<IPFV> CNT ...

‘Stephen or someone was standing ...’ (120621-003:313.500) RNS, AS

- (6.166) ye la n-atia neigal no hoharou?  
2SG PST 2SG-see.R cuscus or bandicoot

‘Did you (sg) see a cuscus or a bandicoot?’ (140417-020:1395.130) GJ, LA

CI: This is an alternative question rather than a polar question.

The non-grammatical object of the verb *aya* ‘give’, the thing being given (see section 4.5.2), in example (6.167) is composed of two nominal phrases coordinated with *o*.

<sup>19</sup>Given the fluency of all Yeri speakers in Tok Pisin, it is possible that the conjunction *o* may be the same *o* ‘or’ that occurs in Tok Pisin. However, there is some potential evidence that Walman, a language closely related to Yeri, historically had a conjunction *o* meaning ‘or, and’. For this reason, I make no claims regarding the origin of the Yeri conjunction here. I note only that the conjunction *o* is not used to express the meaning ‘and’ in Yeri.

- (6.167) ta w-y-aya wia-i ŋa-Ø o wia-i.  
 FUT 3PL-2-give.R two-F one-SG.F or two-F  
 ‘They’ll give you a ‘three’ or a ‘two’.’ (120607-004:583.950) RNS, JS  
 CI: Voting in Papua New Guinea involves casting weighted votes where a vote of ‘one’ is weighted more than a vote of ‘two’ or ‘three’.

Examples showing each of the three conjunctions coordinating the nominal phrases, *Maprik* and *Wiwak*, can be seen in (6.169)-(6.170).

- (6.168) te-i Ø-ar Maprik o Wiwak.  
 3-PL 3PL-go.to.R Maprik or Wewak  
 ‘They went to Maprik or Wewak.’ (140417-020:223.664) GJ, LA
- (6.169) te-i Ø-ar Maprik no Wiwak.  
 3-PL 3PL-go.to.R Maprik or Wewak  
 ‘They went to Maprik or Wewak.’ (140417-020:218.423) GJ, LA
- (6.170) te-i Ø-ar Maprik nia-Ø Wiwak.  
 3-PL 3PL-go.to.R Maprik or-SG.F Wewak  
 ‘They went to Maprik or Wewak.’ (140417-020:227.670) GJ, LA

Note that the conjunctions *o* and *no* have a single invariant form, while the conjunction *nia* shows gender and number agreement with the preceding conjoined element by means of a suffix (see section 5.5.2). This can be seen in example (6.171), where the first instance of *nia* shows singular feminine agreement with the feminine noun *niglola* ‘greens’, while the second occurrence shows singular masculine agreement with the noun *nanula* ‘fish’.<sup>20</sup>

- (6.171) te-i la Ø-o<he>ga niglola nia-Ø nanu-la nia-n?  
 3-PL PST 3PL-eat.R<SG.F> greens or-SG.F fish-SG or-SG.M  
 ‘Did they eat greens or fish?’ (140417-020:1429.910) DE, LA  
 CI: They either ate greens or they ate fish. The speaker is asking which was eaten.

Like all other means of coordinating nominal phrases, conjunctions can be used to coordinate more than two nominal phrases (see section 6.7.5). An example from natural discourse showing the coordination of several nominal phrases with *o* is provided in (6.172)

<sup>20</sup>Note object agreement on the verb *oga* ‘eat’ occurs with the closest nominal phrase in example (6.171), where the infix on the verb *oga* ‘eat’ agrees with *niglola* ‘greens’.



- (6.172) yot-u- $\emptyset$  h-o mineigi wia-i wia-i o mineigi  $\eta$ a-i o  
 DEM-MDIST-SG.F 1PL-stay.R time.period two-F two-F or time.period one-PL or  
 wona  $\eta$ a-n o  
 moon one-SG.M or  
 ‘There we stayed for four weeks or one week or one month.’ (120623-007:955.634)  
 RNS, TW  
 CI: Although *mineigi* is frequently translated as ‘one week’ in English it actually  
 refers to an unspecified period of time shorter than a month, but longer than a  
 few days.

#### 6.7.4 Agreement and coordinated nominal phrases

When nominal phrases are coordinated to form a larger nominal phrase, agreement with this larger nominal phrase may be with the entire nominal phrase, as in (6.173) or (6.174), or it can be with only the closest nominal phrase, as in (6.175)-(6.177). Since each of the proper names in example (6.173) refers to a male, the *w-* subject prefix cannot be agreeing with a third person singular feminine participant and must be analyzed as the third person plural prefix. For this reason, agreement must be with the set of people and not the closest participant *Kawun*. In example (6.174), the verb *o* ‘be, stay, live’ shows plural agreement with the coordinated nominal phrases *Colin* ‘Colin’ and *hiwora wden* ‘his wife’ and cannot be interpreted as showing agreement with only the closest nominal phrase. If the verb agreed with the closest nominal phrase, third person singular feminine agreement would be required.

- (6.173) Godfrid Nasiena Kawun w-ormia yot-u- $\emptyset$ .  
 Godfrid Nasiena Kawun 3PL-stay.R.IPFV DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘Godfrid, Nasiena, and Kawun, they stay here.’ (120518-003:365.934) RNS, LN
- (6.174) h-atr-e-n Colin n-odi- $\emptyset$  hiwora w- $\emptyset$ =de-n ta  
 1PL-see.R-AUG-SG.M Colin 3SG.M-and.R-SG.F wife REL-SG=3-SG.M FUT  
 $\emptyset$ -o.  
 3PL-stay.R  
 ‘We saw Colin with his wife sitting.’ (120520-000:222.474) RNS, AS

That it is also acceptable to show agreement with only the closest nominal phrase is clear from examples like (6.175), where the third person singular masculine subject prefix on *ori* ‘hit’ agrees with the closest nominal phrase *Sebi*, a male proper name, and not the coordinated nominal phrase *Jenna Sebi* ‘Jenna and Sebi’, which would require plural agreement.

- (6.175) Jenna Sebi n-o<me>ri-wa- $\emptyset$  wia-i wia-i.  
 Jenna Sebi 3SG.M-hit.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F two-F two-F  
 ‘Jenna and Sebi killed four of them.’ (120621-004:203.703) RNS, TW

Example (6.176) demonstrates object agreement with only the closest nominal phrase. The verb *oga* ‘eat’ occurs with a singular masculine infix *-ne-* referring to the bark of a tree mentioned in the previous utterance rather than the entire coordinated nominal phrase *nomede pueti* ‘it and the betel nut’. If the verb agreed with the entire coordinated nominal phrase, plural agreement would be required.

- (6.176) n-o<ne>wɪl                      n-o<ne>mo                      n-o<me>da                      pueti.  
 3SG.M-take.R<SG.M> 3SG.M-eat.R.IPFV<SG.M> 3SG.M-and.R<IPFV> betel.nut  
 ‘He took it and was chewing it and the betel nut.’ (120517-001:970.277) RNS, JS  
 CI: In the previous utterance, the speaker specifies that the bark came from a mawu tree.

Similarly in example (6.177), the verb *oga* ‘eat’ does not show plural object agreement with the set of coordinated nominal phrases. Rather it shows singular feminine agreement with the closest nominal phrase *miakua* ‘frog’.

- (6.177) nogil    wɪ    Ø-o<he>ga                      miakua nanu-la wual yati nadi.  
 village SUB 3PL-eat.R<SG.F> frog    fish-SG pig    sago only  
 ‘It’s a village of eating frogs and fish, pigs and sagos only.’ (120623-007:1303.940)  
 RNS, YW

Although it is acceptable for agreement to occur with only the closest nominal phrase, in examples where the coordinated nominal phrase involves a first or second person participant, agreement is generally with the resulting set rather than just the closest nominal phrase. For instance, example (6.178) illustrates the coordination of three nominal phrases, *nua wɪ* ‘Solomon’s mother’, *Yirkuri nogi* ‘Yirkuri and others’, and *hem Habeta* ‘I Habeta’. In this example, the subject prefix on *ormia* ‘be, stay, live’ agrees with the coordinated nominal phrases together.

- (6.178) nua    w-Ø=di    Solomon Yirkuri nogi    hem Habeta h-ormia  
 mother REL-SG=3 Solomon Yirkuri ASSOC 1SG Habeta 1PL-stay.R.IPFV  
 yot-a-Ø.  
 DEM-PROX-SG.F  
 ‘Solomon’s mother, Yirkuri and them, and I Habeta, we stay here.’ (120518-003:349.660) RNS, LN

### 6.7.5 Coordination of several nominal phrases

When more than two nominal phrases are coordinated there is the additional possibility that more than one coordination strategy can be used. This is demonstrated in (6.179)-(6.182). In

examples (6.179)-(6.181), juxtaposition (see section 6.7.1) and the and-verb *ode* ‘and, with’ (see section 6.7.2) coordinate nominal phrases. When this happens, *ode* ‘and, with’ typically coordinates the first two nominal phrases with any additional nominal phrases coordinated via juxtaposition. In these contexts, the verb *ode* typically does not show agreement with the following conjunct, occurring instead in the form *ode* regardless of the conjunct’s gender and number.

- (6.179) hem m-odi- $\emptyset$  mimi sila hebi h-ormia.  
 1SG 1SG-and.R-SG.F mother sila 1PL 1PL-stay.R.IPFV  
 ‘Me, my mother, and Sila, we stayed.’ (120520-000:294.040) RNS, AS
- (6.180) hem m-odi- $\emptyset$  mimi Colin n-odi- $\emptyset$  hiwora w- $\emptyset$ =de-n  
 1SG 1SG-and.R-SG.F mother Colin 3SG.M-and.R-SG.F wife REL-SG=3-SG.M  
 hebi h-a<me>ga nebal-gi tiawa-i.  
 1PL 1PL-get.R<IPFV> tree-PL short-PL  
 ‘I and Colin’s mother, he and his wife, we paid for the car.’ (120520-000:515.815)  
 RNS, AS
- (6.181) Lagosi w-odi winoga w- $\emptyset$ =de- $\emptyset$  nua w- $\emptyset$ =de- $\emptyset$   
 Lagosi 3SG.F-and.R older.brother REL-SG=3-SG.F mother REL-SG=3-SG.F  
 $\emptyset$ -a<me>ro.  
 3PL-go.R<IPFV>  
 ‘Lagosi, her big sister, and her mother went.’ (120520-000:269.863) RNS, AS

Example (6.182) shows the use of the verb *ode* ‘and, with’ (see section 6.7.2) and the conjunction *o* ‘or’ (see section 6.7.3) to coordinate nominal phrases. Note that while the verb *ode* has a conjunctive use and is translated as ‘and, with’, the conjunction *o* has a disjunctive use and is translated as ‘or’. In this example *yati* ‘sago palm, sago jelly’ functions as the first conjunct triggering the third person singular feminine prefix *w-* on the verb *ode*. The conjunction *o* coordinates *nanula* ‘fish’ and *hoharou* ‘bandicoot’.

- (6.182) ye ta n-o< $\emptyset$ >mo yati w-odi- $\emptyset$  nanu-la o hoharou?  
 2SG FUT 2SG-eat.R.IPFV<SG.F> sago 3SG.F-and.R-SG.F fish-SG or bandicoot  
 ‘You (sg) will eat sago with fish or bandicoot?’ (140417-020:692.310) GJ, LA

# Chapter 7

## Verbs

In this chapter I present information on Yeri verbs. I begin in section 7.1 by detailing the phonological composition of the verb root and follow this with a brief overview of acceptable morphemes that can occur on verbs in section 7.2. Section 7.3 focuses on subject and object marking on verbs, while section 7.4 describes three classes of verbs which show variation in a final stem vowel. Section 7.5 describes the use of a *d-* prefix, and section 7.6 discusses realis and irrealis mood. The occurrence of applicative objects and their interpretation with different verb types is the focus of section 7.7 and the co-occurrence of subject and object morphemes with coreferential nominal phrases is described in section 7.8. Finally, I discuss two forms of the verb *ar* ‘go’ in section 7.9 and an infrequent locative morpheme in section 7.10.

### 7.1 Composition of the verb root

The composition of Yeri verb roots is restricted in several ways. First, there are only three consonants which can occur root-initially. These are /d/, /n/, and /g/. Approximately 40% of the verb roots in the corpus (about 130 out of 330) are consonant-initial. Several examples are provided in Table 7.1.

| Table 7.1: Consonant-initial verb roots |                |          |                |                   |                |
|-----------------------------------------|----------------|----------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|
|                                         | d-initial root |          | n-initial root |                   | g-initial root |
| ‘stand’                                 | dodi           | ‘go in’  | nania          | ‘chop up’         | gako           |
| ‘catch fire’                            | dalkuelial     | ‘talk’   | nobia          | ‘bend’            | giekir         |
| ‘to clean an area’                      | diekra         | ‘loosen’ | nabilkia       | ‘look everywhere’ | gakaria        |

The vowel(s) in the first syllable of the verb root indicate mood, either realis or irrealis mood (see section 7.6). About 60% of the verbs in the corpus are not consonant-initial

and begin with the mood vowel(s). In the realis, this morpheme is typically /a/ but it can also be /o/, /ie/, /ua/, or /ei/. In the irrealis this morpheme is usually /e/ (typically realized as [i], see section 2.5.3) and less frequently /i/, or /ie/. For verb roots which begin with a consonant, this root-initial consonant is immediately followed by the mood vowel(s). Table 7.2 provides examples of several vowel-initial and consonant-initial verb roots. For simplicity, these examples are all shown with the realis morpheme.

Table 7.2: Mood vowel(s) in the first syllable of the verb root

|      | realis vowel(s) | consonant-initial root |              | vowel-initial root |
|------|-----------------|------------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| /a/  | ‘catch fire’    | dalkuelial             | ‘come’       | ana                |
| /o/  | ‘talk’          | nobia                  | ‘lie, sleep’ | or                 |
| /ie/ | ‘bend’          | giekir                 | ‘be angry’   | iekewa             |
| /ua/ | ‘lean against’  | duawir                 | ‘fall’       | uakir              |
| /ei/ | ‘set fire’      | geiboni                | ‘walk’       | eikia              |

Many verb roots have open first syllables, but verb roots with closed first syllables are not uncommon. Verb roots with first syllable codas count for approximately 65 of 330 verb roots in the lexical database. Only verb roots with an /o/ or /o/ realis vowel in the database show initial closed syllables, and these are always liquid codas (/l/ or /r/). Furthermore, none of the verbs roots beginning with /n/ in the lexical database occur with a first syllable coda consonant. Several verb roots with closed initial syllables are listed in Table 7.3. Syllable boundaries are symbolized by a period.

Table 7.3: Verb roots with initial closed syllables

|              | coda /l/     |              | coda /r/   |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------|
| ‘catch fire’ | dal.kue.lial | ‘lie, sleep’ | or         |
| ‘separate’   | gal.psia     | ‘run’        | dar.ku     |
| ‘enter’      | ol.bil       | ‘poison’     | gar.kua.ri |
| ‘vomit’      | ol.kal       | ‘leave with’ | or.ki.gra  |

More generally, Yeri verb roots only show liquid coda consonants.<sup>1</sup> Although it is possible for any syllable within the verb root to have a coda consonant, it is not common for verbs to have closed syllables that are neither root-initial nor root-final. In other words, trisyllabic verbs only rarely show closed penultimate syllables. Examples of Yeri verb roots which have closed penultimate or final syllables are provided in Table 7.4.

<sup>1</sup>Any nasal codas which occur on a verb are morphemic and are the result of imperfective and object infixation or object suffixation (see section 8.4 or section 7.3.3).

Table 7.4: Verb roots with non-initial closed syllables

|            | coda /l/   |                | coda /r/   |
|------------|------------|----------------|------------|
| ‘pull’     | al.kial    | ‘carry in bag’ | do.gir     |
| ‘enter’    | ol.bil     | ‘squeeze’      | ga.wor     |
| ‘do badly’ | a.sol.kia  | ‘burst’        | do.bir.kil |
| ‘fear’     | da.wial.ta | ‘help’         | o.kir.ki   |

Verbs are typically disyllabic or trisyllabic. Only a handful of verb roots are monosyllabic. A summary of the composition of verb roots is provided below in Table 7.5. All possibilities for a specific portion of a verb root are listed in the relative column.

Table 7.5: Composition of Yeri verb roots

| (initial C) | mood V | (coda C) | remainder of verb root      |
|-------------|--------|----------|-----------------------------|
| none        | a      | none     | none (monosyllabic)         |
| d           | o      | l        | one syllable (disyllabic)   |
| g           | ie     | r        | two syllables (trisyllabic) |
| n           | ua     |          |                             |
|             | ei     |          |                             |
|             | ĩ      |          |                             |
|             | i      |          |                             |

## 7.2 Overview of verbal morphology

Yeri verbs show a greater amount of morphology than Yeri nouns (see section 5.2). Given the nonconcatenative nature of some of this morphology, a template of all of the possible morphemes that can occur on verbs can be difficult for a reader to parse. For this reason, I provide two templates in this section, one which shows the location of verbal morphemes that occur within the verb root, and one which shows the location of morphemes that precede and follow the verb root.

Within the verb root, realis and irrealis mood (glossed R for realis and I for irrealis) is indicated by the quality of the vowel(s) in the first syllable (see section 7.6). Additionally, imperfective and additive morphemes, and for some verbs, third person object morphemes occur after the first syllable of the verb root (see chapter 9). I analyze these morphemes as infixes and symbolize their infixal status by placing them in angled brackets.

All of these infixes can co-occur, and when this happens, the morphemes occur in the order listed in the template. Section 7.1 describes the restricted composition of the first syllable of the verb root. For clarity here, I have listed possible root-initial and first syllable coda consonants in parentheses as (C). I have placed a period after the first syllable of

the verb root (following the possible first syllable coda consonant symbolized with (C)) to indicate the location of the imperfective, additive, and third person object infixes after the first syllable. A template of morphemes which occur within the verb root is provided in Figure 7.1.

(C)R/I(C).<3OBJ><IPFV><ADD>RemainderOfVerbRoot

Key: (C)=possible consonant, R= realis, I=irrealis, 3OBJ=third person object, IPFV=imperfective, ADD=additive, .=first syllable boundary

Figure 7.1: Morphemes which occur within the verb root

In addition to those morphemes which occur within the verb root, there are a large number of morphemes which precede or follow the verb root. These are presented in the template shown in Figure 7.2.

EMPH~SUBJ-1/2OBJ-DTR-VerbRoot-3OBJ-APPL-3.APPLOBJ-LOC

Key: EMPH=emphatic, SUBJ=subject, 1/2OBJ=first or second person object, DTR=detransitivizing (expresses reflexive, reciprocal, and middle meanings), 3OBJ=third person object, APPL=applicative, 3.APPLOBJ=third person applicative object, LOC=locative

Figure 7.2: Morphemes which either precede or follow the verb root

Sections of the grammar are devoted to each of these morphological processes. To facilitate a broad understanding of Yeri verbal morphology and interpretation of the template provided, I have provided short explanations of each process below and a cross-reference to the corresponding section where detailed discussion is found.

**EMPH** emphatic reduplication. Partial reduplication of the inflected verb indicates either repetition of the activity or greater intensity of the action (see section 2.6.2).

**SUBJ** subject prefix. Yeri cross-references the person, number, and gender of the subject via subject prefixes on the verb (see section 7.3.1).

**1/2OBJ** first and second person object prefix. Only first and second person objects can be cross-referenced in this position. Third person objects are marked via infixes, suffixes, or augmented suffixes (see section 7.3.2).

- DTR** detransitivizing prefix. This prefix expresses reflexive, reciprocal, and middle meanings. Its occurrence is restricted to a subset of verbs. When it occurs with specific posture-arranging transitive verb roots it creates a class of intransitive posture verbs (see section 7.5 and section 7.7.1.4).
- R/I** realis/irrealis mood vowel. Mood, either realis or irrealis mood, is indicated by the quality of the vowel(s) in the first syllable of the verb root (see section 7.6).
- 3OBJ** third person object infix, suffix, or augmented suffix (a suffix which is preceded by an augment allomorph). Each verb is lexically specified for selecting an infix, a suffix, or an augmented suffix to cross-reference third person objects. Object infixes occur after the first syllable of the verb root before imperfective or additive infixes (see chapter 9 and section 7.3.3).
- IPFV** imperfective infixes. The imperfective morpheme is a type of predicate morpheme (see chapter 8). It can occur on verbs, nouns, ideophones, adnominals, adverbs, and some particles. When it occurs on verbs, it is positioned after the first syllable of the verb root (see chapter 9, section 8.4, and section 8.2.1).
- ADD** additive infixes. The additive morpheme is a type of predicate morpheme (see chapter 8). It can occur on verbs, nouns, ideophones, adnominals, adverbs, and some particles. When it occurs on verbs, it is positioned after the first syllable of the verb root. The additive morpheme is often translated as ‘also’ or ‘still’ (see chapter 9, section 8.4, and section 8.2.2).
- APPL** applicative suffix. This morpheme can be suffixed to specific verb roots to indicate the occurrence of an additional applicative object. It can also occur on ideophones (see section 7.7.3).
- 3.APPL.OBJ** third person applicative object suffix. This morpheme can be suffixed to specific verb roots to explicitly indicate a third person applicative object (see section 7.7.3).
- LOC** locative suffix. This morpheme can be suffixed to specific verb roots to indicate the location related to the event or action. It can occur with fully inflected verbs as long as semantically compatible (see section 7.10).

### 7.3 Subject and object indexing on the verb

Yeri displays extensive argument marking on the verb. I refer to each of these bound person forms by the term ‘index’, taken from Haspelmath (2013). Given the complexity of Yeri



argument marking, these indexes are located in distinct positions on the verb, depending on the grammatical role of the argument, the person of the argument, and the class of the verb. Yeri argument indexes include: (i) subject prefixes, discussed in section 7.3.1, (ii) first and second person object prefixes, discussed in section 7.3.2, and (iii) third person object infixes, suffixes, and augmented suffixes, discussed in section 7.3.3. It is also acceptable for the possessors of objects to be indexed, and this is the focus of section 7.3.4. Lastly, Yeri frequently indexes applicative objects on the verb. This is done with the same object indexes described in this section.<sup>2</sup> Given the complexity of this topic, it is covered on its own later in the chapter in section 7.7.

### 7.3.1 Subjects

Subjects are indexed by the prefixes shown in Table 7.6 and obligatorily occur on verbs in most contexts.<sup>3</sup> When these prefixes precede another consonant, an epenthetic vowel is inserted before the following consonant (see section 2.4.9).

Table 7.6: Subject prefixes

|       | SG | PL     |
|-------|----|--------|
| 1     | m- | h-, Ø- |
| 2     | n- | y-     |
| 3SG.F | w- | Ø-, w- |
| 3SG.M | n- |        |

Elicited examples demonstrating each subject prefix occurring on the verb *or* ‘lie, sleep’ are provided in (7.1)-(7.11). Each subject prefix is demonstrated co-occurring with all acceptable coreferential personal pronouns.

- (7.1) hem m-or.  
 1SG 1SG-lie.R  
 ‘I sleep.’ (140408-184:11.134) DE, JS

- (7.2) ye n-or.  
 2SG 2SG-lie.R  
 ‘You (sg) sleep.’ (140408-184:14.439) DE, JS

<sup>2</sup>Note, however, that when third person object indexes referring to applicative objects co-occur with the applicative suffix, they follow this suffix whereas third person object indexes referring to core objects precede the applicative suffix (see section 7.7.3).

<sup>3</sup>See section 2.5.9 for information on the omission of subject prefixes before consonant-initial verb roots, section 2.5.8 for information on subject prefix omission before other prefixes, and section 13.2 for information on subject prefix omission in multi-predicate clauses.

- (7.3) *te-∅ w-or.*  
 3-SG.F 3SG.F-lie.R  
 ‘She sleeps.’ (140408-184:16.453) DE, JS
- (7.4) *te-n n-or.*  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-lie.R  
 ‘He sleeps’ (140408-184:19.235) DE, JS
- (7.5) *hebi h-or.*  
 1PL 1PL-lie.R  
 ‘We sleep.’ (140408-184:21.436) DE, JS
- (7.6) *hebi ∅-or.*  
 1PL 1PL-lie.R  
 ‘We sleep.’ (140407-193:24.979) DE, LA
- (7.7) *yem y-or.*  
 2PL 2PL-lie.R  
 ‘You (pl) sleep.’ (140408-184:28.412) DE, JS
- (7.8) *te-i ∅-or.*  
 3-PL 3PL-lie.R  
 ‘They sleep.’ (140408-184:31.087) DE, JS
- (7.9) *te-i w-or.*  
 3-PL 3PL-lie.R  
 ‘They sleep.’ (140408-184:38.577) DE, JS
- (7.10) *te-m ∅-or.*  
 3-PL 3PL-lie.R  
 ‘They sleep.’ (140408-184:74.801) DE, JS
- (7.11) *te-m w-or.*  
 3-PL 3PL-lie.R  
 ‘They sleep.’ (140408-184:80.081) DE, JS

Note the syncretism for several subject prefixes. For instance, both second person singular subjects and third person singular masculine subjects are indicated by a prefix *n-*. The verb *ana* ‘come’ occurs with the subject prefix *n-* in examples (7.12) and (7.13), where the subject personal pronouns *ye* ‘you (sg)’ and *ten* ‘he’ disambiguate the person of the subject. Subject personal pronouns are not obligatory in Yeri though (see section 7.8.1), and without them, only context disambiguates the person of the subject. This is clear from example (7.14),

where the subject prefix *n-* occurs on the verb *nobia* ‘talk’ and on the verb *or* ‘lie, sleep’. In the context where this utterance was provided, the subject of *nobia* is a man and the subject of *or* is second person. However, this example can have several other possible translations depending on whether the subject prefix on each verb is interpreted as second person singular or third person singular masculine. One such alternative translation is provided.

- (7.12) ye toyiki ta n-ana.  
 2SG tomorrow FUT 2SG-come.R  
 ‘You (sg) will come tomorrow.’ (120517-001:472.826) RNS, JS

- (7.13) te-n n-ana n-ormia .  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-come 3SG.M-stay.R.IPFV  
 ‘He came and he stayed.’ (120623-002:295.523) RNS, YW

- (7.14) ta n-b-nobia, “n-or<me>.”  
 FUT 3SG.M-1SG-talk.R 2SG-lie.R<IPFV>  
 ‘He will say to me, “You (sg) sleep now.”’ (120601-012:174.017) RNS, YW  
 AT: ‘You will tell me he’s sleeping now.’ (assuming a different context)

It is also acceptable for third person plural subjects to be indexed by two distinct prefixes ( $\emptyset$ - and *w-*), the second of which is identical to the third person singular feminine prefix *w-*. Example (7.15) demonstrates *w-* indexing a third person plural subject and (7.16) demonstrates  $\emptyset$ - indexing a third person singular feminine subject.

- (7.15) te-i w-nobia, “hiro.”  
 3-PL 3PL-talk.R NEG  
 ‘They said, “No.”’ (120606-000:71.556) RNS, JS

- (7.16) hiro, hiwora w- $\emptyset$ =di Colin w-nobia-da-i, “hiro.”  
 NEG wife REL-SG=3 Colin 3SG.F-talk.R-AUG-PL NEG  
 ‘No, Colin’s wife said to them, “No.”’ (120520-000:434.432) RNS, AS

Although both  $\emptyset$ - and *w-* function as third person plural subject prefixes,  $\emptyset$ -, shown in (7.15), is the more frequent prefix.

- (7.17) te-i  $\emptyset$ -nobias, “hiro.”  
 3-PL 3PL-talk.R NEG  
 ‘They said, “No.”’ (120606-000:141.238) RNS, JS

Lastly, it should be noted that although the majority of Yeri speakers pronounce a first person plural subject prefix *h-*, as in example (7.18), a small minority of Yeri speakers do not. For these speakers, both first person plural and third person plural subjects select for a

prefix  $\emptyset$ . Example (7.19) demonstrates the minority pattern of a zero prefix for first person plural.

- (7.18) hebi h-ana h-ormia wul Haliebi.  
 1PL 1PL-come.R 1PL-stay.R.IPFV water Haliebi.river  
 ‘We came and sat at Haliebi.’ (120601-009:330.644) RNS, YW

- (7.19) hebi si  $\emptyset$ -a<me>na  $\emptyset$ -ana  $\emptyset$ -ormia.  
 1PL again 1PL-come.R<IPFV> 1PL-come.R 1PL-stay.R.IPFV  
 ‘We then were coming back to stay.’ (120613-001:454.700) RNS, LA

### 7.3.2 Non-third person objects

First and second person objects are indexed by a single phoneme prefixed to the verb. Table 7.7 provides a list of possible object prefixes. When these prefixes precede a consonant, an epenthetic vowel is inserted before the consonant (see section 2.4.9).

Table 7.7: First and second person object prefixes

|     |    |
|-----|----|
| 1SG | b- |
| 1PL | w- |
| 2   | y- |

Examples (7.20) and (7.21) illustrate the first person singular object prefix *b-* and examples (7.22) and (7.23) illustrate the first person plural object prefix *w-*.

- (7.20) y-b-ogera.  
 2PL-1SG-chase.R  
 ‘You (pl) chased me.’ (120517-001:2350.780) RNS, JS

- (7.21) ki n-b-obi.  
 already 2SG-1SG-shoot.R  
 ‘You (sg) have shot me.’ (120623-002:149.346) RNS, YW

- (7.22) wo n-w-osia.  
 sun 3SG.M-1PL-heat.R  
 ‘The sun heats us.’ (120621-001:230.245) RNS, AS  
 CI: The verb *osia* is used here to mean very strong uncomfortable heat.

- (7.23) te-n ta n-w-dal<m>ko-ki hebi.  
 3-SG.M FUT 3SG.M-1PL-search.R<IPFV>-APPL 1PL  
 ‘Will he look for us?’ (120621-001:549.287) RNS, AS

The second person object prefix *y-* indexes both singular and plural objects, as shown in (7.24) and (7.25). A second person singular object is indexed by the prefix *y-* on the verb *asikera* ‘carry at hip’ in example (7.24) and a second person plural object is indexed on the verb *aya* ‘give’ in example (7.25).

- (7.24) aaa lawiaki m-y-asikera.  
 ah long.ago 1SG-2-hip.carry.R  
 ‘Ah, long ago I carried you (sg or pl).’ (120623-002:143.186) RNS, YW  
 CI: Previous discourse indicates that the speaker is referring to one person in this example., but the object prefix makes no reference to number.

- (7.25) teipa m-y-a<me>ya yem ŋa-∅ ŋa-∅.  
 then 1SG-2-give.R<IPFV> 2PL one-SG.F one-SG.F  
 ‘Afterward I will give each of you (pl) one.’ (120623-002:324.407) RNS, YW  
 CI: The personal pronoun *yem* indicates a second person plural recipient.

When *y-* occurs after a subject prefix and before a consonant-initial verb root, as in examples (7.26)-(7.28), it is usually pronounced as [i].<sup>4</sup> An additional phonetic transcription line is provided to demonstrate this pronunciation. Note that example (7.27) and example (7.28) illustrate possessors being indexed by the object prefix *y-*. See section 7.3.4 for discussion of possessor indexing via object prefixes.

- (7.26) uɣɛm minɔ<sup>m</sup>bia wi<sup>ŋ</sup>gal ŋa jɔta.  
 hem m-y-nobia wigal ŋa-∅ yot-a-∅.  
 1SG 1SG-2-talk.R language one-SG.F DEM-PROX-SG.F  
 ‘I tell you (sg or pl) one story here.’ (120621-001:289.702) RNS, JS
- (7.27) lauɣa<sup>m</sup>bi tɛ jɔtu la winɔ<sup>ŋ</sup>gir uɣɔ<sup>m</sup>bi jawi  
 lahabi te-∅ yot-u-∅ la w-y-no<∅>gir hobi yawi  
 yesterday 3-SG.F DEM-MDIST-SG.F PST 3SG.F-2-write.R<SG.F> body tail  
 weije  
 w-ei=ye.  
 REL-PL=2SG  
 ‘Yesterday, that girl drew it on your (sg) body.’ (140219-010:213.599) PE+GE-[wynogir], JS
- (7.28) waweti ni<sup>n</sup>di<sup>m</sup>birkil.  
 waw-eti n-y-dibirkil  
 testicle-SG 3SG.M-2-burst.I  
 ‘May your (sg or pl) testicle be smashed.’ (120601-009:86.450) RNS, YW

<sup>4</sup>Note that pronouncing the prefix as [y] is not considered ungrammatical by Yeri speakers, but [i] is clearly the preferred pronunciation in these contexts.

Otherwise, the prefix is pronounced as [y], as in example (7.29).

- (7.29)    tɛ        sisɛkia ki        wijaria        jɛm.  
           te-∅     sisekia ki        w-y-aria        yem.  
           3-SG.F trick    already 3SG.F-2-do.R 2PL

‘She was lying to you (pl).’ (120606-012:287.821) RNS, JS

Note that Yeri has a *d-* prefix which can indicate a reflexive or reciprocal object (see section 7.5). While there is some evidence suggesting that the morpheme can follow the object prefixes described here, the *d-* prefix does pattern with these object prefixes in some ways. For instance, subject prefixes can optionally be omitted before a following prefix (see section 2.5.8), and the prefixes that occur in this location are object prefixes and the *d-* prefix. Additionally, the *d-* prefix patterns with object prefixes in conditioning the stem-final vowel for VA3 verbs (see section 7.4.3).

### 7.3.3 Third person objects

Depending on the class of the verb, Yeri third person objects can be indexed by (i) infixes, (ii) suffixes, or what I call (iii) augmented suffixes.<sup>5</sup> I use the term ‘augmented suffix’ to refer to the combination of a lexically specified augment allomorph and an immediately following object suffix. I use the term ‘augment’ to refer to a semantically empty morph that precedes the object suffix (see section 7.3.3.2).

A list of all possible object allomorphs that can occur with verbs are presented in Table 7.8. Note the distinction made here between lexical allomorphs, which verbs are lexically specified for, and phonological allomorphs, which are chosen based on the phonological form of a verb (see section 1.7.4). It is common for a class of verbs to select a lexical allomorph which has several phonological allomorphs which are selected based on the form of the verb in the class. This is the case for two object indexes: *-(w)V* and *-dV*. The lexical allomorph *-(w)V* has four phonological allomorphs (*-e*, *-a*, *-we*, *-wa*) and the lexical allomorph *-dV* has two phonological allomorphs (*da*, *de*).

<sup>5</sup>See chapter 9 for arguments on why I analyze certain object morphemes as infixes.

| Table 7.8: Third person object indexes |                    |                    |         |          |       |
|----------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------|----------|-------|
| type                                   | augment allomorph? | 3SG.F- $\emptyset$ | 3SG.M-n | 3PL-i    | 3PL-m |
| infix                                  | no                 | -he-               | -ne-    | i-, -hi- | none  |
| suffix                                 | no                 | - $\emptyset$      | -n      | -i       | -m    |
| augmented suffix                       | -(w)V              | -a- $\emptyset$    | -a-n    | -a-i     | -a-m  |
|                                        |                    | -e- $\emptyset$    | -e-n    | -e-i     | -e-m  |
|                                        |                    | -wa- $\emptyset$   | -wa-n   | -wa-i    | -wa-m |
|                                        |                    | -we- $\emptyset$   | -we-n   | -we-i    | -we-m |
|                                        |                    | -ka- $\emptyset$   | -ka-n   | -ka-i    | -ka-m |
| augmented suffix                       | -ka                | -ka- $\emptyset$   | -ka-n   | -ka-i    | -ka-m |
| augmented suffix                       | -ha                | -ha- $\emptyset$   | -ha-n   | -ha-i    | -ha-m |
| augmented suffix                       | -dV                | -da- $\emptyset$   | -da-n   | -da-i    | -da-m |
| augmented suffix                       |                    | -de- $\emptyset$   | -de-n   | -de-i    | -de-m |

As a general rule, each verb is lexically specified for a single object index. A small class of verbs select infixes, described in section 7.3.3.1. However, the majority of verbs select indexes which follow the root (either suffixes or augmented suffixes). These are the focus of section 7.3.3.2. Finally, a small handful of verbs show a degree of variability in their choice of index. These verbs are discussed in section 7.3.3.3.

### 7.3.3.1 Infixes

About 40 of the approximately 330 verbs in the corpus select for object infixes rather than the more typical object suffixes or augmented suffixes (see section 7.3.3.2).<sup>6</sup> The third person object infixes are listed in Table 7.9.<sup>7</sup>

Table 7.9: Third person object infixes

|       |           |
|-------|-----------|
| 3SG.F | <he>      |
| 3SG.M | <ne>      |
| 3PL   | <i>, <hi> |

Examples (7.30)-(7.32) demonstrate the verb *gakua* ‘wash’ occurring with the object allomorphs *he-*, *ne-*, and *hi-*.

- (7.30) ki m-aro m-ga<he>kua.  
 already 1SG-go.R 1SG-wash.R<SG.F>  
 ‘I’ve already gone and washed it.’ (120705-002:183.089) GE-[nawi miai], JS

- (7.31) n-ga<ne>kua n-asor-e-n hobi yawi.  
 3SG.M-wash.R<SG.M> 3SG.M-rinse.R-AUG-SG.M body tail  
 ‘He washed him and wiped off his body.’ (120517-001:742.406) RNS, JS

<sup>6</sup>I present arguments for analyzing these object allomorphs as infixes in chapter 9.

<sup>7</sup>Note that although *-hi-* is listed here, this is an incredibly rare allomorph.

- (7.32) ba ki            ye   n-gi<hi>kua.  
                          SB already 2SG 2SG-wash.I<PL>  
                          ‘It should be you (sg) washing them.’ (140408-207:902.400) GE-[gihikua], LA

I list the longer plural allomorph *-hi-* in Table 7.9 solely for completeness. In actuality, this allomorph almost never occurs. The only instances of the allomorph in the corpus occur on the verb *gakua* ‘wash’ when it is in the irrealis mood, as in example (7.32). In the realis mood, *gakua* ‘wash’ cannot occur with the long allomorph, as shown by example (7.33), and must occur with the default plural infix allomorph *-i-*, as in (7.34).<sup>8</sup>

- (7.33) \*∅-ga<hi>kua  
                          3PL-wash.R<PL>  
                          ‘They washed them.’ (140408-207:894.360) GJ, LA

- (7.34) ta    n-ga<i>kua.  
                          FUT 3SG.M-wash.R<PL>  
                          ‘He will wash them.’ (120511-001:312.280) RNS, PA

Examples (7.35) and (7.36) demonstrate the occurrence of the default plural infix *-i-* on the verbs *owil* ‘take’ and *arepia* ‘boil’.

- (7.35) w-o<i>wil                    hiloki-l.  
                          3SG.F-take.R<PL> taro-PL  
                          ‘She got taros.’ (120409-002:299.790) RNS, AS

- (7.36) w-giewa-i                    w-a<i>repia.  
                          3SG.F-peel.R-PL 3SG.F-boil.R<PL>  
                          ‘She peeled them and boiled them.’ (120712-003:229.068) RNS, PM

Note that both singular feminine and singular masculine infix allomorphs contain the frequently reduced vowel /e/ (see section 2.1.2.1). Disyllabic verbs can occur with full or reduced forms of the singular infixes (i.e. SG.M full form: *-ne-*, SG.M reduced form: *-n-*, SG.F full form: *-he-*, SG.F reduced form: *-h-* or *-∅-*). This is because these verbs permit two alternate stress patterns: (i) default penultimate stress (see section 2.4.1) or (ii) optional antepenultimate stress (see section 2.4.2). When infixes occur in disyllabic verbs, the /e/ of the infix occurs in the penultimate syllable. When stress falls on the /e/ of the infix, the full form of the infix occurs, as was shown in examples (7.30) and (7.31) earlier in this section.

However, when stress does not fall on the /e/, the /e/ in the infix is reduced due to lack of stress (see sections 2.1.2.1 and section 2.4.7 for more information) and pronounced

<sup>8</sup>A morphophonological rule applies to the pronunciation of the plural infix. For more information, see sections 2.5.4, and 2.5.5.





- (7.42) ki manjəmia.  
 ki m-a<ne>yomia.  
 already 1SG-hide.R<SG.M>  
 ‘I’ve hidden him.’ (120517-001:1234.730) RNS, JS

With the singular feminine infix, this results in frequent deletion of /e/ and /ʉ/ <h> (see section 2.4.7 and section 2.1.1.4). Example (7.43) illustrates the singular feminine infix with the trisyllabic verb *ayomia* ‘hide’. Outside of this section, I gloss examples like (7.38) and (7.43) which involve completely reduced pronunciations of *-he-* as *-∅-* to make clear that no phonological material is pronounced. However, *-∅-* should not be understood as a distinct lexical allomorph. Verbs are not lexically specified for *-∅-*. Phonological processes in the language result in *-∅-* occurring as a reduced pronunciation of the lexical allomorph *-he-*.

- (7.43) najəmia wər.  
 n-a<he>yomia w-or.  
 3SG.M-hide.R<SG.F> 3SG.F-lie.R  
 ‘He hid it there.’ (120623-002:299.036) RNS, YW

Note that there is a morphophonological rule which results in the combination of an /a/ or /o/ realis vowel followed by the default plural infix *-i-* being pronounced as [ei] (see section 2.5.4). An example is provided in (7.44), where the verb *arepia* ‘boil’ occurs with the third person plural infix *-i-*.<sup>10</sup>

- (7.44) wi<sup>ɪ</sup>giəwəi wəirepia.  
 w-giewa-i w-a<i>repia.  
 3SG.F-peel.R-PL 3SG.F-boil.R<PL>  
 ‘She peeled them and boiled them.’ (120712-003:229.068) RNS, JS

In examples (7.45) and (7.46), the verbs *oga* ‘eat’ and *ogiwa* ‘ask’ occur with a third person plural object infix *-i-*. Unlike the usual pronunciation of /oi/ (e.g. /oi/ as in /hoi/ [ʉpɔi] ‘tear’), sequences of /oi/ which result from the realis vowel /o/ and the plural infix *-i-* are always pronounced as [ei] (see section 2.5.5 for more information on this rule).

- (7.45) meɪ<sup>ɪ</sup>ga ʉuri na<sup>n</sup>di, mərme.  
 m-o<i>ga hur-i nadi m-or<me>  
 1SG-eat.R<PL> sago.flour-PL only 1SG-lie.R<IPFV>  
 ‘After I ate only sago pancakes, I was sleeping.’ (120601-012:199.556) RNS, YW

<sup>10</sup>Note that since the sequence /ai/ is word-final in *giewai*, it can be pronounced as either [ai] or [ei], depending on whether there is a pause after *giewai* or not. In this example the speaker is speaking rapidly and the lack of pause results in the pronunciation as [ei]. See section 2.5.4

- (7.46)     $\text{ʉɛi}^{\text{ɰ}}\text{giwa}$              $\text{ti}$      $\text{ʉamɛi}$ .  
            $\text{h-o}<\text{i}>\text{giwa}$          $\text{te-i}$      $\text{hamei}$ .  
           1PL-ask.R<PL> 3-PL people  
           ‘We asked the men.’ (120606-000:69.415) RNS, JS

In this way, all infix-selecting verbs are pronounced as  $[\epsilon i]$  when the plural infix *-i-* occurs with an  $/a/$  or  $/o/$  realis vowel.<sup>11</sup> Table 7.10 provides additional examples.

Table 7.10: Morphophonology involving the plural object infix *-i-*

| gloss   | root   | 3PL.OBJ infix                    | pronunciation                                |
|---------|--------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| ‘boil’  | arepia | $\text{a}<\text{i}>\text{repia}$ | $[\epsilon i \epsilon \text{p}ia]$           |
| ‘set’   | awo    | $\text{a}<\text{i}>\text{wo}$    | $[\epsilon i w\text{ɔ}]$                     |
| ‘burn’  | aguti  | $\text{a}<\text{i}>\text{guti}$  | $[\epsilon i^{\text{ɰ}} \text{g}ut\text{i}]$ |
| ‘shoot’ | oba    | $\text{o}<\text{i}>\text{ba}$    | $[\epsilon i^{\text{m}} \text{ba}]$          |
| ‘take’  | owil   | $\text{o}<\text{i}>\text{wil}$   | $[\epsilon i w\text{il}]$                    |
| ‘pour’  | operi  | $\text{o}<\text{i}>\text{peri}$  | $[\epsilon i \text{p} \epsilon ri]$          |

### 7.3.3.2 Suffixes and augmented suffixes

The majority of Yeri verbs do not select for third person object infixes, but instead occur with either object suffixes alone or with object suffixes preceded by what I call an augment allomorph. This augment allomorph is a semantically empty morph which immediately precedes the object suffix. Where the verb occurs without an augment allomorph, I say that the verb is lexically specified for an object suffix. Where the verb requires an augment allomorph before an object suffix, I say that the verb is lexically specified for an object augmented suffix. More specifically, I use the term ‘augmented suffix’ to refer to the combination of a lexically specified augment allomorph and an immediately following object suffix. Note that both suffixes and augmented suffixes can refer to third person core objects or applicative objects (see section 4.1).

Table 7.11 lists several examples of verbs which occur without augment allomorphs. For these verbs, object suffixes occur directly on the verb. I have listed the plural morpheme *-m* for completeness here, but this morpheme is very rare.

<sup>11</sup>There is evidence that the  $/o/$  which occurs as a realis vowel is historically  $/a/$ .

Table 7.11: Verbs which do not occur with an augment allomorph

| gloss               | root   | 3SG.F               | 3SG.M    | 3PL                |
|---------------------|--------|---------------------|----------|--------------------|
| ‘get’               | aga    | aga- $\emptyset$    | aga-n    | aga-i, aga-m       |
| ‘chop up’           | gako   | gako- $\emptyset$   | gako-n   | gako-i, gako-m     |
| ‘drop’              | alia   | alia- $\emptyset$   | alia-n   | alia-i, alia-m     |
| ‘turn’              | alolia | alolia- $\emptyset$ | alolia-n | alolia-i, alolia-m |
| ‘tear down’         | arobia | arobia- $\emptyset$ | arobia-n | arobia-i, arobia-m |
| ‘call’              | ania   | ania- $\emptyset$   | ania-n   | ania-i, ania-m     |
| ‘do well, decorate’ | aruba  | aruba- $\emptyset$  | aruba-n  | aruba-i, aruba-m   |
| ‘birth’             | awodi  | awodi- $\emptyset$  | awodi-n  | awodi-i, awodi-m   |
| ‘and, with’         | ode    | ode- $\emptyset$    | ode-n    | ode-i, ode-m       |

I make a distinction between lexical allomorphs, which verbs are lexically specified for, and phonological allomorphs, which are chosen based on the phonological form of a verb (see section 1.7.4). Verbs which select for augmented suffixes occur with one of four lexical allomorphs:  $-(w)V$ ,  $-ka$ ,  $-ha$ , and  $-dV$ .<sup>12</sup> The augment lexical allomorph  $-(w)V$  has four phonological allomorphs:  $-a$ ,  $-e$ ,  $-wa$ , and  $-we$ . The augment lexical allomorph  $-dV$  has two phonological allomorphs:  $-da$  and  $-de$ . A list of possible augmented suffixes are shown in Table 7.12. Again, I have listed the plural morpheme  $-m$  for completeness, but this morpheme is very rare.

Table 7.12: Third person object augmented suffixes

| augment lexical allomorph | 3SG.F           | 3SG.M   | 3PL               |
|---------------------------|-----------------|---------|-------------------|
| $-ka$                     | $-ka-\emptyset$ | $-ka-n$ | $-ka-i$ , $-ka-m$ |
| $-ha$                     | $-ha-\emptyset$ | $-ha-n$ | $-ha-i$ , $-ha-m$ |
| $-(w)V$                   | $-a-\emptyset$  | $-a-n$  | $-a-i$ , $-a-m$   |
|                           | $-e-\emptyset$  | $-e-n$  | $-e-i$ , $-e-m$   |
|                           | $-wa-\emptyset$ | $-wa-n$ | $-wa-i$ , $-wa-m$ |
|                           | $-we-\emptyset$ | $-we-n$ | $-we-i$ , $-we-m$ |
| $-dV$                     | $-da-\emptyset$ | $-da-n$ | $-da-i$ , $-da-m$ |
|                           | $-de-\emptyset$ | $-de-n$ | $-de-i$ , $-de-m$ |

Examples are presented in Table 7.13 of verbs which are lexically specified for the  $-ha$  augment and the  $-ka$  augment. Unlike the  $-dV$  allomorph and the  $-(w)V$  allomorph, both  $-ka$  and  $-ha$  do not have any phonological allomorphs and can only be realized in one way.

<sup>12</sup>There are a few verbs which exceptionally occur with a different augment lexical allomorph in rare circumstances. When this happens, the verb occurs with the  $-dV$  augment allomorph instead of its usual augment allomorph. For instance, the verb *gara* ‘dig’ usually occurs with  $-(w)V$  and the verb *gei* ‘leave’ usually occurs with  $-ka$ . However, in rare contexts both verbs occur with  $-dV$ . There is a tendency for  $-dV$  to always be interpreted as referring to a human in these rare instances. More research is needed to determine if this represents a larger pattern.

Table 7.13: The augment lexical allomorphs: *-ka* and *-ha*

| gloss               | root    | 3SG.F        | 3SG.M        | 3PL                        |
|---------------------|---------|--------------|--------------|----------------------------|
| ‘give’              | aya     | aya-ka-Ø     | aya-ka-n     | aya-ka-i, aya-ka-m         |
| ‘leave’             | gei     | gei-ka-Ø     | gei-ka-n     | gei-ka-i, gei-ka-m         |
| ‘precede’           | ieki    | ieki-ka-Ø    | ieki-ka-n    | ieki-ka-i, ieki-ka-m       |
| ‘carry on shoulder’ | arkia   | arkia-ka-Ø   | arkia-ka-n   | arkia-ka-i, arkia-ka-m     |
| ‘remove bark’       | go      | go-ha-Ø      | go-ha-n      | go-ha-i, go-ha-m           |
| ‘send’              | anibir  | anibir-ha-Ø  | anibir-ha-n  | anibir-ha-i, anibir-ha-m   |
| ‘drown’             | gayuper | gayuper-ha-Ø | gayuper-ha-n | gayuper-ha-i, gayuper-ha-m |

While all verbs which select an augment must be lexically specified for the particular augment allomorph, verbs which are lexically specified for the *-dV* allomorph occur with one of two phonological allomorphs: *-da* and *-de*. The phonological allomorph *-de* is very uncommon and is selected based on phonological conditions that only a few verbs meet, while *-da* is the default form. In fact, *-da* is the form selected by almost all intransitive verbs to express an applicative object (see section 7.7.1).

Although the choice between the phonological allomorphs *-da* and *-de* can be ascribed to a rule of vowel disharmony, it is a more restricted rule of vowel disharmony than is displayed elsewhere in the language. According to the default vowel disharmony rule (see section 2.5.6), the low vowel phonological allomorph is selected whenever the vowel in the previous syllable is a monophthong harmony high vowel (i.e. /i, e, u/), and the harmony high vowel phonological allomorph is selected in all other conditions. However, in this context, the harmony high vowel phonological allomorph (*-de*) is selected only when the vowel in the previous syllable is the monophthong vowel /a/.<sup>13</sup> The low vowel phonological allomorph (*-da*) is selected in all other conditions. In other words, in the default vowel disharmony rule, the harmony high vowel phonological allomorph is the default phonological allomorph (see section 2.5.6), while the reverse is true in this context. Here, the low vowel phonological allomorph (*-da*) is the default variant and the harmony high vowel phonological allomorph (*-de*) has the more restricted distribution. Several examples of verbs which select for this augment are shown in Table 7.14.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup>The vowel /e/ patterns with high vowels in Yeri, likely due to its most common realization as the allophone [i] (see section 2.1.2.1).

<sup>14</sup>Note that verbs ending in /o/ which select for the *-dV* allomorph are very rare. A few of these verbs are irregular and select for *-de*. For instance, the verbal copula *o* ‘be’ (see section 7.7.1.2) selects for *-de*.

Table 7.14: The augment lexical allomorph:  $-dV$ 

| gloss          | root     | 3SG.F                    | 3SG.M         | 3PL                          |
|----------------|----------|--------------------------|---------------|------------------------------|
| ‘talk’         | nobia    | nobia-da- $\emptyset$    | nobia-da-n    | nobia-da-i, nobia-da-m       |
| ‘smell’        | anu      | anu-da- $\emptyset$      | anu-da-n      | anu-da-i, anu-da-m           |
| ‘cross river’  | okirkai  | okirkai-da- $\emptyset$  | okirkai-da-n  | okirkai-da-i, okirkai-da-m   |
| ‘laugh’        | arkuagil | arkuagil-da- $\emptyset$ | arkuagil-da-n | arkuagil-da-i, arkuagil-da-m |
| ‘be happy’     | datiki   | datiki-da- $\emptyset$   | datiki-da-n   | datiki-da-i, datiki-da-m     |
| ‘pass to’      | awoka    | awoka-de- $\emptyset$    | awoka-de-n    | awoka-de-i, awoka-de-m       |
| ‘be in a pile’ | dolyulma | dolyulma-de- $\emptyset$ | dolyulma-de-n | dolyulma-de-i, dolyulma-de-m |

Verbs which are lexically specified for the augment allomorph  $-(w)V$  occur with one of four phonologically conditioned allomorphs based on the form of the syllable the augment allomorph follows. In other words, verbs are lexically specified for the augment allomorph  $-(w)V$ , but the specific phonological allomorph is determined based on the phonological form of the syllable before the augment allomorph. For example, whether the phonological allomorph begins with a  $/w/$  or not is predictable based on whether or not the preceding syllable ends in (i) single monophthong vowel or an HV+V sequence or (ii) V+HV sequence or a consonant. The phonological generalization can be summarized as follows:

- When the verb root ends in a single monophthong vowel or an HV+V sequence, a phonological allomorph beginning with a  $/w/$  is selected.
- When the verb root ends in a V+HV sequence or a consonant, a phonological allomorph with a single vowel is selected.

Examples in Table 7.15 demonstrate this pattern. Verbs like *gosi* ‘drain’ end in a single vowel. For this reason, they select for a phonological allomorph of  $-(w)V$  beginning with  $/w/$ . Verbs like *apil* ‘collect’, on the other hand, end in a consonant and select for a phonological allomorph of  $-(w)V$  without a  $/w/$ .

Table 7.15: Phonological allomorph form:  $-V$  or  $-wV$ 

| gloss          | root  | 3SG.F                 | 3SG.M      | 3PL        |
|----------------|-------|-----------------------|------------|------------|
| ‘drain’        | gosi  | gosi-wa- $\emptyset$  | gosi-wa-n  | gosi-wa-i  |
| ‘hold’         | oti   | oti-wa- $\emptyset$   | oti-wa-n   | oti-wa-i   |
| ‘chase’        | ogera | ogera-we- $\emptyset$ | ogera-we-n | ogera-we-i |
| ‘die’          | nakia | nakia-we- $\emptyset$ | nakia-we-n | nakia-we-i |
| ‘collect’      | apil  | apil-a- $\emptyset$   | apil-a-n   | apil-a-i   |
| ‘drag’         | agir  | agir-a- $\emptyset$   | agir-a-n   | agir-a-i   |
| ‘squeeze’      | gawor | gawor-e- $\emptyset$  | gawor-e-n  | gawor-e-i  |
| ‘rinse’        | asor  | asor-e- $\emptyset$   | asor-e-n   | asor-e-i   |
| ‘drill a hole’ | nakou | nakou-e- $\emptyset$  | nakou-e-n  | nakou-e-i  |

In addition to the phonological shape of the phonological allomorph (wV or V), the vowel is predictable based on a rule of vowel disharmony in Yeri. See section 2.5.6 for more discussion. A short summary is presented here:

- When the vowel in the immediately preceding syllable is a monophthong harmony high vowel, *-a* or *-wa* is selected.
- When the vowel in the immediately preceding syllable is not a monophthong harmony high vowel, *-e* or *-we* is selected.

Consider Table 7.16 which provides several examples. Verbs like *apil* ‘collect’ or *gosi* ‘drain’ have an immediately preceding syllable with a high monophthong vowel and therefore select /a/. Verbs like *gawor* ‘squeeze’ or *ogera* ‘chase’ however, do not have a monophthong harmony high vowel in the immediately preceding syllable and select /e/.

Table 7.16: Vowel disharmony in object phonological allomorph selection

| gloss          | root   | 3SG.F      | 3SG.M      | 3PL        |
|----------------|--------|------------|------------|------------|
| ‘collect’      | apil   | apil-a-∅   | apil-a-n   | apil-a-i   |
| ‘drag’         | agir   | agir-a-∅   | agir-a-n   | agir-a-i   |
| ‘drain’        | gosi   | gosi-wa-∅  | gosi-wa-n  | gosi-wa-i  |
| ‘hold’         | oti    | oti-wa-∅   | oti-wa-n   | oti-wa-i   |
| ‘run’          | darku  | darku-wa-∅ | darku-wa-n | darku-wa-i |
| ‘split’        | atar   | atar-e-∅   | atar-e-n   | atar-e-i   |
| ‘pull’         | alkial | alkial-e-∅ | alkial-e-n | alkial-e-i |
| ‘drill a hole’ | nakou  | nakou-e-∅  | nakou-e-n  | nakou-e-i  |
| ‘squeeze’      | gawor  | gawor-e-∅  | gawor-e-n  | gawor-e-i  |
| ‘chase’        | ogera  | ogera-we-∅ | ogera-we-n | ogera-we-i |
| ‘die’          | nakia  | nakia-we-∅ | nakia-we-n | nakia-we-i |

Like the augment *-dV*, there are a few irregular verbs which are exceptions to the vowel disharmony rule. For instance, *dawo* ‘sit’ occurs with *-wa*.<sup>15</sup> These exceptions, however, are very uncommon.

### 7.3.3.3 Variation in third person object indexing

A small number of Yeri verbs show variation in whether they select for object augmented suffixes or object infixes. For most of these verbs, the location is seemingly unpredictable, and variation both within speakers and across speakers occurs. There appears to be no

<sup>15</sup>It is worth noting that, like the exceptions to the vowel disharmony rule with *-dV*, these verbs also end in /o/. As a general rule, when the vowel in the immediately preceding syllable is /o/, it is common to find some variation in the phonological allomorph.

change in meaning related to whether the object is indexed by an infix or an augmented suffix. For example, the verb *akubil* ‘cover in’ occurs in (7.47) with an augmented suffix and in (7.48) with an infix. Despite this difference in location, the object index refers to the person being covered in mud, the core object, in both examples.

- (7.47) te-i ki        Ø-akubil-a-n                      pilokua danua-n    te-n.  
          3-PL already 3PL-cover.in.R-AUG-SG.M mud    PREP-SG.M 3-SG.M  
          ‘They covered him with mud.’ (140228-051:133.936) PE, JS

- (7.48) yem ta    y-aro    y-a<ne>kubil                      te-n    yot-u-n  
          2PL FUT 2PL-go.R 2PL-cover.in.R<SG.M> te-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
          y-oki-Ø                      pilokua.  
          2PL-use.R-SG.F mud  
          ‘You (pl) will go and cover that boy with mud.’ (140228-051:246.169) PE, JS

### 7.3.4 Indexing the possessor

When the object of a verb refers to a body part or an inalienably possessed noun, it is common for speakers to index the possessor of the object on the verb rather than object itself. For instance, in example (7.49), the possessor is indexed by the first person singular object prefix *b-* on the verb *iebeko* ‘block’ rather than the body part *wan* ‘heart’, which would have shown third person object marking.

- (7.49) nibini Ø-b-iebeko                      wan nadi.  
          snot 3PL-1SG-block.R heart very  
          ‘Sinuses are blocking my heart.’ (120416-000:922.710) RNS JS

In example (7.50), the speaker indexes the possessor, the masculine noun *harkroki* ‘chicken’, with a third person singular masculine suffix on the verb *iewua* ‘tie’ rather than the body part *hawal* ‘feet’. This is because *hawal* is a pluralia tantum noun (see section 5.4.1.6), and always triggers plural agreement.

- (7.50) n-oti-wa-n                      n-iewua-n                      hawal.  
          2SG-hold-AUG-SG.M 2SG-tie.R-SG.M feet  
          ‘You (sg) hold it and tie its legs.’ (120517-001:481.543) RNS JS

Note that indexing the possessor is particularly common in Yeri curses. Example (7.51) illustrates the possessor of *yewal* ‘eye’, the addressee for these utterances, being marked on the irrealis form of the verb *alkial* ‘pull’ by the object prefix *y-*. That the possessor is indexed rather than *yewal* ‘eye’ is clear from the person of the object, second rather than third person.



- (7.51)    *huba n-y-ilkial        yewal.*  
           hawk 3SG.M-2-pull.I eye  
           ‘May the hawk pull out your (sg or pl) eyes.’ (120529-002:286.220) RNS, JS

Another example is shown in (7.52), where the possessor of *meta* ‘nape’, the addressee, is indexed on the verb *gaperi* ‘twist’ with the object prefix *y-*, while *meta* is indexed as the subject of the verb.<sup>16</sup>

- (7.52)    *meta w-y-d-giperi-a-∅.*  
           nape 3SG.F-2-MDL-twist.R-AUG-SG.F  
           ‘May your (sg or pl) neck break.’ (120529-002:188.117) RNS, YM

Another example from natural discourse is presented in (7.53), where the verb *osia* ‘swell, heat’ shows first person singular agreement. Since the noun *hawal* ‘feet’ is a pluralia tantum noun and always triggers plural agreement (see section 5.4.1.6), it is clear that the object index refers to the possessor of *hawal*.

- (7.53)    *hem lahabi    m-i<m><pe>ro,        hiro paki hawal*  
           1SG yesterday 1SG-go.R<IPFV><ADD> NEG paki feet  
            $\emptyset$ -b-d-o<ma>sia,        ki        m-ormia        yot-a- $\emptyset$ .  
           3PL-1SG-MDL-swell.R<IPFV> already 1SG-stay.R.IPFV DEM-PROX-SG.F  
           ‘I should have gone yesterday, but my feet were swollen and I stayed here.’  
           (120607-001:380.918) GE-[nbolha], JS

Lastly, while possessor indexing is quite common with inalienably possessed nouns like body parts, consultants indicate that it can occur with other types of possessive relationships. This is not common in natural discourse, though consultants will happily create examples like (7.54) to demonstrate the acceptability of it. In example (7.54), the second person object index *y-* refers not to the location where the sago was placed, *tiprigal weiye* ‘your veranda’ which would trigger third person agreement, but to the possessor of that location.<sup>17</sup>

- (7.54)    *yati tiawa- $\emptyset$     ki        w-ana        w-gei-ka- $\emptyset$*   
           sago short-SG.F already 3SG.F-come 3SG.F-leave.R-AUG-SG.F  
           w-y-d-aki        tiprigal w-ei=ye.  
           3SG.F-2-MDL-stick.into.R veranda REL-PL=2SG  
           ‘She came and put sago on your (sg) veranda.’ (140219-010:2297.334) PE+GE-[wydaki], JS

<sup>16</sup>Note the *d-* prefix which explains why *meta* is indexed as the subject (see section 7.5).

<sup>17</sup>I refer to location-depicting applicative objects as ‘locative objects’ for short. Additional discussion on applicative objects is provided in section 7.7, with the applicative objects of posture verbs in particular discussed in section 7.7.1.4.

## 7.4 Stem-final vowel alternations

There are three classes of verbs which show an alternation in the stem-final vowel between /a/ and /e/. The conditioning for this stem-final vowel alternation differs for each class. The first class shows variation based on the occurrence of a third person object morpheme, the second class shows variation based on the occurrence of a predicate morpheme, and the third class shows variation based on the occurrence of both third person object morphemes and predicate morphemes.<sup>18</sup> I refer to these three verb classes as ‘VA1 verbs’, ‘VA2 verbs’, and ‘VA3 verbs’ for short, where VA stands for vowel alternation and the number indicates which pattern of stem-final vowel alternation the verb displays.

There are ten verbs in the lexical database which belong to the VA1 class, described in section 7.4.1. Only three verbs in the database belong to the VA2 class which is the focus of section 7.4.2. Lastly, section 7.4.3 details the conditioning of the four verbs in the database which belong to the VA3 class.

### 7.4.1 VA1: Third person object morpheme variation

There are ten verbs in the database which show an alteration in stem-final vowel based on whether the third person object augment morpheme *-wa* occurs on the verb. All but two verb roots show a liquid consonant preceding this vowel, either /l/ or /r/. The remaining two verbs show a voiced plosive in this position, /b/ or /d/ (i.e. *alba* ‘feel’ and *ada* ‘chop’).

When a VA1 verb occurs without the third person object augment morpheme *-wa*, the verb occurs with a stem-final /a/. However, when the verb occurs with *-wa*, the verb shows a stem-final /e/. For example, the verb *gara* ‘dig’ belongs to this class and is pronounced with a stem-final /a/ when it occurs without the augment allomorph *-wa*, as in (7.55).

- (7.55) ki        w-b-gara        m-or        wul, wul    mani.  
           already 3SG.F-1SG-dig.R 1SG-lie.R water water inside  
           ‘She buried me inside the river.’ (120517-001:431.451) RNS JS

However, when it occurs with the augment allomorph, as in (7.56), /e/ is selected as the stem-final vowel. Note that the combination of /e/ followed by the augment allomorph *-wa* results in reduction or deletion of /e/ as is common for the language (see section 2.1.2.1).<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup>There is language-internal and comparative evidence that historically this stem-final vowel was \*a and a process of low vowel dissimilation (LVD) resulted in the dissimilated variant /e/. This would explain the environments in which this alternation occurs, since language-internal and comparative evidence indicate that both predicate morphemes and the relevant third person object morphemes can be reconstructed with the vowel \*a. Given this, these stem-final vowel alternations occur in environments which historically would be reconstructed as \*aCa (where C stands for a consonant). However, demonstrating the origin of this alternation is beyond the scope of this project.

<sup>19</sup>Although the stem-final /e/ in these verbs is rarely pronounced as [ɛ], the verbs are pronounced parallel

- (7.56) w-oki            hilian w-gare-wa-n            ...  
                          3SG.F-use.R sand   3SG.F-dig.R-AUG-SG.M ...  
                          ‘She took the sand and dug it ...’ (120517-001:273.480) RNS, JS

Verbs which belong to this subclass are presented in Table 7.17 in their stem-final /a/ and stem-final /e/ form. The most common phonetic pronunciation of the stem-final /e/ forms is also provided in phonetic brackets.

| gloss          | without -wa | with -wa (SG.M) | phonetic              |
|----------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| ‘dig’          | gara        | gare-wa-n       | [garuan]              |
| ‘scrape’       | iekela      | iekele-wa-n     | [iekiluan]            |
| ‘chop’         | ada         | ade-wa-n        | [a <sup>n</sup> duan] |
| ‘dislike’      | nola        | nole-wa-n       | [nɔluan]              |
| ‘name’         | eiwera      | eiwere-wa-n     | [eiwiruan]            |
| ‘lie flat’     | dawera      | dawere-wa-n     | [dawiruan]            |
| ‘lie flat’     | awera       | awere-wa-n      | [awiruan]             |
| ‘carry at hip’ | asikera     | asikere-wa-n    | [asikiruan]           |
| ‘feel’         | alba        | albe-wa-n       | [albian]              |
| ‘roll’         | ahala       | ahale-wa-n      | [aʔaɭuan]             |

#### 7.4.2 VA2: Predicate morpheme variation

The VA2 class of verbs is smaller than both the VA1 class and the VA3 class with only three members, *ode* ‘and, with’, *ole* ‘fetch’, and *dorpi* ‘fight’. These verbs show this vowel alternation depending only on whether predicate morphemes occur. If predicate morphemes do not occur, then the stem-final vowel is /e/. If predicate morphemes do occur, then the stem-final vowel is /a/.<sup>20</sup>

to other Yeri lexical items which show /e/ in the same environment. For example, the /e/ in the penultimate syllable of *lolewa* ‘thing’ and *iekewa* ‘be angry’ is frequently deleted and the resulting pronunciations [lua] and [iekua] are parallel to the pronunciation of these verbs with a third person object morpheme (e.g. *gare-wa* is typically pronounced as [garua], where the /e/ is deleted). Lastly, verbs like *altobi* ‘force’ which end in /e/ (realized as [i], see section 2.1.2.1) and which select for the augment allomorph -wa show the same pronunciation in their forms with third person objects as this class of verbs (e.g. *altobi-wa* /altobewa/ [altɔ<sup>m</sup>bua] where the /e/ is deleted.).

<sup>20</sup>The verb *dorpi* ‘fight’ shows an additional change in that the /p/ is pronounced as a /b/ whenever it occurs with the imperfective morpheme (e.g. *dorpi* without a predicate morpheme, but *dormebe* with the imperfective morpheme). Note that there is a rare variant of this verb which is pronounced as *dorkebe* or *dorkebe* and shows the same vowel alternation found with VA1 verbs. (i.e. when it occurs without the augment allomorph -wa, it has a stem-final /a/, but when it occurs with this augment allomorph, it has a stem-final /e/, *dorkebe-wa-n* [dɔrkeɓuan] ‘They fought for him’). This verb rarely ever occurs with a third person object morpheme, however, and examples in the corpus which do come from elicitation. More research is needed into the irregularities of this verb.

Simple elicited examples are provided for demonstration. In (7.57) and (7.58), no predicate morphemes occur. For this reason, both *ole* and *ode* occur with a word final /e/. See section 2.1.2.1 for information on the pronunciation of /e/ as [i]. In (7.59) and (7.60), predicate morphemes occur on both verbs, and the stem-final vowel is /a/.

- (7.57) hem la m-ole wul.  
 1SG PST 1SG-fetch.R water  
 ‘I fetched the water.’ (140416-014:517.451) DE, JS
- (7.58) hem m-odi-∅ mimi h-ar Wiwak.  
 1SG 1SG-and.R-SG.F mother 1PL-go.to.R Wewak  
 ‘My mother and I went to Wewak.’ (140416-014:464.691) DE, JS
- (7.59) hem ta m-o<me>la wul.  
 1SG FUT 1SG-sew.R<IPFV> water  
 ‘I will fetch the water.’ (140416-014:524.278) DE, JS
- (7.60) hem ta m-o<me>da mimi h-a<me>r Wiwak.  
 1SG FUT 1SG-and.R<IPFV> mother 1PL-go.to.R<IPFV> Wewak  
 ‘I will go with my mother to Wewak.’ (140416-014:484.053) DE, JS

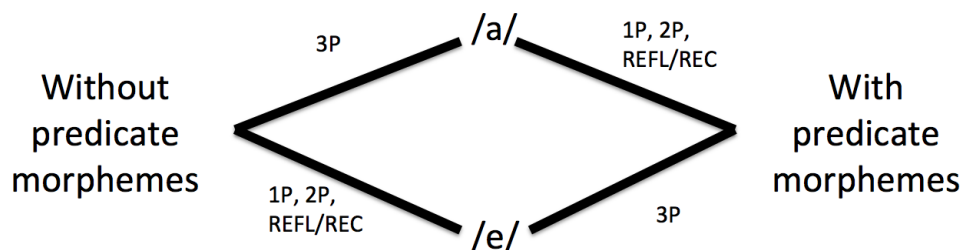
Examples (7.61)-(7.64) show this vowel alternation occurring in natural discourse with the verb *ode* ‘and, with’.

- (7.61) hem m-odi-∅ mimi sila hebi h-ormia.  
 1SG 1SG-and-SG.F mother sila 1PL 1PL-stay.R.IPFV  
 ‘My mother, Sila, and I, we were staying.’ (120520-000:294.040) RNS, AS
- (7.62) te-∅ w-ode-∅ ∅-o<m>kirkai.  
 3-SG.F 3SG.F-and.R-SG.F 3PL-cross.river.R<IPFV>  
 ‘She and her crossed the water together.’ (120409-002:735.568) RNS, AS
- (7.63) m-o<me>da Turegal h-a<me>ria helol w-∅=di-∅ wigal  
 1SG-and.R<IPFV> Turegal 1PL-do.R<IPFV> work REL-SG=3-SG.F language  
 Yeri.  
 Yeri  
 ‘Turegal and I are doing the work for the Yeri language.’ (120518-002:113.090)  
 RNS, JS
- (7.64) hem m-nobia, “ooo wan n-y-o<me>da ye.”  
 1SG 1SG-talk.R ooo heart 3SG.M-2-and.R<IPFV> 2SG  
 ‘I said, “Oh, I am happy with you (sg).”’ (120606-000:262.070) RNS, JS

### 7.4.3 VA3: Predicate morpheme and third person object variation

In the VA3 class, the quality of the stem-final vowel is conditional on the location of the object morpheme and whether the verb occurs with predicate morphemes. When the verb occurs without predicate morphemes, a stem-final /a/ indicates an object that would be indicated by an infix (i.e. a third person object), while a stem-final /e/ (realized as [i], see section 2.1.2.1) indicates an object that would be indicated by a prefix, either a first or second person object (see section 7.3.2) or a reflexive/reciprocal object indicated by *d-* (see section 7.5).

The reverse is true when the verb occurs with predicate morphemes. If the verb has predicate morphemes, then a stem-final /a/ indicates an object that would be indicated by a prefix (i.e. first person, second person, or reflexive/reciprocal object), while a stem-final /e/ (realized as [i]) indicates an object that would be indicated by infixes (i.e. a third person object). A summary of the stem-final vowel alternation shown in VA3 verbs is provided in Figure 7.3.



Key: 1P=first person, 2P= second person, 3P=third person, REFL=reflexive, REC=reciprocal

Figure 7.3: Stem-final vowel conditioning for VA3 verbs

The basic forms of three of the verbs which display this alternation are shown in Table 7.18. Stem-final vowels are underlined.

| Table 7.18: Stem-final vowel alternation in three VA3 verbs |                |                  |                    |                      |  |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--|
| gloss                                                       | 1SG            | 3SG.M            | 1SG/IPFV           | 3SG.M/ IPFV          |  |
| 'shoot'                                                     | b-ob <u>i</u>  | o<ne>b <u>a</u>  | b-o<me>b <u>a</u>  | o<ne><ma>b <u>i</u>  |  |
| 'to be rained on'                                           | b-op <u>i</u>  | o<ne>p <u>a</u>  | b-o<me>p <u>a</u>  | o<ne><ma>p <u>i</u>  |  |
| 'bend in half'                                              | b-gob <u>i</u> | go<ne>b <u>a</u> | b-go<me>b <u>a</u> | go<ne><ma>b <u>i</u> |  |

Unlike VA1 verbs (see section 7.4.1), where the stem-final /e/ only occurs when the third person object augment allomorph *-wa* also occurs, the third person object infix does

not have to occur on VA3 verbs for the relevant stem-final vowel to occur.<sup>21</sup> For instance, example (7.65) illustrates the optionality of third person object infixes in a very specific context. In this example, the VA3 verb *goba* ‘bend in half’ does not have any predicate morphemes and has a stem-final /a/. The verb has a third person object *hilogil* ‘arm’. Masculine gender agreement with this noun is shown on the following numeral *ɲa* ‘one’.

While it would be grammatically acceptable for a third person object infix to occur on the verb showing masculine agreement with *hilogil* ‘arm’, it is not obligatory for this infix to occur. As shown by this example, the stem-final vowel /a/ occurs regardless of whether an infix is present on the verb. For this reason, I describe the stem-final vowel alternation as being determined on the basis of what object index *could* occur, rather than which object index does occur.

- (7.65) te-n    n-goba                      hilogi-l ɲa-n    w-∅=de-n.  
           3-SG.M 3SG.M-bend.in.half.R arm-SG one-SG.M REL-SG=3-SG.M  
           ‘He broke one of his arms.’ (140424-076:22.232) DE, LA

Examples from natural discourse are provided below to demonstrate each form for the verb *oba* ‘shoot’. In (7.66) and (7.67), non-third person objects occur. Since predicate morphemes do not occur on the verb in example (7.66), the stem-final vowel is /e/ (realized as [i]), while in example (7.67), the imperfective predicate morpheme does occur on the verb and the stem-final vowel is /a/.

- (7.66) ki            n-b-obi.  
           already 2SG-1SG-shoot.R  
           ‘You (sg) have shot me.’ (120623-002:149.346) RNS, YW
- (7.67) ta    ∅-y-o<me>ba.  
           FUT 3PL-2-shoot.R<IPFV>  
           ‘They will shoot you (sg or pl).’ (120528-005:403.636) RNS, JS

When the reflexive/reciprocal prefix *d-* occurs on this subclass of verbs, as in (7.68), the verb’s behavior patterns with non-third person objects.

- (7.68) te-n    n-d-obi                      te-n.  
           3-SG.M 3SG.M-REFL-shoot.R 3-SG.M  
           ‘He shot himself.’ (140409-156:7.704) DE, JS

Examples (7.69) and (7.70) both involve third person objects. However, since predicate morphemes do not occur on *oba* ‘shoot’ in example (7.69), the stem-final vowel is /a/. However, the occurrence of the imperfective predicate morpheme on the verb in example (7.70) results in the stem-final vowel /e/ (realized as [i]).

<sup>21</sup>See section 7.8.2 for information on the optionality of object morphemes when a conominal object occurs.

- (7.69) n-o<he>ba                      w-d-a<m>wo.  
 3SG.M-shoot.R<SG.F> 3SG.F-MDL-set.R<IPFV>  
 ‘He shot her, and she is lying there.’ (120623-002:174.360) RNS, YW
- (7.70) n-o<ne><ma>bi,                      ...  
 3SG.M-shoot.R<SG.M><IPFV> ...  
 ‘After shooting it, ...’ (120601-009:345.577) RNS, YW

Given the syncretic nature of the third person plural subject prefix *w-*, the third person singular feminine subject prefix *w-*, and the first person plural object prefix *w-*, it is possible for this stem-final vowel alone to signal whether the *w-* prefix refers to an object or a subject. For instance, only the stem-final vowel disambiguates whether *hamei woluai* ‘enemies’ should be interpreted as the subject or the object of the verb *oba* ‘shoot’ in example (7.71). The stem-final /e/ (realized as [i]) indicates that the object must be first person since there are no predicate morphemes on the verb. For this reason, the nominal phrase *hamei woluai* must refer to the subject.<sup>22</sup>

- (7.71) ta hamei wolua-i    Ø-w-obi  
 FUT people enemy-PL 3PL-1PL-shoot.R  
 ‘The enemies will shoot us.’ (120620-012:308.709) RNS, KL

Additional elicited examples are provided showing disambiguation based on stem-final vowels. The stem-final /a/ occurs when *w-* refers to a subject prefix, as in examples (7.72) and (7.73), and the stem-final /e/ (pronounced as [i] here) occurs when *w-* refers to a first person plural object prefix, as in (7.74).

- (7.72) te-Ø    ta    w-o<Ø>ba.  
 3-SG.F FUT 3SG.F-shoot.R<SG.F>  
 ‘She will shoot it.’ (140409-168:158.893) DE, JS
- (7.73) te-i    Ø-w-o<Ø>ba.  
 3-PL 3PL-3PL-shoot.R<SG.F>  
 ‘They shot it.’ (140416-014:455.654) GJ, JS
- (7.74) te-i    Ø-w-obi.  
 3-PL 3PL-1PL-shoot.R  
 ‘They shot us.’ (140416-014:461.159) GJ, JS

<sup>22</sup>As a third person plural subject, the nominal phrase *hamei woluai* can be indicated by the subject prefix Ø- or *w-*. In this example, there is no evidence as to how the prefix should be glossed because the Ø- prefix is phonologically null and a third person plural subject prefix *w-* would be omitted due to the immediately following first person plural object prefix (see section 2.5.8).

#### 7.4.4 Comparing the three classes

All three verb classes show a stem-final vowel alternation between /e/ and /a/. However, each class has distinct conditioning which determines when /a/ occurs and when /e/ occurs. Stem-final /a/ occurs in VA1 verbs when they occur without the third person object allomorph *-wa*, in VA2 verbs when they occur with a predicate morpheme, and in VA3 verbs when they occur either (i) without a predicate morpheme and where an object would be realized as an infix or (ii) with a predicate morpheme and where an object would be realized by a prefix. Stem-final /e/ occurs in VA1 verbs when they occur with a third person augment allomorph *-wa*, in VA2 verbs when they occur without a predicate morpheme, and in VA3 verbs when they occur either (i) without a predicate morpheme and where an object would be realized by a prefix or (ii) with a predicate morpheme and where the object would be realized by an infix. Figure 7.4 provides a summary comparison of stem-final vowel alternations in each of the three class.

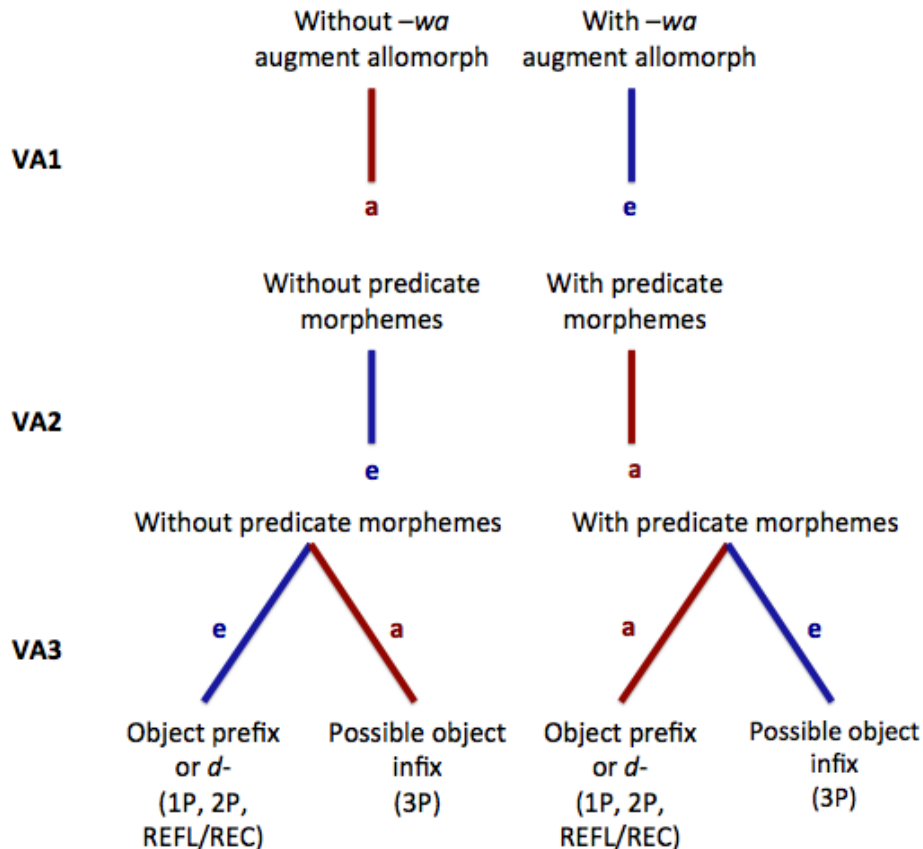


Figure 7.4: Stem-final vowel conditioning for the three verb classes



## 7.5 Detransitivizing *d-* prefix

Yeri has a prefix *d-* which can express several related meanings including: (i) a reflexive use (REFL), (ii) a reciprocal use (REC), and (iii) a middle use (MDL). I refer to the morpheme as a whole as a ‘detransitivizing morpheme’ (DTR) since these meanings are often categorized as valency decreasing, but I gloss the morpheme according to its more specific use throughout the grammar. When this prefix occurs, it immediately precedes the verb root, and follows any subject or object prefixes. In (7.75)–(7.77) the prefix *d-* occurs on the verbs *altou* ‘cover’, *iesebil* ‘whip’, and *iekela* ‘scrape’ in its reflexive use.

- (7.75) *te-∅ w-d-altou.*  
 3-SG.F 3SG.F-REFL-cover.R  
 ‘She covered herself.’ (140408-207:381.390) DE, LA
- (7.76) *te-i ∅-d-iesebil.*  
 3-PL 3PL-REFL-whip.R  
 ‘They whipped themselves.’ (140408-207:485.719) DE, LA  
 CI: They hit themselves with the niabeha leaf to make their backs feel better.
- (7.77) *ta n-y-anokil ye, ye ta n-d-ie<m>kela.*  
 FUT 3SG.M-2-bite.R 2SG 2SG FUT 3SG.M-REFL-scrape.R<IPFV>  
 ‘It will bite you (sg), and you (sg) will scratch yourself.’ (140225-055:17.060)  
 GE-[hokagil], JS

The reciprocal use of the prefix is illustrated by (7.78) and (7.79), where the prefix *d-* on the verbs *iekewa* ‘be angry’ and *okirki* ‘help’ expresses the meaning ‘each other’.

- (7.78) *w-odi megual w-∅=de-∅ w-d-iekewa.*  
 3SG.F-and.R husband REL-SG=3-SG.F 3PL-REC-be.angry.R  
 ‘She and her husband got angry with each other.’ (120410-008:2.900) RNS, YW
- (7.79) *nogolgoi yot-ua-i te-i ∅-d-okirki.*  
 children DEM-DIST-PL 3-PL 3PL-REC-help.R  
 ‘Those children, they helped each other.’ (140226-001:5077.805) GE-[do bilgi], JS

When the *d-* prefix occurs on a subset of verbs, it expresses a middle meaning. By ‘middle’ I mean that the morpheme reduces the number of core arguments by one, with the agent being removed and the patient being expressed as the subject.<sup>23</sup> This is particularly

<sup>23</sup>This use of ‘middle’ is parallel to what may also be referred to as an ‘anticausative’. For instance, Haspelmath & Thomas Müller-Bardey (2004) quoting Haspelmath states, “The most radical agent-removing category is the anticausative (Haspelmath 1987, 1993). An anticausative affix eliminates the agent argument completely”.

common with specific posture-arrange transitive verb roots, where its use creates several of the posture verbs, discussed in section 7.7.1.4. These transitive verbs refer to the act of placing something into a particular position or orientation, while the resulting posture verbs refer to the act of being in a particular position or orientation.

Consider examples (7.80) and (7.81). In these examples, the transitive verbs *awil* ‘hang’ and *awera* ‘lie flat’ refer to the act of placing an object into a specific position. For *awil* ‘hang’, this involves the act of hanging an item. For *awera* ‘lie flat’, this involves the act of laying an item flat. Each posture-arranging verb is transitive and selects for object infixes.

- (7.80) peigilia-i w-goba                      w-a<he>wil.  
           some-PL 3PL-bend.in.half.R 3PL-hang.R<SG.F>  
           ‘Some just break and hang it.’ (120522-002:58.060) RNS, JS

- (7.81) w-a<ne>wera                      w-eiwere-wa-n                      cement.  
           3PL-lie.flat.R<SG.M> 3PL-name.R-AUG-SG.M cement  
           ‘They put the security cement iron on.’ (120524-005:517.734) RNS, JS

However, when the *d-* morpheme is prefixed to one of these verb roots, the result is an intransitive verb meaning ‘to be in position X’. In example (7.82), the use of *dawil* indicates that the subject is hanging. In example (7.83), the use of *dawera* indicates that the subject is lying flat.<sup>24</sup>

- (7.82) hiwol            wanagawil yot-ua-Ø,            w-d-awil.  
           breadfruit breadfruit DEM-DIST-SG.F 3SG.F-MDL-hang.R  
           ‘The breadfruit’s fruit there, it hangs.’ (140227-036:33.705) GE-[hiwol wanagawil], JS

- (7.83) nolka-ti ko n-d-awera                      kua.  
           flood-SG still 3SG.M-MDL-lie.flat.R still  
           ‘There was still a flood.’ (120623-007:882.770) RNS, TW

Although the transitive posture-arranging verbs can occur with object infixes (see section 7.3.3.1), the resulting intransitive posture verb cannot. However, like most verbs in Yeri, posture verbs can optionally occur with an applicative object (see section 7.7), such as in examples (7.84) or (7.85), where the applicative object can be understood as referring to the location the subject is hanging from or lying on, the mother flying fox or the tree trunk in these examples. I refer to applicative objects depicting a location as ‘locative objects’. These applicative objects and their interpretation are described in detail in section 7.7.

<sup>24</sup>Note that throughout the grammar I gloss the *d-* prefix in these roots as MDL to indicate this clear relationship. It is better to view posture verbs as distinct verb roots from their corresponding posture-arranging verbs roots, however, as they select for distinct third person object morphemes and display different behavior in so far as how those object morphemes can be interpreted and whether an object is required.

- (7.84)  $\eta a-\emptyset$      $yot-u-\emptyset$ ,             $nuate$   $\eta a-\emptyset$      $yot-u-\emptyset$ ,             $nigo-\emptyset$   
 one-SG.F DEM-MDIST-SG.F female one-SG.F DEM-MDIST-SG.F child-SG.F  
 $d-awil-a-\emptyset$ .  
 MDL-hang.R-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘Another one there, a female one there, a baby hung on her.’ (120621-004:164.239)  
 RNS, TW
- (7.85)  $te-n$      $la$      $no<ne>gir$      $nebal$   $neige-la$      $yot-u-n$ ,             $losi$   
 3-SG.M PST write.R<SG.M> tree    bottom-SG DEM-MDIST-SG.M name  
 $w-ei=de-n$              $\emptyset-d-awere-wa-n$ .  
 REL-PL=3-SG.M 3PL-MDL-lie.flat-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘He wrote his name on that tree trunk.’ (140307-053:36.708) PE+GE-[nonegir], JS  
 LT: ‘He wrote on the tree trunk, his name lies on it.’

## 7.6 Realis and irrealis mood

This section focuses on the expression of realis and irrealis mood in verbs. Section 7.6.1 presents an overview of the range and selection of realis and irrealis mood vowels. Section 7.6.1 details the range of semantic meaning conveyed by irrealis mood.

### 7.6.1 Realis and irrealis vowels

Like many other Torricelli languages (Hemmilä & Luoma 1987; Henry 2010; Fortune 1977), Yeri makes a distinction between realis and irrealis mood. This distinction is based on the vowel(s) in the first syllable of the verb root. The vowels /a/ and /o/, as well as the less frequent VV sequences /ei/, /ie/, and /ua/ indicate realis mood. In the irrealis, the vowel is most frequently /e/ (typically realized as [i] when it indicates irrealis mood, see section 2.5.3), and less commonly /i/ or /ie/. For ease of discussion, I refer to all of these as ‘mood vowels’ and distinguish ‘realis vowels’ from ‘irrealis vowels’ on the basis of the meaning expressed.

While some verbs must be lexically specified for their mood vowels, some generalizations regarding the predictability of mood vowels can be made. Most obviously, the default realis vowel is /a/, and the default irrealis vowel is /e/. The vast majority of verbs select these mood vowels. Furthermore, most verbs which select /o/ as a realis vowel, also select /e/ as an irrealis vowel. Examples of verbs with /a/ or /o/ realis vowels and /e/ irrealis vowels are provided in Table 7.19. For those verbs which frequently show the irrealis vowel /e/ pronounced as [ɛ], I have included a form spelled with /ɛ/ (i.e. *ar* ‘go’ and *arwal* ‘cry, weep’).

Table 7.19: Realis vowel: /a/ or /o/, Irrealis vowel: /e/

|                   | realis  | irrealis     |
|-------------------|---------|--------------|
| ‘go’              | ar, aro | ir, ero      |
| ‘cry, weep’       | arwal   | irwal, erwal |
| ‘look everywhere’ | gakaria | gikaria      |
| ‘die’             | almo    | ilmo         |
| ‘follow’          | gordi   | girdi        |
| ‘collect’         | apil    | ipil         |
| ‘do’              | aria    | iria         |
| ‘sing, dance’     | oniga   | iniga        |
| ‘chase’           | ogera   | igera        |
| ‘cross river’     | okirkai | ikirkai      |
| ‘cut open’        | ogela   | igela        |
| ‘enter’           | olbil   | ilbil        |

A small subset of verbs which show /o/ as a realis vowel select for the less frequent irrealis vowel /i/. Examples are provided in Table 7.20. Many of the verb roots which select /o/ as a realis vowel and /i/ as an irrealis vowel are consonant-initial and/or have an /i/ in the immediately following syllable. However, this generalization is not sufficient to predict the irrealis vowel quality as (i) many verbs which meet this criterion show an irrealis form with a different irrealis vowel and (ii) some verbs which select /i/ as an irrealis vowel do not meet this criteria. For this reason, verbs which select /o/ as a realis vowel and /i/ as an irrealis vowel must be lexically specified.

Table 7.20: Realis vowel: /o/, Irrealis vowel: /i/

|              | realis | irrealis |
|--------------|--------|----------|
| ‘talk’       | nobia  | nibia    |
| ‘reply’      | gori   | giri     |
| ‘stand’      | dodi   | didi     |
| ‘sew limbum’ | gopua  | gipua    |
| ‘lie, sleep’ | or     | ir       |
| ‘hit’        | ori    | iri      |

Unlike verbs which select /a/ or /o/ as a realis vowel, verbs which select a VV sequence as a realis vowel (/ei/, /ie/, or /ua/) always select /i/ as an irrealis vowel, as illustrated in Table 7.21. In this case, the irrealis vowel is completely predictable on the basis of the realis vowel.

Table 7.21: Realis vowel: VV sequence, Irrealis vowel: /i/

|                | realis  | irrealis |
|----------------|---------|----------|
| ‘walk’         | eikia   | ikia     |
| ‘be from’      | eiwa    | iwa      |
| ‘set fire’     | geiboni | giboni   |
| ‘leave’        | gei     | gi       |
| ‘extinguish’   | neikia  | nikia    |
| ‘bend’         | giekir  | gikir    |
| ‘roll’         | iepou   | ipou     |
| ‘hear’         | ieda    | ida      |
| ‘whip’         | iesebil | isebil   |
| ‘precede’      | ieki    | iki      |
| ‘fall’         | uakir   | ikir     |
| ‘lean against’ | duawir  | diwir    |

Another subset of verbs selects /o/ as a realis vowel and /ie/ as an irrealis vowel.<sup>25</sup> Examples are shown in Table 7.22. Verbs which select /ie/ as an irrealis vowel are rare, and /ie/ is the least common irrealis vowel. For verbs which select /o/ and /ie/ as mood vowels, the realis vowel is predictable based on the irrealis vowel. The only verbs which select /ie/ as an irrealis vowel, select /o/ as a realis vowel.

Table 7.22: Realis vowel: /o/, Irrealis vowel: /ie/

|              | realis | irrealis |
|--------------|--------|----------|
| ‘let’        | osi    | iesi     |
| ‘fight’      | dorpi  | dierpi   |
| ‘use’        | oki    | ieki     |
| ‘stay close’ | dopar  | diepar   |
| ‘eat’        | oga    | iega     |
| ‘be hungry’  | dolbi  | dielbi   |

In summary, Table 7.23 illustrates the possible realis/irrealis vowel pairings.

<sup>25</sup>A small set of Yeri verbs which select /o/ as the realis vowel and /ie/ as the irrealis vowel only select /ie/ as the irrealis vowel when the verb occurs without predicate morphemes (e.g. the verbal copula *o* ‘be’ and *osia* ‘go all the way’ see section 8.4.1.4). When these verbs occur with predicate morphemes, they show /e/ (realized as [i]) as the irrealis vowel. It is possible that this shift to /e/ when the verb occurs with predicate morphemes may be better analyzed as a form of vowel reduction, but I leave this to future research. Lastly, an even smaller number of these verbs have distinct realis vowels depending on whether they occur with predicate morphemes (e.g. the verbal copula *o* ‘be’, *dore* ‘get up’, *osua* ‘go all the way’). When this happens, the verbs select /o/ as a realis vowel when they occur without predicate morphemes, and /a/ as a realis vowel when they occur with predicate morphemes.

Table 7.23: Possible realis/irrealis pairings

|                                  | realis                   | irrealis |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|----------|
| default                          | a                        | e        |
| unpredictable                    | o                        | e        |
| unpredictable                    | o                        | i        |
| predictable realis from irrealis | o                        | ie       |
| predictable irrealis from realis | VV sequence /ei, ie, ua/ | i        |

All verbs in Yeri can distinguish realis from irrealis mood. However, a very small class of irregular verbs including *oti* ‘hold’ and *ol* ‘cut’ can only distinguish realis and irrealis mood when they occur with predicate morphemes (see chapter 8). Consider example (7.86), where the same form of the verb *oti* ‘hold’ occurs with a positive statement as well as in the following negated statement, where a distinct irrealis form would generally be expected. Since this verb does not occur with predicate morphemes in this utterance, however, the verb cannot distinguish mood. These verbs are not glossed for mood when they occur without predicate morphemes for this reason.

- (7.86) h-oti-wa-i            miakua-l. hiro h-oti-wa-i            miakua-l sapiten hiro.  
 1PL-hold-AUG-PL frog-PL.    NEG 1PL-hold-AUG-PL frog-PL    many    NEG  
 ‘We caught frogs, but we didn’t catch many frogs.’ (120621-003:210.670) RNS, AS

However, when this verb occurs with predicate morphemes, as in (7.87) and (7.88), there are distinct forms for realis (*amoti*) and irrealis (*imoti*). These forms are glossed for mood.

- (7.87) te-i ta    Ø-aro    Ø-a<m>oti            wul    Ø-ormia            tumani  
 3-PL FUT 3PL-go.R 3PL-hold.R<IPFV> water 3PL-stay.R.IPFV building  
 w-Ø=lope-Ø  
 REL-SG=big-SG.F  
 ‘They will go and have a drink in the parliament.’ (120621-001:1004.070) RNS, AS
- (7.88) yot-a-Ø            hiro i<m>oti            wul.  
 DEM-PROX-SG.F NEG hold.I<IPFV> water  
 ‘For now, they are not having a drink.’ (120621-001:1010.620) RNS, AS

As described in section 2.5.2, the vowel /e/ is deleted when immediately followed by a vowel-initial morpheme. For this reason, verbs which select for the default irrealis vowel /e/ show deletion of this irrealis vowel when it precedes the third person plural infix *-i-*. This is easiest to see by comparing examples where the irrealis vowel /e/ is followed by a consonant-initial morpheme and is not deleted with examples where the irrealis vowel is followed by a vowel-initial morpheme and is deleted.

For instance, when verbs which select for object infixes occur with a third person singular masculine infix *-ne-* in the irrealis mood, the irrealis vowel is pronounced. In example (7.89), the verb *owil* ‘take’ occurs in the irrealis with a third person singular masculine object infix which agrees with *sahal* ‘bush knife’. Since the third person singular masculine object infix is consonant-initial, the irrealis vowel /e/ (realized as [i], see section 2.5.3) is pronounced.

- (7.89) ko n-i<ne>wil sahal.  
 still 2SG-take.I<SG.M> bush.knife  
 ‘First get the bush knife.’ (140311-081:561.406) GE-[lobeh-i], LA

However, when these verbs occur in the irrealis with the vowel-initial third person plural infix *-i-*, the /e/ irrealis vowel is deleted and only the plural infix vowel is pronounced. This is demonstrated in example (7.90), where the irrealis form of the verb *owil* is pronounced with a plural infix as [iwil]. Examples and additional discussion regarding the deletion of /e/ preceding vowel-initial morphemes are provided in section 2.5.2.

- (7.90) uqiro miwil.  
 hiro m-i<i>wil.  
 NEG 1SG-take.I<PL>  
 ‘I did not get them.’ (120529-002:463.074) RNS, YM

## 7.6.2 Semantics of the irrealis

Yeri verbs occur in the irrealis mood when: (i) the verb is negated by the negative particle *hiro*, (ii) the verb is expressing a counterfactual statement, (iii) the verb is expressing an imperative statement, and (iv) the verb is in a complement clause following *nobia* to express the meaning ‘want’. The following sections are devoted to the description of the irrealis mood in each of these contexts.<sup>26</sup> Negated contexts and counterfactual statements are discussed in section 7.6.2.1 and section 7.6.2.2 respectively. Section 7.6.2.3 describes the use of the irrealis to express imperative meaning. Lastly, section 7.6.2.4 focuses on the occurrence of verbs in the irrealis mood following the verb *nobia* to express the meaning ‘want’.

### 7.6.2.1 Verbs negated by *hiro*

The irrealis form of the verb is used in contexts to indicate that the event or action expressed by the verb did not or will not come to pass. This includes all negated contexts (see chapter 11) with the exception of negative imperatives involving the prohibitive particle

<sup>26</sup>These are four common contexts where the irrealis occurs. Other less common contexts could probably be identified with additional research.

(see section 10.1.3). In other words, verbs which occur under the scope of the negative particle *hiro* ‘no’ occur in their irrealis form, while verbs which occur under the scope of the prohibitive particle occur in their realis form.

Examples (7.91) and (7.92) illustrate the irrealis form of the verbs *oga* ‘eat’ and *uakir* ‘fall’ following the negative particle *hiro*, while examples (7.93) and (7.94) demonstrate the realis form of the verbs *arkuagil* ‘laugh’ and *gakaria* ‘look everywhere’ following the prohibitive particle *komal*.

- (7.91) hem hiro m-ie<he>ga      yati w-Ø=de-i.  
 1SG NEG 1SG-eat.I<SG.F> sago REL-SG=3-PL  
 ‘I didn’t eat their sago.’ (120520-000:318.999) RNS, AS
- (7.92) yati hiro w-ikir.  
 sago NEG 3SG.F-fall.I  
 ‘The sago has not yet fallen.’ (120409-002:130.380) RNS, AS
- (7.93) ye komal n-arkuagil-da-n.  
 2SG PROH 2SG-laugh.R-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘Don’t you (sg) laugh at him.’ (120405-000:267.372) RNS, AS
- (7.94) mimi ye komal n-gakaria                      tupi tupi.  
 mother 2SG PROH 2SG-look.everywhere.R top top  
 ‘Mother, you (sg) don’t have to look around to the top of the trees.’ (120621-003:255.377) RNS, AS

Additional examples showing the verbs *ar* ‘go’, *o* ‘be, stay, live’, *ana* ‘come’ and *atia* ‘see’ in their irrealis forms under the scope of the negative particle *hiro* are given in (7.95)-(7.97).

- (7.95) ta hiro h-i<me>ro.  
 FUT NEG 1PL-go.R<IPFV>  
 ‘We won’t go.’ (120601-009:154.733) RNS, YW
- (7.96) hem ta hiro m-ie.  
 1SG FUT NEG 1SG-stay.I  
 ‘I won’t stay.’ (120409-002:719.510) RNS, AS
- (7.97) te-i ta hiro Ø-ina      Ø-w-itia      hebi hiro  
 3-PL FUT NEG 3PL-come.I 3PL-1PL-see.I 1PL NEG  
 ‘They will not come and see us.’ (120621-001:241.723) RNS, AS

Although it is common for many languages to use the irrealis mood for all future contexts, this is not true for Yeri. Examples (7.98)-(7.100) demonstrate the occurrence of the verbs *ori* ‘hit’, *ogiwa* ‘ask’, and *ana* ‘come’ in their realis forms while under the scope of the future particle *ta*.



- (7.98) ye ta n-o<me>ri-wa-Ø.  
 2SG FUT 2SG-hit.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘You (sg) will scrape it.’ (120409-002:266.033) RNS, AS
- (7.99) ta m-o<Ø>giwa te-Ø.  
 FUT 1SG-ask.R<SG.F> 3-SG.F  
 ‘I will ask her.’ (120520-000:50.466) RNS, TW
- (7.100) ta si n-a<me>na.  
 FUT again 3SG.M-come.R<IPFV>  
 ‘He will come back.’ (120518-000:195.225) RNS, JS

### 7.6.2.2 Counterfactual statements

The irrealis form of the verb is also used to express counterfactual statements, statements which express something that has not occurred or is counter to reality in some way. Verbs in both clauses of a counterfactual conditional occur in the irrealis as well as any verbs which express the meanings ‘could have’ or ‘would have’. Examples can be found in (7.101)-(7.105).

In (7.101), the speaker is describing a court trial where the judge says that if a man had died, the people who began the fight would spend many years in jail. In reality, since nobody was killed in the fight, the people who fought were not incarcerated for a long time. As both examples are describing a situation which did not occur, both of the verbs, *almo* ‘die’ and *owil* ‘take’, occur in their irrealis forms.

- (7.101) hamote-n ŋa-n la n-ilmo, yem ki y-i<i>wil helol  
 individual-SG.M one-SG.M PST 3SG.M-die.I 2PL already 2PL-take.I<PL> work  
 w-ei=lope-i.  
 REL-PL=big-PL  
 ‘If a man died, you (pl) would have been sentenced for many years.’ (120524-005:308.697) RNS, JS

Example (7.102) is another example of verbs occurring in their irrealis forms in counterfactual statements. This example comes from a story where the speaker is describing how she and her family almost died by being hit by a falling tree. In this example, the verbs *almo* ‘die’ and *or* ‘lie, sleep’ occur in the irrealis mood to signal to the listener that the tree did not fall and the speaker and her family did not die.

- (7.102) m-aro m-nobia-da, “mimi hebi lahabi h-ilmo h-ir.”  
 1SG-go.R 1SG-talk.R-AUG mother 1PL yesterday 1PL-die.I 1PL-lie.I  
 ‘I went and said to her, “Mother, yesterday we could have died.”’ (120601-009:313.113) RNS, YW  
 CI: If the tree had fallen on us, we could have died.

In example (7.103), the speaker is expressing a counterfactual statement by using the irrealis form of the verbs *oba* ‘shoot’ and *awodi* ‘birth’. In reality, the speaker’s mother was not shot and so she was able to give birth to the speaker. He uses irrealis mood in these examples to indicate that he is saying something that could have come to pass, but did not.

- (7.103) la ki        Ø-ie<Ø>ba            mimi w-Ø=hem,        ki        maŋa-n  
 PST already 3PL-shoot.I<SG.F> mother REL-SG.F=1SG already what-SG.M  
 n-b-i<m>wodi                            hem?  
 3SG.M-1SG-birth.I<IPFV> 1SG  
 ‘If they had killed my mother, who would have given birth to me?’ (120528-006:311.170) RNS, JS

Another counterfactual statement is expressed in example (7.104), where the speaker says that he would have come earlier if the river had not been in flood. The verb *ana* ‘come’ occurs in the irrealis to make it clear that the speaker is describing a situation that did not occur, namely that he did not come earlier. Along the same lines, in example (7.105), the speaker is describing a situation that is counter to reality. He states that if his legs did not hurt, he would go. However, since his legs do hurt, he will not go.<sup>27</sup>

- (7.104) hiro laharia        ŋa-Ø        m-ina        he.  
 NEG 2.days.before one-SG.F 1SG-come.I CNT  
 ‘If not, I would have come a few days ago.’ (120620-012:395.040) RNS, KL  
 CI: If there was no flood, I would have come a few days ago. There was a flood, so I didn’t.
- (7.105) hawal ki        hiro Ø-b-ie            weli, ki        m-i<me>ro.  
 feet already NEG 3PL-1SG-COP.I hot already 1SG-go.I<IPFV>  
 ‘If my legs weren’t hurting, I would go.’ (120607-001:426.272) GE-[nbolha], JS

### 7.6.2.3 Imperative meaning

A third context where irrealis verb forms occur is the expression of imperative statements. When a verb occurs in its irrealis form without falling under the scope of the negative particle *hiro*, it can signal imperative meaning, as in (7.106)-(7.108).

- (7.106) nobia-da-n,        “ko dire        n-didi        tupi.”  
 talk-AUG-SG.M still get.up.I 2SG-stand.I top  
 ‘He told him, “First you (sg) get up and stand up.”’ (120517-001:1066.116) RNS, JS

<sup>27</sup>Example (7.105) illustrates the verbal copula with an applicative object (see section 7.7.1.2).

- (7.107) b-i<he>wil            hasieki-l sipeki-i ki            Ø-ina.  
 1SG-take.I<SG.F> fire-PL    little-PL already 3PL-come.I  
 ‘You (sg or pl) take a small bit of fire and bring it to me.’ (140224-006:29.587)  
 RNS, LA

- (7.108) hem m-nobia-da-Ø,            “awo n-nibia-da-n.”  
 1SG 1SG-talk.R-AUG-SG.F yes    2SG-talk.I-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘I told her, “Yes, you (sg) talk to him.”’ (120520-000:353.473) RNS, AS

A stronger imperative meaning can be expressed when verbs occur with both irrealis mood marking and the imperfective morpheme. In examples (7.109)-(7.111), the verbs *anor* ‘descend’, *ana* ‘come’, *darku* ‘run’ and *okirkai* ‘cross river’ all occur in the irrealis mood with the imperfective morpheme, and each example is interpreted as a strong command.

- (7.109) n-i<me>nor  
 2SG-descend.I<IPFV>  
 ‘You (sg) come down!’ (120517-001:2039.545) RNS, JS
- (7.110) y-i<me>na            y-dir<m>ku.  
 2PL-come.I<IPFV> 2PL-run.I<IPFV>  
 ‘You (pl) come quickly!’ (120517-001:1912.355) RNS, JS
- (7.111) Wili n-nobia,            “yem y-i<m>kirkai.”  
 Willy 3SG.M-talk.R 2PL    2PL-cross.river.I<IPFV>  
 ‘Willy said, “You (pl) cross.”’ (120520-000:208.642) RNS, AS

Although less common, first and third person subjects occur. When this happens, irrealis and imperfective marking are typically interpreted with strong modal meanings like ‘must’ or as exhortatives, as in (7.112) and (7.113).

- (7.112) ki            h-i<me>wil            helol w-ei=lopi-lope-i.  
 already 1PL-take.I<IPFV> work REL-PL=RED-big-PL  
 ‘We must get the big work.’ (120528-008:400.740) RNS, JS
- (7.113) hem m-nobia-da-Ø,            “n-i<me>na            h-i<me>ro            siwei.”  
 1SG 1SG-talk-AUG-SG.F 2SG-come.I<IPFV> 1PL-go.I<IPFV> again  
 ‘I told her, “You (sg) come and let’s go back!”’ (120621-003:218.331) RNS, AS

It is common for the imperfective morpheme to be translated as ‘now’ by consultants, especially when it occurs with non-verbal predicates (see chapter 8). This suggests a possible explanation for the stronger imperative meaning associated with the co-occurrence of irrealis mood and imperfective marking, as well as how the construction may have arisen to express

this meaning. If the imperfective morpheme historically meant ‘now’ then when it occurred on the irrealis form of the verb, which can signal imperative meaning on its own, the imperfective morpheme would have added a temporal component to the imperative meaning.<sup>28</sup> In other words, the irrealis form of the verb would convey ‘do X’, but the irrealis form of the verb in conjunction with the imperfective morpheme would convey ‘do X now’.

#### 7.6.2.4 Complement clauses expressing ‘want’

To express the meaning ‘want someone to X’, the verb *nobia* ‘talk’ occurs with a complement clause (see section 14.2.4.3). Verbs which occur in this complement clause frequently occur in the irrealis mood. Examples are provided in (7.114) and (7.115), where the verbs *o* ‘be, stay, live’ and *ar* ‘go’ occur in their irrealis forms. See section 14.2.4.3 for more information on complement clauses and the expression of this meaning.

- (7.114) hem m-nobia m-ie nogil w- $\emptyset$ =lope- $\emptyset$ .  
 1SG 1SG-talk.R 1SG-stay.I village REL-SG=big-SG.F  
 ‘I want to stay in town.’ (120518-000:55.355) RNS, JS

- (7.115)  $\emptyset$ -nobia h-ero.  
 1PL-talk.R 1PL-go.I  
 ‘We wanted to go.’ (120606-000:240.548) RNS, JS

## 7.7 Applicative objects

There is a productive process in Yeri whereby applicative objects can be introduced into a clause by including an additional object index or nominal phrase referring to the applicative object. Given this, intransitive verbs which require only a subject can nonetheless occur with object indexes referring to an applicative object. Parallel to this, transitive verbs which require a subject and an object can occur with two object indexes where the additional index refers to an applicative object.

In this section, I detail the behavior of various verb subclasses with respect to applicative objects, both the form of the applicative object index when it occurs and the interpretation of the applicative object. I begin in section 7.7.1 with discussion of intransitive verbs, before turning to transitive verbs in section 7.7.2. For some verbs, applicative objects can also be signaled by an applicative suffix *-ki*, either in addition to a nominal phrase or index referring to the applicative object or in place of it. This suffix is discussed in section 7.7.3.

<sup>28</sup>There is a great deal of language-internal and comparative evidence that the imperfective morpheme did arise from a morpheme meaning ‘now’.

### 7.7.1 With intransitive verbs

In this section I focus on the discussion of applicative objects with intransitive verbs. I first present an overview in section 7.7.1.1. To describe the interpretation of applicative objects with more detail, I then turn to discussion of the verbal copula in section 7.7.1.2, and two semantically-defined subclasses of verbs in the next two sections. The two subclasses are directional verbs, verbs with a meaning that includes information on the direction in which a movement occurs, discussed in section 7.7.1.3, and posture verbs, verbs with a meaning that includes information on the position or orientation of an entity, discussed in section 7.7.1.4. Both directional verbs and posture verbs occur with applicative objects much more frequently than other intransitive verbs.

#### 7.7.1.1 An overview

Intransitive verbs (see section 4.5.1) require only a subject, which is indexed by subject prefixes on the verb (see section 7.3.1). In (7.116)-(7.120), the intransitive verbs *arwal* ‘cry, weep’, *arkuagil* ‘laugh’, *oniga* ‘sing, dance’, *dolbi* ‘be hungry’, and *almo* ‘die’ are shown with their single obligatory argument, indexed by subject prefixes.

- (7.116) te-n      n-arwal.  
           3-SG.M 3SG.M-cry.R  
           ‘He cried.’ (120405-000:142.504) RNS, AS
- (7.117) hiwora w-∅=di      Colin paki w-arkuagil.  
           wife      REL-SG=3 Colin paki 3SG.F-laugh.R  
           ‘Colin’s wife has laughed.’ (120520-000:400.391) RNS, AS
- (7.118) m-oniga      kua.  
           1SG-sing.R still  
           ‘I will sing first.’ (120518-003:16.895) RNS, LN
- (7.119) hem m-dolbi              nadi.  
           1SG 1SG-be.hungry very  
           ‘I am very hungry.’ (120517-001:1915.390) RNS, JS
- (7.120) mimi      w-∅=yem              ki              w-almo.  
           mother REL-SG.F=2PL already 3SG.F-die.R  
           ‘Your (pl) mother is dead.’ (120410-008:192.520) RNS, YW

However, an additional object, what I refer to as an ‘applicative object’, can be added to the clause by indexing the applicative object in the same way that transitive verbs index their core object. This can be done by (i) adding an object index to the intransitive verb

referring to the applicative object or (ii) adding a nominal phrase referring to the applicative object. For instance, the applicative object of the verb *anor* ‘descend’ is expressed by a second person object index in (7.121), and the applicative object of the verb *olbil* ‘enter’ is expressed by the nominal phrase *tumani* ‘building’ in (7.122).

- (7.121) n-or        wadual w-y-a<me>nor.  
 2SG-lie.R head    3SG.F-2-descend.R<IPFV>  
 ‘You (sg) sleep.’ (120601-012:178.008) RNS, YW  
 LT: ‘You (sg) lie, your (sg) head will go down on you.’

- (7.122) hebi h-aro    h-olbil        tumani.  
 1PL 1PL-go.R 1PL-enter.R building  
 ‘We go into the store.’ (120520-000:539.418) RNS, AS

Like core objects on transitive verbs, an applicative object index and a coreferential nominal phrase can co-occur, as in example (7.123), where the second person object prefix *y-* co-occurs with the second person singular personal pronoun *ye* ‘you (sg)’.

- (7.123) te-n    n-y-duawir                    ye.  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-2-lean.against.R 2SG  
 ‘He leaned on you (sg or pl).’ (140409-158:70.260) GE-[nyduawir], JS

Applicative objects which are first or second person are indexed by means of object prefixes, as in (7.124) and (7.125). In example (7.124), the intransitive verb *arwal* ‘cry, weep’ occurs with a first person plural object prefix *w-* referring to the reason for crying. In example (7.125), the intransitive verb *arkuagil* ‘laugh’ occurs with a first person singular object prefix *b-* referring to the person who is laughed at.

- (7.124) yem tomal y-ana        y-w-arwal        hebi.  
 2PL PROH 2PL-come.R 2PL-1PL-cry.R 1PL  
 ‘Don’t you (pl) come cry over us.’ (140219-011:729.949) PE, JS  
 CI: After we die, don’t cry for us.

- (7.125) ki        maŋa-n    n-b-arkuagil        hem?  
 already what-SG.M 3SG.M-1SG-laugh.R 1SG  
 ‘Who laughed at me?’ (140212-053:1637.356) PE, LA

Many intransitive verbs index third person applicative objects with *-dV*.<sup>29</sup> In example (7.126) and (7.127), third person applicative objects are indexed *da*. In example (7.126),

<sup>29</sup>The vowel disharmony shown with *-dV* in its augment allomorph form optionally appears in this context. In other words, the default phonological allomorph *-da* is always acceptable, while the phonological allomorph *-de* is only acceptable in specific contexts where vowel disharmony selects for it (see section 2.5.6.3 and section 7.3.3.2). Note this optional vowel disharmony is true when *-dV* refers to applicative objects with transitive verbs as well.

the applicative object of the intransitive verb *arkuagil* ‘laugh’ refers to the person being laughed at, while in example (7.127), the applicative object of the intransitive verb *aruarkil* ‘flee’ refers to the person the children fled from.

- (7.126) ye komal n-arkuagil-da-n.  
 2SG PROH 2SG-laugh.R-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘Don’t you (sg) laugh at him.’ (120405-000:267.372) RNS, AS
- (7.127) nogolgoi yot-u-i ki Ø-aruarkil-da-n.  
 children DEM-MDIST-PL already 3PL-flee.R-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘Those children ran away from him.’ (140228-052:98.713) PE+GE-[aruarkildan], JS

However, not all intransitive verbs index third person applicative objects with *-dV*.<sup>30</sup> For instance, *arwal* ‘cry, weep’ indexes third person applicative objects with *-a*, while *ieki* ‘precede’ and *eikia* ‘walk’ index third person applicative objects with *-ka*. Furthermore, almost all directional verbs and posture verbs index third person applicative objects with augmented suffixes, specifically a phonological allomorph of *-(w)V* (see section 7.3.3.2).<sup>31</sup> In example (7.128), the posture verb *dawil* ‘hang’ inflects for the gender of the female flying fox to which the baby is clinging, while in example (7.129) the same verb inflects for plural in order to agree with the plural number of the planes the lights are hanging on.

- (7.128) ŋa-Ø yot-u-Ø, nuate ŋa-Ø yot-u-Ø, nigo-Ø  
 one-SG.F DEM-MDIST-SG.F female one-SG.F DEM-MDIST-SG.F child-SG.F  
 d-awil-a-Ø.  
 MDL-hang.R-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘Another one there, a female one there, a baby hung on her.’ (120621-004:164.239) RNS, TW
- (7.129) ta n-atr-e-i hasieki-l Ø-d-awil-a-i woli woli  
 FUT 2SG-see.R-AUG-PL fire-PL 3PL-MDL-hang.R-AUG-PL side side  
 ‘You (sg) see many lights on them.’ (120528-006:197.130) RNS, JS

Similarly, in example (7.130) the directional verb *olbil* ‘enter’ occurs with a plural applicative object, here the planes being entered.

- (7.130) w-aro w-olbil-a-i te-i Ø-a<me>na.  
 3PL-go.R 3PL-enter.R-AUG-PL 3-PL 3PL-come.R<IPFV>  
 ‘They will run into the planes.’ (120528-006:239.820) RNS, JS

<sup>30</sup>Given this variability, the reader is directed to the Yeri-English and English-Yeri abridged dictionaries for information on the specific form of the index used to mark applicative objects on any specific intransitive verbs. Where this information is known, it is supplied in the lexical entry of the verb.

<sup>31</sup>Note two directional verbs *ana* ‘come’ and *ar* ‘go’ frequently occur with an overt applicative suffix (see section 7.7.3). When this occurs, they index the applicative object with *-dV*, as described in section 7.7.3.

As a general rule, applicative objects that occur with directional verbs and posture verbs can be understood as referring to a location. I refer to these applicative objects as ‘locative objects’. Table 7.24 illustrates the form and the usual meaning of several directional verbs and posture verbs when they occur with an applicative object.

Table 7.24: Directional verbs and posture verbs with applicative objects

| gloss        | 3-SG.M applicative object | meaning with applicative object |
|--------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| ‘descend’    | anor-e-n                  | ‘go down X’                     |
| ‘ascend’     | arkou-e-n                 | ‘go up X’                       |
| ‘enter’      | olbil-a-n                 | ‘enter X’                       |
| ‘go in’      | nania-we-n                | ‘go into X’                     |
| ‘stand’      | dodi-wa-n                 | ‘stand on X’                    |
| ‘lie, sleep’ | or-a-n                    | ‘lie on X’                      |
| ‘hang’       | dawil-a-n                 | ‘hang on X’                     |
| ‘sit’        | dawo-wa-n                 | ‘sit on X’                      |
| ‘lie flat’   | dawere-wa-n               | ‘lie flat on X’                 |

Although the applicative objects of directional verbs and posture verbs typically refer to locations relevant to the meaning of these verbs, the interpretation of applicative objects with other intransitive verbs can be idiosyncratic. Consider the examples in (7.131)–(7.136). In (7.131) the applicative object of the verb *olkal* ‘vomit’ refers to the person that was vomited on, while in (7.132) and (7.133) the applicative object of the verb *nobia* ‘talk’ refers to the person being spoken to. When the verb *arwal* occurs with an applicative object, as in example (7.134), it refer to the thing being cried over or for. In example (7.135) and example (7.136), the applicative objects of the verbs *giekir* ‘bend’ and *okirki* ‘help’ refer to the thing causing the bending, and the person being helped respectively.

- (7.131) te- $\emptyset$  yot-u- $\emptyset$  w-dore, ta w-y-olkal yiwo  
 3-SG.F DEM-MDIST-SG.F 3SG.F-get.up.R FUT 3SG.F-2-vomit.R skin  
 w- $\emptyset$ =ye.  
 REL-SG.F=2SG  
 ‘That lady got up and vomited on your (sg) skin.’ (140219-010:1143.421) PE+GE-[wyolkal], JS

- (7.132) te-n ta n-b-nobia hem.  
 3-SG.M FUT 3SG.M-1SG-talk.R 1SG  
 ‘He will tell me.’ (120520-004:127.095) RNS, AS

- (7.133) n-nobia-da-n, “eh.”  
 3SG.M-talk.R-AUG-SG.M eh  
 ‘He said to him, “Eh.”’ (120518-003:289.442) RNS, LN



- (7.134) yem tomal y-ana            y-w-arwal        hebi.  
 2PL PROH 2PL-come.R 2PL-1PL-cry.R 1PL  
 ‘Don’t you (pl) come cry over us.’ (140219-011:729.949) PE, JS  
 CI: After we die, don’t cry for us.
- (7.135) pueti        yot-u-n                    n-b-giekir.  
 betel.nut DEM-MDIST-SG.M 3SG.M-1SG-bend.R  
 ‘That betel nut palm would bend with me.’ (140409-160:8.190) PE+GE-[nbgiekir], JS
- (7.136) n-o<m>kirki-da-i                    Ø-a<me>ria        helol.  
 3SG.M-help.R<IPFV>-AUG-PL 3PL-do.R<IPFV> work  
 ‘(Who will) help them do the work?’ (120613-001:127.400) RNS, JS  
 CI: The preceding utterance asks who will give them food and this utterance is interpreted as who will help them do the work.

### 7.7.1.2 The verbal copula

Like other intransitive verbs, the verbal copula can also occur with an applicative object, indexed by object prefixes or by *-de*.<sup>32</sup> This applicative object typically refers to the experiencer of the verbal copula predicate. In example (7.137), the verbal copula predicate (see section 4.5.1) occurs with a first person plural object prefix referring to the applicative object. The copula word *weli* expresses the meaning ‘hot, painful’, and the applicative object refers to the person experiencing the pain. In (7.138), the applicative object is the man whose backbone is hurting and in (7.139) the applicative object refers to several people whose backbones are hurting.<sup>33</sup>

- (7.137) ta harei n-w-a<m>o                    welī yaʔa.  
 FUT spine 3SG.M-1PL-COP.R<IPFV>COP.R hot here  
 ‘Our back bones will hurt us.’ (120420-000:2341.760) RNS LA
- (7.138) harei ta n-o-de-n                    welī.  
 spine FUT 3SG.M-stay.R-AUG-SG.M hot  
 ‘His back bone will hurt him.’ (120623-007:394.279) RNS TW

<sup>32</sup>The verbal copula is an exception to the phonological conditioning of the *-dV* augment allomorph (see section 7.3.3.2). It selects the allomorph *-de* where vowel disharmony usually selects *-da* (see section 2.5.6), and must be lexically specified as an exception.

<sup>33</sup>Applicative objects are only acceptable with the verbal copula where they are semantically compatible with the copula word. Not all copula word expressions tested permitted applicative objects on the verbal copula.

- (7.139) harei n-a<m>o-de-i weli.  
 spine 3SG.M-COP.R<IPFV>COP.R-AUG-PL hot  
 ‘Their back bones are hurting them.’ (120503-000:311.290) RNS LA

### 7.7.1.3 Directional verbs

I use the term ‘directional verb’ to refer to a semantically-defined group of intransitive verbs which includes those verbs whose meanings express the direction in which movement occurs. These are verbs like *ana* ‘come’, *ar* ‘go’, *anor* ‘descend’, *arkou* ‘ascend’, and *olbil* ‘enter’.

As intransitive verbs, directional verbs require only a subject, as shown by examples (7.140)-(7.145). In examples (7.140) and (7.141), this is shown with the directional verbs *ana* ‘come’ and *arkou* ‘ascend’, while the directional verbs *nania* ‘go in’, *olbil* ‘enter’, *anor* ‘descend’, and *ana* ‘come’ occur with only a subject in (7.142)-(7.145).

- (7.140) te-n nigo-n-gon w-Ø=de-n yot-u-n ki  
 3-SG.M child-SG.M-RED REL-SG=3-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M already  
 n-ana he.  
 3SG.M-come.R CNT  
 ‘His boy has come already.’ (120517-001:1222.159) RNS, JS
- (7.141) h-arkou h-a<me>na.  
 1PL-ascend.R 1PL-come.R<IPFV>  
 ‘We came up.’ (120601-009:68.912) RNS, YW
- (7.142) aro n-olbil nania.  
 go.R 3SG.M-enter.R go.in.R  
 ‘He went in.’ (120517-001:1955.150) RNS, JS
- (7.143) ta n-aro n-aro n-nania.  
 FUT 3SG.M-go.R 3SG.M-go.R 3SG.M-go.in.R  
 ‘It goes and goes and goes inside.’ (120601-012:108.734) RNS, YW  
 CI: The speaker is describing a moon as ‘going in’ to express the meaning of a month passing by.
- (7.144) nebal-gi tiawa-i Ø-anor Ø-a<me>na.  
 tree-PL short-PL 3PL-descend.R 3PL-come.R<IPFV>  
 ‘The car came down.’ (120524-005:667.494) RNS, JS
- (7.145) te-n n-nobia, “nolka-ti n-anor.”  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-talk.R flood-SG 3SG.M-descend.R  
 ‘He said, “The flood came down.”’ (120409-002:799.600) RNS, AS

Despite the ability to occur with only a subject, it is very common for directional verbs to also occur with an applicative object indicating a location relevant to the directional verb. This applicative object, what I label a locative object due to its meaning, can be expressed by adding an object index or an object nominal phrase.<sup>34</sup> For instance, the directional verb *arkou* ‘ascend’ occurs with the locative object nominal phrase, *wul* ‘water, river’ in (7.146) and *hobehil* ‘wild fig tree’ in (7.147).

- (7.146) *si m-arkou wul m-a<me>na.*  
 again 1SG-ascend.R water 1SG-come.R<IPFV>  
 ‘I came back up the river.’ (120524-000:81.472) RNS, LN

- (7.147) *w-arkou hobehi-l dodi ti-piaka.*  
 3SG.F-ascend.R wild.fig.tree-SG stand.R LOC-outside  
 ‘She climbed the breadfruit tree that stood near the back of the house.’ (120410-008:19.330) RNS, YW

When an object index occurs, it is typically referring to a previously mentioned nominal phrase, as in example (7.148), where the object morpheme on *arkou* referring to the locative object is a participant already active in discourse, namely the man who was hit by the car.

- (7.148) *la nebal-gi tiawa-i yot-ua-i Ø-arkou-e-n.*  
 PST tree-PL short-PL DEM-DIST-PL 3PL-ascend.R-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘That car crashed into him.’ (V120629-001:577.359) RNS, JS  
 LT: ‘That car went up him.’

Along the same lines, examples (7.149) and (7.150) demonstrate the directional verb *anor* ‘descend’ with locative object nominal phrases, *wul* ‘water, river’ and *yo wlopen* ‘big road’. Example (7.151) illustrates the occurrence of *anor* ‘descend’ with an applicative object referenced by an object index. In this utterance, the object morpheme is referring to the bag mentioned in the previous utterance which needs mending.

- (7.149) *hem m-ode-Ø h-anor wul h-a<me>na.*  
 1SG 1SG-and-SG.F 1PL-descend.R water 1PL-come.R<IPFV>  
 ‘She and I went down the river.’ (120621-003:292.295) RNS, AS

- (7.150) *n-anor yo w-Ø=lope-n n-ana.*  
 2SG-descend.R path REL-SG=big-SG.M 2SG-come.R  
 ‘You (sg) come down the big road.’ (120517-001:524.567) RNS, JS

<sup>34</sup>The choice between an object index and an object nominal phrase is related to the information status of the applicative object. Given this, a locative object is more often realized with a nominal phrase. Most instances of object indexes tend to involve either first or second person applicative objects or locations which have recently been mentioned. See section 15.1.1 which describes Yeri’s tendency to avoid detailed nominal phrase reference to referents that are active in discourse.

- (7.151) ta n-gei-ka-n nebal yewal-ti n-anor-e-n  
 FUT 2SG-leave.R-AUG-SG.M tree eye-SG 3SG.M-descend-AUG-SG.M  
 yot-ua-n.  
 DEM-DIST-SG.M  
 ‘You (sg) will put the cocoa beans into it there.’ (120620-007:48.160) RNS, JS  
 CI: The locative object refers to a bag mentioned in the previous utterance.

Similarly, in example (7.152), the object morpheme which occurs on the directional verb *olbil* ‘enter’ refers to the planes mentioned previously.

- (7.152) w-aro w-olbil-a-i te-i Ø-a<me>na.  
 3PL-go.R 3PL-enter.R-AUG-PL 3-PL 3PL-come.R<IPFV>  
 ‘They will run into the planes.’ (120528-006:239.820) RNS, JS

In example (7.153), the object augmented suffix refers to the possessor of *namogi* ‘nose’, namely the species of flying fox known as *hilpia musial wabei*. The applicative object can be understood as referring to the location of the nose, namely the flying fox’s body.

- (7.153) hilpia musial wabei namogi-i Ø-arkou-e-Ø.  
 flying.fox musial.wabei.bat nose-PL 3PL-ascend.R-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘The musial wabei flying fox, its nose goes up on it.’ (140225-026:24.637) GE-[hilpia musial wabei], JS

Similarly, in (7.154) the speaker is describing a type of sago palm with lots of thorns.<sup>35</sup> The feminine agreement of the third person object index on *arkou* refers to the location of the thorns.

- (7.154) yiga-l Ø-arkou-a-Ø.  
 thorn-PL 3PL-ascend.R-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘It has thorns that go up it.’ (140421-107:33.044) GE-[yati hawariena], JS

Another example is provided in (7.155), where the speaker is describing a bush knife whose blade has been bent up to facilitate cutting the grass. That the index is referring the bush knife is clear from the masculine agreement.

- (7.155) sahal w-n=ye, lobehi-i w-Ø=de-n ya ki  
 bush.knife REL-SG.M=2SG rib-PL REL-SG=3-SG.M ya already  
 Ø-arkou-e-n.  
 3PL-ascend-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘Your (sg) bush knife, its side is already bent up on it.’ (140311-081:401.551)  
 GE-[lobehi], JS

<sup>35</sup>As mentioned in section 2.5.6.3 and section 7.3.3.2, a few examples show irregularity in their choice of augment allomorph, especially those with /o/ in the final syllable. In this example, the verb *arkou* ‘ascend’, which almost always selects -e, occurs with the -a.

#### 7.7.1.4 Posture verbs and the posture verb construction

As intransitive verbs, posture verbs can occur with only a subject, as in (7.156).

- (7.156) nolka-ti ko n-d-awera kua.  
 flood-SG still 3SG.M-MDL-lie.flat.R still  
 ‘There was still a flood.’ (120623-007:882.770) RNS, TW

However, it is far more common for posture verbs to occur with an applicative object referring to a location in what I call the posture verb construction. The posture verb construction is used to express the location of something and it has verbal and non-verbal variants. When the posture verb is omitted, I may often refer to the construction as either the ‘non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction’ or the ‘possessive ‘have’ construction’. This is because the non-verbal variant is used more frequently to express possession (specifically the type of possession conveyed by English ‘have’). See section 4.6.5 for information on the non-verbal variant of this construction. In this section, I focus on the verbal variant. After presenting a basic overview, I discuss the selection of posture verbs before turning to discussion on how to interpret the posture verb construction.

When a posture verb occurs with an applicative object, this object refers to a location and I refer to the applicative object as a ‘locative object’. These utterances are typically translated as locative statements (i.e. ‘The Subject is located in/at/on the Locative Object’) or as existential statements which include location (i.e. ‘There is/are Subject in/at/on Locative Object.’).<sup>36</sup> Examples of posture verbs with locative objects are provided in (7.157) and (7.158) with the locative object nominal phrases *wadual* and *yotua*.

- (7.157) lelia male w-d-awil wadual.  
 limbum also 3SG.F-MDL-hang.R head  
 ‘The limbum also hung on my head.’ (120409-002:764.802) RNS, AS

- (7.158) yati ta w-d-awera yot-ua-Ø.  
 sago FUT 3SG.F-MDL-lie.flat.R DEM-DIST-SG.F  
 ‘The sago is lying there.’ (120712-003:262.481) RNS, PM

**Selecting the posture verb** Posture verbs are intransitive verbs which provide additional information regarding the physical shape, position, or orientation of the subject. For instance, the posture verb *dawera* is conventionally used for subjects which have a longer horizontal than vertical axis in their current orientation, while *dodi* occurs with subjects which have

<sup>36</sup>It is also possible for the posture verb construction to express possessive statements. However, it is more common for the non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction, which I also refer to as the ‘possessive ‘have’ construction’, to express possession (see section 4.6.5).

have a longer vertical than horizontal axis in their current orientation. Other examples of posture verbs are *dolyulma* which indicates items located in piles, *darpoki* which indicates items stuck to the side of something, or *dawil* which indicates items that are hanging.

Several of these verbs are formed through the use of a detransitivizing *d-* prefix from a corresponding transitive verb meaning ‘to place into X position’. More information regarding this prefix and the transitive counterparts to posture verbs is provided in section 7.5. Table 7.25 provides a list of the most frequent posture verbs.

| Table 7.25: Posture verbs |                            |              |                        |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|--------------|------------------------|
|                           | posture verb               |              | transitive counterpart |
| ‘be, stay, live’          | <i>o</i>                   |              | none                   |
| ‘stand’                   | <i>dodi</i>                |              | none                   |
| ‘lie, sleep’              | <i>or</i>                  |              | none                   |
| ‘lean against’            | <i>duawir</i>              |              | none                   |
| ‘hang’                    | <i>dawil</i>               | ‘hang’       | <i>awil</i>            |
| ‘sit’                     | <i>dawo</i>                | ‘set’        | <i>awo</i>             |
| ‘lie flat’                | <i>dawera</i>              | ‘lie flat’   | <i>awera</i>           |
| ‘be stuck’                | <i>dapoki, darpoki</i>     | ‘stick’      | <i>apoki</i>           |
| ‘be stuck into’           | <i>daki</i>                | ‘stick into’ | <i>aki</i>             |
| ‘be in a pile’            | <i>dolyulma, doloyulma</i> | ‘pile’       | <i>olyulma</i>         |

There are some general restrictions in the choice of posture verb dependent on the subject. Posture verbs formed from the *d-* prefix generally do not occur with humans. For instance, while *dawo* ‘sit’ frequently occurs with non-human subjects, animate and inanimate, as in (7.159)–(7.161), the posture verb *o* ‘be, stay, live’ is used when humans sit, as in (7.162) and (7.163).

- (7.159) *harkroki n-d-awo yot-u-n.*  
 chicken 3SG.M-MDL-set.R DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
 ‘The chicken sat there.’ (120517-001:630.098) RNS, JS
- (7.160) *neigal n-d-awo tupi.*  
 cuscus 3SG.M-MDL-set.R top  
 ‘The cuscus is sitting above.’ (120621-003:245.622) RNS, AS
- (7.161) *ta Ø-d-awo parada weisebia yot-u-Ø.*  
 FUT 3PL-MDL-set.R veranda under DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘They are under the porch there.’ (120507-001:92.510) RNS, LA  
 CI: The subject is a stack of firewood in this utterance.
- (7.162) *la hem m-odi-Ø Turegal h-o yot-a-Ø.*  
 PST 1SG 1SG-and.R-SG.F Turegal 1PL-stay.R DEM-PROX-SG.F  
 ‘I sat here with Turegal.’ (120608-002:122.675) RNS, JS

- (7.163) nigo-n-gon      n-o              tupi.  
 child-SG.M-RED 3SG.M-stay.R top  
 ‘The son sits on top.’ (120517-001:2176.650) RNS, JS

With the exception of this general tendency for human subjects to avoid occurring with posture verbs formed from the *d-* prefix, there do not appear to be other obvious restrictions beyond semantic compatibility. It is common for posture verbs which are not formed from the *d-* prefix to occur with both human and non-human objects. Examples (7.164) and (7.165) illustrate the posture verb *or* ‘lie, sleep’ occurring with human and non-human objects respectively.

- (7.164) Ø-o<ne><ma>bi              n-or<me>              nawi nawi.  
 3PL-shoot.R<SG.M><IPFV> 3SG.M-lie.R<IPFV> salt salt  
 ‘They were shooting him at sea.’ (120518-003:197.692) RNS, LN
- (7.165) moi-gil ki      Ø-ana      ta      Ø-or.  
 vine-PL already 3PL-come.R FUT 3PL-lie.R  
 ‘The chicken wire, it will lie there.’ (120524-004:87.020) RNS, JS

The same can be shown for the posture verbs *o* ‘be, stay, live’ and *dodi* ‘stand’, as in examples (7.166)-(7.169). Note that *ormia* is an irregular form of the verb *o* ‘be, stay, live’.

- (7.166) Ø-ormia              nebal tiawa-n.  
 3PL-stay.R.IPFV tree short-SG.M  
 ‘They sat in the canoe.’ (120520-000:280.795) RNS, AS
- (7.167) nol n-o              tupi.  
 bird 3SG.M-stay top  
 ‘The bird sat on top.’ (120517-001:2376.880) RNS, JS
- (7.168) h-dodi      yo      w-Ø=lope-Ø.  
 1PL-stand.R path REL-SG=big-SG.F  
 ‘We are on the main road.’ (120520-000:365.795) RNS, AS
- (7.169) hili-eti      ta      w-dodi.  
 bamboo-SG FUT 3SG.F-stand.R  
 ‘The bamboo will stand.’ (120517-001:2430.197) RNS, JS

**Interpreting the posture verb construction** When posture verbs occur with only a subject, as in (7.170)-(7.174), utterances are frequently translated with existential expressions in English. This is particularly common with inanimate subjects. For instance, in example (7.170), the speaker is telling the story of a large flood that occurred in the 1970s. The

subject of the posture verb *nolka-ti* ‘flood’ is the entity whose existence is being stated. That it is acting as the subject of the posture verb *dawera* ‘lie flat’ is clear from the subject prefix on the verb. Similarly, in example (7.171), the nominal phrase *wona wiam ŋan* ‘three months’ is acting as the subject of the posture verb *or* ‘lie, sleep’.<sup>37</sup> In this example, the speaker is expressing the fact that three months still remain before someone leaves the village.

- (7.170) *nolka-ti ko n-d-awera kua.*  
 flood-SG still 3SG.M-MDL-lie.flat.R still  
 ‘There was still a flood.’ (120623-007:882.770) RNS, TW
- (7.171) *wona wia-m ŋa-n ko n-or kua, yot-a-n.*  
 moon two-M one-SG.M still 3SG.M-lie.R still DEM-PROX-SG.M  
 ‘There are still three months.’ (120503-000:35.035) RNS, JS
- (7.172) *ta Ø-d-awo.*  
 FUT 3PL-MDL-set.R  
 ‘They will be there.’ (120605-000:695.690) RNS, JS  
 CI: The subject of the utterance is a load of timber.
- (7.173) *d-awil.*  
 MDL-hang.R  
 ‘It hung.’ (120403-000:268.867) RNS, TW  
 CI: The subject is a seed hanging from a tree.
- (7.174) *sahal hiro n-ir.*  
 bush.knife NEG 3SG.M-lie.I  
 ‘The knife was not there.’ (120623-007:750.660) RNS, TW

Posture verbs, however, provide additional information related to the physical form or orientation of the subject, and this additional information can be focused on. When this happens, the construction is not understood as conveying an existential type meaning, but rather as indicating that the subject is in a particular posture or location. For instance, the speaker uses the posture verb *dawil* ‘hang’ in example (7.175) to describe how the breadfruit hangs from the tree. That the orientation is significant here is signaled by the following utterance where the speaker points out that when the breadfruit is ripe it will fall from its hanging position.

<sup>37</sup>The noun *wona* is one of a small class of nouns that I refer to as ‘singularia tantum nouns’ which always trigger singular agreement, here third person singular masculine agreement, regardless of number. See section 5.4.1.7



- (7.175) hiwol wanagawil yot-ua-Ø, w-d-awil.  
 breadfruit breadfruit DEM-DIST-SG.F 3SG.F-MDL-hang  
 ‘The breadfruit’s fruit there, it hangs.’ (140227-036:33.705) GE-[hiwol wanagawil], JS

Along the same lines, the choice of the posture verb *darpoki* in example (7.176) signals that the cuscus is clinging to the side of the tree. This is unlike example (7.177), where the choice of the posture verb *dawo* ‘sit’ indicates that the cuscus is sitting on a branch of the tree.

- (7.176) m-atr-e-n neigal n-d-ar<m>poki.  
 1SG-see.R-AUG-SG.M cuscus 3SG.M-MDL-stick.R<IPFV>  
 ‘I saw the cuscus stuck on the side of the tree.’ (120621-003:243.387) RNS, JS
- (7.177) neigal n-d-awo tupi  
 cuscus 3SG.M-MDL-set top  
 ‘The cuscus is sitting above.’ (120621-003:245.622) RNS, AS

Like all verbs, when a posture verb occurs with an applicative object, the applicative object can be expressed by an overt nominal phrase, an object morpheme, or both. When an applicative object occurs with a posture verb it depicts a location and I refer to these applicative objects as ‘locative objects’. In example (7.178), the locative object is expressed by a single nominal phrase, *woli* ‘side’, while in example (7.179), it is indicated only by an object index occurring on the posture verb *dawil* ‘hang’. Both an overt nominal phrase and an object index refer to the applicative object *ye* ‘you (sg)’ in example (7.180). As with directional verbs, posture verbs more frequently show third person applicative objects being expressed by a nominal phrase. This is likely due to the fact that the posture verb construction is often used to locate an entity at a location and the locative object in the posture verb construction is frequently the first mention of the location.

- (7.178) nia ŋa-n d-awo woli ...  
 teeth one-SG.M MDL-set.R side ...  
 ‘One tooth is on one side ...’ (120410-001:348.225) RNS, JS
- (7.179) pine-i w-ei=de-i d-awil-a-i.  
 wing-PL REL-PL=3-PL MDL-hang.R-AUG-PL  
 ‘They have the wings on them.’ (120621-004:130.027) RNS, TW
- (7.180) te-Ø ki w-uakir w-y-duawir ye.  
 3-SG.F already 3SG.F-fall.R 3SG.F-2-lean.against.R 2SG  
 ‘She fell asleep on you (sg).’ (140219-010:3083.057) PE, JS

When an object index occurs, it frequently refers to a previously mentioned referent. This is related to Yeri's tendency to avoid detailed nominal phrases referring to active participants in discourse (see section 15.1.1.) For instance, in example (7.181), the object index refers to *nebal yotun* 'that tree', while in example (7.182), the object index refers to *hula* 'hole'.<sup>38</sup>

(7.181) *nebal yot-u-n, nol-mi howen-egal ø-d-awere-wa-n.*  
 tree DEM-MDIST-SG.M bird-PL howen.bird-PL 3PL-MDL-lie.flat.R-AUG-SG.M  
 'That tree, lots of howen birds are on it.' (140227-010:119.380) GE-[howen], JS

(7.182) *ye n-aro na<me>kou hula, ta h-o<ma>di neige-la*  
 2SG 2SG-go.R drill.hole.R<IPFV> hole FUT 1PL-make.R<IPFV> bottom-SG  
*togua w-d-a<m>wo-wa-ø.*  
 outhouse 3SG.F-MDL-set.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F  
 'You (sg) go and dig a hole and we will build a toilet on top of it.' (140227-027:80.866) GE-[hula], JS

## 7.7.2 With transitive verbs

Transitive verbs (see section 4.5.2) require a subject and an object. However, an additional object, what I refer to as an 'applicative object', can be added to the clause by (i) adding another object index to the transitive verb which refers to the applicative object or (ii) adding a nominal phrase referring to the applicative object. Like all objects on transitive verbs, an applicative object index and a coreferential nominal phrase can co-occur (see section 7.8). First or second person applicative objects are indexed by object prefixes (see section 7.3.2), while third person applicative objects are *typically*, though not always, indexed by the augmented suffix *-da* (see section 7.3.3.2).

When an applicative object occurs with a transitive verb, the applicative object often refers to a person who benefits from the action or event denoted by the verb. For this reason, I refer to applicative objects which are interpreted as benefactees as 'benefactive objects'. In (7.183)-(7.188) the applicative object of the verb *aguti* 'burn' is understood as a benefactive object, specifically the person who the fish is cooked for.

When a core object and an applicative object co-occur as nominal phrases, the default order is core object followed by applicative object nominal, as in (7.183) and (7.184), where the core object is *nanula* 'fish' and the applicative object is *hem* 'I, me' or *hebi* 'we, us'. In these examples, the core object is indexed by object infixes, while the applicative object is indexed by object prefixes.

<sup>38</sup>Note that *dawo* 'sit', shown in (7.182), is one of the few exceptions to the phonological conditioning described in the selection of the object augment allomorph *-(w)V* discussed in section 7.3.3.2. This is because most verbs where the preceding vowel is /o/, select for an phonological allomorph of the augment *-(w)V* which includes the vowel /e/.

- (7.183) ye ta n-b-a<ne><m>guti nanu-la hem.  
 2SG FUT 2SG-1SG-burn.R<SG.M><IPFV> fish-SG 1SG  
 ‘You (sg) will cook me a fish.’ (140416-013:131.700) DE, JS

- (7.184) ye ta n-w-a<ne>guti nanu-la hebi.  
 2SG FUT 2SG-1PL-burn.R<SG.M> fish-SG 1PL  
 ‘You (sg) will cook us fish.’ (140416-013:139.137) DE, JS

When the applicative object is third person, it is usually indexed by the augmented suffix *-dV*, though there are exceptions to this which must be lexically specified.<sup>39</sup> In example (7.185), the third person applicative object is indexed by *-da* and occurs with a coreferential nominal phrase.

- (7.185) te-n n-a<∅>guti-da-i nanu-la te-i.  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-burn.R<SG.F>-AUG-PL fish-SG 3-PL  
 ‘He cooked a fish for them.’ (140416-014:599.438) DE?, JS

When the applicative object is understood as a benefactive object, a prepositional phrase can also co-occur consisting of *danua* followed by a nominal phrase referring to the benefactee, *danua ye* in (7.186), *danua ten* in (7.187) and *danua te* in (7.188).

- (7.186) hem ta m-y-a<ne><m>guti nanu-la danua ye.  
 1SG FUT 1SG-2-burn.R<SG.M><IPFV> fish-SG PREP 2SG  
 ‘I will cook you (sg) a fish.’ (140416-013:122.530) DE, JS
- (7.187) hem m-a<ne>guti-da-n, nanu-la danua te-n.  
 1SG 1SG-burn.R<SG.M>-AUG-SG.M fish-SG PREP 3-SG.M  
 ‘I cooked it for him, a fish for him.’ (140416-013:81.960) DE, JS
- (7.188) te-n n-a<∅>guti-da-∅ nanu-la danua-∅ te-∅.  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-burn.R<SG.F>-AUG-SG.F fish-SG PREP-SG.F 3-SG.F  
 ‘He cooked it for her, a fish for her.’ (140416-014:611.670) DE, JS

Although it is common for applicative objects with transitive verbs to have a benefactive interpretation, applicative objects on transitive verbs can also have other interpretations. For instance, a third person applicative object on the verb *operi* ‘pour’ is interpreted as a locative object indicating the location that something was poured on. This verb is also an exception to the tendency transitive verbs have to indexing third person applicative objects via *-dV*. While *operi* ‘pour’ indexes its core object, the thing being poured, via infixes (see

<sup>39</sup>Note that vowel disharmony is optional when *-dV* refers to applicative objects. In this context, the default phonological allomorph *-da* is always acceptable, even where vowel disharmony would select *-de* (see section 2.5.6.3).

section 7.3.3.1), it indexes its applicative object, the location or object being poured on, via an augmented suffix (see section 7.3.3.2). This is demonstrated in example (7.189), where the verb *operi* occurs with a third person plural object infix *-i-* to indicate that the thing being poured is plural and a third person singular masculine object augmented suffix *-wan* to indicate that the thing being poured on is masculine. In this example, the speaker is talking about pouring a powder onto a man.

- (7.189) w-o<i>peri-wa-n.  
 3SG.F-pour.R<PL>-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘She poured them on him.’ (140408-208:394.774) GJ, JS  
 CI: She poured *hewi* ‘lime’, which normally triggers plural agreement, onto the man.

In example (7.190), the same verb occurs with a third person singular feminine infix which refers to *wul* ‘water, river’ and a third person plural object index which refers to the people who are having water poured on them.

- (7.190) te-∅ w-o<∅>peri-wa-i wul.  
 3-SG.F 3SG.F-pour.R<SG.F>-AUG-PL water  
 ‘She poured the water on them.’ (140408-208:309.429) DE, LA

While it is more common for directional verbs and posture verbs to occur with applicative objects, examples from natural discourse where transitive verbs occur with applicative objects can be found. In example (7.191), the verb *aroti* ‘cook in a leaf’ takes an object infix which refers to the core object *huri* ‘sago flour’, the item cooked. Additionally, a first person singular object prefix occurs referring to the applicative object, the person that the pancakes are being made for, in this case the speaker.

- (7.191) mimi w-∅=hem b-a<i><m>roti hur-i  
 mother REL-SG.F=1SG 1SG-cook.in.leaf.R<PL><IPFV> sago.flour-PL  
 w-b-a<me>ya.  
 3SG.F-1SG-give.R<IPFV>  
 ‘My mother will cook sago flour and give me.’ (120601-012:195.530) RNS, YW

A similar situation holds for example (7.192), where an object infix refers to the core object being shared and an object prefix refers to the applicative object, in this example, the speaker who is receiving the breadfruit.

- (7.192) ta n-a<i>guti hoke-wil yot-ua-i  
 FUT 2SG-burn.R<PL> breadfruit-PL DEM-DIST-PL  
 n-b-a<ne><m>woka ŋa-n papi nadi.  
 2SG-1SG-pass.to.R<SG.M><IPFV> one-SG.M only only  
 ‘You (sg) cook the breadfruit and just give me one.’ (video: T8-109)

### 7.7.3 The applicative suffix *-ki*

For many verbs, an overt applicative suffix *-ki* can occur, on its own or in addition to an object index or nominal phrase, to introduce an applicative object. When the applicative suffix occurs on its own, the applicative object is often assumed to be second person. Example (7.193) demonstrates the occurrence of *-ki* on its own to introduce an applicative object, assumed to be ‘you’ from context and real world knowledge, while in (7.194) the applicative object is explicitly indicated by the second person object index and the personal pronoun *yem* ‘you (pl)’, which co-occurs with the applicative suffix on the verb *ati* ‘blow on’.

- (7.193) lelia w- $\emptyset$ =ye ki maga-n gopua-ki?  
 limbum REL-SG.F=2SG already what-SG.M sew.limbum.R-APPL  
 ‘Your (sg) limbum, who sewed it for you (sg)?’ (140422-014:261.245) PE+GE-[gopuaki], LA

- (7.194) la magil  $\emptyset$ -y-ati-ki hasieki-l yem.  
 PST who.HUM.PL 3PL-2-blow.on.R-APPL fire-PL 2PL  
 ‘Who blew the fire for you (pl)?’ (140423-037:95.855) PE+GE-[yatiki], LA

Example (7.195) illustrates the use of the applicative suffix *-ki* on the verb *ahala* ‘roll’. In this example, the applicative object is indicated by the second person pronoun *ye*.

- (7.195) la magil  $\emptyset$ -ahala-ki moi ye?  
 PST who.HUM.PL 3PL-roll.R-APPL vine 2SG  
 ‘Who were those people who rolled the rope for you (sg)?’ (140422-015:382.409)  
 PE+GE-[ahalaki], LA

When the applicative object is first or second person, it can be indexed on the verb via regular object prefixes. However, when the applicative object is third person, most verbs select the augment allomorph *-dV* (see section 7.3.3.2) to index the applicative object. Furthermore, although *-dV* precedes the applicative suffix *-ki* when it indexes core objects, *-dV* follows the applicative suffix *-ki* when it indexes applicative objects. In example (7.196), the verb *gakua* ‘wash’ occurs with the applicative suffix *-ki*, and the applicative object is indicated by *-dam* which follows *-ki*.

- (7.196) te-n n-ga< $\emptyset$ >kua-ki-da-m moti.  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-wash.R<SG.F>-APPL-AUG-PL pot  
 ‘He washed (many) pots for them.’ (140409-158:318.291) DE, JS

It is common for verbs to be indexed for both core and applicative objects. In example (7.197), a first person object prefix occurs on the verb *iekewa* ‘be angry’ referring to the

core object, the person that the woman was angry with. Additionally, the applicative suffix *-ki* occurs on the verb followed by *-da* which indexes the applicative object, the thing that the woman was angry about.

- (7.197) hiro b-ie<m>kewa-ki-da- $\emptyset$ .  
 NEG 1SG-be.angry.R<IPFV>-APPL-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘No, she got angry with me over it.’ (120416-000:1342.700), RNS, LA  
 CI: A woman is angry at the speaker over an incident with beetles.

It is also common for the applicative object to be indicated by just a nominal phrase, rather than an object index on the verb. In example (7.198), the applicative suffix occurs on the verb *nania* ‘go in’, but no other object index. Instead, the nominal phrase *nanubia* ‘fish’ indicates what the applicative object of the verb *nania* is, namely the thing that they dove into the water for.

- (7.198) hebi la  $\emptyset$ -aro nania-ki nanu-bia.  
 1PL PST 1PL-go.R go.in.R-APPL fish-PL  
 ‘We went in for the fish.’ (140422-014:312.816) GJ+GE-[naniaki], LA  
 CI: The verb *nania* is understood as ‘going into the river’ here.

The applicative object is often understood as a location or a reason for something happening. When the applicative object is a person, it is frequently interpreted as a benefactee. For instance, the first person plural object prefix indexes the applicative object of the verbs, *iebi* ‘close door’ and *ada* ‘chop’ in examples (7.199) and (7.200). In each example, the applicative object is interpreted as referring to the people who benefited from the action.

- (7.199) ta h-o  $\emptyset$ -w-iebi-ki yo.  
 FUT 1PL-stay.R 3PL-1PL-close.door.R-APPL path  
 ‘We’ll stay, and they’ll close the door for us.’ (120601-012:68.973) RNS, YW
- (7.200) ta w-aro  $\emptyset$ -w-a<me>da-ki nebal-gi  
 FUT 3PL-go.R 3PL-1PL-chop.R<IPFV>-APPL tree-PL  
 ‘They will go chop the trees for us.’ (120517-001:1293.745) RNS, JS

Several verbs have applicative forms which are irregular.<sup>40</sup> For instance, the verb *ana* ‘come’ has an additional /r/ when it occurs with the applicative suffix (i.e. *anarki*), while the verb *ano* ‘push’ has an additional /l/ when it occurs with the applicative suffix (i.e. *anolki*). Examples are presented in (7.201) and (7.202).

<sup>40</sup>The verb *ar* ‘go’ occurs in its *aro* form when it occurs with the applicative suffix (i.e. *aroki*).

- (7.201) tɛ ki wanarki uɛlɔl jɔtai.  
 te-∅ ki w-ana-ki helol yot-a-i.  
 3-SG.F already 3SG.F-come.R-APPL work DEM-PROX-PL  
 ‘She came for this work here.’ (120504-000:515.277) RNS, JS
- (7.202) ta wanɔlki<sup>n</sup>da uɛ<sup>m</sup>bi jɔ.  
 ta ∅-w-ano-ki-da-∅ hebi yo.  
 FUT 3PL-1PL-push.R-APPL-AUG-SG.F 1PL path  
 ‘They push it for us through the hole.’ (120601-012:79.407) RNS, YW  
 CI: They push sago through a small opening.

In fast speech, third person core object indexes almost never co-occur with the applicative suffix. However, consultants indicate that it is nonetheless acceptable for third person core object indexes to co-occur with the applicative suffix. This occurs in example (7.203), where the verb *gakua* ‘wash’ occurs with a third person object index referring to the pot as well as the applicative suffix *-ki*. In this example, a nominal phrase referring to the applicative object does not occur and the applicative object is understood as ‘you’ based on context and real world knowledge. The person most likely to benefit from a pot being washed is the owner of the pot.

- (7.203) moti w-∅=ye ki hebi ∅-ga<he>kua-ki.  
 pot REL-SG.F=2SG already 1PL 1PL-wash.R<SG.F>-APPL  
 ‘Your (sg) pot, we washed it for you (sg).’ (140423-036:128.501) GE-[gahekuaki], LA

Another example is provided in (7.204), where the verb *gara* occurs with a third person object index referring to the item that was dug.<sup>41</sup> The applicative object is again not explicitly stated and is interpreted as ‘you’ by default.

- (7.204) ki te-i ∅-gare-wa-n-ki mai?  
 already 3-PL 3PL-dig-AUG-SG.M-APPL Q  
 ‘Did they dig it for you (sg or pl)?’ (140423-036:241.934) GE-[garewanki], LA

Additional examples are provided in (7.205)-(7.207), where a third person object index and the applicative suffix *-ki* co-occur on the verb *ogera* ‘chase’. In each example, the applicative object, the cause or reason why something happened, is being questioned by *maɲa* ‘what, who, which’.

- (7.205) yem la y-ogera-we-∅-ki maɲa-∅?  
 2PL PST 2PL-chase.R-AUG-SG.F-APPL what-SG.F  
 ‘What did you (pl) chase her for?’ (140423-036:60.240) GE-[ogeraweki], LA

<sup>41</sup>Note that the verb *gara* belong to a class of verbs which show stem-final vowel alternations. In example (7.204), *gara* occurs in its stem-final /e/ form. See section 7.4.

- (7.206) yem la y-ogera-we-n-ki maŋa-Ø?  
 2PL PST 2PL-chase.R-AUG-SG.M-APPL what-SG.F  
 ‘What did you chase him for?’ (140423-036:70.530) GE-[ogerauwenki], LA

- (7.207) te-i la Ø-ogera-we-i-ki maŋa-Ø?  
 3-PL PST 3PL-chase.R-AUG-PL-APPL what-SG.F  
 ‘They chased them for what?’ (140423-036:75.480) GE-[ogerauwiki], LA

It is also common for verbs which end in /ia/ to show optional deletion of the final /a/ before the applicative suffix *-ki*. In (7.208) and (7.209), the verbs *ania* ‘call’ and *eikia* ‘walk’ show deletion of the final /a/ before the applicative suffix, while (7.210) and (7.211) show the same verbs without /a/ deletion. See section 2.5.7 for more information.

- (7.208) jɛm baniki maŋa?  
 yem b-ania-ki maŋa-Ø  
 2PL 1SG-call.R-APPL what-SG.F  
 ‘What are you (pl) calling me for?’ (140423-035:37.277) GE-[baniki], LA

- (7.209) ʉɛ<sup>m</sup>bi eikiki ʉamɔtɛn nɛlmɔ.  
 hebi Ø-eikia-ki hamote-n n-almo.  
 1PL 1PL-walk.R-APPL individual-SG.M 3SG.M-die.R  
 ‘We walked for the man who died.’ (140422-015:42.580) GE-[eikiki], LA

- (7.210) jɛm baniaki maŋa?  
 yem b-ania-ki maŋa-Ø  
 2PL 1SG-call.R-APPL what-SG.F  
 ‘What are you (pl) calling me for?’ (140423-035:43.155) GE-[baniaki], LA

- (7.211) ti eikiaki ʉamɔtɛn nɛlmɔ.  
 te-i Ø-eikia-ki hamote-n n-almo.  
 3-PL 3PL-walk.R-APPL individual.R-SG.M 3SG.M-die.R  
 ‘They walked for the dead man.’ (140422-015:31.826) GE-[eikiaki], LA

The applicative suffix is also acceptable with all ideophones (see section 3.4), though it does not occur with ideophones very often in natural speech. What the applicative object of an ideophone predicate refers to is to some degree idiosyncratic. While is common for the applicative object to refer to a person or thing denoting a location or the reason why the action depicted by the ideophone occurred, much more research is needed to determine if there is an overarching pattern to interpreting these applicative objects.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore,

<sup>42</sup>When the applicative suffix *-ki* occurs on an ideophone, consultants frequently translate the applicative object as referring to the reason for the meaning depicted by the ideophone to occur. However, when ideophones occur with non-verbal pronominal clitics referring to applicative objects (see section 4.2.2), it is particularly common for the applicative object to be interpreted as referring to a location.



there is some evidence suggesting that context plays a large role in their interpretation. Elicited examples are provided in (7.212)-(7.214) with the ideophones *girgir* ‘grunt’, *kolkol* ‘shout’, and *sleislei* ‘tiptoe’. In (7.212), the pig made grumbling noises for sago, in (7.213) the speaker is asking who the person was shouting for, and in (7.214) the speaker is asking what caused the addressee to be walking so carefully.

- (7.212) ki girgir-ki yati yot-u-Ø.  
 already grunt-APPL sago DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘It’s grunting for sago.’ (140226-003:257.597) PE+GE-[girgir], JS  
 glci: The speaker is talking about a hungry pig.
- (7.213) ye ki kolkol-ki danua maja-n?  
 2SG already shout-APPL PREP what-SG.M  
 ‘Who did you (sg) shout for?’ (140226-003:50.366) PE+GE-[kolkol], JS
- (7.214) Turegal, ye paki sleislei-ki mal?  
 Turegal 2SG paki tiptoe-APPL what  
 ‘Turegal, why do you (sg) tiptoe?’ (140226-003:310.782) PE+GE-[sleislei], JS

## 7.8 Argument indexing and conominals

The form and allomorphy of object indexes was discussed in sections 7.3.1-7.3.3. In this section, the focus will shift to the potential co-occurrence of coreferential nominal phrases with these morphemes. To more clearly describe the pattern found in Yeri, I will make use of the term ‘conominal’, as suggested by (Haspelmath 2013). This refers to any nominal within the same clause that has the same role and reference of an argument index.<sup>43</sup>

### 7.8.1 Argument indexes and optional conominals

Conominals can optionally co-occur with any subject or object indexes in Yeri. This is demonstrated for subject prefixes in (7.215)-(7.217), where subject prefixes occur with the coreferential personal pronouns *hem* and *te* in (7.215), a coreferential nominal phrase in (7.216), and without a conominal in (7.217).

- (7.215) hem m-ieki. te-Ø w-gorwedi.  
 1SG 1SG-precede.R 3-SG.F 3SG.F-follow.R  
 ‘I went ahead. She followed me.’ (120621-003:127.690) RNS, AS

<sup>43</sup>This is taken directly from Haspelmath’s definition of conominal where he writes, “Argument indexes can cooccur, in the same narrow clause, with nominals that have the same role and reference. I propose to call such a nominal a conominal”.

- (7.216) nalu sa-sapiten nadi w-o-<∅>ga wobla yot-u-∅.  
 cassowary RED-many very 3SG.F-eat.R<SG.F> wobla.tree DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘Very many cassowaries were eating that fruit tree.’ (120623-002:81.625) RNS, YW

- (7.217) n-o<ne>ba malual.  
 3SG.M-shoot.R<SG.M> ground.wallaby  
 ‘He shot the ground wallaby.’ (120601-009:38.110) RNS, YW

This same optional co-occurrence with conominals is true for object prefixes. In example (7.218), the conominal is a personal pronoun *hem* ‘I, me’, while in example (7.219), no conominal occurs.<sup>44</sup>

- (7.218) n-ana n-b-a<me>rubahem.  
 3SG.M-come.R 3SG.M-1SG-do.well.R<IPFV> 1SG  
 ‘He’ll decorate me.’ (120601-012:229.218) RNS, YW

- (7.219) ta ∅-ana ∅-b-a<me>sor.  
 FUT 3PL-come.R 3PL-1SG-rinse.R<IPFV>  
 ‘They will come and wash me.’ (120601-012:212.637) RNS, YW

As with subject prefixes and object prefixes, conominals also optionally co-occur with third person object indexes. In (7.220) and (7.221), a coreferential personal pronoun *ti* ‘they’ and a coreferential nominal phrase *nigongon unebi* ‘our son’ co-occur with an object suffix on the verb *ode* ‘and, with’, while in (7.222) the object suffix occurs without a conominal.

- (7.220) hebi h-ode-i te-i h-ormia.  
 1PL 1PL-and-PL 3-PL 1PL-stay.R.IPFV  
 ‘We sat with them.’ (120520-000:229.077) RNS, AS

- (7.221) nigo-∅-go w-∅=yem ta w-ode-n nigo-n-gon  
 child-SG.F-RED REL-SG.F=2PL FUT 3SG.F-and-SG.M child-SG.M-RED  
 w-n=hebi w-ormia.  
 REL-SG.M=1PL 3SG.F-stay.R.IPFV  
 ‘Your (pl) daughter will stay with our son.’ (120608-003:432.139) RNS, JS

- (7.222) te-∅ ta w-ode-n w-a<me>ro.  
 3-SG.F FUT 3SG.F-and-SG.M 3SG.F-go.R<IPFV>  
 ‘She will walk with him.’ (120611-004:403.419) RNS, JS

<sup>44</sup>It is theoretically possible for an object prefix to co-occur with a complex nominal phrase. For instance, a plural object prefix could co-occur with a nominal phrase including the and-verb (see section 6.7.2). In practice, however, this is not common.

Examples (7.223)-(7.225) show the optional co-occurrence of coreferential pronouns and nominal phrases with object infixes. The verb *oga* ‘eat’ occurs with a coreferential personal pronoun in (7.223), a coreferential nominal phrase in (7.224), and without a conominal in (7.225).

- (7.223) hasieki-l w-o<he>mo te- $\emptyset$ .  
 fire-PL 3PL-eat.R.IPFV<SG.F> 3-SG.F  
 ‘The fire burned her.’ (120623-002:317.413) RNS, YW

- (7.224) hem hiro m-ie<he>ga yati w- $\emptyset$ =de-i.  
 1SG NEG 1SG-eat.I<SG.F> sago REL-SG=3-PL  
 ‘I didn’t eat their sago.’ (120520-000:318.999) RNS, AS

- (7.225) y-o<he>ga y-o tumani w- $\emptyset$ =yem.  
 2PL-eat.R<SG.F> 2PL-stay.R building REL-SG.F=2PL  
 ‘You (pl) eat and stay in your (pl) house.’ (120522-002:526.540) RNS, JS

Finally, examples (7.226)-(7.228) show the optional co-occurrence of coreferential pronouns and nominal phrases with object augmented suffixes (see section 7.8.4). The verb *arkia* ‘carry on shoulder’ occurs with an augmented suffix and a coreferential pronoun in (7.226), with an augmented suffix and a coreferential nominal phrase in (7.227), and without a coreferential pronoun or nominal phrase in (7.228).

- (7.226) te-n n-arkia-ka- $\emptyset$  te- $\emptyset$ .  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-shoulder.carry.R-AUG-SG.F 3-SG.F  
 ‘He carried her.’ (140409-158:724.480) GJ, JS
- (7.227) sebi n-arkia-ka-n harogi-l.  
 sebi 3SG.M-shoulder.carry.R-AUG-SG.M axe-SG  
 ‘Sebi carried an axe.’ (120621-004:32.409) RNS, TW
- (7.228) ta w-arkia-ka- $\emptyset$  w-aruba- $\emptyset$ .  
 FUT 3PL-shoulder.carry.R-AUG-SG.F 3PL-do.well.R-SG.F  
 ‘They will carry it well.’ (120522-002:130.889) RNS, JS

## 7.8.2 Conominal objects and optional third person indexes

When an object conominal occurs, it is possible for third person object morphemes to be optionally omitted, though this omission occurs more frequently for some object indexes than others. In example (7.229) an object suffix co-occurs with a conominal, while in example (7.230) only a conominal occurs. Since the object of *iekewa* ‘be angry’ is a man in

this example, the object index would have to take the form *-n* for singular masculine and this morpheme does not occur on the verb.

- (7.229) hem m-aga-n            sahal            wia-m.  
 1SG 1SG-get.R-SG.M bush.knife two-M  
 ‘I bought two knives.’ (120709-007:751.235) GE-[wnbahem], JS
- (7.230) juta    nɔ̃guɛl pɔ    dɔrɛ            iɛmua            wili.  
 yuta    nogual teipa Ø-dore            Ø-ie<m>kewa            Wili.  
 woman PL            then 3PL-get.up.R 3PL-be.angry.R<IPFV> Willy  
 ‘The girls then got up and got angry at Willy.’ (120520-000:204.554) RNS, AS

Example (7.231) demonstrates the co-occurrence of the object augmented suffix *-wa* and the conominal *winoga* ‘older brother’. However, the object morpheme is omitted in example (7.232) and only the nominal phrase *winoga* ‘older brother’ occurs.

- (7.231) te-n    n-ori-wa-n            winoga.  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-hit.R-AUG-SG.M older.brother  
 ‘He hit the elder brother.’ (140407-191:641.400) GJ, LA
- (7.232) te-n    n-ori            winoga.  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-hit.R older.brother  
 ‘He hit the elder brother.’ (140407-191:639.077) GJ, LA

Example (7.233) demonstrates the verb *ogiwa* ‘ask’ occurring with both an object infix and a coreferential object nominal phrase. In example (7.234), the verb *goba* ‘bend in half’ occurs with an object nominal phrase, but without an object infix. Since *hilogi* ‘arm’ triggers singular masculine agreement on the numeral *ɲa* in the example, the object infix would have to take the form *-ne-*, and this morpheme does not occur on the verb. Another example is shown in (7.235), where the pluralia tantum noun *helol* ‘work’ co-occurs with the verb *owil* ‘take’. In this example, *owil* occurs without a third person plural index *-i*.

- (7.233) h-o<i>giwa    te-i    hamei.  
 1PL-ask.R<PL> 3-PL people  
 ‘We asked the men.’ (120606-000:69.415) RNS, JS
- (7.234) te-n    n-goba            hilogi-l ɲa-n    w-Ø=de-n.  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-bend.in.half.R arm-SG one-SG.M REL-SG=3-SG.M  
 ‘He broke one of his arms.’ (140424-076:22.232) DE, LA
- (7.235) ki    h-i<me>wil    helol w-ei=lopi-lope-i.  
 already 1PL-take.I<IPFV> work REL-PL=RED-big-PL  
 ‘We must get the big work.’ (120528-008:400.740) RNS, JS

Note that while it does appear possible for an object infix to be omitted when there is an overt object nominal phrase, this is uncommon. It is much more common for augmented suffixes to be omitted (see section 7.8.4).

### 7.8.3 Object infixes and non-human conominals

Although object-infixing verbs can co-occur with a coreferential personal pronoun, as described in section 7.8.1), not all types of objects can be represented by this coreferential personal pronoun. The acceptability of a coreferential pronoun with object-infixing verbs is dependent on whether the object is human. This condition can be understood as follows:

- When a coreferential personal pronoun occurs with an infix, the coreferential pronoun is interpreted as a human referent.

Consider examples (7.236)-(7.238) with the object-infixing verbs *oga* ‘eat’ and *oba* ‘shoot’. In example (7.236), the non-human object is referenced by the object infix and no conominal occurs. In example (7.237), the non-human object is referenced by an object infix as well as a coreferential nominal phrase. However, when presented with constructed examples requiring that a pronoun be coreferential with a non-human object, consultants express their dislike of the utterance, as in (7.238).<sup>45</sup>

(7.236) te-i ta hiro Ø-ie<he>ba  
 3-PL FUT NEG 3PL-shoot.I<SG.F>  
 ‘They will not shoot it.’ (120528-004:162.790) RNS, JS

(7.237) hebi h-o<ne>mo nebal yewal-ti yot-u-n  
 1PL 1PL-eat.R.IPFV<SG.M> tree eye-SG DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
 ‘We eat rice there.’ (120520-000:98.722) RNS, AS  
 CI: The expression *nebal yewalt̃i* refers to ‘rice’ in this example.

(7.238) \*hasieki-l ta Ø-o<he>mo te-Ø.  
 fire-PL FUT 3PL-eat.R.IPFV<SG.F> 3-SG.F  
 ‘The fire will burn it (the house).’ (140409-168:90.729) GJ, JS

When the object is changed from a house to a man, as in the grammaticality judgement in example (7.239), or a woman as in the spontaneous speech example in (7.240), the same utterance is acceptable.

(7.239) hasieki-l ta Ø-o<he>mo te-n.  
 fire-PL FUT 3PL-eat.R<SG.F> 3-SG.M  
 ‘The fire will burn him.’ (140409-168:85.432) GJ, JS

<sup>45</sup>Typically, consultants judge them ungrammatical, saying examples like these are not good, or express a preference for interpreting the personal pronoun as a human.

- (7.240) hasieki-l w-o<he>mo te- $\emptyset$ .  
 fire-PL 3PL-eat.R<SG.F> 3-SG.F  
 ‘The fire burned her.’ (120623-002:317.413) RNS, YW

A summary of the distribution of conominals with object infixes is provided in Table 7.26.

Table 7.26: Object infixes and coreferential personal pronoun  
 personal pronouns

|                    |                                           |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| human referent     | optional co-occurrence                    |
| non-human referent | not preferred, often judged ungrammatical |

#### 7.8.4 Object augmented suffixes and conominal location

Although it is acceptable for object augmented suffixes to co-occur with a conominal (see section 7.8.1), there is a clear tendency to avoid having an object augmented suffix immediately precede a conominal in natural discourse. Consider examples (7.241)-(7.243). In each of these examples, a verb that selects an augmented suffix is immediately followed by a coreferential nominal phrase. Object augmented suffixes generally do not co-occur with conominals in this context.

- (7.241)  $\emptyset$ -a<me>ro  $\emptyset$ -o<me>ri yati.  
 3PL-go.R<IPFV> 3PL-hit.R<IPFV> sago  
 ‘They were going to beat the sago.’ (120517-001:1622.930) RNS, JS
- (7.242) ye ta n-atar nebal.  
 2SG FUT 2SG-split.R tree  
 ‘You (sg) will split trees.’ (120522-002:422.552) RNS, JS
- (7.243) hiro w-iedi tumani w-iruba- $\emptyset$  hiro.  
 NEG 3PL-make.I building 3PL-do.well.I-SG.F NEG  
 ‘They do not build a house in the right way.’ (120522-002:61.140) RNS, JS

However, when the verb is not immediately followed by a conominal, object augmented suffixes occur, as in (7.244)-(7.246).

- (7.244) n-ana n-ori-wa-i wdi n-odi tumani.  
 2SG-come.R 2SG-hit.R-AUG-PL SUB 2SG-make.R building  
 ‘You (sg) come hit them (the posts) to build the house.’ (120522-002:101.110)  
 RNS, JS

- (7.245) Ø-i<m>ol-ha-n                      miaga   Ø-arkou-e-n                      n-anor  
 3PL-cut.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.M banana 3PL-ascend.R-AUG-SG.M 3SG.M-descend.R  
 hadipen  
 limbum.palm  
 ‘They will cut the banana sucker and put it in the limbum.’ (120601-012:209.469)  
 RNS, YW

- (7.246) w-ei=nabe-i,              y-ori-wa-i.  
 REL-PL=good-PL 2PL-hit.R-AUG-PL  
 ‘If they are good, you (pl) scrape them.’ (120606-012:136.504) RNS, JS

This is particularly clear when examples like (7.247) are considered where the verb first occurs with an object augmented suffix and is then repeated in the following clause with a conominal in place of the augmented suffix.

- (7.247) ta   ki              h-o<me>la-we-Ø.                      h-o<me>la              wayiagi.  
 FUT already 1PL-sew.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F. 1PL-sew.R<IPFV> roof  
 ‘We will be sewing it, sewing the sago leaves.’ (120522-002:217.913) RNS, JS

Further evidence that it is the position of the conominal that matters can be found in multi-predicate clauses involving two verbs. These constructions often share objects (see section 13.1.2). When a coreferential nominal is the object of more than one verb in a multi-predicate clause, only the verb the conominal immediately follows occurs without object augmented suffixes. For example, consider the nominal phrase *hawal* ‘feet’ in (7.248). Although this noun serves as the object of both *oki* ‘use’ and *asor* ‘rinse’, it only follows *oki*. For this reason, *oki* ‘use’ occurs without an object augmented suffix, while *asor* ‘rinse’ occurs with the object augmented suffix.

- (7.248) yomial nadi m-aro              m-oki              hawal m-asor-e-i.  
 slow    very 1SG-go.R 1SG-use.R feet    1SG-rinse.R-AUG-PL  
 ‘I went slowly and cleaned my legs.’ (120621-003:346.283) RNS, AS

Furthermore, conominals can precede the verb, as in examples (7.249) and (7.250), where the plural form of *pikeli* and *nebalgi wdi aiwera* are conominals. As these conominals do not immediately follow the verb *nabir* ‘sharpen’, it occurs with an object augmented suffix.

- (7.249) pikeli-i   nabir-e-i              n-aruba-i.  
 post-PL na.R-AUG-PL 2SG-do.well.R-PL  
 ‘You (sg) must sharpen the good posts.’ (120522-002:102.940) RNS, JS

- (7.250) nebal-gi wdi Ø-a<i>wera ta nabir-e-i n-aruba-i-bai.  
 tree-PL SUB 3PL-lie.flat.R<PL> FUT sharpen.R-AUG-PL 2SG-do.well.R-PL-RED  
 ‘The planks for the bearers, you (sg) will cut them very well.’ (120522-002:147.269)  
 RNS, JS

## 7.9 The verb *ar* ‘go’

The verb *ar* ‘go’ has two forms: *ar* and *aro*. When the verb precedes a nominal phrase referring to a location, it usually takes the form *ar*, as in (7.251)-(7.254).

- (7.251) ta m-nobia wikal wdi ta h-ar Batas.  
 FUT 1SG-talk.R language SUB FUT 1PL-go.to.R Batas  
 ‘I am going to talk about going to Batas.’ (120517-000:19.456) RNS, JS
- (7.252) ki n-a<me>r Lumi.  
 already 3SG.M-go.to.R<IPFV> Lumi  
 ‘He has gone to Lumi.’ (120518-000:185.986) RNS, JS
- (7.253) w-ar nogil w-Ø=hebi  
 3PL-go.to.R village REL-SG.F=1PL  
 ‘They came to our country.’ (120518-000.034)
- (7.254) m-gei-ka-Ø yewal Ø-arkou w-ar tupi m-atia nebal  
 1SG-leave.R-AUG-SG.F eye 3PL-ascend.R 3PL-go.to.R top 1SG-see.R tree  
 w-Ø=lope-n.  
 REL-SG=big-SG.M  
 ‘I looked up and saw a big tree.’ (120601-009:183.500) RNS, YW

This can also be seen by the occurrence of the form *ar* when the interrogative word *nia* (alternative form *ania*) ‘where’ follows, as in example (7.255) and (7.256).

- (7.255) ye paki n-ar ania-Ø?  
 2SG paki 2SG-go.to.R where-SG.F  
 ‘Where did you (sg) really go?’ (120517-001:1197.672) RNS, JS
- (7.256) te-Ø ki w-ar nia-Ø?  
 3-SG.F already 3SG.F-go.to.R where-SG.F  
 ‘Where did she go?’ (140226-002:52.460) GE-[nia], JS

In almost all other contexts where the verb is not followed by a nominal phrase referring to a location, the verb occurs in its form *aro*. This includes (i) contexts where the verb functions



as part of a multi-predicate clause (as long as it doesn’t immediately precede the nominal phrase referring to the location being gone to) and (ii) contexts where it functions as part of a subordinate clause (see section 14.2.3). Examples where *aro* occurs in a multi-predicate clause (see chapter 13) are given in (7.257)-(7.262).

- (7.257) *aro n-olbil nania.*  
 go.R 3SG.M-enter.R go.in  
 ‘He went in.’ (120517-001:1955.150) RNS, JS
- (7.258) *nol ta aro palpal.*  
 bird FUT go.R fly  
 ‘The bird will go fly.’ (140417-017:210.335) DE, LA
- (7.259) *te-i Ø-dore Ø-aro w-ei-ma=lope-i hiro Ø-nibia wigal Yeri.*  
 3-PL 3PL-get.up.R 3PL-go.R REL-PL-IPFV=big-PL NEG 3PL-talk.I language Yeri  
 ‘When they grow up big, they don’t speak Yeri here.’ (V120718-002:140.070) RNS, LA
- (7.260) *siahera ta aro n-o<ne><me>wil.*  
 crocodile FUT go.R 3SG.M-take.R<SG.M><IPFV>  
 ‘The crocodile will take him.’ (120520-000.120:399.040) RNS, AS
- (7.261) *yem y-aro y-ori yati.*  
 2PL 2PL-go.R 2PL-hit.R sago  
 ‘You (pl) will go scrape sago.’ (140414-010:1017.221) DE, JS
- (7.262) *ye n-aro n-gani.*  
 2SG 2SG-go.R 2SG-dive.R  
 ‘You (sg) went to dive.’ (140414-010:984.539) DE, JS

Examples where the verb *ar* ‘go’ functions as part of a subordinate clause are provided in (7.263)-(7.264). See section 14.2.3 for discussion.

- (7.263) *n-ormia aro hemal-mi n-or<me>.*  
 3SG.M-stay.R.IPFV go.R night-IPFV 3SG.M-lie<IPFV>  
 ‘He was staying until night, and then he was sleeping.’ (120623-002:178.798) RNS, YW
- (7.264) *hem m-or<me> aro no hemal-mi.*  
 1SG 1SG-lie.R<IPFV> go.R until night-IPFV  
 ‘I slept until night.’ (120601-012:189.512) RNS, YW

It is also worth noting that although *ar* is by far the most frequent form to occur when the verb precedes a nominal phrase referring to a location, a few examples where *aro* occurs in this context can be found. For instance, in example (7.265) *aro* precedes the Tok Pisin word *kalabus* ‘prison’.

- (7.265) la m-aro kalabus.  
 PST 1SG-go.R prison  
 ‘I went to prison.’ (120524-005:449.437) RNS, JS

Along the same lines, some exceptions can be found showing *ar* in a multi-predicate clause, as in (7.266), where *ar* precedes the verb *opa* ‘to be rained on’.

- (7.266) wul ta n-ar n-o<i><ma>pi.  
 water FUT 3SG.M-go.to 3SG.M-soak.R<PL><IPFV>  
 ‘The rain will soak them.’ (120522-002:496.145) RNS, JS

Nonetheless, exceptions like these are not common. Furthermore, when speakers are presented with examples where *ar* occurs in a multi-predicate clause, many speakers judge these as ungrammatical, as in (7.267), or only marginally acceptable, as in (7.268).

- (7.267) \*yem y-ar y-ori yati  
 2PL 2PL-go.to.R 2PL-hit.R sago  
 ‘You (pl) will go scrape sago.’ (140414-010:1030.212) GJ, JS
- (7.268) ?ye n-ar n-gani.  
 2SG 2SG-go.to.R 2SG-dive.R  
 ‘You (sg) went to dive.’ (140414-010:991.101) GJ, JS

## 7.10 The locative morpheme *-gVl*

Verbs can occur with a morpheme *-gVl* (phonological allomorphs: *-gil* and *-gal*). This morpheme is similar in form to the most common plural allomorph *-(e)gVl* (see section 5.4.2.1), and occurs last in the verbal template (see section 7.2). I refer to this morpheme as a ‘locative morpheme’ since consultants tend to translate examples that include this morpheme with a locative meaning. However, more research is needed to determine the exact meaning of the morpheme and how it is used.

The occurrence of this morpheme on verbs is not frequent in natural discourse, though examples like (7.269)-(7.271) demonstrate that it can occur in spontaneous speech. Most of these examples show the morpheme occurring on posture verbs like *or* ‘lie, sleep’ or *ormia* ‘be, stay, live’ (see section 7.7.1.4).

- (7.269) puyu hem m-or-a- $\emptyset$ -gil yot-u- $\emptyset$   
 rock 1SG 1SG-lie.R-AUG-SG.F-LOC DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘the stone where I am lying at there’ (120517-001:543.830) RNS, JS
- (7.270) tumani wdi hamei  $\emptyset$ -almo  $\emptyset$ -or-a- $\emptyset$ -gil yot-ua-i  
 building SUB people 3PL-die.R 3PL-lie.R-AUG-SG.F-LOC DEM-DIST-PL  
 ‘the building where people die and stay there’ (V120629-001:263.022) RNS, JS
- (7.271) tumani la Seigil=da-i  $\emptyset$ -odi-a- $\emptyset$   
 building PST Seigi.village=NVPC-PL 3PL-make.R-AUG-SG.F  
 $\emptyset$ -ormia- $\emptyset$ -gil  
 3PL-stay.R-IPFV-SG.F-LOC  
 ‘the house built by Sengi’s people’ (120420-000:17.90) RNS, LA

Nonetheless, speakers find the morpheme acceptable on many non-posture verbs as well and are happy to provide examples like those in (7.272)-(7.274), where the verbs *ada* ‘chop’, *ori* ‘hit’ and *operi* ‘pour’ occur with this morpheme.

- (7.272) la Ruapei n-odi- $\emptyset$  hiwora w- $\emptyset$ =de-n  
 PST Ruapei 3SG.M-and.R-SG.F wife REL-SG=3-SG.M  
 n-ade-wa- $\emptyset$ -gil yati yot-ua- $\emptyset$ .  
 3SG.M-chop-AUG-SG.F-LOC sago DEM-DIST-SG.F  
 ‘That’s where Ruapei and his wife chopped the sago.’ (140424-079:90.288) GE-[adewagil], LA
- (7.273) la hebi  $\emptyset$ -ori-wa- $\emptyset$ -gil yati, ta n-atia wobla w-dodi.  
 PST 1PL 1PL-hit.R-AUG-SG.F-LOC sago FUT 2SG-see wobla.tree 3SG.F-stand.R  
 ‘The place where we scratched the sago, you (sg) will see a wobla tree standing.’  
 (140424-080:28.622) GE-[oriwagil], LA
- (7.274) hasieki-l pro-ti yot-ua- $\emptyset$  toyomial ta n-aro n-o< $\emptyset$ >peri  
 fire-PL ash-SG DEM-DIST-SG.F today FUT 2SG-go.R 2SG-pour.R<SG.F>  
 halma wdi n-operi-wa- $\emptyset$ -gil pro-ti yot-u- $\emptyset$ .  
 land SUB 2SG-pour.R-AUG-SG.F-LOC ash-SG DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘The fire ashes there, you (sg) must go to the same place where you (sg) get rid of the ashes.’ GE-[operiwagil], JS

Unlike the plural morpheme *-(e)gVl* (see section 5.4.2.1.), vowel disharmony (see section 2.5.6) is not obligatory when the locative morpheme occurs with verbs. Rather, the default form *-gil* is always acceptable, and *-gal* is alternatively acceptable as long as the preceding syllable consists of a monophthong harmony high vowel.

In this way, examples like (7.275), where the vowel in the preceding syllable is low, are judged ungrammatical with *-gal*. When the vowel in the preceding is a monophthong

harmony high vowel, then either *-gal* or *-gil* are acceptable. In (7.276) and (7.277) the verb *anokil* ‘bite’ occurs with *-gil* and *-gal* respectively.

- (7.275) \* $\emptyset$ -anokil-a-gal  
 3PL-bite.R-AUG-LOC  
 ‘the place where they bit her’ (140424-082:170.665) GJ, LA
- (7.276) yo wdi  $\emptyset$ -nania  $\emptyset$ -ar Wayuaga, w-or la malgil  
 path wdi 3PL-go.in.R 3PL-go.to.R Wayuaga 3SG.F-lie.R PST bee  
 $\emptyset$ -anokil-gil Wiril yot-ua-n.  
 3PL-bite.R-LOC Wiril DEM-DIST-SG.M  
 ‘The road that goes into Wayuaga is at the place where the bees bit Wiril.’  
 (140424-082:19.035) GE-[anokilgil], LA
- (7.277) sahal yem ki y-alia n-or ki Wagin  
 bush.knife 2PL already 2PL-drop.R 3SG.M-lie.R already Wagin  
 n-anokil-gal tabiagi-i  $\emptyset$ -dodi-wa- $\emptyset$ -gil.  
 3SG.M-bite.R-LOC meat-PL 3PL-stand.R-AUG-SG.F-LOC  
 ‘You (pl) left the bush knife lying where Wagin ate the pig meat standing.’  
 (140424-082:149.204) GE-[anokilgal], LA

In (7.278) and (7.279), the verb *gako* ‘chop up’ occurs with the applicative suffix *-ki* (see section 7.7.3) and the locative morpheme. Although *-gal* is the phonological allomorph selected based on vowel disharmony, this disharmony process is optional when the vowel in the preceding syllable is a harmony high vowel. Given this optionality, *gakoki* is acceptable with either *-gal* or *-gil*, as shown by example (7.278) and example (7.279).

- (7.278) hiwol w-dodi la te-i  $\emptyset$ -gako-ki-gil hare-ia  
 breadfruit 3SG.F-stand.R PST 3-PL 3PL-chop.up.R-APPL-LOC leaf-PL  
 yot-ua-i.  
 DEM-DIST-PL  
 ‘The breadfruit tree stands where they cut those leaves.’ (140424-081:136.842)  
 GE-[gakokigil], LA
- (7.279) ba la te-i  $\emptyset$ -gako-ki-gal yawal w-ei=ye.  
 SB PST 3-PL  $\emptyset$ -chop.up.R-APPL-LOC sago.PL REL-PL=2SG  
 ‘It was they that cut all your (sg) sago palms.’ (140424-081:151.568) GE-[gakokigal],  
 LA

## Chapter 8

# Predicate morphemes

In this chapter I describe the behavior of Yeri imperfective and additive morphemes, what I term predicate morphemes due to their ability to occur on several different word classes in Yeri as long as the lexical item they occur on is functioning as a predicate. In section 8.1, I present an overview of these morphemes, describing which lexical items they occur on, where they occur in relation to the root of each word class or subclass, and the varying forms of the morphemes. Section 8.2 is devoted to the meanings of the two morphemes. In section 8.3 I discuss those contexts where the imperfective and additive morphemes occur on the relational clitic and precede the lexical root (i.e. genitive pronouns and WGN adjectives). In section 8.4, I consider imperfective and additive morphemes and their occurrence after the first syllable of the verb root. In section 8.5, I discuss those contexts where the morphemes follow the lexical root (i.e. ideophones, nouns, adnominals, adverbs and particles). Finally, in section 8.6, I discuss imperfective and additive pronominal clitics.

### 8.1 An overview of predicate morpheme form and location

Imperfective and additive morphemes can occur on the several Yeri word classes whenever those word classes are functioning as predicates. This includes nouns, verbs, adnominals, ideophones, adverbs, and particles. The morphemes are completely productive and can occur on all verbs, ideophones, genitive pronouns, and WGN adjectives. There is more variation in the acceptability of the morphemes with nouns, adverbs, and the remaining adnominals, and the morphemes are only acceptable on two particles *he* ‘continuous’ and *hiro* ‘no’.

Although imperfective and additive morphemes can occur on a wide range of word classes, the position in which the morphemes are located varies according to word class and, in some cases, subclass. The morphemes (i) precede the lexical root when they occur on the relational clitic with two adnominal subclasses, genitive pronouns and WGN adjectives, (ii) follow

the lexical root when they occur with nouns, ideophones, adverbs, particles and any other adnominal subclasses, and (iii) occur within the lexical root when they occur with verbs. Table 8.1 displays the difference in the position of the imperfective and additive morphemes when they occur on different classes or lexical items. Note that the initial /w/ that occurs with genitive pronouns and WGN adjectives in the table is part of the relational clitic that precedes these lexical roots.

Table 8.1: Predicate morpheme location

|                              | lexical root | gloss         | imperfective ‘now’ | additive ‘also’    |
|------------------------------|--------------|---------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Genitive pronouns            | hebi         | ‘we, us’      | w <u>ma</u> hebi   | wbahebi            |
| WGN adjectives               | nabe         | ‘good’        | w <u>ma</u> nabe   | w <u>ba</u> nabe   |
| Verbs                        | dolbi        | ‘be hungry’   | dol <u>me</u> bi   | dol <u>pe</u> bi   |
|                              | darku        | ‘run’         | dar <u>m</u> u     | dar <u>p</u> u     |
|                              | osia         | ‘swell, heat’ | o <u>ma</u> sia    | o <u>pa</u> sia    |
| Ideophones                   | gilgilei     | ‘bounce’      | gilgilei <u>ma</u> | gilgilei <u>ma</u> |
| Nouns, remaining adnominals, | hiwora       | ‘wife’        | hiwor <u>ami</u>   | hiwor <u>api</u>   |
| adverbs, some particles      | hodehi       | ‘elder, old’  | hodehi <u>lma</u>  | hodehi <u>lpa</u>  |

All word classes, except verbs, can be analyzed as having a single lexical allomorph for each predicate morpheme which has the form: *-Ca*, where C refers to an /m/ for the imperfective morpheme and a /p/ or /b/ for the additive morpheme. Where the additive morpheme precedes the lexical root, the additive allomorph consonant is a /b/ (i.e. genitive pronouns and WGN adjectives). Where it follows the root, the additive allomorph consonant is a /p/.<sup>1</sup> When the additive morpheme is located within the root, as with verbs, the consonant is /p/.

One of three possible allomorphs can occur with verbs *-C-*, *-Ce-*, or *-Ca-* (*-m-*, *-me-*, and *-ma-* for the imperfective and *-p-*, *-pe-*, and *-pa-* for the additive). The additive allomorph can occur with the imperfective morpheme in verbs (see section 8.4.3), and when it does, the combination of /m/ and /p/ is realized as /b/. This pronunciation as /b/ is unsurprising when the verbal imperfective allomorph is *-m-* and the additive allomorph is *-p-*, since /mp/ is pronounced as /b/ in other contexts in Yeri (see section 2.5.11). However, it is irregular when the imperfective allomorph is *-ma-* or *-me-* and the additive allomorph is *-pa-* or *-pe-*. In these contexts, the co-occurrence of *-me-* and *-pe-* is pronounced as /be/ [bɛ], and the co-occurrence of *-ma* and *-pa-* is pronounced as /ba/ [ba] (e.g. *do<me>pe<>di* /dobedi/ [dɔ<sup>m</sup>bɛ<sup>n</sup>di] ‘still standing’, *o<ma>pa<>di* /obadi/ [ɔ<sup>m</sup>ba<sup>n</sup>di] ‘still building’.)

<sup>1</sup>At the end of the the 2014 fieldwork trip, there were some grammaticality judgements from one speaker regarding /b/ as acceptable in some contexts where the additive allomorph followed the root. However, it is unclear how reliable these judgements are since time did not permit checking these judgements with other speakers. As there are no examples in natural speech of a /b/ allomorph following the root, I mention it here only for completeness and leave this issue for future research.

Additionally, although predicate morphemes precede the personal pronoun root on genitive pronouns and the WGN adjective root on WGN adjectives, predicate morphemes occur on the relational clitic which precedes these lexical roots. This is why predicate morphemes are symbolized as *-Ca* with genitive pronouns and WGN adjectives rather than *Ca-*, as might otherwise be expected given their position preceding the root.

Genitive pronouns and ideophones do not show phonological allomorphs of either predicate morpheme. For this reason, *-ma* is always the form of the imperfective morpheme on both genitive pronouns and ideophones, while *-ba* is always the form of the additive morpheme with genitive pronouns (because it precedes the lexical root) and *-pa* is always the form of the additive morpheme with ideophones (since it follows the lexical root). Unlike genitive pronouns or ideophones, WGN adjectives select for one of two phonological allomorphs of the imperfective *-ma* allomorph and the additive *-ba* allomorph. These phonological allomorphs are *-ma* or *-mo* for the imperfective and *-ba* or *-bo* for the additive, and are selected based on a morphophonological rule of regressive vowel harmony (see section 2.5.1).

Nouns, adverbs, the remaining adnominals, and the particles *hiro* ‘no’ and *he* ‘continuous’ also select one of two phonological allomorphs for each predicate morpheme. These phonological allomorphs are selected based on a vowel disharmony rule (see section 2.5.6), either *-ma* or *-mi* for the imperfective and *-pa* or *-pi* for the additive (since predicate morphemes follow the root on these lexical items).

Verbs are the only word class where predicate morphemes cannot be analyzed as having a single lexical allomorph *-Ca*. To account for predicate morpheme allomorph distribution with verbs, I analyze each predicate morpheme as having three lexical allomorphs: *-C-*, *-Ce-*, and *-Ca-*, with /m/ for the imperfective morpheme and /p/ for the additive morpheme.<sup>2</sup> The *-Ce-* allomorph can be analyzed as the default verbal allomorph, with *-C-* and *-ca-* occurring with fewer numbers of verb roots.

For more detailed information on predicate morphemes specific to each word class or subclass, see section 8.3.1 for genitive pronouns, section 8.3.2 for WGN adjectives, section 8.4 for verbs, section 8.5.1 for ideophones, and section 8.5.2 for nouns, non-WGN adjective adnominals, adverbs, and particles.

## 8.2 The meaning of predicate morphemes

The imperfective morpheme expresses the same general meaning regardless of which word class it occurs on, and the same is true of the additive morpheme. Section 8.2.1 focuses on

<sup>2</sup>Note that there is strong comparative and language internal evidence that allomorph selection historically can be understood as the result of vowel reduction and vowel disharmony processes applying to what historically would have been *\*ma* for the imperfective and *\*pa* for the additive.

the meaning of the imperfective morpheme, while section 8.2.2 details the range of meanings expressed by the additive morpheme.

### 8.2.1 The imperfective morpheme

The imperfective morpheme is very frequent in natural discourse, unlike the additive morpheme (see section 8.2.2), which is much less frequent. The imperfective morpheme most often occurs with verbs, ideophones, and temporal nouns, though it is not uncommon with adjectives. Less frequently the imperfective morpheme also occurs on genitive pronouns, other adnominals, and other nouns. I refer to this predicate morpheme as an ‘imperfective morpheme’ due to its common use in contexts which consultants describe as being uncompleted or ongoing at some point in time. When questioned about the difference in meaning between minimal pairs like (8.1) and (8.2), consultants describe the form with an /m/ as still ongoing and not yet finished at a particular time in the past. They often translate examples like (8.2) with the English progressive.

- (8.1) te-n    la    n-or.  
       3-SG.M PST 3SG.M-lie.R  
       ‘He slept.’ (140407-196:11.758) GJ, LA

- (8.2) te-n la    n-or<me>.  
       3-n PST 3SG.M-lie.R<IPFV>  
       ‘He was sleeping.’ (140407-196:18.778) GJ, LA

Consider examples (8.3)-(8.6), where the verbs *dodi* ‘stand’, *dalkual* ‘search’, and *dore* ‘get up’ as well as the ideophones *hilhila* ‘move’ and *ɲirɲar* ‘shout’ occur with the imperfective morpheme. In each of these examples, the imperfective form of the word indicates that the action or event is ongoing or incomplete at a particular point in time.

- (8.3) yem y-do<me>di                    nia?  
       2PL 2PL-stand.R<IPFV> where  
       ‘Where are you (pl) standing?’ (120520-000:380.166) RNS, AS
- (8.4) m-dal<m>ko-ki                    puyu ta    m-a<me>ga                    harkroki-l.  
       1SG-search.R<IPFV>-APPL money FUT 1SG-get.R<IPFV> chicken-PL  
       ‘I am looking for money to buy chickens.’ (120524-004:182.162) RNS, JS
- (8.5) te-n    n-atia                    nigo-n-gon                    w-∅=de-n                    yot-u-n  
       3-SG.M 3SG.M-see.R child-SG.M-RED REL-SG=3-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
       hilhila-ma.  
       move-IPFV  
       ‘He saw his son there was moving.’ (120517-001:846.656) RNS, JS



- (8.6) te-i w-da<m>ore            ģirġar-ma.  
 3-PL 3PL-get.up.R<IPFV> shout-IPFV  
 ‘They were getting up and shouting.’ (120524-005:81.550) RNS, JS

It is common in the corpus data for the imperfective morpheme to be translated as ‘now’ by consultants when it occurs with non-verbal predicates (e.g. ‘it is night now’ with the temporal nominal predicate *hemal* ‘night’, ‘it is mine now’ with a genitive predicate), especially when these predicates occur in the present tense. Despite these examples, the morpheme should not be misunderstood as expressing present tense. The imperfective morpheme can freely co-occur with all tense particles. Examples (8.7)-(8.9) show its occurrence with the past tense particle *la* (see section 10.1.1.1), which one would expect to be ungrammatical were the imperfective morpheme actually expressing present tense. Rather, the morpheme is best understood as signaling that the action or event denoted by the predicate is ongoing or uncompleted at the relevant time.<sup>3</sup>

- (8.7) la maleikia-mi.  
 PST morning-IPFV  
 ‘It was in the morning.’ (140404-023:1648.545) GJ, LA
- (8.8) la hemal-mi.  
 PST night-IPFV  
 ‘It was at night.’ (140404-023:1655.279) GJ, LA
- (8.9) te-n la ma=lope-n.  
 3-SG.M PST IPFV=big-SG.M  
 ‘He was big.’ (140424-057:71.424) GJ, LA

Examples showing the imperfective morpheme on nouns, adjectives, and genitive pronouns are provided in (8.10)-(8.13). In particular, example (8.10) is a good example of how the imperfective morpheme is frequently used in narratives to situate an action or event with respect to another one. In this example, the imperfective morpheme occurs on the temporal nominal predicate *hemal* ‘night’ to indicate that the speaker went to see the man during the night. Examples (8.12) and (8.13) illustrate the tendency for consultants to translate the imperfective morpheme as ‘now’ in present tense contexts.

- (8.10) ba la hemal-mi m-arkou aro m-atr-e-n yot-u-n.  
 SB PST night-IPFV 1SG-ascend.R go.R 1SG-see.R-AUG-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
 ‘It was at night when I went up to see him there.’ (120420-000:461.750) RNS, LA

<sup>3</sup>The common use of ‘now’ in consultant translations in the corpus is likely the result of an attempt to express this aspectual meaning in English by non-native speakers.

- (8.11) wadual w- $\emptyset$ =hem      ma=ilua-n.  
 head    REL-SG.F=1SG IPFV=bad-SG.M  
 ‘My head is hurting.’ (120517-001:1917.627) RNS, JS
- (8.12) marmar      yot-u- $\emptyset$       hodehi-l-ma.  
 marmar.tree DEM-MDIST-SG.F elder-SG-IPFV  
 ‘That marmar tree is old now.’ (140304-004:82.633) GE-[marmar], LA
- (8.13) nebo yot-u-n      maltai ki      w-n-ma=de-m.  
 dog DEM-MDIST-SG.M maybe already REL-SG.M-IPFV=3-PL  
 ‘That dog, maybe it is theirs now.’ (140307-058:190.947) GE-[wnmadem], JS

### 8.2.2 The additive morpheme

Yeri has an additive morpheme that expresses a wide range of meanings and is frequently translated as ‘also’, ‘too’, and ‘still’, regardless of the word class it occurs on. Although the morpheme does occur on several word classes in natural discourse, it does so much less frequently than the imperfective morpheme (see section 8.2.1). For this reason, many of the examples provided in this section to illustrate the additive morpheme, especially examples where the additive morpheme occurs on word classes other than verbs, come from guided elicitation. In this section, I will present an overview of the most common meanings the additive morpheme contributes. However, more research is needed to reach a full understanding of the morpheme’s use.

When consultants are asked to use additive forms of a word in a sentence, common practice is to provide examples like (8.14) and its following utterance (8.15), where the first utterance uses a bare form of the word (a form without a predicate morpheme) and the second utterance is almost identical to the first with the addition of the additive morpheme. In these two examples, the speaker first provides a simple sentence with a genitive pronoun to state that a particular boy is his son. After this, he points out another boy and uses the additive form of the genitive pronoun to state that the second boy is ‘also his’.

- (8.14) nigo-n-gon      yot-u-n      w-n=hem.  
 child-SG.M-RED DEM-MDIST-SG.M REL-SG.M=1SG  
 ‘That boy is mine.’ (140416-016:697.564) GE-[wnhem], JS

- (8.15) yot-u-n                      male, ta    n-dodi                      yot-u-n,  
 DEM-MDIST-SG.M also    FUT 3SG.M-stand.R DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
 w-n-ba=hem.  
 REL-SG.M-ADD=1SG  
 ‘That boy also, he stands over there, is mine also.’ (140416-016:700.990) GE-  
 [wnbahem], JS  
 CI: That boy is mine and that boy who is standing over there is also mine.

Examples (8.16)-(8.18) demonstrate the use of an additive form to mean ‘also’ or ‘too’ when it occurs on a verb, an ideophone and an N adjective. Example (8.16) comes from a legend, and the speaker is the father of a missing son. His wife complains that he did not look for his son like she did and this is the father’s response. Examples (8.17) and (8.18) are the result of guided elicitation. The additive morpheme occurs on the ideophone *ɲiɲi* ‘grunt’ in example (8.17) and points out that the man grunted in addition to the speaker grunting. Example (8.18) shows the additive morpheme on the N adjective *sibelial* ‘long’ and indicates that the addressee’s possession is long and the speaker’s possession is also long.

- (8.16) ba hemal ba ki                      m-dal<p>ko-ki-da-n.  
 SB night SB already 1SG-search.R<ADD>-APPL-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘For sure, at night I was also looking for him.’ (120517-001:1209.875) RNS, JS  
 CI: The speaker’s wife does not believe he looked for their missing son like she did.  
 This utterance indicates that the speaker was looking for their son like his wife was.
- (8.17) hem ɲiɲi. te-n                      male ɲiɲi-pa.  
 1SG grunt 3-SG.M also grunt-ADD  
 ‘I grunted. He also grunted too.’ (140415-018:127.870) GE-[ɲiɲipa], LA
- (8.18) w-n=ye                      sibelial. w-n=hem                      male sibelial-pi.  
 REL-SG.M=2SG long                      REL-SG.M=1SG also long-ADD  
 ‘Yours (sg) is long. Mine is also long.’ (140415-021:34.343) GE-[sibelialpi], LA

In examples (8.19)-(8.23), the additive morpheme expresses the meaning ‘still’. This morpheme occurs on a verbal predicate in (8.19)-(8.21), while examples (8.22) and (8.23) show its occurrence on an ideophone predicate.

- (8.19) hiro, hem m-a<m><p>oti                      preiketa w=ilua-n.  
 NEG 1SG 1SG-hold.R<IPFV><ADD> phone REL=bad-SG.M  
 ‘No, I’m still holding that bad (broken) phone.’ (140312-052:753.017) DE, LA  
 CI: The phone was broken before and it is still broken.

- (8.20) Splaga            tinogil nebal-gi tiawa-i    Ø-d-a<m><p>wo.  
 Sibilanga.village village tree-PL short-PL 3PL-MDL-set.R<IPFV><ADD>  
 ‘Sibilanga village still has cars there.’ (140312-052:1170.276) DE, LA  
 CI: There were cars in Sibilanga before, and there are still cars in Sibilanga.
- (8.21) te-n        n-orpia.  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-stay.R.ADD  
 ‘He still sat there.’ (120517-001:188.070) RNS, JS  
 CI: He was sitting there before and he is still sitting there.
- (8.22) te-n        pikiapikia-pa.  
 3-SG.M vomit-ADD  
 ‘He was still vomiting.’ (140415-018:153.256) GE-[pikiapikiapa], LA  
 CI: He was vomiting before and he is still vomiting.
- (8.23) yameti popo-pa    tayipier-pi.  
 red.seed float-ADD near-ADD  
 ‘The yameti fruit is still floating closer and closer.’ (140415-014:1032.795) GJ, LA  
 CI: The fruit was floating closer before and it is still floating closer.

Lastly, it is common for the additive morpheme to occur to express contrastive focus when an assumption or statement is being contradicted. For instance, the consultant describes example (8.24) as being acceptable when people are arguing about who crossed the river. If one person says that John crossed the river, and another disagrees, then the use of the additive morpheme is acceptable to indicate that it was in fact John who crossed the river, contrary to what the second person said.

- (8.24) te-n=pa        n-okirkai            wul.  
 3-SG.M=ADD 3SG.M-cross.river.R water  
 ‘It was he who crossed the river.’ (140422-021:9.827) GJ, LA  
 CI: It was definitely that man who crossed the river. and not the other person.

Another example is provided in (8.25), where the additive morpheme occurs on the noun *wonela* ‘centipede’. In this example, the consultant described a situation where someone was bitten in the dark and people were discussing several possibilities of what may have bitten the person. A person who saw the centipede could then say the utterance in (8.25) to clarify that it was definitely a centipede that bit the person and not another animal.

- (8.25) wonela-pi. ki wonela-pi n-y-a<m><pe>nokil.  
centipede-ADD. already centipede-ADD 3SG.M-2-bite.R<IPFV><ADD>  
‘It was a centipede. It was a centipede that was biting you (sg or pl).’ (140422-021:236.725) GE-[wonelapi], LA  
CI: It was definitely a centipede that was biting you (sg or pl) and not another animal.

Additional examples of the additive morpheme from natural discourse are provided in (8.26)-(8.28).

- (8.26) tama nobia n-nole-wa-∅ ta n-a<m><p>lia-∅.  
PROH talk.R 2SG-dislike.R-AUG-SG.F FUT 2SG-drop.R<IPFV><ADD>-SG.F  
‘Don’t you (sg) say you (sg) refuse to also vote for him.’ (120621-001:185.031)  
RNS, JS  
CI: The person that I vote for, you should vote for them too. Don’t refuse to vote for them like I am.
- (8.27) n-alia-∅ palpal w-aro nebal wabra-n yot-u-n si  
3SG.M-drop.R-SG.F fly 3SG.F-go.R tree half-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M again  
aro n-dar<p>poki.  
go.R 3SG.M-be.stuck.R<ADD>  
‘That piece of the tree flies, and it also sticks (to her) again.’ (120517-001:1435.241)  
RNS, JS  
CI: Previously in the story, a boy throws something and it lands on a nearby girl. This utterance describes the boy throwing something again and it also sticking to the same girl.
- (8.28) nua nakal male ∅-a<m><pe>ro ∅-gor<pe>di-da-n.  
mother father also 3PL-go.R<IPFV><ADD> 3PL-follow.R<ADD>-AUG-SG.M  
‘The parents also went following him.’ (120517-001:2265.070) RNS, JS  
CI: In this story, the parents have followed their son to several different locations. This utterance indicates that the parents followed their son again.

### 8.3 ‘Before the root’

There are two contexts where predicate morphemes occur before the lexical root: (i) genitive pronouns, and (ii) WGN adjectives. I argue that the similarities in the location and form of predicate morphemes in these two contexts is due to their occurrence on a relational clitic which itself precedes the lexical root in genitive pronouns and WGN adjectives. This clitic

is the focus of section 3.5.5, where I present evidence for this analysis. In this section, I present information regarding the occurrence of predicate morphemes with genitive pronouns in section 8.3.1 and WGN adjectives in section 8.3.2.

### 8.3.1 Genitive pronouns

Imperfective and additive morphemes can freely occur on genitive pronouns when they function as predicates. As described in section 3.5.4, genitive pronouns are composed of a relational clitic and a personal pronoun. The gender and number of the possessee is indicated on the relational clitic, while the personal pronoun indicates information regarding the person, gender, and number of the possessor.<sup>4</sup> Examples (8.29)–(8.31) demonstrate this gender and number agreement of the possessee on a genitive predicate without imperfective or additive marking.

- (8.29) hamote- $\emptyset$       yuta    yot-u- $\emptyset$       w- $\emptyset$ =hem.  
 individual-SG.F woman DEM-MDIST-SG.F REL-SG.F=1SG  
 ‘That lady is mine.’ (140416-016:31.443) GE-[whem], LA
- (8.30) nigo-n-gon      han    yot-u-n      w-n=hem.  
 child-SG.M-RED male DEM-MDIST-SG.M REL-SG.M=1SG  
 ‘That boy is mine.’ (140416-016:38.207) GE-[wnhem], LA
- (8.31) nogolgoi yot-u-i      w-ei=hem.  
 children DEM-MDIST-PL REL-PL=1SG  
 ‘Those children are mine.’ (140416-016:48.150) GE-[weihem], LA

When the imperfective morpheme *-ma* and the additive morpheme *-ba* occur, they immediately precede the personal pronoun and follow any possessee gender or number agreement on the relational clitic. Table 8.2 lists all possible genitive pronoun forms, including bare forms (forms without any predicate morphemes) as well as imperfective and additive forms. The first and fifth columns can be read as indicating the person, number and gender of the possessor followed by a forward slash (/) and the person, number and gender of the possessee. For example, a first person singular possessor ‘my’ possessing a third person singular feminine object like *nigo* ‘daughter’, *wual nuate* ‘female pig’, or *wul* ‘water, river’ would be indicated as 1SG/3SF in the first column and would have the form *whem* without imperfective/additive marking and *wmahem* or *wbahem* with imperfective/additive marking.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup>Gender is only distinguished in the third person singular on personal pronouns.

<sup>5</sup>Note that epenthetic vowels are added in the pronunciation of these forms. See section 2.4.9 for information.

Table 8.2: Genitive predicates with imperfective or additive morphemes

|         | bare form | IPFV     | ADD      |         | bare form | IPFV      | ADD       |
|---------|-----------|----------|----------|---------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1SG/3SF | whem      | wmahem   | wbahem   | 1PL/3SF | whebi     | wmahebi   | wbahebi   |
| 1SG/3SM | wnem      | wnmahem  | wnbahem  | 1PL/3SM | wnebi     | wnmahebi  | wnbahebi  |
| 1SG/3PL | weihem    | weimahem | weibahem | 1PL/3PL | weihebi   | weimahebi | weibahebi |
| 2SG/3SF | wye       | wmaye    | wbaye    | 2PL/3SF | wyem      | wmayem    | wbayem    |
| 2SG/3SM | wnye      | wnmaye   | wnbaye   | 2PL/3SM | wnyem     | wnmayem   | wnbayem   |
| 2SG/3PL | weiye     | weimaye  | weibaye  | 2PL/3PL | weiyem    | weimayem  | weibayem  |
| 3SF/3SF | wde       | wmade    | wbade    | 3PL/3SF | wdi       | wmadi     | wbadi     |
| 3SF/3SM | wde       | wnmade   | wnbade   | 3PL/3SM | wdi       | wnmadi    | wnbadi    |
| 3SF/3PL | weide     | weimade  | weibade  | 3PL/3PL | weidi     | weimadi   | weibadi   |
| 3SM/3SF | wden      | wmaden   | wbaden   | 3PL/3SF | wdem      | wmadem    | wbadem    |
| 3SM/3SM | wden      | wnmaden  | wnbaden  | 3PL/3SM | wdem      | wnmadem   | wnbadem   |
| 3SM/3PL | weiden    | weimaden | weibaden | 3PL/3PL | weidem    | weimadem  | weibadem  |

Examples where the imperfective morpheme occurs on a second person plural genitive predicate are provided in (8.32)-(8.34). The possessee is masculine in example (8.32), feminine in example (8.33), and plural in example (8.34).

- (8.32) yem y-atar-e-n. w-n-ma=yem. ki m-y-aya yem.  
 2PL 2PL-split.R-AUG-SG.M REL-SG.M-IPFV=2PL already 1SG-2-give.R 2PL  
 ‘You (pl) take care of him. He is yours (pl) now. I have given him to you (pl).’  
 (120709-007:847.803) GE-[wnmayem], JS

- (8.33) nebo nigo-∅ yot-ua-∅ ki m-y-aya yem yot-ua-∅,  
 dog child-SG.F DEM-DIST-SG.F already 1SG-2-give.R 2PL DEM-DIST-SG.F  
 w-ma=yem.  
 REL-IPFV=2PL  
 ‘That puppy dog there, I gave it to you (pl). It is yours (pl) now.’ (120709-007:802.840) GE-[wmayem], JS

- (8.34) meli yot-ua-i tama n-b-a<me>ya siwei. w-ei-ma=ye.  
 image DEM-DIST-PL PROH 2SG-1SG-give.R<IPFV> again. REL-PL-IPFV=2SG  
 ‘Those posters, don’t give them back to me. They are yours (sg) now.’ (120709-007:130.622) GE-[weimaye], JS

Examples where the additive morpheme occurs on second person genitive predicates are provided in (8.35)-(8.38). In example (8.35) the possessor is second person singular while the possessee is third person singular feminine. Examples (8.36) and (8.37) have second person plural possessors, with example (8.36) having a third person singular masculine possessee and example (8.37) having a third person plural possessee. Example (8.38) has a genitive predicate with a first person plural possessor and a third person singular masculine possessee.

- (8.35) te-n n-nobia, “w- $\emptyset$ -ba=ye. n-i< $\emptyset$ ><me>wil ki  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-talk.R REL-SG.F-ADD=2SG 2SG-take.I<SG.F><IPFV> already  
 n-e<me>ro.”  
 2SG-go.I<IPFV>  
 ‘He said, “It is yours (sg). You (sg) get it and go.”’ (120709-007:716.841) GE-  
 [wbye], JS  
 CI: That kitchen knife is yours.
- (8.36) te-n n-b-nobia, “hiro, w-n-ba=yem.”  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-1SG-talk.R NEG REL-SG.M-ADD=2PL  
 ‘He told me, “No, that was yours (pl).”’ (120709-007:926.022) GE-[wnbayem], JS  
 CI: That was your axe.
- (8.37) m-nobia-da-i, “hiro, yot-u-i ki y-o<i>wil  
 1SG-talk.R-AUG-PL NEG DEM-MDIST-PL already 2PL-take.R<PL>  
 yot-a-i male w-ei-ba=yem.”  
 DEM-PROX-PL also REL-PL-ADD=2PL  
 ‘I told them, “No, those you (pl) got and these ones too are also yours (pl).”’  
 (120709-007:493.431) GE-[weibayem], JS
- (8.38) yot-u-n male, n-odi- $\emptyset$  nua w- $\emptyset$ =di  $\emptyset$ -dodi  
 DEM-MDIST-SG.M also 3SG.M-and.R-SG.F mother REL-SG=3 3PL-stand.R  
 yot-u- $\emptyset$  w-n-ba=hebi.  
 DEM-MDIST-SG.F REL-SG.M-ADD=1PL  
 ‘That one also, standing with his mother there, he is ours too.’ (120709-007:1335.750)  
 GE-[wnbahebi], JS

### 8.3.2 WGN adjectives

WGN adjective roots are always preceded by the relational clitic. A suffix on the WGN adjective root indicates gender and number agreement. The relational clitic also shows number agreement when it occurs with *lope* ‘big’ and *nabe* ‘good’. The relational clitic does not show number agreement when it occurs with *ilua* ‘bad’. In (8.39)-(8.41), examples of adjective predicates without imperfective or additive morphemes are provided.

- (8.39)  $\emptyset$ -nobia la h-ero, hiro, yo w=ilua- $\emptyset$ .  
 1PL-talk.R PST 1PL-go.I NEG path REL=bad-SG.F  
 ‘We wanted to go, but no, the road is bad.’ (120606-000:32.061) RNS, JS



- (8.40) h-oniga h-nobia, “wul Hamil, ye w-Ø=lope-n  
 1PL-sing.R 1PL-talk.R water Hamil.river 2SG REL-SG.F=big-SG.M  
 w-Ø=lope-n”.  
 REL-SG.F=big-SG.M  
 ‘We sang it, saying, “Hamil river, you (sg) are very big.”’ (120623-007:659.750)  
 RNS, YW
- (8.41) hebi la w-ei=nabe-i.  
 1PL PST REL-PL=good-PL  
 ‘We were good.’ (120608-003:411.170) RNS, JS

When imperfective and additive morphemes occur with WGN adjectives, *lope* ‘big’, *nabe* ‘good’ and *ilua* ‘bad’, the predicate morphemes occur on the relational clitic preceding the adjective root and follow any number agreement on the relational clitic. An imperfective morpheme occurs on *nabe* ‘good’ and *lope* ‘big’ in (8.42) and (8.43).

- (8.42) ta wopsilil w-ei-ma=nabe-i.  
 FUT yams REL-PL-IPFV=good-PL  
 ‘The yams will be good.’ (120608-000:349.070) RNS, JS
- (8.43) Ø-a<me>na hebi ki w-ei-ma=lope-i.  
 3PL-come.R<IPFV> 1PL already REL-PL-IPFV=big-PL  
 ‘They came to us when we became big.’ (120608-000:146.635) RNS, JS

When WGN adjectives occur with predicate morphemes, the initial /w/ of the relational clitic can be omitted in certain contexts. For instance, when *ilua* ‘bad’ occurs with predicate morphemes, the initial /w/ of the relational clitic is almost always omitted. This omission occurs regardless of whether *ilua* occurs in a singular form, as in example (8.44), or a plural form, as in (8.45). Note also that a morphophonological rule applies to the pronunciation of *ilua* ‘bad’ whereby the sequence of /a/ followed by /i/ is pronounced as [ei] (see section 2.5.4). This can be seen in the pronunciation of /ai/ resulting from the imperfective morpheme and the initial /i/ of *ilua* as well as in the pronunciation of /ai/ resulting from the suffixation of the plural -i to the end of the root.

- (8.44) wa<sup>n</sup>duel wiɥem meiluan.  
 wadual w-Ø=hem ma=ilua-n.  
 head REL-SG.F=1SG IPFV=bad-SG.M  
 ‘My head hurts.’ (120517-001:1917.626) RNS, JS
- (8.45) ɥɛwi nalia ki meiluɛi.  
 hewi nalia ki ma=ilua-i.  
 lime tongue already IPFV=bad-PL  
 ‘The tongue of that lime is bad now.’ (140225-000:73.624) GE-[hewi nalia], JS

Additionally, the initial /w/ of the relational clitic is almost always omitted from *lope* ‘big’ and *nabe* ‘good’ when they occur with predicate morphemes and plural number agreement is *not* triggered on the relational clitic. In (8.46) and (8.47), *nabe* ‘good’ occurs with imperfective and additive morphemes and shows singular agreement. In this context, the initial /w/ is typically, though not obligatorily, omitted.

- (8.46) nigo-n-gon      w-∅=de-n      yot-u-n      ki      ma=nabe-n  
 child-SG.M-RED REL-SG=3-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M already IPFV=good-SG.M  
 he.  
 CNT  
 ‘His son there is already good again.’ (120517-001:1097.239) RNS, JS

- (8.47) hamote-∅      yuta      yot-u-∅      ba-nabe-∅.  
 individual-SG.F woman DEM-MDIST-SG.F ADD-good-SG.F  
 ‘That girl is also good.’ (140416-016:1520.300) GE-[banabe], JS

With the adjective *lope* ‘big’, a regressive vowel harmony process in Yeri (section 2.5.1) results in the initial /a/ of the imperfective or additive morpheme assimilating to the following /o/ of *lope* ‘big’. Consider examples (8.48) and (8.49), which demonstrate this pronunciation.

- (8.48) ʊamɔtɛ      juta      jɔtu      ki      wi<sup>n</sup>damɔɛ  
 hamote      yuta      yot-u-∅      ki      w-da<m>ore  
 individual woman DEM-MDIST-SG.F already 3SG.F-get.up.R<IPFV>  
 ture<sup>ŋ</sup>gami      mɔlɔpɛ.  
 turega-mi      ma=lope-∅.  
 teenager-IPFV IPFV=big-SG.F  
 ‘That girl there is becoming a young lady and she is getting bigger.’ (120705-004:107.203) RNS, JS
- (8.49) winɛm      male bɔlɔpɛn.  
 w-n=hem      male ba=lope-n.  
 REL-SG.M=1SG also ADD=big-SG.M  
 ‘Mine is also big.’ (140415-018:33.130) GE-[bolopen], LA

Plural forms involving the WGN adjectives roots *nabe* ‘good’ and *lope* ‘big’ do not show omission of the initial /w/ of the relational clitic. Given the frequent omission of /w/ only when it occurs immediately preceding a stressed consonant-initial syllable, this omission is likely related to stress and phonotactic constraints. I leave this for future research.

Table 8.3 lists all possible adjective forms, including the range of gender, number, imperfective, and additive morphemes found with this word class. The first column provides information on the meaning, and the gender and number of each form in the subsequent columns. Bare forms, forms without any predicate morphemes are provided in the second

column, imperfective forms are provided in the third column, and additive forms are provided in the fourth column. Where omission of the initial /w/ of the relational clitic is acceptable, forms with and without this /w/ are provided.

Table 8.3: WGN adjective predicates

|             | bare form   | imperfective             | additive                 |
|-------------|-------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| good (SG.F) | w-∅=nabe-∅  | w-∅-ma=nabe-∅, ma=nabe-∅ | w-∅-ba=nabe-∅, ba=nabe-∅ |
| good (SG.M) | w-∅=nabe-n  | w-∅-ma=nabe-n, ma=nabe-n | w-∅-ba=nabe-n, ba=nabe-n |
| good (PL)   | w-ei=nabe-i | w-ei-ma=nabe-i           | w-ei-ba=nabe-i           |
| big (SG.F)  | w-∅=lope-∅  | w-∅-ma=lope-∅, mo=lope-∅ | w-∅-ba=lope-∅, bo=lope-∅ |
| big (SG.M)  | w-∅=lope-n  | w-∅-ma=lope-n, mo=lope-n | w-∅-ba=lope-n, bo=lope-n |
| big (PL)    | w-ei=lope-i | w-ei-ma=lope-i           | w-ei-ba=lope-i           |
| bad (SG.F)  | w=ilua-∅    | w-ma=ilua-∅, ma=ilua-∅   | w-ba=ilua-∅, ba=ilua-∅   |
| bad (SG.M)  | w=ilua-n    | w-ma=ilua-n, ma=ilua-n   | w-ba=ilua-n, ba=ilua-n   |
| bad (PL)    | w=ilua-i    | w-ma=ilua-i, ma=ilua-i   | w-ba=ilua-i, ba=ilua-i   |

## 8.4 ‘Within the root’

Verbs are the only word class which permit predicate morphemes to occur within the root as infixes. Evidence that predicate morphemes are best analyzed as verbal infixes was presented in chapter 9. An overview of the range of imperfective and additive allomorphy found when these morphemes occur with verbs is presented in section 8.4.1. I then describe the co-occurrence of object infixes and predicate morphemes in section 8.4.2 and the co-occurrence of the imperfective morpheme and the additive morpheme in section 8.4.3.

### 8.4.1 Predicate morpheme allomorphy in verbs

When predicate morphemes occur with verbs, they show three distinct lexical allomorphs after the first syllable of the verb root: *-Ce-*, *-C-*, and *-Ca-*. Examples are presented in Table 8.4. Strong internal and comparative evidence indicates that the *-Ce-* and *-C-* lexical allomorphs originally resulted from processes of vowel disharmony and vowel reduction from a single *-Ca-* allomorph. Synchronically, however, the *-Ce-* allomorph is by far the most common and can be analyzed as the default allomorph, with *-C-* and *-Ca-* lexical allomorphs occurring with smaller subclasses of verb roots. Additionally, a small class of verbs remain which synchronically alternate between *-Ce-* and *-Ca-* depending on a process of vowel disharmony (see section 2.5.6.2). Syllable boundaries are symbolized in Table 8.4 by a period.

Table 8.4: Verbal predicate morpheme allomorphy overview

| allomorph                                       | root    | gloss       | imperfective       | additive           |
|-------------------------------------------------|---------|-------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| - <i>Ce</i> -<br>(- <i>me</i> -, - <i>pe</i> -) | dol.bi  | ‘be hungry’ | dol. <u>me</u> .bi | dol. <u>pe</u> .bi |
| - <i>C</i> -<br>(- <i>m</i> -, - <i>p</i> -)    | gar.koi | ‘go along’  | gar. <u>moi</u>    | gar. <u>poi</u>    |
| - <i>Ca</i> -<br>(- <i>ma</i> -, - <i>pa</i> -) | o.di    | ‘make’      | o. <u>ma</u> .di   | o. <u>pa</u> .di   |

Section 8.4.1.1 is devoted to discussion of the most common lexical allomorph -*Ce*-. Section 8.4.1.2 focuses on the -*C*- lexical allomorph, while section 8.4.1.3 focuses on the -*Ca*- lexical allomorph, as well as those verbs which alternate between -*Ce*- and -*Ca*-. Discussion regarding the small subclass of verbs, including the verbal copula, which show irregular placement of predicate morphemes is provided in section 8.4.1.4.

#### 8.4.1.1 The -*Ce*- allomorph

The default allomorph occurs after the first syllable of the verb root and has the form -*Ce*- (-*me*- for the imperfective and -*pe*- for the additive). Note that the vowel /e/ in Yeri frequently undergoes vowel reduction or deletion (see section 2.4.7) when it occurs in unstressed syllables. For this reason, the -*Ce*- allomorph is more frequently pronounced as -*Ci*- with the reduced vowel [i] or -*C*- (with the complete deletion of /e/), where its deletion does not result in a prohibited syllabic structure (see section 2.3). For example, nasals are acceptable codas, but obstruents are not. For this reason, the /e/ in the imperfective morpheme is frequently reduced or deleted as in *o.mi.ní.ga* or *om.ní.ga* ‘singing’, while the /e/ in the additive morpheme is reduced rather than deleted as in *o.pi.ní.ga* ‘also sing’.

This vowel reduction or deletion obligatorily occurs with verb roots that are longer than two syllables, but optionally occurs with verb roots that are one or two syllables for reasons related to stress.<sup>6</sup> When predicate morphemes occur with verb roots that have at least two syllables, /e/ cannot receive primary stress and obligatorily is reduced or deleted, but when predicate morphemes occur with verb roots that are two syllables, the /e/ of the predicate morpheme may optionally receive primary stress by the default penultimate stress rule (see section 2.4.1). See section 2.4 for information regarding Yeri stress. Examples of the -*Ce*- allomorph are presented in Table 8.5. Stress and syllable boundaries are indicated in the included phonetic transcription to clarify typical pronunciation of imperfective or additive verb forms.

<sup>6</sup>Note that for some disyllabic verbs, the reduced form almost always occurs as in *ania* ‘call’, while other verbs like *owil* ‘take’ show both non-reduced and reduced forms frequently.

Table 8.5: The *-Ce-* allomorph

| gloss        | root                               | imperfective                                                         | additive                                  |
|--------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| ‘lie, sleep’ | or<br>[ór]                         | or<me><br>[ór.mɛ], [ór.mɪ]                                           | or<pe><br>[ór.pɛ], [ór.pɪ]                |
| ‘die’        | almo<br>[ál.mɔ]                    | al<me>mo<br>[al.mɛ.mɔ]                                               | al<pe>mo<br>[al.pɛ.mɔ]                    |
| ‘enter’      | olbil<br>[ól.bil]                  | ol<me>bil<br>[ól.mɛ. <sup>m</sup> bil]                               | ol<pe>bil<br>[ól.pɛ. <sup>m</sup> bil]    |
| ‘send’       | anibir<br>[a.ní. <sup>m</sup> bir] | a<me>nibir<br>[a.mɪ.ní. <sup>m</sup> bir], [am.ní. <sup>m</sup> bir] | a<pe>nibir<br>[a.pɪ.ní. <sup>m</sup> bir] |
| ‘do badly’   | asolkia<br>[a.sól.kia]             | a<me>solkia<br>[a.mɪ.sól.kia], [am.sól.kia]                          | a<pe>solkia<br>[a.pɪ.sól.kia]             |

#### 8.4.1.2 The *-C-* allomorph

A subset of verbs always select for a *-C-* allomorph (*-m-* for the imperfective and *-p-* for the additive morpheme). Verbs which select for a *-C-* allomorph show deletion of an immediately following velar (see section 2.5.10). Table 8.6 presents examples of verbs which select the *-C-* allomorph. A phonetic transcription is included in the table, and stress and syllable boundaries are marked.

Table 8.6: The deletion of /k/ following *-C-*

| gloss      | root                             | imperfective           | additive               |
|------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| ‘go along’ | garkoi<br>[gár.kɔi]              | gar<m>koi<br>[gár.mɔi] | gar<p>koi<br>[gár.pɔi] |
| ‘precede’  | ieki<br>[iɛ.ki]                  | ie<m>ki<br>[iɛ.mi]     | ie<p>ki<br>[iɛ.pi]     |
| ‘vomit’    | olkal<br>[ól.kal]                | ol<m>kal<br>[ól.mal]   | ol<p>kal<br>[ól.pal]   |
| ‘ask’      | ogiwa<br>[ɔ. <sup>ʱ</sup> gí.wa] | o<m>giwa<br>[ɔ.mí.wa]  | o<p>giwa<br>[ɔ.pí.wa]  |
| ‘burn’     | aguti<br>[a. <sup>ʱ</sup> gú.ti] | a<m>guti<br>[a.mú.ti]  | a<p>guti<br>[a.pú.ti]  |

### 8.4.1.3 The -*Ca*- allomorph

A generalization can be made regarding the restricted set of verbs which select the -*Ca*- allomorph (-*ma*- for the imperfective, and -*pa*- for the additive). When the -*Ca*- allomorph occurs with these verbs, the following vowel (if there is one) is always a harmony high vowel.<sup>7</sup> Despite this, the allomorph is not synchronically predictable and must be lexically specified. Verbs which select for the -*Ca*- allomorph are shown in Table 8.7. A phonetic transcription, including stress and syllable boundaries, is included to illustrate typical pronunciation.

Table 8.7: The -*Ca*- allomorph

| gloss                 | root                   | imperfective                  | additive                      |
|-----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| ‘shoot’               | obi<br>[ɔ̌.ᵐbi]        | o<ma>bi<br>[ɔ̌.má.ᵐbi]        | o<pa>bi<br>[ɔ̌.pá.ᵐbi]        |
| ‘make’                | odi<br>[ɔ̌.ᵐdi]        | o<ma>di<br>[ɔ̌.má.ᵐdi]        | o<pa>di<br>[ɔ̌.pá.ᵐdi]        |
| ‘let’                 | osi<br>[ɔ̌.si]         | o<ma>si<br>[ɔ̌.má.si]         | o<pa>si<br>[ɔ̌.pá.si]         |
| ‘how, do in what way’ | odinia<br>[ɔ̌.ᵐdí.nia] | o<ma>dinia<br>[ɔ̌.ma.ᵐdí.nia] | o<pa>dinia<br>[ɔ̌.pa.ᵐdí.nia] |

Additionally, a few verbs which select for the -*Ca*- allomorph preserve fossilized remnants of a previously productive process of vowel disharmony, and actually occur with both -*Ce*- and -*Ca*- forms depending on the vowel quality of a morphologically-determined stem-final vowel (see section 7.4).<sup>8</sup> This stem-final vowel alternates according to the location of the object index and the occurrence of predicate morphemes, shown in Table 8.8.<sup>9</sup> When the stem-final vowel is /a/, the predicate morpheme takes the form -*Ce*-. When the stem-final vowel is /e/ (realized as [i] here), the predicate morpheme takes the form -*Ca*-. For clarity, an additional phonetic transcription is included where stress and syllable boundaries are marked.

<sup>7</sup>With the irregular verb *psia ar* ‘arrive’, the -*Ca*- allomorph does not precede a vowel. While the *sia ar* of *psia ar* commonly, though optionally, precedes *ar*, all morphemes occur on *ar*. For this reason, the -*Ca*- allomorph occurs after the first syllable of *ar* and does not precede a vowel.

<sup>8</sup>There is language-internal evidence as well as evidence from cognate morphemes in other Torricelli languages that all synchronic allomorphs originated from a \**Ca* form (e.g. \**ma* for imperfective) and a process of vowel disharmony resulted in the occurrence of the -*Ce*- form in Yeri.

<sup>9</sup>The stem-final vowel also varies depending on whether predicate morphemes occur. When predicate morphemes do not occur, the choice of stem-final vowel is the reverse of when predicate morphemes occur. See section 7.4 for more information on the choice of stem-final vowel.

Table 8.8: The *-Ce-* and the *-Ca-* allomorph

| gloss             | 1SG b-, IPFV <me>                                       | 3-SG.M <ne>, IPFV <ma>                    |
|-------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| ‘shoot’           | b-o<me>ba<br>[bɔ.mɛ. <sup>m</sup> ba]                   | o<ne><ma>bɪ<br>[ɔn.má. <sup>m</sup> bɪ]   |
| ‘drink’           | b-o<me>ka<br>[bɔ.mɛ.ka]                                 | o<ne><ma>kɪ<br>[ɔn.má.kɪ]                 |
| ‘to be rained on’ | b-o<me>pa<br>[bɔ.mɛ.pa]                                 | o<ne><ma>pɪ<br>[ɔn.má.pɪ]                 |
| ‘bend in half’    | b-go<me>ba<br>[bɪ. <sup>ɰ</sup> gɔ.mɛ. <sup>m</sup> ba] | go<ne><ma>bɪ<br>[gɔn.má. <sup>m</sup> bɪ] |

#### 8.4.1.4 Irregular verbs

There are two small classes of verbs which prove exceptions to the generalization that predicate morphemes occur after the first syllable of the verb root. The first class has five members, all of which show an additional vowel signaling realis or irrealis mood when an imperfective or additive morpheme occurs. The verbs which belong to this class are *ol* ‘cut’, *oti* ‘hold’, *osua* ‘go all the way’, *dore* ‘get up’ and *o* ‘be’, and the verbal copula.

Most of the verbs which belong to this class display other irregularities. For instance, the verbs *ol* and *oti* do not distinguish realis and irrealis mood when they occur without an imperfective or additive morpheme, and the verbs *osua* ‘go all the way’ and *o* ‘be’ select for an unusual irrealis vowel /ie/ only when they occur without predicate morphemes (see section 7.6). Verbs which belong to this class of irregular verbs are shown in Table 8.9 with their realis and irrealis forms, both with and without the imperfective morpheme. I refer to the forms without predicate morphemes as ‘bare forms’ in the table and throughout the grammar. Note that the last two verbs in the table, *oti* ‘hold’ and *ol* ‘cut’, have common variant pronunciations involving HV+V sequences (i.e. a sequence of a high vowel followed by a vowel), and both pronunciations are listed in the table.

Table 8.9: Irregular location of predicate morphemes: class one

| gloss            | bare form |          | imperfective form |          |
|------------------|-----------|----------|-------------------|----------|
|                  | realis    | irrealis | realis            | irrealis |
| ‘get up’         | dore      | dire     | damore            | dimore   |
| ‘go all the way’ | osua      | iesua    | amosua            | imosua   |
| ‘be’             | o         | ie       | amo               | imo      |

| gloss  | bare form          |  | imperfective form |               |
|--------|--------------------|--|-------------------|---------------|
|        | invariant for mood |  | realis            | irrealis      |
| ‘hold’ | oti, ueti          |  | amoti, amueti     | imoti, imueti |
| ‘cut’  | ol, ual            |  | amol, amual       | imol, imual   |

Note that imperfective or additive morphemes occur on the verbal copula when they occur with copula word expressions. The verbal copula is one the few Yeri verbs which shows a different mood vowel depending on whether it occurs with predicate morphemes (see section 7.6). Without predicate morphemes, the realis vowel is /o/ and the irrealis vowel is /ie/. With predicate morphemes, the realis vowel is /a/ and the irrealis vowel is /e/ (realized as [i], as shown in Table 8.10).

Table 8.10: Forms of the verbal copula

|          | bare form | imperfective | additive | imperfective, additive |
|----------|-----------|--------------|----------|------------------------|
| realis   | o         | a<m>o        | a<p>o    | a<m><p>o               |
|          | [ɔ]       | [amɔ]        | [apɔ]    | [a <sup>m</sup> bɔ]    |
| irrealis | ie        | i<m>o        | i<p>o    | i<m><p>o               |
|          | [iɛ]      | [imɔ]        | [ipɔ]    | [i <sup>m</sup> bɔ]    |

Examples of the verbal copula occurring with the imperfective morpheme are provided in (8.50)-(8.52).

- (8.50) hawal w-ei=de-n      Ø-a<m>o      weli.  
 feet REL-PL=3-SG.M 3PL-COP.R<m> painful  
 ‘His leg hurt.’ (120405-000:207.857) RNS, AS

- (8.51) a<m><p>o      bilgi-l      y-a<m><p>o      bilgi-l  
 COP.R<IPFV><ADD> strong-SG 2PL-COP.R<IPFV><ADD> strong-SG  
 y-a<me><pe>ria-da-Ø      aro hiro-pi.  
 2PL-do.R<IPFV><ADD>-AUG-SG.F go.R NEG-ADD  
 ‘You (pl) work strong and do it until you finish.’ (120504-000:386.602) RNS, JS



- (8.52) te yot-u-Ø,                      lute-n      ki              hiro n-i<m>o-de-Ø  
           3 DEM-MDIST-SG.F sore-SG.M already NEG 3SG.M-COP.I<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F  
           weli.  
           hot  
           ‘That girl, her sore is not hurting her.’ (140404-025:562.725) GE-[nimoden weli],  
           JS

The second class of irregular verbs all begin with /deC/ [diC], where C refers to a consonant.<sup>10</sup> For most cases, the consonant is /u/ <h>, but a few examples of /g/ and /n/ do occur. Table 8.11 lists the imperfective forms of the verbs in this class. It seems likely that the initial /d/ was historically a prefix, perhaps a middle morpheme, and the exceptionality of these verbs is due to reanalysis of the morpheme as part of the verb root.<sup>11</sup>

Table 8.11: Irregular location of predicate morphemes: class two

| gloss                      | root      | imperfective |
|----------------------------|-----------|--------------|
| ‘imitate’                  | diheini   | diheimeni    |
| ‘slide down’               | dihartol  | diharmetol   |
| ‘walk around’              | dihelia   | dihemelia    |
| ‘push through’             | dihalwia  | dihalmmia    |
| ‘go to top’                | dinagou   | dinamegou    |
| ‘root’                     | dinoni    | dinomeni     |
| ‘swallow’                  | diholbil  | diholmebil   |
| ‘discuss’                  | dinorpia  | dinormpia    |
| ‘waste time, make friends’ | digoba    | digomeba     |
| ‘stick’                    | dinarkual | dinarmekual  |

#### 8.4.2 Predicate morphemes and object infixes: Infix stacking

For those verbs which select for third person object infixes (see section 7.3.3.1), object, imperfective, and additive infixes can co-occur. I analyze all infixes in Yeri as occurring after the first syllable of the verb root (see chapter 9), and when more than one infix occurs, object

<sup>10</sup>During paradigm elicitation, some consultants have provided forms for these verbs that are consistent with predicate morphemes occurring after the first syllable of the verb root (e.g. [dimuŋelia] for *dihelia* ‘walk around’). However, while this might potentially be analyzed as illustrating a productive tendency to place these morphemes after the first syllable of the verb root, these forms are nonetheless not the usual forms offered when several consultants are questioned. Furthermore, the imperfective forms of these verbs are not very frequent in natural speech. Consultants frequently pause to think before providing an imperfective form for these verbs.

<sup>11</sup>While most of these verbs do not have a corresponding form without an initial /d/, a few like *dinorpia* ‘discuss’ and *diholbil* ‘swallow’ show semantic relationships to more common and clearly related verbs without an initial /d/ (e.g. *nobia* ‘talk’ and *olbil* ‘enter’). However, this semantic relationship is not guaranteed for any corresponding form without a /d/. For instance, *dinagou* ‘go to top’ shows no semantic relationship to *nagou* ‘smell strongly’.

morphemes always precede predicate morphemes. This infix stacking is demonstrated in examples (8.53)-(8.56), where singular masculine object infixes precede imperfective infixes.<sup>12</sup>

- (8.53) *siahera ta aro n-o<ne><me>wil.*  
 crocodile FUT go.R 3SG.M-take.R<SG.M><IPFV>  
 ‘The crocodile will take him.’ (120520-000:399.040) RNS, AS

- (8.54) *hem m-nobia-da-∅, “ye ta n-aro n-o<i><me>wil*  
*1SG 1SG-talk.R-AUG-SG.F 2SG FUT 2SG-go.R 2SG-take.R<PL><IPFV>*  
*nage-bia.”*  
*limbum.basket-PL*  
 ‘I told her, “You (sg) go and get the limbums.”’ (120409-002:97.780) RNS, AS

- (8.55) *hiwora w-o<ne><m>giwa.*  
 wife 3SG.F-ask.R<SG.M><IPFV>  
 ‘His wife asked him.’ (120517-001:1143.902) RNS, JS

- (8.56) *nena n-o<ne><ma>bi nalu.*  
 father 3SG.M-shoot.R<SG.M><IPFV> cassowary  
 ‘My father shot the cassowary.’ (120601-009:35.396) RNS, YW

Table 8.12 provides several examples of third person singular masculine infixes and third person plural infixes preceding imperfective infixes.

<sup>12</sup>Examples were selected with the imperfective morpheme due to its more frequent occurrence in natural speech than the additive morpheme. Examples were selected containing the singular masculine infix because the pronunciation of the plural infix involves additional morphophonological rules (see section 2.5.4 and section 2.5.5), and the pronunciation of the singular feminine infix can involve both vowel reduction/deletion (see section 2.4.7) and deletion of /u/ <h> (see section 2.1.1.4). It is nonetheless common for singular feminine and plural infixes to co-occur with predicate morphemes.

Table 8.12: Infix stacking: Third person object infixes and predicate morpheme infixes

| gloss    | root                  | 3SG.M                       | 3SG.M, IPFV                       | 3PL, IPFV                         |
|----------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| ‘break’  | goti<br>[gɔ̌.ti]      | go<ne>ti<br>[gɔ̌.nɛ̌.ti]    | go<ne><me>ti<br>[gɔ̌n.mɛ̌.ti]     | go<i><me>ti<br>[gɛ̌i.mɛ̌.ti]      |
| ‘take’   | owil<br>[ɔ̌.wil]      | o<ne>wil<br>[ɔ̌.nɛ̌.wil]    | o<ne><me>wil<br>[ɔ̌n.mɛ̌.wil]     | o<i><me>wil<br>[ɛ̌i.mɛ̌.wil]      |
| ‘wash’   | gakua<br>[gá.kua]     | ga<ne>kua<br>[ga.nɛ̌.kua]   | ga<ne><me>kua<br>[gan.mɛ̌.kua]    | ga<i><me>kua<br>[gɛ̌i.mɛ̌.kua]    |
| ‘skewer’ | nakuar<br>[ná.kuar]   | na<ne>kuar<br>[na.nɛ̌.kuar] | na<ne><me>kuar<br>[nan.mɛ̌.kuar]  | na<i><me>kuar<br>[nɛ̌i.mɛ̌.kuar]  |
| ‘ask’    | ogiwa<br>[ɔ̌.ɰgi.wa]  | o<ne>giwa<br>[ɔ̌n.gí.wa]    | o<ne><me>giwa<br>[ɔ̌n.mí.wa]      | o<i><me>giwa<br>[ɛ̌i.mí.wa]       |
| ‘boil’   | arepia<br>[a.rɛ̌.pia] | a<ne>repia<br>[an.rɛ̌.pia]  | a<ne><me>repia<br>[an.mí.rɛ̌.pia] | a<i><me>repia<br>[ɛ̌i.mí.rɛ̌.pia] |

### 8.4.3 The co-occurrence of imperfective and additive morphemes

Unlike with other word classes, there is evidence that the imperfective and additive morphemes can co-occur on verbs.<sup>13</sup> To better demonstrate this, it is useful to compare examples like (8.57) and (8.58) which have a bare form of a verb (a form without a predicate morphemes) and an imperfective form of a verb to examples like (8.59) and (8.60) which have a /p/ form of a verb and a /b/ form of a verb. The meaning of the /p/ and /b/ verb forms makes it clear that both of these forms express an additive meaning, here indicated by the translation ‘also’. However, investigation into the exact meaning of these two additive forms suggests that the /p/ form of the verb is analogous to the bare form of the verb, while the /b/ form of

<sup>13</sup>I have chosen to analyze forms like [ɔ̌<sup>m</sup>birkai] as involving the co-occurrence of imperfective and additive morphemes due to what appears to be a systematic distinction in meaning between [ɔ̌pirkai] and [ɔ̌<sup>m</sup>birkai], which is parallel to the distinction in meaning between [ɔ̌kirkai] and [ɔ̌mirkai]. However, it is worth noting that additive forms are not very common in natural discourse. For this reason, this distinction in meaning is based almost completely on elicitation and was conducted with only one consultant for reasons of time and practical constraints. Additional research is needed for verification. It is also important to note that there is an alternative analysis whereby [ɔ̌pirkai] and [ɔ̌<sup>m</sup>birkai] involve two allomorphs of the additive morpheme, a /p/ form and a /b/ form, which occur in free variation. There is some potential merit to this analysis in that there is a preference in natural discourse for /p/ forms to occur following consonants and /b/ forms to occur following vowels. This is in spite of the fact that consultants indicate that there is a /p/ form and a /b/ form for all verbs. In other words, although consultants indicate that /p/ and /b/ forms are both acceptable (e.g. [ɔ̌pɛ̌wil] and [ɔ̌<sup>m</sup>bɛ̌wil] for *owil* ‘take’ or [darpu] and [darbu] for *darku* ‘run’), it is far more common to find [ɔ̌<sup>m</sup>bɛ̌wil] and [darpu] in spontaneous speech than their counterparts.

the verb is analogous to the imperfective form of the verb in their interpretation with respect to aspect. In other words, consultants indicated that with the bare form and with the /p/ form of the verb *or* ‘lie, sleep’, the man has already woken up, whereas in the imperfective form and the /b/ form of the verb, the man may still be asleep. A phonetic transcription is included to illustrate the change in pronunciation when the imperfective and the additive morphemes co-occur. Note that when the imperfective and additive morpheme co-occur, I analyze the imperfective morpheme as the *-m-* allomorph due to the pronunciation of the form with [ᵐb] (see section 2.5.11).

- (8.57)    tɛn      kɪ      nɔr.  
           te-n    kɪ      n-or.  
           3-SG.M already 3SG.M-lie.R  
           ‘He has slept.’ (140407-196:25.113) GJ, LA
- (8.58)    tɛn      kɪ      nɔrmɛ.  
           te-n    kɪ      n-or<me>.  
           3-SG.M already 3SG.M-lie.R<IPFV>  
           ‘He has been sleeping.’ (140407-196:32.542) GJ, LA
- (8.59)    tɛn      kɪ      nɔrpɛ.  
           te-n    kɪ      n-or<pe>.  
           3-SG.M already 3SG.M-lie.R<ADD>  
           ‘He has also slept.’ (140407-196:105.310) GJ, LA
- (8.60)    tɛn      kɪ      nɔrbɛ.  
           te-n    kɪ      n-or<m><pe>  
           3-SG.M already 3SG.M-lie.R<IPFV><ADD>  
           ‘He has also been sleeping.’ (140407-196:95.990) GJ, LA

Additional examples showing this distinction in meaning between the /p/ and /b/ forms are provided in (8.61) and (8.62). In example (8.61), the /p/ form of the verb *okirkai* ‘cross river’ occurs and the consultant described the man as now being on the other side of the river because he had finished crossing. In example (8.62), the /b/ form of this verb occurs. When questioned, the consultant described the man as being in the middle of the river because he was still crossing the river. Based on examples like these, I have analyzed the /p/ form of verbs as the result of the additive morpheme alone, and the /b/ form of the verb as the result of the imperfective and additive morphemes co-occurring.

- (8.61)    tɛn      kɪ      nɔpɪrkai.  
           te-n    kɪ      n-o<p>kirkai.  
           3-SG.M already 3SG.M-cross.river.R<ADD>  
           ‘He has also crossed the river.’ (140407-197:15.577) GJ, LA

- (8.62)    *tɛn*    *ki*    *nɔ<sup>m</sup>birkai*.  
           *te-n*    *ki*    *n-o<m><p>kirkai*.  
           3-SG.M already 3SG.M-cross.river.R<IPFV><ADD>  
           ‘He has also been crossing the river.’ (140407-197:30.418) GJ, LA

That the verbs are pronounced with a /b/ when the imperfective and additive meanings coincide rather than some combination of a distinct /m/ morpheme and a distinct /p/ morpheme is understandable once a morphophonological rule in Yeri involving the pronunciation of /mp/ is considered. There is evidence, separate from the co-occurrence of the imperfective and additive morphemes, that a sequence of the imperfective *-m-* allomorph and a following /p/ are pronounced as /b/ (e.g. *operi* ‘pour’, imperfective: *o<m>peri* [ɔ<sup>m</sup>bɛri]).

For this reason, the pronunciation of the imperfective and additive morphemes when they co-occur can be explained as the imperfective *-m-* allomorph followed by an additive allomorph. In other words, when the imperfective allomorph co-occurs with an additive morpheme, I analyze it as always being realized by *-m-*, regardless of the verb’s usual allomorph selection.<sup>14</sup>

Several examples are presented in Table 8.13 demonstrating the co-occurrence of the two predicate morphemes.<sup>15</sup> In these examples, the verb selects its usual additive allomorph, but selects the *-C-* imperfective allomorph due to the co-occurrence of the predicate morphemes. For more information on this morphophonological rule, see section 2.5.11.

Table 8.13: The imperfective *-C-* allomorph preceding the additive morpheme

| gloss          | root     | ADD         |                          | IPFV and ADD   |                                       |
|----------------|----------|-------------|--------------------------|----------------|---------------------------------------|
| ‘cross river’  | okirkai  | o<p>kirkai  | [ɔpɪrkai]                | o<m><p>kirkai  | [ɔ <sup>m</sup> bɪrkai]               |
| ‘bend’         | giekir   | gie<p>kir   | [giɛpɪr]                 | gie<m><p>kir   | [giɛ <sup>m</sup> bɪr]                |
| ‘go over’      | garkil   | gar<p>kil   | [garpɪl]                 | gar<m><p>kil   | [garbɪl]                              |
| ‘laugh’        | arkuagil | ar<p>kuagil | [arpwa <sup>ɰ</sup> gil] | ar<m><p>kuagil | [arbwa <sup>ɰ</sup> gil]              |
| ‘carry in bag’ | dogir    | do<pe>gir   | [dɔpɛ <sup>ɰ</sup> gir]  | do<m><pe>gir   | [dɔ <sup>m</sup> bɛ <sup>ɰ</sup> gir] |
| ‘cover’        | altou    | al<pe>tou   | [alpɪtɔu]                | al<m><pe>tou   | [albɪtɔu]                             |
| ‘take’         | owil     | o<pe>wil    | [ɔpɛwil]                 | o<m><pe>wil    | [ɔ <sup>m</sup> bɛwil]                |
| ‘lie, sleep’   | or       | or<pe>      | [ɔrpɛ]                   | or<m><pe>      | [ɔrbɛ]                                |
| ‘make’         | odi      | o<pa>di     | [ɔpadi]                  | o<m><pa>di     | [ɔ <sup>m</sup> badi]                 |
| ‘let’          | osi      | o<pa>si     | [ɔpasi]                  | o<m><pa>si     | [ɔ <sup>m</sup> basi]                 |

<sup>14</sup>Alternatively, this behavior could be explained by arguing that the sequence of *-me-+pe-* results in the pronunciation /be/, while the sequence *-ma-+pa-* results in the pronunciation /ba/.

<sup>15</sup>Note that /k/ is deleted following the *-C-* allomorph (see section 2.5.10) and /b/ is not prenasalized following consonants (see section 2.1.1.1).

## 8.5 ‘After the root’

Imperfective and additive morphemes occur after the root with (i) ideophones, (ii) nouns, (iii) adverbs, (iv) all adnominals except WGN adjectives and genitive pronouns, and two particles. The morphemes show distinct behavior when they occur with ideophones than when they occur with any of the remaining word classes. For this reason, section 8.5.1 is devoted to their occurrence with ideophones, while their behavior with the heterogeneous range of other word classes is described in section 8.5.2

### 8.5.1 Ideophones

When imperfective or additive morphemes occur with ideophones, they always follow the root. Unlike what happens with many of the other word classes, no vowel harmony or vowel disharmony processes affect the pronunciation of the imperfective or additive morphemes when they occur with ideophones, and imperfective and additive morphemes have a single realization: *-ma* for imperfective and *-pa* for additive. Examples (8.63)-(8.66) illustrate imperfective and additive morphemes occurring on ideophone predicates.

- (8.63) nol yot-u-n                      da<m>ore              palpal-ma.  
bird DEM-MDIST-SG.M get.up.R<IPFV> fly-IPFV  
‘The bird there was flying away.’ (120517-001:2255.739) RNS, JS

- (8.64) te-n      ŋiŋi-ma.  
3-SG.M grunt-IPFV  
‘He is grunting.’ (140415-018:147.989) GE-[ŋiŋima], LA

- (8.65) tikiltekil-pa yiki yiki.  
cough-ADD day day  
‘She still coughs every day.’ (120702-006:148.830) GE-[tikiltekilpa], JS  
CI: She was coughing before and she is still coughing now.

- (8.66) yokata              male palpal-pa gor<pe>wedi.  
yokata.bird also fly-ADD follow.R<ADD>  
‘The yokati bird also flew following.’ (140415-018:109.080) GE-[palpalpa], LA  
CI: The hawk flew off first and the yokati bird also flew off after him.

### 8.5.2 Other word classes

Predicate morphemes can also occur after the lexical root on several other word classes including nouns, adverbs, two particles, and most adnominals (excluding WGN adjectives and

genitive pronouns, where the morphemes precede the lexical root, as described in section 8.3). When predicate morphemes occur on any of these word classes, they show similar behavior in that: (i) they undergo a rule of vowel disharmony, (ii) they follow any gender and number morphemes, (iii) they show variation in their acceptability on specific members within the word class, and (iv) they can alternatively express the same meaning with a periphrastic expression involving the imperfective or additive form of the particle *he* ‘continuous’.

In section 8.5.2.1, I briefly discuss the choice of phonological allomorph based on vowel disharmony. In section 8.5.2.2, I argue that the occurrence of predicate morphemes on this heterogeneous range of predicates is understandable when the distribution of the particle *he* is taken into account. I further point out that the last three of these behaviors are expected if predicate morphemes on these word classes are understood as originating from a periphrastic expression involving the particle *he*.

### 8.5.2.1 Vowel disharmony

Unlike ideophones which show a single invariant allomorph, all other word classes where predicate morphemes follow the lexical root select one of two phonological allomorphs, *-ma* or *-mi* for the imperfective, and *-pa* or *-pi* for the additive. The choice is determined by a rule of vowel disharmony in Yeri. This rule is discussed in more detail in section 2.5.6. A brief summary is provided here.

- When the vowel in the immediately preceding syllable is a high monophthong, *-ma* or *-pa* is selected.
- When the vowel in the immediately preceding syllable is not a high monophthong, *-mi* or *-pi* is chosen.

When predicate morphemes occur on lexical items which also indicate gender or number, they follow any gender or number morphemes and the choice of vowel in the phonological allomorph is determined by the vowel in the immediately preceding syllable, not the last vowel in the root. For example, in the singular form of *hiwora* ‘wife’, the vowel in the immediately preceding syllable is /a/. For this reason, the predicate morpheme vowel selected is an /e/ (pronounced as [i]), as in *hiworami*. However, when the plural allomorph *-gi* occurs on *hiwora*, the vowel in the immediately preceding syllable is an /i/, and the predicate morpheme vowel selected is an /a/, as in *hiworagima*. Singular and plural forms for three lexical items are provided in Table 8.14. Bare forms (forms without a predicate morpheme) are provided for each lexical item as well as the corresponding imperfective and additive forms. Note *hiwora* ‘wife’ can occur with two different plural morphemes (see section 5.4.2.15).

Table 8.14: Predicate morpheme phonological allomorphs and vowel disharmony

|           | root     | number   | bare form   | IPFV           | ADD            |
|-----------|----------|----------|-------------|----------------|----------------|
| ‘wife’    | hiwora   | singular | hiwora      | hiwora-mi      | hiwora-pi      |
|           |          | plural   | hiwora-gi   | hiwora-gi-ma   | hiworagi-pa    |
|           |          | plural   | hiwora-gil  | hiwora-gil-ma  | hiwora-gil-pa  |
| ‘husband’ | megual   | singular | megual      | megual-mi      | megual-pi      |
|           |          | plural   | migodi      | migodi-ma      | migodi-pa      |
| ‘long’    | sibelial | singular | sibelial    | sibelial-mi    | sibelial-pi    |
|           |          | plural   | sibelial-gi | sibelial-gi-ma | sibelial-gi-pa |

### 8.5.2.2 The particle *he* and predicate morphemes after the root

When imperfective and additive morphemes occur on verbs, genitive pronouns, WGN adjectives, and ideophones, they are almost completely productive. Examples are easily elicited and speakers consistently agree on the acceptability of predicate morphemes with these word classes. The situation is much more variable when it comes to the occurrence of predicate morphemes on nouns, adverbs, the remaining adnominals, and particles.

First, only two particles can acceptably occur with predicate morphemes: *he* ‘continuous’ and *hiro* ‘no’. The fact that any particles can occur with predicate morphemes is somewhat surprising given their overwhelming occurrence only on lexical items functioning as predicates. However, a closer examination of predicate morphemes with the particle *he* can provide a likely historical explanation.

First, *he* occurs in clause-final position (see section 10.3.1). This position results in the particle frequently being located immediately after non-verbal predicates. Second, consultants indicate that the use of *he* with predicate morphemes following nouns, adnominals, and adverbs expresses the same meaning as predicate morphemes occurring on any of these lexical items directly. This is shown in (8.67)–(8.76), where examples are provided comparing the occurrence of the imperfective morpheme directly only lexical items like *hiwora* ‘wife’, *maleikia* ‘morning’, *sirual* ‘straight’, *ten* ‘he’, and *sapiten* ‘many’ to the occurrence of the imperfective morpheme on the particle *he* following these lexical items.

- (8.67) te- $\emptyset$  yot-u- $\emptyset$  hiwora-mi.  
 3-SG.F DEM-MDIST-SG.F wife-IPFV  
 ‘She is a wife now.’ (140415-013:444.790) DE, LA

- (8.68) te- $\emptyset$  hiwora he-ma w- $\emptyset$ =de-n.  
 3-SG.F wife CNT-IPFV REL-SG=3-SG.M  
 ‘She is his wife now.’ (140415-013:454.621) DE, LA



- (8.69) maleikia-mi h-dore.  
 morning-IPFV 1PL-get.up  
 ‘In the morning, we got up.’ (120520-000:322.688) RNS, AS
- (8.70) maleikia he-ma h-dore.  
 morning CNT-IPFV 1PL-get.up  
 ‘In the morning, we got up.’ (140415-021:1172.563) GJ, LA
- (8.71) nebal-gi yot-u-i sirual-gi-ma.  
 tree-PL DEM-MDIST-PL straight-PL-IPFV  
 ‘Those trees are straight now.’ (140422-022:716.748) GE-[sirualgima], JS
- (8.72) nebal-gi yot-u-i sirual-gi he-ma.  
 tree-PL DEM-MDIST-PL straight-PL CNT-IPFV  
 ‘Those trees are straight now.’ (140422-022:721.000) GJ, JS
- (8.73) te-n=pa n-okirkai wul.  
 3-SG.M=pa 3SG.M-cross.river.R water  
 ‘It was he who crossed the river.’ (140422-021:9.827) GJ, LA
- (8.74) te-n he-pa n-okirkai wul.  
 3-SG.M CNT-ADD 3SG.M-cross.river.R water  
 ‘It was he who crossed the river.’ (140422-021:7.500) GJ, LA
- (8.75) nogolgoi w-ei=de-i nogil Yeri ki sapiten-ma yot-ua-i.  
 children REL-PL=3-PL village Yeri already many-IPFV DEM-DIST-PL  
 ‘The children from Yeri village are many now.’ (140415-022:610.483) GE-[sapitenma],  
 LA
- (8.76) hiro sapiten he-ma.  
 NEG many CNT-IPFV  
 ‘There are not many (weeks) left.’ (120615-001:150.590) RNS, JS

Additionally, when speakers are considering whether predicate morphemes can occur directly on one of these predicates, they often offer an alternative way to express the same meaning. In this alternative, the predicate morpheme occurs on the particle *he* and this particle follows the predicate that the predicate morpheme would otherwise occur on. An example is shown in (8.77), where the additive morpheme occurs on *tiawa* ‘short’ and the alternative shows the additive morpheme on the particle *he* following *tiawa*.

- (8.77) w-∅=de-i male tiawa-n-pi, tiawa-n he-pa.  
 REL-SG=3-PL also short-SG.M-ADD short-SG.M CNT-ADD  
 ‘Theirs also is short.’ (140415-021:758.473) GJ+GE-[tiawanpi], LA

Given the frequency with which the velar approximant /ɥ/ <h> is deleted (see section 2.1.1.4) and the vowel /e/ is reduced and deleted (see section 2.4.7) in Yeri, it is possible to see how the *-Ca* allomorph could have originated. In particular, examples like (8.78) demonstrate forms which appear to be somewhere between a pronunciation where the particle *he* occurs with predicate morphemes and where predicate morphemes occur directly on another word class.<sup>16</sup>

- (8.78) ɥimɛl tiawanɛma.  
           hemal tiawa-n      he-ma.  
           night short-SG.M CNT-IPFV  
           ‘It is early in the morning now.’ (140404-023:1668.790) DE, LA

Based on examples like these, it seems possible that the occurrence of predicate morphemes on nouns, most adnominals, and adverbs may have originated due to the occurrence of *he* with predicate morphemes following these lexical items when they function as predicates. This origin would explain why predicate morphemes overwhelmingly occur with predicates and follow all gender and number morphemes that occur on the word class. Since the particle *he* follows the fully inflected form, predicate morphemes would also follow any gender and number morphemes.

This potential origin would also suggest a possible explanation for speaker variation in the acceptability of the imperfective morpheme occurring directly on specific members of these word classes. The acceptability of a form would be related to how frequently the imperfective or additive forms of the particle *he* followed a particular member of a word class and how often the /ɥ/ <h> and /e/ of the particle was reduced/deleted in speech. Speakers are more likely to express meanings like ‘be a young woman/man now’ or ‘be an elder now’ than they are to express meanings like ‘be a bird now’. Not surprisingly then, speakers agree that the imperfective morpheme can occur on nouns referring to life stages, but show variation in whether they permit this morpheme to directly occur on other nouns like *nol* ‘bird’.<sup>17</sup>

For this reason, it is not possible to provide a concrete list of which nouns, adverbs, or adnominals (excluding genitive pronouns and WGN adjectives) can occur with predicate morphemes. There is a great deal of variation both within and between speakers. Rather, only general trends can be noted. As mentioned before, predicate morphemes can generally occur on ‘life stage’ nouns. Predicate morphemes are also very common on temporal nouns, likely due to the important role temporal nouns play in situating events in discourse.

<sup>16</sup>Since these forms can be accounted for by the deletion of /ɥ/ <h> alone, I do not treat *-ema* as a distinct imperfective allomorph.

<sup>17</sup>Note the meaning can always be expressed by using the imperfective form of the particle *he* in these contexts. Consultants only show variation in whether they disapprove of placing the imperfective morpheme directly on the lexical item.

In narratives, for example, temporal nominal predicates frequently occur to move the story along, and in this function, they often occur with imperfective morphemes. A simple example is provided in (8.79), where the temporal nominal predicate *hemal* ‘night’ occurs with an imperfective morpheme. In the more complex example in (8.80), *hemal* occurs with an imperfective morpheme again to indicate that when it is nighttime, the children (the addressees in this story) will run away.

- (8.79) ki hemal-mi.  
already night-IPFV

‘It is night now.’ (120529-001:924.153) RNS, JS

- (8.80) ta y-o hemal-mi y-ohorkil y-a<me>ro.  
FUT 2PL-stay.R night-IPFV 2PL-flee.R 2PL-go.R<IPFV>

‘You (pl) will stay, and when it is night, you (pl) flee.’ (120601-008:244.305) RNS, YW

Less frequently, predicate morphemes directly occur on quantifiers, as in (8.81), numerals, as in (8.82), personal pronouns, as in (8.83), GN adjectives, as in (8.84), and adverbs as in (8.85). While examples can be elicited, these forms are not very frequent in natural speech.

- (8.81) h-a<m>oti-wa-i ta aro no sa-sapiti-ma ta  
1PL-hold.R<IPFV>-AUG-PL FUT go.R until RED-many.PL-IPFV FUT  
h-o<he>wil moi Ø-ie<me>wua-i.  
1PL-take.R<SG.F> vine 3PL-tie.R<IPFV>-PL

‘We will be catching them until they are many, and then we will tie them with a rope.’ (120623-007:45.930) RNS, YW

- (8.82) yot-a-Ø ki ŋa-Ø-mi nadi w-do<me>di.  
DEM-PROX-SG.F already one-SG.F-IPFV only 3SG.F-stand.R<IPFV>

‘Now there is only one standing.’ (140415-021:1350.430) GE-[ŋami], LA  
CI: In the previous utterance, the speaker says that there used to be many taros.

- (8.83) te-n=pa n-okirkai wul.  
3-SG.M=pa 3SG.M-cross.river.R water

‘It was he who crossed the river.’ (140422-021:9.827) GJ LA

- (8.84) w-Ø=de-i male tiawa-n-pi, tiawa-n he-pa.  
REL-SG=3-PL also short-SG.M-ADD short-SG.M CNT-ADD

‘Theirs also is short.’ (140415-021:758.473) GE-[tiawanpi], LA

- (8.85) halpina-gi niagil-pa.  
 sea.shell-PL same-ADD  
 ‘Halpinagi is also the same.’ (120410-001:126.245) RNS, JS  
 CI: The speaker is describing *halpinagi* as being the same as the previously described *yogi* in that they are both traditional types of feminine clothing.

If the occurrence of predicate morphemes on nouns, adverbs, and most adnominals (excluding genitive pronouns and WGN adjectives) originated from the particle *he* following these word classes when they function as predicates, the occurrence of predicate morphemes on the negative particle *hiro* can also be explained. Predicate morphemes occur on the negative particle when it occurs in the non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction, also referred to as the possessive ‘have’ construction (see section 4.6.5). In this construction, the posture verb is omitted and when *he* occurs it follows the negative particle *hiro*, as in (8.86).

- (8.86) wual-ia hawal hiro he.  
 pig-PL feet NEG CNT  
 ‘There are no pig tracks.’ (120607-001:1156.340) GE-[wdinipeni], JS

Examples (8.87) and (8.88) demonstrate the negative particle (see section 10.2.3) occurring with predicate morphemes. In example (8.87), it occurs with the imperfective morpheme to express the meaning ‘X is no more’ or ‘X is all gone’, while example (8.88), the additive form of *hiro* indicates that tomorrow the speaker will still not have any salt.<sup>18</sup>

- (8.87) wigal hiro-mi.  
 language NEG-IPFV  
 ‘There’s nothing left to say.’ (120524-000:903.622) RNS, JS
- (8.88) hebi nawi la hiro lahabi. kiyipa ki hiro. toyiki male ta  
 1PL salt PST NEG yesterday. earlier.today already NEG. tomorrow also FUT  
 hiro-pi.  
 NEG-ADD  
 ‘We had no salt yesterday. Today we have no salt. Tomorrow also we will still not have salt.’ (140312-052:1902.065) DE, LA

<sup>18</sup>Note that when *hiro* occurs with predicate morphemes, it is usually pronounced as [uqirua] (i.e. [uqiruami], [uqiruapi]). This alternation between /ua/ and /o/ occurs elsewhere in Yeri and is discussed in section 2.4.8.

## 8.6 Imperfective and additive pronominal clitics

Yeri has several pronominal clitics which can be used to index referents in non-verbal clauses, as described in section 4.2.<sup>19</sup> Of these, the bare non-verbal pronominal clitic =*dV* (phonological allomorphs =*da* and =*de*, see section 2.5.6.3) functions in a paradigm with what I refer to as the ‘imperfective non-verbal pronominal clitic’ and the ‘additive non-verbal pronominal clitic’. These clitics are particularly unusual pronominal forms in that they express imperfective or additive meaning in combination with the gender and number of their referents, while bare non-verbal pronominal clitics are the corresponding forms used when imperfective or additive meaning is not expressed. Table 8.15 lists all of the non-verbal pronominal clitics.

Table 8.15: Non-verbal pronominal clitics

|            | bare<br>pronominal clitic          | imperfective<br>pronominal clitic | additive<br>pronominal clitic |
|------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 3SG.F      | =da- $\emptyset$ ,=de- $\emptyset$ | =mia- $\emptyset$                 | =pia- $\emptyset$             |
| 3SG.M      | =da-n,=de-n                        | =mia-n                            | =pia-n                        |
| 3PL        | =da-i,=de-i                        | =mia-i                            | =pia-i                        |
| 3PL (rare) | =da-m,=de-m                        | =mia-m                            | =pia-m                        |

Although elicitation demonstrates that imperfective and additive pronominal clitics can occur in most positions where the corresponding bare non-verbal pronominal clitic can occur, they are most common in the non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction, also referred to as the possessive ‘have’ construction in the grammar (see section 4.6.5). In (8.89) and (8.90) the pronominal clitics =*de* and =*den* agree in gender and number with the possessor of the non-verbal variant, namely *neigal* ‘cuscus’ and *niawega* ‘lizard’.<sup>20</sup> In example (8.91) =*dai* agrees in plural number with the possessor *Yirkuri hawal* ‘Yirkuri’s foot’.<sup>21</sup>

- (8.89) *neigal yot-u- $\emptyset$                       hoboyon=de- $\emptyset$ .*  
 cuscus DEM-MDIST-SG.F pouch=NVPC-SG.F

‘That cuscus has a pouch on it.’ (140225-046:61.246) GE-[hoboyon], JS

<sup>19</sup>I segment all non-verbal pronominal clitics with the equal sign rather than a space or a hyphen. See section 1.7.2 and section 4.2 for explanations regarding this distinction.

<sup>20</sup>Although I sometimes refer to these as ‘possessor indexes’ since this construction is typically used to express possession, these pronominal forms are analogous to the locative object that occurs in the verbal variant of the posture verb construction (see section 7.7.1.4). This is hopefully suggested from the translations, which include ‘on it’.

<sup>21</sup>Note *hawal* is a pluralia tantum noun and always triggers plural agreement. See section 5.4.1.6.

- (8.90) niawega nia-l minou-agia=de-n.  
 lizard teeth-PL front.leg-PL=NVPC-SG.M  
 ‘A lizard has front and back feet on it.’ (140224-000:138.613) GE-[harkanogil], LA
- (8.91) Yirkuri hawal ya ki lute-i=da-i.  
 Yirkuri feet ya already sore-PL=NVPC-PL  
 ‘Yirkuri’s foot has sores on it.’ (140424-059:7.160) DE, LA

Examples (8.92)-(8.94) illustrate imperfective pronominal clitics. In example (8.92), *mian* shows masculine gender and agrees with a previously mentioned referent, a big piece of pig meat.<sup>22</sup> Since the imperfective pronominal clitic is used, the utterance is interpreted as meaning that the pig has salt on it currently. There appears to be a common assumption that something has changed when these imperfective pronominal clitics occur. In this example, the assumption is that the pig meat previously did not have salt on it, and now it does.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, in example (8.93), the imperfective pronominal clitic shows agreement with *yati* ‘sago palm, sago jelly’, a feminine noun. Its use indicates that the sago has ants on it now. Again, the assumption is that previously there were no ants on the sago. Example (8.94) comes from a legend where a woman suddenly becomes pregnant. The use of the imperfective pronominal clitic conveys the assumption that she is pregnant now although she was not pregnant before.

- (8.92) ki nawi=mia-n yot-ua-n.  
 already salt=IPFV.NVPC-SG.M DEM-DIST-SG.M  
 ‘It has salt on it now.’ (120705-002:144.606) GE-[nawi mian], JS  
 CI: The previous utterance indicates that what has salt on it now is a big piece of pig meat that was recently boiled.
- (8.93) yati ma=ilua-∅. pareki=mia-∅.  
 sago IPFV=bad-SG.F ant=IPFV.NVPC-SG.F  
 ‘The sago is bad now, it has ants on it now.’ (140312-037:100.500) GE-[pareki], LA
- (8.94) hem paki nogolgoi=mia-∅ mai?  
 1SG paki children=IPFV.NVPC-SG.F polar question  
 ‘How exactly am I pregnant now?’ (120517-001:1450.820) RNS, JS  
 LT: ‘Do I have children in me now?’

<sup>22</sup>Previously mentioned referents that are active in discourse are often not overtly referenced in Yeri (see section 15.1.1). It is also common to use masculine gender agreement to indicate larger than average size (see section 5.3.4.4).

<sup>23</sup>Although this is a common assumption, these forms can occur in contexts where nothing has changed.

Although less common in natural speech than the imperfective pronominal clitic, examples can be easily elicited with the additive pronominal clitic. Several are shown in (8.95)-(8.97). In example (8.95), the additive morpheme is expressing contrastive focus. The consultant indicated that this utterance could be said if you were correcting someone who said that there was no money in a particular bilum bag. The additive pronominal clitic occurs in its singular feminine form due to the possessor *heya* ‘bilum’.

- (8.95) *heya w-∅=hem yot-a-∅, puyu hirka=pia-∅.*  
 bilum REL-SG.F=1SG DEM-PROX-SG.F rock new=ADD.NVPC-SG.F  
 ‘My bag here, it does have money in it.’ (120705-003:253.760) GE-[puyu hirka pia], JS  
 CI: Consultant indicated that this could be a response to someone who said the bilum did not have money in it.

When a consultant was asked to use *yiga pian* in an utterance, he said that if a thorn was stuck in one of his fingers, and then a thorn got stuck in another finger, he could say the utterance in (8.96). Note the singular masculine agreement with *muaki* ‘finger’ on the additive non-verbal pronominal clitic.

- (8.96) *muaki w-n=hem male, yot-a-n, ki*  
 finger REL-SG.M=1SG also DEM-PROX-SG.M already  
 n-d-o<ma>sia; yiga=pia-n.  
 3SG.M-MDL-swell.R<IPFV> thorn=ADD.NVPC-SG.M  
 ‘My finger here also, it is swollen; there is also a thorn in it.’ (120705-003:709.069) GE-[yiga pian], JS

When a consultant was asked to use *yimeta pia* in an example, the consultant provided example (8.97). In the utterance preceding this one, the speaker describes chasing one dog outside because it has fleas. When another dog comes inside the house, the speaker asks a group of people if this dog is okay. The group of people says the new dog also has fleas on it.

- (8.97) *te-i ∅-nobia, “hiro, nebo yot-a-∅ yimeta=pia-∅.”*  
 3-PL 3PL-talk.R NEG dog DEM-PROX-SG.F flea=ADD.NVPC-SG.F  
 ‘They said, “No, this dog also has fleas on it.”’ (120705-003:1124.147) GE-[yimeta pia], JS

Although imperfective and additive pronominal clitics most often occur in the non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction (also referred to as the possessive ‘have’ construction in the grammar, see section 4.6.5), these non-verbal pronominal clitics can occur in other contexts. In (8.98) and (8.99), the pronominal clitics indicate the applicative object of the

ideophone predicate *lulu* ‘slither’. The plural suffix *-i* occurs on these forms to indicate that the applicative object is plural.

- (8.98) harkanogi-l lulu=mia-i  
 snake-PL slither=IPFV.NVPC-PL  
 ‘The snake is slithering towards them.’ (140415-022:1036.625) GE-[lulu miai], LA

- (8.99) harkanogi-l lulu=pia-i  
 snake-PL slither=ADD.NVPC-PL  
 ‘The snake also slithers towards them.’ (140415-022:994.333) GE-[lulu piai], LA

Additional examples from natural speech are presented in (8.100)-(8.101). In example (8.100), *mia* refers to what people are running from. Example (8.101) shows *miai* showing plural number due to *yewal* ‘eye’.

- (8.100) hamei nogil nogil w-o<me>horkil prisi=mia-∅  
 people village village 3PL-flee.R<IPFV> disperse=IPFV.NVPC-SG.F  
 ‘The people from all the villages were running away from there.’ (120528-008:200.560) RNS, JS

- (8.101) ... yem ta yewal sapo-wil=mia-i.  
 ... 2PL FUT eye mold-PL=IPFV.NVPC-PL  
 ‘... your (pl) eyes will have mold on them.’ (120621-001:524.251) RNS, JS



## Chapter 9

# Infixes

This chapter briefly presents arguments for analyzing several morphemes in Yeri as infixes. Section 9.1 details the criteria used to determine whether a morpheme is best classified as an infix. Section 9.2 focuses on the imperfective and additive morphemes when they occur with verbs, while section 9.3 focuses on several object allomorphs that occur with a subset of verbs.

### 9.1 Defining infixation

Verbs are the only Yeri word class which permit some morphemes to occur within the root. These morphemes are an imperfective morpheme and an additive morpheme (what I refer to as ‘predicate morphemes’, discussed in chapter 8) and four third person object allomorphs (i.e. *-he-*, *-ne-*, *-i-*, *-hi-*) selected by about 40 verbs (see section 7.3.3.1). To demonstrate that these morphemes are best analyzed as verbal infixes, I consider three relevant questions:

1. Does the morpheme occur within another morpheme?
2. Is the location of the morpheme phonologically predictable?
3. Is the morpheme located at a morpheme boundary?

Based on the answers to these three questions, I argue that Yeri predicate morphemes must be categorized as infixes according to definitions proposed by Ultan (1975), Moravcsik (2000), Yu (2007), and Bickel & Nichols (2007).<sup>1</sup>

- An infix is ‘a continuous morph (or morpheme) which is inserted into another morph thus turning the latter into a discontinuous morph’ (Ultan 1975: 159).

---

<sup>1</sup>Discussion regarding the unusual location of Yeri predicate morphemes in this typologically rare infixation site is also presented in Wilson (2014).

- An infix is ‘an affix which is positioned inside the base such that the preceding and following portions are not meaningful by themselves’ (Moravcsik 2000: 545).
- ‘An affix [is] infixing if it appears as a segmentally distinct entity between two strings that form a meaningful unit when combined but do not themselves exist as meaningful parts’ (Yu 2007: 10).
- ‘Infixation places formatives into a phonologically or prosodically defined environment’ (Bickel & Nichols 2007: 199).

I further argue that the simplest analysis is for the four object allomorphs to also be classified as infixes. This infixal analysis of Yeri predicate morphemes and the four object allomorphs is in opposition to a possible bipartite stem analysis. Bickel & Nichols (2007) describe a bipartite stem analysis as follows:

“A bipartite stem is a stem where only part, but not the whole is the target of morphological rules (affixation, reduplication, mutation, particle housing, etc.), and the location of the boundary between the two parts is morphologically defined, i.e. neither semantically (by scope as in the juxtaposition of independently inflected stems) nor phonologically (e.g. by syllable structure as with infixation)” (Bickel & Nichols 2007: 199).

By arguing that predicate morphemes and the four object allomorphs are verbal infixes, I am claiming specifically that their position is defined phonologically rather than morphologically. I argue that because the morphemes are phonologically predictable, the infixal analysis is to be preferred over a bipartite stem analysis which overlooks this phonological generalization. Since I argue that the location is determined with respect to syllable boundaries, I will use the linguistic convention of a period (.) to indicate syllable boundaries throughout this chapter. Furthermore, I discuss predicate morphemes separately from the four third person object allomorphs due to some differences in the two situations. Predicate morphemes are discussed in section 9.2, while the object allomorphs are discussed in section 9.3.

## 9.2 Predicate morphemes

Imperfective and additive morphemes always occur in the same location. For this reason, I present evidence for the location of the imperfective morpheme in the following sections due to its more frequent occurrence in natural discourse. These conclusions regarding the location of the imperfective morpheme can then be extended to the additive morpheme. I present evidence that the imperfective morpheme occurs within another morpheme in section 9.2.1,

that its location is phonologically predictable in section 9.2.2, and that it is not located at a morpheme boundary in section 9.2.3.

### 9.2.1 Do predicate morphemes occur within another morpheme?

In this section, I focus on demonstrating that the imperfective morpheme occurs within another morpheme, specifically the verb root. Examples like (9.1) and (9.2) establish that verb roots such as *altou* ‘cover’ and *nania* ‘go in’ occur as continuous morphemes in the language.<sup>2</sup>

- (9.1) n-altou            yewal w-ei=de-n            n-aruba-i-bai.  
 3SG.M-cover.R eye    REL-PL=3-SG.M 3SG.M-do.well.R-PL-RED  
 ‘He covered his eyes very very carefully.’ (120611-004:320.473) RNS, JS

- (9.2) ta    n-aro            n-aro            n-nania.  
 FUT 3SG.M-go.R 3SG.M-go.R 3SG.M-go.in.R  
 ‘It goes and goes and goes inside.’ (120601-012:108.734) RNS, YW

When these verbs occur with the imperfective morpheme, as in (9.3) and (9.4), the imperfective morpheme occurs within each verb root. The imperfective allomorph *-me-* occurs between *al* and *tou* with the verb *altou* ‘cover’ in example (9.3), and between *na* and *nia* with the verb *nania* ‘go in’ in example (9.4). Predicate morphemes are productive and occur with almost all verbs. For all but a small class of irregular verbs (see section 8.4.1.4), these morphemes occur within the verb root.

- (9.3) ki            Ø-w-al<me>tou            hebi.  
 already 3PL-1PL-cover.R<IPFV> 1PL  
 ‘They are covering us.’ (120503-000:318.117) RNS, LA

- (9.4) w-b-gei            hem m-na<me>nia            hula mani.  
 3SG.F-1SG-leave.R 1SG 1SG-go.in.R<IPFV> hole inside  
 ‘She put me in the hole.’ (120517-001:438.345) RNS, JS

<sup>2</sup>While there appears to be some evidence for a bipartite stem analysis of roots in the related Walman language, the location of all morphemes that occur within Yeri verb roots is phonologically predictable (see section 9.2.2 and section 9.3.2). Given the distinction Bickel & Nichols (2007: 199) maintain between an infixal analysis and a bipartite stem analysis (see section 9.1), I therefore do not analyze Yeri verb roots as bipartite stems, but instead analyze the relevant morphemes as infixes which occur in a phonologically defined location. While it is possible to analyze these morphemes as being located within bipartite stems despite their phonologically predictable location, doing so ignores the important generalization that the morphemes are always located in a phonologically predictable location. It would also appear to collapse the definitional distinction between an infixal and a bipartite stem analysis, at least as defined by Bickel & Nichols (2007).

### 9.2.2 Is the location phonologically predictable?

A summary of the allomorphy shown by imperfective and additive morphemes on verbs is presented in Table 9.1 and described in more detail in section 8.4.1. Three allomorphs can be distinguished *-Ce-*, *-C-*, and *-Ca-*, where the C stands for an /m/ with the imperfective morpheme and a /p/ for the additive morpheme.

For all but a small class of irregular verbs (see section 8.4.1.4), the location of predicate morphemes can be categorized as phonologically predictable in that the imperfective and additive morphemes occur after the first syllable of the verb root. This location is particularly clear from verbs which are trisyllabic and which have a first syllable coda, as in *altobi* ‘force’ (imperfective *al.mi.to.bi*) or *gorwedi* ‘follow’ (imperfective *gor.mwe.di*). Given numerous examples like these, there appears to be strong evidence that the location of the imperfective and additive morphemes is phonologically predictable.

Table 9.1: Verbal predicate morpheme allomorphy overview

| allomorph   | gloss             | root    | syllable boundaries | imperfective          | additive              |
|-------------|-------------------|---------|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>-Ce-</i> | ‘be hungry’       | dolbi   | dol.bi              | dol. <u>me</u> .bi    | dol. <u>pe</u> .bi    |
|             | ‘force’           | altobi  | al.to.bi            | al. <u>me</u> .to.bi  | al. <u>pe</u> .to.bi  |
|             | ‘look everywhere’ | gakaria | ga.ka.ria           | ga. <u>me</u> .ka.ria | ga. <u>pe</u> .ka.ria |
|             | ‘lie, sleep’      | or      | or                  | or. <u>me</u>         | or. <u>pe</u>         |
| <i>-C-</i>  | ‘go along’        | garkoi  | gar.koi             | gar. <u>moi</u>       | gar. <u>poi</u>       |
|             | ‘pull’            | alkial  | al.kial             | al. <u>mial</u>       | al. <u>pial</u>       |
|             | ‘ask’             | ogiwa   | o.gi.wa             | o. <u>mi</u> .wa      | o. <u>pi</u> .wa      |
| <i>-Ca-</i> | ‘make’            | odi     | o.di                | o. <u>ma</u> .di      | o. <u>pa</u> .di      |
|             | ‘let’             | osi     | o.si                | o. <u>ma</u> .si      | o. <u>pa</u> .si      |

Since the location of these allomorphs is always after the first syllable of the verb root, and therefore phonologically predictable, this provides evidence that the morphemes are located in a phonologically defined location rather than a morphologically defined location. According to Bickel & Nichols (2007: 199), this phonological predictability can be understood as evidence in favor of an infixal analysis.

### 9.2.3 Are predicate morphemes located at a morpheme boundary?

Neither the portion of the verb root which precedes the imperfective morpheme nor the portion of the verb root which follows has any meaning on its own. Consider the verb *dogir* ‘carry in bag’. Its imperfective form is *domegir*. Yeri speakers do not recognize a meaning when only *do* or *gir* is provided to them. It is only when *do* and *gir* occur together as *dogir*, that speakers understand them as having a meaning. For this reason, it is not possible to analyze *dogir* as decomposable into two individual morphemes, each with their own

clearly discernible meaning, with the imperfective morpheme occurring at the morphological boundary between them.

Despite this, it could be argued that because the /o/ in *dogir* indicates realis mood (see section 7.6), the imperfective morpheme is located with respect to this morpheme boundary. However, approximately 65 verbs in the current lexicon involve first syllable codas. In these verbs, the imperfective morpheme does not occur immediately following the realis vowel. Consider the verb *almo* ‘die’. The imperfective form is *al.me.mo*, indicating that the location of the morpheme is phonologically conditioned (after the first syllable), rather than morphologically conditioned (after the realis vowel). Additional examples where the imperfective morpheme can only be described as occurring after the first syllable (and not after the realis or irrealis vowel) are presented in Table 9.2.

Table 9.2: Evidence against morphological positioning of predicate morpheme

| gloss        | root      | irrealis  | imperfective        | imperfective and irrealis |
|--------------|-----------|-----------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| ‘lie, sleep’ | or        | or        | or. <u>me</u>       | ir. <u>me</u>             |
| ‘cover’      | al.tou    | il.tou    | al. <u>mi</u> .tou  | il. <u>mi</u> .tou        |
| ‘run’        | dar.ku    | dir.ku    | dar. <u>mu</u>      | dir. <u>mu</u>            |
| ‘follow’     | gor.we.di | gir.we.di | gor. <u>mwe</u> .di | gir. <u>mwe</u> .di       |

It could be argued that for those verbs which do not have a first syllable coda like *a.lia* ‘drop’, the location of the imperfective morpheme is in fact morphologically conditioned, and the morphemes occur after the realis or irrealis vowel (e.g. imperfective realis: *a.mi.lia*, imperfective irrealis: *i.mi.lia*). However, this would then require an arbitrary distinction between verbs with first syllable codas, where morpheme positioning would be phonologically conditioned and verbs without first syllable codas, where morpheme positioning would be described as morphologically conditioned.<sup>3</sup> Given that imperfective morpheme positioning can be generalized as occurring after the first syllable of the verb root for *all* verbs, it is unclear what would be gained by analyzing verbs without first syllable codas separately from those where initial syllable codas occur.

### 9.3 The third person object allomorphs *-he-*, *-ne-*, *-i-*, and *-hi-*

As I did for predicate morphemes, I present arguments for why I treat four third person object allomorphs as infixes in this section. The third person object allomorphs I discuss here are *-he-* for third person singular feminine objects, *-ne-* for third person singular masculine objects, *-i-* for third person plural objects, and the very rare allomorph *-hi-* for third person plural

<sup>3</sup>It could also be argued that the predicate morphemes occur within a bipartite stem and that the arbitrary location of morphology within the bipartite stem does not always align with the mood vowel. This however, misses the obvious phonological generalization, namely that this location is phonologically predictable.

objects. Each object allomorph occurs in the same location and for ease of discussion I present evidence regarding the third person singular masculine object allomorph *-ne-*.<sup>4</sup> Conclusions regarding this allomorph can then be extended to the remaining three allomorphs.

### 9.3.1 Do object allomorphs occur within another morpheme?

As demonstrated for the verb roots *altou* ‘cover’ and *nania* ‘go in’ in section 9.2.1, there is clear evidence that Yeri verb roots occur as continuous morphemes. This is shown in examples (9.5) and (9.6) for the verb roots *nogir* ‘write’ and *goba* ‘bend in half’.

- (9.5) alright puyu hirka malmal    yot-u-∅                    ki            te-n  
 alright rock    new    how.many DEM-MDIST-SG.F already 3-SG.M  
 n-no<∅>gir                    d-a<me>wera                    nau?  
 3SG.M-write.R<SG.F> MDL-lie.flat.R<IPFV> now  
 ‘How much money has he requested now?’ (120524-000:795.292) RNS, LN

- (9.6) te-n    n-goba                    hilogi-l    ɲa-n            w-∅=de-n.  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-bend.in.half.R arm-SG one-SG.M REL-SG=3-SG.M.  
 ‘He broke one of his arms.’ (140424-076:22.232) DE, LA

When the singular masculine object allomorph *-ne-* occurs with one of the approximately 40 verbs that select for it, the object allomorph occurs within the verb root. Examples (9.7) and (9.8) demonstrate the third person object morpheme *-ne-* occurring within the verb root. In example (9.7), the morpheme occurs between the *no* and *gir* of the verb *nogir* ‘write’, while in example (9.8), *-ne-* occurs between the *go* and *ba* of *goba* ‘bend in half’.

- (9.7) te-n    la    no<ne>gir            nebal neige-la    yot-u-n.  
 3-SG.M PST write.R<SG.M> tree    bottom-SG DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
 ‘He wrote his name on that tree trunk.’ (140307-053:36.708) PE+GE-[nonegir], JS
- (9.8) likil                    w-n=hem            ki            maɲa-n    n-go<ne>ba?  
 long.bamboo REL-SG.M=1SG already what-SG.M 3SG.M-bend.in.half.R<SG.M>  
 ‘My long bamboo, who broke it?’ (140228-012:116.530) GE-[likil], LA

### 9.3.2 Is the location phonologically predictable?

The location of these third person object allomorphs can be analyzed as phonologically predictable in that all verbs which select for these allomorphs show the allomorphs occurring after the first syllable of the verb root. That it is the first syllable rather than the last

<sup>4</sup>I choose to use the singular masculine allomorph for demonstration here to avoid several phonological (see section 2.4.7) and morphophonological processes (see section 2.5.4 and 2.5.5) that obscure the picture with the feminine or plural morphemes.

syllable that is relevant is clear from trisyllabic verbs like *ogiwa* ‘ask’ or *arepia* ‘boil’. That the allomorphs are located after the first syllable rather than the first vowel is clear from the irrealis forms of verbs like *oba* ‘shoot’ and *oga* ‘eat’, where the allomorphs follow the VV sequence /ie/.

Table 9.3 provides several examples of the third person singular masculine object allomorph *-ne-* located after the first syllable of the verb root.

Table 9.3: The location of the singular masculine allomorph *-ne-*

| gloss          | root   | syllable boundaries | realis form with <i>-ne-</i> | irrealis form with <i>-ne-</i> |
|----------------|--------|---------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| ‘shoot’        | oba    | o.ba                | o. <u>ne</u> .ba             | ie. <u>ne</u> .ba              |
| ‘eat’          | oga    | o.ga                | o. <u>ne</u> .ga             | ie. <u>ne</u> .ga              |
| ‘carry in bag’ | dogir  | do.gir              | do. <u>ne</u> .gir           | di. <u>ne</u> .gir             |
| ‘wash’         | gakua  | ga.kua              | ga. <u>ne</u> .kua           | gi. <u>ne</u> .kua             |
| ‘break’        | goti   | go.ti               | go. <u>ne</u> .ti            | gi. <u>ne</u> .ti              |
| ‘ask’          | ogiwa  | o.gi.wa             | o. <u>ne</u> .gi.wa          | i. <u>ne</u> .gi.wa            |
| ‘boil’         | arepia | a.re.pia            | a. <u>ne</u> .re.pia         | i. <u>ne</u> .re.pia           |

Since these allomorphs always occur in a phonologically predictable location, after the first syllable of the verb root, this can be understood as evidence in favor of an infixal analysis rather than a bipartite stem analysis, at least according to the distinction maintained between the two types of analyses in Bickel & Nichols (2007: 199).

### 9.3.3 Are object allomorphs located at a morpheme boundary?

The class of verbs which select for object allomorphs that occur within the root is not a large class. There are only approximately 40 verbs in the corpus that fall into this class. About a dozen of these verbs have a consonant-initial root (e.g. *dogir* ‘carry in bag’, *nogir* ‘write’). For these verbs, the portion of the verb root preceding the object allomorph and the portion following the object allomorph have no individual meaning. This was already demonstrated for *dogir* ‘carry in bag’ in section 9.2.3, where I provided evidence that the imperfective morpheme does not occur at a morpheme boundary.

For those verb roots which are not consonant-initial (e.g. *aguti*, ‘burn’, *oga* ‘eat’, *oba* ‘shoot’), the meaning of the verb cannot be composed from the meanings provided for the portion of the root which precedes the object allomorph nor the portion that follows. For instance, when provided with *a* or *guti*, speakers do not recognize a meaning for either portion. The meaning of /a/ as a realis vowel is only recognized in the context of the full verb root. The longer portion of the verb root *guti* is not recognized as having a meaning without a realis vowel or an irrealis vowel.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup>That is not to say that the two portions of the root could not be analyzed as morphemes anyway, albeit

Despite this, it could be argued that the object allomorphs are nonetheless located with respect to this realis/irrealis morpheme boundary. Since none of the verbs that select for these object allomorphs have first syllable codas, object allomorphs always immediately follow the realis or irrealis vowel(s) in a verb (also known as mood vowels, see section 7.6). Given this distribution, there appear to be two possible analyses: (i) an analysis which locates the object allomorphs as immediately following the mood vowel, and (ii) an analysis which locates the object allomorphs as immediately following the first syllable of the verb root. Each of the analyses can account for the data available, and it is unclear what criteria should be used to select between the two analyses on the basis of the data currently available.

For the purposes of this grammar, I analyze the object allomorphs as infixes which are located after the first syllable of the verb root. This should be understood as a somewhat arbitrary choice between two acceptable competing analyses. Additional research may provide evidence in favor of one analysis over another. For now, I have chosen this analysis on the basis of economy.<sup>6</sup> In the absence of evidence necessitating distinct generalizations for predicate morpheme and object allomorph location, I consider one generalization preferable to two generalizations. Since the imperfective and additive morphemes must be analyzed as occurring after the first syllable of the verb root and this generalization can account for the object allomorph distribution as well, I have chosen an analysis with a single generalization locating both predicate morphemes and object allomorphs after the first syllable of the verb root.

---

morphemes which have no meaning of their own. However, as stated in section 9.1, I am basing my analysis on the definitions proposed by Ultan (1975), Moravcsik (2000), Yu (2007), and Bickel & Nichols (2007). Under the definition of ‘infix’ proposed by Moravcsik (2000) and Yu (2007), the fact that the portions of the verb root preceding and following the predicate morpheme do not have clearly discernible meanings of their own is relevant to an infixal analysis.

<sup>6</sup>This is admittedly is not the criterion I would prefer to use in selecting between analyses.



# Chapter 10

## Clause particles

Clause particles in Yeri can occur in three positions: (i) clause-initial position, (ii) immediately preceding the predicate the particle holds scope over, and (iii) clause-final position. While some particles can occur in all of these positions, others permit only a subset. Given this, Yeri particles can be divided into different classes on the basis of which positions they can occur in. An overview of these classes is presented in Table 10.1.<sup>1</sup> For readability, locations are abbreviated as follows: (i) CIP: clause-initial position, (ii) BP: before the predicate it holds scope over, and (iii) CF: CFP: clause-final position.

Table 10.1: An overview of clause particle classes

|                | particle | meaning             | CIP        | BP         | CFP        | occurrence per clause |
|----------------|----------|---------------------|------------|------------|------------|-----------------------|
| <b>Class 1</b> | la       | ‘past tense’        | <b>Yes</b> | <b>Yes</b> | No         | once                  |
|                | ta       | ‘future tense’      | <b>Yes</b> | <b>Yes</b> | No         | once                  |
|                | ki       | ‘already’           | <b>Yes</b> | <b>Yes</b> | No         | once                  |
|                | tomal    | ‘don’t’             | <b>Yes</b> | <b>Yes</b> | No         | once                  |
|                | ba       | ‘strong belief’     | <b>Yes</b> | <b>Yes</b> | No         | once                  |
|                | teipa    | ‘later, then’       | <b>Yes</b> | <b>Yes</b> | No         | once                  |
| <b>Class 2</b> | siwei    | ‘again, back’       | <b>Yes</b> | <b>Yes</b> | <b>Yes</b> | twice, if once is CF  |
|                | kua      | ‘still, yet, first’ | <b>Yes</b> | <b>Yes</b> | <b>Yes</b> | twice, if once is CF  |
|                | hiro     | ‘no’                | <b>Yes</b> | <b>Yes</b> | <b>Yes</b> | twice, if once is CF  |
| <b>Class 3</b> | he       | ‘continuous’        | No         | No         | <b>Yes</b> | once                  |
|                | la       | ‘assumed truth’     | No         | No         | <b>Yes</b> | once                  |
|                | mai      | ‘polar question’    | No         | No         | <b>Yes</b> | once                  |

This chapter is devoted to the description of each of these classes of particles, with information on class 1 clause particles found in section 10.1, class 2 clause particles found in section 10.2, and class 3 clause particles found in section 10.3. Section 10.4 focuses on

<sup>1</sup>Note that Yeri has several additional clause particles, but description of the remainder requires more research into their semantics and distribution.

the general ordering tendencies particles show when they co-occur in the same position. I then discuss the location of clause particles in the non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction (also referred to as the possessive ‘have’ construction, see section 4.6.5) in section 10.5 before presenting information on how the location and pronunciation of clause particles can be used as evidence to delimit clause boundaries in section 10.6.

Before I turn to the discussion of the different classes of clause particle, it is necessary to first clarify exactly what is meant by ‘clause-initial position’ and ‘clause-final position’. These are labels I use to distinguish several positions within a clause that clause particles can occur in. However, since more than one element can occur in these positions, a clause particle does not have to literally be the first or last element of a clause to be classified as occurring in clause-initial position or clause-final position. For instance, in (10.1) I would classify both particles *ta* and *hiro* as occurring in clause-initial position, despite the fact that *hiro* is not the first element in the clause.<sup>2</sup>

- (10.1) *ta hiro ŋa-n n-ikia.*  
 FUT NEG one-SG.M 3SG.M-walk.I

‘There will not be even one person who walks.’ (120613-001:432.220) RNS, LA

Additionally, given my use of the labels ‘clause-initial position’ and ‘clause-final position’, being the first or last element of a clause does not automatically mean that the clause particle is classified as occurring in clause-initial position or clause-final position. This is because Yeri frequently does not include nominal phrases for participants which are active in discourse (see section 15.1.1) and posture verbs are commonly omitted in certain constructions (see section 4.6.5). For instance, in (10.2), no subject nominal phrase occurs. For this reason, the particles *ta* and *hiro* precede the predicate they hold scope over, while literally occurring in clause-initial position. In examples like these, the particles occur in a position that could be interpreted as either preceding the predicate they hold scope over or clause-initial position.

In contexts like these, determining which position particles are located in is somewhat more complex and depends on interpreting other factors like information structure, scope, and the location of other clause particles. For instance, immediately preceding the predicate it holds scope over is the default location for class 1 particles, while clause-initial position is associated with special focus (see section 14.2.5). In this way, it is possible to nonetheless distinguish the location even where a particle can superficially be described as occurring in either location. For instance, *ta* and *hiro* are analyzed as occurring in the position immediately preceding the predicate they hold scope over in example (10.2) because there is no special focus associated with the utterance.

<sup>2</sup>When clause particles co-occur in the same location, scope determines their order with respect to each other. See section 10.4.

- (10.2) ta hiro m-iria w-o meno.  
 FUT NEG 1SG-do.I 3SG.F-COP heavy  
 ‘I will not cause trouble.’ (120524-005:776.680) RNS, JS

Similarly, since Yeri permits posture verbs to be omitted (see section 4.6.5), clause particles which usually precede these verbal predicates can occur in what is superficially clause-final position. Compare examples (10.3) and (10.4). In example (10.3), the posture verb is not omitted, and the negative particle *hiro* occurs in its default position, preceding the predicate it holds scope over. In contrast to this, the posture verb is omitted in example (10.4), and the location of the negative particle can be superficially described as clause-final position.

The non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction is analyzed as not having a predicate and to avoid misleading labels, I classify particle location in this construction in relation to the only obligatory element in the construction. This nominal phrase refers to an entity whose possession, existence, or location is being discussed. For ease of discussion, I refer to this nominal phrase as the ‘PEL nominal phrase’ (for Possession, Existentiality, and Location, see section 4.6.5) and describe particles as either preceding or following this nominal phrase.

Occurring before the PEL nominal phrase is equivalent to clause-initial position in clauses with predicates, and occurring after the PEL nominal phrase is equivalent to either occurring (i) before the predicate or (ii) occurring in clause-final position in clauses with predicates. These equivalencies are determined on the basis of comparison with the verbal variant of the posture verb construction and enable easy explanation of which particles can occur before or after the PEL nominal phrase in this construction. See section 10.5 for information specific to the location of clause particles in the non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction.

- (10.3) hem nebal hare hiro w-ir.  
 1SG tree leaf NEG 3SG.F-lie.I  
 ‘I do not have a book.’ (140312-052:1022.312) GJ, LA

- (10.4) hem nebal hare hiro.  
 1SG tree leaf NEG  
 ‘I do not have a book.’ (140312-052:1009.732) DE, LA

## 10.1 Class 1 Particles

Class 1 clause particles make up the largest class of particles and can occur in one of two positions: (i) clause-initially or (ii) preceding the predicate they hold scope over. The default position for class 1 clause particles is immediately preceding the predicate. When class 1 clause particles occur clause-initially, they often serve to delimit clauses and signal a change

in information structure, described in section 14.2.5. Unlike class 2 clause particles, class 1 clause particles can only occur once per clause.

Class 1 clause particles include: (i) the past tense particle *la*, (ii) the future tense particle *ta*, (iii) the ‘already’ particle *ki*, (iv) the prohibitive particle *tomal* or *komal*, (v) the strong subjective belief particle *ba*, and (vi) the temporal particle *teipa*. The following sections are devoted to discussion on each class 1 clause particle.

### 10.1.1 Tense particles

Yeri has two tense particles, a past tense particle *la* (see section 10.1.1.1) and a future tense particle *ta* (see section 10.1.1.2). These tense particles can be classified as class 1 clause particles and are not obligatory in future or past contexts. Rather, at least in narratives, it is common for the context to be established in the beginning of a story, either through the use of tense particles or temporal nouns (see section 3.3). Tense particles or temporal nouns may then occur later in the story as needed to change the context or re-establish it. When context has already been established, tense particles are frequently left out.

That these particles are not obligatory is clear from examples like (10.5) and (10.6). In (10.5), the speaker uses the past tense particle *la* along with a temporal noun *lahabi* ‘yesterday’ yesterday. However, when he repeats himself in (10.6), the following utterance, he is able to express the same meaning without the use of the tense particle.

- (10.5) hem lahabi    la    m-ar            ti-hewo.  
 1SG yesterday PST 1SG-go.to.R LOC-bottom  
 ‘Yesterday I went downriver.’ (120524-000:45.922) RNS, LN

- (10.6) lahabi    m-ar            ti-hewo.  
 yesterday 1SG-go.to.R LOC-bottom  
 ‘Yesterday I went downriver.’ (120524-000:50.383) RNS, LN

#### 10.1.1.1 *la* ‘past’

The clause particle *la* expresses past tense. Like Yeri’s other tense particle *ta* (see section 10.1.1.2), *la* can be classified as a class 1 clause particle in that it can occur in clause-initial position or in a position immediately preceding the predicate it holds scope over. Its default location is immediately preceding the predicate, as in (10.7)-(10.8), where it precedes a verbal predicate and a nominal predicate respectively.

- (10.7) te-i la    w-ar            nogil    ŋa-∅            w-eiwere-wa-∅            Aitape.  
 3-PL PST 3PL-go.to.R village one-SG.F 3SG.F-name.R-AUG-SG.F Aitape  
 ‘They went to Aitape.’ (120528-006:72.560) RNS, JS

- (10.8) hem m-ode-n la nigo-i.  
 1SG 1SG-and.R-SG.M PST child-PL  
 ‘Both of us were children.’ (120524-005:339.570) RNS, JS

When it occurs clause-initially it signals a shift in information structure (see section 14.2.5), as in examples (10.9)-(10.11).

- (10.9) la nejo n-iekewa- $\emptyset$ .  
 PST son 3SG.M-be.angry.R-SG.F  
 ‘Her son got angry with her.’ (120623-002:25.203) RNS, YW  
 CI: It was the son who got angry with her, not another person.

- (10.10) la nanala n-o< $\emptyset$ >ga yati n-o tumani.  
 PST alone 2SG-eat.R<SG.F> sago 2SG-stay.R building  
 ‘You (sg) ate the sago by yourself in the house.’ (120529-002:287.316) RNS, JS

- (10.11) la te- $\emptyset$  w- $\emptyset$ =lope- $\emptyset$  b-nobia.  
 PST 3-SG.F REL-SG=big-SG.F 1SG-talk.R  
 ‘When she was big, she told me.’ (120528-006:217.960) RNS, JS

### 10.1.1.2 *ta* ‘future’

The clause particle *ta* signals future tense in Yeri. Like all class 1 clause particles, *ta* can occur clause-initially, as in (10.12) or (10.13), or it can precede the predicate it holds scope over, as in (10.14) or (10.15).

- (10.12) ta nena n-ie<m>kewa- $\emptyset$ .  
 FUT father 3SG.M-be.angry.R<IPFV>-SG.F  
 ‘Father will get angry with her.’ (120608-000:206.340) RNS, JS
- (10.13) ta hebi h-ar h-dodi wdi h-ania-i hamei magil  
 FUT 1PL 1PL-go.to.R 1PL-stand.R SUB 1PL-call.R-PL people who.HUM.PL  
 ‘It will be us that go stand in order to call what people?’ (120621-001:760.797)  
 RNS, JS
- (10.14) te-n ta n-o<i>wil hamei.  
 3-SG.M FUT 3SG.M-take.R<PL> people  
 ‘It (the crocodile) will take people.’ (120520-000:192.941) RNS, AS
- (10.15) ye ta n-eiwere-wa- $\emptyset$  mimi.  
 2SG FUT 2SG-name.R-AUG-SG.F mother  
 ‘You (sg) will call your (sg) mother.’ (120518-003:301.307) RNS, LN

Although the particle *ta* signals future tense, in natural discourse, it conveys a much broader range of meanings and is frequently translated as ‘should’, ‘could’, ‘would’, ‘can’, and ‘may’ in addition to the expected ‘will’. It is common for the use of the future particle to be interpreted as indicating a suggestion or describing what someone else ‘should’ do in situations where it describes a possible future event, one which has not already been decided on. When used in contexts where a course of future action has already been decided upon, statements involving *ta* are generally interpreted as declarative statements regarding the future.

In example (10.16), for instance, the speaker tells the addressee to go and get limbum baskets, while in example (10.17), four people are discussing the coming election, and the speaker suggests to the others that they vote for a particular candidate as their third choice.

- (10.16) hem m-nobia-da-Ø,      “ye ta    n-aro    n-o<i><me>wil  
 1SG 1SG-talk-AUG-SG.F 2SG FUT 2SG-go.R 2SG-take.R<PL><IPFV>  
 nage-bia.”  
 limbum.basket-PL.  
 ‘I told her, “You (sg) go and get the limbums.”’ (120409-002:97.780) RNS, AS

- (10.17) ta    ye    y-aya-ka-n                      wia-i    ŋa-Ø.  
 FUT 2SG 2PL-give.R-AUG-SG.M two-F one-SG.F  
 ‘You (sg) will give him ‘three’.’ (120621-001:728.318) RNS, JS

Example (10.18) comes from a story about children escaping from an evil spirit. In this utterance, an old lady is telling the children what they will do in order to escape.

- (10.18) ta    y-o                      hemal-mi    y-ohorkil    y-a<me>ro.  
 FUT 2PL-stay.R night-IPFV 2PL-flee.R 2PL-go.R<IPFV>  
 ‘You (pl) will stay, and when it is night, you (pl) flee.’ (120601-008:244.305) RNS,  
 YW

Although speakers commonly use irrealis mood to express meanings like ‘should’, ‘could’, ‘would’ or ‘may’ with verbal predicates, this is not an option with non-verbal predicates. Instead, speakers use the future particle to express these meanings with non-verbal predicates, as in (10.19) and (10.20). These examples were translated by consultants from English ‘should’ statements. When further questioned, consultants indicated that the examples could be interpreted as a suggestion, a weak command, or a simple statement of fact describing what had already been decided.

- (10.19) ye    ta    yot-a-Ø.  
 2SG FUT DEM-PROX-SG.F  
 ‘You (sg) should be here.’ (140418-008:484.205) DE, LA  
 AT: ‘You will be here.’ AT: ‘You be here.’

- (10.20) ye ta yot-u- $\emptyset$ .  
 2SG FUT DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘You (sg) should be there.’ (140418-008:480.884) DE, LA  
 AT: ‘You will be there.’ AT: ‘You be there.’

This use of the future particle to indicate these types of meanings is particularly obvious when these examples are provided after an example involving the prohibitive particle (see section 10.1.3). In example (10.21), the prohibitive particle occurs indicating that the speaker believes the pig should not be given to another person. The following statement uses the future particle to express the speaker’s belief that the pig should instead belong to him. Like the examples with the demonstrative predicates, the use of the future particle can be interpreted as a suggestion or a simple declarative statement expressing the speaker’s belief or a fact about the situation. In other words, example (10.22) can indicate that the decision has been made to give the pig to the speaker and the speaker is simply stating this fact or it can be the speaker suggesting that the pig be given to him.

- (10.21) wual komal w- $\emptyset$ =de- $\emptyset$ .  
 pig PROH REL-SG=3-SG.F  
 ‘The pig won’t be hers.’ (140418-008:254.468) DE, LA
- (10.22) wual ta w-n=hem.  
 pig FUT REL-SG.M=1SG  
 ‘The pig should be mine.’ (140418-008:255.863) DE, LA  
 AT: ‘The pig will be mine.’

The use of *ta* with a nominal predicate and with an adjective predicate are provided in (10.23) and (10.24). Both of these can be interpreted as a suggestion or a simple declarative statement.

- (10.23) ye ta hamote-n w- $\emptyset$ =nabe-n.  
 2SG FUT individual-SG.M REL-SG=good-SG.M  
 ‘You (sg) should be a good person.’ (140418-008:80.478) DE, LA  
 AT: ‘You will be a good person.’
- (10.24) ye ta ma=nabe- $\emptyset$ .  
 2SG FUT IPFV=good-SG.F  
 ‘You (sg) should be good.’ (140418-008:94.818) DE, LA  
 AT: ‘You will be good.’

Although second person subjects are more common, similar examples can be found with first or third person subjects. For instance, example (14.106) has a first person subject.

- (10.25) Colin w-nobia hebi, “ta hebi ta h-aro h-ode-i.”  
 Colin 1PL-talk.R 1PL FUT 1PL FUT 1PL-go.R 1PL-and.R-i  
 ‘Colin told us, “We will go with them.”’ (120520-000:597.648) RNS, AS  
 AT: ‘Colin told us we should go with them.’

Note that examples with *ta* which are meant to convey a suggestion often show the clause particle immediately preceding the nominal phrase denoting the person receiving the suggestion, indicating focus (see section 14.2.5). For example, in (10.26) the speaker is referring to a likely trip to a larger town he has not been to before and is suggesting that the addressee, who has been to the office, show him the way. By placing the future particle before *ye* ‘you (sg)’ in the example, he indicates that the addressee, and not someone else, should show him the way.

- (10.26) ta ye aro n-b-arki-da-Ø.  
 FUT 2SG go.R 2SG-1SG-ar.R-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘You (sg) will show me the office.’ (120524-000:363.691) RNS, LN  
 AT: ‘You should show me the office.’ AT: It will be you that shows me the office.’

### 10.1.2 *ki* ‘already’

The clause particle *ki* is one of the most frequent particles in Yeri. Although the particle is commonly used to indicate that something has previously occurred, it cannot be analyzed as expressing simple past tense. This is because examples like (10.27) and (10.28), which involve the particle, are understood as referring to a current situation in the present.

- (10.27) te-i yot-u-i hobi yawi ki n-a<m>o-de-i weli.  
 3-PL DEM-MDIST-PL body tail already 3SG.M-COP.R<IPFV>-AUG-PL painful  
 ‘Those people’s bodies have started hurting them.’ (140404-025:480.239) GE-[odi], JS
- (10.28) nogolgoi w-ei=de-i nogil Yeri ki sapiten-ma yot-ua-i.  
 children REL-PL=3-PL village Yeri already many-IPFV DEM-DIST-PL  
 ‘The children from Yeri village are many now.’ (140415-022:610.483) GE-[sapitenma], LA  
 CI: Previously there were only a few children in the village.

The particle *ki* can be used in contexts that express recent past, as in (10.29), contexts that involve previous experience, as in (10.30), and contexts that express a result, as in (10.31). Furthermore, as a general rule, consultants tend to translate the particle *ki* with the English perfect or with English ‘already’.



- (10.29) maleikia ba ki      Ø-ana      w-nobia      w-o      yot-ua-Ø.  
 morning SB already 3PL-come.R 3PL-talk.R 3PL-stay.R DEM-DIST-SG.F  
 ‘This morning they came and talk there.’ (120420-000:2134.489) RNS, LA
- (10.30) ye ki      n-atr-e-Ø      tumani yot-u-Ø.  
 2SG already 2SG-see.R-AUG-SG.F building DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘You (sg) have seen the office there.’ (120524-000:354.130) RNS, LN
- (10.31) te-n ki      n-almo      yot-ua-n.  
 3-SG.M already 3SG.M-die.R DEM-DIST-SG.M  
 ‘He has died already.’ (120517-001:930.986) RNS, JS

When the particle occurs with an imperfective form of a verb, three translations are common. These are (i) ‘has been Xing’, (ii) ‘is already Xing’, and (iii) ‘is starting to X’. It is easier to see the meaning that results when *ki* and an imperfective form co-occur by comparing it to the meaning that *ki* has when it co-occurs with a bare form of the verb, a form without a predicate morpheme. Consider example (10.32) with the verb *okirkai* ‘cross river’. When questioned, consultants specify that example (10.32), with the bare form of the verb, means that the person has finished crossing the river and is on the other side of the river. In example (10.33), however, the particle *ki* occurs with the imperfective form of the same verb. When questioned, consultants specify that example (10.33) means that the person has not reached the other side of the river and is still standing somewhere in the river.

- (10.32) te-n ki      n-okirkai.  
 3-SG.M already 3SG.M-cross.river.R  
 ‘He has crossed the river.’ (140307-051:591.144) GJ, JS  
 AT: ‘He already crossed the river.’ CI: He is now on the other side of the river.
- (10.33) te-n ki      n-o<m>kirkai.  
 3-SG.M already 3SG.M-cross.river.R<IPFV>  
 ‘He is starting to cross the river.’ (140307-051:597.998) GJ, JS  
 AT: ‘He is already crossing the river.’ AT: ‘He has been crossing the river.’ CI: He is not yet on the other side of the river.

Similar pairs are provided in (10.34) and (10.35) as well as in (10.36) and (10.37). In example (10.34), where *ki* co-occurs with a bare form of the verb *gosi* ‘drain’, the consultant indicated that the woman has finished draining the contraption, while in example (10.35), where *ki* co-occurs with the imperfective form of the same verb, the consultant indicated that the woman is draining it right then and has not finished doing so. Along the same lines, in example (10.36), where *ki* co-occurs with a bare form of the verb *or* ‘lie, sleep’, the consultant indicated that the man had finished sleeping and is awake again. This is in

contrast to example (10.37), where *ki* co-occurs with the imperfective form of the verb *or* ‘lie, sleep’, and the consultant indicated that the man is still sleeping.

- (10.34) *te ki w-gosi-wa-n.*  
 3 already 3SG.F-drain-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘She has drained it.’ (140307-051:259.108) GJ, JS  
 AT: ‘She already drained it.’ CI: She has finished draining it.
- (10.35) *ki w-go<me>si-wa-n.*  
 already 3SG.F-drain.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘She has been draining it.’ (140307-051:265.991) GJ, JS  
 AT: ‘She is already draining it.’ AT: ‘She is starting to drain it.’ CI: She has not finished draining it.
- (10.36) *te-n ki n-or.*  
 3-SG.M already 3SG.M-lie.R  
 ‘He has slept.’ (140407-196:25.113) GJ, LA  
 AT: ‘He already slept.’ CI: He is awake now.
- (10.37) *te-n ki n-or<me>.*  
 3-SG.M already 3SG.M-lie.R<IPFV>.  
 ‘He has been sleeping.’ (140407-196:32.542) GJ, LA  
 AT: ‘He already was sleeping.’ AT: ‘He is starting to sleep.’ CI: He is still sleeping.

Additional examples from natural speech are given in (10.38) and (10.39) to demonstrate the particle *ki* occurring with the imperfective form of the verbs *aria* ‘do’ and *ar* ‘go’. In these examples, the action or event is interpreted as having started before the time of the utterance, but as not having been completed at the time of the utterance.

- (10.38) *hebi ki h-a<me>ria-da-∅.*  
 1PL already 1PL-do.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘We are already doing it.’ (120518-000:403.419)  
 AT: ‘We have been doing it.’ RNS, JS
- (10.39) *henei ki w-a<me>ro.*  
 blood already 3SG.F-go.R<IPFV>  
 ‘The blood is starting to flow.’ (120517-001:829.895)  
 AT: ‘The blood is already flowing.’ RNS, JS

Distinguishing between a ‘perfect’ analysis and an ‘already’ analysis can be difficult, however, given the similarity in contexts where the two meanings can occur. This difficulty is the focus of Klok & Matthewson (2015), and they summarize the problem as this: “English

*already* and the perfect aspect are acceptable in many of the same environments, since both refer to an event prior to the utterance time without relying on a specific past reference time. For instance, both *already* and the perfect can express the recent past, an experiential reading, or a result” (Klok & Matthewson 2015: 172). They go on to state, “Because of these similarities, when it comes to identifying and analyzing an element that is used in situations that meet this temporal configuration in an understudied language, there is a risk of misanalysis” (Klok & Matthewson 2015: 180). Time did not permit sufficiently detailed investigation to distinguish between an ‘already’ and a ‘perfect’ analysis. I leave this for future research. For the purposes of this grammar, I refer to the morpheme arbitrarily as the ‘already’ morpheme.

Although the clause particle *ki* appears consistent with either a perfect or an ‘already’ analysis when it occurs in past or present contexts, it does not behave as might be expected for a morpheme expressing either ‘perfect’ or ‘already’ in future contexts. While it is not common, the particle *ki* can co-occur with the future particle *ta*. When this happens, the examples do not indicate that an action or event will already be completed or will have been completed by a specific time. Examples with *ta ki* are provided in (10.40)-(10.42). Instead, most examples appear to be like (10.41), where the clause containing *ta ki* seems to express a type of purpose clause.

- (10.40) ta ki h-a<me>ria-da-i h-dar<m>ku h-dar<m>ku  
FUT already 1PL-do.R<IPFV>-AUG-PL 1PL-run.R<IPFV> 1PL-run.R<IPFV>  
yot-ua-∅.  
DEM-DIST-SG.F

‘We will be doing it very quickly then.’ (120613-000:637.198) RNS, JS

- (10.41) m-o<he>ba ta ki m-o<he>ga.  
1SG-shoot.R<SG.F> FUT already 1SG-eat.R<SG.F>

‘I shoot it so that I can eat it.’ (120620-012:541.039) RNS, KL

- (10.42) puyu w-∅=lope-∅ ta ki h-aria lolewa yot-ua-∅.  
money REL-SG=big-SG.F FUT already 1PL-do.R thing DEM-DIST-SG.F

‘With big money, we will do something then.’ (120528-002:439.510) RNS, JS

Lastly, like all class 1 clause particles, *ki* occurs in two positions, either clause-initially, as in (10.43), or immediately preceding the predicate, as in (10.44). This difference in position serves to delimit clauses and is often related to information structure (see section 14.2.5).

- (10.43) ki nebal yewal-ti yot-ua-∅ m-aya-ka-∅ mimi.  
already tree eye-SG DEM-DIST-SG.F 1SG-give.R-AUG-SG.F mother

‘It was medicine that I have given mother.’ (140404-023:1007.350) DE, LA

- (10.44) te- $\emptyset$  ki w-b-ori hem.  
 3-SG.F already 3SG.F-1SG-hit.R 1SG  
 ‘She had hit me.’ (120517-001:429.415) RNS, JS

Additional examples of the *ki* particle are presented in (10.45)-(10.49).

- (10.45) ki y-b-iekewa.  
 already 2PL-1SG-be.angry.R  
 ‘You (pl) have gotten angry with me.’ (120517-001:1587.110) RNS, JS
- (10.46) hem preiketa ki w=ilua-n.  
 1SG phone already REL=bad-SG.M  
 ‘My phone is already bad.’ (140312-052:791.613) GJ, LA  
 CI: The phone was broken at a previous time.
- (10.47) nigo-n-gon w-n=de-n yot-u-n ki n-dore.  
 child-SG.M-RED REL-SG.M=3-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M already 3SG.M-get.up.R  
 ‘His son there has gotten up.’ (120517-001:1042.532) RNS, JS  
 CI: In the story, this utterance is used to indicate that the boy has come back to life.
- (10.48) la ki  $\emptyset$ -ie< $\emptyset$ >ba mimi w- $\emptyset$ =hem, ...  
 PST already 3PL-shoot.I<SG.F> mother REL-SG.F=1SG ...  
 ‘If they had killed my mother, ...’ (120528-006:311.170) RNS, JS
- (10.49) ki maŋa-n n-b-i<m>wodi hem?  
 already what-SG.M 3SG.M-1SG-birth.I<IPFV> 1SG  
 ‘Who would have given birth to me?’ (120528-006:312.950) RNS, JS

### 10.1.3 *tomal* and *komal* ‘prohibitive’

Yeri has a special prohibitive particle *tomal*, or alternatively, *komal*. As a class 1 clause particle, the prohibitive particle can occur in one of two positions, (i) clause-initially or (ii) immediately before the predicate it holds scope over. There is a clear preference for the prohibitive particle to immediately precede the predicate, as in (10.50). When it occurs in clause-initial position, shown in (10.51), this can signify a change in information structure (see section 14.2.5).

- (10.50) ye komal n-okì hasieki-l n-a<ne>guti.  
 2SG PROH 2SG-use.R fire-PL 2SG-burn.R<SG.M>  
 ‘Don’t you (sg) cook him with the fire.’ (120405-000:151.462) RNS, AS

- (10.51) komal ye pikiapikia yot-u-Ø.  
 PROH 2SG vomit DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘You (sg) must not vomit there.’ (140418-007:615.251) DE, LA

The prohibitive particle shows a great deal of variation in pronunciation. When clearly enunciated, the particle is pronounced as either *tomal* or *komal*. However in faster speech, the first vowel can be pronounced as /o/ or /a/ and the final /l/ is often omitted. Examples demonstrating this range of pronunciation are presented in (10.52)-(10.57).

- (10.52) kɔmɛl arɔ ni<sup>m</sup>bɔwɪl mɔ<sup>n</sup>dɪniɑ.  
 komal aro n-b-owɪl m-odinia.  
 PROH go.R 2SG-1SG-take.R 1SG-how.R  
 ‘Don’t you (sg) go and do something to me.’ (120623-002:189.537) RNS, YW
- (10.53) tɔmɛl ni<sup>ɰ</sup>gani.  
 tomal n-gani.  
 PROH 2SG-dive.R  
 ‘Don’t you (sg) dive.’ (140418-007:33.576) GJ, LA
- (10.54) mimi jɛ kɔma ni<sup>ɰ</sup>gakaria tupi tupi.  
 mimi ye komal n-gakaria tupi tupi.  
 mother 2SG PROH 2SG-look.everywhere.R top top  
 ‘Mother, you (sg) don’t look around at the top of the trees.’ (120621-003:255.377)  
 RNS, AS
- (10.55) ɥasiɛkɪl tɔma nɔ<sup>m</sup>bati sipekɪ.  
 hasiekɪ-l tomal n-obati-i sipekɪ-i.  
 fire-PL PROH 2SG-kindle.R-PL little-PL  
 ‘Don’t you (sg) make a little fire.’ (120420-000:534.850) RNS, JS
- (10.56) Marinus ye tama sikisaki.  
 Marinus 2SG PROH make.noise  
 ‘Marinus, you (sg) don’t make noise.’ (120620-012:32.540) RNS, JS
- (10.57) tama namɛrɔ.  
 tomal n-a<me>ro  
 PROH 2SG-go.R<IPFV>  
 ‘Don’t (sg) go.’ (120529-001:819.632) RNS, JS

The prohibitive particle can occur with non-verbal predicates as well as verbal predicates, though examples with verbal predicates are more frequent in the corpus. Unlike verbs in non-imperative negative clauses, verbs must occur in the realis mood when they occur with the prohibitive particle. Consider examples (10.58) and (10.59), where the verbs *or* ‘lie, sleep’ and *ada* ‘chop’ occur in the realis mood.

- (10.58) tamal y-or        ti-namiagi.  
 tamal 2PL-lie.R LOC-wild  
 ‘Don’t you (pl) stay in the bush.’ (120620-012:298.255) RNS, KL

- (10.59) ye    tomal n-ade-wa-n.  
 2SG PROH 2SG-chop-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘You (sg) don’t chop it.’ (120621-004:70.880) RNS, TW

When consultants are presented with the corresponding constructed examples where the verbs are in the irrealis mood, the examples are consistently judged ungrammatical, as shown in (10.60) and (10.61).

- (10.60) \*tomal y-ir        ti-namiagi  
 PROH 2PL-lie.I LOC-wild  
 ‘‘Don’t you (pl) stay in the bush.’ (140418-007:11.622) GJ, LA

- (10.61) \*ye    tomal n-ide-wa-n  
 2SG PROH 2SG-chop.I-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘‘Don’t you (sg) chop it.’ (140418-007:14.915) GJ, LA

While second person subjects are the most common, the prohibitive particle can occur with first person and third person subjects. In (10.62)-(10.66) the prohibitive particle occurs with first person subjects, while in (10.67)-(10.69), it occurs with third person subjects. The prohibitive particle in combination with first or third person subjects is typically translated into English as ‘must not’ or ‘should not’.

- (10.62) tomal h-o        h-o.  
 PROH 1PL-stay.R 1PL-stay.R  
 ‘We must not stay and stay.’ (120620-012:269.428) RNS, KL

- (10.63) komal h-eita        h-aro.  
 PROH 1PL-go.somewhere.R 1PL-go.R  
 ‘We must not wander around.’ (120613-001:265.000) RNS, LA

- (10.64) tomal m-gani.  
 PROH 1SG-dive.R  
 ‘I shouldn’t dive.’ (140418-007:44.939) DE, LA

- (10.65) hebi komal Ø-okirkai        wul.  
 1PL PROH 1PL-cross.river.R water  
 ‘We must not cross the river.’ (140418-007:140.826) DE, LA

- (10.66) tama m-odi- $\emptyset$  wan wan hiro.  
 PROH 1SG-and.R-SG.F heart heart NEG  
 ‘I must know a lot.’ (120518-001:217.979) RNS, JS  
 LT: ‘I must not know nothing.’
- (10.67) tomal w-gani.  
 PROH 3SG.F-dive.R  
 ‘She shouldn’t dive.’ (140418-007:49.896) DE, LA
- (10.68) likil komal sibelial.  
 long.bamboo PROH long  
 ‘The bamboo must not be too long.’ (140418-007:318.272) GJ, LA
- (10.69) komal likil sibelial.  
 PROH long.bamboo long  
 ‘The bamboo must not be too long.’ (140418-007:350.087) GJ, LA

Examples of the prohibitive particle occurring with non-verbal predicates are presented in (10.70)-(10.76). Note that it is common, though not obligatory, for a lack of subject to be interpreted as second person, as in (10.70), with the ideophone predicate *milmual* ‘shift’.

- (10.70) tama milmual.  
 PROH shift  
 ‘Don’t you (sg) move around.’ (120620-012:46.528) RNS, JS

The prohibitive particle occurs with genitive predicates in (10.71) and (10.72), an adjective predicate in (10.73), and a nominal predicate in (10.74).

- (10.71) wual komal w- $\emptyset$ =de- $\emptyset$ .  
 pig PROH REL-SG=3-SG.F  
 ‘The pig should not be hers.’ (140418-008:254.468) DE, LA
- (10.72) komal harkroki w- $\emptyset$ =de-i.  
 PROH chicken REL-SG=3-PL  
 ‘The chickens should not be theirs.’ (140418-007:605.850) DE, LA
- (10.73) ye komal w=ilua- $\emptyset$ .  
 2SG PROH REL=bad-SG.F  
 ‘Don’t you (sg) be bad.’ (140418-008:93.273) DE, LA
- (10.74) ye komal hamote-n w=ilua-n.  
 2SG PROH individual-SG.M REL=bad-SG.M  
 ‘Don’t you (sg) be a bad person.’ (140418-008:78.842) DE, LA

Examples (10.75) and (10.76) illustrate the prohibitive particle with demonstratives in their locative use.

- (10.75) tomal yot-u- $\emptyset$ .  
 PROH DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘Don’t you (sg or pl) be there.’ (140418-007:254.488) GJ, LA

- (10.76) ye komal yot-a- $\emptyset$ .  
 2SG PROH DEM-PROX-SG.F  
 ‘Don’t you (sg) be here.’ (140418-007:260.471) GJ, LA

#### 10.1.4 *ba* ‘strong belief’

Yeri has a particle *ba* which encodes high subjective speaker certainty, similar to that described by Conrad & Lukas (1995) for Mufian, another Torricelli language. Conrad describes the Mufian form *a*’ as “encod[ing] the strong affirmation of the speaker that his statement is true” (Conrad & Lukas 1995: 105). The Yeri particle behaves similarly in this regard.

Examples (10.77) and (10.78) demonstrate the use of this particle. In both cases, the speaker is able to assert the truth of the statement due to direct experience.

- (10.77) ba m-dawialta nadi.  
 SB 1SG-fear.R very  
 ‘I was very afraid.’ (120524-005:578.140) RNS, JS
- (10.78) ba wan w-n=hem hiro n-o meno nadi.  
 SB heart REL-SG.M=1SG NEG 3SG.M-COP.R heavy very  
 ‘But my heart no, I feel very heavy.’ (120524-005:406.008) RNS, JS  
 LT: ‘Certainly, my heart, no, it is very heavy.’

While it is common for the speaker to use this particle when describing an event directly witnessed, this is not a requirement. In example (10.79), the speaker is a judge discussing a land dispute. Although the judge was not there at the time of the disturbance, the testimonies by people who were there is sufficient for the use of the particle by a Yeri speaker describing the judge’s words.

- (10.79) ba yem, yem la y-dorpi yot-ua- $\emptyset$ .  
 SB 2PL 2PL PST 2PL-fight.R DEM-DIST-SG.F  
 ‘For sure, you (pl) did fight there.’ (120524-005:256.502) RNS, JS



As a class 1 clause particle *ba* can occur in clause-initial position, as in (10.80), or in a position immediately preceding the predicate it holds scope over, as in (10.81). For information on the meaning of this change in position, see section 14.2.5.

- (10.80) *ba mami ki m-o<he>ba he.*  
 SB female.ancestor already 1SG-shoot.R<SG.F> CNT  
 ‘For sure, old gran, I have shot her already.’ (120623-002:164.619) RNS, YW

- (10.81) *te-n ba ki n-o yot-ua-n.*  
 3-SG.M SB already 3SG.M-stay.R DEM-DIST-SG.M  
 ‘He for sure was staying there.’ (120623-000:282.790) RNS, YW

Additional examples of *ba* are provided in (10.82)-(10.85).

- (10.82) *ba w-ei=de-i he.*  
 SB REL-PL=3-PL CNT  
 ‘For sure, it is theirs.’ (120608-000:310.33) RNS, JS

- (10.83) *gulgul ba pui yot-ua-n la, pui.*  
 thump SB grasshopper DEM-DIST-SG.M right grasshopper  
 ‘Gulgul, it is definitely a grasshopper, a grasshopper.’ (140213-025:180.465) GE-[gulgul], LA

- (10.84) *wdi hiro, ba hem ki hiro m-ie yot-a-∅ hiro.*  
 SUB NEG SB 1SG already NEG 1SG-stay.I DEM-PROX-SG.F NEG  
 ‘If not, I would not be here.’ (120528-006:293.33) RNS, JS

- (10.85) *ba hebi la hiro ∅-iwa nogil ŋa-∅ papi h-ina hiro.*  
 SB 1PL PST NEG 1PL-be.from.I village one-SG.F only 1PL-come.I NEG  
 ‘Certainly, we did not come from one village.’ (120528-001:234.071) RNS, JS

### 10.1.5 *teipa* ‘then, later’

Yeri has a clause particle *teipa* that expresses the meaning ‘later, then’. Like other class 1 clause particles it can occur in clause-initial position or in a position immediately preceding the predicate it holds scope over. In (10.86)-(10.88), *teipa* occurs clause-initially, while in (10.89) and (10.90) it precedes the predicate it holds scope over.

- (10.86) *teipa yem y-a<me>ya.*  
 then 2PL 2PL-give.I<IPFV>  
 ‘Then you (pl) will plant it.’ (120623-002:325.725) RNS, YW

- (10.87) teipa hem ta aro m-a<me>ya-ka-i puyu.  
 then 1SG FUT go.R 1SG-give.R<IPFV>-AUG-PL money  
 ‘Later I’ll go to give them money.’ (120621-003:34.840) RNS, AS
- (10.88) teipa niagil niagil Ø-a<me>ro Ø-gor<me>di-da-n.  
 then together together 3PL-go.R<IPFV> 3PL-follow.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘Then they will all together go after him.’ (120416-000:228.940) RNS, LA
- (10.89) te-i teipa Ø-o<he>mo.  
 3-PL then 3PL-eat.R<SG.F>  
 ‘Then they’ll eat.’ (120620-006:36.780) GE-[garewa la], JS
- (10.90) toyiki ŋa-Ø nogolgoi w-ei=de-i teipa Ø-da<me>tiki.  
 tomorrow one-SG.F children REL-PL=3-PL then 3PL-be.happy.R<IPFV>  
 ‘Later, in the future, their children later will be happy.’ (120503-000:370.263) RNS, JS

The particle can also be pronounced as *pa*, shown in (10.91) and (10.92). When *teipa* is shortened to *pa* it is homophonous with the shortened pronunciation of *hepa*, the additive form of the clause particle *he* (see section 10.3.1). The two particles can always be distinguished, however, based on position. While *he* is a class 3 clause particle and always occurs clause-finally, *teipa* is a class 1 clause particle and never occurs clause-finally.

- (10.91) tojiki maleikia pa narə nərmimia.  
 toyiki maleikia pa n-aro n-or<m>kemia-Ø.  
 tomorrow morning then 2SG-go.R 2SG-wait<IPFV>-SG.F  
 ‘Tomorrow morning then you (sg) may go and watch for it.’ (120623-002:89.867) RNS, YW
- (10.92) ja<sup>ɲ</sup>gutɪ jamirepia jəuɛmə  
 y-a<Ø>gutɪ y-a<Ø><me>repia y-o<he>mo  
 2PL-a.R<SG.F> 2PL-boil.R<SG.F><IPFV> 2PL-eat.R.IPfV<SG.F>  
 ji<sup>ɲ</sup>dəmasia pa jamina.  
 y-d-o<ma>sia pa y-a<me>na.  
 2PL-MDL-swell<IPFV> then 2PL-come.R<IPFV>  
 ‘You (pl) cook it first and eat it and then you (pl) will come.’ (120420-000:1880.987) RNS, JS

Lastly, *teipa* in its shortened version can undergo regressive vowel harmony and be pronounced as /po/, shown in examples (10.93)-(10.95). Unlike Yeri tense particles though (see section 13.1.1.2), which undergo regressive vowel harmony with a variety of verbs, the assimilated variant of *teipa* is infrequent with all verbs except *dore* ‘get up’. For more information on regressive vowel harmony in Yeri, see section 2.5.1.

- (10.93) ti pɔ dɔɾɛ.  
 te-∅ pa dore.  
 3-SG.F then get.up.R  
 ‘She got up then.’ (120517-001:253.020) RNS, JS
- (10.94) juta nɔ<sup>ɟ</sup>guɛl pɔ dɔɾɛ iɛmua wili.  
 yuta nogual po ∅-dore ∅-ie<m>kewa Wili.  
 woman PL then 3PL-get.up 3PL-be.angry.R<IPFV> Willy  
 ‘The girls then got up and got angry at Willy.’ (120520-000:204.554) RNS, AS
- (10.95) nɔɾmia, pɔ dɔlmɛ<sup>m</sup>bi nɔɾmia.  
 n-ormia, po dol<me>bi n-ormia.  
 2SG-stay.R.IPFV then be.hungry.R<IPFV> 2SG-stay.R.IPFV  
 ‘You (sg) stay, and then you (sg) will be hungry staying.’ (120620-005:52.680)  
 GE-[noga la], JS

Additional examples of *teipa* in natural discourse are provided in (10.96)-(10.98).

- (10.96) m-oniga teipa m-nobia pirsakai w-∅=hem.  
 1SG-sing.R then 1SG-talk.R legend REL-SG.F=1SG  
 ‘I will sing and then I’ll tell my story.’ (120518-003:19.245) RNS, LN
- (10.97) teipa te-i w-go<me>wil-a-∅.  
 then 3-PL 3PL-count.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘Later they’ll count.’ (120613-001:313.410) RNS, JS
- (10.98) woga w-∅=de-n pa dore w-oki hasieki-l  
 older.sister REL-SG=3-SG.M then get.up 3SG.F-use.R fire-PL  
 w-o<i>wil.  
 3SG.F-take.R<PL>  
 ‘His big sister got up and took the fire.’ (120517-001:55.250) RNS, JS

## 10.2 Class 2 particles

Class 2 clause particles can occur in clause-initial position, in a position immediately preceding the predicate they hold scope over, and in clause-final position. Unlike class 1 or class 3 clause particles, the same class 2 clause particle often occurs in two positions within the same clause. When this happens, one of those two positions must be clause-final position. Regardless of how many times the same class 2 particle occurs in a clause, the same meaning is expressed. There are three clause particles which can be classified as class 2 clause particles: (i) *siwei* ‘again, back’, (ii) *kua* ‘still, yet, first’, and (iii) *hiro* ‘no’. Unlike *hiro*, the particles

*siwei* and *kua* show a difference in pronunciation when they occur in any non-clause-final position. Each class 2 clause particle is discussed in turn.

### 10.2.1 *siwei* ‘back, again’

Yeri has a class 2 clause particle *siwei* which means ‘back’, as in returning to a place, and ‘again’, as in repeating an action. It can occur once or twice in the same clause and expresses the same meaning regardless of whether it occurs once or twice. Whenever this particle occurs in clause-final position it is pronounced as *siwei* or *silei*, and whenever it occurs in clause-initial position or preceding the predicate it holds scope over, the particle is pronounced as *si*.

In example (10.99), the particle occurs preceding the predicate and in clause-final position, and both pronunciations of the particle can be seen.

- (10.99) *si*    *h-a<me>na*                      *silei*.  
           again 1PL-come.R<IPFV> again  
           ‘We came back.’ (120606-000:452.159) RNS, JS

In example (10.100) *siwei* ‘again, back’ occurs only in clause-initial position preceding the subject nominal phrase *wul* ‘water, river’, while in example (10.101) the particle only precedes the predicate it holds scope over. In example (10.102), the particle *siwei* only occurs in clause-final position.

- (10.100) *si*    *wul*    *n-ar<ma>*                      *da<m>wil*    *da<m>wil*  
           again water 3SG.M-arrive.R<IPFV> hang.R<IPFV> hang.R<IPFV>  
           *da<m>wil*    *aro*    *no*    *hemal-mi*.  
           hang.R<IPFV> go.R until night-IPFV  
           ‘The raindrops fell again and again until it was night.’ (120623-007:692.972) RNS,  
           TW

- (10.101) *h-ormia*                      *si*    *h-d-alolia*                      *h-a<me>na*.  
           1PL-stay.R.IPFV again 1PL-REFL-turn.R 1PL-come.R<IPFV>  
           ‘We stayed there and came back.’ (120606-000:45.486) RNS, JS

- (10.102) *ki*            *m-dore*                      *siwei*.  
           already 1SG-get.up.R again  
           ‘I’m alive again.’ (120517-001:1036.859) RNS, JS  
           CI: This utterances comes from a story where a boy is brought back to life.

Note that some Yeri speakers pronounce the particle as *silei* in clause-final position rather than *siwei*. This variant is demonstrated in example (10.103)..

- (10.103)  $\emptyset$ -ormia Yamia siwei.  
 3PL-stay.R.IPFV Yamia.hamlet again  
 ‘They are staying at Yamia again.’ (120712-003:401.560) RNS, PM

Several additional examples from natural discourse illustrating the use of *siwei* ‘again, back’ are provided in (10.104)-(10.108).

- (10.104) ta m-nobia pirsakai ŋa- $\emptyset$  siwei.  
 FUT 1SG-talk.R legend one-SG.F again  
 ‘I will tell a story again.’ (120623-002:11.200) RNS, YW
- (10.105) ta si yuta nogual ta si  $\emptyset$ -ana, yem ta y-a<me>ro.  
 FUT again woman PL FUT again 3PL-come.R 2PL FUT 2PL-go.R<IPFV>  
 ‘When the women come back, you (pl) will go.’ (120416-000:111.697) RNS, JS
- (10.106) n-asor-e- $\emptyset$  si n-o<he>wil n-alia- $\emptyset$ .  
 3SG.M-rinse.R-AUG-SG.F again 3SG.M-take.R<SG.F> 3SG.M-drop.R-SG.F  
 ‘He wipes his sweat, and again he throws it.’ (120517-001:1432.87) RNS, JS
- (10.107) n-da<m>ore yot-u-n si palpal ana do<me>di  
 3SG.M-get.up.R<IPFV> DEM-MDIST-SG.M again fly come.R stand.R<IPFV>  
 hewo yot-u-n.  
 bottom DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
 ‘He got up from there, he flew back to stand on the ground.’ (120517-001:1895.68)  
 RNS, JS
- (10.108) si n-a<me>ro.  
 again 3SG.M-go.R<IPFV>  
 ‘He went back.’ (120517-001:1928.016) RNS, JS

### 10.2.2 *kua* ‘still, first, yet’

The class 2 clause particle *kua* expresses a range of related meanings including ‘still, yet, first’. Like all class 2 particles, it can occur once or twice within the same clause. When it occurs in clause-final position it is pronounced as *kua* [kua], but when it occurs in clause-initial position or preceding the predicate it holds scope over, it is pronounced as *ko* [kɔ]. In example (10.109), the particle occurs clause-initially, while in example (10.110) it occurs preceding the predicate it holds scope over and in clause-final position. Note that when it occurs more than once in the same clause, one occurrence must be in clause-final position.

- (10.109) ko hiro hebi h-oti-wa- $\emptyset$  hiro.  
 still NEG 1PL 1PL-hold-AUG-SG.F NEG  
 ‘We still didn’t hold it.’ (120606-000:234.820) RNS, JS

- (10.110) te-n ko hamote-n kua.  
 3-SG.M still individual-SG.M still  
 ‘He’s a person still.’ (140418-010:48.691) GJ, LA

Although the particle *kua* ‘still, yet, first’ frequently occurs twice in the same clause, it is also common for it to occur only once. Consider (10.111)-(10.113). In example (10.111), the particle only occurs in clause-initial position. In example (10.112), it only precedes the predicate it holds scope over. In example (10.113), the particle occurs only clause-finally.

- (10.111) ko yem y-iemal-de-∅.  
 first 2PL 2PL-hear.R.IPFV-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘First you (pl) hear it.’ (120621-001:291.168) RNS, JS
- (10.112) mimi w-∅=hem male ko hiro w-∅=lope-∅, nego.  
 mother REL-SG.F=1SG also still NEG REL-SG=big-SG.F daughter  
 ‘My mother also she still was not big, she was a child.’ (120528-006:66.586) RNS, JS
- (10.113) m-oniga kua.  
 1SG-sing.R first  
 ‘I will sing first.’ (120518-003:16.895) RNS, LN

Examples (10.114)-(10.120) are provided to demonstrate the range of meaning signaled by *kua*. The particle expresses the meaning ‘still’ in (10.114)-(10.116), ‘first’ in (10.117) and (10.118), and ‘yet’ in (10.119) and (10.120).

- (10.114) ko w-dodi kua.  
 still 3SG.F-stand.R still  
 ‘She still stood there.’ (120621-004:118.6) RNS, TW
- (10.115) awo ko maleikia-pi kua.  
 yes still morning-ADD still  
 ‘Yes, it is still morning.’ (140404-023:1994.434) GE-[maleikiapi] LA
- (10.116) ko nogolgoi kua.  
 still children still  
 ‘(They) are children still.’ (120518-001:340.54) RNS, JS
- (10.117) ko n-o kua.  
 still 2SG-stay.R yet  
 ‘You (sg) stay first.’ (120524-000:496.445) RNS, LN

- (10.118) ko n-aro n-o<ma>di-a-Ø kua, w-d-a<m>wo.  
 first 2SG-go.R 2SG-make.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F first 3SG.F-MDL-set.R<IPFV>  
 ‘You (sg) go build it first and then it will be there.’ (120623-002:88.275) RNS, YW
- (10.119) hebi ta hiro ko h-ina kua.  
 1PL FUT NEG yet 1PL-come.I yet  
 ‘We won’t come yet.’ (120524-000:668.276) RNS, LN
- (10.120) ye ko hiro n-iedi tumani ŋa-Ø kua.  
 2SG yet NEG 2SG-make.I building one-SG.F yet  
 ‘You (sg) have not built a house yet.’ (120522-002:403.714) RNS, JS

### 10.2.3 *hiro* ‘no’

The particle *hiro* ‘no’ is discussed here due to its status as a clause particle, but the discussion is brief because there is more detailed discussion in chapter 11 on negation. As a class 2 clause particle *hiro* ‘no’ can occur once or twice within the same clause. When the negative particle occurs twice, one of these positions must be clause-final, as shown in (10.121) and (10.122). Unlike the other class 2 clause particles *siwei* ‘again, back’ (see section 10.2.1) and *kua* ‘still, yet, first’ (see section 10.2.2), *hiro* is pronounced the same regardless of whether it occurs clause-initially, preceding the predicate it holds scope over, or clause-finally.

- (10.121) ta hiro nebal-gi tiawa-i w-ero Ø-ikirkai hiro.  
 FUT NEG tree-PL short-PL 3PL-go.I 3PL-cross.river.I NEG  
 ‘The cars won’t cross over.’ (120606-000:177.451) RNS, JS
- (10.122) hebi ta hiro h-y-ikirki ye hiro.  
 1PL FUT NEG 1PL-2-help.I 2SG NEG  
 ‘We will not help you (sg).’ (120621-001:267.085) RNS, AS

Like the other class 2 clause particles, *hiro* ‘no’ does not need to occur twice in the same clause. When it occurs only once within a clause, it usually occurs in either clause-initial position or before the predicate it holds scope over. In example (10.123), the particle occurs clause-initially. In example (11.31), it occurs preceding the predicate it holds scope over.

- (10.123) ta hiro ŋa-n n-ikia.  
 FUT NEG one-SG.M 3SG.M-walk.I  
 ‘There will not be even one person who walks.’ (120613-001:432.220) RNS, LA
- (10.124) puyu w-Ø=de-i, ta hiro m-girkil-da-n.  
 money REL-SG.F=3-PL FUT NEG 1SG-go.over.I-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘Their money, I won’t jump over it.’ (120601-012:386.282) RNS, YW

While it is acceptable for *hiro* ‘no’ to occur only in clause-final position, as in (10.125), this is not common. Furthermore, unlike *siwei* ‘again, back’ and *kua* ‘still, yet, first’, most examples of *hiro* in clause-final position express a different meaning, specifically surprise, wonder, or intensity. Section 11.8 is devoted to the description of this non-negating use of *hiro*.

- (10.125) n-atia        siweya        mayi        lolewa hiro.  
           3SG.M-see.R siweya.yam mayi.yam thing NEG  
           ‘He saw yams and things, no way.’ (120623-002:274.175) RNS, YW

Technically, examples where a single instance of *hiro* occurs in what is superficially clause-final position can signal negation, as in (10.127). However, to describe the location of the negative particle in examples like these as clause-final position is somewhat misleading. Examples where this occurs involve the non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction, also referred to as the possessive ‘have’ construction (see section 4.6.5). The position of *hiro* in these examples is equivalent to immediately preceding the predicate in the verbal variant (see section 7.7.1.4), and the non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction may have arisen through the omission of this posture verb predicate.

This equivalency is easier to see when the verbal variant of the construction is directly compared to the non-verbal variant. Examples (10.126) and (10.127) provide an example of corresponding verbal and non-verbal variants. In the verbal variant, shown in example (10.126), *hiro* immediately precedes the posture verb *or* ‘lie, sleep’. In the non-verbal variant, shown in example (10.127), there is no predicate for *hiro* to precede. In fact, I do not analyze the non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction as having a predicate (see section 4.4).

- (10.126) hem nebal hare hiro w-ir.  
           1SG tree leaf NEG 3SG.F-lie.I  
           ‘I do not have a book.’ (140312-052:1022.312) GJ, LA
- (10.127) hem nebal hare hiro.  
           1SG tree leaf NEG  
           ‘I do not have a book.’ (140312-052:1009.732) DE, LA

To avoid the use of misleading labels in this context I do not describe clause particle location in the non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction with the labels (i) ‘clause-initial position’, (iii) ‘immediately preceding the predicate’, and (iii) ‘clause-final position’. I instead use labels specific to this construction which revolve around the only nominal phrase that is obligatory in the construction. Clause particles can either precede or follow this nominal phrase, and those particles which can precede the predicate in other clauses or



occur in clause-final position in other clauses can occur following this nominal phrase in the non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction. The location of clause particles in the non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction is the focus of section 10.5.

The particle *hiro* is unusual in its ability to occur with predicate morphemes (see chapter 8). The only other particle which permits predicate morphemes is *he* (see section 10.3.1). For more information on the occurrence of predicate morphemes on particles, see section 8.5.2.2.

Lastly, although the prohibitive particle is the typical way to express negative imperatives (see section 10.1.3), it is possible to express a similar meaning with the use of the future particle *ta* (see section 10.1.1.2) and the negative particle *hiro*. In (10.128)-(10.131), the future particle and the negative particle co-occur to express strong suggestions or weak imperative meaning. Unlike with the prohibitive particle, each of these examples can also be interpreted as simple declarative sentences.

- (10.128) ye ta hiro n-gini.  
 2SG FUT NEG 2SG-dive.I  
 ‘You (sg) will not dive.’ (140418-007:198.278) DE, LA  
 AT: ‘You (sg) should not dive.’ AT: ‘Don’t you (sg) dive’
- (10.129) ye ta hiro n-ikirkai wul.  
 2SG FUT NEG 2SG-cross.river.I water  
 ‘You (sg) will not cross the river.’ (140418-007:201.241) DE, LA  
 AT: ‘You should not cross the river.’ AT: Don’t you (sg) cross the river.
- (10.130) hebi ta hiro Ø-ir.  
 1PL FUT NEG 1PL-lie.I  
 ‘We will not sleep.’ (140418-007:205.449) DE, LA  
 AT: ‘We should not sleep.’
- (10.131) w-nobia-da-i, “toyomial y-aro hemal. ta hiro y-ir.”  
 3SG.F-talk.R-AUG-PL today 2PL-go.R night FUT NEG 2PL-lie.I  
 ‘She told them, “Today you (pl) go at night, You (pl) will not sleep.”’ (120601-008:240.683) RNS, YW  
 AT: ‘She told them, “Today you (pl) go at night. You (pl) should not sleep.”’  
 AT: She told them, “Today you (pl) go at night. You (pl) don’t sleep.”’

### 10.3 Class 3 particles

Unlike class 1 particles and class 2 particles, class 3 clause particles only occur in clause-final position. Class 3 clause particles include: (i) *he* ‘continuous’, (ii) *la* ‘assumed truth’

(homophonous with the past tense particle), and (iii) *mai* ‘polar question’. Each particle in turn is discussed in the following sections.

### 10.3.1 *he* ‘continuous’

There is a common class 3 clause particle in Yeri, *he*, which has several meanings, including one which indicates that an action or event is ongoing and one which indicates a meaning similar to ‘it is okay if X happens’ or ‘let X happen’. I refer to this as a ‘continuous’ particle because continuous appears to cover many of its uses. However, the function of the particle is not entirely clear and there are many examples which do not fit these meanings. As a class 3 clause particle, *he* always occurs in clause-final position. In example (10.132) the particle occurs with the verb *or* ‘lie, sleep’ to indicate that the speaker is currently sleeping inside a river (i.e. under the water).

- (10.132) *hem m-or mani he.*  
 1SG 1SG-lie.R inside CNT  
 ‘I am sleeping inside.’ (120517-001:445.480) RNS, JS  
 CI: This comes from a legend where a boy is telling his father that he was buried under the river.

Additional examples are presented in (10.133)-(10.138). In example (10.133), the particle *he* occurs with the verbal predicate *iepou nihewo* to indicate that the man is currently rolling tobacco, while in example (10.134), the particle occurs with the imperfective form of a verb *o* ‘be, stay, live’ to indicate that the son is currently staying in the men’s house. In example (10.135), the particle *he* takes scope over a genitive predicate. The particle may frequently be translated as ‘now’. However, it can occur with the past tense particle *la* (see section 10.1.1.1), as in (10.136)-(10.138), indicating that it should not be understood as expressing present tense.

- (10.133) *te-n n-iepou nihewo he.*  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-roll.R smoke CNT  
 ‘He is rolling smokes now.’ (140307-051:141.203) GJ, JS
- (10.134) *nigo-n-gon yot-u-n n-ormia he.*  
 child-SG.M-RED DEM-MDIST-SG.M 3SG.M-stay.R.IPFV CNT  
 ‘And that son is staying there now.’ (120517-001:2426.060) RNS, JS
- (10.135) *ba w-ei=de-i he.*  
 SB REL-PL=3-PL CNT  
 ‘For sure, it is theirs now.’ (120608-000:310.33) RNS, JS

- (10.136) peigilia-i la Ø-or nibera he, Ø-or nibera.  
 some-PL PST 3PL-lie.R bush CNT 3PL-lie.R bush  
 ‘Some of them, they were sleeping in the bush.’ (120623-007:727.270) RNS, TW
- (10.137) hiloki-l la sapiten he.  
 taro-PL PST many CNT  
 ‘The taros were many.’ (140415-021:1348.950) GE-[ɣami], LA  
 CI: The following utterance indicates that only one remains now.
- (10.138) la hemal-mi maltai he?  
 PST night-IPFV maybe CNT  
 ‘It was at night maybe?’ (120420-000:222.340) RNS, JS

This particle is very common with nominal predicates made up of temporal nominal phrases (see section 4.6.1.3), as in the previous example in (10.138) and examples (10.139) and (10.140). When this happens, the non-verbal clause specifies that an action or event happened during that time period (e.g. in the morning, in the afternoon, at night). In example (10.139), the use of *he* follows the temporal noun *laharia* ‘two days before’ to indicate that it was during the day before yesterday that they left the pot in the water. In example (10.140), the use of *he* following the temporal nominal phrase *hemal tiawa* indicates that the car came and waited during the early morning. Note that when the particle occurs with imperfective or additive morphemes, it does not appear to express any meaning beyond that associated with the imperfective or additive morpheme (see section 8.5.2.2 for discussion).

- (10.139) laharia he la h-alia-n n-d-awo wul.  
 2.days.before CNT PST 1PL-drop.R-SG.M 3SG.M-MDL-set.R water  
 ‘It was the day before yesterday. We set it in the river.’ (120529-002:653.948)  
 RNS, TW
- (10.140) hemal tiawa-n he, nebal tiawa-i Ø-a<me>na Ø-do<me>di.  
 night short-SG.M CNT tree short-PL 3PL-come.R<IPFV> 3PL-stand.R<IPFV>  
 ‘It was early morning, and the car came and waited.’ (120524-005:428.725) RNS,  
 JS  
 AT: ‘In the early morning, the car came and waited.’

Although I refer to the particle as a continuous particle because it can sometimes indicate that an action of an event is ongoing, this particle has other functions which are unclear. In these other uses, it does not indicate that an action of event is ongoing. For instance, when the particle *he* occurs with the class 1 clause particle *ki* ‘already’ (see section 10.1.2), the action or event is assumed to have been completed. The utterance is often translated

with ‘already, as shown in (10.141)-(10.144). It is unclear what meaning the particle *he* contributes in examples like these.

- (10.141) te-n ki n-almo he.  
 3-SG.M already 3SG.M-die.R CNT  
 ‘He has died already.’ (120517-001:753.312) RNS, JS
- (10.142) te-n ki n-ohorkil n-aro he.  
 3-SG.M already 3SG.M-flee.R 3SG.M-go.R CNT  
 ‘He has run away already.’ (120608-003:561.198) RNS, JS
- (10.143) puyu la ki n-aya-ka-n he.  
 money PST already 3SG.M-give.R-AUG-SG.M CNT  
 ‘Money, he has given him (it) already.’ (120420-000:1063.362) RNS, JS
- (10.144) te-n nigo-n-gon w-Ø=de-n yot-u-n ki  
 3-SG.M child-SG.M-RED REL-SG=3-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M already  
 n-ana he.  
 3SG.M-come.R CNT  
 ‘His boy has come already.’ (120517-001:1222.159) RNS, JS

Consultants also describe the particle *he* as alternatively expressing a meaning like ‘it is okay that X happens’ or ‘let X happen’ when the particle occurs on its own. This use of *he* is a common way to respond when someone is describing an action about to be taken by another person. For instance, the utterance in example (10.145) can be said when a man is about to leave, especially if someone suggests that the man should not go. Similarly, example (10.146) can be said when discussing someone who wants to remain in a particular location, and example (10.147) can be said when someone wants to go wash several items.

- (10.145) te-n n-aro he.  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-go.R CNT  
 ‘Let him go.’ (140408-213:27.685) GE-[he], LA  
 AT: ‘He can go.’
- (10.146) paki n-ormia he.  
 paki 3SG.M-stay.R.IPFV now  
 ‘Let him stay there.’ (120621-001:449.436) RNS, TW
- (10.147) paki aro ga<i><me>kua he.  
 paki go.R wash.R<PL><IPFV> CNT  
 ‘Let him go and wash them.’ (120621-001:652.522) RNS, YM

Examples from spontaneous speech illustrating this use of *he* are provided in (10.148) and (10.149).

- (10.148) y-a<me>ya-ka-n                      he    ...  
 2PL-give.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.M CNT ...  
 ‘You (pl) may give it to him ...’ (120621-001:742.158) RNS, JS  
 CI: The following utterance says it is the addressee’s decision whether to give something to the man.

- (10.149) y-b-ie<m>kewa                      he.  
 2PL-1SG-be.angry.R<IPFV> CNT  
 ‘You (pl) can get angry with me.’ (120517-001:1588.615) RNS, JS

Unlike all other particles besides *hiro*, *he* can occur with predicate morphemes, imperfective *-ma* and additive *-pa*. For more information on the occurrence of predicate morphemes on particles, see section 8.5.2.2.

### 10.3.2 *la* ‘assumed truth’

Another class 3 clause particle *la* expresses the assumption that the speaker previously believed a proposition to be true, but something suggests the speaker may have been wrong in this assumption. The use of this particle indicates that the speaker is now specifically questioning the truth of the proposition that was previously assumed to be true. It may be used when the speaker knows the proposition is now false or when the speaker believes the proposition may still be true. I refer to this particle as an ‘assumed truth’ particle. Like other class 3 clause particles it occurs only once per clause and is located in clause-final position. Note that the meaning of the particle is such that it frequently co-occurs with the class 1 clause particle *ba* ‘strong belief’ (see section 10.1.4), as in examples (10.151) and (10.152).

In example (10.150), the speaker questions why a group of people are sitting because, as he states in the following utterance shown in example (10.151), he thought that group of people had already left. The speaker uses the class 3 clause particle *la* in the second utterance to indicate that he had assumed that the group had already left, but this assumption has been proven wrong.

- (10.150) te-i yot-u-i                      paki Ø-o?  
 3-PL DEM-MDIST-PL paki 3PL-stay.R  
 ‘Why are those there sitting?’ (120620-006:16.780) GE-[la], JS
- (10.151) ba Ø-nobia    ki                      Ø-aro    la.  
 SB 1PL-talk.R already 3PL-go.R right  
 ‘For sure, we thought they had gone.’ (120620-006:20.120) GE-[la], JS

In the utterances preceding (10.152), the speaker chastises the addressee for not having mended a bag to carry cocoa beans. In example (10.152), the clause particle *la* occurs to indicate that the speaker had thought the addressee had mended the bag. The following utterances question what the addressee will use to carry cocoa beans because the bag was not mended.

- (10.152) ba ki          n-ola-we-n          la.  
 SB already 2SG-sew.R-AUG-SG.M right  
 ‘For sure, I thought you (sg) had sewn it.’ (120620-007:35.050) GE-[la], JS

### 10.3.3 *mai* ‘polar question’

The question particle *mai* is a class 3 clause particle and therefore occurs in clause-final position. When this particle occurs, it signals a neutral polar question. Examples from natural discourse demonstrating the use of *mai* to indicate a polar question are provided in (10.153)-(10.155). More information on the question particle is presented in section 12.1.1 within the discussion on polar questions.

- (10.153) moti ki          n-a<ne>wo          hasieki-l mai?  
 pot already 2SG-set.R<SG.M> fire-PL Q  
 ‘Did you (sg) put the pot on the fire?’ (120517-001:1910.240) RNS, JS
- (10.154) ta    Ø-ana          Ø-w-atia          hebi mai?  
 FUT 3PL-come.R 3PL-1PL-see.R 1PL Q  
 ‘They’ll come and see us?’ (120621-001:813.111) RNS, TW
- (10.155) ta    m-y-aya          yot-a-Ø          mai?  
 FUT 1SG-2-give.R DEM-PROX-SG.F Q  
 ‘Will I give you (sg or pl) this one?’ (120517-001:194.501) RNS, JS

## 10.4 Ordering tendencies and clause particles

This section is devoted to several broad ordering tendencies with clause particles. Section 10.4.1 focuses on the ordering tendencies that can be seen when more than one clause particle occurs in the same position within the clause. Section 10.4.2 discusses the ordering tendencies shown when clause particles and adjunct nominal phrases which refer to time occur in the same position.

### 10.4.1 Clause particle co-occurrence

For semantic reasons, it is not possible for each particle to occur with every other particle. However, when multiple particles do occur within the same clause, their position with respect to each other is determined by scope. For this reason, broad ordering tendencies are noticeable due to common scopal interpretations. The most common of these ordering tendencies are shown in Figure 10.1. It is important to note however that when less common scopal interpretations occur, alternative orders are acceptable.

*ba* | tense particles | *ki* | *si* | *hiro*

Figure 10.1: Clause particle ordering tendencies

That the particle *ba* ‘strong belief’ frequently precedes all other particles is expected due to its meaning. Speakers use *ba* to express their strong belief that a statement is true. For this reason, it tends to take scope over other particles that also relate to that statement. For instance, in example (10.156) *ba* precedes the past tense particle *la* because *ba* takes scope over the entire statement *la m-anuda* ‘I smelled it’. In other words, the speaker uses *ba* to indicate his strong belief that he smelled the cocoa previously.

- (10.156) *ba la m-anu-da-∅.*  
 SB PST 1SG-smell.R-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘I smelled it.’ (120420-000:670.600) RNS, JS

Additional examples showing *ba* ‘strong belief’ taking scope over other particles and therefore preceding them are provided in (10.157)-(10.159). Note that the ordering tendencies described here hold true regardless of whether the particles co-occur clause-initially or preceding the same predicate.

- (10.157) *ba ta wigal nabia-i w-ormia-i tabi yot-ua-∅ paki.*  
 SB FUT language spirit-PL 3SG.F-stay.R.IPFV-PL mouth DEM-DIST-SG.F paki  
 ‘I’m sure they will just speak pidgin.’ (120503-000:449.702)  
 LT: ‘I’m sure it will be pidgin in their mouth.’
- (10.158) *ba hiro h-i<m>oti-wa-i siwei hiro.*  
 SB NEG 1PL-hold.I<IPFV>-AUG-PL again NEG  
 ‘For sure, we are not holding them again.’ (120608-000:168.130) RNS, JS
- (10.159) *ba ki n-inor wul yot-u-∅ n-ero.*  
 SB already 2SG-descend.I water DEM-MDIST-SG.F 2SG-go.I  
 ‘You (sg) should have gone down that river.’ (120529-002:84.779) RNS, JS

With the exception of *ba* ‘strong belief’, tense particles (see section 13.1.1.2) generally precede all other particles when they occur in the same location as expected based on scope. This ordering tendency can be seen in examples (10.160)-(10.166), where tense particles precede the particles *ki* ‘already’ (see section 10.1.2), *ko* ‘still, yet, first’ (see section 10.2.2), *si* ‘again, back’ (see section 10.2.1), and *pa* ‘later, then’ (see section 10.1.5).

- (10.160) ta ki h-o<me>la-we-Ø.  
FUT already 1PL-sew.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F  
‘We will sew it.’ (120522-002:217.913) RNS, JS
- (10.161) nena mimi hem la ki te-Ø b-ori. la ki m-almo.  
father mother 1SG PST already 3-SG.F 1SG-hit.R PST already 1SG-die.R  
‘Father and mother, she killed me. I died.’ (120517-001:1577.14) RNS, JS  
LT: ‘Father, mother, me, it was she who hit me. I died.’
- (10.162) la ki nua w-nobia-da-n.  
PST already mother 3SG.F-talk.R-AUG-SG.M  
‘His mother told him already.’ (120420-000:2226.090) RNS, JS  
LT: ‘It was his mother who told him already.’
- (10.163) wawi Wabual la ki n-almo.  
male.ancestor Wabual PST already 3SG.M-die.R  
‘Grand Wabual has already died.’ (120429-000:25.010) RNS, JS
- (10.164) mimi w-Ø=hem la ko nigo-Ø kua.  
mother REL-SG.F=1SG PST still child-SG.F still  
‘My mother was still a child then.’ (120528-006:35.870) RNS, JS
- (10.165) ta si n-a<me>na.  
FUT again 3SG.M-come.R<IPFV>  
‘He will come back.’ (120518-000:195.225) RNS, JS
- (10.166) te-i ta pa Ø-dore w-o<me>horkil.  
3-PL FUT then 3PL-get.up.R 3PL-flee.R<IPFV>  
‘They will then get up and run away.’ (120528-006:235.840) RNS, JS

When *ki* ‘already’ and *si* ‘again, back’ co-occur, the particle *ki* generally precedes the other particle, as in (10.167) and (10.168).



- (10.167) ki m-ode-n h-aro h-uakir yo, ki si n-ohorkil  
 already 1SG-and.R-SG.M 1PL-go.R 1PL-fall.R path already again 3SG.M-flee.R  
 n-ana n-ar tinogil.  
 3SG.M-come.R 3SG.M-go.to.R village  
 ‘He and I had gone down the road, and he ran back to the village.’ (120517-001:376.253) RNS, JS
- (10.168) nua w-∅=de-n yot-u-n megal w-∅=de-∅, te-n hiro  
 mother REL-SG=3-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M husband REL-SG=3-SG.F 3-SG.M NEG  
 n-nibia hiwora w-∅=de-n nobia, “nigo-n-gon ki si  
 3SG.M-talk.I wife REL-SG=3-SG.M talk.R child-SG.M-RED already again  
 m-ode-n h-ana he.”  
 1SG-and.R-SG.M 1PL-come.R CNT  
 ‘His mother there, her husband didn’t tell his wife, saying “Our son, he and I have already come back with him.”’ (120517-001:1228.38) RNS, JS

Examples (10.169)-(10.173) demonstrate the tendency for the negative particle *hiro* to follow *ba*, tense particles, *ki* and *si*.

- (10.169) ba hiro nogil w-∅=lope-∅.  
 SB NEG village REL-SG=big-SG.F  
 ‘For sure, it is not a big village.’ (120528-001:456.939) RNS, JS
- (10.170) ta hiro nebal-gi tiawa-i w-ero ∅-ikirkai hiro.  
 FUT NEG tree-PL short-PL 3PL-go.I 3PL-cross.river.I NEG  
 ‘The cars won’t cross over.’ (120606-000:177.451) RNS, JS
- (10.171) hem la hiro w-∅=lope-n.  
 1SG PST NEG REL-SG=big-SG.M  
 ‘I was not big.’ (120524-005:135.090) RNS, JS
- (10.172) ki hiro m-iede-∅ h-ero  
 already NEG 1SG-and.I-SG.F 1PL-go.I  
 ‘I didn’t go with her.’ (120529-001:916.255) GE-[iepeda], JS
- (10.173) ta si hiro w-i<me>na.  
 FUT again NEG 3PL-come.I<IPFV>  
 ‘They won’t come back.’ (120613-001:275.733) RNS, LA

That the order of these particles is governed by scope can be seen when acceptable alternative orders are considered. In example (10.174), the more frequent order occurs where the negative particle *hiro* takes scope over the particle *si* ‘again, back’. In this example, the speaker is describing a situation where one man crossed the river to the other side, but

did not cross back to the original side. When the order of these particles is reversed, as in example (10.175), the meaning shifts. In this example, the speaker is describing a situation where one man did not cross the river at a previous time, and at this time is again not crossing the river. The consultant suggested that, for this context, the man might be afraid to cross the river.

- (10.174) te-n    hiro si    n-ikirkai            wul.  
 3-SG.M NEG again 3SG.M-cross.river.I water  
 ‘He didn’t cross the river again.’ (140422-020:1797.970) GJ, LA  
 CI: A man crossed the river once, but did not cross back.
- (10.175) te-n    si    hiro n-ikirkai            wul.  
 3-SG.M again NEG 3SG.M-cross.river.I water  
 ‘He again didn’t cross the river.’ (140422-020:1791.550) GJ, LA  
 CI: A man is afraid of crossing the river. He didn’t cross before, and he isn’t crossing again.

#### 10.4.2 Adjunct nominal phrases and clause particles

Like class 1 clause particles and class 2 clause particles, adjunct nominal phrases which refer to time frequently occur in clause-initial position or before the predicate (see section 4.7.3). When clause particles and adjunct nominal phrases co-occur in the same position, the default order is for the particle to follow the adjunct nominal phrases. Examples are provided showing this ordering tendency in (10.176)-(10.178).

- (10.176) toyiki    teipa m-y-odi    h-ormia            .  
 tomorrow then 1SG-2-and.R 1PL-stay.R.IPFV  
 ‘Tomorrow then I’ll stay with you (sg or pl).’ (120607-004:218.340) RNS, JS
- (10.177) toyiki    teipa dal<m>ko-ki            yo    n-a<me>ro.  
 tomorrow then search.R<IPFV>-APPL path 2SG-go.R<IPFV>  
 ‘Tomorrow later you (sg) will be looking for a road and going.’ (120712-003:106.860)  
 RNS, PM
- (10.178) kiyipa    ki    si    ye n-ormia            yot-ua-∅.  
 earlier.today already again 2SG 2SG-stay.R.IPFV DEM-DIST-SG.F  
 ‘Just now you (sg) were staying there again.’ (120606-012:183.197) RNS, JS
- (10.179) hem lahabi    la    m-ar            ti-hewo.  
 1SG yesterday PST 1SG-go.to.R LOC-bottom  
 ‘Yesterday I went downriver.’ (120524-000:45.922) RNS, LN

- (10.180) ye toyiki ta n-ana.  
 2SG tomorrow FUT 2SG-come.R  
 ‘You (sg) will come tomorrow.’ (120517-001:472.826) RNS, JS
- (10.181) lahabi si b-nobia. nobia, “tomal kua n-aro.”  
 yesterday again 1SG-talk.R talk.R PROH still 2SG-go.R  
 ‘Yesterday he told me again. He said, “Don’t you (sg) go yet.”’ (120524-000:620.241) RNS, JS

When particles precede adjunct nominal phrases, it is often because the nominal phrase falls under the scope of the particle. For instance, in example (10.182), the particle *ba* ‘strong belief’ precedes the adjunct nominal phrase *lahabi hemal* ‘last night’. The order is not surprising once the meaning is taken into account. In this example, the speaker is using *ba* to indicate that he knows the man told him last night. For this reason, *ba* holds scope over the rest of the clause and therefore precedes the entire clause, including the adjunct nominal phrase.

- (10.182) ba lahabi hemal si n-nobia w-ana  
 SB yesterday night again 3SG.M-talk.R 3PL-come.R  
 ‘For sure, it was last night that he told me again.’ (120524-000:632.321) RNS, JS

## 10.5 Clause particles in the possessive ‘have’ construction

Given the omission of the verbal predicate in the non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction (also referred to as the possessive ‘have’ construction, see section 4.6.5), the positioning of clause particles at first glance appears exceptional. This is partly because possessor nominal phrases in this construction precede any particles that occur in what is analyzed as clause-initial position in other clauses. In other words, the clause-initial position described for clause particles when they occur with other clauses is equivalent to clause particles preceding the only obligatory element in this construction, namely the nominal phrase which refers to the element whose possession, existence, or location is being discussed, what I refer to as the ‘PEL nominal phrase’ (see section 4.6.5). Furthermore, as this construction is not analyzed as containing a predicate, the position ‘preceding the predicate’ described for clause particles in other clauses is equivalent to following the PEL nominal phrase in this construction.

For these reasons, I avoid describing clause particle locations in this construction by the labels I use for other clauses (i.e. ‘clause-initial position’, ‘immediately preceding the predicate’, or ‘clause-final position’). Furthermore, since the PEL nominal phrase is the only obligatory element, I describe all clause particle locations in relation to this nominal phrase.

Specifically, I describe clause particles as occurring either before the PEL nominal phrase or after it.

Examples (10.183)-(10.185) illustrate several possessor nominal phrases, *niglola* ‘greens’, *nanula* ‘fish’, and *hem* ‘I, me’, occurring at the left edge of a clause, and preceding clause particles occurring in the position before PEL nominal phrases.

- (10.183) *niglola komal nawi=mia-∅.*  
 greens PROH salt=IPFV.NVPC-SG.F  
 ‘The greens should not be salty now.’ (140418-007:262.870) GJ?, LA

- (10.184) *nanu-la komal nawi=da-n.*  
 fish-SG PROH salt=NVPC-SG.M  
 ‘The fish should not be salty.’ (140418-007:273.248) GJ?, LA

- (10.185) *hem ta nogolgoi wia-m nadi.*  
 1SG FUT children two-M only  
 ‘I will have only two children.’ (140312-052:90.307) DE, LA

Possessor nominal phrases are optional in the construction. When they do not occur, utterances are frequently interpreted as existential statements, as in (10.186)-(10.188). The class 1 clause particles *ki* ‘already’ (see section 10.1.2) and *la* ‘past tense’ (see section 10.1.1.1) precede the PEL nominal phrase in (10.186) and (10.187), and the clause particles *ba* ‘strong belief’ (see section 10.1.4), *ta* ‘future tense’ (see section 10.1.1.2) and *hiro* ‘no’ (see section 10.2.3) follow the PEL nominal phrases in (10.188) and (10.189).

- (10.186) *awo, kiyipa ki nawi.*  
 yes earlier.today already salt  
 ‘Yes, today there is salt. (140312-052:1704.925) DE, LA

- (10.187) *lahabi la nawi.*  
 yesterday PST salt  
 ‘Yesterday there was salt.’ (140312-052:1766.066) DE, LA

- (10.188) *toyiki nawi ba ta hiro.*  
 tomorrow salt SB FUT NEG  
 ‘Tomorrow there will be no salt.’ (140312-052:1885.765) GE-[ba ta hiro], LA

- (10.189) *kiyipa nawi hiro.*  
 earlier.today salt NEG  
 ‘There is no salt now.’ (140312-052:466.168) DE, LA  
 AT: ‘[We] have no salt now.’

When the verbal and non-verbal variants of the posture verb construction are directly compared, it is easier to see that the position of class 1 clause particles and class 2 clause particles before the PEL nominal phrase in the non-verbal variant is equivalent to these particles occurring in clause-initial position in the verbal variant. Compare the non-verbal variant in (11.54) with the corresponding verbal variant example in (11.53). In both examples the clause particle *ki* ‘already’ precedes the possessee nominal phrase. In example (10.191), which includes a verbal predicate, however, this position is equivalent to clause-initial position since it precedes the subject of the verb *or* ‘lie, sleep’.

- (10.190) hem *ki*            nogolgoi wia-m.  
           1SG already children two-M  
           ‘I already have two children.’ (140312-052:75.551) DE, LA
- (10.191) hem *ki*            nigo-n-gon            n-or<me>            hamual yaʔa.  
           1SG already child-SG.M-RED 3SG.M-lie.R<IPFV> belly here  
           ‘I have a baby in my stomach.’ (120517-001:1496.451) RNS, JS

Compare the location of *ta hiro* following the PEL nominal phrase *harkrokil* ‘chickens’ in example (10.192) and the location of *ta hiro* before the posture verb *dodi* ‘stand’ in example (11.51). While the two clause particles can be described as following the PEL nominal phrase in both examples, the particles can be described as immediately preceding the verb in example (11.51).

- (10.192) tinogil yot-u-∅            harkroki-l ta hiro.  
           village DEM-MDIST-SG.F chicken-PL FUT NEG  
           ‘There will not be chickens in that village.’ (140417-011:46.178) DE, JS  
           AT:‘That village will not have chickens.’
- (10.193) tinogil yot-u-∅            harkroki-l ta hiro ∅-di<me>di.  
           village DEM-MDIST-SG.F chicken-PL FUT NEG 3PL-stand.I<IPFV>  
           ‘There are no chickens in that village.’ (140410-044:442.489) DE, LA  
           AT:‘That village has no chickens.’

When class 1 clause particles and class 2 clause particles follow the PEL nominal phrase in the non-verbal variant, this is the equivalent of their preceding the predicate in the verbal variant.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup>Note that in the possessive ‘have’ construction the location following the PEL nominal phrase can be equivalent to both ‘preceding the predicate’ and ‘clause-final position’ in the verbal variant. While class 1, class 2, and class 3 particles can occur after the PEL nominal phrase, class 1 particles can only occur in this location when followed by a particle that can occur in clause-final position.

- (10.194) hem nebal hare hiro.  
 1SG tree leaf NEG  
 ‘I do not have a book.’ (140312-052:1009.732) DE, LA

- (10.195) hem nebal hare hiro w-ir.  
 1SG tree leaf NEG 3SG.F-lie.I  
 ‘I do not have a book.’ (140312-052:1022.312) GJ, LA

Additional evidence that preceding the possessee nominal phrase is equivalent to clause-initial position in other clauses and that following the possessee nominal phrase is the equivalent of occurring before the predicate in other clauses comes from scopal interpretations. When the negative particle *hiro* precedes the PEL nominal phrase in example (10.196), it shows the same focused negation interpretation found when it occurs in clause-initial position in verbal predicates.

- (10.196) hem hiro nogolgoi wia-m.  
 1SG NEG children two-M  
 ‘I don’t have two children.’ (140312-052:209.814) DE, LA  
 CI: I don’t have two children. I have three children.

- (10.197) hem nogolgoi wia-m ŋa-n.  
 1SG children two-M one-SG.M  
 ‘I have three children.’ (140312-052:212.119) DE, LA

There is an additional restriction regarding the occurrence of class 1 clause particles when they follow the PEL nominal phrase. Unlike class 2 and class 3 clause particles which can occur in clause-final position in other clauses, class 1 clause particles can never occur in this position. When class 1 clause particles occur in the non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction, they can only occur following the PEL nominal phrase if they are followed by another element. In (10.198) and (10.199) the class 1 tense particles *ta* and *la* can occur following the PEL nominal phrase because they are followed by class 2 particles.

- (10.198) toyiki nawi ba ta hiro.  
 tomorrow salt SB FUT NEG  
 ‘Tomorrow there will be no salt.’ (140312-052:1885.765) ES, LA

- (10.199) hem nogolgoi la hiro kua.  
 1SG children PST NEG still  
 ‘I didn’t have children yet.’ (140312-052:631.339) ES, JS  
 CI: When we first met, I didn’t have children yet. Now I do.

This is in opposition to clause particles like *kua* ‘still, yet, first’ or *hiro* ‘no’, which can occur clause-finally in other clauses. These particles can occur following the possessee nominal phrase even when they are the last element in the clause, as in (10.200)-(11.65).

- (10.200) *kiyipa ki nawi kua.*  
 earlier.today already salt still  
 ‘Today there is still salt.’ (140312-052:1766.999) ES, LA

- (10.201) *lawiaki yo hiro.*  
 long.ago path NEG  
 ‘Long ago, there was no road.’ (120528-008:279.558) RNS, JS

- (10.202) *nebal-gi tiawa-i hiro.*  
 tree-PL short-PL NEG  
 ‘There were no cars.’ (120528-008:280.960) RNS, JS

## 10.6 Delimiting clauses

Given that Yeri frequently combines clauses asyndetically, which often results in long sequences of clause chains (see section 14.1.1), it is not always clear whether an utterance should be categorized as involving a single clause or more than one clause. However, since clause particles are restricted to specific locations within a clause, the occurrence of clause particles can serve to delimit clauses.

One example of this involves the occurrence of class 1 clause particles. Since these particles can occur only once per clause (see section 10.1), the occurrence of the same class 1 clause particle more than once within an utterance indicates that the utterance contains more than one clause. An example of this is provided in (10.203) and (10.204), where the class 1 clause particle *ta* ‘future tense’ occurs more than once in the utterance. Both of these examples include more than one clause with the clauses being asyndetically coordinated.

- (10.203) *milhagil w-ei=de-Ø yot-u-i, ta Ø-y-o<me>ri ta*  
 brother.of.sister REL-PL=3-SG.F DEM-MDIST-PL FUT 3PL-2-hit.R<IPFV> FUT  
*Ø-y-o<me>ba.*  
 3PL-2-shoot.R<IPFV>  
 ‘Her brothers there, they will hit you (sg or pl) and they will shoot you (sg or pl).’  
 (120608-003:398.650) RNS, JS

- (10.204) ... ta n-o<he>wil ta h-ar<me>r-e-n ta  
 ... FUT 3SG.M-take.R<SG.F> FUT 1PL-see.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.M FUT  
 n-aria-da-i.  
 3SG.M-do.R-AUG-PL.  
 ‘... he will take it, we will see him, and he will do it.’ (120621-001:875.177) RNS,  
 TW

Since some class 2 clause particles have distinct pronunciations in clause-final position and class 3 clause particles can occur only once per clause in clause-final position, the occurrence of a clause-final pronunciation of class 2 clause particles or the occurrence of a class 3 clause particle can signal the end of a clause. When these particles occur in an utterance and are followed by additional predicates, this provides evidence that the following predicates belong to a distinct clause from the one that the class 2 or class 3 clause particle belongs to.

For instance, example (10.205) demonstrates the class 3 clause particle *he* occurring after a temporal nominal predicate (see section 4.6.1.3). Since this particle only occurs in clause-final position, its location indicates that *laharia* ‘two days before’ belongs to a distinct clause. This bi-clausal analysis is supported by the occurrence of the class 1 clause particle *la* ‘past tense’ occurring in the second clause before the predicate it holds scope over.

- (10.205) laharia he. la h-alia-n n-d-awo wul.  
 2.days.before CNT PST 1PL-drop-SG.M 3SG.M-MDL-set.R water  
 ‘It was the day before yesterday. We set it in the river.’ (120529-002:653.948)  
 RNS, TW

Similarly, the occurrence of *he* following the first verb in example (10.206) provides evidence that this verb belongs to a distinct clause from the following verbs.

- (10.206) w-a<me>ro he. w-arkou yo w-a<me>ro.  
 3SG.F-go.R<IPFV> CNT 3SG.F-ascend.R path 3SG.F-go.R<IPFV>  
 ‘Now she was going. She climbed up the road and was going.’ (120517-001:338.084)  
 RNS, JS

Although the class 2 clause particle *hiro* ‘no’ does not have a distinct clause-final pronunciation, its occurrence can nonetheless help delimit clauses. This is because when the negative particle occurs, it must precede the first predicate in the clause and it triggers irrealis marking on each verb it holds scope over (see section 11.2). This is shown in (13.2) and (10.208), where the verbs *ar* ‘go’, *o* ‘be, stay, live’, *aguti* ‘burn’, and *aruba* ‘do well, decorate’ occur in their irrealis forms.

- (10.207) hapo-wil w-ei=de-i nena ta hiro ero m-ie.  
 sago.stick-PL REL-PL=3-PL father FUT NEG go.I 1SG-stay.I  
 ‘I won’t go sit on my father’s bed.’ (120601-012:381.042) RNS, YW



- (10.208) ye hiro n-i<Ø>guti n-iruba-Ø.  
 2SG NEG 2SG-burn.I<SG.F> 2SG-do.well.I-SG.F  
 ‘You (sg) don’t dry or cook them properly.’ (120608-002:249.732) RNS, JS

When utterances like (10.209) are considered, the occurrence of the clause particle *hiro* ‘no’ delimits the clause preceding the particle from the clause that *hiro* holds scope over. This is particularly clear by considering the pause preceding *hiro* and the mood of the verb forms. The verb *ar* which precedes *hiro* and does not fall under its scope occurs with realis marking, while the verb *atia* ‘see’ does fall under the scope of the negative particle and displays irrealis mood marking.

- (10.209) hebi la Ø-aro. hiro Ø-itr-e-i.  
 1PL PST 1PL-go.R. 1PL-NEG see.I-AUG-PL  
 ‘We went, but we did not see them.’ (140408-207:824.200) GE-[ihikual], LA

Additional examples where clause particles distinguish between monoclausal or multi-clausal analyses are provided in (10.210) and (10.211). In example (10.210), the occurrence of a class 3 clause particle, here *he* (see section 10.3.1), indicates that the verb *almo* ‘die’ belongs to a distinct clause from the following verb *o* ‘be, stay, live’. Further evidence comes from the occurrence of the class 2 negative particle *hiro*. That it holds scope over only the verb *o* ‘be, stay, live’ is clear from meaning, positioning, and irrealis marking.

- (10.210) te-n ki n-almo he. hiro n-iermia.  
 2-SG.M already 3SG.M-die.R CNT. NEG 3SG.M-stay.I  
 ‘He has died. He is not living.’ (120517-001:294.484) RNS, JS

In (10.211) the lack of irrealis marking on the verb *alkual* ‘turn color’ and the fact that the verb’s meaning is not negated indicates that the verb is not under the scope of the negative particle. The occurrence of the class 3 clause particle *he* in clause-final position provides additional support for *alkual* belonging to a distinct clause from the clause which includes the negative particle *hiro*.<sup>4</sup>

- (10.211) wual-ia hawal hiro he. hawal Ø-alkual.  
 pig-PL feet NEG CNT feet 3PL-disappear.R  
 ‘There are no pig tracks. The tracks disappeared.’ (120607-001:1156.340) GE-[wdinipeni], JS  
 LT: ‘There are no pig feet now. The feet turned.’

<sup>4</sup>The negative particle is part of the non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction in this example (see section 4.6.5).

## Chapter 11

# Negation

Yeri has a particle *hiro* which signals negation, shown in examples (11.1) and (11.2). There is a custom in this area of referring to a language by its word for ‘no’. For this reason, Yeri may also be referred to as *Hiro*. While speakers of the language may sometimes refer to their own language in this way, it is more common for people who do not speak a language to call a language by its word for ‘no’. However, since not all nearby languages have a velar approximant, non-Yeri speakers may refer to Yeri as [kiro] or [iro] in addition to the pronunciation with the velar approximant.

- (11.1) te-i w-nobia, “hiro”.  
3-PL 3PL-talk.R NEG  
‘They said, “No.”’ (120606-000:71.556) RNS, JS

- (11.2) hiro nadi.  
NEG very  
‘Definitely not.’ (120621-001:697.680) RNS, YM

Both non-verbal and verbal clauses make use of *hiro* to express negation, but only verbal clauses show additional irrealis marking. Section 11.1 discusses the negation of non-verbal predicates, while section 11.2 is devoted to the negation of verbal predicates.<sup>1</sup> In section 11.3, negation of the posture verb construction which is used to express existential statements and ‘have’ statements is described in detail. Negation in multi-predicate clauses is the focus of section 11.4, while negative concord is described in section 11.5.

In section 11.6, a common discourse phenomenon in Yeri is illustrated whereby a negated expression like *hiro wlope* ‘not big’ is immediately followed by a positive assertion involving an antonym like *sipekil* ‘little’. Section 11.7 is devoted to common pronunciational variants

---

<sup>1</sup>These sections focus on the default location of the negative clause particle in non-verbal and verbal clauses. See section 10.2.3 for a short overview of other locations the particle can co-occur.

of *hiro* when it is preceded by tense particles. Section 11.8 concludes by describing contexts where *hiro* signals surprise or intensity rather than negation. Note this chapter is devoted to discussion of the negative particle *hiro*. Yeri has another negative particle which is used exclusively with negated imperatives. For discussion of this prohibitive particle, see section 10.1.3.

## 11.1 Negation of non-verbal clauses

To negate non-verbal predicates, the negative particle *hiro* precedes the non-verbal predicate. For instance, in example (11.3), an animal is being described. The speaker uses the nominal predicate *niboga* ‘rat’ to indicate that the animal being described is a rat, and the negated nominal predicate *hiro neigal* to indicate that the animal is not a cuscus.

- (11.3) te-n niboga. hiro neigal.  
 3-SG.M rat NEG cuscus  
 ‘It is a rat. It is not a cuscus.’ (140421-161:19.170) RNS, JS

In example (11.4), a type of fish is being described. The speaker uses the negated nominal predicate *hiro nanula sibelial* to indicate that the fish is not a long fish.

- (11.4) te-∅ hiro nanu-la sibelial. nanu-la tiawa-∅.  
 3-SG.F NEG fish-SG long fish-SG short-SG.F  
 ‘She is not a long fish. She is a short fish.’ (140421-160:43.289) RNS, JS

Additional examples of negated nominal predicates are provided in (11.5)-(11.9). In each, the negative particle precedes the nominal predicate being negated.

- (11.5) te-n yot-ua-n hiro hamote-n w-∅=nabe-n.  
 3-SG.M DEM-DIST-SG.M NEG individual-SG.M REL-SG=good-SG.M  
 ‘That man is not a good man.’ (120623-007:448.140) RNS, YW
- (11.6) wul w-∅=de-i yot-u-i hiro wul sipeki-l.  
 water REL-SG=3-PL DEM-MDIST-PL NEG water little-SG  
 ‘Their river there is is not a small river.’ (120520-000:185.110) RNS, AS
- (11.7) wayiagi hiro helol sipeki-i. helol w-ei=lope-i.  
 roof NEG work little-PL work REL-PL=big-PL  
 ‘The roofing is not small work. It is very big work.’ (120522-002:192.673) RNS, JS
- (11.8) hulula yot-u-n hiro hulula w-∅=de-∅.  
 sago.grub DEM-MDIST-SG.M NEG sago.grub REL-SG=3-SG.F  
 ‘The sago grub there, it’s not her sago grub.’ (120529-001:279.21) GE-[iepkewa], JS

- (11.9) nakal w-Ø=di Solomon male la hiro hamote-n w-Ø=lope-n.  
 father REL-SG=3 Solomon also PST NEG individual-SG.M REL-SG=big-SG.M  
 ‘Solomon’s father also was not a big man.’ (120524-005:336.710) RNS, JS

Similar examples illustrating the negative particle *hiro* preceding adjective predicates are provided in (11.10)-(11.14) with *hiro* preceding WGN adjectives (see section 3.5.1.1) like *lope* ‘big’ and *nabe* ‘good’ and N adjectives (see section 3.5.1.3) like *sibelial* ‘long’ and *sipeki* ‘little’.

- (11.10) hem la hiro w-Ø=lope-n.  
 1SG PST NEG REL-SG=big-SG.M  
 ‘I was not big.’ (120524-005:135.090) RNS, JS
- (11.11) politic hiro w-Ø=nabe-Ø. w=ilua-Ø.  
 politic NEG REL-SG=good-SG.F REL=bad-SG.F  
 ‘Politics are not good. They’re bad.’ (120621-001:938.690) RNS, JS
- (11.12) te-n hiro sibelial, tiawa-n.  
 3-SG.M NEG long short-SG.M  
 ‘He is not tall, he’s short.’ (140421-172:33.948) RNS, JS
- (11.13) helol hiro sipeki-i.  
 work NEG little-PL  
 ‘The work is not small.’ (120522-002:265.987) RNS, JS
- (11.14) wul Hamil hiro sipeki-l.  
 water Hamil.river NEG little-SG  
 ‘The Hamil river is not small.’ (140410-043:324.905) DE, LA

Similar examples can be shown for all non-verbal clauses, with the exception of the possessive ‘have’ construction.<sup>2</sup> A negated quantifier predicate where *hiro* precedes *sapiten* ‘many’ is shown in (11.15), while examples (11.16)-(11.18) illustrate *hiro* preceding ideophone predicates like *salsal* ‘boil’, *palpal* ‘fly’ and *pikiapikia* ‘vomiting noises’.

- (11.15) hano-lbia hiro sapiten. wia-i papi.  
 tree.grub-PL NEG many two-F only  
 ‘The tree crabs were not many. They were just a few.’ (120621-004:212.365) RNS, TW
- (11.16) wul yot-u-n hiro salsal.  
 water DEM-MDIST-SG.M NEG boil  
 ‘The water there isn’t boiling.’ (120607-001:1724.547) GE-[wilpemo], JS

<sup>2</sup>I also refer to the possessive ‘have’ construction as the ‘non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction’ in this grammar (see section 11.3.2).

- (11.17) te-i hiro palpal.  
 3-PL NEG fly  
 ‘They do not fly.’ (140410-049:90.592) DE, LA

- (11.18) hem hiro pikiapikia.  
 1SG NEG vomit  
 ‘I did not vomit.’ (140410-045:99.407) DE, LA

Numeral predicates are negated in (11.19)-(11.21), and genitive predicates are negated in (11.22)-(11.24). In each, the negative particle *hiro* precedes the non-verbal predicate.

- (11.19) harkroki-l w-ei=hem hiro wia-m ŋa-n.  
 chicken-PL REL-PL=1SG NEG two-M one-SG.M  
 ‘My chickens are not three.’ (140410-044:523.957) DE, LA  
 CI: I do not have three chickens. I have either less than three or more than three.

- (11.20) harkroki w-n=hem hiro ŋa-n.  
 chicken REL-SG.M=1SG NEG one-SG.M  
 ‘My chicken is not one.’ (140410-044:532.210) DE, LA  
 CI: I have more than one chicken.

- (11.21) mariaga palapala clan w-∅=di-∅ nogil Yeri hiro hilogi-l woli  
 masalai.spirit clan clan REL-SG=3-SG.F village Yeri NEG arm-SG side  
 wia-m wia-m n-ar woli.  
 two-M two-M 3SG.M-go.to.R side  
 ‘The clans of Yeri village are not nine.’ (140410-045:43.403) DE, LA  
 CI: There are not nine clans in Yeri. There are seven.

- (11.22) wual hiro w-∅=ye.  
 pig NEG REL-SG.F=2SG  
 ‘The pig is not yours (sg).’ (140410-045:87.600) DE, LA

- (11.23) harkroki hiro w-∅=de-∅.  
 chicken NEG REL-SG=3-SG.F  
 ‘The chicken is not hers.’ (140410-045:96.014) DE, LA

- (11.24) wual w-∅=lope-n yot-ua-n, hiro w-n-ma=hem.  
 pig REL-SG=big-SG.M DEM-DIST-SG.M NEG REL-SG.M-IPFV=1SG  
 ‘That big pig there, it is not mine now.’ (120709-007:1513.727) GE-[wnmahem], JS

Lastly, examples of negated demonstrative predicates in their locative use (see section 4.6.3.2) are shown in (11.25) and (11.26), where *hiro* precedes the demonstrative.

- (11.25)    *nawi hiro yot-a-∅.*  
           salt    NEG DEM-PROX-SG.F  
           ‘The salt is not here.’ (140410-043:415.166) DE, LA
- (11.26)    *hewi hiro yot-u-∅.*  
           lime    NEG DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
           ‘The lime is not there.’ (140410-043:444.630) DE, LA

## 11.2 Negation of verbal clauses

There is a difference in the negation of verbal predicates involving the verbal copula and verbal predicates involving all other verbs. In section 11.2.1, I present information on how most verbal predicates are negated. In section 11.2.2, I describe how predicates containing the verbal copula are negated.

### 11.2.1 Verbal clauses without the verbal copula

Like non-verbal clauses, the negative particle *hiro* directly precedes the predicate in verbal clauses. Unlike non-verbal clauses, however, all negated verbal clauses with the exception of negated imperatives (see section 10.1.3), must additionally mark irrealis mood on the verb. Mood-marking in Yeri is signaled by a change in the quality of verb root’s initial vowel(s), typically in height. The most common irrealis vowel is /e/, but /i/ and /ie/ are also possible. Section 7.6 presents information on the irrealis form of the verb, as well as other contexts where irrealis mood marking occurs.

Examples (11.27)-(11.31) are provided to demonstrate the use of irrealis verb forms in conjunction with a preceding negative particle to negate verbal clauses. In (11.27) and (11.28), the verbs *or* ‘lie, sleep’ and *nobia* ‘talk’ occur with the irrealis vowel /i/.

- (11.27)    *nakal hiro n-ir.*  
           father NEG 3SG.M-lie.I  
           ‘The father didn’t sleep.’ (120517-001:402.518) RNS, JS
- (11.28)    *hiro w-nibia        wigal        maŋa-∅.*  
           NEG 3SG.F-talk.I language what-SG.F  
           ‘She didn’t say anything.’ (120517-001:352.281) RNS, JS

It is also possible for the vowel quality to change from /o/ to /ie/, as with the verb *odi* ‘make’ in (11.29), or from /a/ to /e/ as with the verb *ar* ‘go’ in (11.30) and *garkil* ‘go over’ in example (11.31). Note that /e/ is often, though not always, realized as [i] when it occurs

as an irrealis vowel (see section 2.1.2.1 and 2.5.3). In example (11.30), it is pronounced as [ɛ], while in example (11.31), it is pronounced as [i].

- (11.29) ye kua hiro n-iedi tumani ŋa-∅ kua.  
 2SG still NEG 2SG-make.I building one-SG.F still  
 ‘You (sg) are not building a house yet.’ (120522-002:403.714) RNS, JS

- (11.30) uʔirɔ ta uʔirɔ uʔerɔ.  
 hiro, ta hiro h-ero.  
 NEG FUT NEG 1PL-go.I  
 ‘If not, we will not go.’ (120621-001:975.662) RNS, AS

- (11.31) puju wi<sup>n</sup>di ta uʔirɔ mi<sup>ŋ</sup>girkildan.  
 puyu w-∅=de-i, ta hiro m-girkil-da-n.  
 money REL-SG=3-PL FUT NEG 1SG-go.over.I-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘Their money, I won’t jump over it.’ (120601-012:386.282) RNS, YW

All verbs which have an irrealis form must occur in the irrealis when under the scope of negation. The one exception to this is the verbal copula (see section 11.2.2), which optionally occurs in its irrealis form. Examples like (11.32) and (11.33) illustrate the ungrammaticality of a verb occurring in its realis form when negated.

- (11.32) \*hiro w-nobia wigal maŋa-∅.  
 NEG 3SG.F-talk.R language what-SG.F  
 ‘She didn’t say anything.’ (140410-045:1235.929) GJ, LA

- (11.33) \*nakal hiro n-or.  
 father NEG 3SG.M-lie.R  
 ‘The father didn’t sleep.’ (140410-045:1241.231) GJ, LA

### 11.2.2 Verbal clauses with a verbal copula

Unlike almost all other verbs where irrealis marking is obligatory, it is grammatically acceptable for the verbal copula to occur in either the irrealis or realis mood when negated. Examples (11.34)-(11.36) show the verbal copula occurring in its irrealis form /ie/ while under the scope of negation.

- (11.34) ye hiro n-ie bilgi-l.  
 2SG NEG 2SG-COP.I strong-SG  
 ‘You (sg) are not strong.’ (120522-002:381.204) RNS, JS

- (11.35) mol-wil-gal hiro ∅-ie meno-l.  
 pot-PL-PL NEG 3PL-COP.I heavy-PL  
 ‘The pots are not heavy.’ (140410-045:1299.173) DE, LA

- (11.36) moti hiro n-ie weli.  
 pot NEG 3SG.M-COP.I hot  
 ‘The pot is not hot.’ (120607-001:1747.250) GE-[wilpemo], JS

Although consultants indicate a prescriptive preference for irrealis marking on the verbal copula in negated contexts, it is nonetheless acceptable and common for the copula to be negated by *hiro* ‘no’ without occurring in its irrealis form. Examples (11.37) and (11.38) demonstrate the verbal copula occurring in its realis form while under the scope of negation.

- (11.37) hiro w-o worpe-ti.  
 NEG 3SG.F-COP.R yellow-SG  
 ‘It is not yellow.’ (140421-165:26.668) RNS, JS  
 CI: The speaker is describing the color of a bird.

- (11.38) lelia yot-u-Ø, ta w-d-awo, hiro w-o meno  
 limbum DEM-MDIST-SG.F FUT 3SG.F-MDL-set.R NEG 3SG.F-COP.R heavy  
 yot-u-Ø.  
 DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘That limbum there is not heavy.’ (120704-001:142.713) GE-[wo meno], JS

### 11.3 Negation of the posture verb construction

The posture verb construction has a verbal and a non-verbal variant. While both the verbal and non-verbal variants of the construction occur frequently, the non-verbal variant of the construction is more frequently used when expressing possession or existence of an entity. For this reason, I also refer to the non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction as the ‘possessive ‘have’ construction’ (see section 4.6.5). Unlike the verbal variant, which is negated in the same way as all other verbal predicates, negation of the non-verbal variant is not negated like non-verbal predicates. This is particularly obvious given the superficial similarity in form between negated nominal predicates and the negated form of the non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction.

Once the positioning of *hiro* with the verbal variant is taken into account, the location of *hiro* in the non-verbal variant can be more easily explained. For this reason, I first briefly discuss negation of the verbal variant in section 11.3.1, before then describing negation of the non-verbal variant in section 11.3.2.

#### 11.3.1 Negation of the verbal variant

When this construction occurs with a posture verb, it is negated in the same way as all other verbal predicates. The negative particle *hiro* ‘no’ precedes the posture verb and verbs



obligatorily occur in their irrealis forms, as shown in (11.39)-(11.41).

- (11.39) hewi hiro  $\emptyset$ -d-iwo yot-u-i.  
lime NEG 3PL-MDL-set.I DEM-MDIST-PL  
'The lime is not sitting there.' (140410-043:433.526) DE, LA
- (11.40) losi w-ei=ye hiro  $\emptyset$ -d-iwera nebal hare w- $\emptyset$ =lope-n  
name REL-PL=2SG NEG 3PL-MDL-lie.flat.I tree leaf REL-SG=big-SG.M  
w- $\emptyset$ =hebi yot-a-n hiro.  
REL-SG.F=1PL DEM-PROX-SG.M NEG  
'Your (sg) name is not in our books here.' (120607-004:628.300) RNS, JS
- (11.41) harkroki-l hiro  $\emptyset$ -di<me>di tinogil yot-u- $\emptyset$  siwei.  
chicken-PL NEG 3PL-stand.I<IPFV> village DEM-MDIST-SG.F again  
'The chickens are not in that village anymore.' (140410-044:424.657) DE, LA

Examples where this construction is used to express statements regarding the existence of an entity are negated in the same way as when the construction expresses the location of an entity. Examples are shown in (11.42)-(11.44), where the negative particle precedes the posture verb and the posture verb is in its irrealis form.

- (11.42) hiro w-d-a<m>wo.  
NEG 3PL-MDL-set.R<IPFV>  
'They do not exist now.' (120611-001:207.579) RNS, JS  
CI: The necklaces and other things made from the sea have been broken and don't exist now.
- (11.43) hiro he, nanu-bia hiro  $\emptyset$ -didi.  
NEG CNT fish-PL NEG 3PL-stand.I  
'No, there were no fish.' (140312-052:1287.001) DE, LA
- (11.44) ye la hiro n-ina, wigal yot-a- $\emptyset$  wigal Yeri ta hiro  
2SG PST NEG 2SG-come.I language DEM-PROX-SG.F language Yeri FUT NEG  
w-ir.  
3SG.F-lie.I  
'If you (sg) did not come, this language, Yeri language will not continue to exist.'  
(V120718-002:214.090) RNS, LA  
CI: The language would no longer be spoken and there would be no recordings of it.

Lastly, examples where this construction is used to express possession of an entity (i.e. 'to have X') are negated in the same way. In examples (11.45) and (11.46), the negative

particle precedes the posture verb *or* ‘lie, sleep’ and the verb is in its irrealis form. Note the additional possessor nominal phrase preceding the PEL nominal phrases in these examples.

- (11.45) hem nawi tiawa- $\emptyset$  hiro w-ir.  
 1SG salt short-SG.F NEG 3SG.F-lie.I  
 ‘I don’t have some salt.’ (140312-052:837.919) DE, LA

- (11.46) hem heya hiro w-ir.  
 1SG bilum NEG 3SG.F-lie.I  
 ‘I don’t have a bilum.’ (140312-052:984.905) GJ, LA

Additional examples from natural discourse are provided in (11.68) and (11.48).

- (11.47) sahal hiro n-ir.  
 bush.knife NEG 3SG.M-lie.I  
 ‘The knife was not there.’ (120623-007:750.660) RNS, YW

- (11.48) oh wul ta n-ar<ma>, mowasi hiro w-ie.  
 oh water FUT 3SG.M-arrive.R<IPFV> star NEG 3SG.F-stay.I  
 ‘Oh it will rain, the stars are not there.’ (140304-010:77.411) RNS, LA

### 11.3.2 Negation of the non-verbal variant (possessive ‘have’ construction)

Both the verbal variant and the non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction frequently express statements regarding the possession, existence, or location of an entity. However, it is nonetheless more common for the non-verbal variant of the construction, which I also refer to as the ‘possessive ‘have’ construction’, to be used to express existence or possession.<sup>3</sup>

When the non-verbal variant of this construction is negated, the negative particle *hiro* typically follows the nominal phrase describing the entity whose possession, existence, or location is being discussed, what I refer to as the ‘PEL nominal phrase’ (see section 4.6.5).<sup>4</sup> Factors which determine the interpretation of the non-verbal variant of the construction are parallel to factors that determine the interpretation of the verbal variant (see section 7.7.1.4). Where an utterance does not include a possessor or location, and no such possessor or location

<sup>3</sup>This may be related to the degree of arbitrariness in the choice of posture verb for some entities. This is particularly obvious in those contexts where the *lack* of possession or existence is being expressed. In these contexts, no specific instance of an entity is referenced, and as such, no specific orientation of the object would indicate which posture verb to select.

<sup>4</sup>In this section, I focus on the default negation of this construction. While it is possible for the negative particle to occur in other positions with this construction (see section 10.5), this location signals additional information regarding information structure. Note also that the PEL nominal phrase is analogous to the subject of the verbal variant of the posture verb construction (see section 7.7.1.4).

is understood from previous discourse or context, the utterance is interpreted as expressing existence.

Examples (11.49) and (11.50) are ambiguous, as shown by the acceptable alternative translations provided. For these examples, *harkrokil* ‘chickens’ is the PEL nominal phrase and the negative particle *hiro* (as well as class 1 particles like *ta* and *la*, see section 10.5) typically follow this nominal phrase.

- (11.49) tinogil yot-ua- $\emptyset$  harkroki-l la hiro.  
 village DEM-DIST-SG.F chicken-PL PST NEG  
 ‘There were no chickens in that village over there.’ (140417-011:28.139) DE, JS  
 AT: ‘That village over there had no chickens.’
- (11.50) tinogil yot-u- $\emptyset$  harkroki-l ta hiro.  
 village DEM-MDIST-SG.F chicken-PL FUT NEG  
 ‘There will not be chickens in that village.’ (140417-011:46.178) DE, JS  
 AT: ‘That village will not have chickens.’

The location of the particle after the PEL nominal phrase is expected when the verbal variant is considered. Compare the verbal variant and the non-verbal variant in (11.51) and (11.52) as well as in (11.53) and (11.54). In both the verbal variant and the non-verbal variant, the negative particle can be described as following the PEL nominal phrase. In the verbal variant, however, the negative particle can also be described as preceding the posture verb, as expected for a verbal predicate. If this construction is viewed from the perspective of the non-verbal variant arising through the omission of the posture verb, the location of the negative particle (and other particles, see section 10.5) is as would be expected.

- (11.51) tinogil yot-u- $\emptyset$  harkroki-l ta hiro  $\emptyset$ -di<me>di.  
 village DEM-MDIST-SG.F chicken-PL FUT NEG 3PL-stand.I<IPFV>  
 ‘There are no chickens in that village.’ (140410-044:442.489) DE, LA  
 AT: ‘That village has no chickens.’
- (11.52) tinogil yot-u- $\emptyset$  harkroki-l ta hiro.  
 village DEM-MDIST-SG.F chicken-PL FUT NEG  
 ‘There will not be chickens in that village.’ (140417-011:46.178) DE, JS  
 AT: ‘That village will not have chickens.’
- (11.53) hem nebal hare hiro w-ir.  
 1SG tree leaf NEG 3SG.F-lie.I  
 ‘I do not have a book.’ (140312-052:1022.312) GJ, LA
- (11.54) hem nebal hare hiro.  
 1SG tree leaf NEG  
 ‘I do not have a book.’ (140312-052:1009.732) DE, LA

Note that nominal predicates and non-verbal variants of this construction can look superficially similar in that both can consist of one or two nominal phrases. However, unlike nominal predicates, neither of the two possible nominal phrases in the non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction functions as a predicate. This distinction can be seen in the location of the negative particle, which can differentiate the two constructions.<sup>5</sup> It precedes the nominal predicate as expected for a non-verbal predicate, but follows the nominal phrase expressing the PEL nominal phrase in the non-verbal variant. Example (11.55) demonstrates a negated nominal predicate.

- (11.55) te-n    yot-ua-n            hiro hamote-n            w-Ø=nabe-n.  
           3-SG.M DEM-DIST-SG.M NEG individual-SG.M REL-SG=good-SG.M.  
           ‘That man is not a good man.’ (120623-007:448.140) RNS, YW

The ability to differentiate the two constructions on the basis of particle location alone is particularly easy to see by comparing the negated nominal predicate in (11.56), where no subject nominal phrase occurs, and the negated non-verbal variant in (11.57).

- (11.56) la    hiro nol.  
           PST NEG bird  
           ‘He was not a bird.’ (120517-001:2463.663) RNS, JS
- (11.57) miakua-l hiro.  
           frog-PL    NEG  
           ‘There are no frogs.’ (120621-003:220.813) RNS, AS

Examples (11.58)-(11.60) illustrate the non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction expressing possession in natural discourse. In these examples, the negative particle follows the possessee nominal phrase *puyu hirka* ‘money’ or *wopakal* ‘bow’.

- (11.58) hem, puyu    hirka hiro.  
           1SG    money new    NEG  
           ‘I have no money.’ (120524-004:178.430) RNS, JS
- (11.59) hebi wopakal hiro.  
           1PL    bow            NEG  
           ‘We have no bow.’ (120621-003:260.224) RNS, AS
- (11.60) m-nobia-da-i,            “yem wia-i puyu hirka hiro.”  
           1SG-talk.R-AUG-PL 2PL    two-F rock    new    NEG  
           ‘I told them, “You (pl) two have no money.”’ (120520-000:502.536) RNS, AS

<sup>5</sup>In fact, the location of all class 1 and class 2 particles can distinguish the two constructions. See chapter 10 for discussion on the location of these particles.

Although each of these examples is interpreted as negated possessive statements, this is only due to the overt possessor nominal phrase in the utterance. If the possessor were not overtly indicated or clear from previous discourse, these examples could be interpreted as expressing an existential meaning, as in (11.61).

- (11.61) puyu hirka hiro.  
 rock new NEG  
 ‘There is no money.’ (120524-004:176.890) RNS, JS

Examples like (11.62)-(11.66) are non-verbal variants of the posture verb construction which were used to express existential statements in natural discourse.<sup>6</sup> In these examples, the negative particle follows the nominal phrase referring to the entity whose existence is under discussion.

- (11.62) miakua-l hiro.  
 frog-PL NEG  
 ‘There are no frogs.’ (120621-003:220.813) RNS, AS
- (11.63) lolewa hiro ya.  
 thing NEG ya  
 ‘There are no more things.’ (120623-007:880.410) RNS, TW
- (11.64) lawiaki yo hiro.  
 long.ago path NEG  
 ‘Long ago, there was no road.’ (120528-008:279.558) RNS, JS
- (11.65) nebal-gi tiawa-i hiro.  
 tree-PL short-PL NEG  
 ‘There were no cars.’ (120528-008:280.960) RNS, JS
- (11.66) mame yati hur yati hiro.  
 mame.yam sago sago.flour sago NEG  
 ‘There is no solid sago and cooked sago.’ (120623-007:881.310) RNS, TW

It is worth pointing out that in texts the verbal variant and the non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction are used interchangeably without a distinction in meaning. Consider the short excerpt from a story where much of the village was destroyed and carried away in a big flood. In examples (11.67)-(11.70), a posture verb occurs, *dawo* ‘sit’ or *or* ‘lie, sleep’, while in (11.70) no posture verb occurs. Despite this, the examples are all described as expressing the same meaning.

---

<sup>6</sup>Note that the existence of a possessor in previous discourse would permit their interpretation as possessive expressions.

- (11.67) n-dore            n-aro            tumani hiro w-d-iwo            moti hiro  
 3SG.M-get.up.R 3SG.M-go.R building NEG 3SG.F-MDL-set.I pot NEG  
 w-d-iwo.  
 3SG.F-MDL-set.I  
 ‘He got up and went, and the house was not there, the pots were not there.’  
 (120623-007:747.070) RNS, TW
- (11.68) sahal            hiro n-ir.  
 bush.knife NEG 3SG.M-lie.I  
 ‘The knife was not there.’ (120623-007:750.660) RNS, TW
- (11.69) harogi-l hiro n-ir.  
 axe-SG NEG 3SG.M-lie.I  
 ‘The axe was not there.’ (120623-007:751.600) RNS, TW
- (11.70) hadipen            maŋa-∅            maŋa-∅            hiro.  
 limbum.palm what-SG.F what-SG.F NEG  
 ‘The limbum dishes whatever else were not there.’ (120623-007:752.640) RNS, TW

More complex examples of negated non-verbal variants of the posture verb construction are provided in (11.71)-(11.73). In these examples, the object of the verb *atia* ‘see’ functions as the subject of the following non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction. For instance, in example (11.71), the third person singular feminine object, a woman, acts as the subject of the negated non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction. The object is plural in examples (11.72) and (11.73).

- (11.71) w-dodi            w-atr-e-∅            hiro.  
 3PL-stand 3PL-see.R-AUG-SG.F NEG  
 ‘They stood and saw she was not there.’ (120712-003:290.829) RNS, PM
- (11.72) hebi h-atr-e-i            hiro.  
 1PL 1PL-see.R-AUG-PL NEG  
 ‘We saw they [the cars] were not there.’ (120520-000:170.053) RNS, AS
- (11.73) ∅-d-ania-∅            ∅-d-ania-∅,            ∅-atr-e-i            hiro,  
 3PL-MDL-call.R-SG.F 3PL-MDL-call.R-SG.F 3PL-see.R-AUG-PL NEG  
 ∅-or<me>.  
 3PL-lie.R<IPFV>  
 ‘They called and called, and saw they were not there, and they slept.’ (120517-001:399.679) RNS, JS

Lastly, it is possible for non-verbal pronominal clitics to occur in this construction (see sections 4.2.2 and 4.6.5).<sup>7</sup> When this happens, *hiro* follows the PEL nominal phrase and directly precedes the pronominal clitic, as in (11.74)-(11.77). In example (11.74), the possessee nominal phrase is *yawi* ‘tail’. The negative particle follows this nominal phrase and immediately precedes the bare non-verbal pronominal clitic =*den* which shows gender agreement with the possessor, in this example *maren* ‘carrion insect’, which was explicitly mentioned in previous utterances. Similarly, in example (11.75), the negative particle follows the possessee nominal phrase *hilogi nial miniagia* ‘arms, legs, and front legs’ and precedes the pronominal clitic =*dan* which shows masculine gender agreement with the possessor *harkanogil* ‘snake’. In example (11.76), the pronominal clitic agrees with *nol wolebil* ‘bush fowl’ and in example (11.77), the pronominal clitic agrees with *yawal* ‘sago (pl)’. Note that non-verbal pronominal clitics show optional vowel disharmony in this construction (see section 2.5.6).

- (11.74) *yawi hiro=de-n.*  
 tail NEG=NVPC-SG.M  
 ‘It does not have a tail on it.’ (140421-172:32.136) RNS, JS
- (11.75) *harkanogi-l mada-n hilogi-i nia-l minou-agia hiro=da-n.*  
 snake-PL thing-SG.M arm-PL teeth-PL front.leg-PL NEG=NVPC-SG.M  
 ‘A snake is a thing that has no arms or legs.’ (140224-000:128.509) RNS, LA
- (11.76) *nol wolebil posiagi hiro=da-n.*  
 bird bush.fowl crest NEG=NVPC-SG.M  
 ‘The wolembil bird has no crest on its head.’ (2010-LA-Descriptions.pdf:59) TWL  
 LA
- (11.77) *yawal yiga-l hiro=de-i.*  
 sago.PL thorn-PL NEG=NVPC-PL  
 ‘The sago palms have no thorns.’ (2010-LA-Descriptions.pdf:74) TWL, LA

## 11.4 Negation of multi-predicate clauses

Yeri clauses frequently involve more than one predicate (see chapter 13). Whenever a clause like this is negated, *hiro* precedes the first negated predicate and any verbs that follow in the clause that follows occur in their irrealis forms. Since verbs that are under the scope

<sup>7</sup>I refer to these non-verbal pronominal clitics as ‘possessor indexes’ in this construction, due to their frequent use to index possessors. These indexes are analogous to locative objects, those applicative objects which depict locations, in the verbal variant of the posture verb construction (see section 7.7.1.4).

of negation occur in a distinct irrealis form than non-negated verbs, I first discuss multi-predicate clauses that include only verbal predicates. Elicited examples with multi-predicate clauses including only verbal predicates are provided for illustration in (11.78)-(11.81), before turning to multi-predicate clauses that also include non-verbal predicates.

Example (11.78) demonstrates the multi-predicate clause *ngeika moti wdawo hasieki-l* ‘he put the pot on the fire’, while the same multi-predicate clause is negated in (11.79). Both verbs occur in their irrealis forms when the clause is negated.

- (11.78) te-n    n-gei-ka-Ø                      moti w-d-awo                      hasieki-l.  
           3-SG.M 3SG.M-leave.R-AUG-SG.F pot    3SG.F-MDL-set.R fire-PL  
           ‘He put the pot on the fire.’ (140410-045:891.336) DE, LA

- (11.79) te-n    hiro n-gi-ka-Ø                      moti w-d-iwo                      hasieki-l.  
           3-SG.M NEG 3SG.M-leave.I-AUG-SG.F pot    3SG.F-MDL-set.I fire-PL  
           ‘He did not put the pot on the fire.’ (140410-045:896.346) DE, LA

That irrealis marking is obligatory for each verb following *hiro* can be seen in the ungrammaticality of examples (11.80) and (11.81). When even one of the verbs occurs in its realis form while under the scope of negation, the utterance is judged ungrammatical.<sup>8</sup>

- (11.80) \*te-n    hiro n-gi-ka-Ø                      moti w-d-awo                      hasieki-l.  
           3-SG.M NEG 3SG.M-leave.I-AUG-SG.F pot    3SG.F-MDL-set.R fire-PL.  
           ‘He did not put the pot on the fire.’ (140410-045:906.124) GJ, LA

- (11.81) \*te-n    hiro n-gei-ka-Ø                      moti w-d-iwo                      hasieki-l  
           3-SG.M NEG 3SG.M-leave.R-AUG-SG.F pot    3SG.F-MDL-set.I fire-PL  
           ‘He did not put the pot on the fire.’ (140410-045:911.466) GJ, LA

Furthermore, it is not simply the mismatch in mood between the verbs in (11.80) and (11.81) that is responsible for the ungrammaticality. When all of the verbs in a negated multi-predicate clause occur in the realis mood, the example is also judged ungrammatical. This is shown in (11.82), where the multi-predicate clause *nwgorwedi hebi nana* ‘he came and followed us’ is under the scope of the negative particle, but both *gorði* ‘follow’ and *ana* ‘come’ occur in their realis forms. Only when each verb in the negated multi-predicate clause occurs in the irrealis mood is the utterance judged acceptable, as in (11.83).

- (11.82) \*te-n    hiro n-w-gorwedi                      hebi n-ana.  
           3-SG.M NEG 3SG.M-1PL-follow.R 1PL 3SG.M-come.R  
           ‘He did not come follow us.’ (140410-045:1111.956) GJ, LA

<sup>8</sup>In the recordings of the ungrammatical examples, the speaker says the ungrammatical sentence followed by *wilua* ‘bad’ to mean that this form is ungrammatical.



- (11.83) te-n hiro n-w-girwedi hebi n-ina.  
 3-SG.M NEG 3SG.M-1PL-follow.I 1PL 3SG.M-come.I  
 ‘He did not come follow us.’ (140410-045:1105.956) GJ, LA

When verbs in consecutive clauses occur, only verbs that follow the negative particle within the same clause are under the scope of negation. Examples like (11.84) and (11.85) include multiple verbs, but the verbs belong to distinct clauses. The verbs which precede the negative particle (i.e. *arepia* ‘boil’ and *dore* ‘get up’) are not a part of the clause. In example (11.84), the woman does boil food, and in example (11.85), she does get up. Only the verbs following *hiro* ‘no’ are under the scope of negation and must occur in the irrealis mood.

- (11.84) te- $\emptyset$  w-a< $\emptyset$ >repia hiro w-ie<he>ga yati.  
 3-SG.F 3SG.F-boil.R<SG.F> NEG 3SG.F-eat.I<SG.F> sago  
 ‘She cooked it, but didn’t eat sago.’ (140417-017:323.041) GJ, LA
- (11.85) te- $\emptyset$  w-dore hiro w-ie<he>ga yati.  
 3-SG.F 3SG.F-get.up.R NEG 3SG.F-eat.I<SG.F> sago  
 ‘She got up, but didn’t eat sago.’ (140417-017:354.865) GJ, LA

Unlike example (11.85), both *dore* ‘get up’ and *oga* ‘eat’ belong to the same clause and follow the negative particle in (11.86). For this reason, both verbs fall under the scope of *hiro* ‘no’ and occur in the irrealis mood.

- (11.86) te- $\emptyset$  hiro w-dire w-ie< $\emptyset$ >ga yati.  
 3-SG.F NEG 3SG.F-get.up.I 3SG.F-eat.I<SG.F> sago  
 ‘She did not get up and eat sago.’ (140417-017:337.114) GJ, LA

Examples (11.87)–(11.90) come from natural discourse and demonstrate negated multi-predicate clauses.

- (11.87) hiro h-d-ikewa h-dierpi.  
 NEG 1PL-REC-be.angry.I 1PL-fight.I  
 ‘We didn’t get angry with each other and fight.’ (120608-003:421.720) RNS, JS
- (11.88) ki hiro m-iede- $\emptyset$  h-ero.  
 already NEG 1SG-and.I-SG.F 1PL-go.I  
 ‘I didn’t go with her.’ (120529-001:16.255) GE-[iepeda], JS
- (11.89) te-i ta hiro  $\emptyset$ -ina  $\emptyset$ -w-itia hebi hiro.  
 3-PL FUT NEG 3PL-come.I 3PL-1PL-see.I 1PL NEG  
 ‘They will not come and see us.’ (120621-001:241.723) RNS, AS

- (11.90) te-i ta hiro si Ø-ero Ø-inia-i hamei hiro.  
 3-PL FUT NEG again 3PL-go.I 3PL-call.I-PL people NEG  
 ‘They will not go again and call the people.’ (120621-001:1028.650) RNS, AS

The only time a verb is negated and does not show irrealis mood marking is when the verb belongs to a small class of verbs like *ol* ‘cut’ which do not contrast distinct realis and irrealis forms when they occur without predicate morphemes. These verbs are irregular in that the mood vowels only occur when predicate morphemes also occur. Additional discussion regarding the realis and irrealis forms of verbs like these is found in section 7.6.

Although multi-predicate clauses consisting of only verbal predicates are very common, it is not uncommon for multi-predicate clauses to involve non-verbal predicates as well (see section 13.4). As non-verbal predicates cannot be marked for realis or irrealis mood, the only indication that a non-verbal predicate in a multi-predicate clause is negated is its occurrence following the negative particle *hiro* and its meaning. In (11.91), an ideophone *pitipitital* ‘speckled, sweat’ is negated along with the verb *odinia* ‘how, do in what way’. As is common with longer multi-predicate clauses, *hiro* ‘no’ both precedes the first predicate and occurs clause-finally (see section 11.5).

- (11.91) hiro pitipitital n-iedinia-n hiro.  
 NEG speckled 3SG.M-how.I-SG.M NEG  
 ‘It’s not spotted like that.’ (120611-004:62.236) RNS, JS

Another example is shown in example (11.92), where the ideophone *palpal* ‘fly’ and the verb *akia* ‘go by way of’ are both negated.

- (11.92) nol wolebil wdi n-akia hewo, hiro palpal n-ikia tupi.  
 bird bush.fowl usually 3SG.M-go.via.R bottom NEG fly 3SG.M-go.via.I top  
 ‘The wolebil bird usually walks on the ground, it doesn’t fly in the air.’ (2010-LA-Descriptions.pdf:51) TWL, LA

For more information on non-verbal predicates in multi-predicate clauses, see section 13.4.

## 11.5 Negative concord

Although not obligatory, it is common for the negative particle *hiro* to occur clause-finally in addition to preceding a negated predicate.<sup>9</sup> This optionality is demonstrated in the elicited examples shown in (11.93)-(11.96).

<sup>9</sup>Although it is common for *hiro* to occur twice in the same clause, a single instance of the negative particle appears to be the more frequent way to express negation in the language.

- (11.93) te- $\emptyset$  hiro w-iedi yati.  
 3-SG.F NEG 3SG.F-make.I sago  
 ‘She is not making sago.’ (140410-045:1192.831) DE, LA
- (11.94) te- $\emptyset$  hiro w-iedi yati, hiro.  
 3-SG.F NEG 3SG.F-make.I sago NEG  
 ‘She is not making sago.’ (140410-045:1197.956) DE, LA
- (11.95) yem la hiro y-er tihelo.  
 2PL PST NEG 2PL-go.to.I garden  
 ‘You (pl) did not go to the garden.’ (140410-045:1212.524) DE, LA
- (11.96) yem la hiro y-er tihelo, hiro.  
 2PL PST NEG 2PL-go.to.I garden NEG  
 ‘You (pl) did not go to the garden.’ (140410-045:1216.826) DE, LA

Examples from natural discourse are provided in (11.97)-(11.100). Shorter examples have been chosen for illustrative purposes, but two occurrences of *hiro* ‘no’ is particularly common with longer clauses involving more than one predicate. When more than one predicate occurs, *hiro* precedes the first predicate and optionally also occurs clause-finally.

- (11.97) hebi ta hiro h-y-ikirki ye hiro.  
 1PL FUT NEG 1PL-2-help.I 2SG NEG  
 ‘We will not help you (sg).’ (120621-001:267.085) RNS, AS
- (11.98) ta hiro w-er w-ie nogil nogil, hiro.  
 FUT NEG 3SG.F-go.to.I 3SG.F-stay.I village village NEG  
 ‘She will not go and stay in other villages.’ (120608-003:445.430) RNS, JS
- (11.99) hiro h-iermia tumani mani hiro.  
 NEG 1PL-stay.I building inside NEG  
 ‘We weren’t staying inside the house.’ (120524-005:660.305) RNS, JS
- (11.100) hiro w-iedi tumani w-iruba- $\emptyset$ , hiro.  
 NEG 3PL-make.I building 3PL-do.well.I-SG.F NEG  
 ‘They do not build a house in the right way.’ (120522-002:61.140) RNS, JS

This use of pre-predicate and clause-final *hiro* is also common with non-verbal clauses. Examples (11.101)-(11.103) demonstrate negated adjective predicates with *nabe* ‘good’, *ilua* ‘bad’, and *lope* ‘big’ being negated in this way, while example (11.104) demonstrates the negated nominal predicate *tumani yepia* ‘empty, only building’.

- (11.101) yot-ua- $\emptyset$  hiro w- $\emptyset$ =nabe- $\emptyset$  hiro.  
 DEM-DIST-SG.F NEG REL-SG=good-SG.F NEG  
 ‘There is not good.’ (120518-000:365.656) RNS, JS
- (11.102) te-n yot-u-n male la hiro w=ilua-n hiro.  
 3-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M also PST NEG REL=bad-SG.M NEG  
 ‘He also didn’t feel bad.’ (120702-006:243.385) GE-[tikiltekil pian], JS
- (11.103) nol lopegi, te- $\emptyset$  hiro w- $\emptyset$ =lope- $\emptyset$ =da-i, hiro.  
 bird lopegi.bird 3-SG.F NEG REL-SG=big-SG.F=NVPC-PL NEG  
 ‘The lopegi bird, she is not very big.’ (140421-165:10.276) RNS, JS
- (11.104) tumani yot-u- $\emptyset$  ki hasieki-l w-o<he>ga hiro tumani  
 building DEM-MDIST-SG.F already fire-PL 3PL-eat.R<SG.F> NEG building  
 yepia- $\emptyset$  hiro  
 empty-SG.F NEG  
 ‘That house there that the fire ate, it was not an empty house.’ (120705-003:457.512)  
 GE, JS

In (11.105) and (11.106), pre-predicate and clause-final *hiro* occur with genitive predicates.

- (11.105) losi hiro w-ei=di- $\emptyset$  nogil Yeri hiro.  
 name NEG REL-PL=3-SG.F village Yeri NEG  
 ‘The name does not belong to Yeri.’ (120528-008:324.010) RNS, JS  
 CI: The name Yapunda did not come from Yeri speakers.
- (11.106) hiro hanogil w- $\emptyset$ =yem Poloyolpa yem yot-ua-i hiro  
 NEG ground REL-SG.F=2PL Yolpa.village 2PL DEM-DIST-PL NEG  
 ‘It is not your (pl) land, you (pl) Yolpa people there.’ (120524-005:59.055) RNS,  
 JS

Lastly, two occurrences of *hiro* ‘no’ is especially common when multi-predicate clauses are negated. The negative particle precedes the first predicate in the multi-predicate clause and occurs in clause-final position of the multi-predicate clause. Each verb which occurs between the negative particles shows irrealis marking. For instance, in example (11.107), the verbs *ar* ‘go’, *geiboni* ‘set fire’, and *ie* ‘hear’ all occur in the irrealis mood. The negative particle precedes the first negated predicate *ar* ‘go’, and occurs in clause-final position of the multi-predicate clause, which is clear from the irrealis form of *ie* ‘hear’.

- (11.107) te-n la hiro n-ero sikul, giboni peho n-ida wikal, hiro.  
 3-SG.M PST NEG 3SG.M-go.I school set.fire.I grass 3SG.M-hear.I language NEG  
 ‘He did not go to school, burn the grass, and hear the talk.’ (140417-017:379.024)  
 DE, LA

Another example from from natural discourse is provided in (11.108).

- (11.108) ta hiro m-ie<∅>ga neigal, m-ie<∅>ga nanu-la, sohena,  
 FUT NEG 1SG-eat.I<SG.F> cuscus 1SG-eat.I<SG.F> fish-SG eel  
 paluagi, yamega, nalu, hiro.  
 paluagi.fish yamega.fish cassowary NEG  
 ‘I won’t eat cuscus, fish, eel, two-tail fish, yamega fish, cassowary.’ (120601-012:315.983) RNS, YW

## 11.6 Assertion of the positive

This section describes a common discourse pattern in Yeri whereby negation of a non-verbal predicate is often immediately followed by a positive statement involving an antonym of the negated predicate. This is particularly frequent with adjectives, as in (11.109) and (11.110), but can also be seen with other non-verbal predicates like the nominal predicates in (11.111) and (11.112) or the quantifier predicate in (11.113).

- (11.109) nuagi w-∅=de-n hiro sipeki-l. w-∅=lope-n.  
 bunch REL-SG=3-SG.M NEG little-SG REL-SG=big-SG.M  
 ‘The bunch is not small. It’s big.’ (120517-001:1746.000) RNS, JS
- (11.110) yawi w-∅=de-n hiro sibelial moki. tiawa-∅.  
 tail REL-SG=3-SG.M NEG long very short-SG.F  
 ‘Its tail is not very long. It’s short.’ (140421-162:36.607) RNS, JS
- (11.111) helol w-ei=de-∅ tumani hiro helol sipeki-i. helol w-ei=lopi-lope-i.  
 work REL-PL=3-SG.F building NEG work little-PL work REL-PL=RED-big-PL  
 ‘The big work for building the house is not simple work. It is very hard work.’  
 (120522-002:333.456) RNS, JS
- (11.112) te-∅ hiro nanu-la sibelial. nanu-la tiawa-∅.  
 3-SG.F NEG fish-SG long fish-SG short-SG.F  
 ‘She is not a long fish. She is a short fish.’ (140421-160:43.289) RNS, JS
- (11.113) hano-lbia hiro sapiten. wia-i papi.  
 tree.grub-PL NEG many two-F only  
 ‘The tree crabs were not many. They were just a few.’ (120621-004:212.365) RNS,  
 TW

This is also common with verbal copula predicates, as shown in (11.114).

- (11.114) mol-wil-gal hiro  $\emptyset$ -ie      meno-l.  $\emptyset$ -o      yauke-bia.  
 pot-PL-PL NEG 3PL-COP.I heavy-PL 3PL-COP.R light-PL  
 ‘The pots are not heavy. They are light.’ (140410-045:1307.384) DE, LA

Less frequently, other verbal predicates like *datiki* ‘be happy’ or *daniba* ‘be fat’ occur, as in (11.115) and (11.116). Note that although it is common for the negated predicate and the following positive statement to be the same type of predicate, it is not obligatory. In example (11.116), the verbal predicate *daniba* ‘be fat’ is negated, while a predicate composed of the adnominal *sipeki* ‘little’ is asserted.

- (11.115) h-ormia,      hem wan    w-n=hem      hiro m-ditiki.      wan  
 1PL-stay.R.IPFV 1SG heart REL-SG.M=1SG NEG 1SG-be.happy.I heart  
 n-o      meno.  
 3SG.M-COP.R heavy  
 ‘We stay and I am not happy. I am worried.’ (120524-005:387.938) RNS, JS
- (11.116) hem m-d-aniba.      hiro sipeki-l.  
 1SG 1SG-MDL-be.fat.R NEG little-SG  
 ‘I was fat. I was not small’ (120601-012:217.141) RNS, YW

## 11.7 Variable pronunciation of *hiro*

When the negative particle *hiro* is immediately preceded by a tense particle, especially in rapid speech, several pronunciations can occur. These variants include /tero/, /tara/, and /taro/ with the future tense particle *ta* (see section 10.1.1.2), and /lero/, /lara/ and /laro/ with the past tense particle *la* (see section 10.1.1.1). Of these variants, /tero/ and /lero/ appear to be most frequent and can be seen in the elicited examples (11.118) and (11.120) in contrast with the slower and more enunciated pronunciations of *ta hiro* and *la hiro* in (11.117) and (11.119).

- (11.117) ye    ta    hiro n-gini.  
 2SG FUT NEG 2SG-dive.I  
 ‘You (sg) will not dive.’ (140417-017:155.460) DE, LA
- (11.118) jɛ    tɛrɔ      nɪ<sup>ŋ</sup>gini.  
 ye    ta hiro    n-gini.  
 2SG FUT NEG 2SG-dive.I  
 ‘You (sg) will not dive.’ (140417-017:153.795) GJ, LA
- (11.119) ʊɪrɔ nanu<sup>m</sup>bia la    ʊɪrɔ di<sup>n</sup>di      wul.  
 hiro nanu-bia la    hiro  $\emptyset$ -didi      wul.  
 NEG fish-PL    PST NEG 3PL-stand.I water  
 ‘No, there were no fish in the water.’ (140312-052:1430.343) DE, LA

- (11.120) nanu<sup>m</sup>bia lɛɾɔ      di<sup>n</sup>di      wul.  
 nanu-bia la hiro    Ø-didi      wul.  
 fish-PL    PST NEG 3PL-stand.I water  
 ‘There were no fish in the water.’ (140312-052:1427.995) GJ, LA

These variants are particularly worth noting since the last variant /taro/ or /laro/ is difficult to distinguish from the very common sequence of tense particle followed by the form *aro* ‘go’. This is because the directional verb *ar* ‘go’ (see section 7.7.1.3) frequently occurs as *aro* and is very common as the first verb in a multi-predicate clause (see section 13.2). In these contexts, the irrealis form of the verb may be the only indication of negation if clause-final *hiro* does not occur (see section 11.5.). For ease of discussion, I focus on examples involving sequences of *ta hiro*.

Consider example (11.121) where /taro/ is interpreted as ‘will go’ as opposed to example (11.122) where /taro/ is interpreted as ‘will not’.

- (11.121) uɛ<sup>m</sup>bi tarɔ                      uɾɾ      tina<sup>m</sup>bɔ.  
 hebi ta Ø-aro      h-or      tinabo.  
 1PL    FUT 1PL-go.R 1PL-lie.R cultural.house  
 ‘We will go and sleep in our cultural house.’ (120712-003:124.855) RNS, PM
- (11.122) tarɔ                      mimina.  
 ta hiro    m-i<me>na.  
 FUT NEG 1SG-come.I<IPFV>  
 ‘I will not come.’ (120606-000:331.884) RNS, JS

It is only the irrealis form of the verb *ana* ‘come’ in example (11.122) that indicates /taro/ should be interpreted as *ta hiro* ‘will not’ and not *ta aro* ‘will go’. Additional elicited examples are provided in (11.123)-(11.125), where the following verb occurs in the realis mood and signals the interpretation as ‘will go X’ rather than ‘will not X’.

- (11.123) tɛn      tarɔ                      ni<sup>ɔ</sup>garkua.  
 te-n    ta aro      n-garkua.  
 3-SG.M FUT go.R 3SG.M-wash.R  
 ‘He will go wash.’ (140417-017:203.889) DE, LA
- (11.124) uɛ<sup>m</sup> tarɔ                      mɔltɔɔ                      pɛuɾɔ.  
 hem ta aro    m-ol-ha-Ø                      pɛho.  
 1SG FUT go.R 1SG-ol.R-AUG-SG.F grass  
 ‘I will go cut grass.’ (140417-017:268.190) DE, LA
- (11.125) nɔl    tarɔ                      pɛlpɛl.  
 nɔl ta aro    palpɛl.  
 bird FUT go.R fly  
 ‘The bird will go fly.’ (140417-017:210.335) DE, LA

For this reason, it is not surprising that /taro/ does not appear to be a pronunciation variant of *ta hiro* ‘will not’ with non-verbal predicates where irrealis mood marking is not available to distinguish the two possible meanings. When examples of /taro/ used in conjunction with a non-verbal predicate are provided to speakers, these examples are consistently translated as ‘will go X’ rather than ‘will not X’.<sup>10</sup>

Although consultants did not translate /taro/ as ‘will not’ when it immediately preceded a non-verbal predicate, examples like (11.126) demonstrate the occurrence of /tero/ meaning ‘will not’ with non-verbal predicates.

- (11.126) nɔl tɛrɔ pɛlpɛl.  
 nol ta hiro palpɛl  
 bird FUT NEG fly  
 ‘The bird will not fly.’ (140417-017:215.446) GJ, LA

The /tero/ variant also occurs with verbs which do not have distinct forms for irrealis and realis mood when they occur without predicate morphemes (see section 7.6.). This is demonstrated with the verb *ol* ‘cut’ in (11.127).

- (11.127) ʉɛm tɛrɔ mɔluʉ pɛʉɔ.  
 hem ta hiro m-ol-ha-∅ peho.  
 1SG FUT NEG 1SG-cut-AUG-SG.F grass  
 ‘I will not go cut grass.’ (140417-017:271.650) GJ, LA

Examples from natural discourse are provided with *ta hiro* being pronounced as /taro/ in (11.128)-(11.130), /tara/ in (11.131)-(11.135) and /tero/ in (11.136)-(11.138).

- (11.128) tarɔ niɛ<sup>n</sup>dia niru<sup>m</sup>ba.  
 ta hiro n-iedi-a-∅ n-iruba-∅.  
 FUT NEG 2SG-make.I-AUG-SG.F 2SG-do.well.I-SG.F  
 ‘You (sg) will not build well.’ (120522-002:545.336) RNS, JS

- (11.129) ʉɛ<sup>m</sup>bi ʉiɾɔ ʉiɾia<sup>n</sup>dai ti tarɔ wi<sup>ŋ</sup>girdi wia wɛiʉɛ<sup>m</sup>bi  
 hebi hiro h-iria-da-i te-i ta hiro w-girdi wia w-ei=hebi  
 1PL NEG 1PL-do.I-AUG-PL 3-PL FUT NEG 3PL-follow.I hand REL-PL=1PL  
 ʉiɾɔ.  
 hiro  
 NEG

‘We don’t do that. They will not follow us, no’ (120518-001:334.830) RNS, JS

<sup>10</sup>It is possible that /taro/ (and the corresponding /laro/) could be used to express ‘will not’ or ‘did not’, but since ‘will go’ and ‘did go’ are the most salient or common translations, consultants consistently translated examples like these as ‘will go’ or ‘did go’ and did not recognize the ‘will not’ or ‘do not’ interpretations as acceptable translations when questioned. However, if /taro/ and /laro/ are pronunciational variants of *ta hiro* and *la hiro* with non-verbal predicates, they at least do not appear to be common. Searching the glossed section of the corpus found no examples.



- (11.130) tarɔ wie wi<sup>n</sup>dimiru<sup>m</sup>ba tinɔ<sup>ɲ</sup>gil.  
 ta hiro w-ie w-d-i<me>ru<sup>a</sup>-∅ tinogil.  
 FUT NEG 3PL-stay.I 3PL-MDL-do.well.I<IPFV>-SG.F village  
 ‘They won’t live well in the village.’ (120518-001:275.581) RNS, JS
- (11.131) uɛ<sup>m</sup>bi tara uɪ<sup>ɲ</sup>girdi<sup>n</sup>dai uɪrɔ.  
 hebi ta hiro h-girdi-da-i hiro.  
 1PL FUT NEG 1PL-follow.I-AUG-PL NEG  
 ‘We will not follow them.’ (120621-001:1023.790) RNS, AS
- (11.132) tara girua.  
 ta hiro ∅-gire-wa-∅.  
 FUT NEG 3PL-dig.I-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘They will not dig it.’ (120608-000:214.510) RNS, JS
- (11.133) ɔtua uɛ<sup>m</sup> tara miɛ<sup>m</sup>ia tinɔ<sup>ɲ</sup>gil siwɛi.  
 yot-ua-∅ hem ta hiro m-iɛ<sup>m</sup>ia tinogil siwei.  
 DEM-DIST-SG.F 1SG FUT NEG 1SG-stay.I village again  
 ‘There I will not stay at home again.’ (120518-000:172.410) RNS, JS
- (11.134) tɛn ta ni<sup>n</sup>darku. tara jɔmiɛl.  
 te-n ta n-darku ta hiro yomial  
 3-SG.M FUT 3SG.M-run.R FUT NEG slow  
 ‘He will run very fast. He won’t be slow.’ (120611-004:261.790) RNS, JS
- (11.135) tara miria wɔ mɛnɔ.  
 ta hiro m-iria w-COP.R meno.  
 FUT NEG 1SG-do.I 3SG.F-COP.O heavy  
 ‘I will not cause trouble.’ (120524-005:776.680) RNS, JS
- (11.136) ti tɛrɔ iɛuɛ<sup>m</sup>ba.  
 te-i ta hiro ∅-ie<he>ba  
 3-PL FUT NEG 3PL-shoot.I<SG.F>  
 ‘They will not shoot it.’ (120528-004:162.790) RNS, JS
- (11.137) tɛrɔ miɛ<sup>n</sup>da jɛ uɪrɔ.  
 ta hiro m-y-ida ye hiro.  
 FUT NEG 1SG-2-chop.I 2SG NEG  
 ‘I will not chop you (sg).’ (120528-005:413.440) RNS, JS
- (11.138) ki marɔ jɔta. tɛrɔ si mimina uɪrɔ.  
 ki m-aro yot-a-∅. ta hiro si m-i<me>na hiro.  
 already 1SG-go.R DEM-PROX-SG.F FUT NEG again 1SG-come.I<IPFV> NEG  
 ‘I went here. I will not come back again.’ (120606-000:319.212) RNS, JS

## 11.8 The non-negating use of *hiro*

When *hiro* ‘no’ precedes a predicate, it typically results in the negation of that predicate. This is clear from examples like (11.139) and (11.140), where both *datiki* ‘be happy’ and *no silka* ‘sharp’ are negated.

- (11.139) hebi hiro h-ditiki nadi.  
 1PL NEG 1PL-be.happy.I very  
 ‘We are not very happy.’ (140410-048:82.397) DE, LA
- (11.140) sahal yot-ua-n w=ilua-n nadi. hiro n-ie silka.  
 bush.knife DEM-DIST-SG.M REL=bad-SG.M very NEG 3SG.M-COP.I sharp  
 ‘That bush knife is very bad. It is not sharp.’ (140408-205:505.996) GE-[sahal yotuan], JS

However, there is another use of *hiro* which does not negate the following predicate. Instead, the particle *hiro* can be used to express a sense of surprise, wonder, or intensity. This non-negating use is particularly obvious with verbal predicates due to the lack of irrealis marking on the verb. Consider examples (11.141)-(11.143), where *hiro* precedes the verb *datiki* ‘be happy’ or the verbal copula *o*. Neither of these verbs occurs in its irrealis form and neither are interpreted as being negated. Rather, speakers describe the meaning of *hiro* in examples like these as expressing surprise or emphasizing the following predicate.

- (11.141) hebi hiro, h-datiki nadi.  
 1PL NEG 1PL-be.happy.R very  
 ‘We are very happy.’ (140410-048:94.435) DE, LA  
 LT: ‘We no, we are very happy.’
- (11.142) wan w-n=hem hiro, m-datiki nadi.  
 heart REL-SG.M=1SG NEG 1SG-be.happy.R very  
 ‘I was very happy.’ (120524-005:650.219) RNS, JS  
 LT: ‘My heart, no, I was very happy.’
- (11.143) n-aro, hiro, n-o silka nadi.  
 3SG.M-go.R, NEG 3SG.M-COP.R sharp very  
 ‘It had gone, no, it was very sharp.’ (120607-001:34.210) GE-[nampualha], JS  
 CI: I sharpened my bush knife and it had become very sharp.

Although verbs obligatorily occur with irrealis marking when being negated (see section 11.2.1), the verbal copula only optionally shows irrealis marking (see section 11.2). While irrealis marking on the verbal copula is prescriptively preferred, as shown in (11.144),

examples like (11.145), where the verbal copula occurs in the realis mood, are equally acceptable. Given this optionality, the non-negating use of *hiro* cannot always be distinguished from its negating use by the occurrence of irrealis marking alone.

- (11.144) neigal yot-a-n                      hiro n-ie                      haike-ta                      nadi.  
 cuscus DEM-PROX-SG.M NEG 3SG.M-COP.I white.cockatoo-SG very  
 ‘This cuscus here, it is not very white.’ (140410-048:39.201) DE, LA

- (11.145) neigal yot-a-n                      hiro n-o                      haike-ta                      nadi.  
 cuscus DEM-PROX-SG.M NEG 3SG.M-COP.R white.cockatoo-SG very  
 ‘This cuscus here, it is not very white.’ (140410-048:23.532) DE, LA

In those contexts where *hiro* occurs with a verbal copula in realis mood, only intonation and context can distinguish between the two possible interpretations. Compare (11.145), where the copula word expression *o haiketa* ‘be white’ is negated, and (11.146), where the copula word expression *o haiketa* ‘be white’ is not negated. These two examples were specifically elicited out of context for illustrative purposes, and can be distinguished only by their different intonational patterns. In the non-negating use in (11.146), *hiro* is pronounced with longer duration than the negating *hiro* and has an additional pause afterwards, symbolized by a comma.

- (11.146) neigal yot-a-n                      hiro, n-o                      haike-ta                      nadi.  
 cuscus DEM-PROX-SG.M NEG 3SG.M-COP.R white.cockatoo-SG very  
 ‘This cuscus here is very white.’ (140410-048:30.604) DE, LA  
 LT: ‘This cuscus here, no, it is very white.’

Similarly, since non-verbal predicates make no distinction in form for realis and irrealis mood, intonation and context alone distinguish whether *hiro* should be interpreted in its non-negating use when preceding non-verbal predicates. Compare negated examples (11.147) and (11.148) to the non-negated example in (11.149). In the first two examples, (11.147) and (11.148), *hiro* is used to negate the quantifier *sapiten* ‘many’. That the speaker intends this negated meaning is especially clear in (11.147) because the speaker immediately afterwards specifies the amount as being *wiai papi* ‘a few’. However, in (11.149), *hiro* does not negate *sapiten* ‘many’. Rather, *hiro* is used to encode surprise at the information, namely that there is such a large amount of fish.

- (11.147) hano-lbia    hiro sapiten. wia-i papi.  
 tree.grub-PL NEG many    two-F only  
 ‘The tree crabs were not many. They were just a few.’ (120621-004:212.365) RNS, TW

- (11.148) nanu-bia hiro sapiten.  
 fish-PL NEG many  
 ‘The fish are not many.’ (140410-048:7.889) DE, LA

- (11.149) nanu-bia hiro, sapiten.  
 fish-PL NEG many  
 ‘The fish are many.’ (140410-048:12.337) DE, LA  
 LT: ‘The fish no, they are many.’

A direct comparison between (11.148) and (11.149), which were specifically elicited out of context, demonstrates the use of intonation alone in distinguishing the two meanings. At its core, this difference in intonation involves a distinction in the length of *hiro*, with the non-negating use of *hiro* being pronounced typically two to three times longer than the negating use. In addition to this length distinction, a pause immediately following *hiro* and a higher pitch on *hiro* can also occur. The pitch contours for examples (11.148) and (11.149) are provided in Figure 11.1 and Figure 11.2 respectively for illustration.

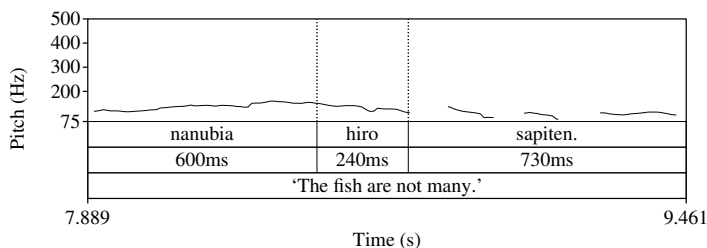


Figure 11.1: Negating use of *hiro* in example (11.148)

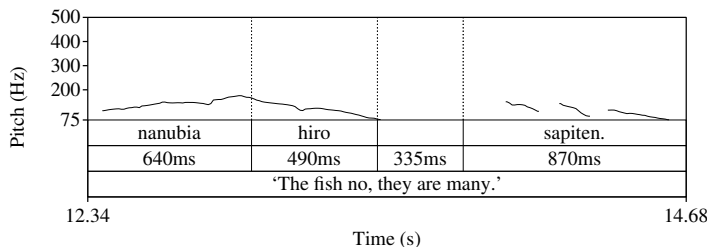


Figure 11.2: Non-negating use of *hiro* in example (11.149)

Consider the negating use of *hiro* in Figure 11.1 where *hiro* has a length of approximately 240 (ms) as compared to its non-negating use in Figure 11.2 where its length is approximately

490 (ms). The longer duration of *hiro* in its non-negating use can be found paired with a pause following *hiro* in Figure 11.2.

Although most uses of non-negating *hiro* appear to precede the predicate, there are examples in natural discourse like (11.150) and (11.151), where *hiro* occurs clause-finally. In these contexts, the longer duration of *hiro* in its non-negating use is the most obvious distinction.

- (11.150) nanu-la h-o<ne>ga tia-tiawa-n ŋa-n ŋa-n, hiro.  
 fish-SG 1PL-eat.R<SG.M> RED-short-SG.M one-SG.M one-SG.M NEG  
 ‘Fish, we eat each half, one by one, wow.’ (120524-005:591.730) RNS, JS  
 CI: This can be said in a context where a lot of fish were eaten.

- (11.151) si h-aro h-ormia yot-ua-∅ siwei  
 again 1PL-go.R 1PL-stay.R.IPFV DEM-DIST-SG.F again  
 dal-∅-d-al<me>loia hiro.  
 RED-1PL-REFL-turn.R<IPFV> NEG  
 ‘We went again to stay there and then we were turning back, oh.’ (120606-000:201.256) RNS, JS

Where examples involve verbs, mood marking on the verb indicates how this clause-final *hiro* is being used. Despite this, examples like (11.152) and (11.153) can be superficially quite similar to examples like (11.154), which involve a non-verbal variant of a posture verb construction expressing existence (see section 11.3.2). In example (11.152) and (11.153), *siweya mayi lolewa* and *mawuhegal* are objects of the verb *atia* ‘see’. In example (11.152), *hiro* occurs clause-finally to indicate surprise that the man saw yams where he expected none, and in example (11.153), *hiro* occurs clause-finally to indicate that you will see many mawu trees. However, in example (11.154), the non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction *hedia hiro* functions as a complement (see section 14.2.4.1) to the verb *atia* ‘see’ to indicate that the man saw there was no mustard.

- (11.152) n-atia siweya mayi lolewa hiro.  
 3SG.M-see.R siweya.yam mayi.yam thing NEG  
 ‘He saw yams and things, no way.’ (120623-002:274.175) RNS, YW
- (11.153) ta n-eikia hogeta hogeta ta n-atr-e-i mawu-hegal hiro.  
 FUT 2SG-walk.R forest forest FUT 2SG-see.R-AUG-PL mawu.tree-PL NEG  
 ‘If you (sg) walk in the forest, you (sg) will see many mawu trees.’ (140304-011:158.480) RNS, LA
- (11.154) m-arkou m-aro m-atia hedia hiro.  
 1SG-ascend.R 1SG-go.R 1SG-see.R mustard NEG  
 ‘I went up and saw there was no mustard.’ (120524-000:112.779) RNS, LN

The contrast between the use of *hiro* to negate a predicate and its use to encode surprise, wonder, or intensity is possible with all predicates. Paired elicited examples of the negating and non-negating use of *hiro* with non-verbal predicates are provided in (11.155)-(11.164).

- (11.155) te-i hiro palpal.  
 3-PL NEG fly  
 ‘They do not fly.’ (140410-049:90.592) DE, LA
- (11.156) te-i hiro, palpal.  
 3-PL NEG fly  
 ‘They do fly.’ (140410-049:100.592) DE, LA  
 LT: ‘They no, they fly.’
- (11.157) hebi hiro wia-m nadi.  
 1PL NEG two-M only  
 ‘We are not only two.’ (140410-049:8.327) DE, LA
- (11.158) hebi hiro, wia-m nadi.  
 1PL NEG two-M only  
 ‘We are only two.’ (140410-049:17.460) DE, LA  
 LT: ‘We no, we are only two.’
- (11.159) nanu-bia yot-u-i hiro w-ei=lopi-lope-i.  
 fish-PL DEM-MDIST-PL NEG REL-PL=RED-big-PL  
 ‘Those fish are not big.’ (140410-048:76.285) DE, LA
- (11.160) nanu-bia yot-u-i hiro, w-ei=lopi-lope-i.  
 fish-PL DEM-MDIST-PL NEG REL-PL=RED-big-PL  
 ‘Those fish are big.’ (140410-048:67.051) DE, LA  
 LT: ‘Those fish, no, they are big.’
- (11.161) nati yot-u-n hiro tiawa-n nadi.  
 coconut DEM-MDIST-SG.M NEG short-SG.M very  
 ‘That coconut is not very short.’ (140410-049:26.183) DE, LA
- (11.162) nati yot-u-n hiro, tiawa-n nadi.  
 coconut DEM-MDIST-SG.M NEG short-SG.M very  
 ‘That coconut is very short.’ (140410-049:33.183) DE, LA  
 LT: ‘That coconut no, it is very short.’
- (11.163) nol yot-u-∅ hiro si-sipeki-l.  
 bird DEM-MDIST-SG.F NEG RED-little-SG  
 ‘That bird is not small.’ (140410-048:47.006) DE, LA

- (11.164) nol yot-u-∅ hiro, si-sipeki-l.  
bird DEM-MDIST-SG.F NEG RED-little-SG  
'That bird is small.' (140410-048:52.837) DE, LA  
LT: 'That bird no, it is small.'

# Chapter 12

## Questions

This chapter is devoted to the expression of questions in Yeri. A description of polar questions is provided in section 12.1. Information on alternative questions can be found in section 12.2. Section 12.3 focuses on content questions.

### 12.1 Polar questions

Yeri marks polar questions, those questions which ask about the truth of a proposition, through the use of a clause-final particle or by intonation. Section 12.1.1 is dedicated to the use of the clause-final question particle *mai* in the formation of polar questions, while section 12.1.2 describes the use of the negative particle *hiro* as a question particle. Discussion of clause-final rising intonation as a means to signal a polar question is provided in section 12.1.3. Note that polar questions can also be expressed with the form of an alternative question. This phenomenon is described in section 12.2.3 after the form of alternative questions is discussed.

#### 12.1.1 The question particle *mai*

A clause-final question particle *mai* (see section 10.3.3) is the most common means of indicating a neutral polar question. The use of this particle distinguishes declarative statements like (12.1) and (12.2) from polar questions like (12.3) and (12.4). There is no special rising intonation associated with polar questions formed in this way.

- (12.1) te-n      n-dolbi.  
3-SG.M 3SG.M-be.hungry.R  
'He is hungry.' (140414-008:17.735) DE, JS



- (12.2) te- $\emptyset$  ki w-aro w-ori yati.  
 3-SG.F already 3SG.F-go.R 3SG.F-hit.R sago  
 ‘She went to scrape sago.’ (140414-008:338.240) DE, JS
- (12.3) te-n n-dolbi mai?  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-be.hungry.R Q  
 ‘Is he hungry?’ (140414-008:24.809) DE, JS
- (12.4) te- $\emptyset$  ki w-aro w-ori yati mai?  
 3-SG.F already 3SG.F-go.R 3SG.F-hit.R sago Q  
 ‘Did she go to scrape sago?’ (140414-008:279.860) DE, JS

Other examples from natural discourse of the clause-final question particle *mai* are provided in (12.5)-(12.7).

- (12.5) mimi nogi ki y-a<me>na mai?  
 mother ASSOC already 2PL-come.R<IPFV> Q  
 ‘Mothers, are you (pl) coming now?’ (120517-001:1906.552) RNS, JS
- (12.6) nua w-nobia-da-n, “ye paki n-datiki mai?”  
 mother 3SG.F-talk.R-AUG-SG.M 2SG paki 2SG-be.happy.R Q  
 ‘The mother said to him, “You (sg) are really happy, huh?”’ (120517-001:1244.203)  
 RNS, JS
- (12.7) hebi ta h-a<me>ro yot-u- $\emptyset$ , ta  $\emptyset$ -aro  $\emptyset$ -w-ori mai?  
 1PL FUT 1PL-go.R<IPFV> DEM-MDIST-SG.F FUT 3PL-go.R 3PL-1PL-hit.R Q  
 ‘If we go there, will they kill us or not?’ (120524-005:413.008) RNS, JS

The question particle *mai* is frequently, although not obligatorily, lengthened, as in example (12.8). Figure 12.1 shows the waveform and spectrogram for (12.8), where *mai* is noticeably lengthened.

- (12.8) hem m-nobia, “te-i ta  $\emptyset$ -w-ori hebi mai?”  
 1SG 1SG-talk.R 3-PL FUT 3PL-1PL-hit.R 1PL Q  
 ‘I said, “Will they kill us?”’ (120524-005:150.670) RNS, JS

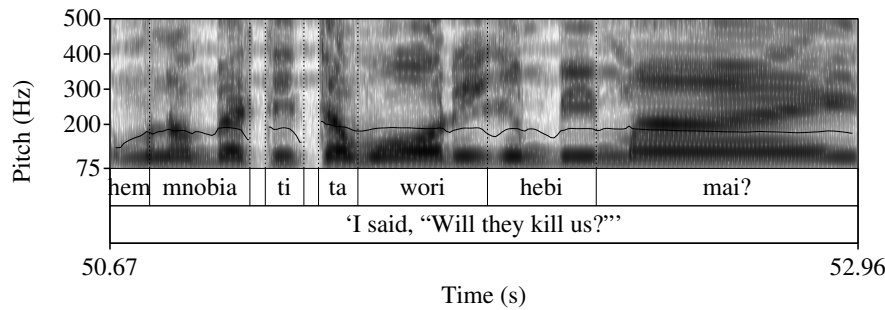


Figure 12.1: Lengthened question particle in example (12.8)

### 12.1.2 The use of the negative particle *hiro*

It is also common for the negative particle *hiro* ‘no’ to be used as a clause-final question particle.<sup>1</sup> Elicited examples demonstrating the use of *hiro* as a question particle are presented in (12.9)-(12.12).

- (12.9) ye ta n-aro toyiki hiro?  
 2SG FUT 2SG-go.R tomorrow NEG  
 ‘Are you (sg) going tomorrow?’ (140417-020:7.511) SE, LA  
 AT: ‘Are you (sg) going tomorrow or not?’

- (12.10) te-n n-dolbi hiro?  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-be.hungry.R NEG  
 ‘Is he hungry?’ (140414-008:41.702) GJ, JS  
 AT: ‘Is he hungry or not?’

- (12.11) te-∅ ki w-aro w-ori yati hiro?  
 3-SG.F already 3SG.F-go.R 3SG.F-hit.R sago NEG  
 ‘Did she go to scrape sago?’ (140414-008:287.033) GJ, JS  
 AT: ‘Did she go to scrape sago or not?’

- (12.12) ye ta n-a<me>r Sumil hiro?  
 2SG FUT 2SG-go.to.R<IPFV> Sumil.village NEG  
 ‘Will you (sg) go to Sumil?’ (140414-008:212.548) GJ, JS  
 AT: ‘Will you (sg) go to Sumil or not?’

<sup>1</sup>Note that if this clause-final *hiro* occurs in conjunction with an earlier use of *hiro*, negation is signaled rather than a polar question. Discussion of this two *hiro* construction is found in section 11.5.

The negative particle can co-occur with the dedicated question particle *mai*. When this occurs, the utterance is frequently translated as an alternative question. However, these are better understood as polar questions since these questions are answered with ‘yes’ and ‘no’. Examples (12.13) and (12.14) come from natural discourse and illustrate the co-occurrence of *hiro* and *mai*.

- (12.13) te- $\emptyset$  w-o<he>wil mai hiro?  
 3-SG.F 3SG.F-take.R<SG.F> Q NEG  
 ‘Did she get it?’ (120620-018:281.120) RNS, JS  
 AT: ‘Did she get it or not?’

- (12.14) lahabi w-oti-wa- $\emptyset$  mai hiro?  
 yesterday 3PL-hold-AUG-SG.F Q NEG  
 ‘Yesterday, did they have the meeting?’ (120606-002:225.517) RNS, JS  
 AT: ‘Yesterday, did they have the meeting or not?’

### 12.1.3 Clause-final rising intonation

Polar questions in Yeri can be signaled by a final question particle (see sections 12.1.1 and 12.1.2) or by final rising intonation. Example (12.15) illustrates the use of clause-final rising intonation in natural discourse.

- (12.15) ye n-d-alba ye w- $\emptyset$ =nabe-n?  
 2SG 2SG-REFL-feel.R 2SG REL-SG=good-SG.M  
 ‘Do you (sg) feel okay?’ (120517-001:1029.611) RNS, JS

Intonation alone distinguishes examples like (12.16) and (12.17). In example (12.16) (shown in Figure 12.2), the declarative sentence shows a falling intonation, while in example (12.17) (shown in Figure 12.2), the corresponding polar question shows final rising intonation.

- (12.16) ye la n-ar tihabeta.  
 2SG PST 2SG-go.to.R sago.swamp  
 ‘You (sg) went to the bush.’ (140224-050:159.000) GJ, JS

- (12.17) ye ki n-ar tihabeta?  
 2SG already 2SG-go.to.R sago.swamp  
 ‘Did you (sg) go to the bush?’ (140224-050:185.198) GJ, JS

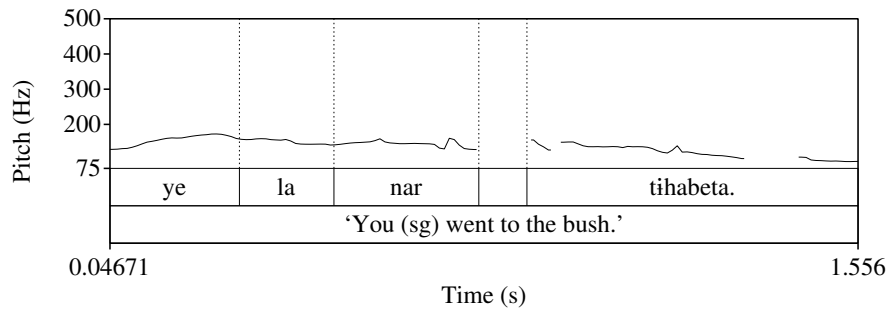


Figure 12.2: Falling intonation in example (12.16)

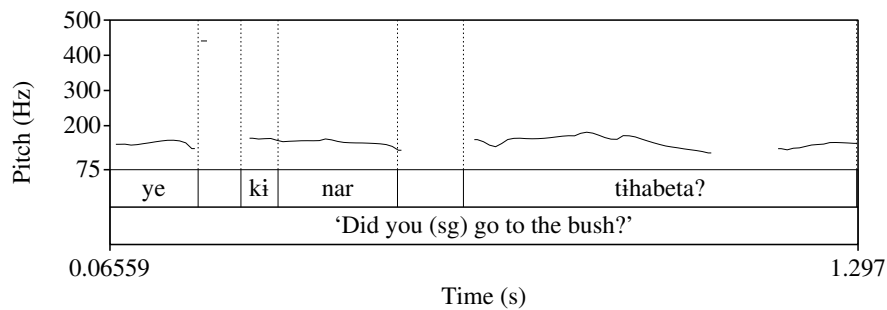


Figure 12.3: Clause-final rising intonation in example (12.17)

Additional examples are provided in (12.18)-(12.21). Compare the declarative statements in (12.18) and (12.19) with the corresponding polar questions in (12.20) and (12.21). These were elicited out of context to demonstrate the use of intonation alone to signal the distinction between declarative and interrogative utterances.

- (12.18) te-n n-dolbi.  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-be.hungry.R  
 'He is hungry.' (140414-008:17.735) DE, JS

- (12.19) te-∅ ki w-aro w-ori yati.  
 3-SG.F already 3SG.F-go.R 3SG.F-hit.R sago  
 'She went to scrape sago.' (140414-008:338.240) DE, JS

- (12.20) te-n n-dolbi?  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-be.hungry.R  
 'Is he hungry?' (140414-008:28.009) DE, JS

- (12.21) te- $\emptyset$  ki w-aro w-ori yati?  
 3-SG.F already 3SG.F-go.R 3SG.F-hit.R sago  
 ‘Did she go to scrape sago?’ (140414-008:284.788) DE, JS

## 12.2 Alternative questions

Yeri can express alternative questions through the use of several conjunctions. I discuss *o*, *no*, and *nia* in section 12.2.1. I then briefly discuss the use of the question particle *mai* as a conjunction in section 12.2.2. I conclude in section 12.2.3 with a brief discussion on how the form of an alternative question can be used to express a polar question.

### 12.2.1 The conjunctions *o*, *no*, and *nia*

**The conjunction *o*** It is common to form alternative questions through the use of several conjunctions (see sections 3.11 and 6.7.3), each of which occurs following the alternative options, with occurrence after the last alternative option being optional. The most frequent of these is the conjunction *o* ‘or’. Example (12.22), taken from natural discourse, illustrates the use of *o* ‘or’ in an alternative question.

- (12.22) la y-eikia hewo o la nebal-gi tiawa-i  $\emptyset$ -y-owil?  
 PST 2PL-walk.R bottom or PST tree-PL short-PL 3PL-2-take.R  
 ‘Did you (pl) walk or did you (pl) go by car?’ (120520-000:254.179) RNS, TW

Although *o* is not obligatory after the last alternative option, as shown by example (12.22), it is nonetheless common for *o* to be repeated after the last alternative option. This happens in (12.23), which is taken from natural discourse.

- (12.23) w- $\emptyset$ =nabe-n o w=ilua-n o?  
 REL-SG=good-SG.M or REL=bad-SG.M or  
 ‘Is it good or bad?’ (120606-012:102.584) GE-[wbanabe], JS

As with all conjunctions (see section 6.7.3), it is grammatical for *o* ‘or’ to coordinate nominal phrases in alternative questions, as shown in (12.24), where two nominal phrases indicating alternative options are coordinated.

- (12.24) ye ta n-o< $\emptyset$ >mo yati w-odi- $\emptyset$  nanu-la o hoharou?  
 2SG FUT 2SG-eat.R.IPFV<SG.F> sago 3SG.F-and.R-SG.F fish-SG or bandicoot  
 ‘You (sg) will eat sago with fish or bandicoot?’ (140417-020:692.310) GJ, LA

**The conjunction *no*** Although the conjunction *o* is the most frequent conjunction used in natural discourse, examples like (12.25) from natural discourse demonstrate the acceptability of the conjunction *no* ‘or’ in this context as well. As with the other conjunctions, *no* occurs after each alternative option, though it is optional after the last alternative option. This optional occurrence of *no* is shown in example (12.26), where the form of an alternative question is used to express a polar question. See section 12.2.3 for more discussion on the use of alternative question form to express polar questions.

- (12.25)  $\emptyset$ -o            w-ei=nabe-i            no ta    $\emptyset$ -o            w=ilua-i?  
 3PL-stay.R REL-PL=good-PL or FUT 3PL-stay.R REL=bad-PL  
 ‘They will live good or bad?’ (120518-001:362.270) RNS, JS

- (12.26) ta   h-nobia,   “helol yot-u-i            ta   psia    $\emptyset$ -ar            no hiro no?”  
 FUT 1PL-talk.R work   DEM-MDIST-PL FUT arrive 1PL-arrive.R or NEG or  
 ‘We will say, “Will that work happen?”’ (120607-004:395.140) RNS, JS  
 AT: ‘We will say, “That work will happen or not?”’

As with all conjunctions, *no* ‘or’ can also be used to coordinate nominal phrases (see section 6.7.3). Example (12.27) illustrates the coordination of two nominal phrases with *no*. Each coordinated nominal phrase indicates an alternative option in the alternative question.

- (12.27) ye   la   n-atia            neigal no hoharou?  
 2SG PST 2SG-see.R cuscus or bandicoot  
 ‘Did you (sg) see a cuscus or a bandicoot?’ (140417-020:1395.130) GJ, LA  
 CI: The person saw one animal and is being question about which type of animal was seen.

**The conjunction *nia*** The conjunction *nia* ‘or’ is very infrequent in natural discourse. Almost all examples of the morpheme were provided in response to elicitation. As with the other conjunctions (see section 3.11), *nia* can conjoin clauses (see 14.1.2) or nominal phrases (see 6.7.3). It occurs after each conjoined element, but is optional after the final conjoined element. The use of *nia* to conjoin alternative options in an alternative question is shown in example (12.28).

- (12.28) te-i   la    $\emptyset$ -o<he>ga            niglola nia- $\emptyset$    nanu-la nia-n?  
 3-PL PST 3PL-eat.R<SG.F> greens or-SG.F fish-SG or-SG.M  
 ‘Did they eat greens or did they eat fish?’ (140417-020:1429.910) DE, LA

Unlike the other conjunctions, *nia* can show gender and number agreement with the subject of the conjoined clause or with the conjuncts. For this reason, it is classified in the GN agreement class. See section 5.5.2 for discussion of the GN agreement class and

section 5.5.2.6 for discussion on the agreement of *nia* specifically. Here I note only that the conjunction *nia* can be used to form alternative questions and that this conjunction is the only conjunction that can optionally show gender and number agreement.

### 12.2.2 The use of the question particle *mai*

In addition to *o*, *no*, and *nia* (see section 12.2.1), it is also possible to express alternative questions through the use of *mai* following an alternative option. While *mai* most commonly functions as a question particle to indicate a polar question (see section 12.1.1), in this context, *mai* can function as a conjunction conjoining two alternative options. Several examples showing the use of *mai* in the formation of alternative questions are presented in (12.29)-(12.32).

- (12.29) ye ta n-aro n-odi yati mai ye ta n-aro n-garkua?  
 2SG future 2SG-go.R 2SG-make.R sago Q 2SG FUT 2SG-go.R 2SG-wash.self.R  
 ‘Will you (sg) go and make sago or will you (sg) go and wash?’ (140417-020:893.135)  
 GJ, LA

- (12.30) te-i Ø-o<he>ba neigal mai Ø-o<he>ba hilpia?  
 3-PL 3PL-shoot.R<SG.F> cuscus Q 3PL-shoot.R<SG.F> flying.fox  
 ‘Did they shoot a cuscus or did they shoot a flying fox?’ (140417-020:379.459) GJ,  
 LA

- (12.31) te-i Ø-ar Maprik mai Wiwak?  
 3-PL 3PL-go.to.R Maprik Q Wewak  
 ‘They went to Maprik or Wewak?’ (140417-020:210.600) GJ, LA

- (12.32) te-Ø w-awodi-Ø ŋa-Ø mai wia-i?  
 3-SG.F 3SG.F-birth.R-SG.F one-SG.F Q two-F  
 ‘Did she bear one or two (children)?’ (140417-020:170.252) GJ, LA

### 12.2.3 The use of alternative questions to ask polar questions

It is possible for an alternative question to be used as a way to ask a polar question. Examples from natural discourse are provided in (12.33)-(12.34). Each of these questions has the form of an alternative question. This is clear from the use of the conjunctions *o* ‘or’ and *no* ‘or’ to conjoin alternative options. However, these questions would be answered with ‘yes’ or ‘no’, and for this reason, they are better understood as polar questions. See section 12.1 for more information on polar questions.

- (12.33) puyu hirka ki Manuel n-aya-ka-n o hiro  
 rock new already Manuel 3SG.M-give.R-AUG-SG.M or NEG  
 n-eya-ka-n o?  
 3SG.M-give.I-AUG-SG.M or  
 ‘The money, did Manuel give him it or did he not give him it?’ (120623-007:414.500)  
 RNS, TW
- (12.34) ta n-ana o hiro o?  
 FUT 3SG.M-come.R or NEG or  
 ‘He will come or not?’ (120529-002:368.203) RNS, TW
- (12.35) ta h-nobia, “helol yot-u-i ta psia Ø-ar no hiro no?”  
 FUT 1PL-talk.R work DEM-MDIST-PL FUT arrive 3PL-arrive.R or NEG or  
 ‘We will say, “Will that work happen?”’ (120607-004:395.140) RNS, JS  
 AT: ‘We will say, “That work will happen or not?”’
- (12.36) te-i hamei wia-m yot-ua-i Wagin n-odi Maheina ki  
 3-PL people two-M DEM-DIST-PL Wagin 3SG.M-and.R Maheina already  
 Ø-ina nia-m hiro nia-m?  
 3PL-come.I or-PL NEG or-PL  
 ‘Those two people, Wagin and Maheina, did they come or not?’ (140417-020:1510.000) GE-[niam], LA
- (12.37) te-n ta n-ana n-w-aria-da-Ø yo danua hebi o?  
 3-SG.M FUT 3SG.M-come.R 3SG.M-1PL-do.R-AUG-SG.F path PREP 1PL or  
 ‘Will he come and make the road for us?’ (120621-001:850.788) RNS, TW

## 12.3 Content questions

This section focuses on content questions and the interrogative words which are used in the formation of content questions. I present an overview of these interrogative words in section 12.3.1. I then discuss each interrogative word in more detail in the sections that follow, beginning with the most frequent, *maya* ‘what, who, which’ in section 12.3.2. The interrogative word *mal* ‘what, who, which’ is the focus of section 12.3.3. I describe *malmal* in section 12.3.4, and *nia* in section 12.3.5. I turn to *odinia* ‘how, do in what way’ in section 12.3.6, and conclude with a brief description of the non-questioning use of interrogative words in section 12.3.7.



### 12.3.1 An overview

Content questions involve the use of an interrogative phrase to request information. Interrogative phrases occur in situ, the location where the corresponding non-interrogative phrase would occur. However, questions as inherently focusing constructions frequently show word order associated with focused elements. For this reason, it is not uncommon for interrogative phrases to occur in a special location for focused elements (see section 14.2.5)

There are three basic interrogative words: *mal* ‘what, who, which’, *odinia* ‘how, do in what way’, and *nia* ‘where’. While the interrogative word *odinia* shows the behavior and distribution associated with a verbal predicate, *mal* and *nia* show the behavior and distribution of nominal phrases.

In addition to these three interrogative words, there are two interrogative words *malmal* ‘how many, how much’ and *mayā* ‘what, who, which’ which are related to *mal*. Given the use of complete reduplication in Yeri to express distributive meaning (see section 2.6), it seems likely that *malmal* ‘how many, how much’ was formed via complete reduplication from *mal* ‘what, who, which’.

As for the connection between *mal* and *mayā*, two consultants brought this connection to my attention by telling me that *mayā* was composed of *mal* followed by the numeral *ŋa* ‘one’. Gender and number agreement on *mayā* (see section 12.3.2) is consistent with the gender and number agreement shown on *ŋa* (see section 5.5.2.4), though the widespread use of these gender and number morphemes (see section 5.5.7) weakens the significance of this similarity. Consultants also indicate that *mal* can occur in almost all of the positions where *mayā* occurs with the same meaning (see 12.3.3), though many of these positions are uncommon in natural discourse.

There is one additional piece of evidence for the connection between *mal* and *mayā* which involves plural human referents. The form *mayā* shows an irregular form *magil* when it refers to or modifies plural human referents, as in (12.38). When *malmal*, a reduplicated form of *mal*, modifies plural human referents, it also shows this irregular form, specifically a reduplicated form of it, *magil magil*, as in (12.39). The irregular form of *mayā* and *malmal* with plural human referents is described in more detail in the corresponding sections on these forms, section 12.3.2 and section 12.3.4 respectively.

- (12.38) halma yot-u-∅                      w-∅=di    magil?  
           land    DEM-MDIST-SG.F REL-SG=3 who.HUM.PL  
           ‘Who does that land belong to?’ (140414-010:60.208) DE, JS  
           CI: The land is assumed to belong to a group of people which is why the form *magil* occurs.

- (12.39) hamei magil magil ki Ø-ar Splaga?  
 people who.HUM.PL who.HUM.PL already 3PL-go.to.R Sibilanga.village  
 ‘How many people went to Sibilanga?’ (140414-010:495.983) DE, JS

A summary of interrogative word behavior and forms is provided in Table 12.1. Note that where I list an interrogative word’s distribution as ‘adnominal’ (i.e. *mal* ‘what, who, which’, *maɣa* ‘what, who, which’, and *malmal* ‘how many, how much’), this distribution should be understood as inclusive of both adnominal and nominal use. This is because Yeri frequently permits nominal phrases to occur without nouns (see section 6.3), and interrogative words frequently function as the sole element of a nominal phrase.

Table 12.1: An overview of interrogative word forms

|                       | Yeri      | distribution     | agreement possibilities                            |
|-----------------------|-----------|------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| ‘what, who, which’    | mal       | adnominal        | only mal                                           |
| ‘what, who, which’    | maɣa      | adnominal        | maɣa, maɣan, maɣai, magil                          |
| ‘how many, how much’  | malmal    | adnominal        | malmal, magil magil                                |
| ‘where’               | nia, ania | nominal phrase   | nia, nian, niai, niam<br>ania, anian, aniai, aniam |
| ‘how, do in what way’ | odinia    | verbal predicate | subject and object morphemes                       |

### 12.3.2 *maɣa* ‘who, what’

By far, the most frequent interrogative word is *maɣa*. This word is translated as ‘what’, ‘who’, or ‘which’ depending on its form and whether it functions adnominally. The form of *maɣa* varies depending on gender and number, as well as a distinction between human and non-human. These forms are shown in Table 12.2.

Table 12.2: Agreement forms of the interrogative word *maɣa*

|                    | SG.F | SG.M  | PL    | HUM.PL |
|--------------------|------|-------|-------|--------|
| ‘what, who, which’ | maɣa | maɣan | maɣai | magil  |

Examples (12.40)-(12.43) illustrate the possible forms of *maɣa* and show the use of this interrogative word to ask about the identity of a verb’s object. Examples were chosen which occur with coreferential third person object indexes to more clearly demonstrate the different forms. In (12.40) the feminine form of *maɣa* questions the object of the verb *oga* ‘eat’ which also occurs with a singular feminine object infix. Examples (12.41) and (12.42) request information on the object of the verb *anibir* ‘send’ and show the masculine and plural forms of *maɣa* respectively. Lastly, example (12.43) demonstrates the irregular form of *maɣa* which occurs with plural human referents.

- (12.40) n-o<he>ga            maŋa-∅?  
 2SG-eat.R<SG.F> what-SG.F  
 ‘What (fem) did you eat?’ (140414-009:932.465) GJ, JS
- (12.41) te-i    ∅-anibir-ha-n            maŋa-n?  
 3-PL 3PL-send.R-AUG-SG.M what.R-SG.M  
 ‘What (masc) did they send?’ (140414-009:793.860) GJ, JS  
 AT: ‘Who (masc) did they send?’
- (12.42) te-i    ∅anibir-ha-i            maŋa-i?  
 3-PL 3PLsend.R-AUG-PL what-PL  
 ‘What (pl) did they send?’ (140414-009:779.581) GJ, JS
- (12.43) ye    n-anokil-a-i            magil?  
 2SG 2SG-bite.R-AUG-PL who.HUM.PL  
 ‘Who (pl) did you bite?’ (140414-009:508.313) GJ, JS

The interrogative word *maŋa* occurs in situ, in the location where the corresponding non-interrogative element would occur, and it can function in all grammatical roles where a nominal phrase can occur. It is shown functioning as the subject of the verbs *anor* ‘descend’ and *aya* ‘give’ in (12.44) and (12.45) and the object of the verb *aga* ‘get’ in (12.46). Note that the expression *ni nuakeda* is used to refer to food.

- (12.44) maŋa-n    n-anor?  
 what-SG.M 3SG.M-descend.R  
 ‘What is going down?’ (120410-006:145.060) RNS, YW
- (12.45) ta    maŋa-n    n-a<me>ya-ka-i            ni  
 FUT what-SG.M 3SG.M-give.R<IPFV>-AUG-PL intestine  
 nuake=da-∅.  
 large.intestines=NVPC-SG.F  
 ‘Who is going to give them food?’ (120613-001:124.198) RNS, JS
- (12.46) la    y-aro    y-aga-∅            maŋa-∅?  
 PST 2PL-go.R 2PL-get.R-SG.F what-SG.F  
 ‘What did you (pl) buy?’ (120520-000:252.457) RNS, TW

The interrogative word *maŋa* functions as the object of the verb *aya* ‘give’ in example (12.47) and questions who was given money, while in example (12.48), *maŋa* functions as the non-grammatical object of *aya* ‘give’ (see section 4.5.2), and questions what was given to the mother.

- (12.47) nena n-aya-ka-n                      maɲa-n    puyu    n-o                      Sumil?  
 father 3SG.M-give.R-AUG-SG.M what-SG.M money 3SG.M-stay.R Sumil.village  
 ‘Who did father give money to in Sumil?’ (140417-007:1488.739) DE, JS

- (12.48) nena n-aya-ka-∅                      mimi    maɲa-∅    lahabi    n-o  
 father 3SG.M-give.R-AUG-SG.F mother what-SG.F yesterday 3SG.M-stay.R  
 Sumil?  
 Sumil.village  
 ‘What did father give mother yesterday in Sumil?’ (140417-007:1497.820) DE, JS

Example (14.93) demonstrates *magil*, the irregular form of *maɲa*, functioning as the applicative object of the verb *nobia* ‘talk’, which refers to the person who was spoken to. The occurrence of *magil* signals that the speaker either knows or assumes the man spoke with more than one person.

- (12.49) te-n    ki            n-nobia            magil?  
 3-SG.M already 3SG.M-talk.R who.HUM.PL  
 ‘Who did he talk to?’ (140417-007:1628.415) DE, JS

In example (12.50), *maɲa* is used to ask about the identity of the applicative object (see section 7.7) of the posture verb *or* ‘lie, sleep’.<sup>2</sup> The use of *wan* ‘heart’ with a posture verb is a common means of asking about a person’s thoughts. In this example, the speaker is questioning who a woman is thinking about voting for in the election.<sup>3</sup>

- (12.50) Wamil                      ye    wan    w-n=ye                      n-or                      maɲa-∅?  
 Wamil.mountain 2SG heart REL-SG.M=2SG 3SG.M-lie.R what-SG.F  
 ‘Wamil, your (sg) heart thinks of who?’ (120621-001:626.449) RNS, JS  
 LT: ‘Wamil, your thoughts lie on who?’

An example where *maɲa* is used to request information on the identity of a possessor of *yati* ‘sago palm, sago jelly’ is provided in example (12.51). The assumption that the possessor is male results in the masculine suffix *-n* occurring on *maɲa*.<sup>4</sup>

- (12.51) te-∅    ki            w-o<∅>ga                      yati    w-∅=di-∅                      maɲa-n?  
 3-SG.F already 3SG.F-eat.R<SG.F> sago REL-SG=3-SG.F what-SG.M  
 ‘She ate whose sago?’ (140417-007:462.286) DE, JS

<sup>2</sup>I refer to applicative object which express a location like this one as ‘locative objects’ throughout the grammar (see section 7.7.1.1).

<sup>3</sup>It is common for people to be referred to by the name of a relevant location. In this case, the woman is from a mountain called *Wamil*.

<sup>4</sup>Although it is acceptable for *maɲa* to occur with the masculine suffix because of this assumption, it is not obligatory. Examples like (12.50) demonstrate that the singular feminine form *maɲa*, can occur even in contexts where the referent is likely male, as in the candidates running for election. See section 5.5.8 for discussion on the ‘default’ uses of the feminine form.

The interrogative word *maja* can also function adnominally. It can occur in all of the same agreement forms in its adnominal use, and in this function, it is frequently translated as ‘what’ or ‘which’, as in (12.53) and (12.54). In example (12.52), it occurs in its singular feminine form due to the noun *wigal* ‘language’, while in example (12.53), it occurs in its singular masculine form due to the noun *hamote* ‘individual’. In example (12.54), it occurs in its irregular plural form for humans, *magil*, due to the noun *hamei* ‘people’.

- (12.52) n-o<ne>giwa      danua Wilkei o n-nobia      danua-Ø      wigal  
 3SG.M-ask.R<SG.M> PREP Wilkei or 3SG.M-talk.R PREP-SG.F language  
 maja-Ø?  
 what-SG.F  
 ‘He asked about Wilkei or he talked about what topic?’ (120520-000:372.522) RNS, TW

- (12.53) hamote-n      maja ta      h-aya-ka-  
 individual-SG.M what FUT 1PL-give.R-AUG-  
 ‘Which person will we vote for?’ (120621-001:468.171) RNS, TW

- (12.54) ta      hebi h-ar      h-dodi      wdi h-ania-i      hamei magil?  
 FUT 1PL 1PL-go.to.R 1PL-stand.R SUB 1PL-call.R-PL people who.HUM.PL  
 ‘It will be us that stand to call what people?’ (120621-001:760.797) RNS, JS

The interrogative word *maja* also frequently occurs with the preposition *wdi* or *danua*, and is discussed further in section 12.3.2.1 and section 12.3.2.2 respectively.

### 12.3.2.1 *wdi maja* ‘for what, why’

Yeri speakers frequently combine the preposition *wdi* (see section 3.10.1) with the interrogative word *maja* ‘what, who, which’, as in (12.55). This phrase is typically translated as ‘why’, ‘for what’, ‘because of what’ or ‘in order to what’ with *maja* referring to the cause or reason for something happening.

- (12.55) te-n      wan      halhal wdi      maja-Ø?  
 3-SG.M heart angry PREP what-SG.F  
 ‘Why is he unhappy?’ (140414-010:868.097) DE, JS  
 LT: ‘His heart is angry about what?’

As described in section 12.3.1, interrogatives occur in-situ. However, due to their frequent occurrence as focused elements, they often occur in a special focus construction (see section 14.2.5). Examples (12.56)-(12.58) show the interrogative phrase in focus position. In each example, *maja* occurs after *wdi* to ask about the cause or reason behind the stated

proposition, specifically what is the reason for the man running for office, or what happened to cause the man to be happy, or sad.

- (12.56) *wɔi maŋa-∅ te-n n-dodi?*  
 PREP what-SG.F 3-SG.M 3SG.M-stand.R  
 ‘Why is he running for office?’ (120613-001:68.490) RNS, JS  
 LT: ‘Because of what is he standing?’

- (12.57) *wɔi maŋa-∅ te-n n-datiki?*  
 SUB what-SG.F 3-SG.M 3SG.M-be.happy.R  
 ‘Why is he happy?’ (140414-010:900.667) DE, JS

- (12.58) *wɔi maŋa-∅ te-n wan n-o meno?*  
 SUB what-SG.F 3-SG.M heart 3SG.M-COP.R heavy  
 ‘Why is he sad?’ (140414-010:932.225) DE, JS

Possible answers to (12.57) and (12.58) are provided in (12.59) and (12.60). In these examples, *wɔi*, in its use as a clause linker (see section 14.2.1), introduces a clause which answers the two previous questions.<sup>5</sup> These answers illustrate what was being questioned by *maŋa* in the previous two questions. In each example, the answer is the cause of the man’s emotional state, a clause referring to his son’s visit in example (12.59) and a clause referring to his wife’s dying in example (12.60).

- (12.59) *te-n n-datiki wɔi nigo-n-gon w-∅=de-n ki*  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-be.happy.R SUB child-SG.M-RED REL-SG=3-SG.M already  
*n-ana.*  
 3SG.M-come.R  
 ‘He is happy because his son came.’ (140414-010:910.533) ANS, JS

- (12.60) *te-n wan n-o meno wɔi hiwora w-∅=de-n ki*  
 3-SG.M heart 3SG.M-COP.R heavy SUB wife REL-SG=3-SG.M already  
*w-almo.*  
 3SG.F-die.R  
 ‘He is sad because his wife died.’ (140414-010:934.926) ANS, JS

<sup>5</sup>It is possible that *wɔi* could be analyzed more generally as a ‘linker’ which connects both nominal phrases and clauses. It shows optional agreement (*wɔi* or *weidi*) with a nominal phrase, but occurs in an invariant form *wɔi* with clauses. In this way, the possessive, prepositional, and subordinating uses of *wɔi* could be captured. Alternatively, given evidence that clauses can function as nominal phrases in Yeri (see section 6.1), the clauses following *wɔi* in examples (12.59) and (12.60) could potentially be analyzed as nominal phrases with *wɔi* occurring in its prepositional use in these contexts. This analysis would have the advantage of being transferable to the preposition *danua*’s rare occurrence with clauses in this context as well and accounting for this unusual behavior (see section 12.3.2.2). More research into *wɔi* and *danua* as well as the use and acceptability of clauses as nominal phrases is needed to explore these possible analyses and I leave this for the future.

### 12.3.2.2 *danua maya* ‘for what, why’

It is also acceptable for the interrogative word *maya* to occur with the preposition *danua* (see section 3.10.2). When this happens, *danua maya* usually asks a question about the cause or reason behind an action or event and is most naturally translated as ‘why’, ‘because’, ‘for what’, or ‘for who’. In example (12.61), *maya* refers to the applicative object of *arwal* ‘cry, weep’, the thing that the person was crying over or for. In example (12.62), *maya* refers to the thing that the person was crying over or crying for, while in example (12.62), *maya* refers to the people (indicated by the irregular plural form *magil*) that were being run from. Note that both *danua* and *maya* can occur with gender and number morphemes.

- (12.61) nigo-n-gon      yot-u-n,              te-n      n-arwal      danua-n      maya-n?  
 child-SG.M-RED DEM-MDIST-SG.M 3-SG.M 3SG.M-cry.R PREP-SG.M what-SG.M  
 ‘That small boy, who does he cry for?’ (140417-007:818.889) DE, JS

- (12.62) danua magil              te-i      yot-u-i              ki              Ø-ohorkil?  
 PREP who.HUM.PL 3-PL DEM-MDIST-PL already 3PL-flee.R  
 ‘Who did they run away from?’ (140414-010:303.110) GE-[danua magil], JS

In example (12.63), the consultant answers (12.61) by stating that the boy cries for his father.

- (12.63) te-n      n-arwal              nena      w-Ø=de-n.  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-cry.R father REL-SG=3-SG.M  
 ‘He cries for his father.’ (140417-007:828.779) ANS, JS

In example (12.64), the consultant provides a possible answer to (12.62) by stating that the people ran away because of a group of people.

- (12.64) te-i      ki              Ø-ohorkil      danua hamei      w-Ø=di-Ø              Markebal.  
 3-PL already 3PL-flee.R PREP people REL-SG=3-SG.F Marikumba.village  
 ‘They ran away because of Marikumba’s people.’ (140414-010:320.640) ANS, JS

Additional examples are provided in (12.65)-(12.68) to illustrate the use of *danua maya* to ask about the reason behind or cause of a proposition. In these examples, the speaker asks specifically why the addressee tricked the speaker, why a woman died, why a woman went to a nearby village called Weiki, and why the addressee became angry with a woman.

- (12.65) ba ki              sisekia n-b-aria              danua-Ø      maya-Ø      ye?  
 SB already trick 2SG-1SG-do.R PREP-SG.F what-SG.F 2SG  
 ‘Why are you (sg) tricking me?’ (120529-002:185.695) RNS, YM

- (12.66) *te-∅ ki w-almo danua-∅ maŋa-∅?*  
 3-SG.F already 3SG.F-die.R PREP-SG.F what-SG.F  
 ‘Why did she die?’ (140414-010:144.178) DE, JS
- (12.67) *ye ki n-iekewa-∅ te-∅ yot-u-∅ danua-∅ maŋa-∅?*  
 2SG already 2SG-be.angry.R-SG.F 3-SG.F DEM-MDIST-SG.F PREP-SG.F what-SG.F  
 ‘Why did you (sg) get angry with her?’ (140414-010:171.466) DE, JS
- (12.68) *te-∅ ki w-aro Poabi danua-∅ maŋa-∅?*  
 3-SG.F already 3SG.F-go.R Weiki.village PREP-SG.F what-SG.F  
 ‘Why did she go to Weiki?’ (140414-010:118.327) DE, JS

The answer to a question involving *danua maŋa* can also be a clause describing the reason or cause of the event.<sup>6</sup> In example (12.69), the speaker answers the question from (12.66) with a clause indicating that the woman died because people poisoned her, while in example (12.70), the speaker answers the question from (12.67) by stating that the reason behind his being angry with the woman is that the woman stole.

- (12.69) *la hamei ∅-garkuare-∅ te-∅ w-al<me>mo.*  
 PST people 3PL-poison.R-SG.F 3-SG.F 3SG.F-die.R<IPFV>  
 ‘People poisoned her and she died.’ (140414-010:149.345) ANS, JS
- (12.70) *hem m-iekewa-∅ danua-∅ te-∅ la w-oki-∅ wayia-l.*  
 1SG 1SG-be.angry.R-SG.F PREP-SG.F 3-SG.F PST 3SG.F-use.R-SG.F thief-SG  
 ‘I got angry with her because she stole.’ (140414-010:180.289) ANS, JS

That this use of *danua maŋa* is parallel to the use of *wɗi* with *maŋa* is even clearer when speakers answer questions posed with *danua maŋa* with *wɗi*. In example (12.71), the consultant provides a possible answer to (12.68), a question posed by *danua maŋa*, by using *wɗi* to indicate the reason behind the woman’s trip to Weiki village.

- (12.71) *te-∅ ki w-aro wɗi w-atia woga w-∅=de-∅.*  
 3-SG.F already 3SG.F-go.R SUB 3SG.F-see.R older.sister REL-SG=3-SG.F  
 ‘She went there to see her older sister.’ (140414-010:128.580) ANS, JS

<sup>6</sup>Although *danua* can occur with a clause when it answers a question posed in this way, this is unusual behavior for the preposition. It is more common for *wɗi* to occur in this use than *danua*. It is possible that this use was extended to *danua* given the common use of *wɗi* to introduce a clause in its clause linker use. It is also possible that these clauses may be functioning as nominal phrases (see section 6.1). More research is needed to tease apart the details of this unusual behavior.



### 12.3.3 *mal* ‘what, who, which’

The interrogative word *mal* ‘what, who, which’ has a single invariant form and shows a very restricted distribution in natural speech. The vast majority of examples show *mal* following the verb *aga* ‘get’ like it does in example (12.72). Although *aga* means ‘get’, *aga mal* is a fixed expression that is always translated as ‘do what’.

- (12.72) hem m-aga- $\emptyset$  mal?  
 1SG 1SG-get.R-SG.F what  
 ‘What have I done?’ (120517-001:1489.581) RNS, JS

Examples where *mal* does not follow *aga* ‘get’ are uncommon, but do occur. In almost all of these examples *mal* is used to ask about the reason behind an action or event. For instance, in example (12.73) the verb *ania* ‘call’ occurs with applicative marking meaning ‘call for what reason’ and *mal* is used to ask about this reason.<sup>7</sup> The interrogative word occurs with *danua* in example (12.74) and is used to request information on the reason behind leaving the woman there.<sup>8</sup>

- (12.73) nua w- $\emptyset$ =de-n w-nobia, “d-ani-ki mal?”  
 mother REL-SG=3-SG.M 3SG.F-talk.R MDL-call.R-APPL what  
 ‘His mom said, “What are you (sg) calling for?”’ (120517-001:1852.275) RNS, JS  
 LT: ‘His mom said, “you (sg) call for what?”’

- (12.74) te-i ki  $\emptyset$ -gei-da- $\emptyset$  w-dodi danua- $\emptyset$  mal?  
 3-PL already 3PL-leave.R-AUG-SG.F 3SG.F-stand.R PREP-SG.F what  
 ‘Why did they leave her standing there?’ (140416-017:625.999) GE-[geida], JS

Only very rare examples in natural speech show *mal* in any other context. In (12.75) *mal* occurs in a position which is normally occupied by the much more frequent interrogative word *maya* ‘what, who, which’, as shown in (12.76).

- (12.75) sipeki-l yot-ua- $\emptyset$  ta w-o< $\emptyset$ >mo mal?  
 little-SG DEM-DIST-SG.F FUT 3SG.F-eat.R<SG.F> what  
 ‘Small one here will be eating what?’ (120529-002:477.586) RNS, JS

- (12.76) ta h-o< $\emptyset$ >mo maya- $\emptyset$  siwei ya?a?  
 FUT 1PL-eat.R.IPFV<SG.F> what-SG.F again here  
 ‘We will eat what again there?’ (120606-012:82.700) RNS, JS

<sup>7</sup>See section 2.5.7 for information on the pronunciation of /ia/ final verbs with the applicative morpheme.

<sup>8</sup>Note the unusual use of the augment lexical allomorph -*dV* with *gei* ‘leave’, which usually occurs with the augment lexical allomorph -*ka* (see section 7.3.3.2).

Despite this restricted distribution and the general infrequency with which *mal* occurs in natural speech, consultants judge constructed examples with *mal* as acceptable in most positions where the more frequent *maŋa* typically occurs. The one exception to this involves subject position. Although *maŋa* can occur to ask about the identity of the subject of a clause, *mal* is judged ungrammatical in this position. Example (12.77) demonstrates the ungrammaticality of *mal* used to ask about the subject's identity.

- (12.77) \*mal n-almo?  
           who 3SG.M-die.R  
           ‘Who died?’ (140414-009:256.348) GJ, JS

The interrogative word *mal* is used to ask about the identity of the object of the verb *oba* ‘shoot’ in (12.78) and the applicative object of *aruarkil* ‘flee’ in (12.79), where it is understood as expressing ‘who’. It signals a request for information on the reason behind the stated proposition in (12.80).

- (12.78) te-n ki n-o<he>ba mal?  
           3-SG.M already 3SG.M-shoot.R<SG.F> what  
           ‘What did he shoot?’ (140414-009:350.598) GJ, JS
- (12.79) te-n n-aruarkil mal?  
           3-SG.M 3SG.M-flee.R who  
           ‘Who did he run away from?’ (140414-009:264.081) GJ, JS
- (12.80) ye n-ana n-b-ati-ki mal?  
           2SG 2SG-come.R 2SG-1SG-see.R-APPL what  
           ‘Why did you (sg) come to look for me?’ (140414-009:136.360) GE-[nbatiki mal], JS

Lastly, examples (12.81) and (12.82) show *mal* functioning adnominally to ask about the type of fish that was shot in the same way that *maŋa* frequently does.<sup>9</sup>

- (12.81) te-n ki n-o<he>ba nanu-la mal?  
           3-SG.M already 3SG.M-shoot.R<SG.F> fish-SG what  
           ‘What type of fish did he shoot?’ (140414-009:375.866) GJ, JS
- (12.82) te-n ki n-o<he>ba nanu-la maŋa-Ø?  
           3-SG.M already 3SG.M-shoot.R<SG.F> fish-SG what-SG.F  
           ‘He shot what type of fish?’ (140414-009:383.441) GJ, JS

<sup>9</sup>It is also possible for *mal* to occur in this use to express a meaning like ‘what a boy’, where the speaker is expressing pride or admiration for the person.

### 12.3.4 *malmal* ‘how many’

The interrogative word *malmal* communicates the meaning ‘how many’ or ‘how much’. It can occur on its own to request information on the amount of something, as in (12.83) and (12.84), where it is used to ask how much money was given to another person or how much money was used to pay for transport. Note that *malmal* is likely related to the interrogative word *mal*, discussed in section 12.3.3. Given that complete reduplication in Yeri expresses distributive meaning (see section 2.6.1), it is likely that *malmal* was formed in this way.

- (12.83) *malmal la n-aya-ka-n?*  
 how.many PST 3SG.M-give.R-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘How much did he give him?’ (120420-000:1086.666) RNS, JS

- (12.84) *hebi ta h-oki-∅ malmal hebi ta h-aga nebal-gi tiawa-i?*  
 1PL FUT 1PL-use.R-SG.F how.many 1PL FUT 1PL-get.R tree-PL short-PL  
 ‘We use how much to get the car?’ (120520-000:490.242) RNS, AS

The interrogative word *malmal* can also function adnominally to modify another element. In this use, it expresses the meaning ‘how many’ or ‘how much’ of that entity. Example (12.85) from natural discourse demonstrates the use of *malmal* modifying *mineigi* ‘unspecified period of time’ to request information on how many days or weeks remain before the speaker and the addressee will leave the village.

- (12.85) *mineigi malmal ta h-aro?*  
 time.period how.many FUT 1PL-go.R  
 ‘How many days/weeks until we will go?’ (120524-000:451.666) RNS, JS

The elicited examples (12.86)-(12.88) show the use of *malmal* with the nouns *harkroki* ‘chicken’, *puyu hirka* ‘money’, and *nanula* ‘fish’ to express the meanings ‘how many chickens’, ‘how much money’, and ‘how many fish’.

- (12.86) *harkroki-l malmal w-ei=ye?*  
 chicken-PL how.many REL-PL=2SG  
 ‘How many chickens are yours (sg)?’ (140414-010:451.137) DE, JS

- (12.87) *te-∅, puyu hirka malmal w-or heya.*  
 3-SG.F rock new how.many 3SG.F-lie.R bilum  
 ‘She has how much money in the bilum?’ (140417-007:1400.471) DE, JS

- (12.88) *nanu-bia malmal ki te-n n-o<i>ba?*  
 fish-PL how.many already 3-SG.M 3SG.M-shoot.R<PL>  
 ‘How many fish did he catch?’ (140414-010:465.672) DE, JS

An irregular form of *malmal* is required with human referents, and this obligatory irregular form, *magil magil*, shows a clear resemblance to the irregular form of *maya* used for plural human referents.<sup>10</sup> Elicited examples are given in (12.89)-(12.91).<sup>11</sup>

- (12.89) hamei magil magil ki Ø-ar Splaga?  
 people who.HUM.PL who.HUM.PL already 3PL-go.to.R Sibilanga.village  
 ‘How many people went to Sibilanga?’ (140414-010:495.983) DE, JS
- (12.90) hamei magil magil ki ye n-aya-ka-i nanu-bia?  
 people who.HUM.PL who.HUM.PL already 2SG 2SG-give.R-AUG-PL fish-PL  
 ‘How many people did you (sg) give fish to?’ (140414-010:572.717) DE, JS
- (12.91) hamei magil magil ki nebo-i Ø-anokil-a-i?  
 people who.HUM.PL who.HUM.PL already dog-PL 3PL-bite.R-AUG-PL  
 ‘How many people did the dogs bite?’ (140414-010:508.277) DE, JS

### 12.3.5 *nia* and *ania* ‘where’

Yeri uses the interrogative word *nia* or alternatively *ania* to express the meaning ‘where’. This interrogative word shows gender and number agreement with the subject, and is classified in the GN agreement class (see section 5.5.2). As is common in Yeri, it selects -Ø for singular feminine, -*n* for singular masculine, and -*i* (or less commonly -*m*) for plural (see section 5.5.7). The agreement forms for this interrogative word are shown in Table 12.3.<sup>12</sup>

Table 12.3: Agreement forms of the interrogative word *nia*

|         | SG.F | SG.M  | PL              |
|---------|------|-------|-----------------|
| ‘where’ | nia  | nian  | niai, (nia-m)   |
|         | ania | anian | aniai, (ania-m) |

Agreement with third person subjects is shown in (12.92)-(12.94).

- (12.92) te-Ø ki w-or ania-Ø?  
 3-SG.F already 3SG.F-lie.R where-SG.F  
 ‘Where did she sleep?’ (140226-002:386.263) DE, JS

<sup>10</sup>This would suggest a historical connection between *malmal* and *maya*.

<sup>11</sup>Note the occurrence of the nominal phrase *hamei magil magil* in clause-initial position. Questioned nominal phrases frequently occur in a focus construction which is responsible for this shift in word order. See section 14.2.5 for discussion.

<sup>12</sup>The forms *niam* and *aniam* are listed in parentheses due to consultant variation on their grammaticality and the lack of examples in natural discourse.

- (12.93) te-n ki n-or nia-n?  
 3-SG.M already 3SG.M-lie.R where-SG.M  
 ‘Where did he sleep?’ (140226-002:369.783) DE, JS

- (12.94) te-i ki Ø-or ania-i?  
 3-PL already 3PL-lie.R where-PL  
 ‘Where did they sleep?’ (140226-002:381.160) DE, JS

When questioned, forms with the plural morpheme *-m* show variation in grammaticality judgements. While *niam* was judged grammatically acceptable in (12.96), *aniam* was judged ungrammatical in (12.96). Given the rarity of the plural morpheme *-m* in Yeri natural discourse more generally, it is not surprising that the corpus shows no natural examples of the interrogative word occurring with this morpheme.

- (12.95) te-i Ø-ori yati nia-m?  
 3-PL 3PL-hit.R sago where-PL  
 ‘Where do they scrape sago?’ (140414-010:1139.079) GJ, JS

- (12.96) \*te-i Ø-ori yati ania-m?  
 3-PL 3PL-hit.R sago where-PL  
 ‘Where do they scrape sago?’ (140414-010:1160.877) GJ, JS

Although agreement is common with third person subjects, it is not obligatory. In this context, it is acceptable for *nia* or *ania* to occur without gender or number morphemes. For instance, in (12.97) *ania* shows plural number agreement with the subject, unlike (12.98), where the form *ania* occurs and does not show plural number agreement with the subject.

- (12.97) te-i Ø-ori yati ania-i?  
 3-PL 3PL-hit.R sago where-PL  
 ‘Where did they scrape sago?’ (140414-010:1106.636) DE, JS

- (12.98) te-i Ø-ori yati ania?  
 3-PL 3PL-hit.R sago where  
 ‘Where did they scrape sago?’ (140414-010:1047.131) DE, JS

With first or second person plural subjects, *nia* and *ania* were judged ungrammatical when they occurred with the plural suffix *-i*. This ungrammaticality is shown in (12.99)-(12.102).

- (12.99) \*ye-m ki y-ar ania-i?  
 2SG-PL already 2PL-go.to.R where-PL  
 ‘Where have you (pl) gone?’ (140226-002:634.354) GJ, JS

- (12.100) \* ye-m ki y-ar nia-i?  
 2SG-PL already 2PL-go.to.R where-PL  
 ‘Where have you (pl) gone?’ (140226-002:639.498) GJ, JS
- (12.101) \* hebi ta h-a<me>r ania-i?  
 1PL FUT 1PL-go.to.R<IPFV> where-PL?  
 ‘Where will we be going?’ (140226-002:645.390) GJ, JS
- (12.102) \* hebi ta h-a<me>r nia-i?  
 1PL FUT 1PL-go.to.R<IPFV> where-PL?  
 ‘Where will we be going?’ (140226-002:650.569) GJ, JS

When a first or second person plural subject occurs, no gender or number suffixes occur. In this context, *nia* and *ania* occur without showing agreement, as in (12.103)-(12.106).

- (12.103) yem paki la y-eiwa nia y-ana?  
 2PL paki PST 2PL-be.from.R where 2PL-come.R  
 ‘Where do you (pl) come from?’ (120524-005.019:62.340) RNS, JS
- (12.104) yem y-do<me>di nia?  
 2PL 2PL-stand.R<IPFV> where  
 ‘Where are you (pl) standing?’ (120520-000:380.166) RNS, AS
- (12.105) la aro y-or<me> ania?  
 PST go.R 2PL-lie.R<IPFV> where  
 ‘Where did you (pl) go and sleep?’ (120520-000:102.290) RNS, TW
- (12.106) hebi ta h-o<he>wil nia?  
 1PL FUT 1PL-take.R<SG.F> where  
 ‘Where will we take it?’ (120621-001:239.033) RNS, AS

Unlike plural agreement, which was judged ungrammatical with first or second person plural subjects, gender agreement with first or second person singular subjects was judged grammatical. More specifically, gender agreement can be described as optional in this context since *nia* and *ania* were judged grammatical when they occurred with the masculine gender morpheme *-n*, as in (12.107)-(12.109), as well as when they without agreement morphemes in (12.110)-(12.112). When *nia* or *ania* occurred with the masculine gender morpheme *-n*, then the subject is assumed to be male.

- (12.107) ye n-eiwa nia-n?  
 2SG 2SG-be.from.R where-SG.M  
 ‘Where are you (sg) from?’ (140414-010:1274.061) DE, JS  
 CI: The speaker is male.

- (12.108) hem nia-n?  
 1SG where-SG.M  
 ‘Where am I?’ (140417-007:109.130) DE, JS  
 CI: The speaker is male.
- (12.109) hem ania-n?  
 1SG where-SG.M  
 ‘Where am I?’ (140417-007:83.509) DE, JS  
 CI: The speaker is male.

However, if *nia* or *ania* occurs without a masculine suffix *-n*, as in (12.110)-(12.112), then no assumption is made regarding the subject’s gender. Note that unlike third person subjects, where agreement is common despite being optional, agreement with first or second person subjects is rare.

- (12.110) ye n-eiwa nia?  
 2SG 2SG-be.from where  
 ‘Where are you (sg) from?’ (140414-010:1271.159) DE, JS  
 CI: The speaker can be male or female.
- (12.111) hem nia?  
 1SG where  
 ‘Where am I?’ (140417-007:98.452) DE, JS  
 CI: The speaker can be male or female.
- (12.112) hem ania?  
 1SG where  
 ‘Where am I?’ (140417-007:79.790) DE, JS  
 CI: The speaker can be male or female.

There does not appear to be an obvious distinction in the distribution of *nia* and *ania*. In all tested contexts both forms were acceptable. In natural discourse, the interrogative word most frequently functions as a nominal phrase, as in examples (12.113)-(12.116) where *nia* and *ania* function as nominal phrases used to ask about location.

- (12.113) hebi ta h-a<me>r nia?  
 1PL FUT 1PL-go.to.R<IPFV> where  
 ‘Where will we go?’ (140226-002:673.701) DE, JS
- (12.114) hebi ta h-a<me>r ania?  
 1PL FUT 1PL-go.to.R<IPFV> where  
 ‘Where will we go?’ (140226-002:676.305) DE, JS

- (12.115) te-i ki Ø-gani nia-i?  
 3-PL already 3PL-dive where-PL  
 ‘Where did they dive?’ (140226-002:550.298) DE, JS

- (12.116) te-i Ø-ori yati ania-i?  
 3-PL 3PL-hit.R sago where-PL  
 ‘Where are they scraping sago?’ (140414-010:1106.636) DE, JS

The interrogative word also frequently functions as the locative object of directional verbs (see section 7.7.1.3) and posture verbs (see section 7.7.1.4). In (12.117) and (12.118), *nia* and *ania* serve as the locative objects of the posture verb *or* ‘lie, sleep’.

- (12.117) ye ki n-or nia-Ø?  
 2SG already 2SG-or.R where-Ø  
 ‘Where did you (sg) sleep?’ (140226-002:391.307) DE, JS

- (12.118) te-i ki Ø-or ania-i?  
 3-PL already 3PL-lie.R where-PL  
 ‘Where did they sleep?’ (140226-002:381.160) DE, JS

Despite this, *nia* and *ania* can function as non-verbal predicates on their own, as in (12.119) and (12.120).

- (12.119) hem nia?  
 1SG where  
 ‘Where am I?’ (140417-007:98.452) DE, JS  
 CI: The speaker can be male or female.

- (12.120) hem ania?  
 1SG where  
 ‘Where am I?’ (140417-007:79.790) DE, JS  
 CI: The speaker can be male or female.

When *nia* or *ania* function as part of a subordinate clause, their agreement form is dependent on the subject of the subordinate clause, as in (12.121), where *nia* occurs in its singular masculine form because of *neigal* ‘cuscus’ rather than its plural form because of *ti* ‘they’.

- (12.121) te-i la Ø-atia neigal nia-n?  
 3-PL PST 3PL-see.R cuscus where-SG.M  
 ‘Where did they see the cuscus?’ (140226-002:796.477) DE, JS

Several examples from natural discourse are provided in (12.122)-(12.126).



- (12.122) mabe n-eiwa                      nia-n?  
 mabe 3SG.M-be.from.R where-SG.M  
 ‘Where is mabe from?’ (120621-001:720.689) RNS, JS  
 CI: They are referring to a man here by his last name, Mabe.
- (12.123) nigo-n-gon            yot-a-n                      paki n-akia                      nia-n?  
 child-SG.M-RED DEM-PROX-SG.M paki 3SG.M-go.via.R where-SG.M  
 ‘That boy here, where has he gone?’ (120517-001:1201.893) RNS, JS
- (12.124) yo    yo    ania-Ø?  
 path path where-SG.F  
 ‘Where is the road?’ (120621-001:839.302) RNS, TW
- (12.125) Bethsiba paki ki            w-ar                      ania-Ø?  
 Bethsiba paki already 3SG.F-go.to.R where-SG.F  
 ‘Bethsiba, where did Bethsiba go’ (120607-002:113.102) GE-[ba], JS
- (12.126) te-i    yot-u-i                      paki Ø-dore                      Ø-akia                      nia-i                      paki ya?a?  
 3-PL DEM-MDIST-PL paki 3PL-get.up.R 3PL-go.via.R where-PL paki here  
 ‘Those guys, where did they all go?’ (120607-002:99.454) RNS, JS

### 12.3.6 *odinia* ‘how, do how’

The interrogative word *odinia* is a fully inflecting verb that expresses the meanings ‘how, in what way’ and ‘do how, do in what way.’<sup>13</sup> The verb *odinia* can be a predicate in a simple clause (see section 4.5) or occur in multi-predicate clauses (see chapter 13). Examples (12.127)-(12.129) demonstrate the verb’s use to signify ‘do how, do in what way’. When the verb occurs in this meaning, object morphemes refer to the participant affected by the subject’s action. For clarity, additional literal translations are provided for some examples where standard English would express the meaning differently, frequently through the use of a different interrogative word.

- (12.127) te-n    paki ta    n-y-o<ma>dinia                      ye?  
 3-SG.M paki FUT 3SG.M-2-do.how.R<IPFV> 2SG  
 ‘What will he do to you (sg)?’ (140417-007:1238.040) GJ+GE-[nyomadinia], JS  
 LT: ‘He will do how to you (sg)?’
- (12.128) te-n    ta    n-ana                      n-w-odinia                      hebi.  
 3-SG.M FUT 3SG.M-come.glr 3SG.M-1PL-do.how.R 1PL  
 ‘He will come and do what to us?’ (140417-007:1110.207) GE-[nwodinia], JS  
 LT: ‘He will come and do how to us?’

<sup>13</sup>The verb *ada* ‘be like’, which is not fully inflecting, is related to this verb. More research is necessary to determine the details of this relationship though.

- (12.129) te- $\emptyset$  ki w-o<ma>dinia-n nigo-n-gon?  
 3-SG.F already 3SG.F-how.R<IPFV>-SG.M child-SG.M-RED  
 ‘What has she done to her son?’ (140417-007:966.510) GJ+GE-[womadnian], JS  
 LT: ‘She has done how to her son?’

When *odinia* is used to express the meaning ‘how’ or ‘in what way’, it can only occur with third person object morphemes. Furthermore, those third person object morphemes don’t agree with an object. Instead, they optionally function as another instance of agreement with the subject. In other words, subject and object morphemes show the same agreement when *odinia* is used to ask how the subject is with respect to some quality (e.g. physical appearance, emotional state, physical state, etc.).<sup>14</sup>

This behavior of subject agreement in two locations is shown in (12.130)-(12.133), where *odinia* is used to ask about the physical appearance of the subject. In examples (12.130)-(12.132), the verb takes the form *nodinian* due to the singular masculine subject, while in example (12.133) it takes the form *odiniai* due to the plural subject.

- (12.130) harkanogi-l hane n-odinia-n?  
 snake-PL hane.snake 3SG.M-how.R-SG.M  
 ‘What does the hane snake look like?’ (140414-008:1289.856) DE, JS  
 LT: ‘The hane snake is how?’
- (12.131) wual n-odinia-n?  
 pig 3SG.M-how.R-SG.M  
 ‘What is the pig like?’ (140417-007:27.324) DE, JS  
 LT: ‘The pig is how?’
- (12.132) moti lahabi nolka-ti n-o<ne>wil n-odinia-n?  
 pot yesterday flood-SG 3SG.M-take.R<SG.M> 3SG.M-how.R-SG.M  
 ‘What type of pot did the flood take yesterday?’ (140417-007:1019.400) GE-[nodinian], JS  
 LT: ‘The pot that yesterday the flood took it is how?’

<sup>14</sup>It may be possible to analyze *odinia* as an instance of the verb *odi* ‘make’ and the interrogative word *nia* ‘where’. This would explain the unusual agreement pattern whereby subject agreement occurs twice. The lexical item *odi* ‘make’ as a verb would show subject agreement via prefixes, while the interrogative word *nia* also shows agreement with the subject via suffixes. This analysis would also explain the selection of the infrequent *-ma-* and *-pa-* imperfective and additive lexical allomorphs on *odinia* ‘how, do in what way’ (see section 8.4.1.3). Despite this intriguing alternative analysis, *odinia* shows regular penultimate stress (see section 2.4.1) and does not permit third person object agreement as would be expected on the verb *odi* ‘make’ (see section 7.3.3.2). This would suggest that even if *odinia* historically originated via the combination of *odi* and *nia*, the interrogative word has become lexicalized in at least some aspects. I leave additional consideration of this possible origin for future research.

- (12.133) ta  $\emptyset$ -odinia-i-niai?  
 FUT 3PL-how.R-PL-RED  
 ‘How will they look?’ (120518-001:360.880) RNS, JS  
 LT: ‘They will be how?’

Example (12.134) is provided to demonstrate the optionality of subject agreement via suffixes. In this example, third person object suffixes do not occur on *odinia* to express subject agreement.

- (12.134) te-i yot-u-i ki  $\emptyset$ -almo  $\emptyset$ -odinia?  
 3-PL DEM-MDIST-PL already 3PL-die.R 3PL-how.R  
 ‘How did they die?’ (140224-051:27.996) DE, JS

When *odinia* occurs with first or second person subjects, however, no object morphemes are permitted. This can be seen in (12.135), where the verb asks about the physical state of the subject. In this example, a woman in a legend has suddenly and unexpectedly become pregnant. She asks herself how she is now. Given the first person singular subject, no object morphemes occur.

- (12.135) ke hem paki m-odinia yot-a- $\emptyset$ ?  
 oh 1SG paki 1SG-how.R DEM-PROX-SG.F  
 ‘Oh! I am like what now?’ (120517-001:1448.491) RNS, JS  
 CI: The speaker is a women who has suddenly become pregnant.

It is common for the interrogative word *odinia* to express the manner in which another verb was carried out. This is shown in example (12.136), where the verb *odinia* occurs with the verb *aria* ‘do’ to express the meaning ‘do the work how’.

- (12.136) helol ta h-aria-da-i h-o<ma>dinia paki?  
 work FUT 1PL-do-AUG-PL 1PL-how.R<IPFV> paki  
 ‘How will we do the work?’ (120514-000:291.431) RNS, LA

Another example is shown in example (12.137), where the speaker uses *odinia* to ask about the way in which a group of people left, specifically the path they took. The answer to the question, given in (12.138), indicates that they left by road rather than taking the small foot path.

- (12.137) te-i yot-u-i ki  $\emptyset$ -aro  $\emptyset$ -odinia-i?  
 3-PL DEM-MDIST-PL already 3PL-go.R 3PL-how.R-PL  
 ‘What route did those people take?’ (140224-051:129.342) DE, JS  
 LT: ‘They there have gone how?’

- (12.138) te-i ki Ø-aro, Ø-akia yo w-Ø=lope-Ø Ø-aro.  
 3-PL already 3PL-go.R 3PL-go.via.R path REL-SG=big-SG.F 3PL-go.R  
 ‘They went on the big road.’ (140224-051:141.760) ANS, JS

It is also common for the verb *odinia* to be used to ask about how something came to pass. In other words, *odinia* signals a request for information on what event happened to cause the proposition to occur. For instance, in (12.139), the speaker uses *odinia* to ask what happened to make several people die. The answer to this question is provided in (12.140) and indicates that the people died because they were poisoned.

- (12.139) te-i yot-u-i ki Ø-almo Ø-odinia?  
 3-PL DEM-MDIST-PL already 3PL-die.R 3PL-how.R  
 ‘How did they die?’ (140224-051:27.996) DE, JS

- (12.140) te-i ki Ø-almo ki hamei Ø-garkuare-i.  
 3-PL already 3PL-die.R already people 3PL-poison.R-PL  
 ‘They died because men poisoned them.’ (140224-051:36.432) ANS, JS

In example (12.141), the speaker uses *odinia* to ask why a person came back early from scraping sago. The answer, given in (12.142) explains that the person felt ill and this is what caused the person come back early.

- (12.141) ye paki n-odinia si n-a<me>na siwei?  
 2SG paki 2SG-how.R again 2SG-come.R<IPFV> again  
 ‘What happened to make you (sg) come back?’ (140417-007:1050.988) GE-[nodinia], JS  
 LT: ‘You were how that you came back?’ CI: You left to go scrape sago. Why did you come back?

- (12.142) hiro, hem m-d-alba hobi w-ei=hem Ø-o weli.  
 NEG 1SG 1SG-REFL-feel.R body REL-PL=1SG 3PL-COP.R hot  
 ‘No, I felt my body was in pain.’ (140417-007:1053.980) ANS, JS

Similarly, in (12.143), the speaker uses *odinia* to ask what happened to make a group of people return early. The answer is provided in (12.144) and refers to the event that caused the questioned proposition to occur, namely that the child died, leaving no reason to continue to the hospital.

- (12.143) te-i ki Ø-aro Ø-odinia ki si Ø-a<me>na siwei.  
 3-PL already 3PL-go.R 3PL-o already again 3PL-come.R<IPFV> again  
 ‘What happened after they left to make them come back?’ (140417-007:870.660) GE-[odinia], JS  
 LT: ‘They went and did how that they came back?’

- (12.144) hiro, nigo- $\emptyset$ -go ki w-aro w-almo yo hawal, te-i ki  
 NEG child-SG.F-RED already 3SG.F-go.R 3SG.F-die.R path feet 3-PL already  
 si  $\emptyset$ -a<me>na.  
 again 3PL-come.R<IPFV>  
 ‘No, the baby girl died on the foot path and they came back.’ (140417-007:874.838)  
 ANS, JS

One last example of *odinia* being used to ask about the cause of a proposition is shown in example (12.145). In this example, the speaker has noticed some fish at the house, but does not know how they came to be at the house. He uses *odinia* to ask what happened to result in the fish being at the house.

- (12.145) nanu-bia yot-ua-i, ki  $\emptyset$ -ana  $\emptyset$ -odinia-i?  
 fish-PL DEM-DIST-PL already 3PL-come.R 3PL-how.R-PL  
 ‘How did those fish come?’ (140224-051:197.532) DE, JS  
 CI: Fish arrived at the house and the speaker wonders how they came to be there.

As a verb, *odinia* can occur with all morphemes that can occur on verbs. For instance, it occurs with irrealis mood marking in (12.146) and predicate morphemes in (12.147) and (12.148).

- (12.146) paki m-ie< $\emptyset$ >ba m-iedinia yot-ua- $\emptyset$ ?  
 paki 1SG-shoot.I<SG.F> 1SG-how.I DEM-DIST-SG.F  
 ‘How could I shoot it like that?’ (120606-012:72.470) GE-[niepasia], JS
- (12.147) hem paki ma=ilua. m-o<ma>dinia yot-a- $\emptyset$ ?  
 1SG paki IPFV=bad 1SG-how.R<IPFV> DEM-PROX-SG.F  
 ‘I’m so sick. What will happen to me now?’ (140417-007:901.190) GJ+GE-[momadinia], JS  
 LT: ‘I’m very bad. I will be how now?’
- (12.148) hamei yot-u-m, paki w-o<ma>dinia-m te-i w-al<me>mo.  
 people DEM-MDIST-PL paki 3PL-how.R<IPFV>-PL 3-PL 3PL-die.R<IPFV>  
 ‘Those people, how did they die?’ (140417-007:912.209) GJ+GE-[womadiniam], JS

### 12.3.7 The non-interrogative use of interrogative words

When not used in content questions, interrogatives are commonly used to refer to indefinite or unspecified entities. They are typically translated into English by ‘any’ or ‘some’ (e.g.

anywhere, somewhere, anybody, somebody, anything, something).<sup>15</sup> For instance, example (12.149) demonstrates the interrogative word *malmal* ‘how many, how much’ being used to refer to an unspecified amount of money rather than being used to ask about the amount of money to be given.<sup>16</sup> In example (12.150), the interrogative word *malmal* is not used to ask how many weeks the people will stay, but to indicate that these people will stay an unspecified number of weeks.

- (12.149)  $\emptyset$ -itr-e- $\emptyset$ ,                      ta   w-aya        malmal.  
 3PL-see.I-AUG-SG.F FUT 1PL-give.R how.many  
 ‘Maybe, she will give us some amount.’ (120420-000:1116.440) RNS, LA

- (12.150) minigi        malmal        kua ta     $\emptyset$ -ormia.  
 time.period how.many still FUT 3PL-stay.R.IPFV  
 ‘There will still be some weeks that they’ll stay.’ (120528-003:463.080) RNS, JS

The interrogative word *magil* is used in example (12.151) not to ask which people the addressee should give the money to, but to express the idea that the money should be given to some undetermined group of people.

- (12.151) ... n-a<me>ya-ka-i                      hamei magil                      ...  
 ... 2SG-give.R<IPFV>-AUG-PL people who.HUM.PL ...  
 ‘... you (sg) give it to some people ...’ (120615-000:660.380) RNS, JS

Examples (12.152)-(12.155) demonstrate the interrogative word *nia* ‘where’ being used in non-interrogative contexts to express the meanings ‘anywhere’, ‘somewhere’, and ‘wherever’.

- (12.152) nobia n-er                      yot-u- $\emptyset$                       n-er                      ania- $\emptyset$ .  
 want 2SG-go.to.I DEM-MDIST-SG.F 2SG-go.to.I where-SG.F  
 ‘You want to go there or anywhere.’ (120416-000:827.880) RNS, JS

- (12.153) ... n-er                      nia        nia        nogil        nogil        hiro.  
 ... 3SG.M-go.to.I where where village village NEG  
 ‘... or go to any place, or to any villages.’ (120613-001:436.836) RNS, LA

- (12.154) ta    m-nobia        hamei w-ei=di- $\emptyset$                       tinogil hamei w-ei=di        ania-i-niai.  
 FUT 1SG-talk.R people REL-PL=3-SG.F village people REL-PL=3 where-PL-RED  
 ‘I will tell the people of the village and the people of somewhere else.’ (120528-002:209.050) RNS, JS

<sup>15</sup>Note that in their non-questioning use, the interrogative words *nia* ‘where’ and *maja* ‘what, who, which’ frequently occur in a reduplicated form. This is likely due to the use of reduplication to express distributive meaning (see section 2.6).

<sup>16</sup>The form *itre* is frequently translated as ‘maybe’. While it is possible to analyze this as a form of the verb *atia* ‘see’ to express a meaning like ‘We might see’, it is not clear if this is a lexicalized phrase which no longer permits inflection in this use. I gloss it as a form of the verb here to make the connection explicit, but more research is needed to determine the best analysis in this context.

- (12.155) ye meġual w-n=ye n-eiwa nia-n te-n ta  
 2SG husband REL-SG.M=2SG 3SG.M-be.from.R where-SG.M 3-SG.M FUT  
 n-y-aga ye ...  
 3SG.M-2-get.R 2SG ...  
 ‘Your husband from wherever, he will buy you ...’ (120528-003:380.650) RNS, JS  
 CI: He will pay your bride price.

Examples (12.156)-(12.160) illustrate the interrogative word *maġa* being translated as ‘something’, ‘someone’, ‘whoever’, or ‘anything’.

- (12.156) ... n-gei-ka-∅ w-a<me>nor maġa-∅ maġa-∅.  
 ... 2SG-leave.R-AUG-SG.F 3SG.F-descend.R<IPFV> what-SG.F what-SG.F  
 ‘... you will put it down into something.’ (V120718-002:149.760) RNS, LA  
 CI: The speaker is describing how the Yeri language will be stored on something  
 (e.g. a CD or a cassette)
- (12.157) ta h-aya ka-n nebal hare maġa-n maġa-n.  
 FUT 1PL-give.R 3-SG.M nebal hare what-SG.M what-SG.M  
 ‘We will give the paper to someone.’ (120621-001:429.101) RNS, TW
- (12.158) maġa-n hem ta m-aya-ka-n nebal hare yot-u-n  
 what-SG.M 1SG FUT 1SG-give-AUG-SG.M tree leaf DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
 ‘whoever I will vote for’ (120621-001:183.329) RNS, JS
- (12.159) hiro w-nibia wiga maġa-∅.  
 NEG 3SG.F-talk.I language what-SG.F  
 ‘She didn’t say anything.’ (120517-001:352.281) RNS, JS
- (12.160) Stephen or maġa-n maġa-n ...  
 Stephen or what-SG.M what-SG.M ...  
 ‘Stephen or someone else ...’ (120621-003:313.500) RNS, AS

It is also possible for the interrogative word *odinia* ‘how, do in what way’ to occur in a non-interrogative use. When it does, the verb expresses the meaning ‘in that way’. For instance, in (12.161), the verb *odinia* occurs with another verb *o* ‘be, stay, live’ to express the meaning ‘live in that way’.

- (12.161) hebi h-o h-o h-odinia-nia.  
 1PL 1PL-stay.R 1PL-stay.R 1PL-how.R-RED  
 ‘We lived like that.’ (120623-007:141.437) RNS, TW

## Chapter 13

# Multi-predicate clauses

This chapter is devoted to discussion of what I call multi-predicate clauses, clauses which involve more than one predicate. I provide more information on what is meant by the label ‘multi-predicate clause’ in section 13.1. In section 13.2 I discuss the frequent omission of subject prefixes on directional verbs when these act as the first predicate in a multi-predicate clause. Section 13.3 focuses on a description of predicate morpheme occurrence on predicates within multi-predicate clause, and section 13.4 discusses non-verbal predicates within multi-predicate clauses. The last section, section 13.5, details some of the common types of predicates that occur in multi-predicate clauses.

### 13.1 What are multi-predicate clauses?

I use the label ‘multi-predicate clause’ to refer to a single clause which involves more than one predicate. There are examples of multi-predicate clauses in spontaneous speech where one or more of the predicates are non-verbal. For this reason, I avoid the more common labels ‘multi-verb construction’ or ‘serial verb construction’. Despite the acceptability of non-verbal predicates in multi-predicate clauses, ideophone predicates are the only type of non-verbal predicate that frequently occur in multi-predicate clauses.

Note that Yeri frequently combines clauses asyndetically, and this often results in long sequences of clause chains (see section 14.1.1). For this reason, it is not always clear whether an utterance should be categorized as involving a single clause or multiple clauses. However, the location and pronunciation of clause particles provides explicit evidence for treating at least some examples with more than one predicate as monoclausal (i.e. multi-predicate clauses). By considering specifically these examples, it is possible to identify additional characteristics which appear to be true for all examples which must be analyzed in this way.

For my purposes, I consider an utterance to be an instance of a multi-predicate clause



if all predicates: (i) share at least one argument, (ii) are not separated by anything except the object of a predicate, (iii) fall under the scope of the same clause particles, and (iv) share the same mood marking. It is important to note, however, that more research into intonation, clause particles, and other issues related to Yeri clause boundaries may identify additional utterances that are best analyzed as monoclausal. As additional examples are located, the criteria presented here may be further expanded or restricted on the basis of this new information.

The primary evidence used in the identification of multi-predicate clauses in this grammar comes from the location, pronunciation, and scope of clause particles. I discuss this definitional criterion in section 13.1.1. Any additional characteristics that I describe as being shared by all multi-predicate clauses were determined by examining which characteristics held true for all examples that were consistent with a monoclausal interpretation based on clause particles. Section 13.1.2 focuses on shared arguments in multi-predicate clauses, and section 13.1.3 focuses on shared mood marking in multi-predicate clauses. Note also that the omission of subject marking on directional verbs (see section 13.2) appears to be restricted to instances where directional verbs occur in multi-predicate clauses, and this provides some additional evidence separate from clause particles for the analysis of at least some clauses as containing more than one predicate.

### 13.1.1 Clause particle scope

The location, pronunciation, and scope of clause particles provides evidence that some clauses are best analyzed as involving more than one predicate. Some of the strongest evidence for multi-predicate clauses comes from the behavior of the negative clause particle *hiro* with verbal predicates. I discuss this in section 13.1.1.1. I then briefly consider the occurrence of tense particles in multi-predicate clauses in section 13.1.1.2 and various other clause particles in multi-predicate clauses in section 13.1.1.3.

It is important to note that my analysis of multi-predicate clauses is primarily based on the behavior of clause particles, and clause particles in Yeri are optional within a clause. For this reason, it is theoretically possible for two clauses to be asyndetically coordinated (see section 14.1.1) with the particles that occur in each clause being consistent with a multi-predicate clause analysis. For example, the first clause could contain only non-clause-final particles or no particles at all and the second clause could contain only clause-final particles or no particles. As long as all predicates in the two clauses share an argument (see section 13.1.2) and show the same mood (see section 13.1.3), these examples would be formally consistent with a multi-predicate clause analysis based on the operational criteria presented here, despite being asyndetically coordinated distinct clauses.

At times, the semantics may distinguish between the two analyses (e.g. where the

meaning of an example clearly shows that a clause particle does not take scope over all of the predicates). However, if the semantics of the utterance does not clearly indicate that a clause particle does not take scope over all predicates, it is not possible to distinguish between a monoclausal and a multiclausal analysis of these examples based on the criteria described here.

With additional research, one may identify criteria which would permit an analysis to distinguish a multi-predicate clause from asyndetically coordinated clauses like these. In particular, I suspect that additional research into intonation may provide insight into these issues. However, time constraints require that I leave this matter for future research. For now, I note only that these examples are ambiguous between a monoclausal and a multiclausal analysis, and are consistent with the operational criteria of a multi-predicate clause, described in section 13.1, that I use here.

### 13.1.1.1 The negative particle

The negative particle *hiro* ‘no’ (see section 10.2.3 and chapter 11) can optionally occur twice in the same clause, (i) either in clause-initial position or before the predicate it holds scope over, and (ii) in clause-final position. The clause particle also triggers irrealis mood on all verbal predicates that fall under its scope, making verbal predicates which have been negated formally distinct from verbal predicates which have not been negated. When more than one verb occurs in the irrealis mood between the first and second occurrence of *hiro*, these verbal predicates are best analyzed as belonging to the same clause. This can be seen in example (13.1), where the verbs *ana* ‘come’ and *atia* ‘see’ are located between the two occurrences of *hiro* and occur in their irrealis forms. Given the mood and location of these two predicates as well as their negated verbal meaning in the interpretation of the utterance, both verbal predicates fall under the scope of the negative clause particle. Furthermore, since the first occurrence of *hiro* is located immediately preceding the predicate, and the second occurrence of *hiro* must be located in clause-final position, the two verbal predicates in example (13.1) appear best analyzed as occurring within the same clause.

- (13.1) te-i ta hiro ø-ina ø-w-itia hebi hiro.  
 3-PL FUT NEG 3PL-come.I 3PL-1PL-see.I 1PL NEG  
 ‘They will not come to see us.’ (120621-001:241.723) RNS, AS

In order to be classified as a multi-predicate clause in this grammar, any clause particles that occur must take scope over all of the predicates in the multi-predicate clause. For instance, the negative particle *hiro* cannot occur between predicates in a multi-predicate clause, nor can the negation be interpreted as applying to only one of the predicates (see section 11.4). When the negative particle occurs, it must precede the first predicate in the

multi-predicate clause and it triggers irrealis marking on each verb within the multi-predicate clause, as in (13.2) and (13.3).

- (13.2) hapo-wil w-ei=de-i nena ta hiro ero m-ie.  
 sago.stick-PL REL-PL=3-PL father FUT NEG go.I 1SG-stay.I  
 ‘I won’t go sit on my father’s bed.’ (120601-012:381.042) RNS, YW

- (13.3) ye hiro n-i<∅>guti n-iruba-∅.  
 2SG NEG 2SG-burn.I<SG.F> 2SG-do.well.I-SG.F  
 ‘You (sg) don’t dry or cook them properly.’ (120608-002:249.732) RNS, JS

When a clause particle, like *hiro*, occurs between two predicates, I do not analyze the predicates as belonging to the same clause. Compare example (13.4), which I analyze as a multi-predicate clause consisting of two verbal predicates *ana* ‘come’ and *atia* ‘see’, to example (13.5), which I analyze as two separate clauses, one with the predicate *ar* ‘go’ and one where the negative particle takes scope over the predicate *atia* ‘see’. I analyze examples like (13.5) as involving two clauses for several reasons. First, the predicate which precedes the negative particle (*ar* ‘go’ in this example) does not fall under the scope of negation, as shown by the lack of irrealis mood on a verbal predicate in this position (e.g. *aro* rather than *ero*) as well as by the translation (‘we went’ rather than ‘we did not go’). Furthermore, when the negative particle occurs between two predicates, the utterance is typically translated with two clauses by consultants and a pause frequently occurs before the negative particle, as shown in Figure 13.1 for example (13.5). I consider this pause additional evidence in favor of analyzing the two predicates as belonging to distinct clauses.

- (13.4) te-i ta hiro ∅-ina ∅-w-itia hebi hiro  
 3-PL FUT NEG 3PL-come.I 3PL-1PL-see.I 1PL NEG  
 ‘They will not come and see us.’ (120621-001:241.723) RNS, AS

- (13.5) hebi la ∅-aro, hiro ∅-itr-e-i.  
 1PL PST 1PL-go.R NEG 1PL-see.I-AUG-PL  
 ‘We went, but we did not see them.’ (140408-207:824.200) GE-[ihikual], LA

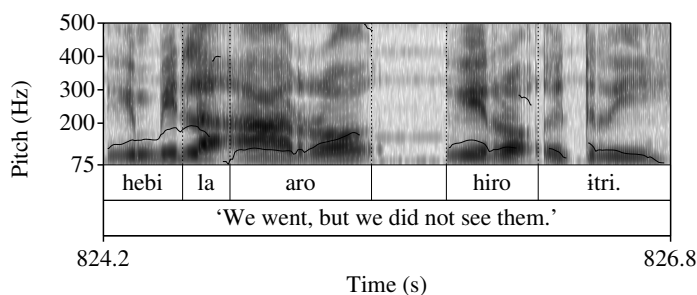


Figure 13.1: The negative particle and the biclausal analysis of example (13.5)

### 13.1.1.2 Tense particles

All predicates within a multi-predicate clause must have the same interpretation of absolute tense. This means that whenever a tense particle occurs it must occur before the first predicate in a multi-predicate clause and all predicates in the multi-predicate clause must fall under its scope.<sup>1</sup> For example, both predicates in examples (13.6) and (13.7) are interpreted as occurring in the past tense due to the past tense particle *la*, while both predicates in examples (13.8) and (13.9) are interpreted as occurring in the future due to the future tense particle *ta*.<sup>2</sup>

- (13.6) *te-∅ la w-ori yatì w-darku.*  
 3-SG.F PST 3SG.F-hit.R sago 3SG.F-run.R

‘She scraped sago quickly.’ (140415-015:116.187) GJ, LA

- (13.7) *la ∅-aro h-aria helol yot-ua-i wigal wigal.*  
 PST 1PL-go.R 1PL-do.R work DEM-DIST-PL language language

‘We went to meet.’ (120524-000:487.047) RNS, LN

<sup>1</sup>Note that since tense particles are optional, it is theoretically possible for two clauses to be asyndetically coordinated (see section 14.1.1) with the first clause occurring with a tense particle and the second clause occurring without one. Examples like these are ambiguous between monoclausal and a biclausal interpretation. The criteria I describe here cannot distinguish between a multi-predicate clause and asyndetically coordinated clauses like these. If all predicates in the example share an argument (see section 13.1.2) and show the same mood (see section 13.1.3), the example could be classified as a multi-predicate clause based on the criteria described here. With additional research, it may be possible to distinguish examples like these from multi-predicate clauses. However, I leave this issue for future research.

<sup>2</sup>These predicates also occur under the scope of additional clause particles like *kua* ‘still, yet, first’ (see section 10.2.2) or *he* ‘continuous’ (see section 10.3.1). Discussion of these clause particles in multi-predicate clauses is provided in section 13.1.1.3.

- (13.8) ta n-ana n-b-aya puyu hirka kua he.  
 FUT 3SG.M-come.R 3SG.M-1SG-give.R rock new still CNT  
 ‘He will come give us money first.’ (120621-001:127.436) RNS, YM

- (13.9) ta Ø-ko Ø-o<Ø>giwa Ø-aruba-Ø kua.  
 FUT 1PL-still 1PL-ask.R<SG.F> 1PL-do.well.R-SG.F still  
 ‘We’ll ask her properly first.’ (120416-000:458.710) RNS, LA

### 13.1.1.3 Other clause particles

As described in section 13.1, to be analyzed as a multi-predicate clause, all predicates must fall under the scope of the same clause particles. In this section I consider the clause particles *ki* ‘already’, *kua* ‘still, yet, first’, and *he* ‘continuous’. As a class 1 clause particle *ki* precedes the element it holds scope over in its default position (see section 10.1.2). Examples (13.10) and (13.11) illustrate the clause particle of *ki* taking scope over a multi-predicate clause with two verbal predicates. In these examples, the multi-predicate clauses consist of the directional verb *ar* ‘go’ followed by another verb, *gakua* ‘wash’ in example (13.10) and *ol* ‘cut’ in example (13.11).

- (13.10) ki m-aro m-ga<he>kua.  
 already 1SG-go.R 1SG-wash.R<SG.F>  
 ‘I’ve already gone and washed it.’ (120705-002:183.089) GE-[nawi miai] JS
- (13.11) ki m-ero m-b-ol-ha-Ø w-n=hem.  
 already 1SG-go.I 1SG-1SG-cut-AUG-SG.F REL-SG.M=1SG  
 ‘I should have gone and cut mine (cocoa beans).’ (120607-001:433.647) GE-[mbolha], JS

Another example of *ki* taking scope over the entire multi-predicate clause can be seen in example (13.12). In this example, the verbs *gei* ‘leave’ and *or* ‘lie, sleep’ both fall under the scope of *ki* and belong to the same multi-predicate clause. This clause is functioning as an unmarked relative clause modifying the plural form of the noun *nanula* ‘fish’, and this whole nominal phrase in turn is functioning as the subject of the genitive predicate *weibahem*. For clarity, the multi-predicate clause phrase is delimited by square brackets [ ].

- (13.12) nanu-bia yot-ua-i [ki m-gei-ka-i Ø-or yot-ua-i]  
 fish-PL DEM-DIST-PL [already 1SG-leave.R-AUG-PL 3PL-lie.R DEM-DIST-PL]  
 w-ei-ba-hem.  
 REL-PL-ADD-1SG  
 ‘Those fish that I have already left lying there are mine.’ (120709-007:26.630)  
 GE-[weibahem], JS

The class 2 clause particle *kua* ‘still, yet, first’ can occur twice in a clause, as long as one of those positions is clause-final position (see section 10.2.2). When the particle takes scope over a multi-predicate clause and occurs twice in the same clause, it immediately precedes the first predicate and occurs in clause-final position after the last predicate by default. Examples (13.13) and (13.14) demonstrate this behavior. In example (13.13), the verbs *ogiwa* ‘ask’ and *aruba* ‘do well, decorate’ belong to the same multi-predicate clause and fall under the scope of *kua*, as well as the future tense particle *ta* (see section 13.1.1.2). Similar to this example, the verbs *ar* ‘go’ and *odi* ‘make’ fall under the scope of *kua* in example (13.14). Note that in this example, the third verb *dawo* ‘sit’ does not fall under the scope of the class 2 clause particle *kua* and, for this reason, is not analyzed as part of the multi-predicate clause.

- (13.13) *ta ko Ø-o<Ø>giwa Ø-aruba-Ø kua.*  
 FUT still 1PL-ask.R<SG.F> 1PL-do.well-SG.F still  
 ‘We’ll ask her properly first.’ (120416-000:458.710) RNS, LA

- (13.14) *ko n-aro n-o<ma>di-a-Ø kua, w-d-a<m>wo.*  
 still 2SG-go.R 2SG-make.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F still 3SG.F-MDL-set.R<IPFV>  
 ‘You (sg) build it first and then it will be there.’ (120623-002:88.275) RNS, YW

The class 3 clause particle *he* ‘continuous’ occurs in clause-final position after the element it holds scope over (see section 10.3.1).<sup>3</sup> Examples (13.15)-(13.17) illustrate the clause particle *he* taking scope over multi-predicate clauses. In example (13.15), the multi-predicate clause includes two predicates *almo* ‘die’ and the posture verb *or* ‘lie, sleep’. Both verbs fall under the scope of *ki* which precedes the first predicate in the multi-predicate clause and *he* which occurs in clause-final position. Similar to this, the multi-predicate clause in example (13.16) consists of the verbs *ohorkil* ‘flee’ and *ar* ‘go’, both of which fall under the scope of *ki* and *he*.

- (13.15) *te-n ki n-almo n-or he.*  
 3-SG.M already 3SG.M-die.R 3SG.M-lie.R CNT  
 ‘He has already died.’ (120517-001:838.643) RNS, JS

- (13.16) *te-n ki n-ohorkil n-aro he.*  
 3-SG.M already 3SG.M-flee.R 3SG.M-go.R CNT  
 ‘He has run away already.’ (120608-003:561.198) RNS, JS

In example (13.17), the multi-predicate clause also consists of two verbal predicates, both of which fall under the scope of *he* ‘continuous’ and *kua* ‘still, yet, first’. Note this example

<sup>3</sup>The semantics of this clause particle are still unclear (see section 10.3.1). For this reason, the positioning of *he* as a class 3 particle is the primary way in which its occurrence is used as evidence for monoclausal or multiclausal status here.

also illustrates the future tense particle *ta* taking scope over the entire multi-predicate clause (see section 13.1.1.2).

- (13.17) *ta n-ana n-b-aya puyu hirka kua he.*  
 FUT 3SG.M-come.R 3SG.M-1SG-give.R rock new still CNT  
 ‘He will come give us money first.’ (120621-001:127.436) RNS, YM

### 13.1.2 Shared arguments

Multi-predicate clauses obligatorily share at least one argument. In examples (13.18)-(13.20), this shared argument is the subject of each predicate, first person plural in example (13.18), first person singular in example (13.19), and third person singular feminine in example (13.20).<sup>4</sup>

- (13.18) *hebi h-nobia h-d-aruba.*  
 1PL 1PL-talk.R 1PL-MDL-do.well.R  
 ‘We spoke properly.’ (120518-002:427.647) RNS, JS

- (13.19) *hem ki m-o<me>horkil m-a<me>na.*  
 1SG already 1SG-flee.R<IPFV> 1SG-come.R<IPFV>  
 ‘I have come running away.’ (120517-001:2352.287) RNS JS

- (13.20) *te-∅ la w-o<me>ri yati w-dar<m>ku.*  
 3-SG.F PST 3SG.F-hit.R<IPFV> sago 3SG.F-run.R<IPFV>  
 ‘She was scraping the sago quickly.’ (140415-015:164.560) GJ LA

It is also possible for the shared argument to be the object of one predicate, but the subject of another, as in (13.21) and (13.22).<sup>5</sup> In (13.21), the object of the first verb *ayomia* ‘hide’ is the subject of the second verb *or* ‘lie, sleep’, while in (13.22) the object of the first verb *gei* ‘leave’ is the subject of the second verb *dawo* ‘sit’. This is particularly common when the first predicate is a verb of transfer and the second predicate is a posture verb.

- (13.21) *yot-a-n nigo-n-gon w-n=hem yot-a-n, la*  
 DEM-PROX-SG.M child-SG.M-RED REL-SG.M=1SG DEM-PROX-SG.M PST  
*w-a<ne>yomia n-or wul mani yot-a-n.*  
 3SG.F-hide.R<SG.M> 3SG.M-lie.R water inside DEM-PROX-SG.M  
 ‘Here, my son here, she has hidden him in the water here.’ (120517-001:687.864)  
 RNS, JS

<sup>4</sup>Crowley (2002) refers to examples like these as same-subject serialization.

<sup>5</sup>Crowley (2002) refers to examples like these as switch-subject serialization.

- (13.22) h-gei-ka- $\emptyset$                       lolewa w-d-a<m>wo.  
 1PL-leave.R-AUG-SG.F thing 3SG.F-MDL-set.R<IPFV>  
 ‘We put our things down.’ (120520-000:620.529) RNS, AS

Although one argument is obligatorily shared, it is possible for more than one argument to be shared. In (13.23), the subject is shared across all three verbal predicates, while the subject and object is shared between *oba* ‘shoot’ and *ogera* ‘chase’. Note that although the subject of the verb *ar* ‘go’ is not formally indicated by means of a subject prefix, it is clear from the meaning of the utterance that the subject of the verb is the same as the subject of the following verbs.<sup>6</sup>

- (13.23) komal aro n-w-obi                      n-w-ogera.  
 PROH go.R 2SG-1PL-shoot.R 2SG-1PL-chase.R  
 ‘Don’t you (sg) go shoot and chase us.’ (120601-009:226.160) RNS, YW

Given the existence of the and-verbs in Yeri (see section 6.7.2), it is also possible for the subject of a predicate to be identified with the union of the conjuncts (the subject and object) of the verb *ode* ‘and, with’.<sup>7</sup> In (13.24) the subject of the second verb *darku* ‘run’ is the combination of the conjuncts of the first verb *ode* ‘and, with’. The subject of the and-verb is first person singular and the object of the and-verb is second person. This results in the subject of the following verb being realized as first person plural.

- (13.24) hem ta m-y-odi h-darku nadi.  
 1SG FUT 1SG-2-and.R 1PL-run very  
 ‘I and you (sg or pl) we’ll go quick.’ (120524-000:693.784) RNS, LN

A parallel example is provided in (13.25), where the subject of *ode* ‘and, with’ is first person singular and the object is third person singular feminine. The subject of the following verb *o* ‘be, stay, live’ is the union of these and is realized as first person plural.

- (13.25) la hem m-odi- $\emptyset$                       Turegal h-o                      yot-a- $\emptyset$ ,  
 PST 1SG 1SG-and.R-SG.F Turegal 1PL-stay.R DEM-PROX-SG.F  
 ‘I was with Turegal here.’ (120608-002:122.675) RNS, JS

It is common for predicates that belong to separate clauses to have subjects or objects referring to the same referent. For this reason, the occurrence of a shared argument should not be taken as evidence that predicates belong to the same clause. Rather, the lack of a shared argument is evidence that two predicates do not belong to the same clause.

<sup>6</sup>It is common for subject prefixes to be omitted on the first verb in a multi-predicate clause when this verb is a directional verb (see section 13.2).

<sup>7</sup>Crowley (2002) refers to examples like these as inclusory serialization.



### 13.1.3 Shared mood

Multi-predicate clauses must share the same realis or irrealis mood marking. If predicates disagree in mood, consultants either (i) judge the utterance ungrammatical or (ii) tend to pronounce the utterance with a pause between the predicates and translate the utterance with two clauses, similar to the way utterances are treated when a clause particle occurs between predicates (see section 13.1.1). I interpret this tendency to pause between predicates in this context and the use of biclausal translations by consultants as some evidence for the two predicates being interpreted as belonging to different clauses.

Examples demonstrating shared realis mood are presented in (13.26) and (13.27). In example (13.26), the verbs *almo* ‘die’ and *or* ‘lie, sleep’ make up a multi-predicate clause and in example (13.27), the verbs *ohorkil* ‘flee’ and *ar* ‘go’ make up a multi-predicate clause. The location and scope of *ki* ‘already’ and *he* ‘continuous’ provide evidence for this monoclausal interpretation.

- (13.26) te-n ki n-almo n-or he.  
 3-SG.M already 3SG.M-die.R 3SG.M-lie.R CNT  
 ‘He has died already.’ (120517-001:838.643) RNS, JS

- (13.27) te-n ki n-ohorkil n-aro he.  
 3-SG.M already 3SG.M-flee.R 3SG.M-go.R CNT  
 ‘He has run away already.’ (120608-003:561.198) RNS, JS

Examples (13.28) and (13.29) illustrate verbs which belong to the same multi-predicate clause sharing irrealis mood. In example (13.28), the multi-predicate clause includes the verbs *dore* ‘get up’ and *eikia* ‘walk’. In example (13.29), the multi-predicate clause includes the verbs *dore* ‘get up’ and *dodi* ‘stand’. Each of these verbs occurs in the irrealis mood. The location and scope of *kua* provides evidence for a multi-predicate clause analysis.

- (13.28) ko dire n-ikia kua.  
 still get.up.I 2SG-walk.I first  
 ‘You get up and walk around first.’ (120517-001:1076.077) RNS, JS

- (13.29) nobia-da-n, “ko dire n-didi tupi.”  
 talk.R-AUG-SG.M first get.up.I 2SG-stand.I top  
 ‘He said to him, “First you (sg) stand up.” (120517-001:1066.116) RNS, JS

Another example is given in (13.30), where the verbs *ana* ‘come’ and *darku* ‘run’ both show irrealis mood and imperfective marking. This combination of irrealis mood and imperfective marking is a common means of conveying a strong imperative (see section 7.6.2.3).

- (13.30) y-i<me>na                      y-dir<m>ku.  
           2PL-come.I<IPFV> 2PL-run.I<IPFV>  
           ‘You (pl) come quickly!.’ (120517-001:1912.355) RNS, JS

Note that while it is obligatory for all verbal predicates in a multi-predicate clause to display irrealis mood, not all predicates must occur with imperfective marking. Examples like (13.31) demonstrate a common pattern in Yeri whereby the first predicate in a multi-predicate clause, often a directional verb, does not display imperfective marking.<sup>8</sup> In this example, both the directional verb *ar* ‘go’ and the following verb *owil* ‘take’ occur in the irrealis mood and are interpreted as imperatives, but only the second verb occurs with imperfective marking. See section 13.3 for information on the occurrence of predicate morphemes in multi-predicate clauses.

- (13.31) ero n-i<∅><me>wil                      nol yot-u-∅.  
           go.I 2SG-take.I<SG.F><IPFV> bird DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
           ‘You (sg) go and get the bird there.’ (120518-003:267.725) RNS, LN

Note that it is common for predicates that belong to separate clauses to have the same mood marking. The occurrence of shared mood is not evidence that predicates belong to the same clause. Rather, the lack of shared mood is evidence that two predicates do not belong to the same clause.

## 13.2 Subject prefix omission in multi-predicate clauses

It is common for the first verb in a multi-predicate clause to be a directional verb, especially *ar* ‘go’ or *ana* ‘come’, as in (13.32).

- (13.32) h-aro            h-ormia                      tinogil he.  
           1PL-go.R 1PL-stay.R.IPFV village CNT  
           ‘We went out and stayed outside now.’ (120524-005:659.109) RNS, JS

When this is the case, the directional verb can optionally occur without a subject prefix, and only the subject prefix of a following verbal predicate can formally indicate the subject of the directional verb.<sup>9</sup> Consider example (13.33). In this example, the first person subject prefix *m-* on *geiboni* ‘set fire’ is the only formal indication of the subject of *ar* ‘go’. Similarly, in (13.34) the second person subject prefix *n-* on *aya* ‘give’ indicates the subject of *ana* ‘come’.

<sup>8</sup>It is common for directional verbs in this position in a multi-predicate clause to also occur without subject marking. When this occurs, the subject of the verb is the subject of the following predicate in the multi-predicate clause. See section 13.2.

<sup>9</sup>If the following predicates are non-verbal, previous discourse may be the only way to determine the subject of the directional verb when a subject prefix is omitted in this context.

- (13.33) aro m-geiboni hasieki-l.  
go.R 1SG-set.fire.R fire-PL  
'I went and set a fire.' (120623-002:315.805) RNS, YW
- (13.34) ta ana n-w-aya puyu hirka kua.  
FUT come.R 3SG.M-1PL-give.R rock new first  
'He has to come and give us money first.' (120621-001:72.925) RNS, TW

### 13.3 Predicate morphemes in multi-predicate clauses

The acceptability of predicate morphemes on different predicates within a multi-predicate clause is a complex issue and depends a great deal on the specific predicates within the clause, both their meaning and their word class. Here I describe several basic patterns that are noticeable when considering multi-predicate clauses as a whole. A thorough and detailed description requires more research and is left for the future.

When more than one verbal predicate occurs in a multi-predicate clause, it is very frequent for all verbs to (i) show the same predicate morphemes or (b) have no predicate morphemes. Examples (13.35) and (13.36) illustrate multi-predicate clauses where none of the predicates occur with predicate morphemes, while (13.37)-(13.39) illustrate multi-predicate clauses where all predicates occur with imperfective morphemes.<sup>10</sup>

- (13.35) ta h-nabir-e-i h-aruba-i-bai.  
FUT 1PL-sharpen.R-AUG-PL 1PL-do.well.R-PL-RED  
'We will sharpen them very carefully.' (120522-002:173.519) RNS, JS
- (13.36) tumani ta y-odi-a-∅ y-darku.  
building FUT 2PL-make.R-AUG-SG.F 2PL-run.R  
'A house, you (pl) must build it quickly.' (120615-000:243.985) RNS, JS
- (13.37) hem ki m-o<me>horkil m-a<me>na.  
1SG already 1SG-flee.R<IPFV> 1SG-come.R<IPFV>  
'I have come running away.' (120517-001:2352.287) RNS JS
- (13.38) te-∅ la w-o<me>ri yati w-dar<m>ku.  
3-SG.F PST 3SG.F-hit.R<IPFV> sago 3SG.F-run.R<IPFV>  
'She was scraping the sago quickly.' (140415-015:164.560) GJ LA

<sup>10</sup>This section focuses on the occurrence of imperfective morphemes due to their more frequent occurrence in natural speech.

- (13.39)  $\emptyset$ -a<me>ro       $\emptyset$ -o<me>ri      yati.  
 3PL-go.R<IPFV> 3PL-hit.R<IPFV> sago  
 ‘They were going (to the sago palm) to beat the sago.’ (120517-001:1622.930) RNS, JS

It is not required, however, that all predicates in a multi-predicate clause show the same predicate morpheme marking. When predicates show different predicate marking, there is a clear tendency and preference for verbs which occur with predicate marking to follow verbs without predicate marking, as in (13.40)-(13.42).<sup>11</sup>

- (13.40) ta n-darku      n-a<me>ro      he.  
 FUT 3SG.M-run.R 3SG.M-go.R<IPFV> CNT  
 ‘He will run and go.’ (120621-001:923.708) RNS, JS
- (13.41) ta h-aro      h-a<me>lia- $\emptyset$       nebal hare.  
 FUT 1PL-go.R 1PL-drop.R<IPFV>-SG.F tree leaf  
 ‘We’ll go and vote.’ (120621-001:805.535) RNS, TW
- (13.42) te-n ki      n-ohorkil      n-a<me>ro      he.  
 3-SG.M already 3SG.M-flee.R 3SG.M-go.R<IPFV> CNT  
 ‘He has run away already.’ (120608-003:550.820) RNS, JS

This pattern is very common when the first predicate in a multi-predicate clause is a directional verb. In (13.43)-(13.45) for example, the directional verbs *ar* ‘go’ and *ana* ‘come’ occur without an imperfective morpheme and are followed by the imperfective form of verbs.

- (13.43) aro m-or<me>      he.  
 go.R 1SG-lie.R<IPFV> CNT  
 ‘I went to sleep.’ (120524-000:198.904) RNS, LN
- (13.44) ta aro y-ga<me>ra-de- $\emptyset$ .  
 FUT go.R 2PL-dig.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘You (pl) will go to bury her.’ (120410-008:194.460) RNS, YW
- (13.45) ero n-i< $\emptyset\emptyset$ .  
 go.I 2SG-take.I<SG.F><IPFV> bird DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘You (sg) go and get the bird there.’ (120518-003:267.725) RNS, LN

<sup>11</sup>It is currently unclear whether predicates which occur without predicate morphemes in these contexts are interpreted as sharing the same meaning expressed by predicate morphemes on another predicate in the clause. More detailed semantic research is needed.

- (13.46) la w-ana w-ormia Hipel Heilipil, halma  
 PST 3SG.F-come.R 3SG.F-stay.R.IPFV Hipel.Heilipil.hamlet land  
 w-Ø=di-Ø Sumil.  
 REL-SG=3-SG.F Sumil.village  
 ‘She came and stayed at Hipel Heilipil, the land of Sumil.’ (120712-003:73.240)  
 RNS, PM

While the additive morpheme occurs less frequently in natural speech, examples like (13.47) demonstrate the verb *ar* ‘go’ without a predicate morpheme followed by a verb with an additive morpheme.

- (13.47) pirsakai aro w-o<m><pa>dia-Ø yot-u-Ø.  
 legend go.R 3SG.F-be.like.R<IPFV><ADD>-SG.F DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘The story goes like that.’ (120410-008:198.640) RNS, YW

When the first predicate is a verb of transfer and the following predicate is a posture verb, it is also common for the transfer verb to occur without imperfective marking while the posture verb occurs with imperfective marking. This can be seen in (13.48), where an unmarked relative clause includes a multi-predicate clause. The first verb in the multi-predicate clause, *gei* ‘leave’, occurs without an imperfective morpheme, while the second verb, *dawil* ‘hang’, occurs with an imperfective morpheme.

- (13.48) ... yawi w-Ø=de-Ø [ki n-gei-ka-Ø d-a<m>wil  
 ... tail REL-SG=3-SG.F already 2SG-leave.R-AUG-SG.F MDL-hang.R<IPFV>  
 heya yot-ua-Ø].  
 bilum DEM-DIST-SG.F  
 ‘...its tail is hanging on you bilum there.’ (120621-004:183.393) RNS, TW  
 LT: ‘Its tail you have put it and it is hanging on your bilum there.’

Lastly, it is worth noting that this overview applies mostly to verbal and ideophone predicates in multi-predicate clauses. When a non-verbal predicate occurs in a multi-predicate clause, especially one that is not an ideophone predicate, the non-verbal predicate most often occurs with no predicate morphemes regardless of its position in the multi-predicate clause. Examples can be elicited showing predicate morphemes on non-verbal predicates in multi-predicate clauses and they can occur with predicate morphemes in natural speech. However, it is far less common for a non-verbal predicate to occur with predicate morphemes than for a verbal predicate to do so.

### 13.4 Non-verbal predicates in multi-predicate clauses

It is acceptable for multi-predicate clauses to involve a non-verbal predicate. Examples are shown in (13.49) and (13.50), where the quantifier predicate *sapiten* ‘many’ serves as part of a multi-predicate clause including the verb *ana* ‘come’ and a multi-predicate clause including *o hahelia* ‘be plenty’.

- (13.49) tomal y-ana            sapiten.  
           PROH 2PL-come.R many  
           ‘Don’t many of you (pl) come.’ (140224-048:487.483) GE-[yem peigiliai], JS  
           LT: ‘Don’t you (pl) come many.’
- (13.50) halma w-∅=hem,        neigal lawiaki la    n-o            hahelia sap-sapiten.  
           land    REL-SG.F=1SG cuscus long.ago PST 3SG.M-COP.R plenty    RED-many  
           ‘There used to be many cuscus all over my land.’  
           LT: ‘My land, the cuscus long ago were crowded many.’ (140404-023:2243.443)  
           OS, LA

Although examples of adnominals acting as part of a multi-predicate clause can be found in natural discourse, as in (13.49) and (13.50), ideophone predicates are by far the most common non-verbal predicates to occur in multi-predicate clauses. Consider examples (13.51)-(13.54), where the ideophones *gilgual* ‘roll’, *pitipitital* ‘speckled, sweat’, *palpal* ‘fly’, and *girgir* ‘scoot’ occur in a multi-predicate clause.

- (13.51) gilgual-ma w-a<me>ro.  
           roll-IPFV    3SG.F-go.R<IPFV>  
           ‘She rolled down and away.’ (120623-002:141.955) RNS, YW
- (13.52) yiwo w-∅=de-n        pitipitital n-o            henei.  
           skin    REL-SG=3-SG.M speckled    3SG.M-COP.R henei  
           ‘Its skin is spotted red.’ (140227-046:22.188) GE-[labuketa], JS
- (13.53) nol wolebil    wdi    n-akia            hewo, hiro palpal n-ikia            tupi.  
           bird bush.fowl usually 3SG.M-go.via.R bottom NEG fly    3SG.M-go.via.I top  
           ‘The wolebil bird usually walks on the ground, it doesn’t fly in the air.’ (2010-LA-Descriptions.pdf:51) TWL, LA
- (13.54) Wagin ye    girgir n-a<me>ro.  
           Wagin 2SG scoot 2SG-go.R<IPFV>  
           ‘Wagin, you (sg) scoot over.’ (140313-077:13.113) GE-[nemual], LA

Ideophones can occur as the first predicate in a multi-predicate clause, as in example (13.55), or as a later predicate, as in example (13.56). Both orders appear common in natural speech.

- (13.55) te-n    gilgilei n-eikia.  
           3-SG.M bounce 3SG.M-walk.R  
           ‘He proudly walks.’ (140403-048:93.014) GJ, JS

- (13.56) te-n    n-eikia            gilgilei.  
           3-SG.M 3SG.M-walk.R bounce  
           ‘He walks proudly.’ (140403-048:86.004) GJ, JS

With the exception of ideophone predicates, non-verbal predicates are not very common in multi-predicate clauses. A few examples of adnominal non-verbal predicates like *sapiten* ‘many’, shown previously in (13.49) and (13.50), are found in natural speech. Example (13.57) presents an utterance from natural speech, where a nominal predicate can be analyzed as part of a multi-predicate clause. In this example the noun *turega* ‘teenager’ occurs with a predicate morpheme following the verbal predicate *dore* ‘get up’. The clause particle *ki* ‘already’ holds scope over both predicates and both predicates occur with the imperfective morpheme.

- (13.57) hamote    yuta    yot-u-Ø            ki            w-da<m>ore  
           individual woman DEM-MDIST-SG.F already 3SG.F-get.up.R<IPFV>  
           turega-mi        ...  
           teenager-IPFV ...  
           ‘That girl there is becoming a young lady ...’ (120705-004:107.203) RNS, JS

Theoretically, it should be possible for all non-verbal predicates to occur in multi-predicate clauses. However, given the optionality of clause particles, more research on how to identify clause boundaries in Yeri (especially in contexts where clause particles are absent) is necessary before it is possible to describe the composition of multi-predicate clauses in more detail, including the acceptability of other non-verbal predicates. This is because many of the examples where less common non-verbal predicates occur in what could potentially be multi-predicate clauses do not include clause particles. Without more research into other possible ways to identify clause boundaries in Yeri, it is not possible to classify these as instances of multi-predicate clauses.

### 13.5 Common predicates in multi-predicate clauses

While most possible types of predicates can occur in a multi-predicate clause, at least one of the predicates typically provides information with respect to direction, posture, or manner.

Given this, it is not surprising that directional verbs and posture verbs (see section 7.7.1) are particularly common in multi-predicate clauses. Examples (13.58) and (13.59) illustrate directional verbs in multi-predicate clauses and examples (13.60) and (13.61) show posture verbs in multi-predicate clauses.

- (13.58) h-anor            h-ua<m>kir            wul    Haliebi            ti-wul.  
 1PL-descend.R 1PL-fall.R<IPFV> water Haliebi.river LOC-water  
 ‘We came down to the Haliebi river.’ (120601-009:306.241) RNS, YW
- (13.59) hem ki            m-o<me>horkil    m-a<me>na.  
 1SG already 1SG-flee.R<IPFV> 1SG-come.R<IPFV>  
 ‘I have come running away.’ (120517-001:2352.287) RNS JS
- (13.60) te-n    ki            n-almo            n-or            he.  
 3-SG.M already 3SG.M-die.R 3SG.M-lie.R CNT  
 ‘He has died already.’ (120517-001:838.643) RNS, JS
- (13.61) moti ki            m-gei-ka-Ø            w-d-awo            wul, ta    nolka-ti  
 pot already 1SG-leave.R-AUG-SG.F 3SG.F-MDL-set.R water FUT flood-SG  
 n-o<Ø><me>wil.  
 3SG.M-take.R<SG.F><IPFV>  
 ‘The pot that I have put in the river, the flood will take it.’ (120529-002:564.507)  
 RNS, TW

It is also common for one of the predicates to describe the manner in which an action is carried out. When this happens, it is particularly common for the predicate expressing information on manner to be a verbal predicate or an ideophone predicate. Examples (13.62) and (13.63) demonstrate verbal predicates, *aruba* ‘do well, decorate’ and *darku* ‘run’, which provide information regarding the manner of the action.

- (13.62) ta    h-nabir-i            h-aruba-i-bai.  
 FUT 1PL-sharpen.R-PL 1PL-do.well.R-PL-RED  
 ‘We will sharpen them very carefully.’ (120522-002:173.519) RNS, JS
- (13.63) te-Ø    ta    w-ori            yati w-darku.  
 3-SG.F FUT 3SG.F-hit.R sago 3SG.F-run.R  
 ‘She will scrape the sago quickly.’ (140415-015:44.767) GJ, LA

Examples (13.64) and (13.65) show the ideophone predicates *gîrgîr* ‘scoot’ and *gilgilei* ‘bounce’ in multi-predicate clauses. Each of these provides information regarding the manner of movement.



- (13.64) Wagin ye girgir n-a<me>ro.  
Wagin 2SG scoot 2SG-go.R<IPFV>  
‘Wagin, you (sg) scoot over.’ (140313-077:13.113) GE-[nemual], LA
- (13.65) te-n n-eikia gilgilei.  
3-SG.M 3SG.M-walk.R bounce  
‘He walks proudly.’ (140403-048:86.004) GJ, JS

## Chapter 14

# Clause linkage

In this chapter, I present information on clause linkage. Section 14.1 focuses on the coordination of clauses. In section 14.2, I describe several types of subordination.

### 14.1 Coordination

There are two ways to coordinate clauses in Yeri: (i) asyndetic coordination where clauses are juxtaposed without an overt conjunction, and (ii) the use of an overt conjunction like *o* ‘or’, *no* ‘or’, or *nia* ‘or’. Asyndetic coordination is discussed in section 14.1.1. The three conjunctions are discussed in section 14.1.2.

#### 14.1.1 Asyndetic coordination

Asyndetic coordination, where two clauses are juxtaposed without an overt conjunction, is the most frequent means of clausal coordination in Yeri. Examples (14.1)-(14.3) illustrate this type of coordination.

- (14.1) ye hamote-n n-o bilgi-l ye ta n-odi tumani.  
2SG individual-SG.M 3SG.M-COP.R strong-SG 2SG FUT 2SG-make.R building  
‘If you (sg) are a strong man, you (sg) will build a house.’ (120522-002:337.020)  
RNS, JS  
LT: ‘You (sg) are a strong man, you (sg) will build a house.’

- (14.2) Ø-nobia h-ero, yo w=ilua-Ø.  
1PL-talk.R 1PL-go.I path REL=bad-SG.F  
‘We wanted to go, but no, the road is bad.’ (120606-000:32.061) RNS, JS  
LT: ‘We wanted to go, the road was bad.’

- (14.3) ta n-atr-e-n n-o wapuaki, n-o  
 FUT 2SG-see.R-AUG-SG.M 3SG.M-COP.R brown 3SG.M-COP.R  
 haike-ta, n-o worpe-ti.  
 white.cockatoo-SG 3SG.M-COP.R yellow-SG  
 ‘You (sg) will see it, it is brown, it is white, and it is yellow.’ (120611-004:114.410)  
 RNS, JS

Note that no semantic relationship between the coordinated clauses is made explicit when clauses are *asyndetically* coordinated. Context is necessary to understand how the two clauses should be interpreted with respect to each other (e.g. as part of a conditional statement, as a description of chronological events, as cause and effect, etc.). This is in opposition to the use of overt conjunctions in Yeri which explicitly indicate the relationship between coordinated elements as alternative options and are translated as ‘or’.

### 14.1.2 Conjunctions

In addition to *asyndetic* coordination (see section 14.1.1), there are three conjunctions, *o* ‘or’, *no* ‘or’, and *nia* ‘or’, which can coordinate clauses. Unlike *asyndetic* coordination which does not make the semantic relationship between clauses explicit, the use of any of these conjunctions explicitly indicates that the two clauses express alternatives.<sup>1</sup> The most frequent of these conjunctions is *o* ‘or’, with *no* being less frequent, and *nia* occurring only rarely.<sup>2</sup> Most examples involving the use of *nia* occur in response to elicitation.

All conjunctions show the same positioning in that they occur after each conjoined element, with occurrence after the last conjoined element being optional.<sup>3</sup> This is demonstrated in (14.4) and (14.5), where the conjunction is omitted following the last coordinated clause, and (14.6), where the conjunction occurs following the last coordinated clause. In example (14.4), the speaker is discussing the upcoming election and states that the addressee may still be in the village or may have already left the village by the time of the election.

- (14.4) ye ta n-a<me>ro maltai o ye ta n-o n-w-odi kua.  
 2SG FUT 2SG-go.R<IPFV> maybe or 2SG FUT 2SG-stay.R 2SG-1PL-and.R still  
 ‘You (sg) will go maybe or you (sg) will be with us still.’ (120621-001:1103.768)  
 RNS, JS

<sup>1</sup>For this reason, it is not surprising that these conjunctions can also be used to form alternative questions as described in section 12.2.

<sup>2</sup>All Yeri speakers are fluent in Tok Pisin as well. Given this, this may be the same *o* ‘or’ that occurs in Tok Pisin. However, I have been informed that Walman, a language closely related to Yeri, shows some evidence of having a conjunction *o* meaning ‘or’ as well as ‘and’ historically. For this reason, I make no claims regarding the origin of the conjunction here. I note only that the conjunction is not used to express the meaning ‘and’ in Yeri.

<sup>3</sup>This section is devoted to the use of conjunctions to coordinate clauses, but see section 6.7.3 for information on their use to coordinate nominal phrases.

In example (14.5), the conjunction *no* coordinates the two clauses. This utterance can be used when the speaker knows that one of the brothers shot the bandicoot, but is unsure whether it was specifically the elder brother or the younger brother.

- (14.5) winyawi            n-o<he>ba            hoharou    no winoga  
 younger.brother 3SG.M-shoot.R<SG.F> bandicoot or older.brother  
 n-o<he>ba            hoharou.  
 3SG.M-shoot.R<SG.F> bandicoot  
 ‘Little brother shot the bandicoot or big brother shot the bandicoot.’ (140417-020:508.080) GJ, LA

In example (14.6), the speaker is talking about the preferential voting system in Papua New Guinea where voters attach a number (one, two, or three) to candidates when they vote. The conjunction *o* ‘lie, sleep’ connects the two clauses.

- (14.6) ta    h-aya-ka-n            wia-i    ʔa-∅    o    h-aya-ka-n            wia-i    o?  
 FUT 1PL-give.R-AUG-SG.M two-F one-SG.F or 1PL-give.R-AUG-SG.M two-F or  
 ‘We’ll give him ‘three’ or we’ll give him ‘two?’’ (120621-001:509.563) RNS, TW

Unlike the other conjunctions, when *nia* coordinates clauses, it shows agreement with the subject of the preceding conjoined clause. That the agreement must be with the subject of the preceding clause is clear from examples like (14.7) and (14.8), where the subject of the first clause is a man, but the subject of the second clause is a woman. The two examples differ only in the agreement morpheme that occurs on the conjunction *nia* ‘or’ when it occurs after the first clause. In example (14.7), the conjunction *nia* shows singular masculine agreement with the subject of the preceding clause and was judged grammatical, while in example (14.8), the conjunction *nia* shows singular feminine agreement with the subject of the following clause and was judged ungrammatical.

- (14.7) winoga            n-ar            Maprik nia-n    woga            w-ar            Maprik.  
 older.brother 3SG.M-go.to.R Maprik or-SG.M older.sister w-go.to.R Maprik  
 ‘The big brother goes to Maprik or the big sister goes to Maprik.’ (140417-020:630.495) CO, LA

- (14.8) \* winoga            n-ar            Maprik nia-∅    woga            w-ar  
 older.brother 3SG.M-go.to.R Maprik or-SG.F older.sister 3SG.F-go.to.R  
 Maprik.  
 Maprik  
 ‘The big brother goes to Maprik or the big sister goes to Maprik.’ (140417-020:642.640) GJ, LA

Another example of this conjunction is provided in example (14.9), where *nia* occurs after only the first clause and shows singular masculine agreement with the subject *ten* of that clause.

- (14.9) te-n    n-ar                    Maprik nia-n    n-ar                    Wiwak.  
           3-SG.M 3SG.M-go.to.R Maprik or-SG.M 3SG.M-go.to.R Wewak  
           ‘He went to Maprik or he went to Wewak.’ (140417-020:564.430) GJ, LA

Conjunctions are particularly common in the formation of alternative questions, as in (14.10). See section 12.2 for information on alternative questions.

- (14.10) la    y-eikia            hewo    o la    nebal-gi tiawa-i    Ø-y-owil.  
           PST 2PL-walk.R bottom or PST tree-PL short-PL 3PL-2-take.R  
           ‘Did you (pl) walk or you (pl) go by car?’ (120520-000:254.179) RNS, TW

## 14.2 Subordination

Clauses can be subordinate to a nominal phrase or another clause and can function as a complement to specific verbs. When the clause is subordinate to a nominal phrase or another clause, the subordinate relationship is optionally indicated by means of a subordinate clause linker, alternatively referred to as a subordinator. These subordinators function to explicitly connect a subordinate clause to the nominal phrase or matrix clause it relates to. Clause linkers vary in their location with respect to the subordinate clause. While some, like *wɔ̃i*, occur at the beginning of the subordinate clause, others occur at the end. Table 14.1 lists the most frequent subordinate clause linkers in Yeri and their location.<sup>4</sup>

| subordinator | position                        |
|--------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>wɔ̃i</i>  | beginning of subordinate clause |
| <i>no</i>    | end of subordinate clause       |
| <i>nomal</i> | end of subordinate clause       |

Although all of the subordinate clause linkers listed in Table 14.1 commonly occur in natural discourse, their use is optional. Like coordinated clauses in Yeri (14.1.1), it is common for subordinate clauses be juxtaposed to the relevant nominal phrase or matrix clause without an overt clause linker to express this relationship. I discuss the most common subordinator *wɔ̃i* and its various uses in section 14.2.1, while the subordinators *nomal* and *no* are the focus of sections 14.2.2 and 14.2.3 respectively. I then turn to clauses which

<sup>4</sup>This is not a complete list. However, I leave further research into subordinators for future research.

function as complements to specific verbs in section 14.2.4, before describing a common focus construction in section 14.2.5.

### 14.2.1 *wɔ̃i*

The subordinate clause linker *wɔ̃i* is homophonous with a preposition (see section 3.10) as well as the third person genitive pronoun used in the alienable possessive construction (see section 6.4.3). When it functions as a subordinator, it is located at the beginning of a subordinate clause and connects the subordinate clause to either a nominal phrase or to a matrix clause. Section 14.2.1.1 focuses on its use to introduce clauses that are subordinate to nominal phrases, while sections 14.2.1.2 and 14.2.1.3 focus on its use in purpose and temporal clauses respectively. Although *wɔ̃i* can agree in number with the head of the nominal phrase it modifies (singular: *wɔ̃i*, plural: *weɪɔ̃i*), it has only a single form *wɔ̃i* when it links subordinate clauses to matrix clauses. I refer to *wɔ̃i* as a ‘subordinator’ in any of its subordinating uses. When it functions specifically as part of the relative clause construction (see section 14.2.1.1), I may also refer to it as a ‘relativizer’.

#### 14.2.1.1 Relative clauses

Although this construction is frequently used to encode what are commonly referred to as relative clauses in the literature, there is evidence that this construction is broader than what is typically meant by a relative clause construction. In particular, there is some evidence that the head of the relative clause does not need to have a grammatical or semantic role in the clause. Nonetheless, I continue to refer to this construction as a relative clause construction for ease of cross-linguistic comparison. I note only that, given the behavior of the construction, it may be better understood as a construction which permits clauses to act as modifiers rather than a dedicated relative clause construction. In this section, I describe this construction with respect to various issues relevant to relative clause constructions cross-linguistically, including: (i) relative clause position with respect to the head, (ii) number agreement on the relativizer, (iii) optionality of the relativizer, (iv) grammatical role and accessibility to relativization, and (v) the acceptability of relative clauses without an overt head.

**Relative clause position with respect to the head** Yeri relative clauses follow the element they modify, also referred to as the head of the relative clause. When the head occurs in the matrix clause, as in (14.11) and (14.12), the relative clause can be referred to as an externally-headed relative clause. For clarity, the head is bolded and the relative clause occurs within square brackets [ ] throughout the examples in this section. When relative clauses are overtly indicated with a subordinate clause linker, the subordinator *wɔ̃i* occurs at

the beginning of the relative clause. When *wdi* functions to overtly indicate a relative clause, I may refer to it as a ‘relativizer’.

- (14.11) **hamote-n** [wdi n-eiwa                      Wiwak] hiro n-ina                      kua.  
 individual-SG.M SUB 3SG.M-be.from.R Wewak NEG 3SG.M-come.I still  
 ‘The man who is from Wewak is not coming yet.’ (140407-189:25.928) GJ, LA
- (14.12) **nol** [wdi w-ieta                      tihelo] nol worahal.  
 bird SUB 3SG.F-clean.R garden bird worahal.bird  
 ‘The bird that cleans the garden is the worahal bird.’ (140407-189:60.373) DE, LA

**Number agreement** The subordinate clause linker *wdi* has two forms when it functions as a relativizer: a singular form *wdi* and a plural form *weidi* that agrees in number with the head it modifies. This is demonstrated in examples (14.13) and (14.14), where the relativizer agrees with *hamoten* ‘man’ and *hamei* ‘people’.

- (14.13) m-a<me>r                      m-ar<me>nia                      **hamote-n**                      [wdi n-dodi  
 1SG-go.to.R<IPFV> 1SG-see.R<IPFV> individual-SG.M SUB 3SG.M-stand.R  
 tumani].  
 building  
 ‘I went to see a man who stands in the classroom (the headmaster).’ (120524-000:62.968) RNS, LN
- (14.14) **hamei** [weidi w-aga-Ø                      nebal yewal-ti yot-u-Ø]                      w-nobia ...  
 people SUB.PL 3PL-get.R-SG.F tree eye-SG DEM-MDIST-SG.F 3PL-talk.R ...  
 ‘The people who bought the cocoa beans said ...’ (120524-003:377.090) RNS, JS

Although plural number agreement is common with the relativizer *wdi*, the plural form is not obligatory with nouns that trigger plural number agreement. In these contexts, the singular form is also acceptable. This is demonstrated in example (14.15), where *wdi* occurs despite *hamei* ‘people’ being plural in number. This is in opposition to example (14.14), which shows the plural form of the relativizer. Note, however, that the opposite is not true. The plural form of the relativizer is not permitted when the noun is singular.

- (14.15) **hamei** [wdi w-nuela                      helol]  
 people SUB 3PL-dislike.R work  
 ‘the people that refuse to work’ (120522-001:104.899) RNS, JS

While examples like (14.15) illustrate the acceptability of *wdi* when the head is plural, it is important to distinguish examples like this from instances where singular agreement occurs due to a grammatically singular general form. As described in section 5.4.1, when the

general form of a noun occurs, agreement is always based on the general form's grammatical number rather than semantic number. For this reason, the singular form of the relativizer occurs when the head is a grammatically singular general form, as with *mariaga* 'masalai spirit' in (14.16) and *tumani* 'building' in (14.17), even if the noun semantically refers to entities that are plural in number.

- (14.16) **mariaga** [wdi la w-o Yamia]  
 masalai.spirit SUB PST 3SG.F-stay.R Yamia.hamlet  
 'the monsters who usually stay in Yamia' (120712-003:34.493) RNS, PM
- (14.17) y-ar **tumani** [wdi Ø-aga-Ø lolewa yot-u-Ø].  
 2PL-go.to.R building SUB 3PL-get.R-SG.F thing DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 'You (pl) went to the stores there.' (120520-000:256.591) RNS, TW

**Optionality of the relativizer** It is grammatically acceptable for relative clauses to occur with or without the relativizer. When the relativizer is omitted I refer to the relative clause as an 'unmarked relative clause'. Elicited examples showing the optionality of the relativizer are presented in (14.18)-(14.21). In (14.18) and (14.19), the relativizer occurs, while in (14.20) and (14.21), the relativizer is omitted.

- (14.18) **nol** [wdi w-ieta tihelo] nol worahal.  
 bird SUB 3SG.F-clean.R garden bird worahal.bird  
 'The bird that cleans the garden is the worahal bird.' (140407-189:60.373) DE, LA
- (14.19) **hamote-n** [wdi n-eiwa Wiwak] hiro n-ina kua.  
 individual-SG.M SUB 3SG.M-be.from.R Wewak] NEG 3SG.M-come.I still  
 'The man who is from Wewak is not coming yet.' (140407-189:25.928) GJ, LA
- (14.20) **nol** [w-ieta tihelo] nol worahal.  
 bird 3SG.F-clean.R garden bird worahal.bird  
 'The bird that cleans the gardens is the worahal bird.' (140407-189:40.136) DE, LA
- (14.21) **hamote-n** [n-eiwa Wiwak] hiro n-ina kua.  
 individual-SG.M 3SG.M-be.from.R Wewak NEG 3SG.M-come.I still  
 'The man from Wewak is not coming yet.' (140407-189:10.629) DE, LA

Omitting the relativizer is particularly common in natural discourse, as in examples (14.22) and (14.23).



- (14.22) h-aro h-uakir **nogil sipeki-l** [w-or nawi yot-u-Ø] Aitape.  
 1PL-go.R 1PL-fall.R village little-SG 3SG.F-lie.R salt DEM-MDIST-SG.F Aitape  
 ‘We went there to the small distract near the sea there Aitape.’ (120606-000:60.168)  
 RNS, JS
- (14.23) ta n-odi **tumani** [w-ela gal].  
 FUT 2SG-make.R building 3SG.F-be.R strong  
 ‘You (sg) will build a strong house.’ (120522-002:570.925) RNS, JS

It is worth noting here that when an overt relativizer does not occur, the examples can be interpreted as relative clauses or as matrix clauses. Consider example (14.24) which can be translated as ‘the children that are from Nimeigi’ or ‘the children are from Nimeigi’.

- (14.24) nogolgoi Ø-eiwa Nimeigi  
 children 3PL-be.from.R Nimeigi.hamlet  
 ‘the children that are from Nimeigi’ (120529-001:108.633) RNS, JS  
 AT: ‘The children are from Nimeigi.’

**Grammatical role and accessibility to relativization** There are no obvious restrictions on the syntactic role that the head can fill in the relative clause in Yeri. Examples (14.25)-(14.27) demonstrate relativization with subjects, while examples (14.28)-(14.30) show relativization with core objects.

- (14.25) **hamote-n w-Ø=lope-n** [wdi n-ieda wigal  
 individual-SG.M REL-SG=big-SG.M SUB 3SG.M-hear.R language  
 yot-u-Ø] n-a<me>na.  
 DEM-MDIST-SG.F 3SG.M-come.R<IPFV>  
 ‘The senior magistrate in charge of the court came.’ (120524-005:213.761) RNS JS
- (14.26) **hamote-n** [wdi n-oti nebal-gi tiawa-i yot-u-n]  
 individual-SG.M SUB 3SG.M-hold tree-PL short-PL DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
 n-nobia-da-i.  
 3SG.M-talk.R-AUG-PL  
 ‘The man who drives the car there told them.’ (120605-000:828.999) RNS, JS
- (14.27) **wual nuate** [lahabi w-almo yot-ua-Ø] w-Ø=de-m.  
 pig female yesterday 3SG.F-die.R DEM-DIST-SG.F REL-SG=3-PL  
 ‘The female pig that died yesterday is theirs.’ (140416-016:1122.257) GE-[wbadem],  
 JS

- (14.28) **kayubi, molil wabra-Ø** [wdi lawiaki yalmi hamei  
 loincloth molil.tree half-SG.F SUB long.ago grandparent people  
 w-da<he>go].  
 3PL-wear.R<SG.F>  
 ‘The loincloth, it’s a piece of tree bark that our ancestors wore a long time ago.’  
 (120410-001:18.191) RNS, JS
- (14.29) **nigo-n-gon w-Ø=de-n** [la hamote-Ø yuta te-Ø  
 child-SG.M-RED REL-SG=3-SG.M PST individual-SG.F woman 3-SG.F  
 w-ori-wa-n]  
 3SG.F-hit.R-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘his son that the girl had killed’ (120517-001:626.271) RNS JS
- (14.30) **wual hawei** [lahabi te-i Ø-o<ne>ba] w-n=hebi.  
 pig male yesterday 3-PL 3PL-shoot.R<SG.M> REL-SG.M=1PL  
 ‘The male pig that they shot yesterday is ours.’ (140416-016:927.902) GE-  
 [wnbahebi], JS

Examples (14.31) and (14.32) demonstrate the first conjunct of the and-verb *ode* ‘and, with’ being relativized.

- (14.31) **te-i hamei wia-m yot-a-i** [wdi w-ode-Ø w-o] hiro  
 3-PL people two-M DEM-PROX-PL SUB 3PL-and.R-SG.F 3PL-stay.R NEG  
 Ø-iria helol Ø-iruba-i  
 3PL-do.I work 3PL-do.well.I-PL  
 ‘Those two men there who sat with her didn’t do good work.’ (120615-001:367.017)  
 RNS, JS
- (14.32) **te-m yot-u-m** [w-o wul woli yot-u-Ø w-odi  
 3-PL DEM-MDIST-PL 3PL-stay.R water side DEM-MDIST-SG.F 3PL-and.R  
 Roland], nogolgoi w-ei=nabe-i.  
 Roland children REL-PL=good-PL  
 ‘They there that live on the other side of the river with Roland, they are good  
 children.’ (140228-055:249.042) GE-[tem yotum], JS

Example (14.33) demonstrates relativization of the second conjunct of the and-verb *ode* ‘and, with’.

- (14.33) ... hem wan n-ormia **yiwo w-o** **walki w-Ø=hebi**  
 ... 1SG heart 3SG.M-stay.R.IPFV skin 3SG.F-COP.R white REL-SG.F=1PL  
 [h-ode-Ø h-o].  
 1PL-and.R-SG.F 1PL-stay.R  
 ‘... I am thinking about our white girl that we stay with here.’ (120620-012:465.737)  
 RNS, KL  
 LT: ‘My heart stays with our white skin who we live with.’

The relativization of applicative objects is demonstrated in examples (14.34) and (14.35), with locative objects, applicative objects that express locations (see section 7.7). In example (14.34), the head of the relative clause is *halma* *whem* ‘my land’, which acts as the locative object of the posture verb *dawo* ‘sit’. Along the same lines, in example (14.35), the head of the relative clause *nebal hare wlopen yotun* ‘that big book’ is the locative object of the posture verb *dawera* ‘lie flat’.

- (14.34) **halma w-Ø=hem** [wdi tumani w-Ø=hem w-d-awo] hilian  
 land REL-SG.F=1SG SUB building REL-SG.F=1SG 3SG.F-MDL-set.R sand  
 w-Ø=nabe-nabe-Ø.  
 REL-SG=RED-good-SG.F  
 ‘My land where my house sits is very good sand.’ (120607-001:946.826) GE-  
 [wdinopeni], JS
- (14.35) ... n-oti **nebal hare w-Ø=lope-n** **yot-u-n** [wdi losi  
 ... 3SG.M-hold tree leaf REL-SG=big-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M SUB name  
 w-ei=de-i hamei w-o tumani w=ilua-Ø yot-ua-Ø  
 REL-PL=3-PL people 3PL-stay.R building REL=bad-SG.F DEM-DIST-SG.F  
 w-d-awera.]  
 3PL-MDL-lie.flat.R  
 ‘... he held that big book that the names of the people in prison were on.’ (120524-  
 005:628.652) RNS, JS

It is also acceptable to relativize non-grammatical objects. This is shown with verbs like *aya* ‘give’ in (14.36)-(14.39). In each of these examples, the thing being given is relativized.

- (14.36) **neigal** [lahabi Ø-b-aya] w=ilua-Ø.  
 cuscus yesterday 3PL-1SG-give.R REL=bad-SG.F  
 ‘The cuscus that they gave me yesterday was bad.’ (140304-003:133.490) GE-  
 [maren], LA
- (14.37) **halma w-Ø=hem** [ki Ø-b-aya wdi m-o] ...  
 land REL-SG.F=1SG already 3PL-1SG-give.R SUB 1SG-stay.R ...  
 ‘The place they gave me for me to sit ...’ (120601-012:391.765)  
 CI: I will sit on the place that they gave me to sit on and not other places.

- (14.38) ... la **hiroba** [la yuna w-ana w-aya-ka- $\emptyset$  hemal].  
 ... PST hiroba.beetle PST yuna 3SG.F-come.R 3SG.F-give-AUG-SG.F night  
 ‘... it was beetles that yuna came and gave to her at night.’ (120416-000:1322.951)  
 RNS, LA
- (14.39) **nigo- $\emptyset$ -go- $\emptyset$  yot-ua- $\emptyset$**  [ki h-aya-ka- $\emptyset$ ]  
 child-SG.F-RED- $\emptyset$  DEM-DIST-SG.F already 1PL-give-AUG-SG.F  
 w- $\emptyset$ -ma=de- $\emptyset$ .  
 REL-SG.F-IPFV=3-SG.F  
 ‘The girl there that we gave her is hers now.’ (140416-016:402.026) GE-[wmade],  
 JS

Example (14.40) demonstrates the acceptability of relativizing complements of prepositions. In this example, the head of the relative clause *hamoten* is the nominal phrase complement of the preposition *danua*. This is clear from the third person singular masculine morpheme on the preposition.

- (14.40) **hamote-n** [wdi ta hebi h-ali danua-n nebal hare], te-n mas  
 individual-SG.M SUB FUT 1PL 1PL-drop.R PREP-SG.M tree leaf 3-SG.M must  
 ta n-ana psia n-ar tinogil yot-a-n.  
 FUT 3SG.M-come.R arrive 3SG.M-arrive.R village DEM-PROX-SG.M  
 ‘The man who we will throw the paper for him, he must come to this village here.’  
 (120621-001:681.964) RNS, YM

Possessor nominal phrases can be relativized, as in (14.41), where the possessor of the relational noun *mani* functions as the head of the relative clause.

- (14.41) **puyu** [wdi nigo-n-gon yot-u-n n-or mani]  
 rock SUB child-SG.M-RED DEM-MDIST-SG.M 3SG.M-lie.R inside  
 ‘the stone under which the dead boy was sleeping.’ (120517-001:623.461) RNS JS

Adjunct nominal phrases can also be relativized. Examples which illustrate the relativization of adjunct nominal phrase referring to locations are provided in (14.42)-(14.44), where the noun *tumani* ‘building’ functions as the head of the relative clauses. In each example it refers to the location where an activity occurs, taking money in example (14.42), getting things in example (14.43), and drying cocoa in example (14.44).

- (14.42) h-a<me>r **tumani** [wdi  $\emptyset$ -o<he>wil puyu hirka].  
 1PL-go.to.R<IPFV> building SUB 3PL-take.R<SG.F> rock new  
 ‘We were going to the bank.’ (120605-000:358.690) RNS, JS  
 LT: ‘We were going to the building where they take money.’

- (14.43) y-ar            **tumani** [wdi Ø-aga-Ø            lolewa yot-u-Ø].  
 2PL-go.to.R building SUB 3PL-get.R-SG.F thing DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘You (pl) went to the stores there (120520-000:256.591) RNS, TW  
 LT: ‘You went to the building where they buy things there.’
- (14.44) m-o<he>wil            **tumani** [wdi h-a<Ø>guti            nebal yewal-ti], losi  
 1SG-take.R<SG.F> building SUB 1PL-burn.R<SG.F> tree eye-SG name  
 w-ei=de-i            fermentry.  
 REL-PL=3-PL fermentry  
 ‘I got the building where we dry the cocoa beans, its name is fermentry.’ (120518-002:341.573) RNS, JS

In (14.45) the head of the relative clause *moi haria* ‘vines and leaves’ refers to what was used to cover the boy. Within the relative clause, *moi haria* is not indexed on the verb *altou* ‘cover’. Rather, the object morpheme on this verb refers to the boy that was covered by vines and leaves.

- (14.45) **moi hare-ia** [ki            w-altou-e-n            yot-u-n],            wul  
 vine leaf-PL already 3SG.F-cover.R-AUG-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M water  
 n-apil-a-i            Ø-a<me>ro.  
 3SG.M-collect.R-AUG-PL 3PL-go.R<IPFV>  
 ‘The ropes and leaves that she covered him with, the river collected them and they went.’ (120517-001:1054.289) RNS, JS

The second occurrence of *wɔɪ* in example (14.46) introduces a clause which modifies *wia weinabei* ‘good way’. In this example, the head expresses the manner of the relative clause.

- (14.46) ta m-nobia wɔɪ **wia w-ei=nabe-i** [wdi Ø-odi            tumani  
 FUT 1SG-talk.R PREP way REL-PL=good-PL SUB 3PL-make.R building  
 w-Ø=nabe-Ø].  
 REL-SG=good-SG.F  
 ‘I will talk about the good way to build a good house.’ (120522-002:16.367) RNS, JS

Lastly, it is possible for *wɔɪ* to occur with a clause to modify a head which has no obvious semantic or syntactic role within the relative clause. In (14.47), the clause *hem la nigon* ‘I was a child’ follows *wɔɪ* to modify the noun *wigal* ‘language, story’. In this example, *wigal* has no grammatical role in the clause modifying it.

- (14.47) ta m-nobia **wigal** [wdi hem la nigo-n].  
 FUT 1SG-talk.R language SUB 1SG PST child-SG.M  
 ‘I will tell the story about when I was young.’ (120524-005:13.350) RNS, JS

Additional examples where the head appears to have no grammatical or semantic role within the relative clause are provided in (14.48) and (14.49).

- (14.48) ta m-nobia **wigal** [wdi ta h-ar Batas].  
 FUT 1SG-talk.R language SUB FUT 1PL-go.to.R Batas  
 ‘I will tell the story about going to Batas.’ (120517-000:19.456) RNS, JS
- (14.49) ta m-nobia **pirsakai ŋa-Ø** [wdi woga w-odi  
 FUT 1SG-talk.R legend one-SG.F SUB older.sister 3SG.F-and.R  
 winyawī w-Ø=de-Ø Ø-dalkual-ki nanu-bia].  
 younger.brother REL-SG=3-SG.F 3PL-search.R-APPL fish-PL  
 ‘I’ll tell one story about an older sister and a younger brother, they looked for fish.’  
 (120517-001:29.632) RNS, JS

**Relative clauses without an external head** Parallel to how modifiers like adnominals or copula word expressions can occur in a nominal phrase without a noun they modify (see section 6.3), relative clauses can also occur in a nominal phrase without a head. Examples like (14.50) and (14.51) illustrate how the relative clause, indicated in square brackets, can function as a nominal phrase without an external head. In example (14.50), the relative clause *wdi wieta tihelo* functions as a nominal phrase on its own identifying the subject of the verb *ana* ‘come’. In example (14.51), the relative clause *wdi daryomia tapo mani* constitutes a nominal phrase referring to the object of the verb *oba* ‘shoot’.

- (14.50) [wdi w-ieta tihelo] w-a<me>na.  
 SUB 3SG.F-clean.R garden] 3SG.F-come.R<IPFV>  
 ‘The thing that cleans the garden is coming.’ (140503-015:45.985) GJ, LA
- (14.51) [wdi daryomia tapo mani], ye ta hiro n-ie<he>ba.  
 SUB hide.R tree.hole inside 2SG FUT NEG 2SG-shoot.I<SG.F>  
 ‘The thing that usually hides in the hole of the tree, you will not shoot it.’  
 (140503-015:29.827) GJ, LA

The relativizer is optional in these contexts as well. For instance, examples like (14.52), where a subject nominal phrase is minimally composed of a verb, appear best analyzed as instances of unmarked relative clauses without an external head.<sup>5</sup> Example (14.53) illustrates the same verb *giekir* ‘bend’ as part of an unmarked relative clause without an external head functioning as the object of the verb *iekela* ‘scrape’. More research into this type of relative clause is necessary, but for reasons of time, this issue is also left to future research.

<sup>5</sup>Minimal nominal phrases are discussed in section 6.1.

- (14.52) [Ø-giekir] Ø-or yot-u-i.  
 3PL-bend.R 3PL-lie.R DEM-MDIST-PL  
 ‘The crooked ones are lying there.’ (140407-189:243.489) DE, LA
- (14.53) hem ki m-iekele-wa-i [Ø-giekir nadi].  
 1SG already 1SG-scrape.R-AUG-PL 3PL-bend.R very  
 ‘I sharpened the very crooked ones.’ (140407-189:334.948) DE, LA

#### 14.2.1.2 Purpose clauses

The subordinate clause linker *wɗi* can also express the meaning ‘in order to’. It frequently introduces purpose clauses which convey the purpose behind the matrix clause. Examples are shown in (14.54)-(14.56). In (14.54), the speaker specifies that he is looking for money in order to buy chickens. Example (14.55) indicates that the purpose behind the speaker coming was to tell a story about the Mulhebi cultural house. In example (14.56), the speaker is describing several different types of traditional clothing and specifies that the clothing was worn to cover the body in this utterance.

- (14.54) m-dalkual-ki puyu wɗi m-aga harkroki-l nadi  
 1SG-search.R-APPL money SUB 1SG-get.R chicken-PL only  
 ‘I looked for money to buy the chickens.’ (120524-004:90.280) RNS, JS
- (14.55) hem m-ana wɗi m-nobia pirsakai w-Ø=hem wɗi Mulhebi  
 1SG 1SG-come.R SUB 1SG-talk.R legend REL-SG.F=1SG PREP Mulhebi.hamlet  
 tinabo.  
 cultural.house  
 ‘I come in order to tell the story about Mulhebi traditional house.’ (120712-003:15.590) RNS, PM
- (14.56) te-i Ø-da<i>go wɗi ki Ø-altou hobi yawi w-ei=de-i.  
 3-PL 3PL-wear.R<PL> SUB already 3PL-cover.R body tail REL-PL=3-PL  
 ‘They wore them in order to cover their bodies.’ (120410-001:99.639) RNS, JS

#### 14.2.1.3 Temporal clauses

The subordinate clause linker *wɗi* can also introduce temporal clauses. In this use, it is usually translated as ‘when’. An example is shown in (14.57), where the clause indicating the time of an event, namely when the speaker’s mother was a child, is introduced by the subordinator *wɗi*.

- (14.57) wdi mimi w-Ø=hem la nego kua, w-odi-Ø mimi  
 SUB mother REL-SG.F=1SG PST daughter still 3SG.F-and.R-SG.F mother  
 w-Ø=de-Ø nena w-Ø=de-Ø yalmi hamei w-ei=hem, te-i  
 REL-SG=3-SG.F father REL-SG=3-SG.F grandparent people REL-PL=1SG 3-PL  
 la Ø-ar nogil yot-u-Ø.  
 PST 3PL-go.to.R village DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘When my mother was young, she and her mother and father, my grandparents,  
 they went to that place.’ (120528-006:145.310) RNS, JS

Another example is provided in (14.58). In this example, the first *wdi* introduces a temporal clause referring to a time long ago when a particular tree was full of cuscuses. The previous utterance describes this tree as no longer living. Note that the second *wdi* in this example introduces a purpose clause (see section 14.2.1.2).

- (14.58) wdi neigal=pia-Ø lawiaki wiaki h-aro h-ana wdi  
 SUB cuscus=ADD.NVPC-SG.F long.ago long.ago 1PL-go.R 1PL-come.R SUB  
 h-o<Ø>ba neigal.  
 1PL-shoot.R<SG.F> cuscus  
 ‘When it (a particular tree) was full of cuscuses, long ago, we came and went to  
 shoot cuscuses.’ (120705-003:18.596) GE-[neigal pia], JS

### 14.2.2 *nomal* ‘after’

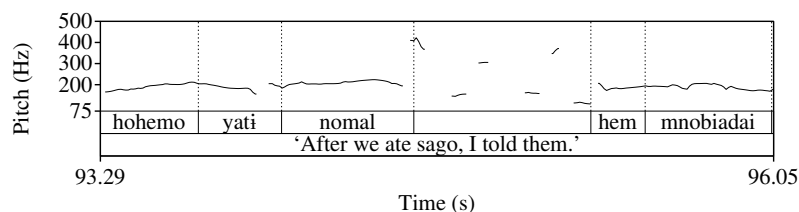
The subordinate clause linker *nomal* ‘after’ occurs at the end of the subordinate clause, as in (14.59) and (14.60), and expresses the meaning ‘after’. When *nomal* occurs in a clause, that clause cannot occur independently, but must be followed by a matrix clause.

- (14.59) n-iekewa-n nomal, w-or<me>.  
 3SG.M-be.angry.R-SG.M after 3SG.F-lie.R<IPFV>  
 ‘After he got angry with her, she went to sleep.’ (120623-002:36.100) RNS, YW
- (14.60) Ø-nobia wigal Ø-ormia tinogil nadi nomal te-i Ø-a<me>ro.  
 3PL-talk.R language 3PL-stay.R.IPFV village very after 3-PL 3PL-go.R<IPFV>  
 ‘They talk in the village and then they’re going.’ (120613-001:443.690) RNS, LA

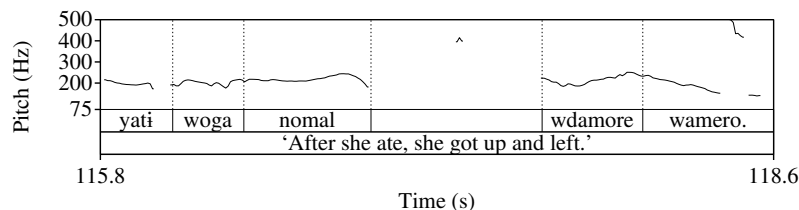
A pause frequently separates *nomal* from the following clause and indicates that *nomal* is associated with the preceding clause rather than the following clause. This pause occurs in (14.61), shown in Figure 14.1, and (14.62), shown in Figure 14.2.



- (14.61) h-o<he>mo                      yati nomal, hem m-nobia-da-i,                      “hem ta  
 1PL-eat.R.IPFV<SG.F> sago after    1SG 1SG-talk.R-AUG-PL 1SG    FUT  
 m-a<me>ro.”  
 1SG-go.R<IPFV>  
 ‘After we ate the sago, I told them, “I will go now.”’ (120621-003:93.294) RNS,  
 AS

Figure 14.1: The clause linker *nomal* in example (14.61)

- (14.62) yati w-o<∅>ga                      nomal, w-da<m>ore                      w-a<me>ro.  
 sago 3SG.F-eat.R<SG.F> after    3SG.F-get.up.R<IPFV> 3SG.F-go.R<IPFV>  
 ‘After she ate it, she got up and left.’ (120623-002:115.780) RNS, YW

Figure 14.2: The clause linker *nomal* in example (14.62)

### 14.2.3 *no* ‘until’

Like *nomal*, the subordinate clause linker *no* occurs at the end of the subordinate clause. When *no* occurs in a clause, the clause cannot occur on its own, but must be followed by an independent clause. The clause linker *no* can be described as expressing the meaning ‘until’ in the sense that the action or event expressed in the subordinate clause continues until the action or event that occurs in the matrix clause happens.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup>Note that this is the reverse of the meaning usually expressed by subordinate clause linkers described as ‘until’ since cross-linguistically these words usually indicate that the action or event expressed in the matrix

The clause linker is frequently pronounced with lengthened duration, as in (14.63). Figure 14.3 shows the clearly lengthened pronunciation of *no* in this example.

- (14.63) w-oki            hilian w-gare-wa-n            w-gare-wa-n  
 3SG.F-use.R sand 3SG.F-dig.R-AUG-SG.M 3SG.F-dig.R-AUG-SG.M  
 w-gare-wa-n            w-gare-wa-n            no    n-anor  
 3SG.F-dig.R-AUG-SG.M 3SG.F-dig.R-AUG-SG.M until 3SG.M-descend.R  
 n-uakir            hewo.  
 3SG.M-fall.R bottom  
 ‘She took the sand and dug and dug until it was very deep.’ (120517-001:273.480)  
 RNS, JS

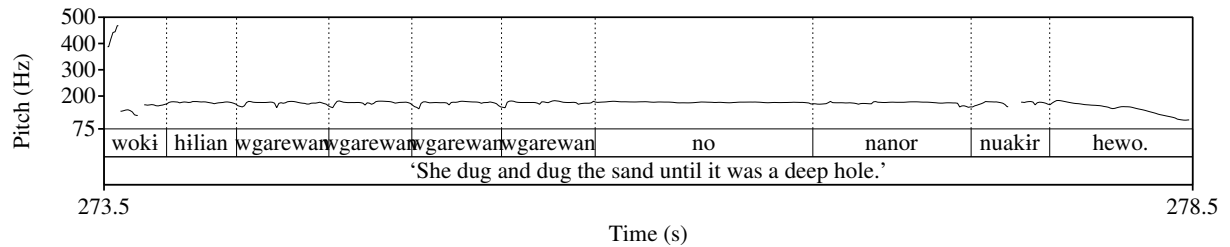


Figure 14.3: The clause linker *no* in example (14.63)

It is common for the clause linker *no* to occur after several repetitions of the same verb, as in example (14.63), or to occur after the verb *aro* ‘go’, often without subject marking. In either context, the meaning conveyed is that the action or event in the subordinate clause continues until the action or event in the matrix clause occurs. Examples (14.64) and (14.65) demonstrate examples of *no* in natural discourse. In example (14.64), the verb *aro* without subject marking precedes the clause linker *no*. In both (14.64) and example (14.65), several repetitions of a verb, *gara* ‘dig’ or *odi* ‘make’, precede the subordinate clause linker.

- (14.64) n-gare-wa-∅            n-gare-wa-∅            n-gare-wa-∅  
 3SG.M-dig.R-AUG-SG.F 3SG.M-dig.R-AUG-SG.F 3SG.M-dig.R-AUG-SG.F  
 n-gare-wa-∅            aro no    n-atia            hare si-sia ar-ma  
 3SG.M-dig.R-AUG-SG.F go.R until 3SG.M-see.R leaf RED-arrive.R-IPFV  
 tia-tiawa-i.  
 RED-short-PL  
 ‘He dug and dug and dug and dug until he saw the leaves appear.’ (120517-001:683.382) RNS, JS

clause continues until the action or event in the subordinate clause occurs.

- (14.65) w-aro      w-oki      nega-l      w-odi-a-i  
 3SG.F-go.R 3SG.F-use.R firewood-PL 3SG.F-make.R-AUG-PL  
 w-odi-a-i                      no    w-atia      wobla.  
 3SG.F-make.R-AUG-PL until 3SG.F-see.R wobla.tree  
 ‘She made and made firewood until she saw the wobla tree.’ (120623-002:42.800)  
 RNS, YW

#### 14.2.4 Complement clauses

Some verbs in Yeri can select for clausal arguments which I refer to as ‘complement clauses’. I briefly discuss three types of complement clause constructions in Yeri: (i) a perceived event construction, (ii) a reported speech construction, and (iii) an expressed desire construction. While the first construction involves perception verbs, the second and third construction involve the verb *nobia* ‘talk’.

##### 14.2.4.1 Perceived event

In the perceived event construction a perception verb takes a complement clause describing the perceived event as an argument. The perception verb frequently shows object agreement with the subject of the complement clause. In (14.66)-(14.70), the subject of the complement clause is coreferential with the object of the perception verb *atia* ‘see’.

- (14.66) ye    n-b-atia              hem m-odi              tumani.  
 2SG 2SG-1SG-see.R 1SG 1SG-make.R building  
 ‘You (sg) watch me build the house.’ (120522-002:406.054) RNS, JS
- (14.67) ta    n-w-atia              ta    h-aro      h-ana.  
 FUT 2SG-1PL-see.R FUT 1PL-go.R 1PL-come.R  
 ‘You (sg) will see us go and come.’ (120601-009:236.060) RNS, YW
- (14.68) hiwora w-∅=di      Koni w-atia              hebi h-ormia.  
 wife    REL-SG=3 Koni 3SG.F-see.R 1PL 1PL-stay.R.IPFV  
 ‘Koni’s wife saw us sitting.’ (120409-002:601.300) RNS, AS
- (14.69) te-∅    w-dore              w-atr-e-n                      ki      n-aro.  
 3-SG.F 3SG.F-get.up.R 3SG.F-see.R-AUG-SG.M already 3SG.M-go.R  
 ‘She got up and she saw that he had gone.’ (120623-002:111.477) RNS, YW
- (14.70) laharia              ŋa-∅              m-atr-e-i                      Mai=de-i                      ∅-ana  
 2.days.before one-SG.F 1SG-see.R-AUG-PL Mai.village=NVPC-PL 3PL-come.R  
 yot-a-i.  
 DEM-PROX-PL  
 ‘The other day I saw Mai people came here.’ (120621-001:676.244) RNS, YM

Note that when the subject of the complement clause is an overt third person nominal, object indexes are not obligatory on the perception verb, as in (14.71).

- (14.71) te- $\emptyset$  ta w-o w-atia nol-mi w-d-awera  
 3-SG.F FUT 3SG.F-stay.R 3SG.F-see.R bird-PL 3PL-MDL-lie.flat.R  
 w-a<me>na.  
 3PL-come.R<IPFV>  
 ‘She stayed and saw the war planes coming.’ (120528-006:226.320) RNS, JS

The complement clause shows no obvious restrictions in tense, aspect, or mood marking. For instance, while the complement clause occurs in the realis mood in example (14.72), it occurs in the irrealis mood in example (14.73).

- (14.72) hem hiro m-itr-e-n te-n n-o< $\emptyset$ >ga yati.  
 1SG NEG 1SG-see.I-AUG-SG.M 3-SG.M 3SG.M-eat.R<SG.F> sago  
 ‘I did not see him eat sago.’ (140408-211:311.911) ES, LA  
 CI: I did not see him, but he ate sago.

- (14.73) hem ki hiro m-itr-e-n n-ie< $\emptyset$ >ga yati.  
 1SG already NEG 1SG-see.I-AUG-SG.M 3SG.M-eat.I<SG.F> sago  
 ‘I didn’t see him eat sago.’ (140408-211:294.663) DE, LA  
 CI: I saw him and he did not eat sago

Lastly, it is possible for the complement clause of the perception verb to indicate that nothing was seen. In examples (14.74)-(14.76), the verb *atia* ‘see’ takes a complement clause which is composed of a negated non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction (see section 7.7.1.4 and section 11.3.2). In examples (14.74) and (14.75), no posture verb occurs and the subject is omitted. The only formal indication as to what was not seen is the object marking shown on the verb. The complement clause itself consists of only the negative particle *hiro* ‘no’. In example (14.76), only the posture verb is omitted. The clause *hedia hiro* functions as the complement of the verb *atia* ‘see’ and indicates that what was seen was the lack of mustard.

- (14.74) w-dodi w-atr-e- $\emptyset$  hiro.  
 3PL-stand 3PL-see.R-AUG-SG.F NEG  
 ‘They stood and saw she was not there.’ (120712-003:290.829) RNS, PM
- (14.75) hebi h-atr-e-i hiro.  
 1PL 1PL-see.R-AUG-PL NEG  
 ‘We saw they [the cars] were not there.’ (120520-000:170.053) RNS, AS

- (14.76) m-arkou m-aro m-atia hedia hiro.  
 1SG-ascend.R 1SG-go.R 1SG-see.R mustard NEG  
 ‘I went up and saw there was no mustard.’ (120524-000:112.779) RNS, LN

#### 14.2.4.2 Reported speech

In the reported speech construction, the verb *nobia* ‘talk’ takes a complement clause which communicates what was said. For instance, the clauses indicated in square brackets in examples (14.77)-(14.79) express speech.

- (14.77) hem m-nobia [hem ta hemal m-aro m-dal<m>ko-ki-da-i  
 1SG 1SG-talk.R 1SG FUT night 1SG-go.R 1SG-search.R<IPFV>-APPL-AUG-PL  
 miakua-l].  
 frog-PL  
 ‘I said, “Tonight I will go look for frogs.”’ (120621-003:21.840) RNS, AS
- (14.78) h-o<∅>ga ∅-nobia, “[ta nebal-gi tiawa-i ∅-ana ∅-w-owil  
 1PL-eat.R<SG.F> 1PL-talk.R FUT tree-PL short-PL 3PL-come.R 3PL-1PL-take.R  
 hebi].”  
 1PL  
 ‘We ate it and said, “There will be a car to come and pick us up.”’ (120520-000:127.040) RNS, AS
- (14.79) te-i ∅-b-nobia ∅-w-nobia [hebi puyu hirka wia-i wia-i yem ta  
 3-PL 3PL-1SG-talk.R 3PL-1PL-talk.R 1PL rock new two-F two-F 2PL FUT  
 y-aga-i].  
 2PL-get.R-PL  
 ‘They said to us, “It will be four kina for you (pl) to buy them.”’ (120520-000:494.228) RNS, AS

To signal that the complement clause communicates a person’s thoughts rather than words, a nominal phrase with *wan* ‘heart’ functions as the subject of the verb *nobia* ‘talk’.

- (14.80) hem wan w-∅=lope-n nobia ta y-aya-ka-n ŋa-∅.  
 1SG heart REL-SG=big-SG.M talk.R FUT 2PL-give.R-AUG-SG.M one-SG.F  
 ‘I think you (pl) will give him a ‘one’.’ (120621-001:405.925) RNS, JS  
 CI: The speaker is advising someone on how to vote in the preferential voting system.

### 14.2.4.3 Expressed desire

Consultants frequently make use of a construction containing the word *nobia* in response to elicited statements containing the English word ‘want’. I refer to this construction as the ‘expressed desire construction’.

In this construction, the verb *nobia* ‘talk’ occurs with a complement clause expressing the desired event or action. Speakers show a preference for using the irrealis form of verbs in this complement clause, especially when the subject of *nobia* and the subject of the complement clause are the same. Examples (14.81)-(14.83) show natural occurrences of this construction. In each example, the verbs in the complement clauses, *gawo* ‘open door’, *odi* ‘make’, and *ar* ‘go’, occur in their irrealis forms.

- (14.81) hem m-nobia      m-giwo              yo.  
 1SG 1SG-want.R 1SG-open.door.I path  
 ‘I wanted to open the door.’ (120621-003:342.297) RNS, AS
- (14.82) nobia ki          n-ie<ma>di              tumani.  
 want.R already 3SG.M-make.I<IPFV> building  
 ‘He wanted to build a house.’ (120511-001:560.920) RNS, PA
- (14.83) Ø-nobia          h-ero.  
 1PL-want.R 1PL-go.I  
 ‘We wanted to go.’ (120606-000:240.548) RNS, JS

Although consultants tend to use the irrealis forms of verbs in the complement clause, consultants judge created examples with realis forms to be grammatical. This is exemplified by examples (14.84) and (14.85) which are the same except for the mood of the verb *oga* ‘eat’ in the complement clause. Example (14.84) was offered to me by a consultant and shows the verb *oga* ‘eat’ in its irrealis form. I asked the consultant if example (14.85) with the same verb in its realis form was acceptable and the consultant judged it grammatical.

- (14.84) hem m-nobia      m-ie<Ø>ga              miaga.  
 1SG 1SG-want.R 1SG-eat.I<SG.F> banana.  
 ‘I want to eat a banana.’ (2012-E1.pdf:19) OS, LA
- (14.85) hem m-nobia      m-o<Ø>ga              miaga.  
 1SG 1SG-want.R 1SG-eat.R<SG.F> banana.  
 ‘I want to eat a banana.’ (2012-E1.pdf:19) GJ, LA

There are also examples in spontaneous speech where the verb in the complement clause occurs in its realis form, as in example (14.86).

- (14.86) ye nobia ta n-aria helol, ...  
 2SG want.R FUT 2SG-do.R work ...  
 ‘If you (sg) want to work, ...’ (120504-000:327.344) RNS, LA

When the subject of the verb *nobia* ‘want’ is different from the subject of the complement clause, verbs more frequently occur in the realis. Examples are provided in (14.87) and (14.88) with the verb *ana* ‘come’ occurring in the realis. In example (14.87), the subject of *nobia* is third person singular feminine, while the subject of the complement clause is second person singular. In example (14.88), the subject of the verb *nobia* is third person singular masculine, while the subject of the complement clause is third person plural.

- (14.87) te-∅ w-nobia ye ta n-ana.  
 3-SG.F 3SG.F-want.R 2SG FUT 2SG-come.R  
 ‘She wants you (sg) to come.’ (2010-B1.pdf:74) DE, LA  
 AT: ‘She wanted you (sg) to come.’
- (14.88) te-n n-nobia te-i ta ∅-ana tumani w-∅=de-n.  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-want.R 3-PL FUT 3PL-come.R building REL-SG=3-SG.M  
 ‘He wants them to come to his house.’ (2010-B1.pdf:74), DE, LA  
 AT: ‘He wanted them to come to his house.’

### 14.2.5 The focus construction

In this section, I describe a construction which can be used to express focus in Yeri. I present an overview of the structure of the focus construction in section 14.2.5.1. I then present evidence for this structure in section 14.2.5.2 by considering the pronunciation, location, and scope of clause particles.

#### 14.2.5.1 An overview

To express focus, Yeri makes use of a special focus construction which is best understood as a nominal predicate made up of the focused element and a subordinate clause. More specifically, the focus construction can be viewed as having a relative clause structure (see section 14.2.1.1), where the head of the relative clause is the focused element, and the nominal phrase containing the relative clause functions as a nominal predicate.<sup>7</sup> Nominal predicates commonly function as non-verbal clauses in Yeri and do not occur with a copula (see section 4.6.1).

<sup>7</sup>Examples in natural discourse are typically unmarked relative clauses, though examples are easily elicited with the relativizer *wɔ̃di*.

Evidence from clause particle scope, location, and pronunciation provides evidence for this structure in that clause particles can occur in both the subordinate relative clause as well as in the matrix non-verbal clause. For instance, it is common for clause particles to precede the focused element and hold scope over the entire complex nominal phrase as well as to occur in the subordinate clause and hold scope over the subordinate clause. The occurrence of clause particles in one or both of the clauses more easily delimits the boundaries of the clauses and provides evidence for the structure described here. The construction can be schematized as in Figure 14.4.

$$[ [ \text{Focused element} ] + [ \text{Relative clause} ] ]^{\text{NP}} \text{Non-verbal clause}$$

Figure 14.4: The structure of the Yeri focus construction

Before presenting evidence for the structure of the focus construction in section 14.2.5.2, a few examples are provided here to demonstrate that the construction is used to place an element in focus. Since a questioned element is generally assumed to be in focus, I present several examples first from questions in (14.89)-(14.94) to illustrate the questioned or focused element being located at the left periphery of the clause rather than its default in-situ location. This shift in location is due to the use of the focus construction in these examples to indicate the change in information structure.

In examples (14.89) and (14.90), the object of the verbs *anokil* ‘bite’ and *oba* ‘shoot’ are focused, while in examples (14.104) and (14.92) the object of the verbs *oga* ‘eat’ and *aya* ‘give’ is focused. The applicative object of the verb *nobia* ‘talk’ is focused in example (14.93), and the second conjunct of the verb *ode* ‘and, with’ is focused in the example (14.94). Note the frequent use of a clause particle, in these examples *ki* ‘already’, to delimit the beginning of the subordinate clause. For ease of discussion, the relative clause is delimited by square brackets [ ] and the focused element is bolded.

- (14.89) **hamei magil magil** [ki nebo-i Ø-anokil-a-i]?  
 people who.HUM.PL who.HUM.PL already dog-PL 3PL-bite.R-AUG-PL  
 ‘How many people did the dogs bite?’ (140414-010:508.277) DE, JS  
 LT: ‘It was how many people that the dogs bit?’

- (14.90) **nanu-bia malmal** [ki te-n n-o<i>ba]?  
 fish-PL how.many already 3-SG.M 3SG.M-shoot.R<PL>  
 ‘How many fish did he catch?’ (140414-010:465.672) DE, JS  
 LT: ‘It was how many fish that he caught?’



- (14.91) **wopsilil maɣa yot-a-i** [te-i yot-a-i Ø-o<he>ga]?  
 yams what DEM-PROX-PL 3-PL DEM-PROX-PL 3PL-eat.R<SG.F>  
 ‘What kind of these yams did they here eat?’ (120712-003:191.804) RNS, PM  
 LT: ‘It was what type of yams that they ate?’
- (14.92) **hamei magil magil** [ki ye n-aya-ka-i nanu-bia]?  
 people who.HUM.PL who.HUM.PL already 2SG 2SG-give.R-AUG-PL fish-PL  
 ‘How many people did you (sg) give fish to?’ (140414-010:572.717) DE, JS  
 LT: ‘It was how many people that you gave fish to?’
- (14.93) **maɣa-n** [ki te-n n-nobia-da-n]?  
 what-SG.M already 3-SG.M 3SG.M-talk.R-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘Who did he talk to?’ (140417-007:1609.580) DE, JS  
 LT: ‘It was who that he talked to?’
- (14.94) **maɣa-n** [ki te-n n-ode-n n-nobia]?  
 what-SG.M already 3-SG.M 3SG.M-and.R-SG.M 3SG.M-talk.R  
 ‘Who did he talk with?’ (140417-007:1613.675) DE, JS  
 LT: ‘It was who that he with him talked?’

#### 14.2.5.2 Evidence for the structure of the focus construction

**Class 1 particles** That the focus construction is best understood as a complex nominal phrase functioning as a non-verbal clause is easier to see when clause particles are considered. Since clause particles occur in specific locations within a clause, and the focus construction is composed of two clauses, (i) a larger non-verbal clause made up of a complex nominal predicate, and (ii) a subordinate relative clause which constitutes part of that complex nominal phrase, the same clause particles can occur in both clauses.

For class 1 clause particles which can occur only once per clause (see section 10.1, section 10.6), the occurrence of the same clause particle in the subordinate clause and in the matrix clause provides evidence for the structure of the focus construction. This can be seen in (14.95) and (14.96), where the class 1 clause particles *ta* ‘future tense’ (see section 10.1.1.2) and *la* ‘past tense’ (see section 10.1.1.1) occur twice. The tense particles precede the focused element and hold scope over the matrix clause, while also occurring within the relative clause and holding scope over the relative clause.

- (14.95) **ta hamote-n maɣa** [ta h-aya-ka-n]?  
 FUT individual-SG.M what FUT 1PL-give.R-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘Who will be the person we vote for?’ (120621-001:468.171) RNS, TW  
 LT: ‘It will be which person that we will give to?’

- (14.96) ... la **hiroba** [la yuna w-ana w-aya-ka- $\emptyset$  hemal].  
 ... PST hiroba.beetle PST yuna 3SG.F-come.R 3SG.F-give-AUG-SG.F night  
 ‘... it was beetles that yuna came and gave to her at night.’ (120416-000:1322.951)  
 RNS, LA

Similarly, in (14.97)-(14.99) the object of the verb is focused, *niboga* ‘rat’ in example (14.97), *hoharou* ‘bandicoot’ in example (14.98), and *mimi* ‘mother’ in example (14.99). In each of these examples, the class 1 clause particle *ki* ‘already’ occurs twice, once before the focused element where it takes scope over the entire non-verbal clause and once in the subordinate relative clause.<sup>8</sup>

- (14.97) **ki niboga** [ki nebo no poki n-ogera-we- $\emptyset$ ].  
 already rat already dog 3SG.MCOP.R black 3SG.M-chase.R-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘It was a rat that the black dog chased.’ (140404-023:862.743) DE, LA
- (14.98) **ki hoharou** [ki nebo n-o poki n-ogera-we- $\emptyset$ ].  
 already bandicoot already dog 3SG.M-COP.R black 3SG.M-chase.R-AUG-SG.F  
 hiro niboga.  
 NEG rat  
 ‘It was a bandicoot that the black dog chased. It was not a rat.’ (140404-023:881.876) DE, LA
- (14.99) **ki mimi** [hem ki m-atr-e- $\emptyset$ ].  
 already mother 1SG already 1SG-see.R-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘It was mother that I saw.’ (140404-023:1164.577) DE, LA

The object of *aya* ‘give’ is focused in examples (14.100) and (14.101), and the non-grammatical object of *aya* ‘give’ is focused in (14.102) and (14.103).

- (14.100) **ki tata** [hem ki m-aya-ka- $\emptyset$  pone].  
 already older.sibling 1SG already 1SG-give.R-AUG-SG.F shell  
 ‘It was big sister that I gave the bowl to.’ (140404-023:962.571) DE, LA
- (14.101) **ki mimi** [hem m-aya-ka- $\emptyset$  pone].  
 already mother 1SG 1SG-give.R-AUG-SG.F shell  
 ‘It was mother that I gave the bowl to.’ (140404-023:939.071) DE, LA
- (14.102) **ki nebal yewal-ti yot-ua- $\emptyset$**  [m-aya-ka- $\emptyset$  mimi].  
 already tree eye-SG DEM-DIST-SG.F 1SG-give.R-ka-SG.F mother  
 ‘It was medicine that I gave mother.’ (140404-023:1007.350) DE, LA

<sup>8</sup>The particle *ki* occurs in clause-initial position in the subordinate clause of examples (14.97) and (14.98), while it occurs preceding the predicate in the subordinate clause of example (14.99). More research is necessary to determine what this distinction in position signifies.

- (14.103) ki      **pueti**    **yot-ua-∅**      [m-aya-ka-∅      mimi]. hiro hedia.  
 already betel.nut DEM-DIST-SG.F 1SG-give.R-AUG-SG.F mother NEG mustard  
 ‘It was betel nut that I gave to mother. It was not mustard.’ (140404-023:1043.941)  
 DE, LA

Note that although it is common for clause particles to occur in the matrix clause preceding the focused element as well as in the subordinate clause, as in (14.100), clause particles are not obligatory in either the matrix non-verbal clause or the subordinate relative clause. For instance, in example (14.104), no clause particles occur in either clause. When clause particles occur in only one clause, however, it is typically the matrix non-verbal clause, as shown in the previous examples given in (14.101)-(14.103) and in example (14.105).

- (14.104) **wopsilil** **maja-∅**    **yot-a-i**      [te-i yot-a-i      ∅-o<he>ga]?  
 yams      what-SG.F DEM-PROX-PL 3-PL DEM-PROX-PL 3PL-eat.R<SG.F>  
 ‘What kind of these yams did they here eat?’ (120712-003:191.804) RNS, PM
- (14.105) ta    **maja-n**    [n-ode-n      yaʔa]?  
 FUT what-SG.M 3SG.M-and.R-SG.M here  
 ‘Who will go with him there?’ (120621-001:655.716) RNS, TW

**Identifying default clause-initial elements as focused** When clause particles do not precede the focused element in the focus construction, it can be difficult to identify certain elements like subjects or temporal nominal phrases as focused. This is because these elements occur in clause-initial position by default. For this reason, the overt presence of clause particles preceding the focused element is particularly important in the identification of subjects or temporal nominal phrases as focused. These elements are easily identified as focused when clause particles precede the focused element in the matrix clause and also occur in the subordinate clause, as in (14.106) with a focused subject and (14.107) with a focused temporal nominal phrase. Both examples show two instances of the class 1 clause particle *ta*.

- (14.106) ... ta    **hebi** [ta h-aro    h-ode-i].  
 ... FUT 1PL FUT 1PL-go.R 1PL-and.R-PL  
 ‘... it will be us that will go with them.’ (120520-000:597.648) RNS, AS
- (14.107) ta    **sunday** **yot-a-∅**      [ta ∅-nobia    nogolgoi].  
 FUT sunday DEM-PROX-SG.F FUT 1PL-talk.R children  
 ‘It will be Sunday that we will talk to the kids.’ (120613-001:425.415) RNS, LA

However, it is nonetheless common for a clause particle to only occur preceding the focused element, as is shown in (14.108)-(14.112).

- (14.108) ki      **nebo n-o**                      **poki** [n-ogera                      hoharou]. hiro nebo  
 already dog 3SG.M-COP.R black 3SG.M-chase.R bandicoot] NEG dog  
 n-o                      haike-ta.  
 3SG.M-COP.R white-SG  
 ‘It was a black dog that chased the bandicoot. It was not a white dog.’ (140404-023:875.785) DE, LA  
 CI: Another speaker incorrectly believes that a white dog chased the bandicoot and LA is correcting that assumption.
- (14.109) ta      **Koni** [n-ori-wa-∅.]  
 FUT Koni 3SG.M-hit.R-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘It will be Koni that will scrape it.’ (120524-000:183.369) RNS, LN  
 CI: Ana will not scrape the sago. Koni will.
- (14.110) ki      **Turegal nadi** [w-ana                      w-ormia                      yot-a-∅].  
 already Turegal only 3SG.F-come.R 3SG.F-stay.R.IPFV DEM-PROX-SG.F  
 ‘It was only Turegal that came to stay here.’ (120518-000:241.612) RNS, JS
- (14.111) ta      **maja-n** [n-a<me>ya-ka-i                      ni  
 FUT what-SG.M 3SG.M-give.R<IPFV>-AUG-PL intestine  
 nuake=da-∅]?  
 large.intestines=NVPC-SG.F  
 ‘Who is going to give them food?’ (120613-001:124.198) RNS, JS  
 CI: The collocation ni nuake da expresses the meaning ‘food’.
- (14.112) ki      **maja-n** [n-y-iekewa]?  
 already what-SG.M 3SG.M-2-be.angry.R  
 ‘Who has gotten angry with you (sg or pl)?’ (120517-001:2044.630) RNS, JS

## Chapter 15

# Connecting discourse

This chapter focuses on describing several common patterns which occur within Yeri discourse. Time constraints require that I limit description to only the most obvious of patterns. I describe three of these patterns in this chapter. First, Yeri has a tendency to avoid overloading a single clause with several detailed nominal phrases. This tendency and its consequences are discussed in section 15.1. The remaining sections focus on two observations regarding the linking of utterances and narrative events. An intonation contour which links related utterances is described in section 15.2, while a common discourse strategy used to link narrative events is described in section 15.3.

### 15.1 Distribution of nominals across clauses

Like many other Papuan languages (de Vries 2005), Yeri has a tendency to avoid including several detailed nominal phrases within a single clause. For this reason, once a referent is active in discourse, speakers often refer to it only via pronominal forms, especially bound pronominal forms, if it is referenced at all. This is not uncommon cross-linguistically, but is particularly noticeable in Yeri when long stretches of non-verbal predicates occur since these predicates often occur without any pronominal forms to link them back to the original mention of the nominal referent. For this reason, interpretation of an utterance, especially one involving a non-verbal predicate, is deeply tied to previous discourse. Section 15.1.1 briefly describes this phenomenon.

Yeri's tendency to avoid overloading clauses with several detailed nominal phrases also results in Yeri frequently placing detailed nominal phrases before a stretch of discourse and referring back to them via pronominal forms (see section 4.2). This strategy and its uses with longer nominal phrases and topics is described in section 15.1.2 and section 15.1.3. Another consequence of this tendency is for Yeri to use a pronominal form in one clause, only to

repeat part of the clause with a more detailed coreferential nominal phrase to clarify the referent of the previous pronominal form. This is described in section 15.1.4.

### 15.1.1 Referencing active participants in discourse

Once a referent has been introduced into discourse, it is common for following utterances to reference that entity only via pronominal forms if it is overtly referenced at all. In (15.1) the subject is indicated via a nominal phrase *nenā* ‘father’. However, in the two subsequent utterances (15.2) and (15.3), the subject is indicated only via subject marking on the verb *oba* ‘shoot’.

- (15.1) *nenā n-o<ne><ma>ba nalu.*  
 father 3SG.M-shoot.R<SG.M><IPFV> cassowary  
 ‘My father shot the cassowary.’ (120601-009:35.396) RNS, YW
- (15.2) *n-o<ne>ba malual.*  
 3SG.M-shoot.R<SG.M> ground.wallaby  
 ‘He shot the ground wallaby.’ (120601-009:38.110) RNS, YW
- (15.3) *n-o<∅>ba nanu-la kraltariena na<he>kuar.*  
 3SG.M-shoot.R<SG.F> fish-SG kraltariyena.fish skewer.R<SG.F>  
 ‘He killed the kraltariena fish and he skewered it’. (120601-009:40.870) RNS, YW

This tendency to avoid making detailed reference to participants that are active in discourse is particularly noticeable when subsequent utterances contain non-verbal clauses. In these contexts, it is common for there to be no pronominal forms which refer back to a participant, and interpretation is based solely on the hearer recovering the likely referent from previous discourse. For instance, in example (15.4), *hem* ‘I, me’ is introduced as a relevant participant in the story. In (15.5) which is the following utterance, the person being described as not an adult, but a child is not explicitly mentioned. Instead, this referent can be interpreted as *hem* ‘I, me’ only by reference to the previous utterance.

- (15.4) *ta m-nobia wigał wdi hem la nigo-n.*  
 FUT 1SG-talk.R language SUB 1SG PST child-SG.M  
 ‘I am going to tell the story about when I was young.’ (120524-005:13.350) RNS, JS
- (15.5) *la hiro hamote-n w-∅=lope-n la nigo-n.*  
 PST NEG individual-SG.M REL-SG=big-SG.M PST child-SG.M  
 ‘I was not a big person, I was a child.’ (120524-005:17.890) RNS, JS

Along the same lines, the nominal phrase *nogolgoi* ‘children’ occurs in (15.6), but no overt reference to this participant is made in the following utterance shown in (15.7). For this reason, the interpretation of example (15.7) is dependent on recovering the active participant *nogolgoi* ‘children’ from the previous utterance.

- (15.6) hebi yot-a- $\emptyset$ ,                      nogolgoi sapiten.  
 1PL DEM-PROX-SG.F children many  
 ‘We here, our children are many.’ (140404-023:2381.450) GE-[ta peigiliai], LA

- (15.7) toyiki     $\eta$ a- $\emptyset$ ,    ta    peigilia-i nadi.  
 tomorrow one-SG.F FUT some-PL very  
 ‘In the future, they will be only a few.’ (140404-023:2385.703) GE-[ta peigiliai], LA  
 CI: The children will be only a few.

### 15.1.2 Longer nominal phrases

When nominal phrases are particularly long, it is not unusual for the nominal phrase to occur in apposition to a coreferential nominal phrase consisting of a personal pronoun. For example, in (15.8) a pause separates the nominal phrase *mimi nena nogi weidi tinogil yotai* ‘the fathers and mothers of this village here’ from the coreferential third person plural pronoun.

- (15.8) mimi    nena    nogi    w-ei=de-i    tinogil yot-a-i,                      te-i  
 mother father ASSOC REL-PL=3-PL village DEM-PROX-PL 3-PL  
 $\emptyset$ -no<me>la.  
 3PL-dislike.R<IPFV>  
 ‘Fathers and mothers of this village here, they refuse.’ (120621-001:1025.450) RNS,  
 AS

The occurrence of longer nominal phrases in apposition to a nominal phrase consisting of a personal pronoun is particularly common when the longer nominal phrases includes a subordinate clause without an overt clause linker. In example (15.9), the nominal phrase includes an unmarked relative clause (see section 14.2.1). A pause separates the nominal phrase from the coreferential third person plural pronoun in the matrix clause.

- (15.9) hamei  $\emptyset$ -aro     $\emptyset$ -ana,                      te-i ta     $\emptyset$ -dawialkla siahera    yot-u-n.  
 people 3PL-go.R 3PL-come.R 3-PL FUT 3PL-fear.R crocodile DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
 ‘The men who go in and out, they will be afraid of the crocodile there.’ (140408-206:9.323) DE, JS

### 15.1.3 Topics

Yeri often specifies the topic of a stretch of discourse either within the initial clause or in a phrase preceding the initial clause, with subsequent clauses omitting any overt reference to the topic except where pronominal forms (i.e. coreferential personal pronouns, pronominal clitics, or pronominal affixes, see section 4.2) occur. Even without the topic being overtly mentioned within subsequent clauses, the clauses can be interpreted with respect to the initial topic. I briefly describe examples where the topic occurs in a phrase preceding the initial clause here.

This general behavior is easiest to see when speakers are asked to describe a particular object. In these cases, the item under discussion is mentioned first, followed by several clauses about it. In (15.10)-(15.12) the speaker was asked to explain the meaning of *hur* ‘sago flour’, *nol kulkil* ‘kulkil bird’, and *mayi* ‘mayi yam’. To do so, the speaker introduced the topic with a nominal phrase, before then describing it in the following clauses. In (15.10), the object of the verb *orkibil* ‘squeeze’ is interpreted as *hur* ‘sago flour’. In (15.11) and (15.12), the third person plural pronoun is interpreted as *nolmi kulkil* ‘kulkil bird’ and *mayi* ‘mayi yam’ respectively.

- (15.10) *hur*, *yuta* *nogual*  $\emptyset$ -*orbil*-*da*- $\emptyset$   $\emptyset$ -*o*<*ma*>*di* *yati*.  
 sago.flour woman PL 3PL-squeeze.R-AUG-SG.F 3PL-make.R<IPFV> sago  
 ‘Sago flour, women wash it to make sago.’ (140227-031:52.904) GE-[*hur*], JS
- (15.11) *nol*-*mi* *kulkil*-*gal*, *te*-*i* *ta*  $\emptyset$ -*no*<*me*>*bia*, *nabia*-*i* *ta*  
 bird-PL kulkil.bird-PL 3-PL FUT 3PL-talk.R<IPFV> spirit-PL FUT  
 $\emptyset$ -*al*<*me*>*mo*.  
 3PL-die.R<IPFV>  
 ‘The kulkil birds, when they talk, spirits will die.’ (140227-042:97.686) GE-[*kulkil*], JS
- (15.12) *mayi*, *te*-*i* *wopsilil*.  
 mayi.yam 3-PL yams  
 ‘Mayi, they are yams.’ (140304-012:18.724) GE-[*mayi*], LA

### 15.1.4 Specification of nominal in following clause

With Yeri’s tendency to avoid overloading a single clause with multiple detailed nominal phrases, Yeri will often use only a pronominal form (i.e. coreferential pronoun, pronominal clitic, or pronominal affix, see section 4.2) to refer to a referent in one clause, and then repeat part of that clause with a detailed nominal phrase to more clearly specify the referent of the previous pronominal form. In other words, a speaker may use only a pronominal form to



provide basic person, gender, and/or number information about a referent in the first clause, before repeating part of the clause with the pronominal form replaced by a more detailed nominal phrase. This allows the speaker to clarify the referent of the pronominal form in the first clause if necessary without having to include several detailed nominal phrases in the same clause. For instance, in example (15.13), the third person singular masculine pronoun *ten* acts as the subject of the verb *ormia* ‘be, stay, live’, but the subject is immediately identified in more detail in the following clause as *nakal wden yotun* ‘his father there’.

- (15.13) te-n    n-ormia,                      nakal w-∅=de-n                      yot-u-n  
           3-SG.M 3SG.M-stay.R.IPFV father REL-SG=3-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
           n-ormia.  
           3SG.M-stay.R.IPFV  
           ‘He sat, his father there sat.’ (120517-001:820.792) RNS, JS

In example (15.14), the object of the verb *anokil* ‘bite’ is originally indicated only by third person singular masculine object marking. In the immediately following clause however, this is expanded to *nigongon yotun* ‘that son’ to avoid confusion over the correct referent of who was bitten.

- (15.14) malgil pareki lolewa yot-u-n                      wam-w-a<me>nokil-a-n,  
           bee    ant    thing DEM-MDIST-SG.M RED-3PL-bite.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.M  
           w-a<me>nokil    nigo-n-gon                      yot-u-n.  
           3PL-bite.R<IPFV> child-SG.M-RED DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
           ‘The bees and ants there were biting him, were biting that boy there.’ (120517-001:834.477) RNS JS

## 15.2 The role of intonation in connecting discourse

Although there are several morphemes which function to link utterances in Yeri (see chapter 14), it is far more common for intonation alone to signal relationships between utterances. In particular, Yeri frequently makes use of a rising intonation contour at the end of an utterance to signal its relation to the following utterance. This rising intonation can occur on several utterances in a row to link several utterances together, with the last utterance displaying a falling intonation contour. The rising intonation contour can serve to link topics to following statements about the topic and to link one clause to another.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>There is a great deal more to say about the role of intonation in Yeri. However, more detailed investigation must be left for future research.

**Topic** As described in section 15.1.3, Yeri frequently introduces the topic of a stretch of discourse either within the initial clause or in a phrase preceding the initial clause, with subsequent clauses omitting any overt reference to the topic except where coreferential pronominal forms (see section 4.2) occur. When topics occur outside of a clause, they frequently display rising intonation, as in example (15.15). In this example, the speaker is asked to describe what *hur* ‘sago flour’ is. In doing so, he first introduces the topic, *hur* ‘sago flour’, with rising intonation, shown in Figure 15.1, before proceeding to make several additional statements explaining how *hur* is used to make sago.

- (15.15) *hur*,        *yuta*    *nogual*  $\emptyset$ -*orbil-da*- $\emptyset$                        $\emptyset$ -*o*<*ma*>*di*                      *yati*  
           sago.flour woman PL        3PL-squeeze.R-AUG-SG.F 3PL-make.R<IPFV> sago  
           *hebi* *h-o*<*he*>*mo*.  
           1PL 1PL-eat.R.IPFV<SG.F>  
           ‘Sago flour, women wash it to make sago and we eat it.’ (140227-031:52.904)  
           GE-[*hur*], JS

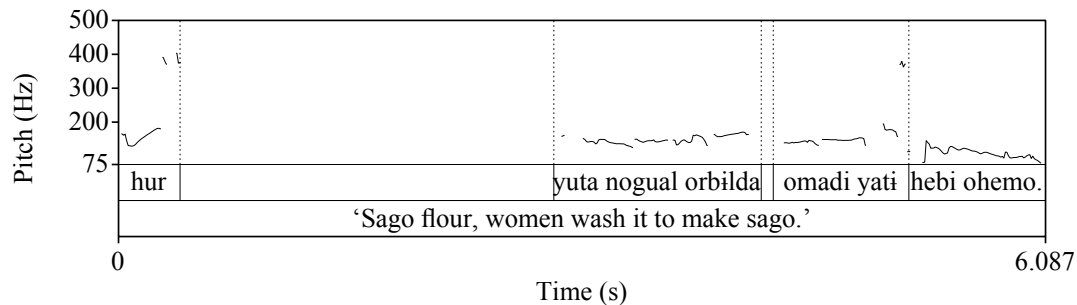


Figure 15.1: Rising intonation of *hur* ‘sago flour’ in example (15.15)

**Clause-Clause** This rising intonation contour can be used to indicate that two clauses are semantically connected and should be interpreted in relation to one another, regardless of whether an overt clause linker occurs. This intonation contour is frequent with conditional statements, as in (15.16)–(15.18), where in each example the first clause, the if-statement, shows rising intonation. Figure 15.2 illustrates the pitch contour that occurs in example (15.16), where rising intonation can be seen on the if-statement.

- (15.16) *ye* *n-o*        *bilgi-l*        *nadi*, *ta*    *n-odi*        *tumani*.  
           2SG 2SG-COP strong-SG very FUT 2SG-make.R building  
           ‘If you (sg) are strong, you (sg) will build the house.’ (120522-002:378.489) RNS,  
           JS

- (15.17) hiro, lahabi h-i<me>na he.  
 NEG yesterday 1PL-come.I<IPFV> CNT  
 ‘If not, yesterday we would have come.’ (120409-002:802.290) RNS, AS

- (15.18) w=ilua-∅, hebi ta h-aro h-ade-wa-∅ yati ŋa-∅.  
 REL=bad-SG.F 1PL FUT 1PL-go.R 1PL-chop.R-AUG-SG.F sago one-SG.F  
 ‘If it’s bad, then we will cut another sago.’ (120409-002:36.205) RNS, AS

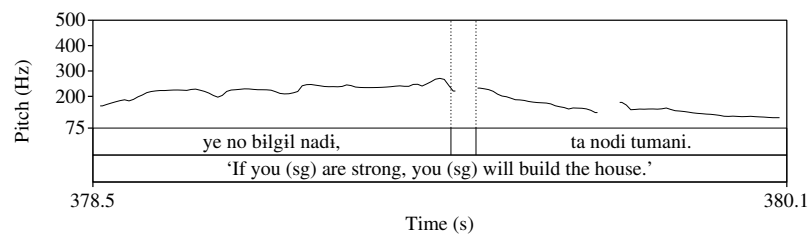


Figure 15.2: Rising intonation of first clause in example (15.16)

This rising contour is also common with clauses where the second clause is understood as occurring after the first clause has been completed. For instance, in example (15.19), the two clauses are juxtaposed with no overt clause linker to connect them. The rising intonation at the end of the first clause, shown in Figure 15.3, signals the association of the two clauses. This rising intonation is in opposition to the falling intonation in the second clause.

- (15.19) helual ∅-a<i>wera, ta n-a<me>lia-∅ wayiagi.  
 bearer 3PL-lie.flat.R<PL> FUT 2SG-drop.R<IPFV>-SG.F roof  
 ‘When the bearers have been laid, you (sg) drop the roof.’ (120522-002:251.845)  
 RNS, JS

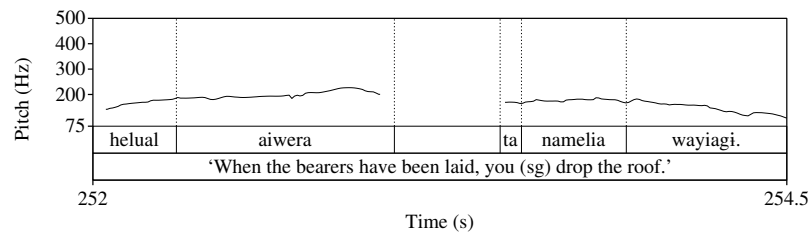


Figure 15.3: Rising intonation of first clause in example (15.19)

This rising intonation contour can also be seen when overt clause linkers occur. For example, in (15.20), shown in Figure 15.4, the first clause which contains the subordinate clause linker *nomal* ‘after’ (see section 14.2.2) shows a rising pitch contour.

- (15.20) Ø-ana          Ø-ormia          Ø-o<he>mo          nomal,  
 3PL-come.R 3PL-stay.R.IPFV 3PL-eat.R.IPFV<SG.F> after  
 Ø-nobia-da-n.  
 3PL-talk.R-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘After they were sitting and eating, they told him.’ (120403-000:591.542) RNS,  
 TW

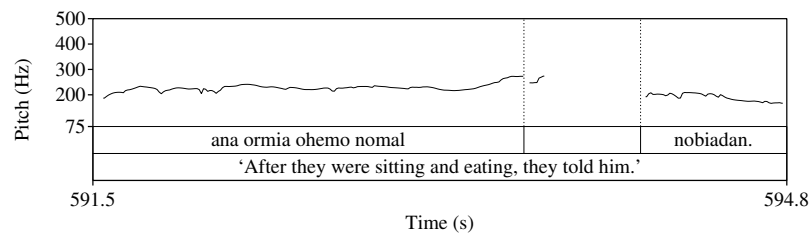


Figure 15.4: Rising intonation of first clause in example (15.20)

### 15.3 Tail-head linkage

Like many Papuan languages, including Urim, another related Torricelli language, (Hemmilä & Luoma 1987: 239-242), Yeri employs a discourse strategy known as tail-head linkage. This is a discourse pattern whereby the last clause of an utterance (the tail) is repeated as the initial clause (the head) in the following utterance. De Vries (2005: 363) describes tail-head linkage as “a way to connect clause chains in which the last clause of a chain is partially or completely repeated in the first clause of the next chain.”

Tail-head linkage is common in narrative and procedural genres in Yeri. A typical example is shown in consecutive utterances provided in (15.21) and (15.22). The tail of the first utterance and the head of the following utterance have been bolded. Note that it is particularly common in Yeri, though not obligatory, for the tail to occur with imperfective marking, while the head occurs without imperfective marking.

- (15.21) w-uakir wul ti-hewo, Ø-dal<m>ko-ki nanu-bia Ø-arkou  
 3PL-fall.R water LOC-bottom 3PL-search.R<IPFV>-APPL fish-PL 3PL-ascend.R  
 wul Ø-a<me>na.  
 water 3PL-come.R<IPFV>  
 ‘They came to the river downstream, and they were looking for fish up the river.’  
 (120517-001:72.920) RNS, JS
- (15.22) Ø-dalkual-ki nanu-bia Ø-arkou wul Ø-ana nanu-bia  
 3PL-search.R-APPL fish-PL 3PL-ascend.R water 3PL-come.R fish-PL  
 Ø-a<m>oti-wa-i nanu-bia Ø-oti-wa-i sa-sapiten.  
 3PL-hold.R<IPFV>-AUG-PL fish-PL 3PL-hold-AUG-PL RED-many  
 ‘They looked for the fish up the river, and they were catching very many fish.’  
 (120517-001:80.450) RNS, JS

There is a distinct intonation contour associated with tail-head linkages in Yeri, where the tail shows falling intonation and the head occurs with rising intonation. This contour can be heard in examples (15.23) and (15.24). In example (15.23) the clause *wameyakan nanula yamega* functions as a tail and shows an overall falling intonation. In example (15.24), the same clause without imperfective marking is repeated as the head and shows rising intonation. The rising intonation contour on the head is expected given the use of rising intonation to link utterances in Yeri (see section 15.2). While the repeated clause links the tail to the head within the larger discourse, the rising intonation on the head links the head to the immediately following utterance.

- (15.23) w-a<me>ya-ka-n nanu-la yamega.  
 3SG.F-give.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.M fish-SG yamega.fish  
 ‘She was giving him a yamega fish.’ (120517-001:165.328) RNS, JS
- (15.24) w-aya-ka-n nanu-la yamega, n-nola  
 3SG.F-give.R-AUG-SG.M fish-SG yamega.fish 3SG.M-dislike.R  
 n-a<Ø>kukeli wadual.  
 3SG.M-shake.R<SG.F> head  
 ‘She gave him a yamega fish, but he refused and shook his head.’ (120517-001:168.000) RNS, JS

Figure 15.5 is provided to illustrate the associated fall in pitch on the tail and rise in pitch on the head in the preceding two examples, the tail from (15.23) and the head from (15.24). In this figure, the falling pitch contour on the tail, from approximately 180 Hz to 105 Hz, and the subsequent rise on the head in the following utterance, from approximately 145 Hz to 200 Hz, can be seen.

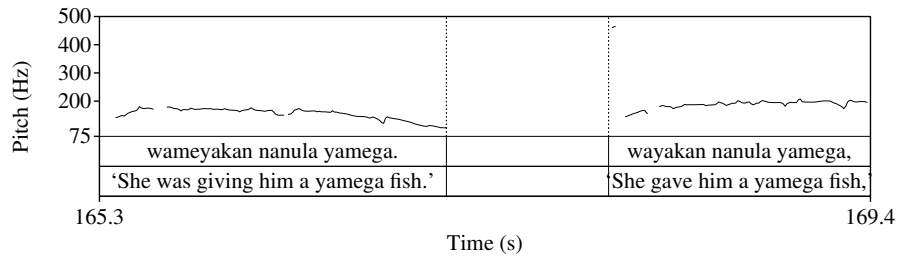


Figure 15.5: Intonation contour for tail-head linkage in (15.23) and (15.24)

The special intonation associated with tail-head linkages in Yeri is a common characteristic of many Papuan languages according to de Vries (2005: 378). He points out that in many Papuan languages, “The tail clause has a falling, final intonation and the head clause a rising intonation, with a slow pronunciation, and often a pause or pause marking elements after the head clause (deictics, motion verbs with discourse connective functions, pause particles)” (de Vries 2005: 378). This description is true of Yeri tail-head linkages as well.

# Appendix A: Assorted Texts

Several short recorded texts have been selected for inclusion here as an illustration of some of the natural speech archived in the Yeri corpus.<sup>2</sup> I have selected these texts with an aim towards including one from each of the most frequently recorded speakers and towards including a range of different genres (e.g. legends, procedurals, autobiographical narratives, conversations). It is my hope that including a few texts here will inspire readers interested in seeing more Yeri texts to visit the archive where more such texts can be found. For information on how to access the archive, see section 1.6.4.3. Due to time constraints, only the first example of each text is linked to the archive. All of the remaining utterances can then be heard by clicking through the remaining annotations in the archive.

For each of these texts, I have glossed them according to the standards throughout this grammar (e.g. orthographic transcription, gloss, free translation, recording ID, start time in seconds, see section 1.7.2) with the exception of punctuation. Since utterances used as examples within the grammar are typically cited without any preceding or following utterances in the grammar, I have chosen to punctuate examples based on whether the example is a complete clause (i.e. periods, question marks, or exclamation marks for what could be a full clause, but only commas or a lack of closing punctuation for what is not a complete clause). Throughout the grammar, I have also used ellipses at times to indicate that only part of an utterance has been cited. This was often done to simplify complex examples and aid the reader in identifying the relevant portions of an example. In the examples that follow, ellipses should be understood as indicating longer pauses. Furthermore, where something within an utterance is inaudible, I symbolize this by placing three of the letter x within square brackets (i.e. [xxx]). Four texts can be found in this section, and basic information on each text is provided here:

**‘How to dry cocoa’ by John Sirio (JS)** Recording ID: 120608-002. John provides some basic advice on how to dry cocoa properly.

**‘The languages of nearby villages’ by Leo Ainaris (LA)** Recording ID: 140217-012.

---

<sup>2</sup>For information on the corpus, including the creation of the corpus, an overview of the corpus, and how to use the corpus, see section 1.6.4.

Leo describes how the languages spoken in nearby villages are referred to within those villages.

**‘The bad-skinned snake kills a woman’ by Josepa Yikaina (YW)** Recording ID: 120410-006. Josepa tells the legend of one woman who is killed by a snake.

**‘The Nabliga trip’, a conversation by Ansela Nibisan (AS) and Vero Nibisan (TW)** Recording ID: 120520-000. Ansela and Vero talk about Ansela’s recent trip to Nabliga.



## ‘How to dry cocoa’ by John Sirio

This text was recorded on June 8, 2012 with the HandyZoom H4n during my second field trip to the area. It was transcribed and translated with the help of John Sirio (JS), the speaker and one of my primary consultants, at a later date. John was responsible for finding money previously to build a fermentry in the Yeri village. This permits the drying of cocoa to sell in larger towns like Maprik or Wewak. In this recording, John describes some basic best practices for how to dry cocoa well so that the people who buy cocoa in these larger towns will not reject it. The recording ID is 120608-002. Note that I categorize this as a procedural because the speaker does provide some basic advice on how best to dry cocoa. However, as I’ve only included short recordings (under five or six minutes) in this section, it is best to see the corpus for examples of more detailed procedurals.

- (16.25) yot-u- $\emptyset$  he-ma.  
DEM-MDIST-SG.F CNT-IPFV  
‘Okay.’ (120608-002:17.107) RNS, JS
- (16.26) ta m-nobia wdi wia w-ei=nabe-i, wia w=ilua-i, wdi  
FUT 1SG-talk.R PREP hand REL-PL=good-PL hand REL=bad-PL SUB  
 $\emptyset$ -a-< $\emptyset$ >guti nebal yewal-ti.  
3PL-burn.R<SG.F> tree eye-SG  
‘Now I will talk about the good way and the bad way to dry the cocoa beans.’  
(120608-002:19.961) RNS, JS beans.
- (16.27) nebal yewal-ti, losi w-ei=de- $\emptyset$  kakao.  
tree eye-SG name REL-PL=3-SG.F cocoa  
‘The tree seed, its name is cocoa.’ (120608-002:31.770) RNS, JS
- (16.28) nebal yewal-ti yot-ua- $\emptyset$ , helol w-ei=di- $\emptyset$  hiro sipeki-i.  
tree eye-SG DEM-DIST-SG.F work REL-PL=3-SG.F NEG little-PL  
‘That cocoa, its work is not small.’ (120608-002:36.011) RNS, JS
- (16.29) helol w-ei=lope-i nadi.  
work REL-PL=big-PL very.  
‘It is very big work.’ (120608-002:40.090) RNS, JS
- (16.30) ye hamote-n n-o bilgi-l, n-ela gal, ta  
2SG individual-SG.M 3SG.M-COP strong-SG 3SG.M-be.R strong FUT  
n-a-< $\emptyset$ >guti.  
2SG-burn.R<SG.F>  
‘If you are a strong man, a tough man, then you will dry it.’ (120608-002:42.160)  
RNS, JS

- (16.31) hiro, ta hiro.  
NEG FUT NEG  
'If not, you will not do it.' (120608-002:48.360) RNS, JS 48360 - 50050
- (16.32) puyu hirka w- $\emptyset$ =ye, malmal ye ki n-aga- $\emptyset$  nebal  
rock green REL-SG.F-2SG how.many 2SG already 2SG-get.R-SG.F tree  
yewal-ti,  
eye-SG  
'Your money, some amount that you bought cocoa with,' (120608-002:52.064)  
RNS, JS
- (16.33) ye ta n-oki- $\emptyset$  wan n-a<me>lia- $\emptyset$ .  
2SG FUT 2SG-use.R-SG.F heart 2SG-drop.R<IPFV>-SG.F  
'you will just throw it away.' (120608-002:58.001) RNS, JS
- (16.34) nebal yewal-ti ta n-a< $\emptyset$ >guti,  
tree eye-SG FUT 2SG-burn.R<SG.F>  
'When you dry the cocoa,' (120608-002:61.792) RNS, JS
- (16.35) nega-l, ta n-atar-e-i sa-sapiten.  
firewood-PL FUT 2SG-split.R-AUG-PL RED-many  
'you must cut a lot of firewood.' (120608-002:64.901) RNS, JS
- (16.36) nega-l w-ei=nabe-i  
firewood-PL REL-PL=good-PL  
'the good firewood' (120608-002:69.825) RNS, JS
- (16.37) hiro nega-l w=ilua-i  
NEG firewood-PL REL=bad-PL  
'not the bad firewood' (120608-002:71.772) RNS, JS
- (16.38) nega-l w-ei=nabe-i nadi ta  $\emptyset$ -dalkuelial  $\emptyset$ -d-aruba.  
firewood-PL REL-PL=good-PL very FUT 3PL-catch.fire.R 3PL-MDL-do.well.R  
'It must be the very good firewood that will burn well.' (120608-002:72.882) RNS,  
JS
- (16.39) nega-l ta  $\emptyset$ -dalkuelial  $\emptyset$ -d-aruba, hasieki-l hilhil.  
firewood-PL FUT 3PL-catch.fire.R 3PL-MDL-do.well.R fire-PL crackle  
'The firewood will light properly, and the fire will crackle.' (120608-002:75.805)  
RNS, JS
- (16.40) ta  $\emptyset$ -o<ma>sia- $\emptyset$  nebal yewal-ti yot-u- $\emptyset$ .  
FUT 3PL-swell.R<IPFV>-SG.F tree eye-SG DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
'It will heat that cocoa.' (120608-002:80.330) RNS, JS

- (16.41) nega-l w=ilua-i, hasieki-l ta hiro  $\emptyset$ -iesia- $\emptyset$ , nebal yewal-ti  
 firewood-PL REL=bad-PL fire-PL FUT NEG 3PL-swell.I-SG.F tree eye-SG  
 ta ma=ilua- $\emptyset$ .  
 FUT IPFV=bad-SG.F  
 ‘With bad firewood, the fire will not heat up and the cocoa will become bad.’  
 (120608-002:84.103) RNS, JS
- (16.42) yot-ua- $\emptyset$ , ba hem wdi m-nobia-da-i hamei.  
 DEM-DIST-SG.F SB 1SG SUB 1SG-talk.R-AUG-PL people  
 ‘There, I’m the one who tells people.’ (120608-002:91.650) RNS, JS
- (16.43) hem ki m-ogla- $\emptyset$  wan wdi m-a< $\emptyset$ >guti nebal yewal-ti.  
 1SG already 1SG-fetch.R-SG.F heart SUB 1SG-burn.R<SG.F> tree eye-SG  
 ‘I already know how to dry the cocoa.’ (120608-002:97.181) RNS, JS
- (16.44) hem lawiaki nanala nanala m-o yot-u- $\emptyset$  m-a< $\emptyset$ >guti  
 1SG long.ago alone alone 1SG-stay.R DEM-MDIST-SG.F 1SG-burn.R<SG.F>  
 nebal yewal-ti,  
 tree eye-SG  
 ‘For a long time I sat by myself to dry the cocoa beans.’ (120608-002:101.675)  
 RNS, JS
- (16.45) ye-m hiro y-ero y-b-iede m-ie.  
 2SG-PL NEG 2PL-go.I 2PL-1SG-and.I 1SG-stay.I  
 ‘You (pl) did not sit with me.’ (120608-002:105.517) RNS, JS
- (16.46) ta y-atr-e-i wia w-ei=hem m-a< $\emptyset$ >guti nebal yewal-ti  
 FUT 2PL-see.R-AUG-PL hand REL-PL=1SG 1SG-burn.R<SG.F> tree eye-SG  
 ye-m ta y-ogla- $\emptyset$  wan.  
 2SG-PL FUT 2PL-fetch.R-SG.F heart  
 ‘So you will see my way to dry cocoa so that you will know how to do it.’ (120608-002:108.230) RNS, JS
- (16.47) ye-m y-o w- $\emptyset$ =ye-m.  
 2SG-PL 2PL-stay.R REL-SG.F=2SG-PL  
 ‘You stayed at your house.’ (120608-002:112.259) RNS, JS
- (16.48) hem m-a< $\emptyset$ >guti.  
 1SG 1SG-burn.R<SG.F>  
 ‘I dry them.’ (120608-002:113.371) RNS, JS

- (16.49) yot-a- $\emptyset$ , laharia yot-a- $\emptyset$ , Tom n-odi Dan  
 DEM-PROX-SG.F 2.days.before DEM-PROX-SG.F Tom 3SG.M-and.R Dan  
 w-odi- $\emptyset$  wan wan nadi.  
 3PL-and.R-SG.F heart heart very  
 ‘Here, the other day, Tom and Dan weren’t sure.’ (120608-002:114.870) RNS, JS
- (16.50) la hem m-odi- $\emptyset$  Turegal h-o yot-a- $\emptyset$ ,  
 PST 1SG 1SG-and.R-SG.F Turegal 1PL-stay.R DEM-PROX-SG.F  
 ‘I was with Turegal here.’ (120608-002:122.675) RNS, JS
- (16.51) m-a<me>ro, m-aro mam-m-a<me>loia- $\emptyset$  nebal yewal-ti siwei.  
 1SG-go.R<IPFV> 1SG-go.R RED-1SG-turn.R<IPFV>-SG.F tree eye-SG again  
 ‘I was going, I went to turn the cocoa again.’ (120608-002:124.161) RNS, JS
- (16.52) m-a<me>ria-da- $\emptyset$  m-a<me>rua- $\emptyset$ .  
 1SG-do.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F 1SG-do.well.R<IPFV>-SG.F  
 ‘I did it well.’ (120608-002:127.870) RNS, JS
- (16.53) m-obati-i hasieki-l.  
 1SG-kindle.R-PL fire-PL  
 ‘I made a fire.’ (120608-002:129.945) RNS, JS
- (16.54) hasieki-l ta  $\emptyset$ -obati-i, nega-l tama n-oki- $\emptyset$  sapiten.  
 fire-PL FUT 3PL-kindle.R-PL firewood-PL PROH 2SG-use.R-SG.F many  
 ‘When making a fire, don’t use a lot of firewood.’ (120608-002:132.077) RNS, JS
- (16.55) n-oki nega-l sapiten, hasieki-l  $\emptyset$ -dalkuelial w-ei-ma=lope-i,  
 2SG-use.R firewood-PL many fire-PL 3PL-catch.fire.R REL-PL-IPFV=big-PL  
 ‘If you use a lot of firewood, the fire will burn becoming very big.’ (120608-002:140.564) RNS, JS
- (16.56) ta hasieki-l  $\emptyset$ -o< $\emptyset$ >mo nebal yewal-ti w-d-awo  
 FUT fire-PL 3PL-eat.R.IPFV<SG.F> tree eye-SG 3SG.F-MDL-set.R  
 sareiga yot-u-n.  
 drying.box DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
 ‘The fire will eat all the cocoa in the box there.’ (120608-002:145.116) RNS, JS
- (16.57) hasieki-l n-oki sipeki-i,  
 fire-PL 2SG-use.R little-PL  
 ‘If you use a small fire,’ (120608-002:150.935) RNS, JS

- (16.58) ta hasieki-l  $\emptyset$ -dal<m>kolial, te-i ta  $\emptyset$ -o<ma>sia- $\emptyset$  nebal  
 FUT fire-PL 3PL-catch.fire.R<IPFV> 3-PL FUT 3PL-swell.R<IPFV>-SG.F tree  
 yewal-ti.  
 eye-SG  
 ‘the fire will burn and it will heat the cocoa.’ (120608-002:154.140) RNS, JS
- (16.59) ye n-obati-i hasieki-l w-ei=lopi-lope-i,  
 2SG 2SG-kindle.R-PL fire-PL REL-PL=RED-big-PL  
 ‘If you make a big fire,’ (120608-002:159.125) RNS, JS
- (16.60) ta hasieki-l  $\emptyset$ -o< $\emptyset
 FUT fire-PL 3PL-eat.R.IPFV<SG.F> tree eye-SG 3SG.F-MDL-lie.flat.R  
 sareiga yot-u- $\emptyset$ .  
 drying.box DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘the fire will eat the cocoa lying in the box there.’ (120608-002:161.450) RNS, JS$
- (16.61)  $\emptyset$ -ibate-i sipeki-i.  
 3PL-kindle.I-PL little-PL  
 ‘They should start a small one.’ (120608-002:165.142) RNS, JS
- (16.62) nega-l n-oki wabra-n wia-m wia-m,  
 firewood-PL 2SG-use.R half-SG.M two-M two-M  
 ‘Use only four pieces of firewood,’ (120608-002:166.922) RNS, JS
- (16.63) sipeki-i-peki, pasieka yot-u- $\emptyset$ .  
 little-PL-RED piece DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘very small, just a piece there’ (120608-002:170.210) RNS, JS
- (16.64) ki n-ie<m>ka-we-i ta n-dal<m>kolial.  
 already 2SG-poke<IPFV>-AUG-PL FUT 2SG-catch.fire.R<IPFV>  
 ‘You poke at it, and it will burn.’ (120608-002:172.120) RNS, JS
- (16.65) yot-ua- $\emptyset$ , wdi n-obikrane-i nebal yewal-ti.  
 DEM-DIST-SG.F SUB 3SG.M-smoke.R-PL tree eye-SG  
 ‘There, it is used to dry the cocoa.’ (120608-002:174.441) RNS, JS
- (16.66) w- $\emptyset$ =nabe- $\emptyset$  w- $\emptyset$ =de- $\emptyset$  e w=ilua- $\emptyset$  ...  
 REL-SG=good-SG.F REL-SG=3-SG.F eh REL=bad-SG.F ...  
 ‘It’s a good way. Um, the bad...’ (120608-002:178.012) RNS, JS
- (16.67) w=ilua- $\emptyset$  w- $\emptyset$ =de- $\emptyset$   
 REL=bad-SG.F REL-SG=3-SG.F  
 ‘the bad way’ (120608-002:181.073) RNS, JS

- (16.68) aa ye n-oki- $\emptyset$  hey a hey a n-oti-wa- $\emptyset$ .  
 ah 2SG 2SG-use.R-SG.F bilum bilum 2SG-hold-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘Ah, you use bilums to carry it.’ (120608-002:182.870) RNS, JS
- (16.69) nega-l hiro w-ei=nabe-i, hasieki-l hiro n-ibate-i,  
 firewood-PL NEG REL-PL=good-PL fire-PL NEG 2SG-kindle.I-PL  
 w-ei=lope-i,  
 REL-PL=big-PL  
 ‘If the firewood is not good and you won’t make a big fire,’ (120608-002:189.773)  
 RNS, JS
- (16.70) yot-ua- $\emptyset$ , nebal yewal-ti ta n-a<m>o miaga.  
 DEM-DIST-SG.F tree eye-SG FUT 3SG.M-COP.R<IPFV> cold  
 ‘there, the cocoa will become cold.’ (120608-002:195.130) RNS, JS
- (16.71) n-a<m>o miaga ta mogi sahal  $\emptyset$ -a<m>oti-wa- $\emptyset$ .  
 3SG.M-COP.R<IPFV> cold FUT mold 3PL-hold.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘When it becomes cold, the mold and fungus will grow on it.’ (120608-002:198.428)  
 RNS, JS
- (16.72) h-oki- $\emptyset$  wigal Yeri h-eiwera mogi sahal.  
 1PL-use.R-SG.F language Yeri 1PL-name.R mold  
 ‘If we use Yeri, we call it ‘mogi sahal’.’ (120608-002:201.857) RNS, JS
- (16.73)  $\emptyset$ -oki- $\emptyset$  wigal nabia-i w- $\emptyset$ =di- $\emptyset$  yiwo w-o walki  
 1PL-use-SG.F language spirit-PL REL-SG=3-SG.F skin 3SG.F-COP.R feather  
 $\emptyset$ -nobia mold, fungus.  
 1PL-talk mold fungus  
 ‘If we use the language of spirits, of the white skins, we say ‘mold’ and ‘fungus’.’  
 (120608-002:204.766) RNS, JS
- (16.74) yot-ua- $\emptyset$ .  
 DEM-DIST-SG.F  
 ‘there’ (120608-002:211.467) RNS, JS
- (16.75) ta n-atr-e- $\emptyset$  nebal yewal-ti yot-u- $\emptyset$   
 FUT 2SG-see.R-AUG-SG.F tree eye-SG DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 n-a<ma>da- $\emptyset$  hewi.  
 3SG.M-be.like.R<IPFV>-SG.F lime  
 ‘You will see that the cocoa there becomes like lime.’ (120608-002:212.558) RNS,  
 JS

- (16.76) w-o hai-haike-ta w-a<m>oti-wa-Ø.  
 3PL-COP.R RED-white.cockatoo-SG 3PL-hold.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘The white stuff will grow on it.’ (120608-002:216.178) RNS, JS
- (16.77) yot-ua-Ø, wdi ye hiro n-ibate-i hasieki-l Ø-d-iruba-i,  
 DEM-DIST-SG.F SUB 2SG NEG 2SG-kindle.I-PL fire-PL 3PL-MDL-do.well.I-PL  
 ‘There, if you don’t make a fire properly,’ (120608-002:218.181) RNS, JS
- (16.78) hasieki-l sipeki-i, nega-l w=ilua-i,  
 fire-PL little-PL firewood-PL REL=bad-PL  
 ‘If the fire is small and the firewood is bad,’ (120608-002:222.751) RNS, JS
- (16.79) yot-ua-Ø, ta mogi sahal w-a<m>oti-wa-Ø.  
 DEM-DIST-SG.F FUT mold 3PL-hold.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘there, the mold or fungus will grow on it.’ (120608-002:226.455) RNS, JS
- (16.80) kutu m-nobia yot-u-Ø, fungus, mold.  
 before 1SG-talk.R DEM-MDIST-SG.F fungus mold  
 ‘Before I translated this, fungus and mold’ (120608-002:229.843) RNS, JS
- (16.81) ta w-a<m>oti-wa-Ø, w-o miaga.  
 FUT 3PL-hold.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F 3SG.F-COP.R cold  
 ‘They will grow on it because it is cold.’ (120608-002:233.779) RNS, JS
- (16.82) hasieki-l Ø-o w-ei=lope-i,  
 fire-PL 3PL-COP.R REL-PL=big-PL  
 ‘If the fire is big,’ (120608-002:235.857) RNS, JS  
 Note: This is one of the few times where the verbal copula *o* occurs with a WGN adjective. Alternatively this could be analyzed as the verb *o* meaning ‘sit’ which shares some forms with the verbal copula.
- (16.83) nega-l w-ei=nabe-i,  
 firewood-PL REL-PL=good-PL  
 ‘if the firewood is good,’ (120608-002:238.275) RNS, JS
- (16.84) ta w-o weli.  
 FUT 3SG.F-COP.R hot  
 ‘it will be hot.’ (120608-002:239.711) RNS, JS
- (16.85) te-Ø ta w-o weli, ta w-a<m>o sopeina.  
 3-SG.F FUT 3SG.F-COP.R hot FUT 3SG.F-COP.R<IPFV> dry  
 ‘It will be hot and it will become dry.’ (120608-002:241.441) RNS, JS

- (16.86) ta w-∅=nabe-∅.  
FUT REL-SG=good-SG.F  
'It will be good.' (120608-002:244.467) RNS, JS
- (16.87) hiro, ta w=ilua-∅ yot-ua-∅.  
NEG FUT REL=bad-SG.F DEM-DIST-SG.F  
'If not, it will be bad.' (120608-002:246.896) RNS, JS
- (16.88) ye hiro n-i<∅>guti n-iruba-∅.  
2SG NEG 2SG-burn.I<SG.F> 2SG-do.well.I-SG.F  
'You will not dry it well.' (120608-002:249.732) RNS, JS
- (16.89) nega-l n-obati-i w-ei=nabe-i hasieki-l ∅-dalkuelial  
firewood-PL 2SG-kindle.R-PL REL-PL=good-PL fire-PL 3PL-catch.fire.R  
w-ei=nabe-i,  
REL-PL=good-PL  
'If you use good firewood and start the fire well, the fire will burn well,' (120608-002:251.869) RNS, JS
- (16.90) nebal yewal-ti w-∅=nabe-∅.  
tree eye-SG REL-SG=good-SG.F  
'the cocoa will be good.' (120608-002:255.381) RNS, JS
- (16.91) ye n-ormia nadi n-ar<me>r-e-∅ yot-u-n,  
2SG 2SG-stay.R.IPFV only 2SG-see.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
'If you only sit and watch it,' (120608-002:258.272) RNS, JS
- (16.92) nobia ooo hasieki-l sipeki-i yaki ma yot-u-i.  
talk ooo fire-PL little-PL enough DEM-MDIST-PL  
'and say, "ooh the fire is small, that's enough there."' (120608-002:259.896) RNS, JS
- (16.93) hiro, nebal yewal-ti ta hiro w-∅=nabe-n.  
NEG tree eye-ti FUT NEG REL-SG=good-SG.M  
'No, the cocoa will not be good.' (120608-002:262.168) RNS, JS
- (16.94) ta w=ilua-n.  
FUT REL=bad-SG.M  
'It will be bad.' (120608-002:263.935) RNS, JS
- (16.95) mani w-∅=de-n ki w-o sopeina.  
inside REL-SG=3-SG.M already 3SG.F-COP.R dry  
'Its inside will already be dry.' (120608-002:265.220) RNS, JS



- (16.96) nemual w- $\emptyset$ =de-n, tupi=da-n yot-u-n, n-o mal.  
middle REL-SG=3-SG.M top=NVPC-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M 3SG.M-COP.R fresh  
'Its middle and the top of it will be moist.' (120608-002:267.272) RNS, JS
- (16.97) n-o nibisi yot-ua-n.  
2SG-COP.R wet DEM-DIST-SG.M  
'It will be wet there.' (120608-002:271.194) RNS, JS
- (16.98) na nebal yewal-ti hiro w- $\emptyset$ =nabe-n.  
and tree eye-SG NEG REL-SG=good-SG.M  
'And the cocoa will not be good.' (120608-002:273.831) RNS, JS
- (16.99) helol w-ei=lope-i ye ta n-aria-da-i.  
work REL-PL=big-PL 2SG FUT 2SG-do.R-AUG-PL  
'It's very big work that you will do.' (120608-002:278.574) RNS, JS
- (16.100) n-aria-da-i d-aruba, ye ta n-a< $\emptyset$ >guti nebal yewal-ti  
2SG-do.R-AUG-PL MDL-do.well.R 2SG FUT 2SG-burn.R<SG.F> tree eye-SG  
w- $\emptyset$ =nabe- $\emptyset$ .  
REL-SG=good-SG.F  
'If you do it well, you will dry good cocoa.' (120608-002:281.207) RNS, JS
- (16.101) n-aria-da- $\emptyset$  n-asolkia- $\emptyset$ , nebal yewal-ti w- $\emptyset$ =ye ta  
2SG-do.R-AUG-SG.F 2SG-do.badly.R-SG.F tree eye-SG REL-SG.F=2SG FUT  
w=ilua- $\emptyset$ .  
REL=bad-SG.F  
'If you do it badly, your cocoa will be bad.' (120608-002:284.805) RNS, JS
- (16.102) ta hewi hewi  $\emptyset$ -a<m>oti-wa- $\emptyset$ ,  
FUT lime lime 3PL-hold.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F  
'The stuff that is the color of lime will grow on it.' (120608-002:288.610) RNS, JS
- (16.103) n-o< $\emptyset$ >wil ki n-aro ta  $\emptyset$ -aro  $\emptyset$ -no< $\emptyset$ ><me>kiwal,  
2SG-take.R<SG.F> already 2SG-go.R FUT 3PL-go.R 3PL-push.R<SG.F><IPFV>  
'You will take it and go and they will reject it.' (120608-002:290.870) RNS, JS
- (16.104) n-o< $\emptyset$ ><me>kiwal w-a<me>ro ye ta hiro  
3SG.M-push.R<SG.F><IPFV> 3SG.F-go.R<IPFV> 2SG FUT NEG  
n-i<he>wil puyu hirka, hiro.  
2SG-take.I<SG.F> rock green NEG  
'After they reject it, you will not get money.' (120608-002:295.701) RNS, JS
- (16.105) yot-ua- $\emptyset$  wdi nebal yewal-ti.  
DEM-DIST-SG.F PREP tree eye-SG  
'There, that's about the cocoa.' (120608-002:299.924) RNS, JS

- (16.106) nega-l, nega-l n-atar-e-i w-ei=nabe-i,  
firewood-PL firewood-PL 2SG-split.R-AUG-PL REL-PL=good-PL  
'If you cut good firewood,' (120608-002:301.792) RNS, JS
- (16.107) hasieki-l n-obati-i w-ei=nabe-i, w-ei=lope-i,  
fire-PL 2SG-kindle.R-PL REL-PL=good-PL REL-PL=big-PL  
'and make a fire that is good and big,' (120608-002:306.170) RNS, JS
- (16.108) ta nebal yewal-ti w-d-osia.  
FUT tree eye-SG 3SG.F-MDL-swell.R  
'the cocoa will dry.' (120608-002:310.181) RNS, JS
- (16.109) w-∅=nabe-∅ w-∅=de-∅.  
REL-SG=good-SG.F REL-SG=3-SG.F  
'It's the good way.' (120608-002:312.935) RNS, JS
- (16.110) w=ilua-∅ w-∅=de-∅, ye n-dieka heya n-oti-wa-∅,  
REL=bad-SG.F REL-SG=3-SG.F 2SG 2SG-laze.R bilums 2SG-hold-AUG-SG.F  
'The bad way, if you work lazily,' (120608-002:313.766) RNS, JS
- (16.111) hasieki-l sipeki-i, nega-l hiro,  
fire-PL little-PL firewood-PL NEG  
'with a small fire and no firewood' (120608-002:317.035) RNS, JS
- (16.112) nebal yewal-ti ta ma=ilua-∅.  
tree eye-SG FUT IPFV=bad-SG.F  
'then the cocoa will become bad.' (120608-002:320.085) RNS, JS
- (16.113) ta hiro ma=nabe-∅.  
FUT NEG IPFV=good-SG.F  
'It will not be good.' (120608-002:321.776) RNS, JS
- (16.114) yot-ua-∅, wdi nebal yewal-ti wdi ta ∅-a<∅>guti.  
DEM-DIST-SG.F PREP tree eye-SG PREP FUT 3PL-burn.R<SG.F>  
'There, this is about drying the cocoa.' (120608-002:323.519) RNS, JS
- (16.115) n-a<∅>guti n-aruba-∅ ta w-d-aruba.  
2SG-burn.R<SG.F> 2SG-do.well.R-SG.F FUT 3SG.F-MDL-do.well.R  
'If you dry it well, it will be good.' (120608-002:327.103) RNS, JS
- (16.116) n-a<∅>guti n-asolkia-∅, ta ma=ilua-∅.  
2SG-burn.R<SG.F> 2SG-do.badly.R-SG.F FUT IPFV=bad-SG.F  
'If you dry it badly, it will be bad.' (120608-002:329.090) RNS, JS

- (16.117) ta hiro ma=nabe-∅.  
FUT NEG IPFV=good-SG.F  
'It will not be good.' (120608-002:331.414) RNS, JS
- (16.118) yot-u-∅ he-pa wigal wdi nebal yewal-ti.  
DEM-MDIST-SG.F CNT-ADD language PREP tree eye-SG  
'That's all of the story about cocoa.' (120608-002:333.465) RNS, JS

## ‘The languages of nearby villages’ by Leo Ainaris

In the recording 140217-012, Leo Ainaris (LA) describes how speakers of languages spoken in nearby villages refer to these languages. This text was recorded on February 17, 2014 with the HandyZoom H4n during my third trip field trip to the area. It was transcribed and translated by me at a later time.

- (16.119) hem hiro m-igla- $\emptyset$  wan wikal sapiten.  
 1SG NEG 1SG-fetch.I-SG.F heart language many  
 ‘I don’t know about many languages.’ (140217-012:23.845) RNS, LA
- (16.120) wdi nogil nogil w-o tayipier danua hebi, wikal,  
 PREP village village 3SG.F-stay.R near PREP 1PL language  
 ‘about the villages that live near us, the languages, ’ (140217-012:26.700) RNS, LA
- (16.121) peigilia- $\emptyset$  hem m-ogla- $\emptyset$  wan.  
 some-SG.F 1SG 1SG-fetch.R-SG.F heart  
 ‘Some I know.’ (140217-012:30.081) RNS, LA
- (16.122) peigilia- $\emptyset$  hem hiro m-igla- $\emptyset$  wan.  
 some-SG.F 1SG NEG 1SG-fetch.I-SG.F heart  
 ‘Some I don’t know.’ (140217-012:31.356) RNS, LA
- (16.123) hem ta m-nobia wikal peigilia- $\emptyset$  hem m-ogla- $\emptyset$  wan danua-i.  
 1SG FUT 1SG-talk.R language some-SG.F 1SG 1SG-fetch.R-SG.F heart PREP-PL  
 ‘I will talk about the few that I know about.’ (140217-012:33.415) RNS, LA
- (16.124) peigilia- $\emptyset$  hem hiro m-igla- $\emptyset$  wan, ta hiro m-nibia.  
 some-SG.F 1SG NEG 1SG-fetch.I-SG.F heart FUT NEG 1SG-talk.I  
 ‘The few that I don’t know, I will not talk about.’ (140217-012:37.071) RNS, LA
- (16.125) ta m-nobia wdi Sumil Poabi,  
 FUT 1SG-talk.R PREP Sumil.village Weiki.village  
 ‘I will talk about Sumil and Weiki.’ (140217-012:44.021) RNS, LA
- (16.126) nogil wia-i.  
 village two-F  
 ‘two villages’ (140217-012:46.903) RNS, LA
- (16.127) te-i  $\emptyset$ -nobia wikal w- $\emptyset$ =de-i na- $\emptyset$  papi.  
 3-PL 3PL-talk.R language REL-SG=3-PL one-SG.F only  
 ‘They speak one language.’ (140217-012:48.556) RNS, LA

- (16.128) wigal w- $\emptyset$ =de-i te-i  $\emptyset$ -eiwere-wa- $\emptyset$  wigal moini.  
 language REL-SG=3-PL 3-PL 3PL-name.R-AUG-SG.F language moini  
 ‘Their language, they call it Moini.’ (140217-012:51.736) RNS, LA
- (16.129) hiro wigal halu hiro. wigal moini.  
 NEG language halu NEG language moini  
 ‘It’s not Halu language, no. It’s Moini language.’ (140217-012:54.306) RNS, LA
- (16.130) wigal w- $\emptyset$ =de-i Poabi Sumil.  
 language REL-SG=3-PL Weiki.village Sumil.village  
 ‘the language of Sumil and Weiki’ (140217-012:57.546) RNS, LA
- (16.131) te-i  $\emptyset$ -o tihewar-war yot-u-i.  
 3-PL 3PL-stay.R upriver-RED DEM-MDIST-PL  
 ‘They that live upriver there.’ (140217-012:60.450) RNS, LA
- (16.132)  $\emptyset$ -o muku wibi ...  
 3PL-stay.R muku wibi ...  
 ‘They live in Muku and Wibi ...’ (140217-012:63.225) RNS, LA
- (16.133) wowil kuwama ...  
 wowil kuwama ...  
 ‘Wowil and Kuwama ...’ (140217-012:65.831) RNS, LA
- (16.134) kawuk ...  
 kawuk ...  
 ‘Kawuk ...’ (140217-012:68.450) RNS, LA
- (16.135) muku uh suniga kapu ...  
 muku uh suniga kapu ...  
 ‘Muku, uh Suniga, Kapu ...’ (140217-012:70.510) RNS, LA
- (16.136) te-i hiro w-nibia elu.  
 3-PL NEG 3PL-talk.I elu  
 ‘They don’t speak Elu.’ (140217-012:74.593) RNS, LA
- (16.137) wigal w- $\emptyset$ =de-i te-i  $\emptyset$ -eiwere-wa- $\emptyset$  sinagan, sinagen.  
 language REL-SG=3-PL 3-PL 3PL-name.R-AUG-SG.F sinagan sinagen  
 ‘Their language they call it Sinagen, Sinagen language.’ (140217-012:76.998) RNS, LA
- (16.138) wigal w- $\emptyset$ =de-i tihewar-war=de-i.  
 language REL-SG=3-PL upriver-RED=NVPC-PL  
 ‘the language of upriver’ (140217-012:81.213) RNS, LA

- (16.139) uh wigal w-∅=de-i Poyolpa boini ...  
 uh language REL-SG=3-PL Yolpa.village boini ...  
 ‘ah, The language of Yolpa and Boini ...’ (140217-012:83.903) RNS, LA
- (16.140) Poyolpa boini wuro, Nawun ...  
 Yolpa.village boini wuro Wuro.village ...  
 ‘Yolpa Boini Wuro, Wuro ...’ (140217-012:94.093) RNS, LA
- (16.141) hiro ∅-nibia wigal agi.  
 NEG 3PL-talk.I language agi  
 ‘They don’t speak Agi language.’ (140217-012:97.581) RNS, LA
- (16.142) agei hiro.  
 agei NEG  
 ‘Agei, no.’ (140217-012:100.665) RNS, LA
- (16.143) te-i wigal w-∅=de-i ∅-eiwere-wa-∅ wigal moi ah wigal  
 3-PL language REL-SG=3-PL 3PL-name.R-AUG-SG.F language moi ah language  
 miru.  
 miru  
 ‘Their language, they call it Moi ah Miru language.’ (140217-012:101.855) RNS, LA
- (16.144) wigal w-∅=de-i boini Poyolpa Nawun, wigal miru.  
 language REL-SG=3-PL boini Yolpa.village Wuro.village language miru  
 ‘The language of Boini, Yolpa, and Wuro is Miru language.’ (140217-012:105.891)  
 RNS, LA
- (16.145) ah wigal w-∅=de-i paloi paloi=de-i, Markebal Splaga  
 ah language REL-SG=3-PL paloi paloi=de-i Marikumba.village Sibilanga.village  
 hasier parkop,  
 hasier parkop  
 ‘Ah, the language of the Paloi people, Marikumba, Sibilanga, Asier, and Parkop,’  
 (140217-012:110.486) RNS, LA
- (16.146) te-i ∅-nobia wigal w-∅=de-i hiro aurop.  
 3-PL 3PL-talk.R language REL-SG=3-PL NEG aurop  
 ‘They speak, their language is not Aruop.’ (140217-012:117.713) RNS, LA
- (16.147) wigal w-∅=de-i lao srenge.  
 language REL-SG=3-PL lao srenge  
 ‘Their language is Lao Srenge.’ (140217-012:120.640) RNS, LA

- (16.148) wigal w- $\emptyset$ =de-i, w- $\emptyset$ =de-i Markebal Splaga  
 language REL-SG=3-PL REL-SG=3-PL Marikumba.village Sibilanga.village  
 hasier parkop.  
 hasier parkop  
 ‘Their language, Marikumba, Sibilanga, Asier, and Parkop’ (140217-012:123.045)  
 RNS, LA
- (16.149) wigal w- $\emptyset$ =de-i yonuanga holipal simabun, hiro ah wigal oru.  
 language REL-SG=3-PL yonuanga holipal simabun NEG ah language oru  
 ‘The language of Yonuaga, Anipo, Simabun is not ah Oru language.’ (140217-012:130.151) RNS, LA
- (16.150) wigal w- $\emptyset$ =de-i, wigal w- $\emptyset$ =de-i wigal mol.  
 language REL-SG=3-PL language REL-SG=3-PL language mol  
 ‘Their language, their language is Mol language.’ (140217-012:140.285) RNS, LA
- (16.151) te-i  $\emptyset$ -nobia, te-i  $\emptyset$ -eiwere-wa- $\emptyset$  wigal w- $\emptyset$ =de-i wigal  
 3-PL 3PL-talk.R 3-PL 3PL-name.R-AUG-SG.F language REL-SG=3-PL language  
 mol.  
 mol  
 ‘They speak, they call their language Mol language.’ (140217-012:144.616) RNS,  
 LA
- (16.152) ah, w- $\emptyset$ =de-i mobirkal Seigi, monandin ...  
 ah REL-SG=3-PL mobirkal Seigi.village monandin ...  
 ‘ah Mobjrkal’s Seigi’s and Monandin’s ...’ (140217-012:148.165) RNS, LA
- (16.153) monandin, hiro nibia wigal ...  
 monandin NEG talk.I language ...  
 ‘Monandin’s, they don’t speak ...’ (140217-012:156.725) RNS, LA
- (16.154) iko, hiro.  
 iko NEG  
 ‘Iko language, no.’ (140217-012:162.153) RNS, LA
- (16.155) te-i wigal w- $\emptyset$ =de-i  $\emptyset$ -nobia wigal ah  
 3-PL language REL-SG=3-PL 3PL-talk.R language ah  
 ‘Their language, they say ah’ (140217-012:163.796) RNS, LA
- (16.156) yagun dei.  
 yagun dei  
 ‘Yagun dei.’ (140217-012:167.403) RNS, LA

- (16.157) wıgal w-∅=de-i mobirkal Seııl monandin  
 language REL-SG=3-PL mobirkal Seıı.village monandin  
 ‘The language of Mobirkal, Seıı, and Monandin’ (140217-012:168.543) RNS, LA
- (16.158) wıgal w-∅=de-i mai wasesi ...  
 language REL-SG=3-PL mai wasesi ...  
 ‘The language of Mai, Wasıı ...’ (140217-012:174.808) RNS, LA
- (16.159) yot-ua-∅, hem hıro, hem hıro m-ıgla-∅ wan.  
 DEM-DIST-SG.F 1SG NEG 1SG NEG 1SG-fetch.I-SG.F heart  
 ‘That, I don’t, I don’t know.’ (140217-012:179.593) RNS, LA
- (16.160) hem m-odi-∅ wan.  
 1SG 1SG-and.R-SG.F heart  
 ‘I don’t know.’ (140217-012:182.201) RNS, LA
- (16.161) hem hıro m-ıda-i ∅-nıbia male.  
 1SG NEG 1SG-hear.I-PL 3PL-talk.I also  
 ‘I don’t hear them speak also.’ (140217-012:184.463) RNS, LA
- (16.162) yot-u-∅ he-pa, nogıl nogıl hem m-ogla-∅ wan  
 DEM-MDIST-SG.F CNT-ADD village village 1SG 1SG-fetch.R-SG.F heart  
 yot-u-∅ he-pa.  
 DEM-MDIST-SG.F CNT-ADD  
 ‘That’s all of the villages I know, that’s all.’ (140217-012:187.630) RNS, LA
- (16.163) m-no<pe>bia yot-u-∅.  
 1SG-talk.R<ADD> DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘I said that.’ (140217-012:190.651) RNS, LA
- (16.164) yot-u-∅ he-pa.  
 DEM-MDIST-SG.F CNT-ADD  
 ‘That’s all.’ (140217-012:192.641) RNS, LA



**‘The bad-skinned snake kills a woman’ by Josepa Yikaina**

In the recording 120410-006, Josepa Yikaina (YW) tells a legend about a snake that crawls into a woman’s stomach through an open sore and then kills the woman. This text was recorded on April 10, 2012 with the HandyZoom H4n during my second trip field trip to the area. It was transcribed and translated at a later date with the help of John Sirio (JS), one of my primary consultants.

- (16.165) ta m-nobia yuta nogual wia-i.  
 FUT 1SG-talk.R woman PL two-F  
 ‘I will talk about two ladies.’ (120410-006:26.790) RNS, YW
- (16.166) lawiaki Ø-atia miakua-l.  
 long.ago 3PL-see.R frog-PL  
 ‘A long time ago they looked for frogs.’ (120410-006:29.540) RNS, YW
- (16.167) Ø-atia miakua-l Ø-anor wul.  
 3PL-see.R frog-PL 3PL-descend.R water  
 ‘They looked for frogs downriver.’ (120410-006:35.940) RNS, YW
- (16.168) Ø-aro Ø-aro w-uakir ti-hewo.  
 3PL-go.R 3PL-go.R 3PL-fall.R LOC-bottom  
 ‘They went all the way downriver.’ (120410-006:38.976) RNS, YW
- (16.169) te-i Ø-atr-e-i sa-sapiten, Ø-o wul.  
 3-PL 3PL-see.R-AUG-PL RED-many 3PL-stay.R water  
 ‘They saw many of them in the water.’ (120410-006:41.810) RNS, YW
- (16.170) Ø-a<m>oti-wa-i Ø-a<m>oti-wa-i Ø-a<me>nor  
 3PL-hold.R<IPFV>-AUG-PL 3PL-hold.R<IPFV>-AUG-PL 3PL-descend.R<IPFV>  
 lelia.  
 limbum  
 ‘They caught and caught them and put them down into the limbum.’ (120410-006:45.110) RNS, YW
- (16.171) Ø-aro.  
 3PL-go.R  
 ‘They went.’ (120410-006:47.871) RNS, YW
- (16.172) Ø-aro ŋa-Ø w-akia woli ŋa-Ø w-akia woli.  
 3PL-go.R one-SG.F 3SG.F-go.via.R side one-SG.F 3SG.F-go.via.R side  
 ‘They went and one walked on one side of the river and the other walked on the other side.’ (120410-006:51.880) RNS, YW

- (16.173) Ø-aro w-o<i><me>wil w-dolkidi sareiga.  
 3PL-go.R 3SG.F-take.R<PL><IPFV> 3SG.F-shake.R drying.box  
 ‘She went and she got them, she shook the box.’ (120410-006:57.760) RNS, YW
- (16.174) Ø-iepou-a-Ø harkanogi-l.  
 3PL-roll.R-AUG-SG.F snake-SG  
 ‘They were all around the snake.’ (120410-006:60.950) RNS, YW
- (16.175) harkanogi-l losi w-ei=de-Ø yiwo w=ilua-Ø=da-Ø.  
 snake-SG name REL-PL=3-SG.F skin REL=bad-SG.F=NVPC-SG.F  
 ‘The snake’s name is bad skin.’ (120410-006:63.230) RNS, YW
- (16.176) w-o<he>wil, w-alia-Ø w-a<me>nor lelia.  
 3SG.F-take.R<SG.F> 3SG.F-drop.R-SG.F 3SG.F-descend.R<IPFV> limbum  
 ‘She grabbed it, and threw it down into the limbum.’ (120410-006:68.315) RNS, YW
- (16.177) w-anor lelia te-Ø hamote-Ø, lute-n d-awo-wa-Ø  
 3SG.F-descend.R limbum -SG.F individual-SG.F sore-SG.M MDL-set.R-AUG-SG.F  
 hagil.  
 back  
 ‘It went in the limbum of the woman who had a big sore on her back..’ (120410-006:71.820) RNS, YW
- (16.178) lute-n w-Ø=lope-n.  
 sore-SG.M REL-SG=big-SG.M  
 ‘It was a big sore.’ (120410-006:76.360) RNS, YW
- (16.179) d-awo-wa-Ø hagil.  
 MDL-set.R-AUG-SG.F back  
 ‘It was on her back.’ (120410-006:78.663) RNS, YW
- (16.180) w-ar<m>o-i.  
 3SG.F-forehead.carry.R<IPFV>-PL  
 ‘She carries them.’ (120410-006:81.006) RNS, YW
- (16.181) Ø-aro w-a<me>r yo dihorkiewegil.  
 3PL-go.R 3SG.F-go.to.R<IPFV> path juncture  
 ‘She goes to the junction of the road.’ (120410-006:82.304) RNS, YW

- (16.182)  $\emptyset$ -nobia  $\emptyset$ -gi<i><me>kua  $\emptyset$ -nobia hiro, ta  
 3PL-talk.R 3PL-wash.I<PL><IPFV> 3PL-talk.R NEG FUT  
 h-ar<m>o-i h-a<me>r tinogil.  
 1PL-forehead.carry.R<IPFV>-PL 1PL-go.to.R<IPFV> village  
 ‘They wanted to wash them now, but they said, “No, we will carry them all the way home.”’ (120410-006:84.931) RNS, YW
- (16.183) te-i wia-i  $\emptyset$ -a<me>ro.  
 3-PL two-F 3PL-go.R<IPFV>  
 ‘The two of them go on.’ (120410-006:88.730) RNS, YW
- (16.184)  $\emptyset$ -a<m>kia yo  $\emptyset$ -a<me>ro  
 3PL-go.via.R<IPFV> path 3PL-go.R<IPFV>  
 ‘They go along the road.’ (120410-006:91.410) RNS, YW
- (16.185) harkanogi-l yot-u- $\emptyset$  psia w-ar w-a<me>na.  
 snake-SG DEM-MDIST-SG.F arrive 3SG.F-arrive.R 3SG.F-come.R<IPFV>  
 ‘That snake comes out.’ (120410-006:92.340) RNS, YW
- (16.186) ana w-ga<me>re-wa-n.  
 come.R 3SG.F-dig.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘It comes and digs the sore.’ (120410-006:94.800) RNS, YW
- (16.187) w-ga<me>ra lute-n n-dodi hagil w- $\emptyset$ =de- $\emptyset$ .  
 3SG.F-dig.R<IPFV> sore-SG.M 3SG.M-stand.R back REL-SG=3-SG.F  
 ‘It digs at the sore on her back.’ (120410-006:96.870) RNS, YW
- (16.188) w-nobia-da- $\emptyset$ , “haraharahi,”  
 3SG.F-talk.R-AUG-SG.F friend  
 ‘She said, “Friend.”’ (120410-006:101.230) RNS, YW
- (16.189) “ye ko n-itr-e-n mapa-n n-b-anokil?”  
 2SG first 2SG-see.I-AUG-SG.M what-SG.M 3SG.M-1SG-bite.R  
 “‘You (sg) look at it. What bit me?’” (120410-006:103.564) RNS, YW
- (16.190) te-i w-aro w-atr-e-n harkanogi-l n-a<me>nor.  
 3-PL 3SG.F-go.R 3SG.F-see.R-AUG-SG.M snake-SG 3SG.M-descend.R<IPFV>  
 ‘She went to see and the snake is going down inside.’ (120410-006:106.206) RNS, YW
- (16.191) w-or<me> mani.  
 3SG.F-lie.R<IPFV> inside  
 ‘It is lying inside.’ (120410-006:109.070) RNS, YW

- (16.192) w-ode- $\emptyset$  w-a<m>kia yo  $\emptyset$ -aro  $\emptyset$ -aro ar<ma> yo  
 3SG.F-and- $\emptyset$  3SG.F-go.via.R<IPFV> path 3PL-go.R 3PL-go.R arrive<IPFV> path  
 tiawa- $\emptyset$ .  
 short-SG.F  
 ‘She walked with her along the road to the halfway point.’ (120410-006:111.760)  
 RNS, YW
- (16.193) w-nobia-da- $\emptyset$ ,  
 3SG.F-talk.R-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘She told her,’ (120410-006:113.970) RNS, YW
- (16.194) “ko n-itr-e- $\emptyset$  si b-a<me>nokil.”  
 first 2SG-see.R-AUG-SG.F again 1SG-bite.R<IPFV>  
 “‘You (sg) look at it. It is biting me again.’” (120410-006:115.623) RNS, YW
- (16.195) te- $\emptyset$  w-nobia “hiro ya, hiro ya, lolewa hiro.”  
 3-SG.F 3SG.F-talk.R NEG ya NEG ya thing NEG  
 ‘She told her, “No, no, there is nothing there.”’ (120410-006:118.780) RNS, YW
- (16.196) “miakua-l nadi.”  
 frog-PL only  
 ‘It’s only frogs.’ (120410-006:122.460) RNS, YW
- (16.197)  $\emptyset$ -a<me>ro.  
 3PL-go.R<IPFV>  
 ‘They go along.’ (120410-006:124.500) RNS, YW
- (16.198)  $\emptyset$ -a<me>ro  $\emptyset$ -a<me>ro tayipier-mi nau tinogil.  
 3PL-go.R<IPFV> 3PL-go.R<IPFV> near-IPFV now village  
 ‘They go and go close to the village.’ (120410-006:126.858) RNS, YW
- (16.199) harkanogi-l yot-u- $\emptyset$  w-na<me>nia nau w-na<me>nia  
 snake-SG DEM-MDIST-SG.F 3SG.F-go.in.R<IPFV> now 3SG.F-go.in.R<IPFV>  
 ...  
 ...  
 ‘That snake is going inside, it is going inside ...’ (120410-006:130.630) RNS, YW
- (16.200) w-na<me>nia lute-i.  
 3SG.F-go.in.R<IPFV> sore-PL  
 ‘It is going inside the sore.’ (120410-006:135.410) RNS, YW
- (16.201) w-or<me> mani.  
 3SG.F-lie.R<IPFV> inside  
 ‘It is sleeping inside.’ (120410-006:137.501) RNS, YW

- (16.202) yawi w- $\emptyset$ =de-n psia w-ar<ma>.  
tail REL-SG=3-SG.M arrive 3SG.F-arrive.R<IPFV>  
'Only its tail is coming out.' (120410-006:138.700) RNS, YW
- (16.203) w-nobia-da- $\emptyset$  "n-ir<me>r-e- $\emptyset$ !"  
3SG.F-talk.R-AUG-SG.F 2SG-see.I<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F  
'She told her, "You (sg) look!"' (120410-006:141.690) RNS, YW
- (16.204) "n-itia lute-n w-n=hem."  
2SG-see.I sore-SG.M REL-SG.M=1SG  
'You (sg) look at my sore.' (120410-006:144.140) RNS, YW
- (16.205) "maja-n n-anor?"  
what-SG.M 3SG.M-descend.R  
'What went down into it?' (120410-006:145.060) RNS, YW
- (16.206) te- $\emptyset$  w-atr-e-n harkanogi-l ki n-anor  
3-SG.F 3SG.F-see.R-AUG-SG.M snake-SG already 3SG.M-descend.R  
n-ar hamual mani.  
3SG.M-go.to.R belly inside  
'She looked at it and saw the snake has already gone down to lie inside the stomach.'  
(120410-006:147.200) RNS, YW
- (16.207) yawi w- $\emptyset$ =de-n psia n-ar d-awera lute-n tinogil.  
tail REL-SG=3-SG.M arrive 3SG.M-arrive.R MDL-lie.flat.R sore-SG.M village  
'Its tail came out to lie outside the sore.' (120410-006:150.700) RNS, YW
- (16.208) d-awo hagił w- $\emptyset$ =de- $\emptyset$ .  
MDL-set.R back REL-SG=-SG.F  
'It's on her back.' (120410-006:153.934) RNS, YW
- (16.209) w-nobia-da- $\emptyset$ , "haraharahi."  
3SG.F-talk.R-AUG-SG.F friend  
'She said, "friend."' (120410-006:157.120) RNS, YW
- (16.210) "harkanogi-l ki n-anor n-or<me> hamual  
snake-SG already 3SG.M-descend.R 3SG.M-lie.R<IPFV> belly  
w- $\emptyset$ =ye."  
REL-SG.F=2SG  
'"The snake has already gone down and is lying in your stomach."' (120410-006:159.031) RNS, YW
- (16.211) "hem ta hiro m-il<m>kial-e-n, hiro."  
1SG FUT NEG 1SG-pull.I<IPFV>-AUG-SG.M NEG  
'"I won't pull it out, no."' (120410-006:162.160) RNS, YW

- (16.212) n-o<ma>si                      n-or<me>.  
 3SG.M-let.R<IPFV> 3SG.M-lie.R<IPFV>  
 “‘Let it there.’” (120410-006:167.290) RNS, YW
- (16.213) w-darku    w-a<me>r                      tinogil.  
 3PL-run.R 3PL-go.to.R<IPFV> village  
 ‘They went running to the village.’ (120410-006:169.543) RNS, YW
- (16.214) Ø-aro    psia    Ø-ar                      tinogil,  
 3PL-go.R arrive 3PL-arrive.R village  
 ‘They arrived at the village,’ (120410-006:171.960) RNS, YW
- (16.215) w-ormia                      w-nobia                      megual    w-Ø=de-Ø.  
 3PL-stay.R.IPFV 3SG.F-talk.R husband REL-SG=3-SG.F  
 ‘They were sitting and she told her husband.’ (120410-006:174.060) RNS, YW
- (16.216) w-nobia-da-n,                      “hem harkanogì-l ki                      n-anor  
 3SG.F-talk.R-AUG-SG.M 1SG snake-SG already 3SG.M-descend.R  
 n-or<me>                      hamual w-Ø=hem.”  
 3SG.M-lie.R<IPFV> belly                      REL-SG.F=1SG  
 ‘She told him, “Me, a snake has already gown down and is lying inside my stomach.”’ (120410-006:176.870) RNS, YW
- (16.217) ta    y-o<ma>diania-n?  
 FUT 2PL-how.R<IPFV>-SG.M  
 “‘What could you (pl) do with the snake?’” (120410-006:180.740) RNS, YW
- (16.218) hiro ya.  
 NEG ya.  
 “‘Nothing.’” (120410-006:182.140) RNS, YW
- (16.219) Ø-ormia.  
 3PL-stay.R.IPFV  
 ‘They waited.’ (120410-006:183.680) RNS, YW
- (16.220) Ø-a<m>o                      wul    w-o                      weli.  
 3PL-COP.R<IPFV> water 3SG.F-COP.R hot  
 ‘They boiled the water.’ (120410-006:184.430) RNS, YW
- (16.221) Ø-a<me>ya-ka-Ø                      te-Ø    w-o<he>ka,                      hiro.  
 3PL-give.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F 3-SG.F 3SG.F-drink.R<SG.F> NEG  
 ‘They gave it to her and she drank, but no.’ (120410-006:186.660) RNS, YW

- (16.222) w-ormia go<i><ma>bi lapaki.  
 3SG.F-stay.R.IPFV bend.in.half.R<PL><IPFV>bend.in.half.R tongs  
 ‘She sits and breaks the tongs.’ (120410-006:192.090) RNS, YW
- (16.223) Ø-a<me>no-da-i Ø-olbil yo.  
 3PL-push.R<IPFV>-AUG-PL 3PL-enter.R path  
 ‘They push them inside the hole of the sore.’ (120410-006:194.810) RNS, YW
- (16.224) Ø-nobia ta Ø-a<m>oti-wa-Ø harkanogi-l  
 3PL-talk.R FUT 3PL-hold.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F snake-SG  
 Ø-al<m>kial-e-n, hiro.  
 3PL-pull.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.M NEG  
 ‘They want to catch the snake and pull it out, but no.’ (120410-006:196.860) RNS, YW
- (16.225) te-n n-orpia, n-orpia mani.  
 3-SG.M 3SG.M-stay.R.ADD 3SG.M-stay.R.ADD inside  
 ‘It was still living there, living inside.’ (120410-006:200.540) RNS, YW
- (16.226) aro aro no go<ne><me>ti wan w-Ø=de-Ø,  
 go.R go.R until break.R<SG.M><IPFV> heart REL-SG=3-SG.F  
 ‘It went until the snake breaks her heart.’ (120410-006:203.590) RNS, YW
- (16.227) n-o<i>mo ni w-ei=de-Ø, n-o<i>mo,  
 3SG.M-eat.R.IPFV<PL> intestine REL-PL=3-SG.F 3SG.M-eat.R.IPFV<PL>  
 n-o<ne>mo, wan w-Ø=de-Ø.  
 3SG.M-eat.R.IPFV<SG.M> heart REL-SG=3-SG.F  
 ‘It eats her intestines and eats her heart.’ (120410-006:206.393) RNS, YW
- (16.228) te-i Ø-nobia Ø-il<m>kial-e-n, hiro.  
 3-PL 3PL-talk.R 3PL-pull.I<IPFV>-AUG-SG.M NEG  
 ‘They want to pull it out, but no.’ (120410-006:211.570) RNS, YW
- (16.229) te-Ø w-al<me>mo.  
 3-SG.F 3SG.F-die.R<IPFV>  
 ‘She dies.’ (120410-006:213.820) RNS, YW
- (16.230) hamote-Ø yuta w-almo w-odi harkanogi-l.  
 individual-SG.F woman 3SG.F-die.R 3SG.F-and.R snake-SG  
 ‘That lady died with the snake in her.’ (120410-006:215.780) RNS, YW
- (16.231) w-al<me>mo,  
 3SG.F-die.R<IPFV>  
 ‘She dies,’ (120410-006:218.590) RNS, YW

- (16.232)  $\emptyset$ -ode- $\emptyset$              $\emptyset$ -ormia             $\emptyset$ -aro     $\emptyset$ -ga<me>ra-de- $\emptyset$ .  
 3PL-and.R-SG.F 3PL-stay.R.IPFV 3PL-go.R 3PL-dig.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F  
 ‘They sit with her and they went to bury her.’ (120410-006:220.556) RNS, YW
- (16.233)  $\emptyset$ -aro    yot-u- $\emptyset$             he-pa.  
 3PL-go.R DEM-MDIST-SG.F CNT-ADD  
 ‘That’s all.’ (120410-006:223.075) RNS, YW
- (16.234) pirsakai tiawa- $\emptyset$     laladil nadi.  
 legend   short-SG.F very    very  
 ‘The story is very short.’ (120410-006:224.300) RNS, YW



## ‘The Nabliga trip’, a conversation between Ansela Nibisan and Vero Nibisan

This conversation is between two sisters, Ansela Nibisan (AS) and Vero Nibisan (TW), and was recorded on May 20, 2012 with the HandyZoom H4n. It was transcribed and translated at a later date with the help of John Sirio (JS), one of my primary consultants. In this recording, the older sister, Vero, questions her younger sister Ansela about a recent trip to Chinaple, referred to as Nabliga in the Yeri language. Readers should be aware of the specific context surrounding this recording. While the recording involves completely unelicited natural speech that takes place between two participants who frequently talk in Yeri with each other, both speakers were aware that I had been interested in recording conversations during the days preceding this and came specifically for this purpose. Note also that this recording was made shortly after Ansela’s return. While I do not know if she and her sister had previously discussed the events that happened during the trip, it seems likely that the two had discussed at least some of what occurred previously. While I classify this recording as a conversation, readers who are interested in completely natural conversations should visit the corpus for better examples.

- (16.235) hem ta hebi h-nobia danua hem ta m-y-ogiwa ye danua-∅ la  
 1SG FUT 1PL 1PL-talk.R PREP 1SG FUT 1SG-2-ask.R 2SG PREP-SG.F PST  
 y-ar yot-u-∅.  
 2PL-go.to.R DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘I will, we will talk about, I will ask you (sg) about when you (pl) went there.’  
 (120520-000:0.078) RNS, TW

- (16.236) ah hem ta m-y-ogiwa ye ye-m [xxx] la y-aro.  
 ah 1SG FUT 1SG-2-ask.R 2SG 2SG-PL [xxx] PST 2PL-go.R  
 ‘I will ask you (sg) about when you (pl) went.’ (120520-000:3.865) RNS, TW

- (16.237) awo.  
 yes  
 ‘Yes.’ (120520-000:18.410) RNS, AS

- (16.238) hebi toyomial ta h-nobia pirsakai ...  
 1PL today FUT 1PL-talk.R legend ...  
 ‘We now will tell the story ...’ (120520-000:19.870) RNS, TW

- (16.239) wdi laharía ŋa-∅ Ansela nogi, mimi ...  
 SUB 2.days.before one-SG.F Ansela ASSOC mother ...  
 ‘of the other day Ansela and others and mother ...’ (120520-000:23.768) RNS, TW

- (16.240) la Ø-aro Ø-ar, Ø-ar sanapeli, Ø-ar tepe  
 PST 3PL-go.R 3PL-go.to.R 3PL-go.to.R chinapeli 3PL-go.to.R tepe  
 yot-u-Ø  
 DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘they went to Chinapeli, went to Tepe there.’ (120520-000:29.250) RNS, TW
- (16.241) Ø-aro Ø-o<he>wil wora w-Ø=di Colin  
 3PL-go.R 3PL-take.R<SG.F> wife REL-SG=3 Colin  
 ‘They went to take Colin’s wife.’ (120520-000:33.258) RNS, TW
- (16.242) w-odi Colin Ø-a<me>na siwei.  
 3SG.F-and Colin 3PL-come.R<IPFV> again  
 ‘She and Colin came back.’ (120520-000:35.453) RNS, TW
- (16.243) hem ta m-o<Ø>giwa Ansela danua-Ø la,  
 1SG FUT 1SG-ask.R<SG.F> Ansela PREP-SG.F PST  
 ‘I will ask Ansela about’ (120520-000:36.995) RNS, TW
- (16.244) Ø-aro la,  
 3PL-go.R PST  
 ‘when they went’ (120520-000:38.925) RNS, TW
- (16.245) Ø-aro Ø-aga-Ø maja-Ø maja-Ø o yot-u-Ø?  
 3PL-go.R 3PL-get.R-SG.F what-SG.F what-SG.F or DEM-MDIST-SG.F?  
 ‘What did they do there?’ (120520-000:39.915) RNS, TW
- (16.246) la Ø-aro Ø-or ania-n?  
 PST 3PL-go.R 3PL-lie.R where-SG.M  
 ‘Where did they go and sleep?’ (120520-000:41.845) RNS, TW
- (16.247) Ø-dore yot-u-n, Ø-dore Ø-aro psia Ø-ar  
 3PL-get.up.R DEM-MDIST-SG.M 3PL-get.up.R 3PL-go.R arrive 3PL-arrive.R  
 nogil, nogil yot-u-Ø.  
 village village DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘They got up from there and arrived at that village there.’ (120520-000:43.260)  
 RNS, TW
- (16.248) hem te-Ø m-o<Ø>giwa te-Ø.  
 1SG 3-SG.F 1SG-ask.R<SG.F> 3-SG.F  
 ‘I will ask her.’ (120520-000:46.210) RNS, TW
- (16.249) te-Ø ta w-no<me>bia, w-nobia hebi.  
 3-SG.F FUT 3SG.F-talk.R<IPFV> 1PL-talk.R 1PL  
 ‘She will say, she will tell us.’ (120520-000:47.050) RNS, TW

- (16.250) te- $\emptyset$  ta w-nobia.  
 3-SG.F FUT 3SG.F-talk.R  
 ‘She will talk.’ (120520-000:49.010) RNS, TW
- (16.251) hem ta m-nobia.  
 1SG FUT 1SG-talk.R  
 ‘I will talk.’ (120520-000:49.796) RNS, TW
- (16.252) ta m-o< $\emptyset$ >giwa te- $\emptyset$ .  
 FUT 1SG-ask.R<SG.F> 3-SG.F  
 ‘I will ask her.’ (120520-000:50.466) RNS, TW
- (16.253) Ansela, ye-m laharía ŋa- $\emptyset$  la y-odi- $\emptyset$  mimi,  
 Ansela 2SG-PL 2.days.before one-SG.F PST 2PL-and-SG.F mother  
 ‘Ansela, you (pl) the day before when you (pl) went with mother’ (120520-000:52.380) RNS, TW
- (16.254) la, la y-odi- $\emptyset$  mimi y-aro, y-arkou wul aro aro  
 PST PST 2PL-and.R-SG.F mother 2PL-go.R 2PL-ascend.R water go.R go.R  
 y-or<me> ania?  
 2PL-lie.R<IPFV> where  
 ‘You (pl) and mother went up the river, where did you go and sleep?’ (120520-000:56.450) RNS, TW
- (16.255) la  $\emptyset$ -aro h-or<me> haluagil h-odi- $\emptyset$  wowa  
 PST 1PL-go.R 1PL-lie.R<IPFV> mountain 1PL-and.R-SG.F aunt  
 h-or<me>.  
 1PL-lie.R<IPFV>  
 ‘We slept in the mountain with uncle.’ (120520-000:61.830) RNS, AS
- (16.256) hemaleikia hemal he hemal tiawa-n h-da<m>ore,  
 early.morning night CNT night short-SG.M 1PL-get.up.R<IPFV>  
 h-a<ne><me>repia nebal yewal-ti.  
 1PL-boil.R<SG.M><IPFV> tree eye-SG  
 ‘In the early morning, at night, in the middle of the night, we were getting up and boiling rice.’ (120520-000:65.360) RNS, AS
- (16.257) h-a< $\emptyset$ ><me>repia nebal yewal-ti.  
 1PL-boil.R<SG.F><IPFV> tree eye-SG  
 ‘We boiled rice.’ (120520-000:70.290) RNS, AS
- (16.258) hemal h-a<ne>repia.  
 night 1PL-boil.R<SG.M>  
 ‘We boiled it at night.’ (120520-000:71.620) RNS, AS

- (16.259) h-dore h-atia lolewa w- $\emptyset$ =di- $\emptyset$  nebal yewal-ti yot-u- $\emptyset$   
 1PL-get.up.R 1PL-see.R thing REL-SG=3-SG.F tree eye-SG DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 hiro.  
 NEG  
 ‘We got up and saw there were no leftovers of the rice.’ (120520-000:73.255) RNS, AS
- (16.260) h-anibir nogolgoi hemal hemal  $\emptyset$ -a<m>oti yalkua  $\emptyset$ -aro  
 1PL-send.R children night night 3PL-hold.R<IPFV> torch 3PL-go.R  
 $\emptyset$ -ol-ha-i hare-ia ki  $\emptyset$ -a<me>na,  
 3PL-cut.R-AUG-PL leaf-PL already 3PL-come.R<IPFV>  
 ‘We sent the lads at night holding flashlight to go cut leaves and bring them them’  
 (120520-000:77.210) RNS, AS
- (16.261) hebi h-o<ne>mo nebal yewal-ti.  
 1PL 1PL-eat.R.IPFV<SG.M> tree eye-SG  
 ‘We were eating the rice.’ (120520-000:82.350) RNS, AS
- (16.262) h-gowil hebi h-o tumani yot-u- $\emptyset$ , hebi  
 1PL-count.R 1PL 1PL-stay.R building DEM-MDIST-SG.F 1PL  
 h-o<ne>mo.  
 1PL-eat.R.IPFV<SG.M>  
 ‘We counted us that stayed in that house there and we were eating.’ (120520-000:83.980) RNS, AS
- (16.263) h-o<ne>mo.  
 1PL-eat.R<SG.M>  
 ‘We were eating.’ (120520-000:87.407) RNS, AS
- (16.264) hiro h-ie<ne>ga hiro.  
 NEG 1PL-eat.I<SG.M> NEG  
 ‘We didn’t eat.’ (120520-000:88.663) RNS, AS
- (16.265) h-ie<m>pou-wa-n h-a<m>oti-wa-n  
 1PL-roll.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.M 1PL-hold.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.M  
 h-a<m>oti-wa-n h-gei<me>-ka-n heya  
 1PL-hold.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.M 1PL-leave.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.M bilum  
 h-aro-n h-dore h-a<me>ro he.  
 1PL-forehead.carry.R-SG.M 1PL-get.up.R 1PL-go.R<IPFV> CNT  
 ‘We were wrapping it and holding it and putting it in the bilum and we went and got up and we were leaving at this time.’ (120520-000:89.935) RNS, AS

- (16.266) hemal h-dodi aro wo he-ma  
 night 1PL-stand.R go.R sun CNT-IPFV  
 ‘At night we stood until sunrise.’ (120520-000:94.475) RNS, AS
- (16.267) h-aro h-ormia yo tiawa-l  
 1PL-go.R 1PL-stay.R.IPFV path short-l  
 ‘we went and were sitting at the halfway road.’ (120520-000:97.070) RNS, AS
- (16.268) hebi h-o<ne>mo nebal yewal-ti yot-u-n.  
 1PL 1PL-eat.R.IPFV<SG.M> tree eye-SG DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
 ‘We were eating that rice there.’ (120520-000:98.722) RNS, AS
- (16.269) la aro y-or<me> ania?  
 PST go.R 2PL-lie.R<IPFV> where  
 ‘Where were you (pl) going and sleeping?’ (120520-000:102.290) RNS, TW
- (16.270) wul ti-wul yot-u-Ø, duna o la aro y-or<me>  
 water LOC-water DEM-MDIST-SG.F duna.fish or PST go.R 2PL-lie.R<IPFV>  
 y-o nebal pariwal yot-u-n?  
 2PL-stay tree pariwal.lizard DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
 ‘River, that river, Duna, or were you (pl) sleeping at at the pariwal tree there?’  
 (120520-000:103.810) RNS, TW
- (16.271) h-eikia yo h-a<me>yobo-da-Ø Ø-aro  
 1PL-walk.R path 1PL-surpass.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F 1PL-go.R  
 h-ayobo-da-Ø wul h-a<me>ro h-aro h-aro  
 1PL-surpass.R-AUG-SG.F water 1PL-go.R<IPFV> 1PL-go.R 1PL-go.R  
 h-ormia ...  
 1PL-stay.R.IPFV ...  
 ‘We walked along surpassing, we surpassed the river, we were going and going to  
 sit at ...’ (120520-000:114.380) RNS, AS
- (16.272) yo w-Ø=lope-Ø wdi nebal-gi tiawa-i Ø-aro Ø-ana tayipier  
 path REL-SG=big-SG.F SUB tree-PL short-PL 3PL-go.R 3PL-come.R near  
 wdi ...  
 PREP ...  
 ‘the big road that the cars come and go close to ...’ (120520-000:119.543) RNS, AS
- (16.273) tinogil yot-u-Ø, h-ormia h-o<he>mo.  
 village DEM-MDIST-SG.F 1PL-stay.R.IPFV 1PL-eat.R.IPFV<SG.F>  
 ‘that village there, we were sitting and eating.’ (120520-000:124.270) RNS, AS

- (16.274) h-o<Ø>ga Ø-nobia ta nebal-gi tiawa-i Ø-ana Ø-w-owil  
 1PL-eat.R<SG.F> 1PL-talk.R FUT tree-PL short-PL 3PL-come.R 3PL-1PL-take.R  
 hebi.  
 1PL  
 ‘We ate it and said, “The car will come and pick us.”’ (120520-000:127.040) RNS, AS
- (16.275) hiro ya.  
 NEG ya  
 ‘Not at all.’ (120520-000:129.940) RNS, AS
- (16.276) hebi h-dore h-eikia hewo h-a<me>ro.  
 1PL 1PL-get.up.R 1PL-walk.R bottom 1PL-go.R<IPFV>  
 ‘We got up and walked on the ground going.’ (120520-000:130.560) RNS, AS
- (16.277) wo n-w-osia n-w-osia.  
 sun 3SG.M-1PL-swell.R 3SG.M-1PL-swell.R  
 ‘The sun heated and heated us.’ (120520-000:132.810) RNS, AS
- (16.278) Wilkei male, Wilkei n-eikia.  
 Wilkei also Wilkei 3SG.M-walk.R  
 ‘Wilkei also, Wilkei walked.’ (120520-000:134.840) RNS, AS
- (16.279) m-owil m-asikere-wa-n.  
 1SG-take.R 1SG-hip.carry.R-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘I grabbed him and carried him.’ (120520-000:136.995) RNS, AS
- (16.280) n-eikia, m-asikere-wa-n.  
 3SG.M-walk.R 1SG-hip.carry.R-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘He walked and I carried him.’ (120520-000:138.418) RNS, AS
- (16.281) [xxx] y-akia yo y-aro y-aro Wilkei la y-o<ne>wil  
 [xxx] 2PL-go.via.R path 2PL-go.R 2PL-go.R Wilkei PST 2PL-take.R<SG.M>  
 y-a<me>sikere-wa-n?  
 2PL-hip.carry.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘When you (pl) walked on the road, Wilkei, did you (pl) carry him?’ (120520-000:142.430) RNS, TW
- (16.282) hiro tayipier male ta n-eikia hewo n-aro.  
 NEG near also FUT 3SG.M-walk.R bottom 3SG.M-go.R  
 ‘It’s not close also, he will walk on the ground and go.’ (120520-000:146.370) RNS, TW

- (16.283) hiro ya.  
NEG ya  
'Not at all.' (120520-000:148.595) RNS, TW
- (16.284) la paki y-o<ne>wil y-a<me>sikere-wa-n maltai he  
PST paki 2PL-take.R<SG.M> 2PL-hip.carry.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.M maybe CNT  
yo tiawa-∅.  
path short-SG.F  
'You (pl) took him and carried him maybe on halfway road.' (120520-000:148.926)  
RNS, TW
- (16.285) hebi h-aro.  
1PL 1PL-go.R  
'We went.' (120520-000:153.692) RNS, AS
- (16.286) wo n-ormia tupi.  
sun 3SG.M-stay.R.IPFV top  
'The sun was overhead.' (120520-000:155.698) RNS, AS
- (16.287) wo n-w-osia.  
sun 3SG.M-1PL-swell.R  
'The sun heats us.' (120520-000:157.133) RNS, AS
- (16.288) hebi h-eikia.  
1PL 1PL-walk.R  
'We walk.' (120520-000:158.031) RNS, AS
- (16.289) hebi h-eikia.  
1PL 1PL-walk.R  
'We walk.' (120520-000:158.948) RNS, AS
- (16.290) hebi h-eikia.  
1PL 1PL-walk.R  
'We walk.' (120520-000:159.770) RNS, AS
- (16.291) nebal-gi tiawa-i ∅-eiwa nogil w-∅=lope-∅ yot-u-∅  
tree-PL short-PL 3PL-be.from.R village REL-SG=big-SG.F DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
∅-ana ∅-a<me>na ∅-a<me>r tinogil  
3PL-come.R 3PL-come.R<IPFV> 3PL-go.to.R<IPFV> village  
∅-a<me>r haluagil yot-a-∅.  
3PL-go.to.R<IPFV> mountain DEM-PROX-SG.F  
'The car came from the big village there, it came, coming and going to the village,  
going to the mountain here.' (120520-000:160.585) RNS, AS

- (16.292) nebal-gi tiawa-i ta Ø-eiwa haluagil yot-a-i Ø-aro te-i  
 tree-PL short-PL FUT 3PL-be.from.R mountain DEM-PROX-PL 3PL-go.R 3-PL  
 ta Ø-w-owil hebi.  
 FUT 3PL-1PL-take.R 1PL  
 ‘If the cars will come from this mountain go, they will pick us up.’ (120520-000:166.980) RNS, AS
- (16.293) hebi h-atr-e-i hiro, hebi h-eikia hewo h-aro h-aro sia  
 1PL 1PL-see.R-AUG-PL NEG 1PL 1PL-walk.R bottom 1PL-go.R 1PL-go.R arrive  
 h-ar<ma> yo sipeki-l wdi ...  
 1PL-arrive.R<IPFV> path little-SG SUB ...  
 ‘If we don’t see any, we walk all the way arriving at the small foot path that ...’  
 (120520-000:170.053) RNS, AS
- (16.294) te-i Ø-ar tepe h-nania h-a<me>ro.  
 3-PL 3PL-go.to.R tepe 1PL-go.in.R 1PL-go.R<IPFV>  
 ‘They go to Tepe, we go into and we go.’ (120520-000:175.885) RNS, AS
- (16.295) wo n-d-al<me>loia.  
 sun 3SG.M-MDL-turn.R<IPFV>  
 ‘It becomes afternoon.’ (120520-000:179.560) RNS, AS  
 LT: ‘The sun is turning.’
- (16.296) hebi h-aro h-na<me>nia.  
 1PL 1PL-go.R 1PL-go.in.R<IPFV>  
 ‘We went into (the road).’ (120520-000:181.440) RNS, AS
- (16.297) h-a<me>ro Ø-aro psia h-ar<ma> wul w-Ø=de-i.  
 1PL-go.R<IPFV> 1PL-go.R arrive 1PL-arrive.R<IPFV> water REL-SG=3-PL  
 ‘We were going to arrive at their big river.’ (120520-000:182.940) RNS, AS
- (16.298) wul w-Ø=de-i yot-u-i hiro wul sipeki-l.  
 water REL-SG=3-PL DEM-MDIST-PL NEG water little-SG  
 ‘Their river there is is not a small river.’ (120520-000:185.110) RNS, AS
- (16.299) hiro, wul w-Ø=lope-Ø.  
 NEG water REL-SG=big-SG.F  
 ‘No, it’s a big river.’ (120520-000:187.800) RNS, AS
- (16.300) te-i hamei Ø-aro Ø-ana te-i ta Ø-dawialkla-Ø siahera  
 3-PL people 3PL-go.R 3PL-come.R 3-PL FUT 3PL-fear.R-SG.F crocodile  
 yot-u-n.  
 DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
 ‘Those people that go in and out, they will be afraid of a crocodile there.’ (120520-000:189.950) RNS, AS



- (16.301) te-n ta n-o<i>wil hamei.  
3-SG.M FUT 3SG.M-take.R<PL> people  
'He will take people.' (120520-000:192.941) RNS, AS
- (16.302) hebi h-aro h-do<me>di h-nobia Wili.  
1PL 1PL-go.R 1PL-stand.R<IPFV> 1PL-talk.R Wili  
'We went and were standing and we said, "Willy."' (120520-000:195.140) RNS, AS
- (16.303) h-nobia-da-n, "ye tama n-oki-Ø wan n-okirkai  
1PL-talk.R-AUG-SG.M 2SG PROH 2SG-use.R-SG.F heart 2SG-cross.river.R  
n-w-alkial hebi."  
3SG.M-1PL-pull.R 1PL  
'We told him, "You (sg) don't just cross that river and pull us."' (120520-000:198.476) RNS, AS
- (16.304) "ta siahera ta n-w-o<me>wil hebi."  
FUT crocodile FUT 3SG.M-3PL-take.R<IPFV> 1PL  
'"It will be a crocodile that will grab us."' (120520-000:201.906) RNS, AS
- (16.305) yuta nogual po Ø-dore Ø-ie<m>kewa Wili.  
woman PL then 3PL-get.up 3PL-be.angry<IPFV> Willy  
'The girls got up and were angry at Willy.' (120520-000:204.554) RNS, AS
- (16.306) Ø-oki nebal-gi lolewa Ø-nobia ta Ø-ori-wa-n.  
3PL-use.R tree-PL thing 3PL-want.R FUT 3PL-hit.R-AUG-SG.M  
'They got the sticks and they want to hit him.' (120520-000:206.727) RNS, AS
- (16.307) wili n-nobia, "ye-m y-i<m>kirkai."  
willy 3SG.M-talk.R 2SG-PL 2PL-cross.river.I<IPFV>  
'Willy said, "You (pl) cross."' (120520-000:208.642) RNS, AS
- (16.308) "siahera hiro yot-ua-n."  
crocodile NEG DEM-DIST-SG.M  
'The crocodile is not that.' (120520-000:210.750) RNS, AS
- (16.309) "ta hiro n-y-iwil ye-m."  
FUT NEG 3SG.M-2-take.I 2SG-PL  
'It won't grab you (pl).' (120520-000:211.788) RNS, AS
- (16.310) hebi h-dore h-o<m>kirkai.  
1PL 1PL-get.up 1PL-cross.river.R<IPFV>  
'We got up and were crossing the river.' (120520-000:213.646) RNS, AS

- (16.311) h-okirkai h-aro h-ar<m>kou woli h-akia yo  
 1PL-cross.river.R 1PL-go.R 1PL-ascend.R<IPFV> side 1PL-go.via path  
 h-a<me>ro.  
 1PL-go.R<IPFV>  
 ‘We cross the river to the other side and we walked along the road going.’ (120520-000:216.130) RNS, AS
- (16.312) h-aro sia h-ar<ma> tinogil.  
 1PL-go.R arrive 1PL-arrive.R<IPFV> village  
 ‘We went and arrived at the village.’ (120520-000:220.037) RNS, AS
- (16.313) h-atr-e-n Colin n-odi-Ø hiwora w-Ø=de-n te-i  
 1PL-see.R-AUG-SG.M Colin 3SG.M-and.R-SG.F wife REL-SG=3-SG.M 3-PL  
 Ø-o.  
 3PL-stay.R  
 ‘We saw Colin and his wife sat there.’ (120520-000:222.474) RNS, AS
- (16.314) te-i Ø-w-ar<me>nia hebi h-a<me>ro.  
 3-PL 3PL-1PL-see.R<IPFV> 1PL 1PL-go.R<IPFV>  
 ‘They saw us going.’ (120520-000:226.067) RNS, AS
- (16.315) hebi h-ode-i te-i h-ormia.  
 1PL 1PL-and.R-PL 3-PL 1PL-stay.R.IPFV  
 ‘We sat with them.’ (120520-000:229.077) RNS, AS
- (16.316) te-Ø w-o<ma>di yati lolewa w-a<me>ya-ka-i yuta  
 3-SG.F 3SG.F-make.R<IPFV> sago thing 3SG.F-give.R<IPFV>-AUG-PL woman  
 nogual yot-u-i, hemaladi.  
 PL DEM-MDIST-PL early.evening  
 ‘She turned the sago and such, and she was giving those girls in the afternoon.’  
 (120520-000:231.040) RNS, AS
- (16.317) aro y-ormia y-or<me> y-ormia.  
 go.R 2PL-stay.R.IPFV 2PL-lie.R<IPFV> 2PL-stay.R.IPFV  
 ‘You (pl) were staying and sleeping and staying.’ (120520-000:238.211) RNS, TW
- (16.318) yiki yiki maltai la y-ormia y-ormia no ...  
 day day maybe PST 2PL-stay.R.IPFV 2PL-stay.R.IPFV until ...  
 ‘Day after day maybe you (pl) were staying and staying until ...’ (120520-000:241.795) RNS, TW

- (16.319) la y-dore y-ar y-ar nogil w- $\emptyset$ =lope- $\emptyset$   
 PST 2PL-get.up.R 2PL-go.to.R 2PL-go.to.R village REL-SG=big-SG.F  
 yot-u- $\emptyset$ .  
 DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘you (pl) got up and went, you (pl) went to that big village.’ (120520-000:245.810)  
 RNS, TW
- (16.320) y-aro y-aga- $\emptyset$  lolewa y-aga- $\emptyset$  ma $\eta$ a- $\emptyset$  ma $\eta$ a- $\emptyset$ ?  
 2PL-go.R 2PL-get.R-SG.F thing 2PL-get.R-SG.F what-SG.F what-SG.F  
 ‘You (pl) went to buy something, you (pl) buy different somethings?’ (120520-000:250.107) RNS, TW
- (16.321) la y-aro y-aga- $\emptyset$  ma $\eta$ a- $\emptyset$ ? eh  
 PST 2PL-go.R 2PL-get.R-SG.F what-SG.F eh  
 ‘What did you (pl) go to buy?’ (120520-000:252.457) RNS, TW
- (16.322) la y-eikia hewo o la nebal-gi tiawa-i  $\emptyset$ -y-owil?  
 PST 2PL-walk.R bottom or PST tree-PL short-PL 3PL-2-take.R?  
 ‘Did you (pl) walk on the ground or did the car get you (pl)?’ (120520-000:254.179)  
 RNS, TW
- (16.323) la y-ar nogil w- $\emptyset$ =lope- $\emptyset$  yot-u- $\emptyset$  y-ar tumani  
 PST 2PL-go.to.R village REL-SG=big-SG.F DEM-MDIST-SG.F 2PL-go.to.R building  
 wdi  $\emptyset$ -aga- $\emptyset$  lolewa yot-u- $\emptyset$ ?  
 SUB 3PL-get.R-SG.F thing DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘Did you (pl) go to that big village? Did you (pl) go to the place to buy things there?’ (120520-000:256.591) RNS, TW
- (16.324) hebi h-or<me>.  
 1PL 1PL-lie<IPFV>  
 ‘We were sleeping.’ (120520-000:261.864) RNS, AS
- (16.325) hemaleikia, pode hemaleikia hebi h-dore h-ormia hem  
 early.morning, thursday early.morning 1PL 1PL-get.up.R 1PL-stay.R.IPFV 1SG  
 m-ormia.  
 1SG-stay.R.IPFV  
 ‘In the early morning, Thursday in the morning, we got up and we were staying. I was staying.’ (120520-000:263.340) RNS, AS

- (16.326) Lagosi w-odi winoga w- $\emptyset$ =de- $\emptyset$  nua w- $\emptyset$ =de- $\emptyset$   
 Lagosi 3SG.F-and.R older.brother REL-SG=3-SG.F mother REL-SG=3-SG.F  
 $\emptyset$ -a<me>ro.  
 3PL-go.R<IPFV>  
 ‘Lagosi and her big brother, her mother, they were going.’ (120520-000:269.863)  
 RNS, AS
- (16.327)  $\emptyset$ -a<me>r nibera w- $\emptyset$ =de-i yot-u-i.  
 3PL-go.to.R<IPFV> bush REL-SG=3-PL DEM-MDIST-PL  
 ‘They were going to their bush there.’ (120520-000:273.660) RNS, AS
- (16.328)  $\emptyset$ -aro  $\emptyset$ -akia yo  $\emptyset$ -aro.  
 3PL-go.R 3PL-go.via.R path 3PL-go.R  
 ‘They walked along the road to go.’ (120520-000:275.989) RNS, AS
- (16.329)  $\emptyset$ -e<me>la pio nebal tiawa-n yot-u-n.  
 3PL-be.R<IPFV> jump tree short-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
 ‘They were jumping on the canoe there.’ (120520-000:278.595) RNS, AS
- (16.330)  $\emptyset$ -ormia nebal tiawa-n.  
 3PL-stay.R.IPFV tree short-SG.M  
 ‘They were sitting in the canoe.’ (120520-000:280.795) RNS, AS
- (16.331)  $\emptyset$ -a<me>r nibera.  
 3PL-go.to.R<IPFV> bush  
 ‘They were going to the bush.’ (120520-000:282.544) RNS, AS
- (16.332)  $\emptyset$ -aro  $\emptyset$ -o<he>wil hur lolewa w- $\emptyset$ =de-i yot-u-i.  
 3PL-go.R 3PL-take.R<SG.F> sago.flour thing REL-SG=3-PL DEM-MDIST-PL  
 ‘They went to get the sago powder and their stuff there.’ (120520-000:284.473)  
 RNS, AS
- (16.333)  $\emptyset$ -ela pio  $\emptyset$ -ormia nebal tiawa-n yot-u-n.  
 3PL-be.R jump 3PL-stay.R.IPFV tree short-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M  
 ‘They jumped to lie in the canoe there.’ (120520-000:287.097) RNS, AS
- (16.334) nebal tiawa-n yot-u-n n-o<i>wil te-i  $\emptyset$ -ana  
 tree short-SG.M DEM-MDIST-SG.M 3SG.M-take.R<PL> 3-PL 3PL-come.R  
 $\emptyset$ -gei-ka-i yo.  
 3PL-leave-AUG-PL path  
 ‘The canoe there brought them and left them at the road.’ (120520-000:288.716)  
 RNS, AS

- (16.335) Ø-akia yo hawal Ø-a<me>na.  
 3PL-go.via.R path feet 3PL-come.R<IPFV>  
 ‘They walked along the foot path coming.’ (120520-000:291.769) RNS, AS
- (16.336) hem m-odi-Ø mimi sila hebi h-ormia.  
 1SG 1SG-and.R-SG.F mother sila 1PL 1PL-stay.R.IPFV  
 ‘I and my mother Sila we were staying.’ (120520-000:294.040) RNS, AS
- (16.337) hebi hiro h-iede-i, hiro.  
 1PL NEG 1PL-and.I-PL NEG  
 ‘We didn’t go with them.’ (120520-000:297.761) RNS, AS
- (16.338) h-dawialkla-Ø siahera ta aro n-w-o<me>wil hebi.  
 1PL-fear.R-SG.F crocodile FUT go.R 3SG.M-1PL-take.R<IPFV> 1PL  
 ‘We were afraid the crocodiles would grab us.’ (120520-000:299.386) RNS, AS
- (16.339) hebi h-ormia.  
 1PL 1PL-stay.R.IPFV  
 ‘We were staying.’ (120520-000:303.011) RNS, AS
- (16.340) te-i Ø-aro psia Ø-ar<ma> hemal  
 3-PL 3PL-go.R arrive 3PL-arrive.R<IPFV> night  
 ‘They went and arrived at night.’ (120520-000:304.433) RNS, AS
- (16.341) Ø-o<ma>di manyati lolewa w-Ø=de-i Ø-o<he>mo.  
 3PL-make.R<IPFV> yam.sago thing REL-SG=3-PL 3PL-eat.R.IPFV<SG.F>  
 ‘They were making their sago and other stuff and were eating.’ (120520-000:307.004)  
 RNS, AS
- (16.342) hem hiro m-ie<he>ga hem hiro.  
 1SG NEG 1SG-eat.I<SG.F> 1SG NEG  
 ‘I didn’t eat theirs, I didn’t.’ (120520-000:309.194) RNS, AS
- (16.343) hem m-dawialkla-Ø manyati w-Ø=de-i.  
 1SG 1SG-fear.R-SG.F yam.sago REL-SG=3-PL  
 ‘I was scared of their sago and stuff.’ (120520-000:310.896) RNS, AS
- (16.344) woga w-Ø=hebi yot-u-Ø w-o<ma>di yati.  
 older.sister REL-SG.F=1PL DEM-MDIST-SG.F 3SG.F-make.R<IPFV> sago  
 ‘My big sister therewas turning sago.’ (120520-000:314.978) RNS, AS
- (16.345) w-b-a<me>ya w-b-a<me>ya hem.  
 3SG.F-1SG-give.R<IPFV> 3SG.F-1SG-give.R<IPFV> 1SG  
 ‘She was gaving me and gaving me (some).’ (120520-000:317.387) RNS, AS

- (16.346) hem hiro m-ie<he>ga yati w-Ø=de-i.  
 1SG NEG 1SG-eat.I<SG.F> sago REL-SG=3-PL  
 ‘I didn’t eat their sago.’ (120520-000:318.999) RNS, AS
- (16.347) h-o<he>mo, h-or<me>.  
 1PL-eat.R.IPFV<SG.F> 1PL-lie.R<IPFV>  
 ‘We were eating and then we were sleeping.’ (120520-000:320.697) RNS, AS
- (16.348) maleikia-mi h-dore.  
 morning-IPFV 1PL-get.up.R  
 ‘In the morning, we got up.’ (120520-000:322.688) RNS, AS
- (16.349) h-a<me>r yo w-Ø=lope-Ø.  
 1PL-go.to.R<IPFV> path REL-SG=big-SG.F  
 ‘We were going to the big road.’ (120520-000:324.666) RNS, AS
- (16.350) Ø-aro sia h-ar<ma> yo w-Ø=lope-Ø h-ormia  
 1PL-go.R arrive 1PL-arrive.R<IPFV> path REL-SG=big-SG.F 1PL-stay.R.IPFV  
 h-gar<m>kua.  
 1PL-wash.self.R<IPFV>  
 ‘We arrived at the big road, we were staying and bathing.’ (120520-000:326.775)  
 RNS, AS
- (16.351) h-garkua h-atia nebal-gi tiawa-i ŋa-i Ø-ana  
 1PL-wash.self.R 1PL-see.R tree-PL short-PL one-PL 3PL-come.R  
 Ø-a<me>ro.  
 3PL-go.R<IPFV>  
 ‘After we bathed, we saw cars coming and going.’ (120520-000:330.741) RNS, AS
- (16.352) h-akia yo w-Ø=lope-Ø h-a<me>ro.  
 1PL-go.via.R path REL-SG=big-SG.F 1PL-go.R<IPFV>  
 ‘We walked along the big road going.’ (120520-000:335.246) RNS, AS
- (16.353) h-aro h-do<me>di.  
 1PL-go.R 1PL-stand.R<IPFV>  
 ‘We went and we waited.’ (120520-000:336.688) RNS, AS
- (16.354) hem m-nobia hiwora w-Ø=di Colin.  
 1SG 1SG-talk.R wife REL-SG=3 Colin  
 ‘I told Colin’s wife.’ (120520-000:337.634) RNS, AS

- (16.355) m-nobia-da- $\emptyset$ , “ye ko n-i-< $\emptyset$ >wil preiketa w- $\emptyset$ =ye  
 1SG-talk.R-AUG-SG.F 2SG still 2SG-take.I<SG.F> phone REL-SG.F=2SG  
 yot-ua- $\emptyset$  ko n-igiwa nena.”  
 DEM-DIST-SG.F still 2SG-ask.I father  
 ‘I told her, “You (sg) first get your phone there and call Father.”’ (120520-000:339.945) RNS, AS
- (16.356) te- $\emptyset$  w-o-< $\emptyset$ ><me>wil preiketa w- $\emptyset$ =de- $\emptyset$ .  
 3-SG.F 3SG.F-take.R<SG.F><IPFV> phone REL-SG=3-SG.F  
 ‘She was getting her phone.’ (120520-000:344.522) RNS, AS
- (16.357) w-ar<m>-da-i.  
 3SG.F-do.R<IPFV>-AUG-PL  
 ‘She was dialing it.’ (120520-000:346.845) RNS, AS
- (16.358) te- $\emptyset$  w-b-nobia, “nena n-odi- $\emptyset$  Jenny  $\emptyset$ -ormia.”  
 3-SG.F 3SG.F-1SG-talk.R father 3SG.M-and.R-SG.F jenny 3PL-stay.R.IPFV  
 ‘She told me, “Father is staying with Jenny.”’ (120520-000:348.022) RNS, AS
- (16.359) nena, te-n n-o-< $\emptyset$ ><me>wil wan.  
 father 3-SG.M 3SG.M-take.R<SG.F><IPFV> heart  
 ‘Father, he knows.’ (120520-000:350.433) RNS, AS
- (16.360) te-n ta n-no<me>bia.  
 3-SG.M FUT 3SG.M-talk.R<IPFV>  
 ‘He will talk.’ (120520-000:352.359) RNS, AS
- (16.361) hem m-nobia-da- $\emptyset$ , “awo, n-nibia-da-n.”  
 1SG 1SG-talk.R-AUG-SG.F yes 2SG-talk.I-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘I told her, “Yes, you (sg) talk to him.”’ (120520-000:353.473) RNS, AS
- (16.362) te- $\emptyset$  w-o<he>wil preiketa w- $\emptyset$ =de- $\emptyset$  yot-u- $\emptyset$ ,  
 3-SG.F 3SG.F-take.R<SG.F> phone REL-SG=3-SG.F DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 w-ar<m>-da-i.  
 3SG.F-do.R<IPFV>-AUG-PL  
 ‘She got the phone there and was dialing it.’ (120520-000:355.594) RNS, AS
- (16.363) w-ieda nena n-odi- $\emptyset$  Jenny  $\emptyset$ -ormia tinogil  
 3SG.F-hear.R father 3SG.M-and.R-SG.F jenny 3PL-stay.R.IPFV village  
 yot-a-i.  
 DEM-PROX-PL  
 ‘She heard father and Jenny were staying in the village here.’ (120520-000:358.205)  
 RNS, AS

- (16.364) te-n w-nobia hebi.  
3-SG.M 1PL-talk.R 1PL  
'He told us.' (120520-000:361.756) RNS, AS
- (16.365) n-w-o<m>giwa hebi ...  
3SG.M-1PL-ask.R<IPFV> 1PL ...  
'He asked us ...' (120520-000:364.398) RNS, AS
- (16.366) h-dodi yo w-∅=lope-∅.  
1PL-stand.R path REL-SG=big-SG.F  
'are we on the main road.' (120520-000:365.795) RNS, AS
- (16.367) m-y-ogiwa ye-m y-nobia wikal maŋa-∅? la nobia wikal  
1SG-2-ask.R 2SG-PL 2PL-talk.R language what-SG.F PST talk.R language  
maŋa-∅?  
what-SG.F  
'I ask, you (pl) talked about what topic? You (pl) talked about what topic?'  
(120520-000:369.486) RNS, TW
- (16.368) n-o<ne>giwa danua Wilkei o n-nobia danua-∅ wikal  
3SG.M-ask.R<SG.M> PREP Wilkei or 3SG.M-talk.R PREP-SG.F language  
maŋa-∅?  
what-SG.F  
'He asked about Wilkei or he talked about what topic?' (120520-000:372.522) RNS,  
TW
- (16.369) te-n n-w-ogiwa hebi.  
3-SG.M 3SG.M-1PL-ask.R 1PL  
'He asked us.' (120520-000:376.866) RNS, AS
- (16.370) n-w-ogiwa hebi nobia, "ye-m y-do<me>di nia?"  
3SG.M-1PL-ask.R 1PL talk.R 2SG-PL 2PL-stand.R<IPFV> where  
'He asked us and said, "You (pl) are waiting where?"' (120520-000:379.000) RNS,  
AS
- (16.371) hebi, te-∅ w-nobia-da-n, nobia "hebi h-do<me>di yo  
1PL 3-SG.F 3SG.F-talk.R-AUG-SG.M talk.R 1PL 1PL-stand.R<IPFV> path  
w-∅=lope-∅ ..."  
REL-SG=big-SG.F ...  
'We, she told him, she said, "We are waiting on the big road ..."' (120520-  
000:382.513) RNS, AS



- (16.372) “wdi ta h-e<me>la pio nebal-gi tiawa-i ta h-a<me>r  
 SUB FUT 1PL-be.R<IPFV> jump tree-PL short-PL FUT 1PL-go.to.R<IPFV>  
 nogil w-∅=lope-∅.”  
 village REL-SG=big-SG.F  
 “‘so that we will be able to jump on the car and go to the big village.’” (120520-000:386.642) RNS, AS
- (16.373) te-n po dore n-nobia, “ye-m ta y-aro y-ana  
 3-SG.M then get.up.R 3SG.M-talk.R 2SG-PL FUT 2PL-go.R 2PL-come.R  
 siwei, y-ana tinogil, Wilkei ta  
 again 2PL-come.R village Wilkei FUT 2PL-see.R-AUG-SG.M  
 y-atr-e-n y-aruba-n-ban.”  
 2PL-do.well.R-SG.M-RED  
 ‘He got up and said to us, “You (pl) will go and come again. If you come back to the village, Wilkei, you must watch him very well.”’ (120520-000:391.648) RNS, AS
- (16.374) “siahera ta aro n-o<ne><me>wil.”  
 crocodile FUT go.R 3SG.M-take.R<SG.M><IPFV>  
 “‘The crocodile will take him.’” (120520-000:399.040) RNS, AS
- (16.375) hiwora w-∅=di colin paki w-arkuagil.  
 wife REL-SG=3 colin paki 3SG.F-laugh.R  
 ‘Colin’s wife she laughed.’ (120520-000:400.391) RNS, AS
- (16.376) te-∅ w-iekewa-n nena w-∅=de-∅, nobia, “paki ye  
 3-SG.F 3SG.F-be.angry.R-SG.M father REL-SG=3-SG.F talk.R paki 2SG  
 n-go<∅>ba te-∅?”  
 2SG-pretend.R<SG.F> 3-SG.F  
 ‘She got angry at her father, and said, “Why are you (sg) pretending with her?”’  
 (120520-000:402.797) RNS, AS
- (16.377) “ye n-o wan wan w-n-ye paki n-w-orkemia hebi.”  
 2SG 2SG-stay.R heart heart REL-SG.M-2SG paki 2SG-1PL-wait.R 1PL  
 “‘You (sg) just sit and think of us only.’” (120520-000:406.349) RNS, AS
- (16.378) te-∅ w-ie<m>kewa-n nena.  
 3-SG.F 3SG.F-be.angry.R<IPFV>-SG.M father  
 ‘She was angry at Father.’ (120520-000:410.148) RNS, AS
- (16.379) nena n-arkuagil n-odi-∅ jenny niagil ∅-o.  
 father 3SG.M-laugh.R 3SG.M-and.R-SG.F jenny together 3PL-stay.R  
 ‘Father laughed with Jenny and together they stay.’ (120520-000:411.225) RNS, AS

- (16.380) hebi h-dodi yot-u- $\emptyset$ .  
 1PL 1PL-stand.R DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘We wait there.’ (120520-000:414.173) RNS, AS
- (16.381) hebi h-nobia.  
 1PL 1PL-talk.R  
 ‘We talk.’ (120520-000:416.041) RNS, AS
- (16.382) yot-u- $\emptyset$  he-pa, y-do<me>di nebal-gi tiawa-i  
 DEM-MDIST-SG.F CNT-ADD 2PL-stand.R<IPFV> tree-PL short-PL  
 $\emptyset$ -a<me>na y-o<i><me>wil mai? y-a<me>r nogil  
 3PL-come.R<IPFV> 2PL-take.R<PL><IPFV> Q 2PL-go.to.R<IPFV> village  
 w- $\emptyset$ =lope- $\emptyset$ .  
 REL-SG=big-SG.F  
 ‘Okay. You (pl) were waiting. The car is coming. Will you (pl) be taking it? You  
 (pl) will be going to the big village.’ (120520-000:419.804) RNS, TW
- (16.383) h-do<me>di h-dodi sipeki-l.  
 1PL-stand.R<IPFV> 1PL-stand.R little-SG  
 ‘We were waiting, we waited a bit.’ (120520-000:426.945) RNS, AS
- (16.384) nebal-gi tiawa-i  $\emptyset$ -a<me>na.  
 tree-PL short-PL 3PL-come.R<IPFV>  
 ‘The car comes.’ (120520-000:429.089) RNS, AS
- (16.385)  $\emptyset$ -ana  $\emptyset$ -w-ogiwa hebi  $\emptyset$ -nobia, “ye-m ta y-a<me>r  
 3PL-come.R 3PL-1PL-ask.R 3PL-1PL talk.R 2SG-PL FUT 2PL-go.to.R<IPFV>  
 ania?”  
 where  
 ‘They came and asked us, “Where are you (pl) going?”’ (120520-000:430.770)  
 RNS, AS
- (16.386) hiro, hiwora w- $\emptyset$ =di colin w-nobia-da-i, “hiro hebi ta  
 NEG wife REL-SG=3 colin 3SG.F-talk.R-AUG-PL NEG 1PL FUT  
 h-a<me>r nogil w- $\emptyset$ =lope- $\emptyset$ .”  
 1PL-go.to.R<IPFV> village REL-SG=big-SG.F  
 ‘No, Colin’s wife told them, “No, we are going to the big village.”’ (120520-  
 000:434.432) RNS, AS
- (16.387) te-i  $\emptyset$ -w-nobia hebi, “y-i<i><me>wil heya w-ei=ye-m.”  
 3-PL 3PL-3SG.F-talk.R 1PL 2PL-take.I<PL><IPFV> bilum REL-PL=2SG-PL  
 ‘They told us, “You (pl) get your bilums.”’ (120520-000:438.594) RNS, AS

- (16.388) “y-i<i><m>wo            w-d-i<m>wo            nebal-gi tiawa-i   tupi.”  
 2PL-set.I<PL><IPFV> 3PL-MDL-set.I<IPFV> tree-PL short-PL top  
 “‘You (pl) put them on top of the car.’” (120520-000:440.896) RNS, AS
- (16.389) hebi h-o<∅><me>wil            lolewa w-∅=hebi            h-gei-ka-i  
 1PL 1PL-take.R<SG.F><IPFV> thing REL-SG.F=1PL 1PL-leave.R-AUG-PL  
 ∅-d-a<m>wo            nebal-gi tiawa-i.  
 3PL-MDL-set.R<IPFV> tree-PL short-PL  
 ‘We were getting our things and we put them down in the car.’ (120520-000:444.432)  
 RNS, AS
- (16.390) nebal-gi tiawa-i   ∅-w-o<me>wil            hebi h-a<me>r            tinogil  
 tree-PL short-PL 3PL-1PL-take.R<IPFV> 1PL 1PL-go.to.R<IPFV> village  
 ŋa-∅.  
 one-SG.F  
 ‘The car was bringing us to another village.’ (120520-000:448.162) RNS, AS
- (16.391) h-aro,    nebal-gi tiawa-i   w-d-a<m>wo.  
 1PL-go.R tree-PL short-PL 3PL-MDL-set.R<IPFV>  
 ‘It went, and then the car was sitting.’ (120520-000:452.757) RNS, AS
- (16.392) yuta    nogual ∅-o<∅><me>wil            lolewa w-∅=de-i  
 woman PL    3PL-take.R<SG.F><IPFV> thing REL-SG=3-PL  
 ∅-gei-ka-∅            w-d-awo<m>wo            nebal-gi tiawa-i   tupi.  
 3PL-leave.R-AUG-SG.F 3SG.F-MDL-set.R<IPFV> tree-PL short-PL top  
 ‘The ladies were getting their things and they put them on top of the car.’ (120520-000:454.847) RNS, AS
- (16.393) ∅-w-o<me>wil            hebi h-ode-i            yuta    nogual yot-u-i.  
 3PL-1PL-take.R<IPFV> 1PL 1PL-and.R-PL woman PL    DEM-MDIST-PL  
 ‘They were taking us with those ladies there.’ (120520-000:460.594) RNS, AS
- (16.394) h-ana            sia    h-ar<ma>            yo    w-∅=lope-∅            siwei.  
 1PL-come.R arrive 1PL-arrive.R<IPFV> path REL-SG=big-SG.F again  
 ‘We came and arrived at the big road again.’ (120520-000:463.448) RNS, AS
- (16.395) h-a<me>r            nogil    w-∅=lope-∅.  
 1PL-go.to.R<IPFV> village REL-SG=big-SG.F  
 ‘We were going to the big village.’ (120520-000:466.662) RNS, AS

- (16.396) y-aro psia y-ar nogil w- $\emptyset$ =lope- $\emptyset$ , la y-aro y-olbil  
 2PL-go.R arrive 2PL-arrive.R village REL-SG=big-SG.F PST 2PL-go.R 2PL-enter.R  
 la y-aga- $\emptyset$  maja- $\emptyset$  maja- $\emptyset$ ?  
 PST 2PL-get.R-SG.F what-SG.F what-SG.F  
 ‘When you (pl) arrived in the big village, where did you (pl) go in? What did you (pl) buy?’ (120520-000:471.046) RNS, TW
- (16.397) y-aga- $\emptyset$  moti o y-aga- $\emptyset$  pone, y-aga- $\emptyset$  maja- $\emptyset$  maja- $\emptyset$ ?  
 2PL-get.R-SG.F pot or 2PL-get.R-SG.F shell 2PL-get.R what-SG.F what-SG.F  
 ‘Did you (pl) buy a pot or did you (pl) buy a plate, or and what things did you (pl) buy?’ (120520-000:474.802) RNS, TW
- (16.398) la y-do<me>di no maladi si y-ela pio nebal-gi tiawa-i  
 PST 2PL-stand.R<IPFV> until afternoon again 2PL-be.R jump tree-PL short-PL  
 y-ana o la y-eikia y-a<me>na?  
 2PL-come.R or PST 2PL-walk.R 2PL-come.R<IPFV>  
 ‘Were you (pl) waiting until the afternoon to jump on a car and come back or were you (pl) walking back?’ (120520-000:478.112) RNS, TW
- (16.399) nebal-gi tiawa-i  $\emptyset$ -w-owil hebi  $\emptyset$ -aro  $\emptyset$ -w-gei<me>  
 tree-PL short-PL 3PL-1PL-take.R 1PL 3PL-go.R 3PL-1PL-leave.R<IPFV>  
 ‘The car got us and went to drop us off.’ (120520-000:484.350) RNS, AS
- (16.400) hebi h-a<me>nor h-do<me>di.  
 1PL 1PL-descend.R<IPFV> 1PL-stand.R<IPFV>  
 ‘We were jumping down, and waiting.’ (120520-000:486.863) RNS, AS
- (16.401) hebi h-o<i><m>giwa.  
 1PL 1PL-ask.R<PL><IPFV>  
 ‘We were asking them.’ (120520-000:488.903) RNS, AS
- (16.402) hebi to h-oki- $\emptyset$  malmal hebi ta h-aga nebal-gi tiawa-i?  
 1PL FUT 1PL-use.R-SG.F how.many 1PL FUT 1PL-get.R tree-PL short-PL  
 ‘We will use how much for us to pay the car?’ (120520-000:490.242) RNS, AS
- (16.403) te-i  $\emptyset$ -b-nobia hebi puyu hirka wia-i wia-i ye-m ta y-aga-i.  
 3-PL 3PL-1SG-talk.R 1PL rock green two-F two-F 2SG-PL FUT 2PL-get.R-PL  
 ‘They told us, “Four kina, you (pl) will pay for it.”’ (120520-000:494.228) RNS, AS
- (16.404) hem po dore m-nobia Sila w-odi- $\emptyset$  Lagosi.  
 1SG then get.up.R 1SG-talk.R Sila 3SG.F-and.R-SG.F Lagosi  
 ‘I got up and told Sila and Lagosi.’ (120520-000:498.514) RNS, AS

- (16.405) m-nobia-da-i, “ye-m wia-i puyu hirka hiro.”  
 1SG-talk.R-AUG-PL 2SG-PL two-F rock green NEG  
 ‘I told them, “You (pl) two, you (pl) have no money.”’ (120520-000:502.571) RNS, AS
- (16.406) “hem toyomial hem ta m-a<me>ya-ka-n.”  
 1SG today 1SG FUT 1SG-give.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘I now, I will give him (the money).’ (120520-000:505.464) RNS, AS
- (16.407) “ye-m wia-i y-aro y-dar<me>yomia.”  
 2SG-PL two-F 2PL-go.R 2PL-hide.self.R<IPFV>  
 ‘You (pl) two go to hide yourselves.’ (120520-000:507.402) RNS, AS
- (16.408) te-i wia-i Ø-ieda.  
 3-PL two-F 3PL-hear.R  
 ‘They two heard.’ (120520-000:509.940) RNS, AS
- (16.409) hem m-a<me>ya-ka-n.  
 1SG 1SG-give.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.M  
 ‘I gave him (the money).’ (120520-000:511.450) RNS, AS
- (16.410) te-i wia-i Ø-aro Ø-dar<me>yomia.  
 3-PL two-F 3PL-go.R 3PL-hide.self.R<IPFV>  
 ‘Both of them went to hide themselves.’ (120520-000:512.358) RNS, AS
- (16.411) te-i puyu hirka hiro.  
 3-PL rock green NEG  
 ‘They didn’t have any money.’ (120520-000:513.930) RNS, AS
- (16.412) hem m-odi-Ø mimi, colin n-odi-Ø hiwora w-Ø=de-n  
 1SG 1SG-and.R-SG.F mother colin 3SG.M-and.R-SG.F wife REL-SG=3-SG.M  
 hebi h-a<me>ga nebal-gi tiawa-i.  
 1PL 1PL-get.R<IPFV> tree-PL short-PL  
 ‘I with mother, Colin and his wife, we were paying for the car.’ (120520-000:515.815)  
 RNS, AS
- (16.413) te-i wia-i yot-u-i, hem m-nobia-da-i.  
 3-PL two-F DEM-MDIST-PL 1SG 1SG-talk.R-AUG-PL  
 ‘Those two there, I told them.’ (120520-000:520.260) RNS, AS
- (16.414) te-i Ø-aro Ø-dar<me>yomia.  
 3-PL 3PL-go.R 3PL-hide.self.R<IPFV>  
 ‘They went to hide.’ (120520-000:521.656) RNS, AS

- (16.415) hebi h-a<me>ga nebal-gi tiawa-i.  
1PL 1PL-get.R<IPFV> tree-PL short-PL  
'We were paying for the car.' (120520-000:523.521) RNS, AS
- (16.416) hebi h-da<m>ore.  
1PL 1PL-get.up.R<IPFV>  
'We were getting up.' (120520-000:525.934) RNS, AS
- (16.417) h-a<me>r tumani w-∅=lope-∅ yot-u-∅.  
1PL-go.to.R<IPFV> building REL-SG=big-SG.F DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
'We were going to the big building there.' (120520-000:527.078) RNS, AS
- (16.418) h-aro h-atr-e-i, te-i ∅-anibir-ha-∅ lolewa.  
1PL-go.R 1PL-see.R-AUG-PL 3-PL 3PL-send.R-AUG-SG.F thing  
'We went and saw the people that sold things.' (120520-000:529.094) RNS, AS
- (16.419) hem m-nobia-da-i, "hebi ta h-aro h-o ta h-o<he>ga  
1SG 1SG-talk.R-AUG-PL 1PL FUT 1PL-go.R 1PL-stay.R FUT 1PL-eat.R<SG.F>  
ni nibuegi yot-u-i kua."  
intestine liver DEM-MDIST-PL still  
'I told them, "We will go and sit. We will eat our food first."' (120520-000:533.038)  
RNS, AS
- (16.420) "hebi paki h-dolbi."  
1PL paki 1PL-be.hungry.R  
'We are very hungry.' (120520-000:537.081) RNS, AS
- (16.421) hebi h-aro h-olbil tumani.  
1PL 1PL-go.R 1PL-enter building  
'We went into the building.' (120520-000:539.418) RNS, AS
- (16.422) h-ormia h-a<me>ga-∅, ni nibuegi yot-u-i  
1PL-stay.R.IPFV 1PL-get.R<IPFV>-SG.F intestine liver DEM-MDIST-PL  
∅-odi ... nebal yewal-ti, hur-i.  
3PL-and.R ... tree eye-SG sago.flour-PL  
'We were sitting and buying food there and ... rice, sago powder.' (120520-000:541.358) RNS, AS
- (16.423) h-o<i><me>wil h-ana h-ormia h-o<he>mo.  
1PL-take.R<PL><IPFV> 1PL-come.R 1PL-stay.R.IPFV 1PL-eat.R.IPFV<SG.F>  
'We were taking it and we came to sit and eat it.' (120520-000:549.754) RNS, AS
- (16.424) h-o<he>mo.  
1PL-eat.R.IPFV<SG.F>  
'We were eating it.' (120520-000:552.989) RNS, AS

- (16.425) yati yot-u- $\emptyset$  hare h-gei<me>-ka- $\emptyset$  h-dore sia  
 sago DEM-MDIST-SG.F leaf 1PL-leave.R<IPFV>-AUG-SG.F 1PL-get.up.R arrive  
 h-ar<ma>.  
 1PL-arrive.R<IPFV>  
 ‘That sago, its leaf we were putting it down, and we got up to arrive (at t the  
 store).’ (120520-000:554.142) RNS, AS
- (16.426) h-a<me>r tumani w- $\emptyset$ =lope- $\emptyset$  h-ar<me>r lolewa  
 1PL-go.to.R<IPFV> building REL-SG=big-SG.F 1PL-see.R<IPFV> thing  
 yot-u- $\emptyset$ .  
 DEM-MDIST-SG.F  
 ‘We were going to the big building to look at things there.’ (120520-000:558.120)  
 RNS, AS
- (16.427) h-o< $\emptyset$ ><me>wil wan wan lolewa yot-u- $\emptyset$ , hebi  
 1PL-take.R<SG.F><IPFV> heart heart thing DEM-MDIST-SG.F 1PL  
 h-a<me>ga- $\emptyset$ .  
 1PL-get.R<IPFV>-SG.F  
 ‘After we became aware of the things there, we were buying.’ (120520-000:561.824)  
 RNS, AS
- (16.428) y-a<me>ga- $\emptyset$  nomal, maladi he-ma, y-o<i><me>wil  
 2PL-get.R<IPFV>-SG.F after afternoon CNT-IPFV 2PL-take.R<PL><IPFV>  
 nebal-gi tiawa-i si  $\emptyset$ -a<me>na tumani mai?  
 tree-PL short-PL again 3PL-come.R<IPFV> building Q  
 ‘After you (pl) were buying, in the afternoon, were you (pl) taking a car and  
 coming back home?’ (120520-000:567.756) RNS, TW
- (16.429) awo.  
 yes  
 ‘Yes.’ (120520-000:573.722) RNS, AS
- (16.430) hebi h-aro h-a<me>ga- $\emptyset$ , h-a<me>ga- $\emptyset$   
 1PL 1PL-go.R 1PL-get.R<IPFV>-SG.F 1PL-get.R<IPFV>-SG.F  
 h-a<me>ga- $\emptyset$  ... moti.  
 1PL-get.R<IPFV>-SG.F ... pot  
 ‘We went to buy ... a pot.’ (120520-000:574.999) RNS, AS
- (16.431) m-a<me>ga- $\emptyset$  moti w- $\emptyset$ =di- $\emptyset$  Bag.  
 1SG-get.R<IPFV>-SG.F pot REL-SG=3-SG.F Bethsiba  
 ‘I was buying Bethsiba’s pot.’ (120520-000:579.097) RNS, AS

- (16.432) m-a<me>ga-ki danua sahal w-∅=di-∅ hiwora w-∅=di  
 1SG-get.R<IPFV>-APPL PREP bush.knife REL-SG=3-SG.F wife REL-SG=3  
 colin sahal w-n=hem.  
 colin bush.knife REL-SG.M=1SG  
 ‘I was buying the bush knife for Colin’s wife, my bush knife.’ (120520-000:581.222)  
 RNS, AS
- (16.433) h-a<me>ga-∅ nawi yot-u-∅ ta h-oti-wa-∅ ki  
 1PL-get.R<IPFV>-SG.F salt DEM-MDIST-SG.F FUT 1PL-hold-AUG-SG.F already  
 h-ana tinogil.  
 1PL-come.R village  
 ‘We were buying salt there for us to carry home.’ (120520-000:586.043) RNS, AS
- (16.434) h-aga-∅ h-aro h-ormia.  
 1PL-get.R-SG.F 1PL-go.R 1PL-stay.R.IPFV  
 ‘We bought and then went and waited.’ (120520-000:590.046) RNS, AS
- (16.435) h-atr-e-i nebal-gi tiawa-i w-ei=de-i hamei w-ei=de-i ...  
 1PL-see.R-AUG-PL tree-PL short-PL REL-PL=3-PL people REL-PL=3-PL ...  
 yot-ua-i helol ∅-akia yo.  
 DEM-DIST-PL work 3PL-go.via.R path  
 ‘We saw the car belongs to the men from ... there working on the road.’ (120520-000:591.715) RNS, AS
- (16.436) colin w-nobia hebi, ta hebi ta h-aro h-ode-i.  
 colin 1PL-talk.R 1PL FUT 1PL FUT 1PL-go.R 1PL-and.R-PL  
 ‘Colin told us, “We will go with them .”’ (120520-000:597.648) RNS, AS
- (16.437) hebi ta hiro h-iga nebal-gi tiawa-i yot-u-i.  
 1PL FUT NEG 1PL-get.I tree-PL short-PL DEM-MDIST-PL  
 ‘We will not buy that car there.’ (120520-000:600.099) RNS, AS
- (16.438) hebi ta h-ar nebal-gi tiawa-i ŋa-i.  
 1PL FUT 1PL-go.to.R tree-PL short-PL one-PL  
 ‘We will go by the other car.’ (120520-000:603.066) RNS, AS
- (16.439) hebi ta h-aga-i.  
 1PL FUT 1PL-get.R-PL  
 ‘We will pay them.’ (120520-000:604.929) RNS, AS
- (16.440) hebi puyu hirka heirua-mi.  
 1PL rock green NEG-IPFV  
 ‘We have no money left.’ (120520-000:606.317) RNS, AS



- (16.441) ki h-aga- $\emptyset$  lolewa yot-u- $\emptyset$  heirua-mi.  
 already 1PL-get.R-SG.F thing DEM-MDIST-SG.F NEG-IPFV  
 ‘We have paid for the goods and it’s gone now.’ (120520-000:607.764) RNS, AS
- (16.442) hem m-ieda.  
 1SG 1SG-hear.R  
 ‘I heard.’ (120520-000:610.141) RNS, AS
- (16.443) hebi h-o- $\emptyset$ <me>wil lolewa h-gei-ka- $\emptyset$  d-awo  
 1PL 1PL-take.R<SG.F><IPFV> thing 1PL-leave.R-AUG-SG.F MDL-set.R  
 nebal-gi tiawa-i yot-u-i.  
 tree-PL short-PL DEM-MDIST-PL  
 ‘We got the things and put it on the car there.’ (120520-000:611.107) RNS, AS
- (16.444) hiro sipeki-i, hiro hewo.  
 NEG little-PL NEG bottom  
 ‘It is not small, and it is not low.’ (120520-000:614.103) RNS, AS
- (16.445) nebal-gi tiawa-i w-ei=lope-i, tupi he.  
 tree-PL short-PL REL-PL=big-PL top CNT  
 ‘The car is very big, it is tall.’ (120520-000:615.820) RNS, AS
- (16.446) hebi h-arkou h-aro h-ormia tupi.  
 1PL 1PL-ascend.R 1PL-go.R 1PL-stay.R-IPFV top  
 ‘We jump on and are sitting on top.’ (120520-000:617.989) RNS, AS
- (16.447) h-gei-ka- $\emptyset$  lolewa w-d-a<m>wo.  
 1PL-leave-AUG-SG.F thing 3SG.F-MDL-set.R<IPFV>  
 ‘We put our things down.’ (120520-000:620.529) RNS, AS
- (16.448) nebal-gi tiawa-i yot-u-i  $\emptyset$ -w-owil hebi.  
 tree-PL short-PL DEM-MDIST-PL 3PL-1PL-take.R 1PL  
 ‘The car, it picked us up.’ (120520-000:622.065) RNS, AS
- (16.449) h-a<me>r tumani siwei.  
 1PL-go.to.R<IPFV> building again  
 ‘We were going back home.’ (120520-000:624.305) RNS, AS
- (16.450) aro y-ormia.  
 go.R 2PL-stay.R-IPFV  
 ‘You (pl) went and are staying.’ (120520-000:628.351) RNS, TW

- (16.451) y-o y-aro no psia y-ar tumani.  
 2PL-stay.R 2PL-go.R until arrive 2PL-arrive.R building  
 ‘You (pl) stay and then went until you arrived at home.’ (120520-000:629.986)  
 RNS, TW
- (16.452) nebal-gi tiawa-i y-gei<me> ye-m.  
 tree-PL short-PL 2PL-leave.R<IPFV> 2SG-PL  
 ‘The car dropped you (pl).’ (120520-000:632.111) RNS, TW
- (16.453) y-ormia.  
 2PL-stay.R.IPFV  
 ‘You (pl) are staying.’ (120520-000:633.583) RNS, TW
- (16.454) yot-u-∅ he-pa. pirsakai ki m-odi-∅ Ansela h-nobia  
 DEM-MDIST-SG.F CNT-ADD legend already 1SG-and.R-SG.F Ansela 1PL-talk.R  
 ∅-aro.  
 1PL-go.R  
 ‘That’s all of the story I asked with Ansela and we talked.’ (120520-000:635.162)  
 RNS, TW
- (16.455) yot-u-∅ he-pa hirua-mi.  
 DEM-MDIST-SG.F CNT-ADD NEG-IPFV  
 ‘That’s all, it’s finished.’ (120520-000:640.581) RNS, TW
- (16.456) ta h-ormia si wan n-ar<m>ketal ŋa-∅ siwei ta  
 FUT 1PL-stay.R.IPFV again heart 3SG.M-split.R<IPFV> one-SG.F again FUT  
 si h-no<me>bia.  
 again 1PL-talk.R<IPFV>  
 ‘We will sit and again think about the other one and we will talk again.’ (120520-000:642.255) RNS, TW
- (16.457) yot-u-∅ he-pa.  
 DEM-MDIST-SG.F CNT-ADD  
 ‘That’s all.’ (120520-000:646.654) RNS, TW

# Appendix B: Yeri bound morphemes

This glossary is intended to serve as a quick reference to bound grammatical morphemes in Yeri. Each occurrence of a bound morpheme referenced in the grammar, either in-text or within examples, is linked to its corresponding entry in this glossary. As a reminder, I use the term ‘lexical allomorph’ to refer to a lexically conditioned form of a morpheme, while I use the term ‘phonological allomorph’ to refer to a phonologically conditioned form of a morpheme. Given these definitions, it is possible for a lexical allomorph of a morpheme to have phonological allomorphs. This simply means that one morpheme has several forms which are determined based on the inflectional class of the lexical item (e.g. inflectional class 7 selects the plural lexical allomorph *-(e)tV* while inflectional class 5 selects the plural lexical allomorph *-agia*) and one of these lexical allomorphs has additional forms which are determined based on phonological conditioning (e.g. the lexical allomorph *-(e)tV* has three phonological allomorphs *-tĩ*, *-ta*, and *-eti* which are selected based on the form of the noun root in inflection class 7).

All morphemes and lexical allomorphs are listed as entries with phonological allomorphs listed as subentries beneath the relevant morpheme or lexical allomorph. Basic distributional information is provided under each entry as well as cross-references to sections in the grammar which discuss that particular form. Where a morpheme or lexical allomorph has phonological allomorphs, these are identified within its entry. Each phonological allomorph subentry also includes a label indicating the morpheme or lexical allomorph that it is a variant of. For example, *-(e)gVl* is the label chosen for a morpheme which has three phonological allomorphs: *-gal*, *-gĩl*, and *-egal*. The three phonological allomorphs are listed as subentries to the lexical allomorph entry *-(e)gVl*.

## additive

- p-** (ADD) additive. Occurs after the first syllable of the verb root on a lexically specified class of verbs and triggers deletion of immediately following velar consonants (see section 8.4.1.2).
- pa-** (ADD) additive. Occurs after the first syllable of the verb root on a lexically specified

class of verbs (see section 8.4.1.3).

**-pe-** (ADD) additive. Occurs after the first syllable of the verb root on a lexically specified class of verbs (see section 8.4.1.1).

**=pia** (ADD.NVPC) additive non-verbal pronominal clitic. Occurs as the non-verbal pronominal clitic selected to express additive meaning (see section 8.6).

**-pV** (ADD) additive. An additive allomorph which occurs on the relational morpheme (preceding personal pronoun roots and WGN adjective roots), nouns, adnominals, particles, and ideophones. This allomorph has two phonological allomorphs when it occurs with the relational morpheme: *-ba* and *-bo* (see section 8.3). It also has two phonological allomorphs when it occurs with nouns, adnominals, and particles: *-pa* and *-pi* (see section 8.5.2). When it occurs with ideophones, only the default allomorph *-pa* can occur (see section 8.5.1).

**-ba** (ADD) additive phonological allomorph of *-pV*. Occurs on the relational morpheme when the vowel in the following syllable is not /o/ (see section 8.3).

**-bo** (ADD) additive phonological allomorph of *-pV*. Occurs on the relational morpheme when the vowel in the following syllable is /o/ (see section 8.3).

**-pa** (ADD) additive phonological allomorph of *-pV*. Occurs on nouns, adnominals, and particles when the vowel in the preceding syllable is a high monophthong (see section 8.5.2). This is the only additive allomorph that occurs on ideophones.

**-pi** (ADD) additive phonological allomorph of *-pV*. Occurs on nouns, adnominals, and particles when the vowel in the preceding syllable is not a high monophthong (see section 8.5.2).

### augment

**-dV or =dV** (AUG) augment. An augment allomorph which occurs immediately before an object suffix on a lexically specified class of verbs (see section 7.3.3.2) and as a bare non-verbal allomorph (see section 4.2). This allomorph has two phonological allomorphs: *-de*, and *-da*.

**-da or =da** (AUG) phonological allomorph of the *dV* lexical allomorph. The default phonological allomorph *-da* is selected as an augment when the verb root does not end in a monophthong /a/ vowel (see section 7.3.3.2). It is selected as a phonological allomorph of a bare non-verbal pronominal clitic (represented as *=da*) when the vowel in the immediately preceding syllable is a high monophthong vowel (see section 4.2).

**-de or =de** (AUG) phonological allomorph of *-dV/=dV*. The phonological allomorph *-de* is selected as an augment when the vowel in the preceding syllable ends in a monophthong /a/ vowel (see section 7.3.3.2). It is selected as a phonological allomorph of the bare non-verbal pronominal clitic (represented as *=de*) when the

vowel in the immediately preceding syllable is not a high monophthong vowel (see section 4.2).

- ha** (AUG) augment. Occurs immediately before an object suffix on a lexically specified class of verbs (see section 7.3.3.2).
- ka** (AUG) augment. Occurs immediately before an object suffix on a lexically specified class of verbs (see section 7.3.3.2).
- (w)V** (AUG) augment. An augment allomorph which occurs immediately before an object suffix on a lexically specified class of verbs. This allomorph has four phonological allomorphs: *-we*, *-wa*, *-e*, and *-a* (see section 7.3.3.2).
- a** (AUG) augment phonological allomorph of *-(w)V*. The phonological allomorph *-a* is selected when the verb root ends in a consonant and the vowel in the preceding syllable is a high monophthong vowel (see section 7.3.3.2).
- e** (AUG) augment phonological allomorph of *-(w)V*. The phonological allomorph *-e* is selected when the verb root ends in a consonant and the vowel in the preceding syllable is not a high monophthong vowel (see section 7.3.3.2).
- wa** (AUG) augment phonological allomorph of *-(w)V*. The phonological allomorph *-wa* is selected when the verb root ends in a vowel and that vowel is a high monophthong vowel (see section 7.3.3.2).
- we** (AUG) augment phonological allomorph of *-(w)V*. The phonological allomorph *-we* is selected when the verb root ends in a vowel and that vowel is not a high monophthong vowel (see section 7.3.3.2).

#### deictic morphemes

- a** (PROX) proximal. Occurs only immediately following the demonstrative root *yot-* (see section 3.5.2.1).
- u** (MDIST) mid distal. Occurs only immediately following the demonstrative root *yot-* (see section 3.5.2.1).
- ua** (DIST) distal. Occurs only immediately following the demonstrative root *yot-* (see section 3.5.2.1).

#### feminine

- ha** (SG.F) singular feminine. Occurs only on the lexical item *yalmi* ‘grandparent, grandchild’ (see section 5.3.2).
- he-** (SG.F) singular feminine. Occurs on verbs which select object infixes (see section 7.3.3.1).
- ∅-** (SG.F) reduced pronunciation of the singular feminine lexical allomorph *-he-*. Occurs in contexts where vowel reduction and /h/ deletion have occurred (see section 2.4.7 and section 2.1.1.4).
- i** (F) feminine. Occurs only on the numeral *wia* ‘two’ (see section 3.5.3.1, section 5.3.3).

and section 5.5.3).

- ∅** (SG.F) singular feminine. Occurs on some nouns which show overt gender (see section 5.3.2), third person pronouns (see section 3.3), verbs which select for suffixes or augmented suffixes (see section 7.3.3.2), and lexical items in the GN agreement class (see section 5.5.2).

### imperfective

- m-** (IPFV) imperfective. Occurs after the first syllable of the verb root on a lexically specified class of verbs and triggers deletion of immediately following velar consonants (see section 8.4.1.2).
- ma-** (IPFV) imperfective. Occurs after the first syllable of the verb root on a lexically specified class of verbs (see section 8.4.1.3).
- me-** (IPFV) imperfective. Occurs after the first syllable of the verb root on a lexically specified class of verbs (see section 8.4.1.1).
- =**mia** (IPFV.NVPC) imperfective non-verbal pronominal clitic. Occurs as the non-verbal pronominal clitic selected to express imperfective meaning (see section 8.6).
- mV** (IPFV) imperfective. An imperfective allomorph which occurs on the relational morpheme (preceding personal pronoun roots and WGN adjective roots), nouns, adnominals, particles, and ideophones. This allomorph has two phonological allomorphs when it occurs with the relational morpheme: *-ma* and *-mo* (see section 8.3). It also has two phonological allomorphs when it occurs with nouns, adnominals, and particles: *-ma* and *-mi* (see section 8.5.2). When it occurs with ideophones, only the default allomorph *-ma* can occur (see section 8.5.1).
- ma** (IPFV) imperfective phonological allomorph of -mV. Occurs on the relational morpheme when the vowel in the following syllable is not /o/ (see section 8.3). Occurs on nouns, adnominals, and particles when the vowel in the preceding syllable is a high monophthong (see section 8.5.2). This is the only allomorph that occurs on ideophones (see section 8.5.1).
- mi** (IPFV) imperfective phonological allomorph of -mV. Occurs on nouns, adnominals, and particles when the vowel in the preceding syllable is not a high monophthong (see section 8.5.2).
- mo** (IPFV) imperfective phonological allomorph of -mV. Occurs on the relational morpheme when the vowel in the following syllable is not /o/ (see section 8.3).

### locative

- gVl** (LOC) locative. A locative allomorph which occurs in the last template slot on fully-inflected verbs. This allomorph has two phonological allomorphs: *-gal* and *-gil* (see section 7.10.)
- gal** (LOC) locative phonological allomorph of the *-gVl* locative morpheme. Occurs

in the last template slot on fully-inflected verbs. This phonological allomorph can optionally be chosen when the vowel in the preceding syllable is a high monophthong vowel (see section 7.10).

**-gil** (LOC) default locative phonological allomorph of the *-gVl* locative morpheme. Occurs in the last template slot on fully-inflected verbs. This phonological allomorph can occur regardless of the vowel(s) in the preceding syllable (see section 7.10).

**ti-** (LOC) locative. Occurs with a restricted class of nouns (see section 5.6).

#### **masculine**

**-m** (M) masculine. Occurs only on the numeral *wia* ‘two’ (see section 3.5.3.1, section 5.3.3 and section 5.5.3).

**-n** (SG.M) singular masculine. Occurs on some nouns which show overt gender (see section 5.3.2), third person pronouns (see section 3.3), verbs which select for suffixes or augmented suffixes (see section 7.3.3.2), and lexical items in the GN agreement class (see section 5.5.2).

**-na** (SG.M) singular masculine. Occurs only on the lexical item *yalmi* ‘grandparent, grandchild’ (see section 5.3.2).

**-ne-** (SG.M) singular masculine. Occurs on verbs which select object infixes (see section 7.3.3.1).

#### **object prefixes**

**b-** (1SG) first person singular object. Occurs in the second prefix slot on verbs (see section 7.3.2).

**w-** (1PL) first person plural object. Occurs in the second prefix slot on verbs (see section 7.3.2).

**y-** (2) second person object. Occurs in the second prefix slot on verbs (see section 7.3.2).

#### **plural**

**-agia** (PL) plural. Occurs on nouns in inflectional class 5 (see section 5.4.2.3).

**-aguei** (PL) plural. Occurs on nouns in inflectional class 6 (see section 5.4.2.4).

**-(l)bia** (PL) plural. A plural allomorph which occurs on inflectional class 8 noun roots. This allomorph has two phonological allomorphs: *-bia* and *-lbia* (see section 5.4.2.6).

**-bia** (PL) plural phonological allomorph of *-(l)bia*. Occurs on inflectional class 8 noun roots that end in a high monophthong vowel (see section 5.4.2.6).

**-lbia** (PL) plural phonological allomorph of *-bia*. Occurs on inflectional class 8 noun roots that do not end in a high monophthong vowel (see section 5.4.2.6).

**-ei** (PL) plural. Occurs on the relational morpheme with genitive pronouns (see section 3.5.4) and WGN adjectives (see section 3.5.1.1).

**-gi** (PL) plural. Occurs on nouns in inflectional class 14 and some N adjectives (see section 5.4.2.12) and section 3.5.1.3.

- hegal** (PL) plural. Occurs on nouns in inflectional class 2 (see section 5.4.2.2).
- hi-** (PL) plural. Occurs on the verb *gakua* ‘wash’ in the irrealis (see section 7.3.3.1).
- i-** (PL) plural. Occurs on verbs which select object infixes (see section 7.3.3.1).
- i** (PL) plural. Occurs on a wide range of word classes and subclasses including nouns in inflectional class 10 (see section 5.4.2.8), nouns in inflectional class 12 (see section 5.4.2.10), third person pronouns (see section 5.4.1.1), verbs which select for third person suffixes or augmented suffixes (see section 7.3.3.2), and lexical items classified in the GN agreement class (see section 5.5.2).
- (e)gVl** (PL) plural. A plural allomorph which occurs on inflectional class 1 noun roots. This allomorph has three phonological allomorphs: *-gal*, *-gil*, and *-egal* (see section 5.4.2.1).
- egal** (PL) plural phonological allomorph of the *-(e)gVl* plural allomorph. Occurs on inflectional class 1 noun roots that end in a nasal or the VV sequence /ou/ (see section 5.4.2.1).
- gal** (PL) plural phonological allomorph of *-(e)gVl*. Occurs on inflectional class 1 noun roots which do not end in a nasal and where the preceding syllable consists of a high monophthong vowel (see section 5.4.2.1).
- gil** (PL) plural phonological allomorph of the *-(e)gVl* plural allomorph. Occurs on inflectional class 1 noun roots which do not end in a nasal and where the preceding syllable does not consist of a high monophthong vowel (see section 5.4.2.1).
- ia** (PL) plural. Occurs on nouns in inflectional class 13 (see section 5.4.2.11).
- l** (PL) plural. Occurs on nouns in inflectional class 9 and nouns in inflectional class 15 (see section 5.4.2.7 and section 5.4.2.13).
- m** (PL) plural (rare). Occurs on a wide range of word classes and subclasses including pronouns (see section 3.3), verbs which select for suffixes or augmented suffixes (see section 7.3.3.2), and lexical items in the GN agreement class (see section 5.5.2).
- megal** (PL) plural. Occurs on nouns in inflectional class 3 (see section 5.4.2.2).
- mi** (PL) plural. allomorph that occurs on the noun *nol* ‘bird’ (see section 5.4.2.14).
- pegal** (PL) plural. Occurs on nouns in inflectional class 4 (see section 5.4.2.2).
- wil** (PL) plural. Occurs on nouns in inflectional class 7 (see section 5.4.2.5).

#### singular

- (e)tV** (SG) singular. A singular allomorph which occurs on inflectional class 7 and inflectional class 11 noun roots. This allomorph has three phonological allomorphs: *-ti*, *-eti*, and *-ta* (see section 5.4.2.5 and section 5.4.2.9).
- eti** (SG) singular phonological allomorph of *-(e)tV*. Occurs on noun roots which end in a semi-vowel (see section 5.4.2.5).
- ta** (SG) singular phonological allomorph of *-etV*. Occurs on noun roots which end in



/ke/ (see section 5.4.2.5).

**-ti** (SG) default singular phonological allomorph of  $-(e)tV$ . Occurs on noun roots that do not end in a semi-vowel or /ke/ (see section 5.4.2.5 and section 5.4.2.9). Note that inflectional class 11 includes only two members, both of which end in /l/ and select for  $-ti$ .

**-l** (SG) singular. Occurs on nouns in inflectional class 10 (see section 5.4.2.8).

**-l(V)** (SG) singular. A singular allomorph which occurs on inflectional class 8 noun roots. This allomorph has two phonological allomorphs:  $-la$  and  $-l$  (see section 5.4.2.6).

**-l** (SG) singular phonological allomorph of  $-l(V)$ . Occurs on inflectional class 8 noun roots that do not end in a high monophthong vowel (see section 5.4.2.6).

**-la** (SG) singular phonological allomorph of  $-l(V)$ . Occurs on inflectional class 8 noun roots that end in a high monophthong vowel (see section 5.4.2.6).

**-∅** (SG) singular. Occurs on the relational morpheme with WGN adjectives (see section 3.5.1.1).

#### subject prefixes

**m-** (1SG) first person singular subject. Occurs in the first prefix slot on verbs (see section 7.3.1).

**h-** (1PL) first person plural subject. Occurs in the first prefix slot on verbs (see section 7.3.1).

**n-** (2SG) second person singular subject. Occurs in the first prefix slot on verbs (see section 7.3.1).

**n-** (3SG.M) third person singular masculine subject. Occurs in the first prefix slot on verbs. See section 7.3.1

**w-** (3SG.F) third person singular feminine subject. Occurs in the first prefix slot on verbs (see section 7.3.1).

**w-** (3PL) third person plural subject. Occurs in the first prefix slot on verbs (see section 7.3.1).

**∅-** (3PL) third person plural subject. Occurs in the first prefix slot on verbs (see section 7.3.1).

**∅-** (1PL) first person plural subject. Occurs in the first prefix slot on verbs (see section 7.3.1).

**y-** (2PL) second person plural subject. Occurs in the first prefix slot on verbs (see section 7.3.1).

#### other

**d-** (DTR) reflexive, reciprocal, or middle. Occurs on verbs to indicate a reflexive/reciprocal object or to denote a middle meaning (see section 7.5).

**-ki** (APPL) applicative object. Occurs on verbs and ideophones to add an applicative

object. See section 7.7.3.

**w** = (REL) relational. Occurs with genitive pronouns (see section 3.5.4), WGN adjectives (see section 3.5.1.1), and with the subordinator *wɔ̃* (see section 14.2.1).

# Appendix C: Yeri-English abridged dictionary

## A

**abokranua** *obikrane* (ie, e : none : -n)

v. to dry or smoke

625, 679

**abor** (e : none : -ne-)

vt. to complete or finish an item or activity

108, 115, 144, 679

**ada** *ade* (e : -me- : wa-n)

vt. to cut or chop

65, 66, 71, 79, 107, 110, 161, 271, 318, 324, 363, 364, 399, 412, 471, 472, 524, 615, 679

**aga** (e : -me- : -n)

vt. to get or buy something

65, 66, 77, 91, 105, 140, 161, 166, 168, 223, 242, 285, 291, 332, 340, 357, 405, 418, 542, 548, 550, 562, 586, 587, 592, 594, 600, 622, 646, 655, 664--669, 679

**agir** (e : -me- : a-n)

vt. to drag or pull something

100, 359, 360, 679

**aguti** (e : -me- : -ne-)

vt. to place an item on the fire to burn its outside, often to remove the hair from an animal

90, 111, 114, 154, 356, 395--397, 431, 457, 470, 476, 498, 499, 566, 592, 621--623, 628--630, 679

**ahala** *ahale* (e : -me- : wa-n)

vt. to fold, roll, or hug

364, 398, 679

**ahoper** (e : -me- : da-n)

v. to push or pressure someone to do something

48, 679

**ake** *ke*

EXCL. an exclamation of surprise

163, 286, 558, 679

**aki** (e : -me- : -ne-)

vt. to stick something inside something else, as in to stick something into the matting of the walls

92, 362, 391, 679

**akia** (e : -m- : we-n)

vi. to move in a particular direction

230, 283, 284, 517, 556, 559, 577, 637, 639, 640, 650, 654, 656--658, 668, 679

**akubil** (e : -me- : -ne-, a-n)

vt. to cover an entity in a material

48, 361, 679

|                                                                                                                                                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>akukeli</b> (e : -me- : -ne-)                                                                                                                | 55, 305, 306, 311, 331, 556, 576, 626, 680                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| vt. to shake something in a circle, typically vines                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| 81, 617, 680                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>alba</b> <i>albe</i> (e : none : wa-n)                                                                                                       | <b>ana</b> (e : -me- : anarki dan)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| vt. to touch or feel                                                                                                                            | vi. to come                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 363, 364, 534, 559, 680                                                                                                                         | 42, 43, 61, 66, 91, 93, 103, 115, 126, 127, 133, 134, 138, 140, 142, 158, 160, 168, 195, 211, 212, 223, 224, 231, 240, 267, 274, 276, 287, 295, 306, 313, 314, 320, 333, 334, 342, 347--349, 354, 362, 377--380, 383, 384, 386--389, 392, 399, 400, 403, 407, 427, 467, 475, 476, 478, 479, 481, 485, 486, 488, 490, 491, 493, 508, 515, 516, 522, 524, 532, 539, 545, 549, 553, 556, 559, 560, 565, 566, 568, 570, 572--577, 579, 586--588, 591, 593--595, 598--600, 602, 605, 608, 611, 615--617, 639, 646, 648--652, 656--658, 661--664, 666--668, 680 |
| <b>alia</b> (e : -me- : -n)                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| vt. to drop or throw                                                                                                                            | <b>ania</b> (e : -me- : -n)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 52, 91, 103, 107, 138, 160, 195, 317, 357, 414, 423, 479, 485, 498, 575, 591, 615, 622, 638, 680                                                | vt. to call out for someone                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <b>alkial</b> (e : -m- : e-n)                                                                                                                   | 71, 91, 93, 102, 103, 107, 247, 248, 357, 401, 430, 463, 513, 517, 544, 548, 680                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| vt. to pull                                                                                                                                     | <b>anibir</b> (e : -me- : ha-n)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| 79, 100, 112, 161, 186, 214, 311, 360--362, 454, 641, 643, 653, 680                                                                             | vt. (i) to send someone; (ii) to sell something                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>alkual</b> (e : -m- : we-n)                                                                                                                  | 240, 305, 358, 431, 541, 542, 648, 666, 680                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| v. to change colors                                                                                                                             | <b>ano</b> (e : -me- : da-n)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 147, 499, 680                                                                                                                                   | v. to push                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <b>almo</b> (e : -me- : unknown)                                                                                                                | 61, 108, 222, 399, 400, 643, 680                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| vi. to die                                                                                                                                      | <b>anokil</b> (e : -me- : a-n)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 184, 185, 225, 300, 373, 378, 382, 401, 412, 431, 455, 467, 486, 490, 499, 503, 507, 545, 547, 549, 558--560, 569, 572, 579, 588, 612, 643, 680 | vt. to bite                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <b>alolia</b> (e : -me- : -n)                                                                                                                   | 78, 79, 100, 238, 239, 311, 319, 370, 413, 414, 423, 542, 551, 603, 613, 639, 640, 680                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| vt. to turn or roll                                                                                                                             | <b>anor</b> (e : -me- : e-n)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 357, 478, 528, 624, 652, 680                                                                                                                    | vi. to descend or go down                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <b>altobi</b> (e : -me- : wa-n)                                                                                                                 | 76, 100, 113, 213, 214, 242, 380, 383, 385, 387--389, 408, 489, 542, 562, 579, 597, 637--639, 641, 642, 664, 680                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| v. to force a person to do something                                                                                                            | <b>anu</b> (e : -me- : da-n)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 364, 454, 680                                                                                                                                   | v. to sniff or smell                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <b>altou</b> (e : -me- : e-n)                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| vt. to cover an entity with something                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| 100, 112, 329, 330, 370, 439, 453, 456, 592, 594, 680                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>ada</b> <i>odia, adia</i> (ie : -ma- : -n)                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| vt. to be similar to or be like                                                                                                                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |

61, 102, 359, 489, 681

**apata** *eipata*

**EXCL.** an exclamation of surprise

163, 681

**apil** (e : -m- : a-n)

**VT.** to collect or gather together items

66, 78, 79, 99, 100, 112, 240, 275, 359, 360, 373, 592, 681

**apoki** (e : -m- : -ne-)

**VT.** to stick something to a vertical surface

391, 394, 681

**ar** *aro* (e : -me- : aroki dan)

**VI.** to go

16, 30, 42, 45, 82, 84, 92, 93, 95, 103, 106--109, 113--115, 123, 126, 127, 133, 138, 139, 141, 142, 154, 167, 168, 199, 200, 212--214, 233, 248, 266, 274, 275, 278, 279, 285, 289, 295, 298, 299, 305, 306, 310--312, 317, 318, 320, 326, 327, 331, 333, 335, 337, 340, 341, 352, 354, 361, 362, 365, 372, 373, 375, 377--381, 383, 384, 387, 389, 395, 399, 403, 407--413, 419, 423, 426, 434, 436, 445, 453, 462--464, 466, 468, 471, 472, 476, 478, 479, 481, 483, 486, 487, 489, 491--493, 498, 499, 504--506, 513, 516--519, 522, 524, 525, 528, 532--536, 538, 541, 542, 544, 547, 550--554, 556, 558--561, 566--569, 571--577, 580--584, 586--588, 591--593, 595--598, 600, 601, 607, 611, 615, 623, 624, 629, 637--658, 661--670, 681, 792

**arepia** (e : -me- : -ne-)

**VT.** to boil something

90, 116, 130, 149, 240, 241, 276, 353, 355, 356, 437, 457, 476, 516, 647, 681

**aria** (e : -me- : da-n)

**V.** to do work

133, 139, 160--162, 169, 272, 276, 284, 314,

335, 351, 365, 373, 386, 434, 461, 468, 469, 498, 523, 524, 539, 546, 558, 567, 589, 602, 624, 629, 659, 681

**arketal** (e : -m- : da-n)

**VI.** to split

56, 670, 681

**arki** (ie, e : -m- : da-n)

**V.** to show something to someone

276, 466, 681

**arkia** *erkia* (e : -m- : ka-n)

**VT.** to carry on the shoulder

114, 154, 175, 358, 404, 681

**arkou** (e : -m- : e-n)

**VI.** to ascend or go up

127, 140, 212, 223, 287, 385, 387--389, 408, 409, 419, 498, 528, 600, 616, 617, 647, 654, 669, 681

**arkuagil** (e : -m- : da-n)

**VI.** to laugh

102, 110, 112, 212, 334, 359, 377, 382--384, 439, 661, 681

**arnia** *atia*, *atr*, *arr* (e : -me- : ar<me>ren)

**VT.** to see or look at something; Note: this verb has four roots: *atia*, *atr*, *arnia*, and *arr*. The *arnia* root is used when there is a predicate morpheme, but no third person object morpheme.

285, 586, 654, 667, 681

**aro** (e : -m- : -n)

**VT.** to carry by resting the strap of a container across the forehead

95, 96, 638, 639, 648, 681

**arobia** (e : -me- : -n)

**VT.** to destroy or tear down

357, 681

**aroti** (e : -me- : -ne-)

**VT.** to cook by wrapping something in a

leaf and placing the leaf on a fire

52, 54, 57, 62, 92, 104, 397, 682

**arr** *atia, atr, arnia* (e : -me- : e-n)

**vt.** to see or look at something; Note: this verb has four roots: *atia*, *atr*, *arnia*, and *arr*. The *arr* root is used when there is both a predicate morpheme and a third person object morpheme.

333, 498, 628, 641, 682

**arwal** (e : -me- : a-n)

**vi.** to cry or weep

52, 92, 184, 185, 298, 299, 302, 372, 373, 382-386, 546, 682

**aruba** (e : -me- : -n)

**vt.** (i) to do a good job or do something properly; (ii) to decorate

94, 117, 139, 153, 215, 357, 403, 404, 407-409, 453, 498, 499, 518, 523, 524, 566, 568-570, 574, 579, 589, 622, 624, 627-630, 661, 682

**aruarkil** *ohorkil* (e : -me- : da-n)

**v.** to run away or flee

226, 227, 293, 384, 549, 682

**asikera** *asikere* (e : -me- : wa-n)

**vt.** to carry on the hip at the side, typically a child

68, 350, 364, 650, 651, 682

**asolkia** (e : -me- : -n)

**vt.** to miss a shot or do badly

44, 116, 153, 245, 431, 629, 630, 682

**asor** (e : -me- : e-n)

**vt.** to rinse or wipe away

44, 66, 100, 154, 247, 248, 352, 359, 403, 408, 479, 682

**atar** (e : -me- : e-n)

**vt.** to split something

79, 100, 360, 407, 425, 622, 630, 682

**ati** (e : -me- : wa-n)

**vt.** to blow on

100, 398, 682

**atia** *atr, arnia, arr* (e : ar<me>nia, ar<me>ren : atren)

**vt.** to see or look at something; Note: this verb has four roots: *atia*, *atr*, *arnia*, and *arr*. The *atia* root is used when there is neither a predicate morpheme, nor a third person object morpheme. This root can also be used to express the meaning 'maybe' (literally 'we'll see') and occurs without a subject morpheme in this context, with an optional object morpheme referring to what will be seen, and without the future particle *ta*.

55, 73, 96, 102, 103, 138, 145, 175, 178, 226, 282, 283, 301, 308, 311, 317-319, 325, 329, 333, 336, 377, 409, 412, 418, 482, 488, 499, 513, 516, 528, 537, 547, 555, 561, 565, 566, 597-600, 637, 641, 648, 658, 682

**atr** *atia, arnia, arr* (e : ar<me>ren : e-n)

**vt.** to see or look at something; Note: this verb has four roots: *atia*, *atr*, *arnia*, and *arr*. The *atr* root is used when there is not a predicate morpheme, but there is a third person object morpheme.

161, 169, 199, 266, 273, 317, 338, 384, 394, 419, 467, 499, 513, 528, 561, 566, 582, 598, 599, 606, 623, 626, 637, 639-641, 652, 654, 661, 666, 668, 682

**awera** *awere* (e : -me- : -ne-, wa-n)

**vt.** to lay something flat

62, 364, 371, 372, 390, 391, 393, 395, 408, 409, 456, 508, 590, 599, 615, 625, 641, 682

**awil** (e : -m- : -ne-)

**vt.** to hang something

104, 109, 111, 137, 169, 371, 372, 384, 390, 391, 393, 394, 576, 682

**awo** *nawo*

CP.yes

187, 195, 202, 205, 380, 480, 494, 645, 659, 667, 683

**awo** (e : -m- : -ne-)

VT. to set something down that has neither an overly long horizontal axis nor an overly long vertical axis

41, 87, 130, 181, 195, 211, 230, 310, 321, 324, 356, 368, 391, 393--395, 422, 481, 485, 488, 498, 507, 508, 513, 515, 569, 571, 579, 590, 624, 638, 641, 663, 669, 683

**awodi** (e : -m- : -n)

VT. to birth a child

89, 181, 331, 357, 379, 470, 538, 683

**awoka** (e : -m- : -ne-, de-n)

VT. to share

102, 359, 397, 683

**aya** (e : -me- : ka-n (give); -ne- (plant))

VT. (i) to give to someone (primary object is the recipient and the secondary object is the theme), (ii) to plant something

29, 33, 54, 60, 81, 92, 104, 113, 139, 143, 176, 183, 184, 187--189, 211, 225, 226, 240, 269, 275, 283, 284, 290, 291, 317, 320, 336, 337, 350, 358, 397, 425, 464, 469, 475, 476, 486--488, 539, 542--544, 550, 551, 561, 562, 568, 570, 573, 574, 583, 590, 591, 600, 603, 605, 606, 608, 617, 642, 654, 657, 665, 683

**ayobua** *ayobo* (e : -me- : -n, da-n)

V. to surpass

649, 683

**ayomia** *daryomia* (e : -me- : -ne-)

VT. to hide something

115, 227, 354, 355, 570, 593, 683

**B**

**ba**

CP1.a particle used to indicate a speaker's

strong belief in the truth of a statement

87, 94, 95, 157, 191, 266, 353, 414, 419, 421, 459, 462, 467, 474, 475, 484, 487--491, 493, 494, 496, 546, 556, 623, 683

**biarbiar** (-gil)

IDEO/N. a river turtle

68, 683

**bikar**

IDEO.to shine

152, 280, 683

**bilgi** (sg:-l, pl:-i)

CW. strong

151, 152, 155, 185, 193, 280, 306, 314, 370, 434, 506, 581, 614, 621, 683

**birbiar**

IDEO.to be twisted or crooked in shape

124, 683

**blil**

IDEO.to appear out of nowhere

67, 683

**bobo**

IDEO.to bark

41, 124, 125, 171, 177, 683

**bobua** *buabua* (-gil; -hegal)

IDEO/N. wild betel nut that grows in the bush

11, 63, 84, 229, 683

**boubou**

IDEO.to make the sound of a gun firing

124, 125, 127, 134, 683

**brulbrul**

IDEO.(i) the sound of the river; (ii) to carry an empty limbum

125, 683

**brilbral**

IDEO.(i) to flop around as in a fish flop-

ping; (ii) to argue loudly

67, 124, 684

**bubeibei** (-gil)

**N.** the label used to refer to the pupal stage of some insects

77, 684

**buerabuera** (-gil)

**IDEO/N.** a small black bird with red eyes

68, 684

**bulbal**

**IDEO.** to break into many pieces, often used to describe dry branches breaking into many pieces when they fall

124, 684

**bumira** (-gil)

**N.** a large gray bird with blue wings and red feet

42, 66, 74, 75, 322, 684

**birbar** *burbur, burbar*

**IDEO.** to step on sticks or fallen branches in the bush and cause them to snap

124, 684

## D

**dago** (e : -m- : -ne-)

**VT.** to tie traditional clothing around the hips

92, 193, 589, 594, 684

**daki** (e : -me- : wa-n)

**VI.** to be in a position of being stuck inside something, often used to refer to something stuck inside the matting of the walls

391, 684

**dalan** (-l; -l-gil)

**N.** a dark brown lizard with a pointy nose about the size of a person's finger.

42, 66, 108, 321, 684

**dalkual** (e : -m- : da-n)

**VI.** to look or search, most often occurs with the applicative morpheme to indicate what is being looked for

214, 349, 418, 421, 492, 593, 594, 600, 616, 617, 684

**dalkuelial** *dalkolial* (e : -m- : unknown)

**VI.** to catch fire or begin burning

84, 156, 341, 342, 622, 624, 625, 628, 684

**daniba** (e : -me- : unknown)

**VI.** to be fat

521, 684

**danua** *nua* (-∅; -n; -i; -m)

**PREP.** for

86, 103, 115, 119, 138, 147, 157, 160--162, 215, 230, 263, 270, 271, 276, 287, 288, 291, 317, 318, 332, 361, 396, 402, 539, 544--548, 591, 632, 645, 646, 660, 668, 684

**darkoka** (e : -me- : we-n)

**V.** to rush or hurry

96, 110, 684

**darku** (e : -m- : wa-n)

**VI.** (i) to run; (ii) to do something quickly  
59, 96, 100, 110, 112, 153, 224, 335, 360, 380, 416, 437, 469, 524, 567, 570--575, 579, 642, 684

**darpoki** *dapoki* (e : -m- : wa-n)

**VI.** to be in a position of being stuck to a vertical surface

391, 394, 423, 684

**daruotil** *daruatil* (e : -m- : daruotren)

**VT.** to step or stomp on

67, 684

**daryomia** (e : -me- : unknown)

**VI.** to hide yourself

227, 312, 665, 684

**datiki** (e : -me- : da-n)

**VI.** (i) to be happy; (ii) to play



102, 359, 476, 521, 525, 532, 545, 685

**dawera** *dawere* (e : -m- : wa-n)

VI. to be in a position of lying flat

81, 364, 371, 385, 390, 391, 393, 590, 685

**dawialta** *dawialkla* (i, e : -me- : dawialklan)

VI. to be afraid or scared

114, 155, 474, 611, 652, 657, 685

**dawil** (e : -m- : a-n)

VI. to be in a position of hanging

92, 169, 371, 384, 385, 391, 393, 394, 478, 576, 685

**dawo** (e : -m- : wa-n)

VI. to be in a position of sitting, typically referring to an item that has neither an overly long horizontal axis nor an overly long vertical axis

91, 324, 360, 385, 391, 394, 395, 512, 515, 569, 570, 590, 685

**de di**

PF.(i) the variant of the third person pronoun *te* that occurs as part of a genitive pronoun, (ii) a form of an augmented suffix that can occur with specific verbs (see the list of common bound morphemes), (iii) a form of a non-verbal pronominal clitic (see the list of common bound morphemes)

54, 82, 96, 103, 107, 109, 118, 131, 136, 142-144, 146, 151, 161, 178, 186, 188, 192, 198, 200, 202, 203, 215, 233, 240, 242, 243, 247, 248, 266-271, 273, 276, 281, 282, 302, 304, 305, 307-310, 312, 313, 316, 318-322, 324, 326-334, 338-340, 348, 354, 365, 367, 370, 372, 377, 382, 387, 389, 394, 404, 405, 412, 418, 420, 425, 426, 428, 434, 442, 443, 445, 453, 456, 465, 466, 470, 473, 475-477, 481, 484, 486, 491, 497, 498, 502-504, 506, 519, 520, 540, 543, 545-548, 561, 566, 576, 577,

588-595, 598, 602, 611, 613, 621, 625, 626, 628-630, 632-636, 638, 639, 641-643, 646, 648, 652, 654, 656-659, 661-663, 665, 667, 668, 685

**deipanaweigil** (inv)

N. a junction where a road splits into two roads

229, 685

**dieka** (i : -m- : we-n)

V. (i) to circle as in *dieka walwal*; (ii) to be lazy as in *dieka heya*

68, 630, 685

**diekra** (i : -me- : we-n)

V. (i) to cut the grass around an area; (ii) to dream

341, 685

**dialdial** (-gil; -hegal)

IDEO/N. a green species of parrot

77, 685

**digoba** *digobua* (ie, e : -me-, -ma- : wa-n)

VI. to waste time

435, 685

**dihalwia** (e : -m- : -n)

V. to push through

435, 685

**dihartol** (e : -me- : e-n, dihartoren)

VI. to slide down or fall out of as in when the ground crumbles in a landslide or when vines fall from a tree

435, 685

**diheini** (i : -me- : da-n)

V. to imitate something

435, 685

**dihelia** (e : -me- : unknown)

VI. to wander around aimlessly

435, 685

**diholbil** (e : -me- : a-n)

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>VT.</b> to swallow<br>435, 686                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 510, 513, 521, 522, 544, 545, 548, 553, 572,<br>586, 599, 639, 649, 653, 658, 660, 662, 664,<br>686                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <b>dihorkiegil</b> <i>dihorkiewegil</i> (inv)<br><b>N.</b> a junction where a road meets a river<br>638, 686                                                                                                                                                              | <b>dogir</b> (e : -me-, -m- : -ne-)<br><b>VT.</b> to carry a bag or bilum at the side by<br>hanging the strap on the shoulder<br>111, 112, 439, 454, 455, 457, 686                                                                                                                                               |
| <b>dildal</b><br><b>IDEO.</b> to be silent<br>124, 686                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | <b>dolbi</b> (ie : -me- : unknown)<br><b>VI.</b> to be hungry<br>42, 69, 155, 184, 185, 374, 382, 416, 454, 477,<br>531--533, 535, 666, 686                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <b>dildil</b><br><b>IDEO.</b> to shiver or tremble<br>52, 77, 124--126, 170, 195, 303, 686                                                                                                                                                                                | <b>dolyulma</b> <i>doloyulma</i> (e : -me- : we-n, de-n)<br><b>VI.</b> to be located in a pile<br>102, 359, 391, 686                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <b>dinagou</b> (e : -me- : unknown)<br><b>VI.</b> to go all the way to the top of a hill<br>or mountain<br>435, 686                                                                                                                                                       | <b>dopar</b> (ie : -m- : e-n, we-n)<br><b>V.</b> to stay close to something<br>374, 686                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <b>dinarkual</b> (e : -me- : e-n)<br><b>V.</b> to stick to something<br>435, 686                                                                                                                                                                                          | <b>dore</b> <i>duare</i> (e : damore : unknown)<br><b>VI.</b> to get up<br>87, 150, 153, 168, 221, 269, 276, 310, 312, 334,<br>374, 379, 385, 405, 410, 418, 419, 428, 433,<br>434, 440, 443, 470, 476--479, 490, 513, 516,<br>556, 572, 578, 596, 598, 646--648, 650, 653,<br>655, 658, 661, 664, 666, 667, 686 |
| <b>dinoni</b> <i>dinonu</i> (i : -me- : wa-n)<br><b>VI.</b> to root or dig, typically by a pig<br>435, 446, 499, 590, 686                                                                                                                                                 | <b>dorkidi</b> <i>dolkidi</i> (i : -m- : wa-n, we-n)<br><b>V.</b> to shake<br>638, 686                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>dinorpia</b> (i : -m- : we-n, da-n)<br><b>V.</b> to discuss or gossip<br>435, 686                                                                                                                                                                                      | <b>dorpi</b> <i>dorkeba, dorkebe</i> (ie : dor<me>ba : wa-<br>n)<br><b>VI.</b> to physically fight; Note: The variant<br><i>dorkeba</i> and the corresponding third person<br>object form <i>dorkebe</i> are very rare.<br>65, 69, 215, 364, 374, 474, 516, 686                                                  |
| <b>dirdir</b><br><b>IDEO.</b> to sit quietly without making a<br>sound<br>124, 686                                                                                                                                                                                        | <b>dualdual</b><br><b>IDEO.</b> to slip or lose footing<br>67, 69, 686                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>dobirkil</b> (e : none : da-n, dobirkren)<br><b>VI.</b> to burst open or be cracked open<br>350, 686                                                                                                                                                                   | <b>duar</b> (-agia)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <b>dodi</b> (i : -me- : wa-n)<br><b>VI.</b> (i) to stand; (ii) to wait<br>30, 82, 107, 126, 195, 204, 213, 221, 230, 283,<br>285, 312, 318, 326, 327, 333, 336, 341, 373,<br>379, 385, 388, 390--392, 412, 414, 416, 418,<br>421, 426, 445, 463, 479, 480, 485, 495, 508, |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |

**n.** (i) a type of tree with strong wood often used for house posts, (ii) a type of black vine

68, 254, 327, 686

**duawir** (i : -m- : unknown)

**vi.** to lean against

342, 374, 383, 391, 394, 687

**dul** (inv)

**n.** a large black and white hawk with red eyes about the size of a young cassowary

155, 198, 282, 687

**duna** (-gil)

**n.** a long dark brown fish that may have white spots. It is common along the coast, but fewer live in the river near the Yeri village

649, 687

**E**

**eikia** (i : -m- : ka-n)

**vi.** to walk

110, 113, 154, 309, 342, 374, 384, 401, 460, 481, 528, 536, 572, 578, 580, 584, 649--652, 655, 664, 687

**eita eita** (i : -me- : unknown)

**v.** to go somewhere

472, 687

**eiwa ei** (i : -m- : unknown)

**vi.** to be from

111, 230, 288, 374, 475, 553, 554, 556, 562, 586--588, 651, 652, 687

**eiwera eiwere** (i : -me-, -m- : wa-n)

**vt.** to name

159, 223, 248, 364, 371, 462, 463, 626, 633--635, 687

**ela** (e : -me- : unknown)

**v.** a copula used with non-reduplicated forms of ideophones

124, 126, 127, 134, 588, 621, 656, 661, 664,

687

**G**

**gakaria** (e : -me- : unknown)

**vi.** to look around

62, 341, 373, 377, 454, 471, 687

**gako** (e : -me- : -n)

**vt.** to chop up

95, 96, 341, 357, 414, 687

**gakua garkua** (e : -me- : -ne-)

**vt.** to wash something

66, 329, 352, 353, 398, 400, 437, 457, 486, 568, 639, 687

**gakual** (e : -me- : -ne-)

**v.** to roll down as in to roll down a hill

499, 566, 687

**galgal**

**IDEO.** (i) to be strong; (ii) to be dry

588, 621, 687

**galpisia** (e : -m- : unknown)

**v.** to separate

112, 687

**gani** (e : -me- : unknown)

**vi.** to dive down

410, 411, 471--473, 483, 521, 555, 687

**gaperi** (e : -m- : a-n, we-n)

**v.** to twist or twist off

362, 687

**gara gare** (e : -me- : wa-n, de-n (HUM))

**vt.** to dig

78, 79, 83, 84, 107, 325, 357, 363, 364, 400, 476, 524, 575, 597, 639, 644, 687

**garkeba** (e : -m- : we-n)

**v.** for a wound to dry out and create a scab

319, 687

**garkil** (e : -m- : da-n, e-n)

**v.** to move or pass over something

439, 481, 505, 506, 687

**garkoi** (e : -m- : unknown)

v. to move along a ridge

110, 312, 431, 454, 688

**garkua** (e : -m- : unknown)

vi. to bathe

138, 522, 538, 658, 688

**garkuare** (e : -m- : -n)

vt. to poison

547, 559, 688

**gawo** (e : -m- : we-n)

v. to open as in to open a door

41, 601, 688

**gawor** (e : -m- : e-n)

v. to squeeze

79, 100, 359, 360, 688

**gayuper ganiper** (e : -m- : -ne-, ha-n)

vt. to drown as in to make someone  
drown

48, 358, 688

**gei** (i : -me- : ka-n, da-n (HUM))

vt. to leave something or someone in a  
place

79, 85, 107, 139, 278, 312, 319, 321, 325, 326,  
357, 358, 362, 374, 389, 409, 453, 515, 548,  
562, 568, 570, 571, 576, 579, 648, 656, 663,  
664, 667, 669, 670, 688

**geiboni** (i : none : we-n)

v. to burn or set fire

233, 342, 374, 519, 573, 574, 688

**giekir** (i : -m- : e-n, we-n)

vi. to bend or be in a bent position

68, 110, 301, 341, 342, 374, 385, 386, 439, 593,  
594, 688

**giewa** (i : -m- : -n, we-n)

v. to peel the outer skin off, as in to peel  
the skin of a yam

353, 355, 688

**girgir girgir**

IDEO. to make a grunting noise

124, 402, 688

**gilgilei gilgilai**

IDEO. to bounce

125, 126, 416, 578--580, 688

**girgir**

IDEO. to scoot or slide over

126, 577, 579, 580, 688

**go** (ie : -me- : ha-n)

v. to remove the bark of a tree

358, 688

**goba gobi** (ie, e : -me-, -ma- : -ne-)

v. to bend in half

98, 226, 243, 247, 276, 304, 305, 320, 367, 371,  
405, 433, 456, 643, 661, 688

**gogala** (-gil)

n. a type of fish

42, 688

**gopua** (i : -m- : -n)

v. to sew a limbum

112, 373, 398, 688

**gori** (i : -me- : wa-n)

v. to reply

373, 688

**gorwedi gordi** (e : -me- : da-n)

vi. to follow

107, 181, 298, 299, 312, 373, 402, 423, 440,  
454, 476, 515, 516, 523, 524, 688

**gosi** (i : -me- : wa-n)

v. to drain water

99, 100, 359, 360, 467, 468, 688

**goti** (e : -me- : -ne-)

vt. to break something like a fishing line

437, 457, 643, 688

**gowil** (ie, e : -me- : a-n)

VT. to count  
78, 79, 92--94, 100, 159, 477, 648, 688

**gulgul**

IDEO. to make a thumping noise by hitting something hollow  
41, 475, 689

**gurgur**

IDEO. to make the sound associated with river rapids  
41, 689

**gilgual** *gulgual*

IDEO. to roll as in to roll down a hill  
41, 68, 124, 577, 689

**girougerou** (-gil)

N. a type of banana grown in the wild and not eaten by people  
63, 67, 689

**girilgeril** (-gal)

IDEO/N. a type of black frog that lives in the swamp and is named for the sound it makes  
124, 125, 689

**H**

**habaha** (-l; -gil; -l-gil)

N. a smooth type of stone  
66, 72, 262, 689

**habalda** (-gil)

N. a dark brown lizard with a long nose  
42, 223, 248, 689

**haben** (-egal)

N. a large brown bird with a gray chest and red legs  
41, 689

**Habeta**

PN. a male name  
339, 689

**habrogil** (-gal; -hegal)

N. a type of tree with small leaves  
262, 689

**hadipen** (-gi; -agil)

N. a type of limbum palm  
108, 408, 513, 689

**hageta** *hageti* (-gil)

N. a termite  
83, 689

**hagil** (inv; -egal (back); sg: han (man))

N. (i) back; (ii) the plural form of man  
323, 638, 639, 641, 689

**hahelia** (inv)

CW. to be plenty, to be a crowd  
152, 241, 280, 286, 577, 689

**haiketa** (sg:-ta, pl:-wil)

N/CW. (i) N. a white cockatoo; (ii) CW. to be white in color  
59, 71, 94, 151, 152, 185, 186, 250, 256, 280, 300, 306, 307, 526, 582, 608, 627, 689

**halasi** (-gal)

N. a net  
44, 73, 689

**halbunal** (halbunagil)

N. a light green lizard with a pointy nose and a short tail  
75, 689

**hale** (unknown)

N. land, used in the expression *hale wapota* which literally means 'the land peels' and is used to refer to a landslide  
61, 689

**halhal**

IDEO. to be angry or unhappy  
124, 160, 544, 689

**Haliebi**

PN. the name of a river  
295, 349, 579, 689

|                                                  |                                                  |
|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| <b>halketa</b> (sg:-ta, pl:-wil)                 | 307, 320, 334, 378, 401, 424, 428, 465, 473,     |
| n. a white fish with black stripes that lives    | 480, 502, 503, 511, 544, 578, 581, 586--589,     |
| in small creeks                                  | 591, 605, 610, 621, 638, 643, 690                |
| 322, 690                                         |                                                  |
| <b>halma</b> (inv)                               | <b>hamual</b> (-gil)                             |
| n. land                                          | n. belly, stomach                                |
| 69, 201, 267, 269, 412, 540, 576, 577, 590, 690  | 88, 229, 495, 641, 642, 690                      |
| <b>halmiebia</b> (-gil)                          | <b>Hamil</b>                                     |
| n. an earthworm                                  | PN. the name of the river on which the           |
| 97, 690                                          | Yeri village is located                          |
| <b>halpina</b> (-gi)                             | 2, 137, 198, 327, 427, 503, 690                  |
| n. a type of sea shell                           | <b>han</b> (-gil)                                |
| 204, 259, 446, 690                               | N ADJ. male                                      |
| <b>halu</b> (-gal)                               | 41, 131, 162, 180, 203, 222, 223, 276, 279, 305, |
| n. a type of tree                                | 330, 331, 424, 690                               |
| 61, 690                                          | <b>hane</b> (-ia-l)                              |
| <b>haluagil</b> (inv)                            | n. a venomous dark yellow species of             |
| n. a mountain                                    | snake with a black nose                          |
| 32, 42, 134, 325, 329, 647, 651, 652, 690        | 43, 51, 90, 191, 242, 243, 557, 690              |
| <b>hame</b> (inv)                                | <b>hanogil</b> (inv)                             |
| n. a creek                                       | n. dirt or ground                                |
| 43, 49, 51, 214, 215, 690                        | 158, 202, 215, 266, 267, 519, 690                |
| <b>hamei</b> (inv)                               | <b>hanol</b> (sg:-l, pl:-lbia)                   |
| n. people                                        | n. a type of tree grub                           |
| 63, 66, 93, 95, 118, 138, 139, 142, 144, 192,    | 76, 186, 238, 250, 256, 261, 503, 520, 526, 690  |
| 193, 237, 267, 271, 275, 276, 285, 289, 305,     | <b>haper</b> (-i)                                |
| 311, 321, 334, 356, 368, 405, 412, 450, 463,     | n. a coconut that is ready for planting          |
| 517, 539, 541, 544, 546, 547, 551, 559--561,     | 76, 258, 690                                     |
| 586, 589, 590, 595, 603, 605, 611, 623, 652,     | <b>hapoti</b> (sg:-ti, pl:-wil)                  |
| 653, 668, 690                                    | n. (i) the main stem (rachis) of the sago        |
| <b>hamnagi</b> (sg:-l, pl:-i)                    | palm leaf to which leaflets connect, often used  |
| n. bone                                          | in the building of houses or benches; (ii) a     |
| 69, 229, 690                                     | bench or bed                                     |
| <b>hamote</b> (-Ø, -n, pl: hamei)                | 328, 498, 566, 690                               |
| n. an individual or person                       | <b>hapuaki</b> (-l)                              |
| 46, 139, 150, 151, 170, 178, 180, 190, 193, 206- | n. a type of tree often found in gardens         |
| -209, 217, 220, 237, 272, 285, 290, 303, 306,    | whose sticks are used to plant bananas           |
| 70, 690                                          |                                                  |

**hapini yapini** (-gal)

N. a potato

41, 228, 229, 243, 691

**haraharahi** *haraharahi* (inv)

N. friend

82, 639, 641, 691

**hare** (-ia)

N. a leaf

11, 49, 51, 81, 90, 91, 96, 101, 138, 160, 178, 206, 207, 222, 241, 259, 414, 461, 482, 496, 508, 510, 562, 575, 590--592, 597, 648, 667, 691

**harei** (-gil)

N. a spine

229, 386, 387, 691

**harkanogi** (sg:-l, pl:-i)

N. a snake

46, 190, 191, 228, 229, 278, 448, 450, 514, 557, 638--643, 691

**harkroki** (-l)

N. a chicken

30, 94, 116, 158, 226, 361, 391, 418, 473, 495, 504, 508, 510, 550, 594, 691

**harkibi** (-aguei)

N. the largest species of snake. Speakers describe two types *harkibi nadi* and *harkibi slopati*. Both are non-venomous.

250, 691

**harogi** (sg:-l, pl:-i)

N. an axe

11, 152, 169, 327, 404, 513, 691

**haripei** (-gil)

N. a type of tree with large round leaves that grows near the river banks. Its leaves are not good for building houses.

322, 691

**haseliagi** (sg:-l, pl:-i)

N. the flesh or meat

317, 691

**hasieki** (-l)

N. fire

70, 87, 156, 169, 181, 211, 311, 312, 380, 384, 398, 404, 406, 407, 412, 470, 471, 477, 488, 515, 519, 574, 622--628, 630, 691

**hasiwuagi** (-l; -gal)

N. a wild mustard that grows in the bush and is not used with betel nut

11, 691

**hate** (-ia-l)

N. cane

66, 83, 90, 115, 196, 261, 691

**hatipo** (-gil)

N. a croton plant

75, 262, 691

**hatomia** (-gil)

N. a type of cuscus that is white, often described as the husband of the *wunmike* cuscus

227, 252, 691

**hawal** (inv)

N. a foot or feet

66, 69, 137, 141, 142, 154, 208, 246--248, 267, 268, 321, 361, 362, 379, 408, 434, 446--448, 499, 560, 657, 691

**hawariena** (-gil)

N. a type of sago palm

389, 691

**hawei** (-gil)

N ADJ. the male of an animal species

131, 134, 196, 227, 589, 691

**hawer** (-gal)

N. butt

209, 691

**hawiyagil** (inv)

|                                                    |                                                     |
|----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| <b>n.</b> hair or fur                              | 94, 117, 133, 139, 159, 161, 197, 213, 247, 261,    |
| 186, 691                                           | 267, 272, 274, 284, 285, 314, 335, 365, 378,        |
| <b>hayir</b> (-gal; -egal; -hegal)                 | 380, 386, 400, 405, 502, 503, 520, 537, 539,        |
| <b>n.</b> a type of tree with red seeds often used | 558, 567, 586, 589, 602, 621, 629, 668, 692         |
| to build houses                                    | <b>helu</b> (inv; -l)                               |
| 97, 252, 261, 262, 322, 692                        | <b>n.</b> the part of a coconut palm that the       |
| <b>he</b>                                          | coconuts hang from                                  |
| <b>CP3.</b> a particle that indicates an action,   | 257, 692                                            |
| event, or state is ongoing or expresses permis-    | <b>helual</b> (inv)                                 |
| sion                                               | <b>n.</b> a load-bearing post placed horizontally   |
| 127, 136, 157, 194, 195, 201, 213, 225, 233,       | to support a structure                              |
| 285, 313, 336, 379, 387, 415, 417, 428, 441-       | 615, 692                                            |
| -446, 459, 475, 476, 483--487, 491, 498, 499,      | <b>hem</b>                                          |
| 508, 567--570, 572, 573, 575, 579, 615, 621,       | <b>PF.</b> a pronoun that refers to only the        |
| 631, 636, 644, 647--649, 651, 662, 667, 669,       | speaker                                             |
| 670, 692                                           | iii, 29, 33, 54, 55, 59, 79, 84--87, 104, 113--115, |
| <b>hebi</b>                                        | 123, 126, 127, 132, 133, 135, 139, 140, 145,        |
| <b>PF.</b> a pronoun that refers to the speaker    | 146, 154, 155, 158, 159, 161, 163, 170, 175,        |
| and at least one other person                      | 176, 178, 179, 181, 185, 187, 190, 195, 196,        |
| 80, 104, 105, 114, 123, 137, 138, 140--142,        | 200--202, 204--207, 211, 212, 214, 223, 226,        |
| 145--147, 158, 160, 161, 168, 170, 174, 175,       | 232, 235, 237, 238, 242, 244, 246, 266, 268,        |
| 181, 188, 192, 198, 200, 201, 204, 206, 214,       | 270, 271, 275, 276, 279, 282, 283, 286, 287,        |
| 225, 235, 244, 248, 266--268, 270, 284, 293,       | 298--302, 306--310, 312, 314--316, 320, 326,        |
| 295, 306, 310, 314, 316, 333--335, 340, 347,       | 328, 330--336, 339, 340, 346, 350, 354, 362,        |
| 349, 365, 377, 378, 383, 386, 395, 396, 399-       | 365, 377, 379--383, 385, 388, 391, 395--397,        |
| -401, 403, 406, 409, 412, 416, 425--427, 446,      | 402--405, 410, 412, 420, 421, 424, 425, 427,        |
| 453, 463, 466, 468, 472, 475, 479, 481, 483,       | 428, 436, 448, 449, 453, 456, 461--465, 470,        |
| 488, 499, 508, 511, 513, 515, 516, 518, 522--      | 474--477, 480, 482, 484, 490--492, 494--496,        |
| 525, 529, 532, 539, 544, 550, 553, 554, 556,       | 503, 504, 509--511, 521--525, 532, 547, 548,        |
| 562, 565, 566, 570, 589--591, 598--600, 607,       | 554, 555, 558--560, 562, 568, 570, 571, 574,        |
| 611, 614, 615, 632, 645, 646, 648--655, 657,       | 577, 579, 590, 592, 594--596, 598--601, 606,        |
| 660--669, 692                                      | 610, 623, 624, 632, 636, 641, 642, 645--647,        |
| <b>hedia</b> (-l)                                  | 655, 657--659, 664--666, 668, 669, 692              |
| <b>n.</b> mustard                                  | <b>hemal</b> (inv)                                  |
| 11, 260, 528, 599, 600, 606, 692                   | <b>n.</b> night                                     |
| <b>helol</b> (inv)                                 | 42, 98, 194, 195, 213, 214, 309, 410, 419, 421,     |
| <b>n.</b> (i) work; (ii) year                      | 444, 445, 464, 478, 483, 485, 493, 591, 600,        |



605, 647--649, 657, 692

**hemaladi** (inv)

N. early evening, literally 'night afternoon'  
from *hemal maladi*  
654, 693

**hemaleikia** (inv)

N. early morning before sunrise, literally  
'night morning' from *hemal maleikia*  
647, 655, 693

**henei** (-gil)

N/CW. (i) blood; (ii) to be red in color  
94, 97, 151, 152, 163, 209, 252, 280, 282, 283,  
301, 304, 305, 313, 330, 468, 577, 693

**hewi** (inv)

N. lime  
55, 61, 198, 262, 397, 427, 505, 508, 626, 629,  
693

**hewo** (inv)

N. (i) the bottom; (ii) ground  
61, 294, 313, 323, 462, 479, 492, 517, 536, 577,  
584, 597, 616, 637, 650, 652, 655, 669, 693

**heya** (-gil)

N. (i) a traditional string bag made in  
Papua New Guinea referred to as a bilum; (ii)  
to be lazy as in the collocation *dieka heya*  
55, 56, 62, 139, 178, 179, 229, 232, 243, 244,  
246, 260, 278, 307, 309, 310, 312, 319, 332,  
354, 449, 509, 550, 576, 626, 630, 648, 662,  
693

**hiari** (inv; -gal)

N. the waist of the body  
70, 693

**hiro** *hirua*

CP2. a particle which expresses negation  
16, 30, 45, 93, 94, 133, 135, 137, 139, 146, 153,  
157, 161, 181, 182, 186, 188, 190--192, 194,  
197--200, 202--204, 206--208, 215, 221, 242,

245, 267, 272, 273, 276, 298, 300--302, 306,  
307, 317, 320, 328--330, 335, 348, 362, 375--  
377, 379, 393, 399, 404, 406, 407, 410, 415,  
417, 421, 426, 434, 435, 442, 443, 446, 449,  
459--461, 473--475, 477, 479--483, 487, 489,  
491, 492, 494--499, 501--531, 533, 534, 537,  
539, 559--562, 564--566, 577, 586, 587, 589,  
593, 599, 600, 606, 608, 610, 615, 621--623,  
626--636, 639--643, 648, 650--653, 657, 658,  
662, 665, 668--670, 693, 793

**hilihil**

IDEO. to crackle, as in the sound a large  
fire makes  
124, 125, 622, 693

**hilihila**

IDEO. to move around  
418, 693

**hilian** (-l-gil)

N. sand, beach  
108, 229, 305, 364, 590, 597, 693

**hiliyeti** (sg:-eti, pl:-wil)

N. bamboo  
57, 229, 392, 693

**hilka** (-gil)

N. a white ghost or spirit  
141, 200, 693

**hilogi** (sg:-l, pl:-i)

N. arm, hand  
46, 137, 139--143, 200, 229, 250, 258, 367, 405,  
456, 504, 514, 693

**hiloka** (-l)

N. pincher, as in the pinchers of an insect  
61, 262, 693

**hiloki** (-l)

N. taro  
11, 46, 61, 353, 485, 693

**hilpia** (hilpigal)

- n.** a flying fox  
389, 538, 693
- hilpote** (-gal)  
**n.** a type of tree with red seeds and round leaves  
52, 57, 74, 75, 322, 694
- hilueti** (-gal; inv)  
**n.** the neck or the throat  
256, 323, 327, 694
- Hipel Heilipil**  
**PN.** the name of a hamlet near Wibi village far to the west of Yeri village  
576, 694
- hireiki** (-l)  
**n.** (i) a scale; (ii) a scar  
208, 209, 694
- hirka** (-l)  
**cw.** to be green, new, or shiny  
55, 103, 140, 152, 178, 179, 188, 207, 208, 214, 226, 275, 280, 307, 311, 449, 456, 511, 512, 539, 550, 568, 570, 574, 591, 600, 622, 629, 664, 665, 668, 694
- hiroba** (-aguei; -gil)  
**n.** a type of beetle that eats the inside of sago palms  
591, 605, 694
- hisiam** (-aguei)  
**n.** poinsetta  
69, 694
- hiwol** (-i)  
**n.** a type of breadfruit  
230, 250, 258, 317, 318, 371, 394, 414, 694
- hiwora** *wora* (-gil; -gi)  
**n.** wife  
46, 96, 98, 107, 186, 192, 266, 268, 309, 319, 320, 331, 332, 338, 340, 348, 382, 412, 416, 436, 441, 442, 491, 545, 598, 646, 654, 658, 661, 662, 665, 668, 694
- hobehi** (sg:-l, pl:-i)  
**n.** a wild fig tree whose leaves are frequently eaten  
258, 388, 694
- hoboyon** *habayon* (-egal)  
**n.** a pouch, typically refers to a marsupial's pouch  
229, 251, 447, 694
- hoboyoria** (-gil)  
**n.** a dark gray lizard with a flat jaw, swollen cheeks, and a thorny tail  
74, 694
- hobi** (-l)  
**cw.** to be soft or weak  
152, 280, 694
- hobi** (inv)  
**n.** a person's body or life  
281, 282, 321, 350, 352, 466, 559, 594, 694
- hodehi** (sg:-l, pl:-i)  
**n.** (i) an elder; (ii) to be old in age  
98, 188, 192, 225, 226, 416, 420, 694
- hodilueti** (sg:-eti, pl:-wil)  
**n.** a type of green that grows in the bush that is commonly eaten  
256, 694
- hogena** (-gil, -hegal)  
**n.** the bush or forest  
81, 694
- hogeta** (inv)  
**n.** forest  
81, 528, 694
- hohagi** (sg:-l, pl:-i)  
**cw.** to feel itchy  
152, 280, 694
- hoharou** (-egal)  
**n.** a bandicoot

- 71, 75, 180, 309, 326, 336, 340, 536, 537, 583, 606, 608, 694
- hokagi** (sg:-l, pl:-i)  
 N. a mosquito  
 370, 695
- hoketi** (sg:-ti, pl:-wil)  
 N. a type of breadfruit  
 255, 261, 397, 695
- hom** (-aguei)  
 N. the dust that results from scraping a sago palm  
 66, 69, 229, 255, 695
- homega** (-gil)  
 N. a type of tree whose fruit is frequently eaten by birds, often referred to as the sand-paper tree  
 83, 695
- homnugi** (sg:-l, pl:-i)  
 N. (i) a tulip tree; (ii) the leaves of a tulip tree, often eaten as greens  
 69, 73, 105, 258, 695
- horikal** (-gil)  
 N. a design  
 75, 178, 695
- howen** (-egal)  
 N. a green parrot with a red chest  
 322, 331, 395, 695
- Howi**  
 PN. the name of a hamlet in Yeri village  
 57, 695
- huba** (-gil)  
 N. a hawk  
 61, 97, 121, 155, 198, 250, 252, 282, 322, 362, 695
- hubu** (-gal)  
 N. knee  
 61, 695
- hugil** (-gal)  
 N. (i) a part of a coconut palm that is often collected for use as a strainer to wash sago; (ii) a cocoon  
 41, 97, 695
- hula** (inv)  
 N. a hole  
 107, 395, 453, 695
- hulula** (hululpia)  
 N. sago grub, the name used to refer to the larvae of a specific beetle species that is collected from sago palms and eaten  
 144, 238, 256, 321, 502, 695
- huma** (-gil)  
 N. the clavicle or collarbone  
 259, 695
- hur** (-i)  
 N. a type of flour made from sago  
 11, 54, 69, 104, 163, 164, 182, 230, 258, 355, 397, 512, 612, 614, 656, 666, 695
- hurhur**  
 IDEO. to slide or slip  
 41, 124, 695
- I**
- i**  
 CP. a discourse particle that frequently occurs in clause-final position whose meaning is still unclear  
 59, 695
- ie ieda** (i : ie<ma>l : da-n, -n)  
 VI. to hear  
 92, 114, 302, 374, 480, 519, 588, 636, 659, 665, 669, 695
- iebeko** (i : none : da)  
 V. to block  
 361, 695
- iebi** (i : none : wa-n, da-n)

- v. to close a door  
399, 696
- ieka** (i : -m- : we-n)  
v. to poke or poke at  
625, 696
- iekela iেকেle** (i : -m- : wa-n)  
vt. to scrape as in to scrape a coconut  
364, 370, 593, 594, 696
- iekewa** (i : -m- : -n)  
vt. to be angry  
224, 342, 364, 370, 398, 399, 404, 405, 463,  
470, 477, 487, 502, 516, 547, 595, 608, 653,  
661, 696
- ieki** (i : -m- : ka-n)  
vi. to precede  
59, 110, 135, 298, 299, 334, 358, 374, 384, 402,  
431, 696
- iepou** (i : -m- : a-n)  
vt. to roll or curl around, commonly used  
to describe the act of rolling tobacco  
109, 112, 374, 484, 638, 648, 696
- iesebil** (i : -me- : a-n)  
v. to whip or slash at something  
370, 374, 696
- ieta iemar** (i : amieta (1/2 OBJ), iemar (3  
OBJ) : -n, e-n)  
vt. to clean as in to clean a garden  
586, 587, 593, 696
- iewua** (i : -me- : -n)  
vt. to tie something  
111, 361, 445, 696
- ilua** (-∅, -n, -i, -m)  
WGN ADJ. to be bad  
16, 94, 95, 129, 135, 179, 199, 209, 226, 239,  
268, 271, 272, 281, 290, 291, 308, 420, 421,  
426, 427, 429, 448, 470, 473, 503, 515, 518,  
519, 525, 536, 537, 560, 581, 590, 615, 621--
- 623, 625, 627--630, 638, 696, 793
- K**
- karibei** (-gil)  
n. a gray bird that can be seen during the  
dry season  
75, 696
- Kawun**  
PN. a male name  
338, 696
- kayubi** (-gal)  
n. a type of traditional clothing made  
from tree bark that is worn like a laplap  
66, 192, 193, 589, 696
- kierkier** (-gil)  
IDEO/N. (i) a veranda; (ii) a corner  
68, 696
- kiyipa kipa** (inv)  
n. indicates a time earlier in the same day  
109, 158, 213, 320, 329, 332, 446, 492, 494,  
497, 696
- kirapu** (-gal)  
n. a type of sago palm with a lot of thorns  
62, 696
- kiruba** (-gil)  
n. (i) a small white bird with some black  
around its head; (ii) a type of yam  
67, 696
- kolkol**  
IDEO. to shout  
124, 125, 175, 176, 268, 402, 696
- komal tomal**  
CP1. a particle used to express the opinion  
that something should not happen  
157, 354, 377, 384, 462, 465, 470--474, 494,  
571, 696
- Koni**  
PN. a male name

30, 31, 96, 598, 608, 696

**Kopom**

PN. the name of a village

101, 697

**kraltariena** (unknown)

N. a type of fish

11, 240, 610, 697

**kua ko**

CP2. (i) still; (ii) yet; (iii) first

61, 66, 87, 144, 145, 157, 159, 185, 195, 248, 249, 278, 308, 329, 371, 376, 379, 382, 390, 393, 459, 477--482, 490, 493, 496, 497, 506, 561, 567--570, 572, 574, 582, 586, 587, 595, 639, 640, 659, 666, 697

**kueikuei** (-gil)

IDEO/N. a small brown black-nosed frog that makes a sound like its name and is not usually eaten

68, 71, 126, 323, 697

**kulkil** (-gal)

N. a large black bird with red eyes

612, 697

**kutu**

CP. before the current time

627, 697

**ki**

CP1. already

42, 61, 81, 90, 91, 95, 103, 105, 114, 130, 133, 135, 142, 147, 150, 151, 154, 156--159, 161, 168, 171, 175, 177, 181, 185, 187, 189, 191, 193, 194, 201, 208, 211, 212, 214, 224, 225, 240, 247, 266, 269, 276, 277, 285, 288, 289, 293, 304, 305, 309, 313, 317, 319, 324, 325, 329, 330, 335, 349, 351--355, 361--363, 367, 378--380, 382--384, 387, 389, 392, 394, 398, 400, 402, 405, 408, 409, 414, 420, 421, 423, 425--428, 435, 438, 439, 443, 445, 446, 448,

449, 453, 456, 459, 462, 466--470, 475, 478, 485--492, 494, 495, 497, 499, 516, 519, 524, 532--536, 539, 541, 543, 545--553, 555--560, 568--570, 572, 574--576, 578, 579, 590--592, 594, 598, 599, 601, 603, 605, 606, 608, 622, 623, 625, 628, 629, 641, 642, 648, 668--670, 697

**kilkual kulkual**

IDEO. to peel off as in for skin to peel off

41, 697

**L**

**la**

CP3. a particle that conveys the speaker's assumption that the stated proposition is true  
157, 459, 475--477, 483, 487, 488, 697

**la lo**

CP1. a particle that indicates a time in the past

45, 55, 87, 88, 95, 123, 145, 157, 159, 166, 170, 190, 191, 194, 195, 198, 200, 201, 230, 237, 276, 307, 309, 319, 320, 334, 336, 337, 350, 365, 372, 378, 379, 388, 391, 398--401, 411--414, 418, 419, 426, 427, 446, 456, 459, 462, 463, 470, 474, 475, 484--486, 489--492, 494, 496, 498, 499, 503, 508, 510, 511, 518, 519, 521--523, 534, 536, 537, 542, 547, 550, 553, 555, 566, 567, 570, 571, 574, 576, 577, 584, 587, 589, 591, 592, 595, 605, 610, 624, 645--647, 649--651, 654, 655, 660, 664, 697

**labuketa** (sg:-ta, pl:-wil)

N. a small thorny black fish with red spots that lives in creeks  
256, 322, 577, 697

**Lagosi**

PN. a female name

44, 334, 340, 656, 664, 697

**lagi** (-gal; -hegal)

- n.** a small rat with a long white tail  
54, 97, 698
- lahabi** (inv)  
**n.** yesterday  
42, 55, 66, 107, 187, 213, 214, 309, 350, 362, 378, 446, 462, 492--494, 534, 543, 557, 588--590, 615, 698
- laharia** (inv)  
**n.** (i) the day before yesterday; (ii) a recent day in the past that is not necessarily the day before yesterday  
194, 195, 379, 485, 498, 598, 624, 645, 647, 698
- laladil**  
**DEG.** very, only occurs with *sipeki* and *tiawa*  
154, 156, 237, 273, 644, 698
- lamegi** (-agia)  
**n.** a small bird with gray feathers, one type has a long bill and one type has a short bill  
191, 227, 228, 698
- lapaki** (-gal; -hegal; -l-gal)  
**n.** tongs, a piece of bamboo, cane, or other material that has been bent in half to permit moving hot items  
66, 250, 259, 260, 643, 698
- lapi** (inv (house); -gal (snake))  
**n.** (i) many buildings; (ii) a type of non-venomous snake  
260, 261, 698
- lawiaki** *lawieki* (inv)  
**n.** a long time ago  
109, 114, 154, 193, 201, 213, 332, 350, 497, 512, 577, 589, 595, 623, 637, 698
- lawu** (-gal; lawi)  
**n.** the strong long thin stem within the main stem (rachis, *hapoti*) of a sago palm leaf, often used as an arrow  
332, 698
- lelia** *lialia* (-hegal; -gil)  
**n.** a limbum, a container made from the bark of the limbum palm  
84, 229, 250, 390, 398, 507, 637, 638, 698
- libi** *libi* (-gal; -hegal)  
**n.** (i) a mango tree; (ii) the fruit from a mango tree  
97, 228, 229, 253, 698
- likil** (-egal)  
**n.** a long piece of bamboo frequently used to get coconuts down  
228, 284, 456, 473, 698
- lobe** (-ia)  
**n.** a mushroom  
44, 52, 61, 66, 76, 83, 90, 259, 698
- lobeh** (sg:-l, pl:-i)  
**n.** (i) a rib; (ii) along the side of something  
62, 257, 258, 319, 323, 325, 328, 376, 389, 698
- lolewa** (inv; -gil)  
**n.** an unspecified thing or things  
59, 96, 107, 193, 202, 239, 241, 293, 332, 354, 364, 469, 482, 512, 528, 571, 587, 592, 613, 640, 648, 653--657, 663, 666, 667, 669, 698
- lope** (-Ø, -n, -i)  
**WGN ADJ.** to be big  
54, 88, 89, 116, 117, 121, 129, 134, 149, 150, 155, 158, 178--180, 196--198, 214, 233, 246, 267, 270--272, 291, 300, 305, 307--311, 314, 315, 319, 320, 325, 327--329, 334, 375, 378, 380, 381, 388, 392, 405, 409, 410, 419, 426--429, 463, 469, 480, 491, 501--504, 508, 518--520, 529, 559, 588, 590, 600, 610, 621, 624--627, 629, 630, 638, 649, 651, 652, 655, 658,

660--664, 666, 667, 669, 698

**lopegi** (-i)

**N.** a gray bird with yellow around its eyes  
191, 227, 228, 519, 699

**losi** (inv)

**N.** a name  
161, 203, 223, 247, 248, 268, 372, 508, 519,  
590, 592, 621, 638, 699

**losia** (-∅, -n, -i, -m)

**GN ADJ.** (i) to be old; (ii) to be brown;  
(iii) to be dried out  
130, 310, 699

**lubia** (-megal; -hegal)

**N.** a thick, non-venomous, black and gold  
snake that can be 2-3 meters long and lives  
in the trees  
190, 254, 699

**lulu**

**IDEO.** to slither  
77, 277, 278, 450, 699

**lute** (-i)

**N.** a sore or open wound  
208, 247, 319, 435, 448, 638--641, 699

**M**

**mabirka** (-l; -gal)

**CW.** to be thick  
152, 280, 314, 328, 699

**mada** (-i)

**N.** an unspecified thing  
293, 514, 699

**magil** (maŋa (sg))

**QW.** the form of *maŋa* that is used for more  
than one human  
398, 463, 540--544, 546, 551, 561, 603, 605,  
699

**Maheina**

**PN.** a male name

276, 539, 699

**Mai**

**PN.** the name of a village  
203, 598, 699

**mai**

**CP3/CONJ.** (i) a particle that indicates a  
polar question, (ii) a conjunction that ex-  
presses the meaning 'or'  
157, 206, 211, 268, 269, 288, 290, 400, 448,  
459, 484, 488, 531, 532, 534, 536, 538, 662,  
667, 699

**mal** (inv)

**CW.** to be fresh or ripe  
629, 699

**mal** (inv)

**QW.** what  
67, 103, 161, 264, 286, 402, 539--541, 548--550,  
699

**maladi** (inv)

**N.** afternoon  
42, 98, 213, 214, 664, 667, 699

**male**

**CP.** also  
51, 107, 114, 187, 196, 302, 307, 315, 320, 390,  
421, 423, 426, 428, 440, 443, 445, 446, 449,  
480, 503, 519, 636, 650, 699

**maleikia** (inv)

**N.** morning  
98, 194, 195, 213, 214, 276, 311, 419, 442, 443,  
467, 476, 480, 658, 699

**malgil** (inv; -hegal; malgi)

**N.** a bee  
42, 239, 244, 245, 311, 413, 613, 699

**mali** (-gal)

**N.** (i) a stick used to transport a pig by  
tying the pig's feet to the stick; (ii) a stick  
used to beat the wadou drum

|                                                    |                                                     |
|----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| 101, 229, 699                                      | something                                           |
| <b>malki</b> (-gi)                                 | 66, 107, 136, 139, 151, 278, 294, 312, 318,         |
| N. a small knife                                   | 323--326, 329, 363, 453, 484, 518, 570, 591,        |
| 259, 332, 700                                      | 593, 628, 639--641, 643, 700                        |
| <b>malmal</b> (magil magil (humans))               | <b>manmani</b> (inv; -gal)                          |
| QW. how much or how many                           | N. a necklace                                       |
| 27, 55, 113, 263, 456, 539--541, 550, 551, 561,    | 69, 77, 700                                         |
| 603, 622, 664, 700                                 | <b>manoi</b> (inv)                                  |
| <b>malmilou</b> (-gil; -egal; -hegal)              | N. (i) grease or fat; (ii) to be greasy; (iii)      |
| N. a grayish brown lizard with a short             | to taste good                                       |
| nose that lives by the river                       | 11, 700                                             |
| 59, 74, 75, 253, 700                               | <b>maja</b> (-Ø; -n; -i (inanimate); magil (human)) |
| <b>malowen</b> (-egal)                             | QW. (i) what; (ii) who; (iii) which                 |
| N. a small brown bush fowl about the size          | 29, 33, 43, 67, 103, 122, 133, 161, 176, 211,       |
| of a chicken with a crest                          | 263, 289, 290, 293, 317, 336, 379, 383, 398,        |
| 75, 251, 700                                       | 400--402, 456, 470, 505, 506, 513, 539--549,        |
| <b>maltai</b>                                      | 551, 561, 562, 604, 605, 607, 608, 639, 641,        |
| CP. maybe                                          | 646, 655, 660, 664, 700                             |
| 69, 138, 274, 293, 420, 485, 582, 651, 654, 700    | <b>Maprik</b>                                       |
| <b>malual</b> (-gil)                               | PN. the name of a place                             |
| N. a ground wallaby or ground kangaroo             | 275, 305, 337, 538, 583, 584, 700                   |
| 166, 190, 252, 403, 610, 700                       | <b>maren</b> (-aguei; -egal)                        |
| <b>mame</b> (-gal; -hegal)                         | N. bugs that feed on decomposing animals            |
| N. one of the two major types of yams              | or plants, often used to refer to mites and         |
| 512, 700                                           | cockroaches                                         |
| <b>mami</b> (inv (ancestor); -gal (caterpillar,    | 251, 262, 514, 590, 700                             |
| worm))                                             | <b>mariaga</b> (-l)                                 |
| N. (i) a female ancestor, usually precedes         | N. a type of spirit or supernatural being           |
| the name of an ancestor; (ii) a caterpillar; (iii) | that lives in specific locations, also known as     |
| a type of worm found in river clay                 | a masalai spirit                                    |
| 475, 700                                           | 504, 587, 700                                       |
| <b>mamyati</b> (inv)                               | <b>Markebal</b>                                     |
| N. yam and sago, literally 'yam sago' from         | PN. the Yeri name for the Marikumba vil-            |
| <i>mami yati</i>                                   | lage located to the east of Yeri                    |
| 657, 700                                           | 101, 240, 546, 634, 635, 700                        |
| <b>mani</b> (inv)                                  | <b>marmar</b> (-gil)                                |
| N. (i) the inside; (ii) to be located inside       | IDEO/N. a type of tree often planted near           |



|                                                  |                                                |
|--------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| villages                                         | 95, 108, 168, 222, 408, 601, 701               |
| 192, 420, 700                                    | <b>miakua</b> (-l)                             |
| <b>marpal</b> (-gil)                             | N. a frog                                      |
| N. a type of yam                                 | 125, 126, 139, 214, 228, 229, 240, 278, 284,   |
| 97, 252, 701                                     | 312, 323, 339, 375, 511, 512, 600, 637, 640,   |
| <b>mawasi</b> <i>mowasi</i> (-gal)               | 701                                            |
| N. a star                                        | <b>mimi</b> (inv)                              |
| 50, 51, 252, 509, 701                            | N. mother                                      |
| <b>mawu</b> (-gal; -hegal)                       | 43, 54, 87, 104, 145, 159, 163, 168, 185, 187, |
| N. a type of tree                                | 188, 202, 268, 309, 313, 314, 322, 329, 333,   |
| 101, 248, 252, 528, 701                          | 340, 365, 377--379, 382, 397, 463, 469--471,   |
| <b>maye</b> (-gal)                               | 480, 490, 532, 543, 595, 606, 611, 645, 647,   |
| N. cassava                                       | 657, 665, 701                                  |
| 51, 701                                          | <b>misì</b> (-l-gal)                           |
| <b>mayi</b> (inv; -gal)                          | N ADJ. old and worn, used to describe an       |
| N. a type of yam                                 | old string bag                                 |
| 84, 115, 243, 273, 283, 284, 482, 528, 612, 701  | 62, 260, 701                                   |
| <b>megual</b> (sg:-ti (ear), migodi (husband))   | <b>Midopi</b>                                  |
| N. (i) husband; (ii) ear                         | PN. a male name                                |
| 192, 242, 258, 266, 267, 308, 318, 326, 333,     | 331, 701                                       |
| 370, 442, 491, 562, 642, 701                     | <b>milhagil</b> (inv)                          |
| <b>meli</b> (inv)                                | N. a kin term referring to the brothers of     |
| N. used to refer to an image, a reflection,      | a sister                                       |
| or a shadow                                      | 188, 497, 701                                  |
| 306, 425, 701                                    | <b>milmil</b> (-gal)                           |
| <b>meno</b> (-l)                                 | IDEO/N. to buzz, commonly used to refer        |
| CW. to be heavy                                  | to flying bees that make a buzzing sound       |
| 30, 152, 154, 215, 276, 279, 280, 314, 461, 474, | 126, 701                                       |
| 506, 507, 521, 524, 545, 701                     | <b>milmelial</b>                               |
| <b>meta</b> (-l)                                 | IDEO. for a light to flash, as in lightning    |
| N. the nape of the neck                          | flashing                                       |
| 362, 701                                         | 125, 311, 701                                  |
| <b>miaga</b> (inv)                               | <b>milmual</b> <i>mulmual</i>                  |
| CW. to be cool or cold in temperature            | IDEO. to shift around making noise             |
| 152, 280, 306, 626, 627, 701                     | 124, 473, 701                                  |
| <b>miaga</b> (-l)                                | <b>mineigi</b> <i>minigi</i> (inv)             |
| N. a banana                                      | N. an unspecified period of time that is       |

- generally longer than two days and shorter than a month  
138, 159, 213, 214, 308, 338, 550, 561, 701
- mogi sahal** (-gil)  
N. (i) mold; (ii) fungus  
626, 627, 702
- mogi** *mogi* (sg:-l, pl:-i)  
N. moss  
43, 702
- moi** (-gil)  
N. vine or rope  
97, 392, 398, 445, 592, 702
- moki**  
DEG. very  
135, 154--156, 241, 286, 520, 702
- Molaha**  
PN. the name of a sago swamp  
113, 702
- molipei** (-gil)  
N. (i) a mirror; (ii) goggles; (iii) a compass  
75, 702
- molil** (-gal)  
N. (i) a type of tree; (ii) the traditional penis gourd worn by men made from the molil tree  
193, 589, 702
- moniketa** (sg:-ta, pl:-wil; -gil)  
N. a dark-brown non-venomous snake that lives in the river  
59, 74, 256, 262, 702
- mor** (-agia)  
N. a type of sago palm  
254, 702
- moti** (molwilgal)  
N. a pot  
87, 211, 260, 261, 325, 326, 329, 398, 400, 488, 506, 507, 513, 515, 521, 557, 579, 664, 667, 702
- 702
- muaki** (-l)  
N. (i) a finger; (ii) a hundred  
143, 449, 702
- mukela** (-gil)  
N. a black and white sugar glider  
49, 50, 57, 62, 83, 702
- mula** (-gil)  
N. the lips of the mouth  
226, 702
- Mulhebi**  
PN. the name of a hamlet in Yeri  
331, 594, 702
- mulun** (-gal; -egal)  
N. a type of hornet with a red bottom, considered the largest of the hornets in the area  
69, 251, 702
- mumu** (-gal)  
IDEO/N. a type of owl with brown feathers  
77, 97, 702
- musial wabei** (-gil)  
N. used in the expression *hilpia musial wabei* to refer to a type of small yellow flying fox with big ears and a short nose  
389, 702
- minou** (miniagia)  
N. the front legs of a hoofed animal  
208, 448, 514, 702
- N**
- nabe** (-Ø, -n, -i)  
WGN ADJ. to be good  
45, 81, 91, 116, 117, 129, 133, 146, 149, 158--160, 170, 171, 198, 199, 206, 230, 270--272, 288, 291, 293, 298, 314, 408, 416, 426--429, 465, 502, 503, 511, 518, 519, 534, 536, 537, 589, 590, 592, 621, 622, 625--631, 702

- nabia** (-Ø, -n, -i)  
 N. a spirit or ghost  
 11, 489, 612, 626, 703
- nabĩkia** (e : none : -n)  
 VT. to loosen or unwrap  
 341, 703
- nabir** (e : none : e-n)  
 VT. to sharpen something  
 94, 117, 274, 299, 300, 408, 409, 574, 579, 703
- nadi**  
 ONLY. only  
 109, 110, 119, 142, 154, 156, 158, 163, 164, 182, 196, 237, 240, 264, 273, 283, 284, 286, 328, 339, 355, 397, 445, 494, 529, 594, 608, 628, 640, 703
- nadi**  
 DEG. very  
 81, 91, 115, 117, 154, 155, 163, 185, 186, 195-198, 201, 209, 212, 242, 248, 307, 311, 328, 330, 335, 361, 382, 403, 408, 474, 501, 525, 526, 529, 571, 594, 595, 611, 614, 621, 622, 624, 644, 703
- nagela** (sg:-la, pl:-bia)  
 N. a limbum palm, the bark of the limbum palm  
 96, 256, 281, 436, 464, 703
- nagolia** (-gil)  
 N. a type of black ant that bites  
 238, 703
- nagou** (e : -m- : e-n)  
 V. to have a strong smell, to smell strongly in some way  
 435, 703
- nakal** (inv)  
 N. father, described as more informal than *nena*  
 107, 109, 168, 181, 221, 269, 307, 310, 320, 332, 423, 503, 505, 506, 613, 703
- nakia** (e : -m- : we-n)  
 V. to die out as in when a fire dies out  
 79, 100, 359, 360, 703
- nakou** (e : -me- : e-n)  
 VT. to drill or create a hole in something  
 79, 359, 360, 395, 703
- nakuar** (e : -me- : -ne-)  
 VT. to put something on a skewer or string  
 240, 437, 610, 703
- nal** (-i)  
 N. a conch shell, used as a means of passing messages traditionally  
 63, 258, 703
- nalía** (-gil; nali)  
 N. tongue  
 276, 427, 703
- nalú** (-gal; nali)  
 N. a cassowary  
 11, 115, 154, 155, 181, 197, 201, 230, 231, 311, 403, 436, 520, 610, 703
- namiaǵi** (inv)  
 N. wild flora or fauna found in the jungle  
 294, 472, 703
- namogi** (sg:-l, pl:-i)  
 N. a nose  
 217, 242, 243, 258, 389, 703
- nanala**  
 ADV. alone, by oneself  
 114, 153, 154, 170, 204, 212, 463, 623, 703
- nanía** (e : -me- : we-n)  
 VI. to go into or inside  
 78, 106, 107, 326, 341, 385, 387, 399, 410, 413, 453, 456, 640, 652, 703
- nanipe** (-gal)  
 N. a small hut built in a tree for shooting birds

75, 90, 97, 703

**nanula** (sg:-la, pl:-bia)

**n.** a fish

11, 54, 62, 81, 104, 107, 113, 189, 191, 199, 238--241, 250, 256, 275, 276, 293, 322, 337, 339, 340, 395, 396, 399, 494, 502, 508, 520--522, 527--529, 536, 537, 549--551, 560, 568, 593, 603, 605, 610, 616, 617, 704

**nanuta** *nonuta* (inv; -gil)

**n.** urine

229, 704

**narieti** (sg:-eti, pl:-wil; -gal)

**n.** a type of green that grows by the river and is commonly eaten

253, 704

**Nasiena**

**PN.** a male name

338, 704

**nati** (-l; -gal)

**n.** a coconut

11, 50, 51, 53, 61, 66, 90, 257, 310, 529, 704

**nawi** (inv; -gal)

**n.** (i) salt; (ii) an ocean

194, 199, 205, 206, 352, 392, 446, 448, 494, 496, 497, 505, 509, 568, 588, 668, 704

**nawia** (e : -m- : -n)

**v.** to come out

161, 704

**nawoka** (-gil; -l-gil)

**n.** a type of vine with thorns used in the making of bows

260, 704

**Nawun**

**PN.** the Yeri name for the Wuro village

101, 634, 704

**nebal** (-gi)

**n.** a tree; the word is commonly used in

the expression *nebal tiawai* or *nebalgi tiawai* to refer to a vehicle, the expression *nebal yewalti* to refer to cocoa, medicine, or any type of fruit or seed, and the expression *nebal hare* to refer to a book

11, 45, 55, 73, 104, 109, 110, 114, 116, 127, 135, 138, 143, 149, 154, 156, 159--161, 166, 181, 195, 203, 206, 207, 229, 248, 250, 259, 271, 273, 274, 284, 285, 317, 318, 322, 324, 326--330, 340, 372, 387--389, 392, 395, 399, 406--409, 422, 423, 443, 456, 461, 469, 481, 482, 485, 491, 496, 497, 508, 510, 512, 536, 550, 562, 575, 584, 586, 588, 590--592, 600, 606, 621--626, 628--631, 647--653, 655, 656, 658, 661--670, 704

**nebo** (-i)

**n.** a dog

17, 110, 171, 177, 180, 190, 258, 269, 293, 294, 308, 319, 420, 425, 449, 551, 603, 606, 608, 704, 794

**nega** (-l)

**n.** a piece of firewood

598, 622--628, 630, 704

**nego** (*nogolgoi*, *nogual yutagi*)

**n.** a female child

159, 261, 480, 595, 704

**neigal** (inv)

**n.** (i) a cuscus; (ii) a label used to refer to marsupials and rodents

11, 71, 110, 121, 130, 131, 190, 201, 227, 232, 245, 246, 274, 307, 317, 324, 326, 336, 391, 394, 447, 502, 520, 526, 537, 538, 555, 577, 590, 595, 704

**neigela** (sg:-la, pl:-bia)

**n.** the bottom, often used to refer to the base of a tree

11, 256, 323, 326, 327, 329, 372, 395, 456, 704

|                                                     |                                   |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <b>neigran</b> (-egal)                              | 208, 214, 394, 448, 514, 555, 705 |
| <b>n.</b> a green parrot with red under its wings   |                                   |
| 69, 250, 251, 705                                   |                                   |
| <b>neikia</b> (i : -me- : unknown)                  |                                   |
| <b>vi.</b> to extinguish as in to extinguish a fire |                                   |
| 374, 705                                            |                                   |
| <b>nemo</b> (inv)                                   |                                   |
| <b>n.</b> the milk made by scraping and squeez-     |                                   |
| ing the coconut flesh                               |                                   |
| 43, 705                                             |                                   |
| <b>nemual</b> (-gil)                                |                                   |
| <b>n.</b> (i) the middle; (ii) to be located in the |                                   |
| middle or in between                                |                                   |
| 126, 318, 323, 326, 333, 577, 580, 629, 705         |                                   |
| <b>nenā</b> (inv)                                   |                                   |
| <b>n.</b> father                                    |                                   |
| 181, 188, 212, 224, 333, 334, 436, 463, 490,        |                                   |
| 498, 543, 546, 566, 595, 610, 611, 659, 661,        |                                   |
| 705                                                 |                                   |
| <b>nejo</b> (nogolgoi, nogual hāgil)                |                                   |
| <b>n.</b> a male child                              |                                   |
| 43, 66, 67, 163, 261, 312, 463, 705                 |                                   |
| <b>ni</b> (inv)                                     |                                   |
| <b>n.</b> the intestines, also used as part of the  |                                   |
| expression <i>ni nibuegi</i> to mean ‘food’         |                                   |
| 43, 116, 149, 542, 608, 643, 666, 705               |                                   |
| <b>nia</b> (-∅, -n, -i, -m)                         |                                   |
| <b>conj.</b> or                                     |                                   |
| 162, 263, 264, 270, 271, 275, 276, 286, 291,        |                                   |
| 336, 337, 536--539, 581--584, 705                   |                                   |
| <b>nia ania</b> (-∅, -n, -i, -m)                    |                                   |
| <b>qw.</b> where                                    |                                   |
| 42, 118, 133, 136, 266, 270, 277, 287--289, 409,    |                                   |
| 418, 537, 539--541, 551--557, 561, 562, 646,        |                                   |
| 647, 649, 660, 662, 705                             |                                   |
| <b>nia</b> (inv; -l)                                |                                   |
| <b>n.</b> (i) a tooth; (ii) a leg; (iii) a piece    |                                   |
|                                                     | 208, 214, 394, 448, 514, 555, 705 |
| <b>niagil</b>                                       |                                   |
| <b>adv.</b> (i) to be the same or identical; (ii)   |                                   |
| to be together                                      |                                   |
| 153, 154, 204, 212, 334, 446, 476, 661, 705         |                                   |
| <b>niawega</b> (-l)                                 |                                   |
| <b>n.</b> a lizard                                  |                                   |
| 208, 223, 248, 321, 447, 448, 705                   |                                   |
| <b>nihewo</b> (-gil)                                |                                   |
| <b>n.</b> (i) smoke; (ii) tobacco                   |                                   |
| 62, 484, 705                                        |                                   |
| <b>niwal</b> (-gil)                                 |                                   |
| <b>cw.</b> to be blue in color                      |                                   |
| 152, 280, 311, 705                                  |                                   |
| <b>nibera</b> (-gil)                                |                                   |
| <b>n.</b> the bush or forest                        |                                   |
| 83, 485, 656, 705                                   |                                   |
| <b>nibeta</b> (-gil)                                |                                   |
| <b>n.</b> the milky white sap from a breadfruit     |                                   |
| tree                                                |                                   |
| 83, 178, 317, 318, 705                              |                                   |
| <b>nibini</b> (-gal)                                |                                   |
| <b>n.</b> snot or mucus                             |                                   |
| 361, 705                                            |                                   |
| <b>nibisi</b> (inv)                                 |                                   |
| <b>cw.</b> to be wet                                |                                   |
| 629, 705                                            |                                   |
| <b>niboga</b> (-l)                                  |                                   |
| <b>n.</b> a rat                                     |                                   |
| 502, 606, 705                                       |                                   |
| <b>niglola</b> (inv)                                |                                   |
| <b>n.</b> a label referring to any type of greens   |                                   |
| 67, 168, 188, 275, 276, 337, 494, 537, 705          |                                   |
| <b>nigo</b> (-∅, -n, -i)                            |                                   |
| <b>n.</b> an individual’s offspring, used for the   |                                   |
| offspring of humans or animals                      |                                   |
| 87, 88, 104, 123, 134, 137, 145, 159, 190, 215,     |                                   |

|                                                |                                                     |
|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| 220, 224, 225, 237, 267--269, 271, 276, 291,   | <b>nogi</b>                                         |
| 305, 307, 310, 312, 313, 318, 319, 321, 331,   | CP. used to refer to people associated with         |
| 333, 334, 372, 384, 387, 392, 403, 418, 420,   | a person or people                                  |
| 424, 425, 428, 463, 470, 484, 486, 490, 491,   | 43, 109, 268, 314, 332, 339, 532, 611, 645, 706     |
| 495, 545, 546, 556, 557, 560, 570, 589, 591,   | <b>nogir</b> (e : -me-, -m- : -ne-)                 |
| 592, 610, 613, 705                             | v. to write                                         |
| <b>Nimeigi</b>                                 | 115, 350, 372, 456, 457, 706                        |
| PN. the name of a hamlet                       | <b>noglagia</b> (inv; -gil)                         |
| 588, 706                                       | N. the area under the arm, the armpit               |
| <b>no</b>                                      | 73, 706                                             |
| SUB. until                                     | <b>nogolgoi</b> (inv)                               |
| 115, 162, 410, 445, 478, 584, 596--598, 643,   | N. more than one child, always used in              |
| 654, 664, 670, 706                             | the plural                                          |
| <b>no</b>                                      | 133, 140, 159, 188, 200, 205, 207, 223, 226,        |
| CONJ. or                                       | 237, 261, 284--286, 289, 305, 309, 312, 331,        |
| 162, 286, 336, 337, 536--539, 581--583, 706    | 370, 384, 424, 443, 448, 466, 476, 480, 494--       |
| <b>nobi</b> (-gal)                             | 496, 588, 589, 607, 611, 648, 706                   |
| N. a tree wallaby or tree kangaroo             | <b>nogual</b> (sg: yuta (F); han (M))               |
| 61, 706                                        | N. used most often with <i>yuta</i> and less fre-   |
| <b>nobia</b> (i : -me- : da-n)                 | quently with <i>hagtextbaril</i> to indicate plural |
| VI. to talk or speak                           | number                                              |
| 30, 45, 56, 59, 82, 85, 86, 95, 102--104, 106, | 82, 162, 276, 309, 310, 330, 331, 405, 477, 479,    |
| 107, 114, 116, 118, 123, 137, 140, 156, 158-   | 612, 614, 637, 653, 654, 663, 706                   |
| -161, 163, 169, 198, 202, 214, 215, 220, 226,  | <b>nogil</b> (inv)                                  |
| 244, 266--268, 285, 312, 320, 334--336, 341,   | N. a village, town, or place                        |
| 342, 348, 350, 359, 365, 373, 376, 378--381,   | iii, 2, 73, 88, 113, 134, 142, 156, 203, 240, 294,  |
| 385, 387, 409, 410, 423, 426, 427, 435, 436,   | 307, 310, 312, 320, 339, 381, 409, 443, 450,        |
| 449, 463, 464, 466, 467, 477, 479, 483, 487,   | 462, 466, 475, 491, 504, 518, 519, 561, 588,        |
| 490, 491, 493, 501, 505, 506, 511, 532, 537,   | 595, 632, 636, 646, 651, 655, 661--664, 706         |
| 539, 543, 544, 548, 561, 562, 570, 572, 581,   | <b>nol</b> (-mi)                                    |
| 586, 588, 592--596, 598, 600--603, 605, 607,   | N. a bird                                           |
| 610, 612, 616, 621, 623, 626--628, 632--637,   | 11, 17, 69, 121, 141, 190, 191, 200, 221, 227,      |
| 639--643, 645--647, 650, 653, 658--662, 664--  | 228, 260, 261, 298, 299, 304, 305, 320, 322,        |
| 666, 668, 670, 706                             | 354, 392, 395, 410, 440, 444, 511, 514, 517,        |
| <b>nobi</b> (-aguei)                           | 519, 522, 523, 529, 530, 573, 575, 577, 586,        |
| N. a large spiny fish that lives in the river  | 587, 599, 612, 706, 794                             |
| 61, 90, 255, 706                               | <b>nola nola</b> (i : -me- : wa-n)                  |

|                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |                                                                                                                                                                     |
|----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| v.             | to not want something or to not want to do something                                                                                                                                                                                 | 397, 405, 445, 456, 460, 462, 464, 475, 476, 479, 481, 485, 496, 504, 506, 528, 538, 540, 583, 593, 598, 600, 611, 615, 632, 637, 645, 647, 658, 663, 668, 670, 707 |
| <b>nolkati</b> | (sg:-ti, pl:-wil)                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                     |
| N.             | a flood                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                | 137, 199, 233, 242, 256, 371, 387, 390, 393, 557, 579, 707                                                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <b>nomal</b>   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |                                                                                                                                                                     |
| SUB.           | a subordinating conjunction which follows the subordinate clause and expresses the meaning ‘after’                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                | 162, 286, 584, 595, 596, 616, 667, 707                                                                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <b>nua</b>     | (nuki)                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                     |
| N.             | mother                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                | 103, 107, 163, 221, 224, 320, 339, 340, 423, 426, 490, 491, 532, 548, 656, 707                                                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <b>nuagi</b>   | (-l)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |                                                                                                                                                                     |
| N.             | a bunch of bananas                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                | 520, 707                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <b>nuake</b>   | (-i)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |                                                                                                                                                                     |
| N.             | the large intestines, often used in the phrase <i>ni nuake da</i> to mean ‘food’                                                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                | 101, 116, 149, 542, 608, 707                                                                                                                                                                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <b>nuate</b>   | (-i)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |                                                                                                                                                                     |
| N              | ADJ. the female of an animal species                                                                                                                                                                                                 |                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                | 104, 131, 137, 227, 372, 384, 424, 588, 707                                                                                                                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <b>ŋa na</b>   | (-∅, -n, -i)                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                     |
| NUM.           | (i) one; (ii) another; (iii) all sorts or different types (when the plural form is reduplicated); can be pronounced as <i>na</i> when followed by <i>papi</i>                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                | 41, 43, 56, 66, 67, 94, 104, 113, 114, 137--140, 178, 197, 200, 201, 203, 205, 207, 223, 236, 245, 247, 248, 263, 270, 271, 274, 278, 286--288, 291, 299, 300, 306--308, 313, 326, 337, 338, 350, 367, 372, 378, 379, 384, 393, 394, |                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                | 397, 405, 445, 456, 460, 462, 464, 475, 476, 479, 481, 485, 496, 504, 506, 528, 538, 540, 583, 593, 598, 600, 611, 615, 632, 637, 645, 647, 658, 663, 668, 670, 707                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <b>ŋiŋi</b>    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |                                                                                                                                                                     |
| IDEO.          | to grunt                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                | 43, 125, 421, 440, 707                                                                                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <b>ŋirŋar</b>  | <i>ŋarŋar</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                     |
| IDEO.          | to shout                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                | 418, 419, 707                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <b>ŋirŋiar</b> |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |                                                                                                                                                                     |
| IDEO.          | to squeak                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                | 69, 124, 125, 707                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <b>ŋulŋul</b>  | <i>ŋilŋil</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                     |
| IDEO.          | the sound made when a mother pig calls for her piglets                                                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                | 41, 707                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <b>nibuegi</b> | (inv)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                                                                                                                                                                     |
| N.             | the liver, also used as part of the expression <i>ni nibuegi</i> to mean ‘food’                                                                                                                                                      |                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                | 666, 707                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <b>nibisa</b>  | (-hegal)                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                     |
| N.             | a large sago palm with long thorns, referred to as the number one sago palm                                                                                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                | 253, 707                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <b>O</b>       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <b>o</b>       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |                                                                                                                                                                     |
| CONJ.          | or                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                | 160--162, 336--338, 340, 536--539, 544, 581--584, 646, 649, 655, 660, 664, 707                                                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <b>o</b>       | (ie : ormia : ormian)                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                                                                                                                                                                     |
| VI.            | (i) to be located at; (ii) to stay in the same location; (iii) to live                                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                | 56, 88, 108, 114, 116, 131, 133, 134, 138--140, 149, 154, 212, 215, 221, 223, 225--228, 232, 245, 246, 266, 267, 273, 274, 287, 289, 295, 298--300, 306, 308, 310, 312, 316, 318,                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                     |

324, 325, 333--335, 338--340, 348, 349, 362, 365, 375, 377, 381, 386, 391, 392, 399, 403, 404, 410--412, 422, 445, 463, 464, 467, 472, 475, 477--480, 484, 486, 487, 489, 492, 498, 499, 509, 518, 521, 524, 528, 537, 543, 561, 562, 566, 571, 573, 576, 582, 587, 589, 590, 595, 598, 599, 608, 613, 616, 623, 624, 627, 628, 632, 633, 637, 642--644, 648, 649, 651, 654--659, 661, 666, 668--670, 707

**o** (ie, e : amo : de-n)  
 vt. to be  
 30, 150--152, 154, 155, 163, 169, 183, 185, 186, 193, 215, 241--243, 276, 279, 281--283, 301, 304--308, 311, 313, 314, 324--326, 328--330, 358, 370, 374, 379, 386, 387, 433--435, 461, 466, 474, 506, 507, 521, 525, 526, 545, 559, 577, 581, 582, 590, 606, 608, 614, 621, 626--629, 642, 708

**oba obi** (ie, e : -me-, -ma- : -ne-)  
 vt. to shoot something or someone  
 98, 113, 166, 181, 226, 240, 247, 275, 309, 315, 349, 356, 367, 368, 379, 392, 403, 406, 432, 433, 436, 457, 469, 470, 475, 497, 524, 538, 549, 550, 560, 571, 583, 589, 593, 595, 603, 610, 708

**obati** (e : none : -n)  
 vt. to kindle, as in to kindle a fire  
 471, 624--628, 630, 708

**ode odi** (ie : -me- : -n)  
 vt. (i) to be with; (ii) and; (iii) occurs in the conventionalized expression *odi wan* which means 'I don't know'; (iv) occurs in the conventionalized expression *wan odi* to mean 'I love X', 'I miss X', 'I think about X' or 'I am happy with X'  
 iii, 41, 123, 133, 139, 159, 162, 176, 212, 225, 226, 237, 266, 267, 276, 284, 287, 306, 312, 314, 330, 333--336, 338--340, 357, 364, 365, 370, 388, 391, 403, 412, 426, 463, 466, 473, 491, 492, 516, 536, 539, 571, 582, 589, 590, 593, 595, 603, 605, 607, 623, 624, 636, 640, 643, 644, 646, 647, 654, 656, 657, 659, 661, 663--666, 668, 670, 708

**odi** (ie : -ma- : a-n)  
 vt. to make or build  
 81, 90, 91, 93, 94, 112, 116, 142, 151, 159, 160, 193, 271, 306, 395, 407, 412, 416, 432, 439, 454, 481, 505, 506, 518, 523, 538, 557, 569, 574, 581, 588, 592, 597, 598, 601, 612, 614, 654, 657, 708

**odinia odiania** (ia : -ma- : -n)  
 v/qw. (i) do or be how, do or be in what way; (ii) do or be in a specific way  
 109, 118, 163, 321, 432, 471, 517, 539--541, 556--560, 562, 642, 708

**oga omo** (ie : omo : -ne-)  
 vt. to eat  
 41, 87, 106, 108, 109, 115, 116, 136, 144, 149, 155, 163, 164, 182, 191, 212, 222, 231, 240, 267, 276, 290, 316, 337, 339, 355, 374, 377, 403, 404, 406, 457, 463, 469, 477, 516, 519, 520, 528, 537, 541--543, 596, 599--601, 603, 604, 607, 648, 650, 657, 658, 666, 708

**ogela** (ie, e : -m- : -ne-)  
 vt. to butcher or cut open an animal  
 44, 111, 373, 708

**ogera ogra** (ie, e : -me- : we-n)  
 vt. to chase something or someone  
 44, 66, 79, 89, 100, 180, 182, 326, 349, 359, 360, 373, 400, 401, 571, 606, 608, 708

**ogiwa** (e : -m- : -ne-)  
 vt. to ask someone  
 29, 90, 95, 111, 115, 161, 168, 186, 305, 355, 356, 377, 378, 405, 431, 436, 437, 454, 457,



|                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 544, 568, 569, 645--647, 659, 660, 662, 664, 708                                                                                                                                                       | to spit<br>83, 100, 365, 408, 488, 490, 709                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <b>ogla</b> (e : -me- : -n)<br>v. to fetch as in to fetch water; used in the expression <i>ogla wan</i> to mean 'to understand'<br>623, 632, 636, 709                                                  | <b>olbil</b> (e : -me- : a-n)<br>vi. to enter<br>373, 383--385, 387, 389, 410, 431, 435, 643, 664, 666, 709                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <b>ohorkil</b> <i>orhorkil</i> (e : -me- : da-n)<br>v. to run away or flee<br>48, 55, 57, 87, 108, 109, 221, 292--294, 445, 450, 464, 486, 490, 491, 546, 569, 570, 572, 574, 575, 579, 709            | <b>ole</b> (ie : -m- : -n, we-n)<br>vt. to fetch, typically to fetch water<br>364, 365, 709                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <b>oka</b> <i>oki</i> (ie, e : -me-, -ma- : -ne-)<br>vt. to drink<br>110, 433, 642, 709                                                                                                                | <b>olkal</b> (e : -m- : unknown)<br>vi. to vomit<br>110, 385, 431, 709                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <b>oki</b> (ie : -m- : -n)<br>vt. to use<br>41, 56, 83, 96, 108--110, 144, 154, 161, 168, 222, 226, 248, 268, 312, 314, 361, 364, 374, 408, 470, 477, 547, 550, 597, 598, 622, 624--626, 653, 664, 709 | <b>olyulma</b> (ie : omyulma : -n, we-n)<br>vt. to place objects into a pile<br>391, 709                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <b>okirkai</b> <i>arkikai</i> (e : -m- : da-n)<br>vi. to cross the river<br>102, 112, 318, 326, 333, 359, 365, 373, 380, 422, 438, 439, 443, 445, 467, 472, 481, 483, 491, 492, 653, 654, 709          | <b>omo</b> <i>oga</i> (ie : omo : -ne-)<br>vt. an irregular form of the verb <i>oga</i> 'to eat' used when predicate morphemes occur<br>135, 181, 221, 222, 267, 300, 321, 339, 340, 404, 406, 407, 476, 536, 548, 596, 614, 616, 624, 625, 643, 648, 649, 657, 658, 666, 709 |
| <b>okirki</b> (e : -m- : da-n)<br>vi. to help<br>110, 370, 385, 386, 481, 518, 709                                                                                                                     | <b>oniga</b> (e : -me- : unknown)<br>vi. to sing and dance<br>184, 185, 198, 288, 373, 382, 427, 477, 480, 709                                                                                                                                                                |
| <b>okiwal</b> <i>nokiwal</i> (e : -me- : -ne-)<br>v. (i) to push away; (ii) to reject<br>629, 709                                                                                                      | <b>opa</b> <i>opi</i> (ie, e : -me-, -ma- : -ne-)<br>vt. for rain to make someone or something wet<br>98, 111, 411, 433, 709                                                                                                                                                  |
| <b>ol</b> <i>ual</i> (e : amol : ha-n)<br>vt. to cut<br>44, 79, 117, 272, 329, 330, 362, 375, 379, 408, 433, 434, 517, 522, 523, 525, 568, 648, 709                                                    | <b>opasewa</b> (ie, e : -m- : -ne-)<br>v. to chase away<br>74, 709                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <b>ola</b> (ie : -me- : we-n)<br>vt. (i) to mend or sew; (ii) to heat; (iii)                                                                                                                           | <b>operi</b> <i>okeri</i> (e : -m- : -ne-, wa-n)<br>vt. to pour<br>111, 112, 356, 396, 397, 412, 439, 709                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                        | <b>or</b> (i : -me- : a-n)<br>vi. to lie down                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |

- 30, 44, 55, 65, 85, 88, 95, 112, 139, 144, 156, 164, 166, 206, 213, 214, 232, 235, 236, 239, 244, 246, 248, 249, 277, 278, 293, 294, 300, 301, 306--314, 317, 319, 322, 324--328, 342, 346--348, 355, 363, 373, 378, 383, 385, 391--393, 410--414, 418, 431, 438, 439, 454, 455, 461, 467, 468, 471, 472, 482--485, 495, 496, 505, 506, 508--510, 512, 513, 522, 543, 550--553, 555, 568--570, 572, 575, 579, 588, 591, 594, 595, 639--642, 646, 647, 649, 654, 655, 658, 709
- ori** (i : -me- : wa-n)  
 vt. to hit or beat something or someone  
 30, 31, 71, 78, 88, 93, 100, 104, 115, 137, 166--168, 175, 181, 182, 193, 277, 338, 373, 377, 378, 405, 407, 408, 410--412, 470, 490, 497, 532, 533, 535, 536, 552, 555, 567, 570, 574, 575, 579, 589, 608, 653, 710
- orkemia** (e : -m- : -n)  
 v. to wait for someone  
 476, 661, 710
- orkibil** *orbil* (e : -m- : da-n)  
 v. to squeeze or wash sago  
 215, 612, 614, 710
- osi** (ie : -ma- : unknown)  
 v. to let or allow  
 112, 374, 432, 439, 454, 642, 710
- osia** (ie : -ma- : -n)  
 vt. (i) to swell; (ii) to die; (iii) to heat  
 298, 299, 349, 362, 374, 416, 449, 476, 560, 622, 623, 625, 630, 650, 651, 710
- osua** (ie, e : amosua : unknown)  
 vi. to go all the way  
 374, 433, 434, 710
- oti** *ueti* (e : amoti : wa-n)  
 vt. to hold something  
 41, 55, 56, 79, 109, 193, 241, 284, 359--361, 375, 421, 433, 434, 445, 479, 489, 534, 588, 590, 617, 626, 627, 629, 630, 637, 643, 648, 668, 710
- owil** (e : -me-, -m- : -ne-)  
 v. to take or bring something  
 45, 87, 90, 95, 107, 130, 139, 143, 159, 181, 182, 221, 222, 225, 226, 231, 233, 238--241, 244, 293, 306, 313, 314, 339, 353, 354, 356, 376, 378, 380, 405, 410, 426, 430, 436, 437, 439, 445, 463, 464, 471, 477, 479, 498, 534, 536, 553, 557, 573, 575, 579, 584, 591, 592, 600, 629, 638, 646, 650--653, 655--657, 659, 661--664, 666, 667, 669, 710
- P**
- pade** (-hegal; -gal)  
 n. a type of traditional male clothing tied around the waist  
 203, 710
- padia** (-l)  
 n. the wall or side of a building  
 317, 710
- pagi** (sg:-l, pl:-i)  
 n. the pulpy mass that results from chewing betel nut mixed with other ingredients  
 319, 710
- paki**  
 CP. a particle whose meaning is still unclear; its meaning appears to be related to the speaker's opinion regarding a proposition and it is often translated with English 'exactly' as in 'what exactly are you doing?' or 'Why exactly are you doing that?'  
 42, 107, 160, 163, 237, 241, 266, 268, 290, 362, 382, 402, 409, 448, 486, 487, 489, 532, 553, 556, 558--560, 651, 661, 666, 710
- pala** (-l)  
 n. the branch of a tree, also used to refer

|                                                    |                                                |
|----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| to the handle of an axe                            | 62, 90, 179, 238, 239, 241, 257, 448, 613, 711 |
| 63, 109, 257, 317, 710                             | <b>parieti</b> (inv; -gal)                     |
| <b>palapala</b> (inv)                              | N. a song                                      |
| N. used in the expression <i>mariaga pala-</i>     | 229, 288, 711                                  |
| <i>pala</i> to refer to a clan                     | <b>pariwal</b> (-gil)                          |
| 504, 711                                           | N. a black and white spotted lizard with       |
| <b>palmian</b> (-aguei)                            | a long tail (kundu palai)                      |
| N. guria pigeon, a blue bird with a lace-          | 649, 711                                       |
| like crest on its head                             | <b>parka</b> (-gil; -l)                        |
| 66, 73, 255, 711                                   | N. a type of tree with strong-smelling         |
| <b>palpal</b>                                      | leaves which are often boiled for use dugging  |
| IDEO.to fly                                        | singsings                                      |
| 124, 125, 195, 410, 423, 440, 479, 503, 504,       | 262, 711                                       |
| 517, 522, 523, 529, 577, 711                       | <b>parpar</b> (-gil)                           |
| <b>palpaluka</b> (-gil)                            | IDEO/N. a type of tree                         |
| N. a small fish similar in appearance to           | 77, 711                                        |
| the river snake that lives in river near the       | <b>pasialki</b> (-l)                           |
| Yeri village                                       | N. a nail or claw                              |
| 254, 711                                           | 229, 711                                       |
| <b>palpila</b> (-megal)                            | <b>pasiekua</b> <i>pasieka</i> (unknown)       |
| N. a type of tree with very tiny leaves            | N. a piece of wood                             |
| 75, 254, 711                                       | 625, 711                                       |
| <b>paluagi</b> (-agia)                             | <b>peho</b> (inv; -gil; -l)                    |
| N. a small white whiskered fish with a             | N. grass                                       |
| split tail that comes from the Sepik river         | 519, 522, 523, 711                             |
| 90, 254, 520, 711                                  | <b>peigilia</b> (-Ø, -n, -i, -m)               |
| <b>papi</b>                                        | QUANT. some, a few                             |
| DEG. only occurs with the numeral <i>ya</i> to     | 137, 143, 144, 201, 263, 270, 271, 275, 284,   |
| mean ‘only one’ and with the numeral <i>wia</i> to | 291, 299, 308, 321, 371, 485, 577, 611, 632,   |
| mean ‘a few’                                       | 711                                            |
| 201, 397, 475, 503, 520, 526, 632, 711             | <b>piaka</b> (inv)                             |
| <b>parapara</b> (-gil)                             | N. outside                                     |
| IDEO/N. a type of yam often planted in             | 294, 388, 711                                  |
| gardens                                            | <b>piam</b> (inv; -egal; -aguei)               |
| 77, 711                                            | N. a piece of cloth used as a sling to hold    |
| <b>pareki</b> (-l)                                 | children at the hip                            |
| N. an ant                                          | 251, 255, 711                                  |

|                                                  |                                                 |
|--------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| <b>plane</b> (-ia-l-gi)                          | N. a cucumber                                   |
| N. a type of tree found in old gardens           | 69, 712                                         |
| 76, 712                                          | <b>pirmite</b> (-gal)                           |
| <b>piapia</b>                                    | N. a light gray lizard with slimy skin that     |
| IDEO.to blow, used to refer to when the          | can often be found in the ficus tree            |
| wind blows                                       | 57, 75, 208, 712                                |
| 124, 712                                         | <b>pirmore</b> (-ia-gil)                        |
| <b>piopio</b>                                    | N. a type of tree that grows along the river    |
| IDEO.to jump                                     | and whose fruit is eaten by flying fox          |
| 68, 70, 124, 127, 656, 661, 664, 712             | 75, 712                                         |
| <b>pirupiru</b> (-gal)                           | <b>pirguar</b>                                  |
| IDEO/N. a type of large tree found in the        | IDEO.to snore                                   |
| bush, often scraped and given to the pigs        | 125, 712                                        |
| 77, 712                                          | <b>pirpirua</b>                                 |
| <b>pikel</b> (-i)                                | IDEO.when something splits into pieces,         |
| N. a post                                        | often used in reference to a tree that is       |
| 48, 57, 63, 142, 258, 272, 278, 279, 408, 712    | chopped down                                    |
| <b>pikiapikia</b>                                | 125, 712                                        |
| IDEO.to make the sound associated with           | <b>pirsakai siprakai</b> (-gil)                 |
| vomiting                                         | N. a story, typically a legend                  |
| 125, 177, 195, 196, 302, 422, 471, 503, 504, 712 | 75, 97, 156, 229, 252, 273, 477, 479, 576, 593, |
| <b>pikualpikual</b>                              | 594, 644, 645, 670, 712                         |
| IDEO.to jerk the head down as is done            | <b>piru</b> (inv; -gal)                         |
| when coughing                                    | cw. to be brittle                               |
| 124, 712                                         | 152, 280, 712                                   |
| <b>pilgiyou</b> (inv; -gil; -egal)               | <b>pisipisial</b>                               |
| N. a large bee with a black chest and a          | IDEO.to wave something around haphaz-           |
| red bottom                                       | ardly or for something to flap back and forth,  |
| 208, 311, 712                                    | often used to describe improperly cutting the   |
| <b>pilokua</b> (-l)                              | grass with a bush knife                         |
| N. mud                                           | 125, 127, 712                                   |
| 361, 712                                         | <b>pitipital</b>                                |
| <b>pinyalgi</b> (sg:-l, pl:-i)                   | IDEO.(i) to be spotted or speckled; (ii) to     |
| N. a cliff or steep incline                      | sweat                                           |
| 48, 49, 283, 284, 712                            | 125, 517, 577, 712                              |
| <b>pirkewial</b> (-gil)                          | <b>Poabi</b>                                    |
|                                                  | PN.the Yeri name for the Weiki village          |

located to the west of Yeri

547, 632, 633, 712

**pogi** (-agia)

**N.** the part of a sago palm (petiole) that connects the main stem of the sago palm leaf (*hapoti*) to the trunk (*nuaten*)

90, 250, 254, 713

**Pokan**

**PN.** a male name

273, 713

**poki** (-l)

**N/CW.** (i) a type of black beetle that lays eggs in sago palms; (ii) to be black in color  
152, 155, 242, 243, 280, 301, 308, 325, 326, 329, 606, 608, 713

**Poloyolpa** *Poyolpa*

**PN.** the Yeri name for the Yolpa village located to the south of Yeri

202, 248, 266, 320, 519, 634, 713

**pomaleka** (-gil)

**N.** a yellow medium-sized grasshopper with small brown wings that can be found near the village and is often eaten

74, 713

**pone** (-ia-l)

**N.** (i) shell as in the coconut shell, (ii) bowl, (iii) kneecap

187, 261, 606, 664, 713

**popo**

**IDEO.** to float in the water

41, 124, 422, 713

**poren** (-aguei; -egal)

**N.** a type of fly often found flying around cassowaries

255, 262, 713

**porotou** (-gil; -egal)

**N.** a type of tree with fruit found in the

bush that is similar to the thorn tree

75, 253, 713

**porpori** (-gal)

**N.** a basket

229, 713

**posiagi** *posiagi* (-l)

**N.** a crest of feathers

514, 713

**preiketa** (sg:-ta, pl:-wil)

**N.** (i) a type of small bird, (ii) a phone

256, 421, 470, 659, 713

**prias**

**IDEO.** to slide up and down

44, 124, 125, 127, 713

**proti** (sg:-ti, pl:-wil)

**N/CW.** (i) ash; (ii) to be grey in color

67, 152, 229, 250, 256, 280--282, 412, 713

**prisi**

**IDEO.** to disperse or leave the area

450, 713

**psia ar** *sia ar* (e : -ma- : wa-n)

**V.** (i) to arrive or reach a location; (ii) to come out

94, 108, 214, 230, 285, 432, 478, 509, 537, 539,

591, 597, 639--642, 646, 652, 654, 657, 658,

663, 664, 667, 670, 713

**psier** (-gil; -hegal)

**N.** a small black bird with a gray chest and a small red crest on its head

68, 713

**pueti** (-l)

**N.** betel nut

11, 59, 68, 70, 181, 212, 221, 229, 250, 319, 339, 386, 606, 713

**pui** (-gil)

**N.** a grasshopper

252, 475, 713

**puyu** *puyu hirka* (-gal; peyu)

**N.** (i) a rock or stone; (ii) money  
11, 55, 103, 140, 143, 178--180, 188, 207, 208,  
214, 226, 250, 275, 306, 311, 412, 418, 449,  
456, 469, 476, 481, 486, 506, 511, 512, 539,  
543, 550, 568, 570, 574, 591, 594, 600, 622,  
629, 664, 665, 668, 714

**pine** (-i)

**N.** a wing  
57, 171, 178, 207, 208, 304, 305, 320, 330, 394,  
714

## R

**ragusi** (-gal)

**N.** a type of orchid plant whose leaves are  
used for dancing  
44, 66, 714

**ririwil** (inv; -gal)

**N.** a traditional spear with two edges  
66, 229, 714

**robal** (-gil)

**N.** a type of tree whose bark is chewed  
with betel nut or given to animals  
44, 66, 714

**Ruapei**

**PN.** a male name  
412, 714

## S

**sahal** (-gil)

**N.** a bush knife or machete  
11, 66, 73, 136, 186, 191, 223, 229, 242, 319,  
322, 325, 328--332, 376, 389, 393, 405, 414,  
509, 513, 525, 668, 714

**sakirou** (-gil; -wegal)

**N.** (i) a type of spear; (ii) a type of plant;  
(iii) the shoots collected from the sakirou plant  
to eat

60, 74, 252, 253, 714

**salgi** (unknown)

**N.** (i) the edge; (ii) to be located at the  
edge of something  
186, 323, 327--330, 714

**Salpini**

**PN.** a male name  
139, 714

**salsal**

**IDEO.** for water to boil  
124, 503, 714

**sapaluka** (-gil; -agia)

**N.** a type of small snake  
254, 714

**sapiten** *sapiti* (pl: sapiti)

**QUANT.** many, a lot  
29, 30, 115, 135, 137, 143, 144, 154--156, 192,  
196, 197, 201, 249, 264, 279, 280, 284, 285,  
301, 308--312, 375, 403, 442, 443, 445, 466,  
485, 503, 520, 526, 527, 577, 578, 611, 617,  
622, 624, 632, 637, 714

**Sapos**

**PN.** the name of an area of land in the  
Torricelli mountains  
44, 714

**sapoti** (sg:-ti, pl:-wil, -gal)

**N.** white mold  
209, 450, 714

**sapuna** (-gil)

**N.** a caterpillar or snail  
74, 714

**sarapiaka** (-gil)

**N.** a type of vine  
74, 714

**sareiga** (-gil)

**N.** (i) a box hung above the fire to dry  
protein; (ii) a large bird nest

181, 624, 625, 638, 714

**Seigi Seigil**

PN. the name of a village

412, 635, 636, 715

**seina** (-gil)

N. a type of banana

95, 715

**Selin**

PN. a female name

318, 715

**siagipa** (-aguei)

N. a type of plant with round seeds found in the bush

255, 715

**siahera** (-gil)

N. a crocodile

228, 229, 410, 436, 611, 652, 653, 657, 661, 715

**Siebu**

PN. a male name

68, 715

**siwei si**

CP2. (i) again; (ii) to come back as in to come back to a location

56, 93, 139, 157, 159, 211, 349, 378, 380, 388, 423, 425, 459, 477--479, 481, 482, 489--493, 508, 517, 524, 528, 548, 559, 560, 624, 640, 646, 661, 663, 664, 667, 669, 670, 715

**sibelial** (-gi)

N ADJ. to be long or tall

42, 44, 117, 121, 131, 155, 156, 198, 213, 283, 284, 300, 308, 311, 312, 321, 421, 442, 473, 502, 503, 520, 715

**silka** (-l)

N/CW. (i) edge; (ii) to be sharp

151, 152, 169, 186, 280, 328, 330, 525, 715

**sipeki** (sg:-l, pl:-i)

N ADJ. to be little or small in size or amount

68, 117, 131, 133, 156, 159, 179, 199, 205, 206, 237, 242, 245, 267, 269, 274, 300, 305, 311, 312, 314, 317, 326, 331, 380, 471, 501--503, 520, 521, 529, 530, 548, 588, 621, 624, 625, 627, 628, 630, 652, 662, 669, 715

**sipreina** (-gil)

N. litter or trash

68, 715

**sirika** (-l-gil; -l)

N. the new shoots of plants

11, 715

**sirsir**

IDEO. used to refer to water boiling or people dancing

124, 715

**sirual** (-gil)

N ADJ. to be straight

117, 131, 442, 443, 715

**sirupia** (-gil)

N. red marks or bumps on the skin, commonly used to refer to a rash or acne

62, 67, 715

**sisekia**

IDEO. to lie or pretend

125, 351, 546, 715

**sleislei**

IDEO. to step gingerly or carefully

67, 124, 177, 195, 196, 402, 715

**sohena** (-gil)

N. an eel with yellow spots that can be found in the river by the Yeri village

83, 229, 520, 715

**sopeina** (-l; -gil)

CW. to be dry

151, 152, 280, 324, 627, 628, 715

**Splaga**

**PN.** the Yeri name for the Sibilanga village located to the west of Yeri

68, 101, 422, 541, 551, 634, 635, 716

**suigan** (egal; -agil)

**N.** a type of small black bird

68, 70, 716

**Sumil**

**PN.** the name of a village to the west of Yeri

318, 333, 533, 543, 576, 632, 633, 716

**sikisaki** *sukisaki*

**IDEO.** to make noise

124, 125, 471, 716

**siweya** (-gil)

**N.** one of the two major types of yams

229, 482, 528, 716

**T****ta**

**CP1.** a particle that indicates a time in the future

29--31, 33, 41, 42, 45, 55, 56, 61, 84, 87, 88, 92--95, 103, 104, 106--109, 113, 117, 118, 126, 127, 133, 134, 137, 138, 140, 142, 151, 153, 155, 157--161, 163, 166, 169, 176, 178, 180, 181, 188, 193, 194, 204, 211, 214, 215, 222, 225, 226, 266--268, 271, 273--275, 279, 283, 284, 286, 287, 290, 299, 300, 306, 310, 311, 314, 317--319, 324, 325, 333--335, 337, 338, 340, 348, 349, 353, 354, 361, 365, 367, 368, 370, 375, 377, 378, 384--387, 389--393, 395--397, 399, 400, 403, 404, 406--412, 418, 421, 423, 427, 436, 445, 446, 450, 453, 459--466, 469, 476, 479, 481, 483, 488--491, 493--498, 506--510, 516--518, 520--524, 528, 532, 533, 536--539, 542, 544, 548, 550, 553, 554, 556, 558, 561, 562, 565--571, 574, 575, 579, 581--

-583, 588, 591--593, 596, 598--600, 602, 605, 607, 608, 610--612, 614, 615, 621--632, 637, 639, 641--643, 645--647, 650, 652, 653, 657, 659, 661, 662, 664--666, 668, 670, 716

**tabi** (inv; -gal)

**N.** a mouth or opening

61, 66, 73, 323, 489, 716

**tabiagi** (sg:-l, pl:-i)

**N.** meat

414, 716

**tabu** (-gal; -hegal)

**N.** shoulder

61, 253, 716

**tagel** (-egal)

**N.** the meat of the pandana

62, 716

**taguane** (-ia-gil)

**N.** a type of small tree found in old gardens

62, 716

**tapo** (-gil)

**N.** a hole in a tree

131, 245, 252, 274, 326, 593, 716

**tarkirou** (-gil; -egal)

**N.** a type of bird

69, 74, 75, 252, 253, 716

**tata** (inv)

**N.** an older sibling

94, 187, 333, 606, 716

**Tawan**

**PN.** a female name

333, 716

**tawiaki** (inv)

**N.** a long time in the future

213, 716

**tayipier**

**ADV.** to be near in space or time



158, 422, 632, 640, 649, 650, 716

**te de**

**PF**. a pronoun that refers to a third person entity, often used in reference to a subject or a core object. Note that *te* is realized as *de* when it functions as part of a genitive pronoun.

11, 29, 43, 48, 54, 55, 61, 87, 89, 93, 95, 103--105, 107, 108, 115, 123, 133, 134, 139, 140, 145, 151, 155, 160, 166, 168, 170, 171, 173, 175--179, 181, 182, 185, 187--192, 195, 196, 198, 201, 205, 206, 208, 214, 215, 222, 223, 231, 235, 236, 239--241, 244, 247, 266, 267, 269, 272, 273, 275--277, 287--291, 293, 294, 298, 299, 302, 303, 305, 310, 312, 313, 316, 317, 320, 324, 329, 331, 333, 334, 337, 347--351, 356, 361, 365, 367, 368, 370, 372, 375, 377, 378, 382--385, 387, 389, 394, 396--398, 400--407, 409, 410, 414, 418, 419, 421, 422, 426, 435, 438--440, 442, 443, 445, 449, 456, 462, 463, 466--468, 470, 475--477, 480, 484, 486, 487, 490--492, 499, 501--504, 511, 515--520, 522--524, 529, 531--539, 542--552, 555--560, 562, 565--567, 569, 570, 572, 574, 575, 578--580, 584, 589, 591, 594, 595, 598--600, 602--605, 607, 611--613, 625, 627, 632--635, 637--643, 646, 647, 652--654, 656, 657, 659--662, 664--666, 717

**teipa pa**

**CP1**. later, then

87, 113, 157, 334, 350, 405, 459, 462, 475--477, 490, 492, 653, 661, 664, 717

**tiawa** (-∅, -n, -i, -m)

**GN ADJ**. to be short

45, 68, 115, 127, 130, 138, 156, 159, 179, 194, 195, 198, 203, 213, 273, 291, 311, 312, 340, 362, 387, 388, 392, 422, 443--445, 481, 485, 717

491, 497, 502, 503, 509, 512, 520, 528, 529, 536, 550, 584, 588, 597, 600, 640, 644, 647, 649--652, 655, 656, 658, 661--670, 717

**tita** (-gil)

**N**. a type of cane with many long thorns that is used to build houses  
115, 196, 250, 259, 260, 717

**tihabeta** (inv)

**N**. an area of land with many sago palms  
331, 534, 717

**tihelo** (helol)

**N**. a garden  
81, 261, 273, 518, 586, 587, 593, 717

**tihewar** (inv)

**N**. upriver  
82, 137, 294, 633, 717

**tihopi** (inv)

**N**. a very low flat area  
294, 717

**tikiltekil**

**IDEO**. to cough  
124, 125, 440, 519, 717

**tikleiga** (-l)

**N**. the strong stem of a sago leaflet which extends from the base of the leaflet to the tip of the leaflet, often used as an arrow  
67, 717

**tinabo** (inv; -gil)

**N**. a traditional house where only men lived  
62, 522, 594, 717

**tinogil** (inv)

**N**. a village  
30, 118, 139, 214, 215, 294, 334, 422, 491, 495, 508, 510, 524, 561, 573, 591, 595, 611, 639--642, 649, 651, 654, 659, 661, 663, 668, 717

**tipleikal** (-gil)

N. a lean-to or simple shelter  
67, 110, 718

**tiprigal** (inv)

N. a veranda  
362, 718

**titirual**

IDEO. to drip  
125, 718

**togua** (-gil)

N. an outhouse  
395, 718

**tomal komal**

CP1. a particle used to express the opinion  
that something should not happen  
107, 157, 383, 386, 423, 425, 459, 462, 470--  
474, 493, 577, 624, 653, 718

**toyiki** (inv)

N. tomorrow  
213, 274, 276, 348, 446, 476, 492--494, 496,  
533, 611, 718

**toyomial** (inv)

N. indicates a time later in the same day  
73, 137, 142, 213, 214, 274, 412, 483, 645, 665,  
718

**tuaki** (-gal; -hegal)

N. a walking stick  
68, 110, 229, 718

**tumani** (lapi)

N. a house or building  
62, 93, 94, 130, 136, 142, 151, 158--160, 193,  
214, 233, 260, 261, 266, 267, 271--274, 285,  
294, 298, 306, 311, 316, 317, 319, 325, 329,  
330, 375, 383, 404, 407, 412, 463, 467, 481,  
506, 513, 518--520, 574, 581, 586--588, 590--  
592, 598, 601, 602, 614, 648, 655, 666, 667,  
669, 670, 718

**tupi** (unknown)

N. (i) the top; (ii) to be located at the top  
73, 98, 114, 213, 221, 228, 230, 287, 299, 318,  
323, 324, 377, 379, 391, 392, 394, 409, 471,  
517, 572, 577, 629, 651, 663, 669, 718

**turega** (-gil)

N. a young adult or teenager  
98, 150, 190, 225, 428, 578, 718

**Turegal**

PN. a female name  
136, 307, 318, 326, 333, 335, 365, 391, 402,  
571, 608, 624, 718

**turkina** (inv; -gil)

N. cold water or ice  
62, 718

**turtur**

IDEO. to beat as in a heart beating  
114, 124, 195, 196, 718

**tutuka** (inv; -l; -gil)

N. a type of banana that is not eaten by  
people but instead given to animals to eat  
77, 718

**U****uakir** (i : -m- : unknown)

V. to fall  
110, 242, 312, 342, 374, 377, 394, 491, 579,  
588, 597, 616, 637, 718

**W****wabra** (-Ø, -n, -i, -m)

GN ADJ. a half of something  
11, 193, 423, 589, 625, 718

**Wabual**

PN. a male name  
490, 718

**wadual** (inv)

N. a head

108, 329, 383, 390, 420, 427, 617, 719

**wagieti** (sg:-eti, pl:-wil)

N. wild pitpit

256, 719

**wagiluage**

EXCL. an expression of surprise or pain

163, 719

**Wagin**

PN. a male name

126, 276, 330, 414, 539, 577, 580, 719

**walkega** (-l)

N. a bird of paradise

322, 719

**walki** (-l)

N/CW. (i) a feather; (ii) to be white in color

306, 590, 626, 719

**walmine** (-gal)

N. a type of tree with small leaves

75, 719

**walti** (-gal)

N. an area of deep water

113, 719

**walwalda** (walwali)

N. beans

77, 719

**Wamil**

PN. the name of a mountain

543, 719

**wan** (inv)

N. heart

iii, 41, 56, 103, 114, 146, 160, 161, 196, 215, 229, 276, 289, 306, 317, 335, 336, 361, 365, 473, 474, 521, 525, 543--545, 590, 600, 622--624, 632, 636, 643, 653, 659, 661, 667, 670, 719

**wanagawil** (-gal)

N. a type of breadfruit

371, 394, 719

**wanel** (-gal; -hegal)

N. a type of banana

48, 57, 63, 719

**wanesi** (-gal)

N. a white-dotted lizard with a long tail, a small head and slimy skin

223, 248, 252, 719

**wapuaki** (unknown)

N/CW. (i) a type of tree with soft wood found in old gardens; (ii) to be brown or orange in color

582, 719

**warha** (-pegal)

N. a hipbone

250, 254, 719

**warieti** (-gal)

N. charcoal

87, 719

**watu** (-gal)

N. a type of long red taro with red-stemmed leaves

61, 719

**waweti** (sg:-eti, pl:-wil)

N. a testicle

350, 719

**wawi** (inv)

N. an male ancestor, usually precedes the name of an ancestor

331, 490, 719

**wayiagi** (-l)

N. the long mats sewn from sago palm leaves to serve as roofing for houses

408, 502, 615, 719

**wayial** (sg:-l, pl:-lbia)

N. thief

256, 547, 720

**Wayuaga**

**PN.** the name of a location

413, 720

**wdi**

**PREP.** a general preposition used to express a wide range of semantic relationships including ‘for’, ‘about’, ‘of’, and ‘from’

94, 142, 145, 158--160, 215, 264, 286, 544, 545, 592, 594, 621, 629--632, 649, 720

**wdi**

**CP.** usually

230, 245, 517, 577, 720

**wdi** *weidi*

**SUB.** a subordinate clause linker used to overtly link a subordinate clause to the nominal phrase or main clause it relates to

81, 91, 93, 119, 139, 145, 157--160, 162, 193, 240, 279, 280, 285, 297, 303, 329, 334, 339, 407--409, 412, 413, 463, 475, 544, 545, 547, 584--595, 602, 610, 621, 623, 625, 627, 645, 649, 652, 655, 661, 720

**weisebia** *weisiebia* (unknown)

**N.** (i) the underside; (ii) to be located under something

73, 323, 325, 327--330, 391, 720

**weli** (inv; -gal)

**CW.** (i) to be hot in temperature; (ii) to be painful

66, 151, 152, 185, 280, 379, 386, 387, 434, 435, 466, 507, 559, 627, 642, 720

**welia** (-l; -lgil)

**N.** a type of tree with small leaves and thorns often used for house posts

11, 720

**wia** (inv)

**N.** (i) a hand; (ii) a way

109, 127, 159, 160, 247, 272, 317, 332, 523, 526, 592, 621, 623, 720

**wia** (fem:-i, masc:-m)

**NUM.** two

93, 137--143, 145, 174, 175, 200--202, 205, 207, 208, 214, 219, 222, 223, 236, 241, 242, 244, 245, 264, 271, 274, 276, 278, 279, 286, 287, 299, 300, 304, 305, 308--310, 312--315, 319, 320, 337, 338, 393, 405, 464, 494--496, 503, 504, 511, 520, 526, 529, 538, 539, 583, 589, 600, 625, 632, 637, 639, 664, 665, 720

**wibel** (-egal; wibegal)

**N.** a type of vine found in the bush whose seeds are described as being like a coconut  
11, 720

**wigal** (inv)

**N.** language, words, or speech

2, 73, 161, 169, 335, 350, 365, 409, 410, 446, 489, 505, 506, 508, 519, 544, 562, 567, 588, 592, 593, 595, 610, 626, 631--636, 660, 720

**wipul** (-gal; -egal)

**N.** a large cuscus with red fur  
155, 720

**wipila** (-megal)

**N.** a type of banana

75, 254, 720

**Wiwak**

**PN.** the capital city of the East Sepik province of Papua New Guinea  
275, 279, 310, 337, 365, 538, 584, 586, 587, 720

**wibia** (-hegal)

**N.** a large species of cuscus  
253, 720

**Wilkei**

**PN.** a male name

159, 161, 188, 189, 267, 305, 321, 331, 544,

|                                                                                          |                                                                                |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 650, 660, 661, 720                                                                       | 71, 181, 208, 229, 721                                                         |
| <b>winoga</b> (mogal)                                                                    | <b>woga</b> (inv; -l)                                                          |
| n. an older brother                                                                      | n. an older sister                                                             |
| 220, 221, 261, 340, 405, 583, 656, 721                                                   | 136, 220, 237, 257, 477, 547, 583, 593, 657, 721                               |
| <b>winyawi</b> (inv; woyawi, yawi, meiyawi)                                              | <b>wogi</b> (inv)                                                              |
| n. a younger brother                                                                     | n. a dream                                                                     |
| 48, 220, 237, 583, 593, 721                                                              | 312, 721                                                                       |
| <b>wiralgil</b> (inv; -gal)                                                              | <b>wogil</b> (-gal)                                                            |
| n. a dangerous person or group of people who will kill others, often by means of sorcery | n. kundu drum                                                                  |
| 245, 721                                                                                 | 182, 721                                                                       |
| <b>wirima</b> (-aguei)                                                                   | <b>wolebil</b> (-gal)                                                          |
| n. a type of tree that grows very tall and whose seeds are eaten by flying fox           | n. a large black bush fowl with red legs that lays large red eggs              |
| 255, 721                                                                                 | 514, 517, 577, 721                                                             |
| <b>Wiril</b>                                                                             | <b>woli</b> (inv)                                                              |
| PN. a male name                                                                          | n. a side, as in the side of a river or a house                                |
| 413, 721                                                                                 | 133, 139--143, 169, 200, 281, 323, 324, 329, 384, 394, 504, 589, 637, 654, 721 |
| <b>wirmual</b> (-gil)                                                                    | <b>wolitai</b> (-gil)                                                          |
| n. (i) a type of green grown in gardens; (ii) a type of yam                              | n. a small shelter for storing vegetables                                      |
| 84, 721                                                                                  | 74, 75, 721                                                                    |
| <b>wiyawi</b> (weiyawi)                                                                  | <b>wolua</b> (-i; -gil)                                                        |
| n. a younger sister                                                                      | n. an enemy or bad person                                                      |
| 220, 261, 721                                                                            | 368, 721                                                                       |
| <b>wo</b> (inv)                                                                          | <b>womala</b> (-gil)                                                           |
| n. (i) sun; (ii) day                                                                     | n. a hornbill                                                                  |
| 11, 42, 213, 214, 298, 299, 349, 649--652, 721                                           | 194, 197, 200, 300, 322, 721                                                   |
| <b>wobla</b> (-megal)                                                                    | <b>wona</b> (inv)                                                              |
| n. (i) a type of tree; (ii) seeds from the same tree                                     | n. (i) moon; (ii) month                                                        |
| 115, 155, 231, 250, 254, 403, 412, 598, 721                                              | 138, 139, 144, 213, 248, 249, 274, 278, 284, 308, 338, 393, 721                |
| <b>wobir</b> (-gal)                                                                      | <b>wonela</b> (-gil)                                                           |
| n. the roof of a building                                                                | n. a centipede                                                                 |
| 69, 252, 329, 330, 721                                                                   | 134, 181, 182, 230, 231, 422, 423, 721                                         |
| <b>wodomoi</b> wodomoi (-gil)                                                            | <b>woniamī</b> (-aguei)                                                        |
| N/PN. (i) a type of spear; (ii) a male name                                              |                                                                                |

**N.** a gray bird or a black bird with red  
around its neck

90, 255, 722

**wopakal** (-egal)

**N.** a bow

11, 206, 267, 268, 290, 332, 511, 722

**wopsilil** (inv)

**N.** yams, a label used to describe any and  
all species of yam

290, 427, 604, 607, 612, 722

**worahal** *wirahal* (-gil)

**N.** a type of bird known for cleaning gar-  
dens

586, 587, 722

**woriet** *warieti* (sg:-eti, pl:-wil)

**N.** a medium-sized brown bird

250, 256, 722

**worpet** *warpeti* (sg:-ti, pl:-wil)

**N.** to be yellow in color

155, 185, 186, 507, 582, 722

**wowa** (*wihiwol*, *wihiwoli*)

**N.** the elder sister of a parent

647, 722

**wowi** (*wowiagi*)

**N.** (i) forehead; (ii) mind

147, 722

**wual** (-ia)

**N.** a pig

11, 55, 109, 110, 130, 134, 143, 163, 196, 200,  
201, 203, 221, 227, 240, 250, 259, 292, 317,  
339, 424, 446, 465, 473, 499, 504, 557, 588,  
589, 722

**wualebo** (inv)

**N.** fool, idiot (from the collocation of *wual*  
*nebo*, literally ‘pig dog’)

110, 722

**wualeigal** (inv)

**N.** wildlife, protein (from the collocation  
of *wual neigal*, literally ‘pig cuscus’)

110, 722

**wugil** (-gal)

**N.** pants

41, 722

**wul** (inv)

**N.** any type or body of water such as rain,  
a river, a lake, or drinking water

2, 11, 79, 133, 137, 195, 198, 214, 215, 229,  
273, 294, 295, 312, 318, 325--327, 333, 349,  
363, 365, 375, 388, 397, 411, 422, 424, 427,  
443, 445, 472, 478, 483, 485, 489, 492, 498,  
502, 503, 509, 521, 522, 570, 579, 589, 592,  
616, 617, 637, 642, 647, 649, 652, 722

**wunmike** (-gal)

**N.** a type of cuscus that is black with a  
white underside, often described as the wife  
of the *hatomia* cuscus

69, 227, 252, 722

**wunwun** (-egal)

**IDEO/N.** a rat with a white tail that lives  
near rivers

69, 722

**Y**

**ya**

**CP.** a particle whose meaning is still un-  
clear; it is frequently used in the expression  
*hiro ya* to mean ‘not at all’.

208, 247, 329, 389, 448, 512, 640, 642, 650,  
651, 722

**yababu** (-gal)

**N.** a type of green that grows by the river  
and is commonly eaten

101, 722

**yabanul** (-gal; -hegal)

**N.** a type of tree with red seeds found in

the bush

97, 723

**yabra** *yiwabra* (inv; -hegal)

**N.** a piece of cloth tied around the waist, commonly referred to as a lap-lap  
11, 723

**yai**

**EXCL.** a sound of surprise  
163, 723

**yailua** (-Ø, -n, -i)

**GN ADJ.** to be deserving of sympathy  
94, 723

**yaki** (inv)

**N.** ginger  
232, 245, 246, 307, 309, 310, 723

**yaki ma**

**CP.** enough  
628, 723

**Yalimen**

**PN.** a male name  
331, 723

**yalkua** *yolkua* (unknown)

**N.** a torch or flashlight  
648, 723

**yalmi** (-ha, -na, pl: yalmi hamei)

**N.** a grandparent or a grandchild  
63, 193, 220, 237, 267, 289, 589, 595, 723

**yamega** (-l)

**N.** (i) a label used to refer to the class of proteins that women were traditionally permitted to eat; (ii) a light tan catfish found in the river by the Yeri village; (iii) a type of bird

49, 50, 81, 91, 322, 520, 617, 723

**yameti** (sg:-ti, pl:-wil)

**N.** a type of seed that is red and round  
422, 723

**Yamia**

**PN.** the name of a hamlet  
479, 587, 723

**yamiho** (-gil)

**N.** a type of frog  
97, 101, 723

**yati** (-gal (sago jelly); yawal (palm))

**N.** (i) a sago palm; (ii) a ball of sago jelly  
11, 66, 81, 91, 136, 144, 163, 167, 168, 178, 179, 188, 193, 199, 204, 209, 215, 221, 230, 231, 239, 240, 243, 277, 283, 308, 326, 339, 340, 362, 377, 389, 390, 402, 404, 407, 410-412, 414, 448, 463, 512, 514, 516, 518, 532, 533, 535, 536, 538, 543, 552, 555, 567, 570, 574, 575, 579, 596, 599, 612, 614, 615, 654, 657, 658, 667, 723

**yaukela** *yaukelia* (sg:-la, pl:-bia)

**CW.** to be light in weight  
71, 521, 723

**yautueti** (sg:-eti, pl:-wil)

**CW/N ADJ.** to be blunt or dull  
186, 301, 328, 330, 723

**yawi** (-gal)

**N.** a tail  
109, 121, 131, 198, 267, 268, 317, 321, 350, 352, 466, 514, 520, 576, 594, 641, 723

**yaʔa**

**DEM.** here  
40, 132, 135--137, 199, 264, 286, 298, 318, 333, 386, 495, 548, 556, 607, 723

**ye**

**PF.** a pronoun that refers to only one addressee, you (singular)  
iii, 42, 55, 56, 61, 80, 88, 94, 104, 109, 123, 126, 136, 142, 145, 146, 151, 155, 159, 175, 176, 185, 193, 198, 201, 212, 235, 242, 244, 266, 268, 270, 275, 287--290, 302, 306, 308-

- 310, 314--316, 319, 333, 336, 340, 346--348, 350, 353, 362, 365, 370, 377, 378, 383--385, 389, 394--396, 398, 400, 402, 407, 409--411, 414, 421, 425--427, 436, 463--467, 470--474, 481, 483, 492, 493, 499, 504, 506, 508, 518, 521, 524, 532--534, 536--538, 542, 543, 546, 547, 549--556, 559, 562, 566, 577, 580--582, 593, 598, 602, 605, 614, 621--623, 625--630, 639, 641, 645, 647, 653, 659--662, 664, 665, 670, 723
- yelu** (-gal)  
 N. (i) sugar cane; (ii) sugar  
 66, 273, 724
- yem**  
 PF. a pronoun that refers to more than one addressee, you (plural)  
 30, 103, 104, 113, 140, 146, 159, 185, 202, 225, 235, 266, 267, 270, 274, 289, 298, 300, 316, 317, 334, 347, 350, 351, 361, 378, 380, 382, 383, 386, 398, 400, 401, 403, 404, 410, 411, 414, 418, 425, 426, 450, 474, 475, 479, 480, 511, 518, 519, 553, 577, 600, 724
- yepia** (-Ø, -n, -i)  
 GN ADJ. (i) to be empty; (ii) to consist of only one thing  
 130, 188, 273, 518, 519, 724
- Yeri**  
 PN. the name used by people living in Yapunda village to refer to themselves, their village, and their language  
 iii, 2, 101, 142, 156, 203, 310, 365, 410, 443, 466, 504, 508, 519, 626, 724
- yewal** (sg:-ti)  
 N. an eye  
 55, 109, 114, 116, 135, 143, 149, 154, 156, 181, 186, 217, 242, 250, 258, 285, 300, 317, 361, 362, 389, 406, 409, 450, 453, 469, 586, 592, 606, 621--626, 628--631, 647--649, 666, 724
- yiga** (-l; -gil)  
 N. a thorn  
 389, 449, 514, 724
- yikati** (sg:-ti, pl:-wil)  
 N. (i) a cloud; (ii) fog  
 256, 724
- yiki** (inv)  
 N. a day  
 113, 440, 654, 724
- yikiwou** (-gil; -egal)  
 N. a type of bird with red feet and long feathers that makes a bird call that sounds like [yikiwou]  
 75, 724
- yimeta** (-gil)  
 N. a flea  
 449, 724
- yipeta** *hipeta* (-gil)  
 N. a type of vine with thorns  
 49, 50, 62, 724
- Yipuda** *Yapuda*  
 PN. an alternate name for the Yeri village  
 57, 88, 101, 248, 724
- yirkuarki** (-l; -l-gal)  
 N. a tiny yellow sandfly  
 62, 73, 724
- Yirkuri**  
 PN. a female name  
 208, 247, 339, 447, 448, 724
- Yiwira**  
 PN. an old Yeri hamlet near Yiwilta hamlet  
 331, 724
- yiwo** (inv)  
 N. skin  
 11, 178, 306, 385, 577, 590, 626, 638, 725



- yo** (yo lapi (path), yobaliagi (door), inv (hole))  
 N. (i) a path or road; (ii) a door; (iii) an opening or hole  
 45, 59, 61, 160, 199, 239, 309, 319, 327, 388, 392, 399, 400, 413, 426, 491, 492, 497, 498, 512, 539, 556, 559, 560, 581, 601, 638--640, 643, 649--652, 654, 656--658, 660, 663, 668, 725
- yobaliagi** (sg:-l, pl:-i)  
 N. a door or opening to a building  
 258, 725
- yobia** (-i)  
 N. a bamboo spear  
 332, 725
- Yobil**  
 PN. the name of a mountain  
 101, 331, 725
- yogi** (inv)  
 N. a type of traditional female clothing worn around the hips  
 82, 92, 446, 725
- yokata** (sg:-ta, pl:-wil; -gil)  
 N. a grey bird known for its early morning calls  
 440, 725
- yolkaga** (-l; -gil)  
 N. a butterfly  
 257, 725
- yolyolgil** (inv; sg:-l, pl:-i)  
 IDEO/N. cheek  
 77, 725
- Yomalbiena**  
 PN. the name of a foot path to Yiwilta  
 74, 140, 223, 287, 725
- yomial**  
 ADV. to be slow or quiet  
 114, 153, 154, 204, 212, 248, 408, 524, 725
- yomiliagi** (-l; -aguei)  
 N. a type of small fly  
 238, 241, 261, 262, 725
- Yonara**  
 PN. a male name  
 181, 725
- Yonomil**  
 PN. the name of a hamlet  
 101, 725
- yopeka** (inv; -gil)  
 N. breath  
 312, 725
- yot** (-i; -m)  
 DEM. a bound demonstrative root which obligatorily occurs with a morpheme providing information on the distance from the speaker and a gender/ number morpheme  
 30, 42, 55, 87, 88, 94, 95, 104, 107--109, 114--117, 127, 130--135, 137, 139, 142, 147, 150, 154--156, 158, 159, 163, 178, 179, 181, 188, 189, 191--194, 196, 197, 199--204, 206--209, 212, 214, 221, 222, 225--227, 230--233, 236, 239--241, 243--246, 248, 263, 268--276, 278, 279, 281, 283--285, 289--294, 298--302, 305--307, 309--314, 317--319, 321, 322, 325--329, 331--335, 338, 339, 350, 354, 361, 362, 370--372, 375, 384--391, 393--395, 397, 400, 402, 403, 406, 412--414, 418--421, 423--426, 428, 435, 440, 442, 443, 445, 447--449, 456, 464--467, 469--471, 474, 475, 479, 484, 486--489, 491, 492, 495, 497, 502--505, 507, 508, 510, 511, 519, 524--526, 528--530, 532, 537, 539, 540, 546--548, 556, 558--562, 567, 568, 570, 571, 573, 575, 576, 578, 586--592, 594, 595, 598, 604, 606--608, 611, 613, 621--631, 633, 636, 639, 640, 644--646, 648, 649, 651--657,

659, 662, 663, 665--670, 725

**Yowalia**

**PN.** an old Yeri hamlet near Yiwilta ham-  
let

331, 726

**yowelia** (inv)

**cw.** to be thin  
152, 280, 726

**Yowirmual**

**PN.** the name of a hamlet

331, 726

**yuta** (-gi; yuta nogual)

**N ADJ.** female

82, 131, 139, 150, 162, 180, 205, 208, 209, 222,  
223, 276, 278, 279, 309, 310, 330, 331, 405,  
424, 428, 477, 479, 578, 589, 612, 614, 637,  
643, 653, 654, 663, 726

# Appendix D: English-Yeri abridged dictionary

|                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>A</b>                                                                                                                                                                         | 42, 61, 81, 90, 91, 95, 103, 105, 114, 130, 133, 135, 142, 147, 150, 151, 154, 156--159, 161, 168, 171, 175, 177, 181, 185, 187, 189, 191, 193, 194, 201, 208, 211, 212, 214, 224, 225, 240, 247, 266, 269, 276, 277, 285, 288, 289, 293, 304, 305, 309, 313, 317, 319, 324, 325, 329, 330, 335, 349, 351--355, 361--363, 367, 378--380, 382--384, 387, 389, 392, 394, 398, 400, 402, 405, 408, 409, 414, 420, 421, 423, 425--428, 435, 438, 439, 443, 445, 446, 448, 449, 453, 456, 459, 462, 466--470, 475, 478, 485--492, 494, 495, 497, 499, 516, 519, 524, 532--536, 539, 541, 543, 545--553, 555--560, 568--570, 572, 574--576, 578, 579, 590--592, 594, 598, 599, 601, 603, 605, 606, 608, 622, 623, 625, 628, 629, 641, 642, 648, 668--670, 727 |
| <b>after</b> - nomal                                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <b>SUB.</b> a subordinating conjunction which follows the subordinate clause and expresses the meaning ‘after’                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 162, 286, 595, 596, 616, 667, 727                                                                                                                                                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <b>afternoon</b> - maladi (inv)                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <b>N.</b> afternoon                                                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 42, 53, 98, 213, 214, 664, 667, 727                                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <b>again</b> - siwei si                                                                                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <b>CP2.</b> (i) again; (ii) to come back as in to come back to a location                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 56, 93, 139, 157, 159, 211, 349, 378, 380, 388, 423, 425, 459, 477--479, 481, 482, 489--493, 508, 517, 524, 528, 548, 559, 560, 624, 640, 646, 661, 663, 664, 667, 669, 670, 727 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <b>all the way</b> - osua (ie, e : amosua : unknown)                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <b>VI.</b> to go all the way                                                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 374, 433, 434, 727                                                                                                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <b>alone</b> - nanala                                                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <b>ADV.</b> alone, by oneself                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 114, 154, 170, 204, 212, 463, 623, 727                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <b>already</b> - ki                                                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <b>CP1.</b> already                                                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|                                                                                                                                                                                  | <b>also</b> - male                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                  | <b>CP.</b> also                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|                                                                                                                                                                                  | 51, 107, 114, 187, 196, 302, 307, 315, 320, 390, 421, 423, 426, 428, 440, 443, 445, 446, 449, 480, 503, 519, 636, 650, 727                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|                                                                                                                                                                                  | <b>and</b> - ode odi (ie : -me- : -n)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|                                                                                                                                                                                  | <b>VT.</b> (i) to be with; (ii) and; (iii) occurs in the conventionalized expression <i>odi wan</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |

which means ‘I don’t know’; (iv) occurs in the conventionalized expression *wan odi* to mean ‘I love X’, ‘I miss X’, ‘I think about X’ or ‘I am happy with X’

41, 123, 133, 139, 159, 162, 176, 212, 225, 226, 237, 266, 267, 276, 284, 287, 306, 312, 314, 330, 333--336, 338--340, 357, 364, 365, 370, 388, 391, 403, 412, 426, 463, 466, 473, 491, 492, 516, 536, 539, 571, 582, 589, 590, 593, 595, 603, 605, 607, 623, 624, 636, 640, 643, 644, 646, 647, 654, 656, 657, 659, 661, 663--666, 668, 670, 727

**angry - halhal**

IDEO. to be angry or unhappy  
124, 160, 544, 728

**ant - pareki** (-l)

N. an ant  
62, 90, 179, 238, 239, 257, 448, 613, 728

**ant, nagolia - nagolia** (-gil)

N. a type of black ant that bites  
238, 728

**appear - bli:l**

IDEO. to appear out of nowhere  
67, 728

**arm - hi:logi** (sg:-l, pl:-i)

N. arm, hand  
46, 137, 139--143, 200, 229, 250, 258, 367, 405, 456, 504, 514, 728

**armpit - noglagia** (inv; -gil)

N. the area under the arm, the armpit  
73, 728

**arrive - psia ar sia ar** (e : -ma- : wa-n)

V. (i) to arrive or reach a location; (ii) to come out  
94, 108, 214, 230, 285, 432, 478, 509, 537, 539, 591, 597, 639--642, 646, 652, 654, 657, 658, 663, 664, 667, 670, 728

**ascend - arkou** (e : -m- : e-n)

VI. to ascend or go up  
127, 140, 212, 223, 287, 385, 387--389, 408, 409, 419, 498, 528, 600, 616, 617, 647, 654, 669, 728

**ash - protɪ** (sg:-ti, pl:-wil)

N/CW. (i) ash; (ii) to be grey in color  
67, 152, 229, 250, 256, 280--282, 412, 728

**ask - ogiwa** (e : -m- : -ne-)

VT. to ask someone  
29, 90, 95, 111, 115, 161, 168, 186, 305, 355, 356, 377, 378, 405, 431, 436, 437, 454, 457, 544, 568, 569, 645--647, 659, 660, 662, 664, 728

**associated others - nogi**

CP. used to refer to people associated with a person or people  
43, 109, 268, 314, 332, 339, 532, 611, 645, 728

**aunt - wowa** (wihiwol, wihiwoli)

N. the elder sister of a parent  
647, 728

**axe - harogi** (sg:-l, pl:-i)

N. an axe  
11, 152, 169, 327, 404, 513, 728

**B**

**baby sling - piam** (inv; -egal; -aguei)

N. a piece of cloth used as a sling to hold children at the hip  
251, 255, 728

**back - hagi:l** (inv; -egal (back); sg: han (man))

N. (i) back; (ii) the plural form of man  
323, 638, 639, 641, 728

**bad - ilua** (-∅, -n, -i, -m)

WGN ADJ. to be bad  
16, 94, 95, 128, 129, 135, 179, 199, 209, 226, 239, 268, 271, 272, 281, 290, 291, 308, 420,

|                                                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 421, 426, 427, 429, 448, 470, 473, 503, 515,<br>518, 519, 525, 536, 537, 560, 581, 590, 615,<br>621--623, 625, 627--630, 638, 728, 793              | v. a copula used with non-reduplicated<br>forms of ideophones<br>126, 127, 134, 588, 621, 656, 661, 664, 729                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <b>bamboo - hīlietī</b> (sg:-eti, pl:-wil)<br>n. bamboo<br>51, 57, 229, 392, 729                                                                    | <b>be - o ī</b> (ie, e : amo : de-n)<br>vi. to be<br>151, 152, 155, 163, 169, 183, 185, 186, 193,<br>215, 241--243, 276, 281--283, 301, 304--308,<br>311, 314, 324, 326, 328--330, 358, 374, 379,<br>386, 387, 433--435, 461, 466, 474, 506, 507,<br>521, 524--526, 545, 559, 577, 581, 582, 590,<br>606, 608, 614, 621, 626--629, 642, 729                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <b>banana - miaga</b> (-l)<br>n. a banana<br>108, 168, 222, 408, 601, 729                                                                           | <b>be - o</b> (ie : ormia : ormian)<br>vi. (i) to be located at; (ii) to stay in the<br>same location; (iii) to live<br>56, 88, 108, 114, 116, 131, 133, 134, 138--140,<br>149, 154, 212, 215, 221, 223, 225--228, 232,<br>245, 246, 266, 267, 273, 274, 287, 289, 295,<br>298--300, 306, 308, 310, 312, 316, 318, 324,<br>325, 333--335, 338--340, 348, 349, 362, 365,<br>375, 377, 381, 386, 391, 392, 399, 403, 404,<br>410--412, 422, 445, 463, 464, 467, 472, 475,<br>477--480, 484, 486, 487, 489, 492, 498, 499,<br>509, 518, 521, 524, 528, 537, 543, 561, 562,<br>566, 571, 573, 576, 582, 587, 589, 590, 595,<br>598, 599, 608, 613, 616, 623, 624, 628, 632,<br>633, 637, 642--644, 648, 649, 651, 654--659,<br>661, 666, 668--670, 729 |
| <b>banana, china - seina</b> (-gil)<br>n. a type of banana<br>95, 729                                                                               | <b>be angry - iekewa</b> (i : -m- : -n)<br>vt. to be angry<br>224, 342, 364, 370, 398, 399, 404, 405, 463,<br>470, 477, 487, 516, 547, 595, 608, 653, 661,<br>729                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <b>banana, gerougerou - gīrougerou</b> (-gil)<br>n. a type of banana grown in the wild and<br>not eaten by people<br>63, 67, 729                    | <b>be from - eiwa ei</b> (i : -m- : unknown)<br>vi. to be from<br>111, 230, 288, 374, 475, 553, 554, 556, 562,<br>586--588, 651, 652, 729                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <b>banana, tutuka - tutuka</b> (inv; -l; -gil)<br>n. a type of banana that is not eaten by<br>people but instead given to animals to eat<br>77, 729 | <b>be happy - datiki</b> (e : -me- : da-n)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <b>banana, wanel - wanel</b> (-gal; -hegal)<br>n. a type of banana<br>48, 49, 57, 63, 729                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <b>banana, wipīla - wipīla</b> (-megal)<br>n. a type of banana<br>75, 254, 729                                                                      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <b>bandicoot - hoharou</b> (-egal)<br>n. a bandicoot<br>71, 75, 180, 309, 326, 336, 340, 536, 537, 583,<br>606, 608, 729                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <b>bark - bobo</b><br>IDEO. to bark<br>41, 124, 125, 171, 177, 729                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <b>basket - porpori</b> (-gal)<br>n. a basket<br>229, 729                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <b>be - ela</b> (e : -me- : unknown)                                                                                                                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |

- vi.** (i) to be happy; (ii) to play  
102, 359, 476, 521, 525, 532, 545, 729
- be hungry** - *dolbi* (ie : -me- : unknown)  
**vi.** to be hungry  
42, 69, 155, 184, 185, 374, 382, 416, 430, 454, 477, 531--533, 535, 666, 730
- be in pile** - *dolyulma dolojulma* (e : -me- : we-n, de-n)  
**vi.** to be located in a pile  
102, 359, 391, 730
- be like** - *ada odia, adia* (ie : -ma- : -n)  
**vt.** to be similar to or be like  
55, 305, 306, 311, 331, 556, 576, 626, 730
- beans** - *walwalda* (walwali)  
**n.** beans  
77, 730
- bearer** - *helual* (inv)  
**n.** a load-bearing post placed horizontally to support a structure  
615, 730
- beat** - *turtur*  
**IDEO.** to beat as in a heart beating  
114, 124, 195, 196, 730
- bee** - *malgi* (inv; -hegal; malgi)  
**n.** a bee  
42, 239, 244, 245, 311, 413, 613, 730
- bee, pilgiyou** - *pilgiyou* (inv; -gil; -egal)  
**n.** a large bee with a black chest and a red bottom  
311, 730
- beetle, hiroba** - *hiroba* (-aguei; -gil)  
**n.** a type of beetle that eats the inside of sago palms  
591, 605, 730
- before** - *kutu*  
**CP.** before the current time  
627, 730
- belly** - *hamual* (-gil)  
**n.** belly, stomach  
88, 229, 495, 641, 642, 730
- bend** - *giekir* (i : -m- : e-n, we-n)  
**vi.** to bend or be in a bent position  
68, 110, 301, 341, 342, 374, 385, 386, 439, 593, 594, 730
- bend** - *goba gobi* (ie, e : -me-, -ma- : -ne-)  
**v.** to bend in half  
98, 99, 226, 243, 247, 276, 304, 305, 320, 366, 367, 371, 405, 433, 456, 643, 661, 730
- betel nut** - *pueti* (-l)  
**n.** betel nut  
11, 59, 68, 70, 181, 212, 221, 229, 250, 319, 339, 386, 606, 730
- betel nut pulp** - *pagi* (sg:-l, pl:-i)  
**n.** the pulpy mass that results from chewing betel nut mixed with other ingredients  
319, 730
- big** - *lope* (-Ø, -n, -i)  
**WGN ADJ.** to be big  
54, 88, 89, 116, 117, 121, 128, 129, 134, 148--150, 155, 158, 178--180, 196--198, 214, 233, 246, 267, 270--272, 291, 300, 305, 307--311, 314, 315, 319, 320, 325, 327, 329, 334, 375, 378, 380, 381, 388, 392, 405, 409, 410, 419, 426--429, 463, 469, 480, 491, 501--504, 508, 518--520, 529, 559, 588, 590, 600, 610, 621, 624--627, 629, 630, 638, 649, 651, 652, 655, 658, 660--664, 666, 667, 669, 730
- bilum** - *heya* (-gil)  
**n.** (i) a traditional string bag made in Papua New Guinea referred to as a bilum; (ii) to be lazy as in the collocation *dieka heya*  
55, 56, 62, 139, 178, 179, 229, 232, 243, 244, 246, 278, 307, 309, 310, 312, 319, 332, 354, 449, 509, 550, 576, 626, 630, 648, 662, 730

**bird** - **no1** (-mi)

N. a bird

11, 17, 69, 121, 141, 190, 191, 200, 221, 228, 260, 261, 298, 299, 304, 305, 320, 322, 354, 392, 395, 410, 440, 444, 511, 514, 517, 519, 522, 523, 529, 530, 573, 575, 577, 586, 587, 599, 612, 730, 794

**bird hut** - **nanipe** (-gal)

N. a small hut built in a tree for shooting

birds

75, 90, 97, 731

**bird, bird of paradise** - **walkega** (-l)

N. a bird of paradise

322, 731

**bird, bumira** - **bumira** (-gil)

N. a large gray bird with blue wings and red feet

42, 66, 74, 75, 322, 731

**bird, bush fowl** - **wolebi1** (-gal)

N. a large black bush fowl with red legs that lays large red eggs

514, 517, 577, 731

**bird, bwerabwera** - **buerabuera** (-gil)

IDEO/N. a small black bird with red eyes  
68, 731

**bird, dialdial parrot** - **dialdial** (-gil; -hegal)

IDEO/N. a green species of parrot

77, 731

**bird, guria pigeon** - **palmian** (-aguei)

N. guria pigeon, a blue bird with a lace-like crest on its head

66, 73, 255, 731

**bird, haben** - **haben** (-egal)

N. a large brown bird with a gray chest and red legs

41, 731

**bird, hawk** - **huba** (-gil)

N. a hawk

61, 97, 121, 250, 252, 322, 362, 731

**bird, hornbill** - **womala** (-gil)

N. a hornbill

194, 197, 200, 300, 322, 731

**bird, howen** - **howen** (-egal)

N. a green parrot with a red chest

322, 331, 395, 731

**bird, karibe1** - **karibe1** (-gil)

N. a gray bird that can be seen during the dry season

75, 731

**bird, kulkil** - **kulkil** (-gal)

N. a large black bird with red eyes

612, 731

**bird, kiruba** - **kiruba** (-gil)

N. (i) a small white bird with some black around its head; (ii) a type of yam

67, 731

**bird, lamegi** - **lamegi** (-agia)

N. a small bird with gray feathers, one type has a long bill and one type has a short bill

191, 228, 731

**bird, lopegi** - **lopegi** (-i)

N. a gray bird with yellow around its eyes

191, 228, 519, 731

**bird, malowen** - **malowen** (-egal)

N. a small brown bush fowl about the size of a chicken with a crest

75, 251, 731

**bird, mumu** - **mumu** (-gal)

IDEO/N. a type of owl with brown feathers

77, 97, 731

**bird, neigran parrot** - **neigran** (-egal)

N. a green parrot with red under its wings

69, 250, 251, 731

**bird, preiketa - preiketa** (sg:-ta, pl:-wil)

N. (i) a type of small bird, (ii) a phone

256, 421, 470, 659, 732

**bird, psier - psier** (-gil; -hegal)

N. a small black bird with a gray chest and a small red crest on its head

68, 732

**bird, suigan - suigan** (egal; -agil)

N. a type of small black bird

68, 70, 732

**bird, tarikrou - tarikrou** (-gil; -egal)

N. a type of bird

69, 74, 75, 252, 253, 732

**bird, white cockatoo - haiketa** (sg:-ta, pl:-wil)

N/CW. (i) a white cockatoo; (ii) to be white in color

59, 71, 94, 151, 152, 185, 186, 250, 256, 280, 300, 306, 307, 526, 582, 608, 627, 732

**bird, woniamî - woniamî** (-aguei)

N. a gray bird or a black bird with red around its neck

90, 255, 732

**bird, worahal - worahal wirahal** (-gil)

N. a type of bird known for cleaning gardens

586, 587, 732

**bird, worietî - worietî warietî** (sg:-eti, pl:-wil)

N. a medium-sized brown bird

250, 256, 732

**bird, yikiwou - yikiwou** (-gil; -egal)

N. a type of bird with red feet and long feathers that makes a bird call that sounds like [yikiwou]

75, 732

**bird, yokata - yokata** (sg:-ta, pl:-wil; -gil)

N. a grey bird known for its early morning calls

440, 732

**birth - awodî** (e : -m- : -n)

VT. to birth a child

89, 181, 331, 357, 379, 470, 538, 732

**bite - anokîl** (e : -me- : a-n)

VT. to bite

78, 79, 238, 239, 311, 319, 370, 413, 414, 423, 542, 551, 603, 613, 639, 640, 732

**block - iebeko** (i : none : da)

V. to block

361, 732

**blood - henei** (-gil)

N/CW. (i) blood; (ii) to be red in color

94, 97, 151, 152, 163, 209, 252, 280, 282, 283, 301, 304, 305, 313, 330, 468, 732

**blow - piapia**

IDEO. to blow, used to refer to when the wind blows

124, 732

**blow on - ati** (e : -me- : wa-n)

VT. to blow on

100, 398, 732

**blue - niwal** (-gil)

CW. to be blue in color

152, 280, 311, 732

**blunt - yautuetî** (sg:-eti, pl:-wil)

CW/N ADJ. to be blunt or dull

186, 301, 328, 330, 732

**body - hobî** (inv)

N. a person's body or life

281, 282, 321, 350, 352, 466, 559, 594, 732

**boil - arepia** (e : -me- : -ne-)

VT. to boil something

90, 116, 130, 149, 240, 241, 276, 353, 355, 356,



437, 457, 476, 516, 647, 732

**boil** - *salsal*

IDEO. for water to boil

124, 503, 733

**boil** - *sirsir*

IDEO. used to refer to water boiling or people dancing

124, 733

**bone** - *hamnagi* (sg:-l, pl:-i)

N. bone

69, 229, 733

**boom** - *boubou*

IDEO. to make the sound of a gun firing

124, 125, 127, 134, 733

**bottom** - *hewo* (inv)

N. (i) the bottom; (ii) ground

61, 294, 313, 323, 462, 479, 492, 517, 536, 577, 584, 597, 616, 637, 650, 652, 655, 669, 733

**bottom** - *neigela* (sg:-la, pl:-bia)

N. the bottom, often used to refer to the base of a tree

11, 256, 323, 326, 327, 329, 372, 395, 456, 733

**bounce** - *gilgilei gilgilai*

IDEO. to bounce

125, 126, 416, 578--580, 733

**bow** - *wopakal* (-egal)

N. a bow

11, 206, 267, 268, 290, 332, 511, 733

**branch** - *pala* (-l)

N. the branch of a tree, also used to refer to the handle of an axe

63, 109, 257, 317, 733

**breadfruit** - *hoketi* (sg:-ti, pl:-wil)

N. a type of breadfruit

261, 397, 733

**breadfruit** - *wanagawil* (-gal)

N. a type of breadfruit

371, 394, 733

**breadfruit liquid** - *nibeta* (-gil)

N. the milky white sap from a breadfruit tree

83, 178, 317, 318, 733

**break** - *goti* (e : -me- : -ne-)

VT. to break something like a fishing line

437, 457, 643, 733

**break into pieces** - *bulbal*

IDEO. to break into many pieces, often used to describe dry branches breaking into many pieces when they fall

124, 733

**breath** - *yopeka* (inv; -gil)

N. breath

312, 733

**brittle** - *piru* (inv; -gal)

CW. to be brittle

152, 280, 733

**brother** - *milhagil* (inv)

N. a kin term referring to the brothers of a sister

188, 497, 733

**brown** - *wapuaki* (unknown)

N/CW. (i) a type of tree with soft wood found in old gardens; (ii) to be brown or orange in color

582, 733

**building** - *tumani* (lapi)

N. a house or building

62, 93, 94, 130, 136, 142, 151, 158--160, 193, 214, 233, 260, 261, 266, 267, 271--274, 285, 294, 298, 306, 311, 316, 317, 319, 325, 329, 330, 375, 383, 404, 407, 412, 463, 467, 481, 506, 513, 518--520, 574, 581, 586--588, 590--592, 598, 601, 602, 614, 648, 655, 666, 667, 669, 670, 733

**bunch** - *nuagi* (-l)

N. a bunch of bananas

520, 733

**burn** - *aguti* (e : -me- : -ne-)

VT. to place an item on the fire to burn its outside, often to remove the hair from an animal

90, 111, 114, 154, 356, 395--397, 431, 457, 470, 498, 499, 566, 592, 621--623, 628--630, 734

**burst** - *dobirkil* (e : none : da-n, dobirkren)

VI. to burst open or be cracked open  
343, 350, 734

**bush** - *nibera* (-gil)

N. the bush or forest

83, 485, 656, 734

**bush knife** - *sahal* (-gil)

N. a bush knife or machete

11, 66, 73, 136, 186, 191, 223, 229, 242, 319, 322, 325, 328--332, 376, 389, 393, 405, 414, 509, 513, 525, 668, 734

**butt** - *hawer* (-gal)

N. butt

209, 734

**butterfly** - *yolkaga* (-l; -gil)

N. a butterfly

257, 734

## C

**call** - *ania* (e : -me- : -n)

VT. to call out for someone

91, 93, 102, 103, 107, 248, 357, 401, 430, 463, 513, 517, 544, 548, 734

**cane** - *hate* (-ia-l)

N. cane

66, 83, 90, 115, 196, 261, 734

**carry** - *arkia* *erkia* (e : -m- : ka-n)

VT. to carry on the shoulder

114, 154, 175, 358, 404, 734

**carry** - *aro* (e : -m- : -n)

VT. to carry by resting the strap of a container across the forehead

95, 96, 638, 639, 648, 734

**carry** - *asikera* *asikere* (e : -me- : wa-n)

VT. to carry on the hip at the side, typically a child

68, 350, 364, 650, 651, 734

**carry** - *dogir* (e : -me-, -m- : -ne-)

VT. to carry a bag or bilum at the side by hanging the strap on the shoulder

111, 112, 343, 439, 454, 457, 734

**cassava** - *maye* (-gal)

N. cassava

51, 734

**cassowary** - *nalu* (-gal; nali)

N. a cassowary

11, 115, 154, 155, 181, 197, 201, 230, 231, 311, 403, 436, 520, 610, 734

**catch fire** - *dalkuelial* *dalkolial* (e : -m- : unknown)

VI. to catch fire or begin burning

84, 156, 341, 342, 622, 624, 625, 628, 734

**caterpillar** - *sapuna* (-gil)

N. a caterpillar or snail

74, 734

**centipede** - *wonela* (-gil)

N. a centipede

134, 181, 182, 230, 231, 422, 423, 734

**charcoal** - *warieti* (-gal)

N. charcoal

87, 734

**chase** - *ogera* (ie, e : -me- : we-n)

VT. to chase something or someone

44, 66, 79, 89, 100, 180, 182, 326, 349, 359, 360, 373, 400, 401, 571, 606, 608, 734

- chase away** - opasewa (ie, e : -m- : -ne-)  
 v. to chase away  
 74, 734
- cheek** - yolyolgɪl (inv; sg:-l, pl:-i)  
 IDEO/N. cheek  
 77, 735
- chicken** - harkrokɪ (-l)  
 n. a chicken  
 30, 94, 116, 158, 226, 361, 391, 418, 473, 495, 504, 508, 510, 550, 594, 735
- child** - nɪgo (-∅, -n, -i)  
 n. an individual's offspring, used for the offspring of humans or animals  
 87, 88, 104, 123, 134, 137, 145, 159, 190, 215, 220, 224, 225, 237, 267--269, 271, 276, 305, 307, 310, 312, 313, 318, 319, 321, 331, 334, 372, 384, 387, 392, 403, 418, 420, 424, 425, 428, 463, 470, 484, 486, 490, 491, 495, 545, 546, 556, 557, 560, 570, 589, 591, 592, 610, 613, 735
- children** - nogolgoi (inv)  
 n. more than one child, always used in the plural  
 133, 140, 159, 188, 200, 205, 207, 223, 226, 284--286, 289, 305, 309, 312, 331, 370, 384, 424, 443, 448, 466, 476, 480, 494--496, 588, 589, 607, 611, 648, 735
- chop** - ada ade (e : -me- : wa-n)  
 vt. to cut or chop  
 65, 66, 71, 79, 107, 110, 161, 271, 318, 324, 363, 364, 399, 412, 471, 472, 524, 615, 735
- chop up** - gako (e : -me- : -n)  
 vt. to chop up  
 95, 96, 341, 357, 414, 735
- circle** - dieka (i : -m- : we-n)  
 v. (i) to circle as in *dieka walwal*; (ii) to be lazy as in *dieka heya*  
 68, 630, 735
- clan** - palapala (inv)  
 n. used in the expression *mariaga palapala* to refer to a clan  
 504, 735
- clavicle** - huma (-gil)  
 n. the clavicle or collarbone  
 259, 735
- clean** - ieta iemar (i : amieta (1/2 OBJ), iemar (3 OBJ) : -n, e-n)  
 vt. to clean as in to clean a garden  
 586, 587, 593, 735
- clean area** - diekra (i : -me- : we-n)  
 v. (i) to cut the grass around an area; (ii) to dream  
 341, 735
- cliff** - pɪnyalgɪ (sg:-l, pl:-i)  
 n. a cliff or steep incline  
 48, 49, 283, 284, 735
- close door** - iebe (i : none : wa-n, da-n)  
 v. to close a door  
 399, 735
- coconut** - natɪ (-l; -gal)  
 n. a coconut  
 11, 50, 51, 53, 61, 66, 90, 257, 310, 529, 735
- coconut bunch** - helu (inv; -l)  
 n. the part of a coconut palm that the coconuts hang from  
 257, 735
- coconut milk** - nemo (inv)  
 n. the milk made by scraping and squeezing the coconut flesh  
 43, 735
- coconut, overripe** - haper (-i)  
 n. a coconut that is ready for planting  
 76, 258, 735
- cold** - miaga (inv)

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>cw.</b> to be cool or cold in temperature<br>152, 280, 306, 626, 627, 735                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 124, 736                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <b>collect</b> - <b>apɪl</b> (e : -m- : a-n)<br><b>vt.</b> to collect or gather together items<br>66, 78, 79, 99, 100, 112, 240, 275, 359, 360,<br>373, 592, 736                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | <b>cough</b> - <b>tɪkɪltekɪl</b><br><b>IDEO.</b> to cough<br>124, 125, 440, 736                                                                                                                       |
| <b>come</b> - <b>ana</b> (e : -me- : anarki dan)<br><b>vi.</b> to come<br>42, 43, 61, 66, 91, 93, 103, 115, 126, 127,<br>133, 134, 138, 140, 142, 158, 160, 168, 195,<br>211, 212, 223, 224, 231, 240, 267, 274, 276,<br>287, 295, 306, 313, 314, 320, 333, 334, 342,<br>347--349, 354, 362, 377--380, 383, 384, 386--<br>389, 392, 399, 400, 403, 407, 427, 467, 475,<br>476, 478, 479, 481, 485, 486, 488, 490, 491,<br>493, 508, 515, 516, 522, 524, 532, 539, 545,<br>549, 553, 556, 559, 560, 565, 566, 568, 570,<br>572--577, 579, 586--588, 591, 593--595, 598--<br>600, 602, 605, 608, 611, 615--617, 639, 646,<br>648--652, 656--658, 661--664, 666--668, 736 | <b>count</b> - <b>gowɪl</b> (ie, e : -me- : a-n)<br><b>vt.</b> to count<br>78, 79, 92--94, 100, 159, 477, 648, 736                                                                                    |
| <b>come out</b> - <b>nawia</b> (e : -m- : -n)<br><b>v.</b> to come out<br>161, 736                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | <b>cover</b> - <b>altou</b> (e : -me- : e-n)<br><b>vt.</b> to cover an entity with something<br>100, 112, 329, 330, 370, 439, 453, 455, 456,<br>592, 594, 736                                         |
| <b>conch shell</b> - <b>nal</b> (-i)<br><b>n.</b> a conch shell, used as a means of pass-<br>ing messages traditionally<br>63, 258, 736                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | <b>cover in</b> - <b>akubɪl</b> (e : -me- : -ne-, a-n)<br><b>vt.</b> to cover an entity in a material<br>48, 49, 361, 736                                                                             |
| <b>cook</b> - <b>arotɪ</b> (e : -me- : -ne-)<br><b>vt.</b> to cook by wrapping something in a<br>leaf and placing the leaf on a fire<br>52--54, 57, 62, 92, 104, 397, 736                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | <b>crack</b> - <b>birbar burbur, burbar</b><br><b>IDEO.</b> to step on sticks or fallen branches<br>in the bush and cause them to snap<br>124, 736                                                    |
| <b>corner</b> - <b>kierkier</b> (-gil)<br><b>IDEO/N.</b> (i) a veranda; (ii) a corner<br>68, 736                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | <b>crackle</b> - <b>hɪlhɪl</b><br><b>IDEO.</b> to crackle, as in the sound a large<br>fire makes<br>124, 125, 622, 736                                                                                |
| <b>cough</b> - <b>pɪkualpɪkual</b><br><b>IDEO.</b> to jerk the head down as is done<br>when coughing                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | <b>creek</b> - <b>hame</b> (inv)<br><b>n.</b> a creek<br>43, 49, 51, 214, 215, 736                                                                                                                    |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | <b>crest</b> - <b>posiagi</b> <i>posiagi</i> (-l)<br><b>n.</b> a crest of feathers<br>514, 736                                                                                                        |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | <b>crocodile</b> - <b>siahera</b> (-gil)<br><b>n.</b> a crocodile<br>228, 229, 410, 436, 611, 652, 653, 657, 661,<br>736                                                                              |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | <b>cross river</b> - <b>okɪrkai arkikai</b> (e : -m- : da-<br>n)<br><b>vi.</b> to cross the river<br>51, 102, 112, 318, 326, 333, 359, 365, 373, 380,<br>422, 438, 439, 443, 445, 467, 472, 481, 483, |

491, 492, 653, 654, 736

**croton - hatipo** (-gil)

N. a croton plant

75, 262, 737

**cry - arwal** (e : -me- : a-n)

VI. to cry or weep

52, 92, 184, 185, 298, 299, 302, 372, 373, 382-384, 386, 546, 737

**cucumber - pirkewial** (-gil)

N. a cucumber

69, 737

**cultural house - tinabo** (inv; -gil)

N. a traditional house where only men lived

62, 522, 594, 737

**cuscus - neigal** (inv)

N. (i) a cuscus; (ii) a label used to refer to marsupials and rodents

11, 71, 110, 121, 130, 131, 190, 201, 227, 232, 245, 246, 274, 307, 317, 324, 326, 336, 391, 394, 447, 502, 520, 526, 537, 538, 555, 577, 590, 595, 737

**cuscus, hatomia - hatomia** (-gil)

N. a type of cuscus that is white, often described as the husband of the *wunmike* cuscus

227, 252, 737

**cuscus, wibia - wibia** (-hegal)

N. a large species of cuscus

253, 737

**cuscus, wipul - wipul** (-gal; -egal)

N. a large cuscus with red fur

155, 737

**cuscus, wunmike - wunmike** (-gal)

N. a type of cuscus that is black with a white underside, often described as the wife of the *hatomia* cuscus

69, 227, 252, 737

**cut - ol uel** (e : amol : ha-n)

VT. to cut

44, 79, 117, 272, 329, 330, 375, 408, 433, 434, 517, 523, 568, 648, 737

**cut open - ogela** (ie, e : -m- : -ne-)

VT. to butcher or cut open an animal

44, 111, 373, 737

## D

**daughter - nego** (nogolgoi, nogual yutagi)

N. a female child

159, 261, 480, 595, 737

**day - yiki** (inv)

N. a day

113, 440, 654, 737

**deep water - walti** (-gal)

N. an area of deep water

53, 113, 737

**descend - anor** (e : -me- : e-n)

VI. to descend or go down

76, 100, 113, 214, 242, 380, 383, 385, 387--389, 408, 489, 542, 562, 579, 597, 637--639, 641, 642, 664, 737

**design - horikal** (-gil)

N. a design

75, 178, 737

**die - almo** (e : -me- : unknown)

VI. to die

184, 185, 225, 300, 373, 378, 382, 401, 412, 431, 455, 467, 486, 490, 499, 545, 547, 549, 558--560, 569, 572, 579, 588, 612, 643, 737

**die - nakia** (e : -m- : we-n)

V. to die out as in when a fire dies out

79, 100, 359, 360, 737

**dig - gara gare** (e : -me- : wa-n, de-n (HUM))

VT. to dig

78, 79, 83, 84, 107, 325, 357, 363, 364, 400,

524, 575, 597, 639, 644, 737

**discuss** - *dinorpia* (i : -m- : we-n, da-n)

v. to discuss or gossip

435, 738

**dislike** - *nola nola* (i : -me- : wa-n)

v. to not want something or to not want to do something

106, 107, 240, 241, 285, 364, 423, 586, 611, 617, 738

**disperse** - *prisi*

IDEO. to disperse or leave the area

450, 738

**distant future** - *tawiaki* (inv)

n. a long time in the future

213, 738

**dive** - *gani* (e : -me- : unknown)

vt. to dive down

410, 411, 471--473, 483, 521, 555, 738

**do** - *aria* (e : -me- : da-n)

v. to do work

133, 139, 160--162, 169, 272, 276, 284, 314, 335, 351, 365, 373, 386, 434, 461, 468, 469, 498, 523, 524, 539, 546, 558, 567, 589, 602, 624, 629, 659, 738

**do badly** - *asolkia* (e : -me- : -n)

vt. to miss a shot or do badly

44, 116, 153, 245, 343, 431, 629, 630, 738

**do well** - *aruba* (e : -me- : -n)

vt. (i) to do a good job or do something properly; (ii) to decorate

94, 117, 139, 153, 215, 357, 403, 404, 407--409, 453, 498, 499, 518, 523, 524, 566, 568--570, 574, 579, 589, 622, 624, 627--630, 661, 738

**dog** - *nebo* (-i)

n. a dog

17, 171, 177, 180, 190, 258, 269, 293, 294, 308, 319, 420, 425, 449, 551, 603, 606, 608, 738,

794

**door** - *yobaliagi* (sg:-l, pl:-i)

n. a door or opening to a building

258, 738

**drag** - *agir* (e : -me- : a-n)

vt. to drag or pull something

100, 359, 360, 738

**drain** - *gosi* (i : -me- : wa-n)

v. to drain water

99, 100, 359, 360, 467, 468, 738

**dream** - *wogi* (inv)

n. a dream

312, 738

**drill hole** - *nakou* (e : -me- : e-n)

vt. to drill or create a hole in something

79, 359, 360, 395, 738

**drink** - *oka oki* (ie, e : -me-, -ma- : -ne-)

vt. to drink

110, 433, 642, 738

**drip** - *titirual*

IDEO. to drip

125, 738

**drop** - *alia* (e : -me- : -n)

vt. to drop or throw

52, 103, 107, 138, 160, 195, 317, 357, 414, 423, 455, 479, 485, 498, 575, 591, 615, 622, 638, 738

**drown** - *gayuper ganiper* (e : -m- : -ne-, ha-n)

vt. to drown as in to make someone

drown

48, 358, 738

**dry** - *sopeina* (-l; -gil)

cw. to be dry

151, 152, 280, 324, 627, 628, 738

**drying box** - *sareiga* (-gil)

n. (i) a box hung above the fire to dry

protein; (ii) a large bird nest

181, 624, 625, 638, 738

## E

**earlier today** - *kiyipa kipa* (inv)

**N.** indicates a time earlier in the same day  
109, 158, 213, 320, 329, 332, 446, 492, 494,  
497, 739

**early.evening** - *hemaladi* (inv)

**N.** early evening, literally ‘night afternoon’  
from *hemal maladi*  
654, 739

**early.morning** - *hemaleikia* (inv)

**N.** early morning before sunrise, literally  
‘night morning’ from *hemal maleikia*  
647, 655, 739

**earthworm** - *halmiebia* (-gil)

**N.** an earthworm  
97, 739

**eat** - *oga omo* (ie : omo : -ne-)

**VT.** to eat  
41, 87, 106, 108, 109, 115, 116, 136, 144, 149,  
155, 163, 164, 182, 191, 212, 222, 231, 240,  
267, 275, 276, 290, 316, 337, 339, 355, 374,  
377, 403, 404, 406, 457, 463, 469, 516, 519,  
520, 528, 537, 541--543, 596, 599--601, 603,  
604, 607, 648, 650, 657, 658, 666, 739

**eat** - *omo oga* (ie : omo : -ne-)

**VT.** an irregular form of the verb *oga* ‘to  
eat’ used when predicate morphemes occur  
135, 181, 221, 222, 267, 321, 339, 340, 404,  
406, 407, 476, 536, 548, 596, 614, 616, 624,  
625, 643, 648, 649, 657, 658, 666, 739

**edge** - *salgi* (unknown)

**N.** (i) the edge; (ii) to be located at the  
edge of something

186, 323, 327--330, 739

**eel** - *sohena* (-gil)

**N.** an eel with yellow spots that can be  
found in the river by the Yeri village

83, 229, 520, 739

**eh** - *i*

**CP.** a discourse particle that frequently  
occurs in clause-final position whose meaning  
is still unclear

59, 739

**elder** - *hodehi* (sg:-l, pl:-i)

**N.** (i) an elder; (ii) to be old in age  
98, 188, 192, 225, 226, 416, 420, 739

**empty** - *yepia* (-∅, -n, -i)

**GN ADJ.** (i) to be empty; (ii) to consist of  
only one thing

130, 188, 273, 519, 739

**enemy** - *wolua* (-i; -gil)

**N.** an enemy or bad person  
368, 739

**enough** - *yaki ma*

**CP.** enough  
628, 739

**enter** - *olbił* (e : -me- : a-n)

**VI.** to enter  
342, 343, 373, 383--385, 387, 389, 410, 431,  
435, 643, 664, 666, 739

**exactly** - *paki*

**CP.** a particle whose meaning is still un-  
clear; its meaning appears to be related to the  
speaker’s opinion regarding a proposition and  
it is often translated with English ‘exactly’  
as in ‘what exactly are you doing?’ or ‘Why  
exactly are you doing that?’

42, 107, 160, 163, 237, 241, 266, 268, 290, 362,  
382, 402, 409, 448, 486, 487, 489, 532, 553,  
556, 558--560, 651, 661, 666, 739

**extinguish** - *neikia* (i : -me- : unknown)

**VI.** to extinguish as in to extinguish a fire

374, 739

**eye** - **yewal** (sg:-ti)

N. an eye

55, 109, 114, 116, 135, 143, 149, 154, 156, 181, 186, 217, 242, 250, 258, 285, 300, 317, 361, 362, 389, 406, 409, 450, 453, 469, 586, 592, 606, 621--626, 628--631, 647--649, 666, 740

## F

**fall** - **uakir** (i : -m- : unknown)

V. to fall

110, 242, 342, 374, 377, 394, 491, 579, 588, 597, 616, 637, 740

**fat** - **daniba** (e : -me- : unknown)

VI. to be fat

521, 740

**father** - **nakal** (inv)

N. father, described as more informal than *nenā*

107, 109, 168, 181, 221, 269, 307, 310, 320, 332, 423, 503, 505, 506, 613, 740

**father** - **nenā** (inv)

N. father

181, 188, 212, 224, 333, 334, 436, 463, 490, 498, 543, 546, 566, 595, 610, 611, 659, 661, 740

**fear** - **dawialta** *dawialkla* (i, e : -me- : daw-ialklan)

VI. to be afraid or scared

114, 155, 343, 474, 611, 652, 657, 740

**feather** - **walki** (-l)

N/CW. (i) a feather; (ii) to be white in color

306, 590, 626, 740

**feel** - **alba** *albe* (e : none : wa-n)

VT. to touch or feel

363, 364, 534, 559, 740

**feet** - **hawal** (inv)

N. a foot or feet

66, 69, 137, 142, 154, 208, 246--248, 267, 268, 321, 361, 362, 379, 408, 434, 446--448, 499, 560, 657, 740

**female** - **nuate** (-i)

N ADJ. the female of an animal species

104, 131, 137, 227, 372, 384, 424, 588, 740

**female** - **yuta** (-gi; yuta nogual)

N ADJ. female

82, 131, 139, 150, 162, 180, 205, 209, 222, 223, 276, 278, 279, 309, 310, 331, 405, 424, 428, 477, 479, 578, 589, 612, 614, 637, 643, 653, 654, 663, 740

**female ancestor** - **mami** (inv (ancestor); -gal (caterpillar, worm))

N. (i) a female ancestor, usually precedes the name of an ancestor; (ii) a caterpillar; (iii) a type of worm found in river clay  
475, 740

**fetch** - **ogla** (e : -me- : -n)

V. to fetch as in to fetch water; used in the expression *ogla wan* to mean 'to understand'  
623, 632, 636, 740

**fetch** - **ole** (ie : -m- : -n, we-n)

VT. to fetch, typically to fetch water  
364, 365, 740

**fight** - **dorpi** *dorkeba*, *dorkebua*  
(ie : dor<me>ba : wa-n)

VI. to physically fight; Note: The variant *dorkeba* and the corresponding third person object form *dorkebe* are very rare.

65, 69, 215, 364, 374, 474, 516, 740

**finger** - **muaki** (-l)

N. (i) a finger; (ii) a hundred  
143, 449, 740

**finish** - **abor** (e : none : -ne-)

VT. to complete or finish an item or activ-



ity

108, 115, 144, 740

**fire - hasieki** (-l)

N. fire

70, 87, 156, 169, 181, 211, 311, 312, 380, 384, 398, 404, 406, 407, 412, 470, 471, 477, 488, 515, 519, 574, 622--628, 630, 741

**firewood - nega** (-l)

N. a piece of firewood

598, 622--628, 630, 741

**fish - nanula** (sg:-la, pl:-bia)

N. a fish

11, 54, 62, 81, 104, 107, 113, 189, 191, 199, 238--241, 250, 256, 275, 276, 293, 322, 337, 339, 340, 395, 396, 399, 494, 502, 508, 520--522, 527--529, 536, 537, 549--551, 560, 568, 593, 603, 605, 610, 616, 617, 741

**fish, duna - duna** (-gil)

N. a long dark brown fish that may have white spots. It is common along the coast, but fewer live in the river near the Yeri village

649, 741

**fish, gogala - gogala** (-gil)

N. a type of fish

42, 741

**fish, halketa - halketa** (sg:-ta, pl:-wil)

N. a white fish with black stripes that lives in small creeks

322, 741

**fish, kraltariyena - kraltariena** (unknown)

N. a type of fish

11, 240, 610, 741

**fish, labuketa - labuketa** (sg:-ta, pl:-wil)

N. a small thorny black fish with red spots that lives in creeks

256, 322, 741

**fish, nobi - nobi** (-aguei)

N. a large spiny fish that lives in the river

61, 90, 255, 741

**fish, palpaluka - palpaluka** (-gil)

N. a small fish similar in appearance to the river snake that lives in river near the Yeri village

254, 741

**fish, paluagi - paluagi** (-agia)

N. a small white whiskered fish with a split tail that comes from the Sepik river

90, 254, 520, 741

**fish, yamega - yamega** (-l)

N. (i) a label used to refer to the class of proteins that women were traditionally permitted to eat; (ii) a light tan catfish found in the river by the Yeri village; (iii) a type of bird

49--51, 81, 91, 322, 520, 617, 741

**flap - pisipisial**

IDEO. to wave something around haphazardly or for something to flap back and forth, often used to describe improperly cutting the grass with a bush knife

125, 127, 741

**flash - milmelial**

IDEO. for a light to flash, as in lightning flashing

125, 311, 741

**flea - yimeta** (-gil)

N. a flea

449, 741

**flee - aruarki1 ohorkil** (e : -me- : da-n)

V. to run away or flee

226, 227, 293, 384, 549, 741

**flee - ohorki1 orhorkil** (e : -me- : da-n)

V. to run away or flee

- 48, 49, 55, 87, 109, 221, 292, 294, 445, 450, 464, 486, 490, 491, 546, 569, 570, 572, 574, 575, 579, 741
- flesh** - *haseliagi* (sg:-l, pl:-i)  
 N. the flesh or meat  
 317, 742
- float** - *popo*  
 IDEO. to float in the water  
 41, 124, 422, 742
- flood** - *nolkati* (sg:-ti, pl:-wil)  
 N. a flood  
 137, 199, 233, 242, 256, 371, 387, 390, 393, 557, 579, 742
- flop** - *brilbral*  
 IDEO. (i) to flop around as in a fish flopping; (ii) to argue loudly  
 67, 124, 742
- fly** - *palpal*  
 IDEO. to fly  
 124, 125, 195, 410, 423, 440, 479, 503, 504, 517, 522, 523, 529, 577, 742
- fly, poren** - *poren* (-aguei; -egal)  
 N. a type of fly often found flying around cassowaries  
 255, 262, 742
- fly, small** - *yomiliagi* (-l; -aguei)  
 N. a type of small fly  
 238, 241, 261, 262, 742
- flying fox** - *hilpia* (hilpial)  
 N. a flying fox  
 389, 538, 742
- flying fox, musial wabei** - *musial wabei* (-gil)  
 N. used in the expression *hilpia musial wabei* to refer to a type of small yellow flying fox with big ears and a short nose  
 389, 742
- fog** - *yikati* (sg:-ti, pl:-wil)  
 N. (i) a cloud; (ii) fog  
 256, 742
- follow** - *gorwedi gordi* (e : -me- : da-n)  
 VI. to follow  
 107, 181, 298, 299, 312, 373, 402, 423, 440, 454, 455, 476, 515, 516, 523, 524, 742
- fool** - *wualebo* (inv)  
 N. fool, idiot (from the collocation of *wual nebo*, literally ‘pig dog’)  
 110, 742
- for** - *danua nua* (-Ø; -n; -i; -m)  
 PREP. for  
 103, 115, 138, 147, 160--162, 215, 230, 270, 276, 287, 288, 317, 318, 332, 361, 396, 402, 539, 544, 546--548, 591, 632, 645, 646, 660, 668, 742
- for** - *wði*  
 PREP. a general preposition used to express a wide range of semantic relationships including ‘for’, ‘about’, ‘of’, and ‘from’  
 94, 142, 158--160, 215, 286, 544, 545, 592, 594, 621, 629--632, 649, 742
- force** - *altobi* (e : -me- : wa-n)  
 V. to force a person to do something  
 364, 454, 742
- forehead** - *wowi* (wowiagi)  
 N. (i) forehead; (ii) mind  
 147, 742
- forest** - *hogena* (-gil, -hegal)  
 N. the bush or forest  
 81, 742
- forest** - *hogeta* (inv)  
 N. forest  
 81, 528, 742
- fresh** - *mal* (inv)  
 CW. to be fresh or ripe

629, 742

**friend** - *haraharahi* *haraharahi* (inv)

N. friend

82, 639, 641, 743

**frog** - *miakua* (-l)

N. a frog

139, 214, 228, 229, 240, 278, 284, 312, 339,  
375, 511, 512, 600, 637, 640, 743

**frog, geril** - *girilgeril* (-gal)

IDEO/N. a type of black frog that lives  
in the swamp and is named for the sound it  
makes

124, 125, 743

**frog, kueikuei** - *kueikuei* (-gil)

IDEO/N. a small brown black-nosed frog  
that makes a sound like its name and is not  
usually eaten

68, 71, 126, 743

**frog, yamiho** - *yamiho* (-gil)

N. a type of frog

97, 101, 743

**front leg** - *minou* (miniagia)

N. the front legs of a hoofed animal

208, 448, 514, 743

**future** - *ta*

CP1. a particle that indicates a time in  
the future

29--31, 33, 41, 42, 45, 55, 56, 61, 84, 87, 88, 92-  
95, 103, 104, 106--109, 113, 117, 118, 126, 127,  
133, 134, 137, 138, 140, 142, 151, 153, 155,  
157--161, 163, 166, 169, 176, 178, 180, 181,  
188, 193, 194, 204, 211, 214, 215, 222, 225,  
226, 266--268, 271, 273--275, 279, 283, 284,  
286, 290, 299, 300, 306, 310, 311, 314, 317-  
319, 324, 325, 333--335, 337, 338, 340, 348,  
349, 353, 354, 361, 365, 367, 368, 370, 375,  
377, 378, 384--387, 389--393, 395--397, 399,

400, 403, 404, 406--412, 418, 421, 423, 427,  
436, 445, 446, 450, 453, 459--461, 463--466,  
469, 476, 479, 481, 483, 488--491, 493--498,  
506--510, 516--518, 520--524, 528, 532, 533,  
536--539, 542, 544, 548, 550, 553, 554, 556,  
558, 561, 562, 565, 566, 568--571, 574, 575,  
579, 581--583, 588, 591--593, 596, 598--600,  
602, 605, 607, 608, 610--612, 614, 615, 621-  
632, 637, 639, 641--643, 645--647, 650, 652,  
653, 657, 659, 661, 662, 664--666, 668, 670,  
743

## G

**garden** - *tihelo* (helol)

N. a garden

81, 261, 273, 518, 586, 587, 593, 743

**get** - *aga* (e : -me- : -n)

VT. to get or buy something

65, 66, 77, 91, 105, 140, 161, 166, 168, 223,  
242, 285, 332, 340, 357, 405, 418, 542, 548,  
550, 562, 586, 587, 592, 594, 600, 622, 646,  
655, 664--669, 743

**get up** - *dore duare* (e : damore : unknown)

VI. to get up

87, 150, 153, 168, 221, 269, 276, 310, 312, 334,  
374, 379, 385, 405, 410, 418, 419, 428, 433,  
434, 440, 443, 470, 476--479, 490, 513, 516,  
556, 572, 578, 596, 598, 646--648, 650, 653,  
655, 658, 661, 664, 666, 667, 743

**ginger** - *yaki* (inv)

N. ginger

232, 245, 246, 307, 309, 310, 743

**give** - *aya* (e : -me- : ka-n (give); -ne-  
(plant))

VT. (i) to give to someone (primary object  
is the recipient and the secondary object is  
the theme), (ii) to plant something)

29, 33, 54, 60, 81, 92, 104, 113, 139, 143, 176,

183, 184, 187--189, 211, 225, 226, 240, 269, 439, 481, 505, 506, 744  
 275, 283, 284, 290, 317, 320, 336, 337, 350, **go somewhere** - *eita eita* (i : -me- : un-  
 358, 397, 425, 464, 469, 475, 476, 486--488, known)  
 539, 542--544, 550, 551, 561, 562, 568, 570, v. to go somewhere  
 573, 574, 583, 590, 591, 600, 603, 605, 606, 472, 744  
 608, 617, 642, 654, 657, 665, 743 **go to top** - *dinagou* (e : -me- : unknown)  
**glass** - *molipei* (-gil) vi. to go all the way to the top of a hill  
 n. (i) a mirror; (ii) goggles; (iii) a compass or mountain  
 75, 744 435, 744  
**go** - *ar aro* (e : -me- : aroki dan) **go via** - *akia* (e : -m- : we-n)  
 vi. to go vi. to move in a particular direction  
 16, 30, 42, 45, 82, 84, 92, 93, 95, 103, 106, 230, 283, 284, 517, 556, 559, 577, 637, 639,  
 107, 109, 113--115, 123, 126, 127, 133, 138, 640, 650, 654, 656--658, 668, 744  
 139, 141, 142, 154, 167, 168, 199, 200, 212-- **good** - *nabe* (-Ø, -n, -i)  
 214, 233, 248, 266, 274, 275, 278, 279, 285, WGN ADJ. to be good  
 289, 295, 298, 299, 305, 306, 310--312, 317, 45, 81, 91, 116, 117, 128, 129, 133, 146, 148,  
 318, 320, 326, 327, 331, 333, 335, 337, 340, 149, 158--160, 170, 171, 198, 199, 206, 230,  
 341, 352, 354, 361, 362, 365, 372, 373, 375, 270--272, 288, 291, 293, 298, 314, 408, 416,  
 377--381, 383, 384, 387, 389, 395, 399, 403, 426--429, 465, 502, 503, 511, 518, 519, 534,  
 407--413, 419, 423, 426, 434, 436, 445, 453, 536, 537, 589, 590, 592, 621, 622, 625--631,  
 462--464, 466, 468, 471, 472, 476, 478, 479, 744  
 481, 483, 486, 487, 489, 491--493, 498, 499, **grandparent** - *yalmi yalmiha* (female)  
 504--506, 513, 516--519, 522--525, 528, 532-- *yalmina* (male) (-ha, -na, pl: yalmi hamei)  
 536, 538, 541, 542, 544, 547, 550--554, 556, n. a grandparent or a grandchild  
 558--561, 566--569, 571--577, 580--584, 586-- 63, 193, 220, 237, 267, 289, 589, 595, 744  
 588, 591--593, 595--598, 600, 601, 607, 611, **grass** - *peho* (inv; -gil; -l)  
 615, 623, 624, 629, 637--658, 661--670, 744, n. grass  
 792 519, 522, 523, 744  
**go along** - *garkoi* (e : -m- : unknown) **grasshopper** - *pui* (-gil)  
 v. to move along a ridge n. a grasshopper  
 110, 312, 430, 431, 454, 744 252, 475, 744  
**go in** - *nania* (e : -me- : we-n) **grease** - *manoi* (inv)  
 vi. to go into or inside n. (i) grease or fat; (ii) to be greasy; (iii)  
 78, 106, 107, 326, 341, 385, 387, 399, 410, 413, to taste good  
 453, 456, 640, 652, 744 11, 744  
**go over** - *garkil* (e : -m- : da-n, e-n) **green** - *harka* (-l)  
 v. to move or pass over something cw. to be green, new, or shiny

55, 103, 140, 152, 178, 179, 188, 208, 214, 226, 275, 280, 307, 311, 449, 456, 511, 512, 539, 550, 568, 570, 574, 591, 600, 622, 629, 664, 665, 668, 744

**greens - niglola** (inv)

N. a label referring to any type of greens  
67, 168, 188, 275, 276, 337, 494, 537, 745

**greens, hodilueti - hodilueti** (sg:-eti, pl:-wil)

N. a type of green that grows in the bush that is commonly eaten  
256, 745

**greens, narieti - narieti** (sg:-eti, pl:-wil; -gal)

N. a type of green that grows by the river and is commonly eaten  
253, 745

**greens, wirmual - wirmual** (-gil)

N. (i) a type of green grown in gardens;  
(ii) a type of yam  
84, 745

**greens, yababu - yababu** (-gal)

N. a type of green that grows by the river and is commonly eaten  
101, 745

**ground - hanogil** (inv)

N. dirt or ground  
158, 202, 215, 266, 267, 519, 745

**ground wallaby - malual** (-gil)

N. a ground wallaby or ground kangaroo  
166, 190, 252, 403, 610, 745

**grunt - girgir girgir**

IDEO. to make a grunting noise  
124, 402, 745

**grunt - ŋiŋi**

IDEO. to grunt  
43, 125, 421, 440, 745

## H

**hair - hawiyagil** (inv)

N. hair or fur  
186, 745

**half - wabra** (-Ø, -n, -i, -m)

GN ADJ. a half of something  
11, 193, 423, 589, 625, 745

**hamlet, howi - Howi**

PN. the name of a hamlet in Yeri village  
57, 745

**hamlet, hipel heilipil - Hipel Heilipil**

PN. the name of a hamlet near Wibi village far to the west of Yeri village  
576, 745

**hamlet, mulhebi - Mulhebi**

PN. the name of a hamlet in Yeri  
331, 594, 745

**hamlet, nimeigi - Nimeigi**

PN. the name of a hamlet  
588, 745

**hamlet, yamia - Yamia**

PN. the name of a hamlet  
479, 587, 745

**hamlet, yiwira - Yiwira**

PN. an old Yeri hamlet near Yiwilta hamlet  
331, 745

**hamlet, yonomil - Yonomil**

PN. the name of a hamlet  
101, 745

**hamlet, yowalia - Yowalia**

PN. an old Yeri hamlet near Yiwilta hamlet  
331, 745

**hamlet, yowirmual - Yowirmual**

PN. the name of a hamlet  
331, 745

|                                                  |                                                   |
|--------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| <b>hand - wia</b> (inv)                          | 115, 227, 354, 355, 570, 593, 746                 |
| <i>N.</i> (i) a hand; (ii) a way                 | <b>hide.self - daryomia</b> (e : -me- : unknown)  |
| 109, 127, 159, 160, 247, 272, 317, 332, 523,     | <i>vi.</i> to hide yourself                       |
| 592, 621, 623, 746                               | 227, 312, 665, 746                                |
| <b>hang - awil</b> (e : -m- : -ne-)              | <b>hip bone - warha</b> (-pegal)                  |
| <i>vt.</i> to hang something                     | <i>N.</i> a hipbone                               |
| 104, 109, 111, 137, 169, 371, 372, 384, 390,     | 250, 254, 746                                     |
| 391, 393, 394, 576, 746                          | <b>hit - ori</b> (i : -me- : wa-n)                |
| <b>hang - dawil</b> (e : -m- : a-n)              | <i>vt.</i> to hit or beat something or someone    |
| <i>vi.</i> to be in a position of hanging        | 30, 31, 78, 88, 93, 100, 104, 115, 137, 166--168, |
| 92, 169, 384, 385, 391, 393, 394, 478, 576, 746  | 175, 181, 182, 193, 277, 338, 373, 377, 378,      |
| <b>head - wadual</b> (inv)                       | 405, 407, 408, 410--412, 470, 490, 497, 532,      |
| <i>N.</i> a head                                 | 533, 535, 536, 552, 555, 567, 570, 574, 575,      |
| 108, 329, 383, 390, 420, 427, 617, 746           | 579, 589, 608, 653, 746                           |
| <b>hear - ie ieda</b> (i : ie<ma>l : da-n, -n)   | <b>hold - otĩ ueti</b> (e : amoti : wa-n)         |
| <i>vi.</i> to hear                               | <i>vt.</i> to hold something                      |
| 92, 114, 302, 374, 480, 519, 588, 636, 659, 665, | 41, 55, 56, 79, 109, 193, 241, 284, 359--361,     |
| 669, 746                                         | 375, 421, 433, 434, 445, 479, 489, 534, 588,      |
| <b>heart - wan</b> (inv)                         | 590, 617, 626, 627, 629, 630, 637, 643, 648,      |
| <i>N.</i> heart                                  | 668, 746                                          |
| 41, 56, 103, 114, 146, 160, 161, 196, 215, 229,  | <b>hole - hula</b> (inv)                          |
| 276, 289, 306, 317, 335, 336, 361, 365, 473,     | <i>N.</i> a hole                                  |
| 474, 521, 525, 543--545, 590, 600, 622--624,     | 107, 395, 453, 746                                |
| 632, 636, 643, 653, 659, 661, 667, 670, 746      | <b>hornet - mulun</b> (-gal; -egal)               |
| <b>heavy - meno</b> (-l)                         | <i>N.</i> a type of hornet with a red bottom,     |
| <i>cw.</i> to be heavy                           | considered the largest of the hornets in the      |
| 152, 215, 276, 280, 314, 461, 474, 506, 507,     | area                                              |
| 521, 524, 545, 746                               | 69, 251, 746                                      |
| <b>help - okirki</b> (e : -m- : da-n)            | <b>hot - weli</b> (inv; -gal)                     |
| <i>vi.</i> to help                               | <i>cw.</i> (i) to be hot in temperature; (ii) to  |
| 110, 343, 370, 385, 386, 481, 518, 746           | be painful                                        |
| <b>here - yaʔa</b>                               | 66, 151, 152, 185, 280, 379, 386, 387, 434, 435,  |
| <i>DEM.</i> here                                 | 466, 507, 559, 627, 642, 746                      |
| 40, 135--137, 199, 286, 318, 333, 386, 495, 548, | <b>how - odinia odiania</b> (ie : -ma- : -n)      |
| 556, 607, 746                                    | <i>v/qw.</i> (i) do or be how, do or be in what   |
| <b>hide - ayomia daryomia</b> (e : -me- : -ne-)  | way; (ii) do or be in a specific way              |
| <i>vt.</i> to hide something                     | 109, 118, 163, 321, 432, 471, 517, 539--541,      |

556--560, 562, 642, 746

**how many** - **malmał** (magil magil (humans))

qw. how much or how many

27, 55, 113, 263, 456, 540, 541, 550, 561, 603, 622, 664, 747

**husband** - **megual** (sg:-ti (ear), migodi (husband))

n. (i) husband; (ii) ear

192, 242, 258, 266, 267, 308, 318, 326, 333, 370, 442, 491, 562, 642, 747

## I

### I - hem

PF. a pronoun that refers to only the speaker

29, 33, 54, 55, 79, 84--87, 104, 113--115, 123, 126, 127, 133, 135, 139, 140, 145, 146, 154, 155, 158, 159, 161, 163, 170, 175, 176, 178, 179, 181, 185, 187, 190, 195, 196, 200--202, 204--207, 212, 214, 223, 226, 232, 237, 238, 242, 244, 246, 268, 271, 275, 276, 279, 282, 283, 286, 298--302, 306--310, 312, 314, 315, 320, 326, 328, 330--336, 339, 340, 346, 350, 354, 362, 365, 377, 379--383, 385, 388, 391, 395--397, 402--405, 410, 412, 419--421, 424, 427, 428, 436, 448, 449, 453, 456, 461--465, 470, 474--477, 480, 482, 484, 490--492, 494--496, 503, 504, 509--511, 521--525, 532, 547, 548, 554, 555, 558--560, 562, 568, 570, 571, 574, 577, 579, 590, 592, 594--596, 598--601, 606, 610, 623, 624, 632, 636, 641, 642, 645--647, 655, 657--659, 664--666, 668, 669, 747

**ice** - **turkina** (inv; -gil)

n. cold water or ice

62, 747

**image** - **meli** (inv)

n. used to refer to an image, a reflection,

or a shadow

306, 425, 747

**imitate** - **d̥iheini** (i : -me- : da-n)

v. to imitate something

435, 747

**individual** - **hamote** (-∅, -n, pl: hamei)

n. an individual or person

46, 139, 150, 151, 170, 178, 180, 190, 193, 206, 208, 209, 217, 220, 237, 272, 285, 290, 303, 306, 307, 320, 334, 378, 401, 424, 428, 465, 473, 480, 502, 503, 511, 544, 578, 581, 586--589, 591, 605, 610, 621, 638, 643, 747

**insect, buzzing** - **m̥ilmił** (-gal)

IDEO/N. to buzz, commonly used to refer to flying bees that make a buzzing sound

747

**insect, carrion** - **maren** (-aguei; -egal)

n. bugs that feed on decomposing animals or plants, often used to refer to mites and cockroaches

251, 262, 514, 747

**insect, poki** - **poki** (-l)

N/CW. (i) a type of black beetle that lays eggs in sago palms; (ii) to be black in color

152, 155, 242, 243, 280, 301, 308, 325, 326, 329, 606, 608, 747

**inside** - **mani** (inv)

n. (i) the inside; (ii) to be located inside something

66, 107, 136, 139, 151, 278, 294, 312, 318, 323--326, 329, 363, 453, 484, 518, 570, 591, 593, 628, 639--641, 643, 747

**intestine** - **ni** (inv)

n. the intestines, also used as part of the expression *ni nibuegi* to mean 'food'

43, 116, 149, 542, 608, 643, 666, 747

**it** - **de di**

**PF.** (i) the variant of the third person pronoun *te* that occurs as part of a genitive pronoun, (ii) a form of an augmented suffix that can occur with specific verbs (see the list of common bound morphemes), (iii) a form of a non-verbal pronominal clitic (see the list of common bound morphemes)

54, 82, 96, 103, 107, 109, 118, 131, 136, 142-144, 151, 161, 178, 186, 188, 192, 198, 200, 202, 203, 208, 215, 233, 240, 242, 243, 247, 248, 266--269, 271, 273, 276, 281, 282, 302, 304, 305, 307--310, 312, 313, 318--322, 324, 326--330, 332--334, 338--340, 348, 365, 367, 370, 372, 377, 382, 387, 389, 394, 404, 405, 412, 418, 420, 426, 428, 434, 442, 443, 445, 453, 456, 465, 466, 470, 473, 475--477, 481, 484, 486, 491, 497, 498, 502--504, 506, 519, 520, 540, 543, 545--548, 561, 566, 576, 577, 588--595, 598, 602, 611, 613, 621, 625, 626, 628--630, 632--636, 638, 639, 641--643, 646, 648, 652, 654, 656--659, 661--663, 665, 667, 668, 747

**it - te de**

**PF.** a pronoun that refers to a third person entity, often used in reference to a subject or a core object. Note that *te* is realized as *de* when it functions as part of a genitive pronoun.

11, 29, 43, 48, 49, 54, 55, 61, 87, 89, 93, 95, 103--105, 107, 108, 115, 133, 134, 139, 140, 151, 155, 160, 166, 168, 170, 171, 175--179, 181, 182, 185, 187--192, 195, 196, 198, 201, 205, 206, 208, 214, 215, 222, 223, 231, 236, 239--241, 244, 247, 266, 267, 269, 272, 273, 275--277, 287--290, 293, 294, 298, 299, 302, 303, 305, 310, 312, 313, 317, 320, 324, 329, 331, 333, 334, 337, 347--351, 356, 361, 365, 367, 368, 370, 372, 375, 377, 378, 382--385, 387, 389, 394, 396--398, 400--407, 409, 410, 414, 418, 419, 421, 422, 426, 435, 438--440, 442, 443, 445, 449, 456, 462, 463, 466--468, 470, 475--477, 480, 484, 486, 487, 490--492, 499, 501--504, 511, 515--520, 522--524, 529, 531--539, 542--552, 555--560, 562, 565--567, 569, 570, 572, 574, 575, 578--580, 584, 589, 591, 594, 595, 598--600, 602--605, 607, 611--613, 625, 627, 632--635, 637, 639--643, 646, 647, 652--654, 656, 657, 659--662, 664--666, 748

**itchy - hohagi** (sg:-l, pl:-i)  
cw. to feel itchy  
152, 280, 748

**J**

**jump - piopio**  
IDEO. to jump  
68, 70, 124, 127, 656, 661, 664, 748

**junction - deipanaweigił dihorkiewegil** (inv)  
n. a junction where a road splits into two roads  
229, 748

**junction - dihorkiegił** (inv)  
n. a junction where a road meets a river  
638, 748

**K**

**kindle - obati** (e : none : -n)  
vt. to kindle, as in to kindle a fire  
471, 624--628, 630, 748

**knee - hubu** (-gal)  
n. knee  
61, 748

**kundu drum - wogił** (-gal)  
n. kundu drum



182, 748

## L

### land - hale (unknown)

**n.** land, used in the expression *hale wapota* which literally means ‘the land peels’ and is used to refer to a landslide

61, 749

### land - halma (inv)

**n.** land

69, 201, 267, 269, 412, 540, 576, 577, 590, 749

### land, sapos - Sapos

**pn.** the name of an area of land in the Torricelli mountains

44, 749

### language - wical (inv)

**n.** language, words, or speech

73, 161, 169, 335, 350, 365, 409, 410, 446, 489, 505, 506, 508, 519, 544, 562, 567, 588, 592, 593, 595, 610, 626, 631--636, 660, 749

### lap-lap - yabra yiwabra (inv; -hegal)

**n.** a piece of cloth tied around the waist, commonly referred to as a lap-lap

11, 749

### large intestines - nuake (-i)

**n.** the large intestines, often used in the phrase *ni nuake da* to mean ‘food’

101, 116, 149, 542, 608, 749

### laugh - arkuagil (e : -m- : da-n)

**vi.** to laugh

102, 110, 112, 212, 334, 359, 377, 382--384, 439, 661, 749

### leaf - hare (-ia)

**n.** a leaf

11, 49, 51, 81, 90, 91, 96, 101, 138, 160, 178, 206, 207, 222, 241, 259, 414, 461, 482, 496, 508, 510, 562, 575, 590--592, 597, 648, 667, 749

### leaf stem - tikleiga (-l)

**n.** the strong stem of a sago leaflet which extends from the base of the leaflet to the tip of the leaflet, often used as an arrow

67, 749

### lean - duawir (i : -m- : unknown)

**vi.** to lean against

342, 374, 383, 391, 394, 749

### leave - gei (i : -me- : ka-n, da-n (HUM))

**vt.** to leave something or someone in a place

79, 85, 107, 139, 278, 312, 319, 321, 325, 326, 357, 358, 362, 374, 389, 409, 453, 515, 548, 562, 568, 570, 571, 576, 579, 648, 656, 663, 664, 667, 669, 670, 749

### leave with - orkigra (i : -m- : -n)

**v.** to leave something with another person

342, 749

### legend - pirsakai siprakai (-gil)

**n.** a story, typically a legend

75, 97, 156, 229, 252, 273, 477, 479, 576, 593, 594, 644, 645, 670, 749

### let - osi (ie : -ma- : unknown)

**v.** to let or allow

112, 374, 432, 439, 454, 642, 749

### lie - dawera dawere (e : -m- : wa-n)

**vi.** to be in a position of lying flat

81, 364, 385, 391, 393, 590, 749

### lie - or (i : -me- : a-n)

**vi.** to lie down

30, 44, 55, 65, 85, 88, 95, 112, 139, 144, 156, 164, 166, 206, 214, 232, 235, 236, 239, 244, 246, 248, 249, 277, 278, 293, 294, 300, 301, 306--314, 317, 319, 322, 324--328, 342, 346--348, 355, 363, 373, 378, 383, 385, 391--393, 410--414, 418, 431, 438, 439, 454, 455, 461, 467, 468, 471, 472, 482--485, 495, 496, 505,

506, 508--510, 512, 513, 522, 543, 550--553, 555, 568--570, 572, 575, 579, 583, 588, 591, 594, 595, 639--642, 646, 647, 649, 654, 655, 658, 749

**lie flat** - **awera** *awere* (e : -me- : -ne-, wa-n)  
 vt. to lay something flat  
 62, 364, 371, 372, 390, 391, 393, 395, 409, 456, 508, 590, 599, 615, 625, 641, 750

**light** - **yaukela** *yaukelia* (sg:-la, pl:-bia)  
 cw. to be light in weight  
 71, 521, 750

**limbum** - **lelia** *lialia* (-hegal; -gil)  
 n. a limbum, a container made from the bark of the limbum palm  
 84, 229, 250, 390, 398, 507, 637, 638, 750

**limbum palm** - **hadipen** (-gi; -agil)  
 n. a type of limbum palm  
 108, 408, 513, 750

**lime** - **hewi** (inv)  
 n. lime  
 55, 61, 262, 397, 427, 505, 508, 626, 629, 750

**lips** - **mula** (-gil)  
 n. the lips of the mouth  
 226, 750

**litter** - **sipreina** (-gil)  
 n. litter or trash  
 68, 750

**little** - **sipeki** (sg:-l, pl:-i)  
 n **ADJ.** to be little or small in size or amount  
 68, 117, 131, 133, 156, 159, 179, 199, 205, 206, 237, 242, 245, 267, 269, 274, 300, 305, 311, 312, 314, 317, 326, 331, 380, 471, 501--503, 520, 521, 529, 530, 548, 588, 621, 624, 625, 627, 628, 630, 652, 662, 669, 750

**liver** - **niɓuegi** (inv)  
 n. the liver, also used as part of the expression *ni niɓuegi* to mean 'food'  
 666, 750

**lizard** - **niawega** (-l)  
 n. a lizard  
 208, 223, 248, 321, 447, 448, 750

**lizard, dalan** - **dalan** (-l; -l-gil)  
 n. a dark brown lizard with a pointy nose about the size of a person's finger.  
 42, 66, 108, 321, 750

**lizard, habalda** - **habalda** (-gil)  
 n. a dark brown lizard with a long nose  
 42, 223, 248, 750

**lizard, halbunal** - **halbunal** (halbunagil)  
 n. a light green lizard with a pointy nose and a short tail  
 75, 750

**lizard, hoboyoria** - **hoboyoria** (-gil)  
 n. a dark gray lizard with a flat jaw, swollen cheeks, and a thorny tail  
 74, 750

**lizard, malmilou** - **malmilou** (-gil; -egal; -hegal)  
 n. a grayish brown lizard with a short nose that lives by the river  
 59, 74, 75, 253, 750

**lizard, pariwal** - **pariwal** (-gil)  
 n. a black and white spotted lizard with a long tail (kundu palai)  
 649, 750

**lizard, pürmite** - **pürmite** (-gal)  
 n. a light gray lizard with slimy skin that can often be found in the ficus tree  
 57, 75, 208, 750

**lizard, wanesi** - **wanesi** (-gal)  
 n. a white-dotted lizard with a long tail, a small head and slimy skin  
 223, 248, 252, 750

**loincloth - kayubi** (-gal)

**N.** a type of traditional clothing made from tree bark that is worn like a laplap  
66, 192, 193, 589, 751

**long - sibelial** (-gi)

**N ADJ.** to be long or tall  
42, 44, 117, 121, 131, 155, 156, 198, 283, 284, 300, 308, 311, 312, 321, 421, 442, 473, 502, 503, 520, 751

**long ago - lawiaki lawieki** (inv)

**N.** a long time ago  
109, 114, 154, 193, 201, 213, 332, 350, 497, 512, 577, 589, 595, 623, 637, 751

**long bamboo - likil** (-egal)

**N.** a long piece of bamboo frequently used to get coconuts down  
228, 284, 456, 473, 751

**look - gakaria** (e : -me : unknown)

**VI.** to look around  
62, 341, 373, 377, 454, 471, 751

**loosen - nabilkia** (e : none : -n)

**VT.** to loosen or unwrap  
341, 751

**low land - tihopi** (inv)

**N.** a very low flat area  
294, 751

## M

**make - odi** (ie : -ma : a-n)

**VT.** to make or build  
81, 90, 91, 93, 94, 112, 116, 142, 151, 159, 160, 193, 271, 306, 395, 407, 412, 416, 430, 432, 439, 454, 481, 505, 506, 518, 523, 538, 557, 569, 574, 581, 588, 592, 597, 598, 601, 612, 614, 654, 657, 751

**make noise - sikisaki** *sukisaki*

**IDEO.** to make noise  
124, 125, 471, 751

**male - han** (-gil)

**N ADJ.** male  
41, 131, 162, 180, 203, 222, 223, 276, 279, 305, 330, 331, 424, 751

**male - hawei** (-gil)

**N ADJ.** the male of an animal species  
131, 134, 196, 227, 589, 751

**male ancestor - wawi** (inv)

**N.** an male ancestor, usually precedes the name of an ancestor  
331, 490, 751

**male clothing - pade** (-hegal; -gal)

**N.** a type of traditional male clothing tied around the waist  
203, 751

**mango - libi libi** (-gal; -hegal)

**N.** (i) a mango tree; (ii) the fruit from a mango tree  
97, 228, 229, 253, 751

**many - sapiten sapiti** (pl: sapiti)

**QUANT.** many, a lot  
29, 30, 115, 135, 137, 143, 144, 154--156, 192, 196, 197, 201, 249, 264, 279, 284, 285, 301, 308--312, 375, 403, 442, 443, 445, 466, 485, 503, 520, 526, 527, 577, 578, 611, 617, 622, 624, 632, 637, 751

**maprik - Maprik**

**PN.** the name of a place  
275, 305, 337, 538, 583, 584, 751

**masalai spirit - mariaga** (-l)

**N.** a type of spirit or supernatural being that lives in specific locations, also known as a masalai spirit  
504, 587, 751

**maybe - maltai**

**CP.** maybe  
69, 138, 274, 293, 420, 485, 582, 651, 654, 751

|                                                     |                                                           |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>meat</b> - <i>tabiagi</i> (sg:-l, pl:-i)         | 103, 107, 163, 221, 224, 320, 339, 340, 423,              |
| N. meat                                             | 426, 490, 491, 532, 548, 656, 752                         |
| 414, 752                                            |                                                           |
| <b>mend</b> - <i>ola</i> (ie : -me- : we-n)         | <b>mountain</b> - <i>haluagi</i> l (inv)                  |
| VT. (i) to mend or sew; (ii) to heat; (iii)         | N. a mountain                                             |
| to spit                                             | 32, 42, 134, 325, 329, 647, 651, 652, 752                 |
| 83, 100, 365, 408, 488, 490, 752                    | <b>mountain, wami</b> l - <i>Wami</i> l                   |
| <b>middle</b> - <i>nemual</i> (-gil)                | PN. the name of a mountain                                |
| N. (i) the middle; (ii) to be located in the        | 543, 752                                                  |
| middle or in between                                | <b>mountain, yobi</b> l - <i>Yobi</i> l                   |
| 318, 323, 326, 333, 629, 752                        | PN. the name of a mountain                                |
| <b>mold</b> - <i>mogi sahal</i> (-gil)              | 101, 331, 752                                             |
| N. (i) mold; (ii) fungus                            | <b>mouth</b> - <i>tabi</i> (inv; -gal)                    |
| 626, 627, 752                                       | N. a mouth or opening                                     |
| <b>mold</b> - <i>sapoti</i> (sg:-ti, pl:-wil, -gal) | 61, 66, 73, 323, 489, 752                                 |
| N. white mold                                       | <b>move</b> - <i>hihi</i> la                              |
| 209, 450, 752                                       | IDEO. to move around                                      |
| <b>moon</b> - <i>wona</i> (inv)                     | 418, 752                                                  |
| N. (i) moon; (ii) month                             | <b>move up and down</b> - <i>prias</i>                    |
| 138, 139, 144, 213, 248, 249, 274, 278, 284,        | IDEO. to slide up and down                                |
| 308, 338, 393, 752                                  | 44, 124, 125, 127, 752                                    |
| <b>morning</b> - <i>maleikia</i> (inv)              | <b>mud</b> - <i>pilokua</i> (-l)                          |
| N. morning                                          | N. mud                                                    |
| 98, 194, 195, 213, 214, 276, 311, 419, 442, 443,    | 361, 752                                                  |
| 467, 476, 480, 658, 752                             | <b>mushroom</b> - <i>lobe</i> (-ia)                       |
| <b>moss</b> - <i>mogi mogi</i> (sg:-l, pl:-i)       | N. a mushroom                                             |
| N. moss                                             | 44, 52, 53, 61, 66, 76, 83, 90, 259, 752                  |
| 43, 752                                             | <b>mustard</b> - <i>hedia</i> (-l)                        |
| <b>mother</b> - <i>mimi</i> (inv)                   | N. mustard                                                |
| N. mother                                           | 11, 260, 528, 600, 606, 752                               |
| 43, 54, 87, 104, 145, 159, 163, 168, 185, 187,      | N                                                         |
| 188, 202, 268, 309, 313, 314, 322, 329, 333,        | <b>nail</b> - <i>pasialki</i> (-l)                        |
| 340, 365, 377--379, 382, 397, 463, 469--471,        | N. a nail or claw                                         |
| 480, 490, 532, 543, 595, 606, 611, 645, 647,        | 229, 752                                                  |
| 657, 665, 752                                       | <b>name</b> - <i>eiwera eiwere</i> (i : -me-, -m- : wa-n) |
| <b>mother</b> - <i>nua</i> (nuki)                   | VT. to name                                               |
| N. mother                                           | 159, 223, 248, 364, 371, 462, 463, 626, 633--             |
|                                                     | 635, 752                                                  |

**name - losi** (inv)

PN. a name

161, 203, 223, 247, 248, 268, 372, 508, 519, 68, 753

590, 592, 621, 638, 753

**name, habeta** - Habeta

PN. a male name

339, 753

**name, kawun** - Kawun

PN. a male name

338, 753

**name, koni** - Koni

PN. a male name

31, 96, 598, 608, 753

**name, lagosi** - Lagosi

PN. a female name

44, 334, 340, 656, 664, 753

**name, maheina** - Maheina

PN. a male name

276, 539, 753

**name, mdopi** - Midopi

PN. a male name

331, 753

**name, nasiena** - Nasiena

PN. a male name

338, 753

**name, pokan** - Pokan

PN. a male name

273, 753

**name, ruapei** - Ruapei

PN. a male name

412, 753

**name, salpini** - Salpini

PN. a male name

139, 753

**name, selin** - Selin

PN. a female name

318, 753

**name, siebu** - Siebu

PN. a male name

68, 753

**name, tawan** - Tawan

PN. a female name

333, 753

**name, turegal** - Turegal

PN. a female name

136, 307, 318, 326, 333, 335, 365, 391, 402,

571, 608, 624, 753

**name, wabual** - Wabual

PN. a male name

490, 753

**name, wagin** - Wagin

PN. a male name

126, 276, 330, 414, 539, 577, 580, 753

**name, wilkei** - Wilkei

PN. a male name

159, 161, 188, 189, 267, 305, 321, 331, 544,

650, 660, 661, 753

**name, wiril** - Wiril

PN. a male name

413, 753

**name, yalimen** - Yalimen

PN. a male name

331, 753

**name, yirkuri** - Yirkuri

PN. a female name

208, 247, 339, 447, 448, 753

**name, yonara** - Yonara

PN. a male name

181, 753

**nape - meta** (-l)

N. the nape of the neck

362, 753

**nawoka vine** - nawoka (-gil; -l-gil)

N. a type of vine with thorns used in the

making of bows

260, 753

**near - tayipier**

ADV. to be near in space or time

158, 422, 632, 640, 649, 650, 754

**neck - hīluetī** (-gal; inv)

N. the neck or the throat

256, 323, 327, 754

**necklace - manmani** (inv; -gal)

N. a necklace

69, 77, 754

**net - halasi** (-gal)

N. a net

44, 73, 754

**new shoot - sirika** (-l-gil; -l)

N. the new shoots of plants

11, 754

**night - hemal** (inv)

N. night

42, 98, 194, 195, 213, 214, 309, 410, 419, 421,

444, 445, 464, 478, 483, 485, 493, 591, 600,

605, 647--649, 657, 754

**no - hiro hirua**

CP2. a particle which expresses negation

16, 30, 45, 93, 94, 133, 135, 137, 139, 146,

153, 157, 161, 181, 182, 186, 188, 190--192,

194, 197--200, 202--204, 206--208, 215, 221,

242, 245, 267, 272, 273, 276, 298, 300--302,

306, 307, 317, 320, 328--330, 335, 348, 362,

375--377, 379, 393, 399, 404, 406, 407, 410,

415, 417, 421, 426, 434, 435, 442, 443, 446,

449, 459--461, 473--475, 477, 479--483, 489,

491, 492, 494--499, 501--530, 533, 534, 537,

539, 559--562, 565, 566, 577, 586, 587, 589,

593, 599, 600, 606, 608, 610, 615, 621--623,

626--636, 639--643, 648, 650--653, 657, 658,

662, 665, 668--670, 754, 793

**nose - namogī** (sg:-l, pl:-i)

N. a nose

217, 242, 243, 258, 389, 754

**now - he**

CP3. a particle that indicates an action, event, or state is ongoing or expresses permission

127, 157, 195, 201, 213, 225, 233, 285, 313,

336, 379, 387, 415, 417, 428, 441--446, 459,

475, 483--487, 491, 498, 499, 508, 567--570,

572, 573, 575, 579, 615, 621, 631, 636, 644,

647--649, 651, 662, 667, 669, 670, 754

**O**

**oh - ake ke**

EXCL. an exclamation of surprise

163, 286, 558, 754

**oh - wagiḷuage**

EXCL. an expression of surprise or pain

163, 754

**oh - yai**

EXCL. a sound of surprise

163, 754

**old - losia** (-∅, -n, -i, -m)

GN ADJ. (i) to be old; (ii) to be brown; (iii) to be dried out

130, 310, 754

**old - misi** (-l-gal)

N ADJ. old and worn, used to describe an old string bag

260, 754

**older brother - winoga** (mogal)

N. an older brother

220, 221, 261, 340, 405, 583, 656, 754

**older sibling - tata** (inv)

N. an older sibling

94, 187, 333, 606, 754

**older sister - woga** (inv; -l)

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>n.</b> an older sister                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 162, 286, 336, 337, 537--539, 581--583, 755                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 136, 220, 237, 257, 477, 547, 583, 593, 657, 755                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | <b>or - o</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <b>one - ŋa na</b> (-Ø, -n, -i)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | <b>CONJ.</b> or                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>NUM.</b> (i) one; (ii) another; (iii) all sorts or different types (when the plural form is reduplicated); can be pronounced as <i>na</i> when followed by <i>papi</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 160--162, 336--338, 340, 536, 538, 539, 544, 562, 581--584, 646, 649, 655, 660, 664, 755                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 41, 43, 56, 66, 67, 94, 104, 113, 114, 137--140, 178, 197, 200, 201, 203, 205, 207, 223, 236, 245, 247, 248, 263, 270, 274, 278, 286--288, 299, 300, 306--308, 313, 326, 337, 338, 350, 367, 372, 378, 379, 384, 393, 394, 397, 405, 445, 456, 460, 462, 464, 475, 476, 479, 481, 496, 504, 506, 528, 538, 540, 583, 593, 598, 600, 611, 615, 632, 637, 645, 647, 658, 663, 668, 670, 755 | <b>outhouse - togua</b> (-gil)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <b>only - nadi</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | <b>N.</b> an outhouse                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <b>ONLY.</b> only                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 395, 755                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 109, 110, 119, 142, 154, 156, 158, 163, 164, 182, 196, 237, 240, 264, 273, 283, 284, 286, 328, 339, 355, 397, 445, 494, 529, 594, 608, 628, 640, 755                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | <b>outside - piaka</b> (inv)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <b>only - nadi</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | <b>N.</b> outside                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <b>ONLY.</b> only                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 294, 388, 755                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| 109, 110, 119, 142, 154, 156, 158, 163, 164, 182, 196, 237, 240, 264, 273, 283, 284, 286, 328, 339, 355, 397, 445, 494, 529, 594, 608, 628, 640, 755                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | <b>P</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <b>only - nadi</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | <b>pandana meat - tagel</b> (-egal)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <b>ONLY.</b> only                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | <b>N.</b> the meat of the pandana                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 109, 110, 119, 142, 154, 156, 158, 163, 164, 182, 196, 237, 240, 264, 273, 283, 284, 286, 328, 339, 355, 397, 445, 494, 529, 594, 608, 628, 640, 755                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 62, 755                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <b>only - nadi</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | <b>pants - wugil</b> (-gal)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <b>ONLY.</b> only                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | <b>N.</b> pants                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| 109, 110, 119, 142, 154, 156, 158, 163, 164, 182, 196, 237, 240, 264, 273, 283, 284, 286, 328, 339, 355, 397, 445, 494, 529, 594, 608, 628, 640, 755                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 41, 755                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <b>only - nadi</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | <b>pass to - awoka</b> (e : -m- : -ne-, de-n)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <b>ONLY.</b> only                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | <b>VT.</b> to share                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 109, 110, 119, 142, 154, 156, 158, 163, 164, 182, 196, 237, 240, 264, 273, 283, 284, 286, 328, 339, 355, 397, 445, 494, 529, 594, 608, 628, 640, 755                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 102, 359, 397, 755                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <b>only - nadi</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | <b>past - la lo</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <b>ONLY.</b> only                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | <b>CP1.</b> a particle that indicates a time in the past                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 109, 110, 119, 142, 154, 156, 158, 163, 164, 182, 196, 237, 240, 264, 273, 283, 284, 286, 328, 339, 355, 397, 445, 494, 529, 594, 608, 628, 640, 755                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 55, 87, 88, 95, 123, 145, 157, 159, 166, 170, 190, 191, 194, 195, 198, 200, 201, 230, 237, 276, 307, 309, 319, 320, 334, 336, 337, 350, 365, 372, 378, 379, 388, 391, 398--401, 411--414, 418, 419, 426, 427, 446, 456, 459, 462, 463, 470, 474, 475, 485, 486, 489--492, 494, 496, 498, 499, 503, 508, 510, 511, 518, 519, 521--523, 534, 536, 537, 542, 547, 550, 553, 555, 566, 567, 570, 571, 574, 576, 577, 584, 587, 589, 591, 592, 595, 605, 610, 624, 645--647, 649--651, 654, 655, 660, 664, 755 |
| <b>open door - gawo</b> (e : -m- : we-n)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | <b>path - yo</b> (yo lapi (path), yobaliagi (door), inv (hole))                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>V.</b> to open as in to open a door                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| 41, 601, 755                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>or - nia</b> (-Ø, -n, -i, -m)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>CONJ.</b> or                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| 162, 270, 275, 276, 286, 337, 537, 539, 581--584, 755                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>or - no</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>CONJ.</b> or                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |

**n.** (i) a path or road; (ii) a door; (iii) an opening or hole  
 45, 59, 61, 160, 199, 239, 309, 319, 327, 388, 392, 399, 400, 413, 426, 491, 492, 497, 498, 512, 539, 556, 559, 560, 581, 601, 638--640, 643, 649--652, 654, 656--658, 660, 663, 668, 756  
**path, yomalbiena** - Yomalbiena  
**PN.** the name of a foot path to Yiwilta  
 74, 140, 223, 287, 756  
**peel** - *giewa* (i : -m- : -n, we-n)  
**v.** to peel the outer skin off, as in to peel the skin of a yam  
 353, 355, 756  
**peel off** - *kɪlkual kulkual*  
**IDEO.** to peel off as in for skin to peel off  
 41, 756  
**penis gourd** - *molɪl* (-gal)  
**n.** (i) a type of tree; (ii) the traditional penis gourd worn by men made from the molil tree  
 193, 589, 756  
**people** - *hamei* (inv)  
**n.** people  
 66, 93, 95, 118, 138, 139, 142, 144, 192, 193, 267, 271, 275, 276, 285, 289, 305, 311, 321, 334, 356, 368, 405, 412, 450, 463, 517, 539, 541, 544, 546, 547, 551, 559--561, 586, 589, 590, 595, 603, 605, 611, 623, 652, 653, 668, 756  
**piece** - *pasiékua pasieka* (unknown)  
**n.** a piece of wood  
 625, 756  
**pig** - *wual* (-ia)  
**n.** a pig  
 11, 55, 109, 110, 130, 134, 143, 163, 196, 200, 201, 203, 221, 227, 240, 250, 259, 292, 317, 339, 424, 446, 465, 473, 499, 504, 557, 588, 589, 756  
**pile** - *olyulma* (ie : omyulma : -n, we-n)  
**VT.** to place objects into a pile  
 391, 756  
**pincher** - *hɪlɔka* (-l)  
**n.** pincher, as in the pinchers of an insect  
 61, 262, 756  
**place, wayuaga** - Wayuaga  
**PN.** the name of a location  
 413, 756  
**plant, ragusi** - *ragusi* (-gal)  
**n.** a type of orchid plant whose leaves are used for dancing  
 44, 66, 756  
**plant, siagipa** - *siagipa* (-aguei)  
**n.** a type of plant with round seeds found in the bush  
 255, 756  
**plenty** - *hahelia* (inv)  
**cw.** to be plenty, to be a crowd  
 152, 241, 280, 286, 577, 756  
**plural** - *nogual* (sg: yuta (F); han (M))  
**n.** used most often with *yuta* and less frequently with *hagil* to indicate plural number  
 82, 162, 276, 309, 310, 330, 331, 405, 477, 479, 612, 614, 637, 653, 654, 663, 756  
**poinsetta** - *hɪsiam* (-aguei)  
**n.** poinsetta  
 69, 756  
**poison** - *garkuare* (e : -m- : -n)  
**VT.** to poison  
 342, 547, 559, 756  
**poke** - *ieka* (i : -m- : we-n)  
**v.** to poke or poke at  
 625, 756  
**polar question** - *mai*



- CP3/CONJ.** (i) a particle that indicates a polar question, (ii) a conjunction that expresses the meaning ‘or’  
157, 206, 211, 268, 269, 288, 290, 400, 448, 459, 484, 488, 532, 534, 538, 662, 667, 757
- poor** - *yailua* (-Ø, -n, -i)  
**GN ADJ.** to be deserving of sympathy  
94, 757
- post** - *pikel* (-i)  
**N.** a post  
48, 57, 63, 142, 258, 272, 278, 279, 408, 757
- pot** - *moti* (molwilgal)  
**N.** a pot  
87, 211, 260, 261, 325, 326, 329, 398, 400, 488, 506, 507, 513, 515, 521, 557, 579, 664, 667, 757
- potato** - *hapini yapini* (-gal)  
**N.** a potato  
41, 228, 229, 243, 757
- pouch** - *hoboyon habayon* (-egal)  
**N.** a pouch, typically refers to a marsupial’s pouch  
229, 251, 447, 757
- pour** - *operi okeri* (e : -m- : -ne-, wa-n)  
**VT.** to pour  
111, 112, 356, 396, 397, 412, 439, 757
- precede** - *ieki* (i : -m- : ka-n)  
**VI.** to precede  
59, 110, 135, 298, 299, 334, 358, 374, 384, 402, 431, 757
- prohibitive particle** - *komal tomal*  
**CP1.** a particle used to express the opinion that something should not happen  
354, 377, 384, 465, 472--474, 494, 571, 757
- prohibitive particle** - *tomal komal*  
**CP1.** a particle used to express the opinion that something should not happen
- 107, 157, 383, 386, 423, 425, 459, 470--474, 493, 577, 624, 653, 757
- pull** - *alkial* (e : -m- : e-n)  
**VT.** to pull  
79, 100, 112, 161, 186, 214, 311, 343, 360--362, 454, 641, 643, 653, 757
- pupa** - *bubeibei* (-gil)  
**N.** the label used to refer to the pupal stage of some insects  
77, 757
- push** - *ahoper* (e : -me- : da-n)  
**V.** to push or pressure someone to do something  
48, 49, 757
- push** - *ano* (e : -me- : da-n)  
**V.** to push  
61, 108, 222, 399, 400, 643, 757
- push away** - *okiwal nokiwal* (e : -me- : -ne-)  
**V.** (i) to push away; (ii) to reject  
629, 757
- push through** - *dihalwia* (e : -m- : -n)  
**V.** to push through  
435, 757
- R**
- rash** - *sirupia* (-gil)  
**N.** red marks or bumps on the skin, commonly used to refer to a rash or acne  
62, 67, 757
- rat** - *niboga* (-l)  
**N.** a rat  
502, 606, 757
- rat, lagi** - *lagi* (-gal; -hegal)  
**N.** a small rat with a long white tail  
53, 54, 97, 757
- rat, wunwun** - *wunwun* (-egal)  
**IDEO/N.** a rat with a white tail that lives

near rivers

69, 757

**red seed - yameti** (sg:-ti, pl:-wil)

**N.** a type of seed that is red and round  
422, 758

**remove bark - go** (ie : -me- : ha-n)

**V.** to remove the bark of a tree  
358, 758

**reply - gori** (i : -me- : wa-n)

**V.** to reply  
373, 758

**rib - lobehi** (sg:-l, pl:-i)

**N.** (i) a rib; (ii) along the side of something  
257, 258, 319, 323, 325, 328, 389, 758

**right - la**

**CP3.** a particle that conveys the speaker's assumption that the stated proposition is true  
157, 459, 475, 483, 487, 488, 758

**rinse - asor** (e : -me- : e-n)

**VT.** to rinse or wipe away  
44, 66, 100, 154, 248, 352, 359, 403, 408, 479, 758

**river rapids - gurgur**

**IDEO.** to make the sound associated with river rapids  
41, 758

**river sound - brulbrul**

**IDEO.** (i) the sound of the river; (ii) to carry an empty limbum  
125, 758

**river turtle - biarbuar** (-gil)

**IDEO/N.** a river turtle  
68, 758

**river, haliebi - Haliebi**

**PN.** the name of a river  
295, 349, 579, 758

**river, hamil - Hamil**

**PN.** the name of the river on which the Yeri village is located  
137, 198, 327, 427, 503, 758

**rock - puyu puyu hirka** (-gal; peyu)

**N.** (i) a rock or stone; (ii) money  
11, 55, 103, 140, 143, 178--180, 188, 207, 208, 214, 226, 250, 275, 306, 311, 412, 418, 449, 456, 469, 476, 481, 486, 506, 511, 512, 539, 543, 550, 568, 570, 574, 591, 594, 600, 622, 629, 664, 665, 668, 758

**roll - ahala ahale** (e : -me- : wa-n)

**VT.** to fold, roll, or hug  
364, 398, 758

**roll - gulgual gulgual**

**IDEO.** to roll as in to roll down a hill  
41, 68, 124, 577, 758

**roll - iepou** (i : -m- : a-n)

**VT.** to roll or curl around, commonly used to describe the act of rolling tobacco  
109, 112, 374, 484, 638, 648, 758

**roof - wayiagi** (-l)

**N.** the long mats sewn from sago palm leaves to serve as roofing for houses  
408, 502, 615, 758

**roof - wobir** (-gal)

**N.** the roof of a building  
69, 252, 329, 330, 758

**root - dinoni dinonu** (i : -me- : wa-n)

**VI.** to root or dig, typically by a pig  
435, 758

**run - darku** (e : -m- : wa-n)

**VI.** (i) to run; (ii) to do something quickly  
59, 96, 100, 110, 112, 153, 224, 335, 342, 360, 380, 416, 437, 455, 469, 524, 567, 570--575, 579, 642, 758

**rush - darkoka** (e : -me- : we-n)

v. to rush or hurry

96, 110, 758

## S

**sago - yatɪ** (-gal (sago jelly); yawal (palm))

N. (i) a sago palm; (ii) a ball of sago jelly  
11, 66, 81, 91, 136, 144, 163, 167, 168, 178,  
179, 188, 193, 199, 204, 209, 215, 221, 230,  
231, 239, 240, 243, 277, 283, 308, 326, 339,  
340, 362, 377, 390, 400, 402, 404, 407, 410-  
412, 414, 448, 463, 512, 514, 516, 518, 532,  
533, 535, 536, 538, 543, 552, 555, 567, 570,  
574, 575, 579, 596, 599, 612, 614, 615, 654,  
657, 658, 667, 759

**sago dust - hom** (-aguei)

N. the dust that results from scraping a  
sago palm

66, 69, 229, 255, 759

**sago flour - hur** (-i)

N. a type of flour made from sago  
11, 54, 69, 104, 163, 164, 182, 230, 258, 355,  
397, 512, 612, 614, 656, 666, 759

**sago grub - hulula** (hululpia)

N. sago grub, the name used to refer to  
the larvae of a specific beetle species that is  
collected from sago palms and eaten

144, 238, 256, 321, 502, 759

**sago stem - lawu** (-gal; lawi)

N. the strong long thin stem within the  
main stem (rachis, *hapoti*) of a sago palm leaf,  
often used as an arrow

332, 759

**sago stem base - pogɪ** (-agia)

N. the part of a sago palm (petiole) that  
connects the main stem of the sago palm leaf  
(*hapoti*) to the trunk (*nuaten*)

90, 250, 254, 759

**sago stick - hapoti** (sg:-ti, pl:-wil)

N. (i) the main stem (rachis) of the sago  
palm leaf to which leaflets connect, often used  
in the building of houses or benches; (ii) a  
bench or bed

327, 328, 498, 566, 759

**sago swamp - tɪhabeta** (inv)

N. an area of land with many sago palms  
331, 534, 759

**sago swamp, molaha - Molaha**

PN. the name of a sago swamp  
113, 759

**sago, kirapu - kirapu** (-gal)

N. a type of sago palm with a lot of thorns  
62, 759

**sago, mor - mor** (-agia)

N. a type of sago palm  
254, 759

**sago, nibisa - nibisa** (-hegal)

N. a large sago palm with long thorns, re-  
ferred to as the number one sago palm  
253, 759

**salt - nawi** (inv; -gal)

N. (i) salt; (ii) an ocean  
194, 199, 205, 206, 392, 446, 448, 494, 496,  
497, 505, 509, 588, 668, 759

**same - niagiɪl**

ADV. (i) to be the same or identical; (ii)  
to be together

153, 154, 204, 212, 334, 446, 476, 661, 759

**sand - hɪlian hɪlian** (-l-gil)

N. sand, beach  
108, 229, 305, 364, 590, 597, 759

**sandfly - yirkuarki** (-l; -l-gil)

N. a tiny yellow sandfly  
62, 73, 759

**sandpaper tree - homega** (-gil)

N. a type of tree whose fruit is frequently

eaten by birds, often referred to as the sand-paper tree

83, 759

**scab** - *garkeba* (e : -m- : we-n)

v. for a wound to dry out and create a scab

319, 760

**scale** - *hireiki* (-l)

n. (i) a scale; (ii) a scar

208, 209, 760

**scoot** - *gīrgir*

IDEO. to scoot or slide over

126, 577, 579, 580, 760

**scrape** - *iekela iekele* (i : -m- : wa-n)

vt. to scrape as in to scrape a coconut

364, 370, 593, 594, 760

**sea shell** - *halpina* (-gi)

n. a type of sea shell

204, 259, 446, 760

**search** - *dalkual* (e : -m- : da-n)

vi. to look or search, most often occurs with the applicative morpheme to indicate what is being looked for

214, 349, 418, 421, 492, 593, 594, 600, 616, 617, 760

**see** - *arnia atia, atr, arr* (e : -me- : ar<me>ren)

vt. to see or look at something; Note: this verb has four roots: *atia, atr, arnia*, and *arr*. The *arnia* root is used when there is a predicate morpheme, but no third person object morpheme.

285, 586, 654, 667, 760

**see** - *arr atia, atr, arnia* (e : ar<me>ren : e-n)

vt. to see or look at something; Note: this verb has four roots: *atia, atr, arnia*, and *arr*.

The *arr* root is used when there is both a predicate morpheme and a third person object morpheme.

333, 498, 628, 641, 760

**see** - *atia atia, arnia, arr* (e : ar<me>nia, ar<me>ren : atren)

vt. to see or look at something; Note: this verb has four roots: *atia, atr, arnia*, and *arr*. The *atia* root is used when there is neither a predicate morpheme, nor a third person object morpheme.

55, 73, 96, 102, 103, 138, 145, 175, 178, 226, 266, 282, 283, 301, 308, 311, 317--319, 325, 329, 333, 336, 377, 409, 412, 418, 482, 488, 499, 513, 516, 528, 537, 547, 549, 555, 561, 565, 566, 597--600, 637, 641, 648, 658, 760

**see** - *atr atr, arnia, arr* (e : ar<me>nia, ar<me>ren : e-n)

vt. to see or look at something; Note: this verb has four roots: *atia, atr, arnia*, and *arr*. The *atr* root is used when there is not a predicate morpheme, but there is a third person object morpheme. This root can also used to express the meaning 'maybe' (literally 'we'll see') and occurs without a subject morpheme in this context, with an optional object morpheme referring to what will be seen, and without the future particle *ta*.

161, 169, 199, 273, 317, 338, 384, 394, 419, 467, 499, 513, 528, 561, 566, 582, 598, 599, 606, 623, 626, 637, 639--641, 652, 654, 661, 666, 668, 760

**seed** - *wibel* (-egal; wibegal)

n. a type of vine found in the bush whose seeds are described as being like a coconut

11, 760

**send** - *anibir* (e : -me- : ha-n)

|                                                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| vt. (i) to send someone; (ii) to sell something                                                                                                                        | 187, 261, 606, 664, 761                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 240, 305, 358, 431, 541, 542, 648, 666, 761                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <b>separate</b> - galp̄isia (e : -m- : unknown)                                                                                                                        | <b>shelter</b> - t̄ipleikal (-gil)                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| v. to separate                                                                                                                                                         | n. a lean-to or simple shelter                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 112, 342, 761                                                                                                                                                          | 67, 110, 761                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <b>set</b> - awo (e : -m- : -ne-)                                                                                                                                      | <b>shift</b> - m̄ilmual <i>mulmual</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| vt. to set something down that has neither an overly long horizontal axis nor an overly long vertical axis                                                             | IDEO. to shift around making noise                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| 41, 87, 130, 181, 195, 211, 230, 310, 321, 324, 356, 368, 391, 393--395, 422, 481, 485, 488, 498, 507, 508, 513, 515, 569, 571, 579, 590, 624, 638, 641, 663, 669, 761 | 124, 473, 761                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <b>set fire</b> - geiboni (i : none : we-n)                                                                                                                            | <b>shine</b> - bikar                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| v. to burn or set fire                                                                                                                                                 | IDEO. to shine                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 342, 374, 519, 573, 574, 761                                                                                                                                           | 152, 280, 761                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <b>sew limbum</b> - gopua (i : -m- : -n)                                                                                                                               | <b>shiver</b> - d̄ild̄il                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| v. to sew a limbum                                                                                                                                                     | IDEO. to shiver or tremble                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 112, 373, 398, 761                                                                                                                                                     | 52, 77, 124--126, 170, 195, 303, 761                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <b>shake</b> - akukeli (e : -me- : -ne-)                                                                                                                               | <b>shoot</b> - oba <i>obi</i> (ie, e : -me-, -ma- : -ne-)                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| vt. to shake something in a circle, typically vines                                                                                                                    | vt. to shoot something or someone                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| 81, 617, 761                                                                                                                                                           | 98, 99, 113, 166, 181, 226, 240, 275, 309, 315, 349, 356, 366--368, 379, 392, 403, 406, 432, 433, 436, 457, 469, 470, 475, 497, 524, 538, 549, 550, 560, 571, 583, 589, 593, 595, 603, 610, 761                                                             |
| <b>shake</b> - dork̄idi <i>dolk̄idi</i> (i : -m- : wa-n, we-n)                                                                                                         | <b>short</b> - tiawa (-∅, -n, -i, -m)                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| v. to shake                                                                                                                                                            | GN ADJ. to be short                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 638, 761                                                                                                                                                               | 45, 68, 115, 127, 130, 138, 156, 159, 179, 195, 198, 203, 273, 311, 312, 340, 362, 387, 388, 392, 422, 443--445, 481, 485, 491, 497, 502, 503, 509, 512, 520, 528, 529, 536, 550, 584, 588, 597, 600, 640, 644, 647, 649--652, 655, 656, 658, 661--670, 761 |
| <b>sharp</b> - s̄ilka (-l)                                                                                                                                             | <b>shoulder</b> - tabu (-gal; -hegal)                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| n/cw. (i) edge; (ii) to be sharp                                                                                                                                       | n. shoulder                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 151, 152, 169, 186, 280, 328, 525, 761                                                                                                                                 | 61, 253, 761                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <b>sharpen</b> - nab̄ir (e : none : e-n)                                                                                                                               | <b>shout</b> - kolkol                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| vt. to sharpen something                                                                                                                                               | IDEO. to shout                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 94, 117, 274, 299, 300, 408, 409, 574, 579, 761                                                                                                                        | 124, 125, 175, 176, 268, 402, 761                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>shell</b> - pone (-ia-l)                                                                                                                                            | <b>shout</b> - ŋ̄irŋar <i>ŋaryar</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| n. (i) shell as in the coconut shell, (ii) bowl, (iii) kneecap                                                                                                         | IDEO. to shout                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|                                                                                                                                                                        | 418, 419, 761                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |

|                                                                                                                                                            |                                                                                                                      |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>show - arki</b> (ie, e : -m- : da-n)                                                                                                                    | <b>vi.</b> to slide down or fall out of as in when the ground crumbles in a landslide or when vines fall from a tree |
| <b>v.</b> to show something to someone                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                      |
| 276, 762                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                      |
| <b>side - woli</b> (inv)                                                                                                                                   | 435, 762                                                                                                             |
| <b>n.</b> a side, as in the side of a river or a house                                                                                                     | <b>slip - dualdrua</b>                                                                                               |
| 133, 139--143, 169, 200, 281, 323, 324, 329, 384, 394, 504, 589, 637, 654, 762                                                                             | <b>IDEO.</b> to slip or lose footing                                                                                 |
| <b>silent - dāldal</b>                                                                                                                                     | 67, 69, 762                                                                                                          |
| <b>IDEO.</b> to be silent                                                                                                                                  | <b>slither - lulu</b>                                                                                                |
| 124, 762                                                                                                                                                   | <b>IDEO.</b> to slither                                                                                              |
| <b>sing - oniga</b> (e : -me- : unknown)                                                                                                                   | 77, 277, 278, 450, 762                                                                                               |
| <b>vi.</b> to sing and dance                                                                                                                               | <b>slow - yomial</b>                                                                                                 |
| 184, 185, 198, 288, 373, 382, 427, 430, 477, 480, 762                                                                                                      | <b>ADV.</b> to be slow or quiet                                                                                      |
| <b>sit - dawo</b> (e : -m- : wa-n)                                                                                                                         | 114, 153, 154, 204, 212, 248, 408, 524, 762                                                                          |
| <b>vi.</b> to be in a position of sitting, typically referring to an item that has neither an overly long horizontal axis nor an overly long vertical axis | <b>small hut - wolitai</b> (-gil)                                                                                    |
| 91, 324, 360, 385, 391, 394, 395, 512, 569, 570, 590, 762                                                                                                  | <b>n.</b> a small shelter for storing vegetables                                                                     |
| <b>sit silent - dārdār</b>                                                                                                                                 | 74, 75, 762                                                                                                          |
| <b>IDEO.</b> to sit quietly without making a sound                                                                                                         | <b>small knife - malki</b> (-gi)                                                                                     |
| 124, 762                                                                                                                                                   | <b>n.</b> a small knife                                                                                              |
| <b>skewer - nakuar</b> (e : -me- : -ne-)                                                                                                                   | 53, 259, 332, 762                                                                                                    |
| <b>vt.</b> to put something on a skewer or string                                                                                                          | <b>smell - anu</b> (e : -me- : da-n)                                                                                 |
| 240, 437, 610, 762                                                                                                                                         | <b>v.</b> to sniff or smell                                                                                          |
| <b>skin - yiwo</b> (inv)                                                                                                                                   | 61, 102, 359, 489, 762                                                                                               |
| <b>n.</b> skin                                                                                                                                             | <b>smell - nagou</b> (e : -m- : e-n)                                                                                 |
| 11, 178, 306, 385, 577, 590, 626, 638, 762                                                                                                                 | <b>v.</b> to have a strong smell, to smell strongly in some way                                                      |
| <b>slide - hurhur</b>                                                                                                                                      | 435, 762                                                                                                             |
| <b>IDEO.</b> to slide or slip                                                                                                                              | <b>smoke - abokranua obikrane</b> (ie, e : none : -n)                                                                |
| 41, 124, 762                                                                                                                                               | <b>v.</b> to dry or smoke                                                                                            |
| <b>slide down - dihartol</b> (e : -me- : e-n, dihartoren)                                                                                                  | 625, 762                                                                                                             |
|                                                                                                                                                            | <b>smoke - nihewo</b> (-gil)                                                                                         |
|                                                                                                                                                            | <b>n.</b> (i) smoke; (ii) tobacco                                                                                    |
|                                                                                                                                                            | 62, 484, 762                                                                                                         |
|                                                                                                                                                            | <b>snake - harkanogi</b> (sg:-l, pl:-i)                                                                              |
|                                                                                                                                                            | <b>n.</b> a snake                                                                                                    |
|                                                                                                                                                            | 46, 190, 191, 228, 229, 278, 450, 514, 557, 638--643, 762                                                            |

|                                                                                                                                      |                                                                                                        |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>snake, hane</b> - hane (-ia-l)                                                                                                    | 137, 143, 144, 201, 270, 275, 284, 299, 308,                                                           |
| N. a venomous dark yellow species of snake with a black nose                                                                         | 321, 371, 485, 611, 632, 763                                                                           |
| 43, 51, 90, 191, 242, 243, 557, 763                                                                                                  |                                                                                                        |
| <b>snake, harkibi</b> - harkibi (-aguei)                                                                                             | <b>son</b> - nejo (nogolgoi, nogual hagil)                                                             |
| N. the largest species of snake. Speakers describe two types <i>harkibi nadi</i> and <i>harkibi slopati</i> . Both are non-venomous. | N. a male child                                                                                        |
| 250, 763                                                                                                                             | 43, 66, 67, 163, 261, 312, 463, 763                                                                    |
| <b>snake, lubia</b> - lubia (-megal; -hegal)                                                                                         | <b>song</b> - parieti (inv; -gal)                                                                      |
| N. a thick, non-venomous, black and gold snake that can be 2-3 meters long and lives in the trees                                    | N. a song                                                                                              |
| 190, 254, 763                                                                                                                        | 229, 288, 763                                                                                          |
| <b>snake, sapaluka</b> - sapaluka (-gil; -agia)                                                                                      | <b>sorcerer</b> - wiralgil (inv; -gal)                                                                 |
| N. a type of small snake                                                                                                             | N. a dangerous person or group of people who will kill others, often by means of sorcery               |
| 254, 763                                                                                                                             | 245, 763                                                                                               |
| <b>snake, water</b> - moniketa (sg:-ta, pl:-wil; -gil)                                                                               | <b>sore</b> - lute (-i)                                                                                |
| N. a dark-brown non-venomous snake that lives in the river                                                                           | N. a sore or open wound                                                                                |
| 59, 74, 256, 262, 763                                                                                                                | 208, 247, 319, 435, 448, 638--641, 763                                                                 |
| <b>snore</b> - pirquar                                                                                                               | <b>spear, bamboo</b> - yobia (-i)                                                                      |
| IDEO. to snore                                                                                                                       | N. a bamboo spear                                                                                      |
| 125, 763                                                                                                                             | 332, 763                                                                                               |
| <b>snot</b> - nibini (-gal)                                                                                                          | <b>spear, ririwil</b> - ririwil (inv; -gal)                                                            |
| N. snot or mucus                                                                                                                     | N. a traditional spear with two edges                                                                  |
| 361, 763                                                                                                                             | 66, 229, 763                                                                                           |
| <b>soak</b> - opa opi (ie, e : -me-, -ma- : -ne-)                                                                                    | <b>spear, sakirou</b> - saikirou (-gil; -wegal)                                                        |
| VT. for rain to make someone or something wet                                                                                        | N. (i) a type of spear; (ii) a type of plant; (iii) the shoots collected from the sakirou plant to eat |
| 98, 99, 111, 366, 411, 433, 763                                                                                                      | 60, 74, 252, 253, 763                                                                                  |
| <b>soft</b> - hobi (-l)                                                                                                              | <b>spear, wodomoi</b> - wodomoi wodomoi (-gil)                                                         |
| CW. to be soft or weak                                                                                                               | N/PN. (i) a type of spear; (ii) a male name                                                            |
| 152, 280, 763                                                                                                                        | 71, 181, 208, 229, 763                                                                                 |
| <b>some</b> - peigilia (-Ø, -n, -i, -m)                                                                                              | <b>speckled</b> - pitipital                                                                            |
| QUANT. some, a few                                                                                                                   | IDEO. (i) to be spotted or speckled; (ii) to sweat                                                     |
|                                                                                                                                      | 125, 517, 577, 763                                                                                     |
|                                                                                                                                      | <b>spine</b> - harei (-gil)                                                                            |
|                                                                                                                                      | N. a spine                                                                                             |
|                                                                                                                                      | 229, 386, 387, 763                                                                                     |
|                                                                                                                                      | <b>spirit</b> - nabia (-Ø, -n, -i)                                                                     |

- n.** a spirit or ghost  
11, 489, 612, 626, 764
- split** - *arketal* (e : -m- : da-n)  
**vi.** to split  
56, 670, 764
- split** - *atar* (e : -me- : e-n)  
**vt.** to split something  
79, 100, 360, 407, 425, 622, 630, 764
- split into pieces** - *p̄irp̄irua*  
**IDEO.** when something splits into pieces, often used in reference to a tree that is chopped down  
125, 764
- squeak** - *ɲirɲiar*  
**IDEO.** to squeak  
69, 124, 125, 764
- squeal** - *ɲulɲul ɲilɲil*  
**IDEO.** the sound made when a mother pig calls for her piglets  
41, 764
- squeeze** - *gawor* (e : -m- : e-n)  
**v.** to squeeze  
79, 100, 343, 359, 360, 764
- squeeze** - *orkib̄il orbil* (e : -m- : da-n)  
**v.** to squeeze or wash sago  
215, 612, 614, 764
- stand** - *dodi* (i : -me- : wa-n)  
**vi.** (i) to stand; (ii) to wait  
30, 82, 107, 126, 195, 204, 213, 221, 230, 283, 285, 312, 318, 326, 327, 333, 336, 341, 373, 379, 385, 388, 391, 392, 412, 414, 416, 418, 421, 426, 445, 463, 479, 480, 485, 495, 508, 510, 513, 521, 522, 544, 545, 548, 553, 572, 586, 599, 639, 649, 653, 658, 660, 662, 664, 764
- star** - *mawasi mowasi* (-gal)  
**n.** a star  
50, 51, 53, 252, 509, 764
- stay close** - *dopar* (ie : -m- : e-n, we-n)  
**v.** to stay close to something  
374, 764
- step on** - *daruot̄il daruatil* (e : -m- : daruotren)  
**vt.** to step or stomp on  
67, 764
- stick** - *apoki* (e : -m- : -ne-)  
**vt.** to stick something to a vertical surface  
391, 394, 764
- stick** - *darpoki dapoki* (e : -m- : wa-n)  
**vi.** to be in a position of being stuck to a vertical surface  
391, 423, 764
- stick** - *d̄inarkual* (e : -me- : e-n)  
**v.** to stick to something  
435, 764
- stick** - *mali* (-gal)  
**n.** (i) a stick used to transport a pig by tying the pig's feet to the stick; (ii) a stick used to beat the wadou drum  
101, 229, 764
- stick into** - *aki* (e : -me- : -ne-)  
**vt.** to stick something inside something else, as in to stick something into the matting of the walls  
92, 362, 391, 764
- stick into** - *daki* (e : -me- : wa-n)  
**vi.** to be in a position of being stuck inside something, often used to refer to something stuck inside the matting of the walls  
391, 764
- still** - *kua ko*  
**CP2.** (i) still; (ii) yet; (iii) first  
61, 66, 87, 144, 145, 157, 159, 185, 195, 248,



249, 278, 308, 329, 371, 376, 379, 382, 390, 393, 459, 477, 479--482, 490, 493, 496, 497, 506, 561, 567--570, 572, 574, 582, 586, 587, 595, 639, 640, 659, 666, 764

**stone, habaha - habaha** (-l; -gil; -l-gil)  
 N. a smooth type of stone  
 66, 72, 262, 765

**straight - sirual** (-gil)  
 N ADJ. to be straight  
 117, 131, 442, 443, 765

**strainer - hugil** (-gal)  
 N. (i) a part of a coconut palm that is often collected for use as a strainer to wash sago; (ii) a cocoon  
 41, 97, 765

**strong - bilgi** (sg:-l, pl:-i)  
 CW. strong  
 151, 152, 155, 185, 193, 280, 306, 314, 434, 506, 581, 614, 621, 765

**strong - galgal**  
 IDEO. (i) to be strong; (ii) to be dry  
 588, 621, 765

**strong belief - ba**  
 CP1. a particle used to indicate a speaker's strong belief in the truth of a statement  
 87, 95, 157, 191, 353, 414, 419, 421, 459, 467, 474, 475, 484, 487--491, 493, 494, 496, 546, 623, 765

**sugar cane - yelu** (-gal)  
 N. (i) sugar cane; (ii) sugar  
 66, 765

**sugar glider - mukela** (-gil)  
 N. a black and white sugar glider  
 49--51, 57, 62, 83, 765

**sun - wo** (inv)  
 N. (i) sun; (ii) day  
 11, 42, 213, 214, 298, 299, 349, 649--652, 765

**surpass - ayobua ayobo** (e : -me- : -n, da-n)  
 V. to surpass  
 649, 765

**swallow - diholbil** (e : -me- : a-n)  
 VT. to swallow  
 435, 765

**swell - osia** (ie : -ma- : -n)  
 VT. (i) to swell; (ii) to die; (iii) to heat  
 298, 299, 349, 362, 416, 449, 476, 622, 623, 625, 630, 650, 651, 765

**T**

**tail - yawi** (-gal)  
 N. a tail  
 109, 121, 131, 198, 267, 268, 317, 321, 350, 352, 466, 514, 520, 576, 594, 641, 765

**take - owil** (e : -me-, -m- : -ne-)  
 V. to take or bring something  
 45, 87, 90, 95, 107, 130, 139, 143, 159, 181, 182, 221, 222, 225, 226, 231, 233, 238--241, 244, 293, 306, 313, 314, 339, 353, 354, 356, 376, 378, 380, 405, 410, 426, 430, 436, 437, 439, 445, 463, 464, 471, 477, 479, 498, 534, 536, 553, 557, 573, 575, 579, 584, 591, 592, 600, 629, 638, 646, 650--653, 655--657, 659, 661--664, 666, 667, 669, 765

**talk - nobia** (i : -me- : da-n)  
 VI. to talk or speak  
 30, 45, 56, 59, 82, 85, 95, 102--104, 106, 107, 114, 116, 118, 123, 137, 140, 156, 158--161, 163, 169, 198, 202, 214, 215, 220, 226, 244, 266--268, 285, 312, 320, 334--336, 341, 342, 348, 350, 359, 365, 373, 376, 378--381, 385, 387, 409, 410, 423, 426, 427, 435, 436, 449, 463, 464, 466, 467, 477, 479, 483, 487, 490, 491, 493, 501, 505, 506, 511, 532, 537, 539, 543, 544, 548, 561, 562, 570, 572, 581, 586, 588, 592--596, 598, 600--603, 605, 607, 610,

- 612, 616, 621, 623, 626--628, 632--637, 639--643, 645--647, 650, 653, 658--662, 664--666, 668, 670, 765
- taro** - *hiłoki* (-l)  
 N. taro  
 11, 46, 61, 353, 485, 766
- taro, watu** - *watu* (-gal)  
 N. a type of long red taro with red-stemmed leaves  
 61, 766
- tear** - *hoi* (-gil)  
 N. tears  
 355, 766
- tear down** - *arobia* (e : -me- : -n)  
 VT. to destroy or tear down  
 357, 766
- teenager** - *turega* (-gil)  
 N. a young adult or teenager  
 98, 150, 190, 225, 428, 578, 766
- teeth** - *nia* (inv; -l)  
 N. (i) a tooth; (ii) a leg; (iii) a piece  
 208, 214, 394, 448, 514, 766
- termite** - *hageta* *hageti* (-gil)  
 N. a termite  
 83, 766
- testicle** - *waweti* (sg:-eti, pl:-wil)  
 N. a testicle  
 350, 766
- that** - *wđi* *weidi*  
 SUB. a subordinate clause linker used to overtly link a subordinate clause to the nominal phrase or main clause it relates to  
 81, 91, 93, 139, 158--160, 162, 193, 240, 279, 285, 303, 334, 339, 407, 409, 412, 463, 475, 544, 545, 547, 586--595, 610, 621, 623, 625, 627, 645, 649, 652, 655, 661, 766
- then** - *teipa* *pa*  
 CP1. later, then  
 87, 113, 157, 334, 350, 405, 459, 475--477, 490, 492, 653, 661, 664, 766
- thick** - *mabirka* (-l; -gal)  
 CW. to be thick  
 152, 280, 314, 328, 766
- thief** - *wayial* (sg:-l, pl:-lbia)  
 N. thief  
 256, 547, 766
- thin** - *yowelia* (inv)  
 CW. to be thin  
 152, 280, 766
- thing** - *lolewa* (inv; -gil)  
 N. an unspecified thing or things  
 59, 96, 107, 193, 202, 239, 241, 293, 332, 354, 364, 469, 482, 512, 528, 571, 587, 592, 613, 640, 648, 653--657, 663, 666, 667, 669, 766
- thing** - *mada* (-i)  
 N. an unspecified thing  
 293, 514, 766
- this** - *yot* (-i; -m)  
 DEM. a bound demonstrative root which obligatorily occurs with a morpheme providing information on the distance from the speaker and a gender/ number morpheme  
 30, 42, 55, 87, 88, 94, 95, 104, 107--109, 114--117, 127, 130, 131, 133--135, 137, 139, 142, 147, 150, 154--156, 158, 159, 163, 178, 179, 181, 188, 189, 191--194, 196, 197, 199--204, 206, 208, 209, 212, 214, 221, 222, 225--227, 230--233, 236, 239--241, 243--246, 248, 268, 269, 271--276, 278, 279, 281, 283--285, 289, 290, 292--294, 298, 300--302, 305--307, 309--314, 317--319, 321, 322, 325--329, 331--335, 338, 339, 350, 354, 361, 362, 370--372, 375, 384--391, 393--395, 397, 400, 402, 403, 406, 412--414, 418--421, 423--426, 428, 435, 440,

442, 443, 445, 447--449, 456, 464--467, 469--  
 471, 474, 475, 479, 484, 486--489, 491, 492,  
 495, 497, 502--505, 507, 508, 510, 511, 519,  
 524--526, 528--530, 532, 537, 539, 540, 546--  
 548, 556, 558--562, 567, 568, 570, 571, 573,  
 575, 576, 578, 586--592, 594, 595, 598, 604,  
 606--608, 611, 613, 621--631, 633, 636, 639,  
 640, 644--646, 648, 649, 651--657, 659, 662,  
 663, 665--670, 766  
**thorn** - yiga (-l; -gil)  
 N. a thorn  
 389, 449, 514, 767  
**thump** - gulgul  
 IDEO. to make a thumping noise by hit-  
 ting something hollow  
 41, 475, 767  
**tie** - ieuwua (i : -me- : -n)  
 VT. to tie something  
 111, 361, 445, 767  
**tiptoe** - sleislei  
 IDEO. to step gingerly or carefully  
 67, 124, 177, 195, 196, 402, 767  
**tita cane** - tita (-gil)  
 N. a type of cane with many long thorns  
 that is used to build houses  
 115, 196, 250, 259, 260, 767  
**today** - toyomial (inv)  
 N. indicates a time later in the same day  
 73, 137, 142, 213, 214, 274, 412, 483, 645, 665,  
 767  
**tomorrow** - toyiki (inv)  
 N. tomorrow  
 213, 274, 276, 348, 446, 476, 492--494, 496,  
 533, 611, 767  
**tongs** - lapaki (-gal; -hegal; -l-gal)  
 N. tongs, a piece of bamboo, cane, or other  
 material that has been bent in half to permit  
 moving hot items  
 66, 250, 259, 260, 643, 767  
**tongue** - nalia (-gil; nali)  
 N. tongue  
 276, 427, 767  
**top** - tupi (unknown)  
 N. (i) the top; (ii) to be located at the top  
 73, 98, 114, 221, 228, 230, 299, 318, 323, 324,  
 377, 379, 391, 392, 394, 409, 471, 517, 572,  
 577, 629, 651, 663, 669, 767  
**torch** - yalkua yolkua (unknown)  
 N. a torch or flashlight  
 648, 767  
**traditional skirt** - yogi (inv)  
 N. a type of traditional female clothing  
 worn around the hips  
 82, 92, 767  
**tree** - nebal (-gi)  
 N. a tree; the word is commonly used in  
 the expression nebal tiawai or nebalgi tiawai  
 to refer to a vehicle, the expression nebal  
 yewalti to refer to cocoa, medicine, or any  
 type of fruit or seed, and the expression nebal  
 hare to refer to a book  
 11, 45, 55, 73, 104, 109, 110, 114, 116, 127,  
 135, 138, 143, 149, 154, 156, 159--161, 166,  
 181, 195, 203, 206, 207, 229, 248, 250, 259,  
 271, 273, 274, 284, 285, 317, 318, 322, 324,  
 326, 327, 329, 330, 340, 372, 387--389, 392,  
 395, 399, 406, 407, 409, 422, 423, 443, 456,  
 461, 469, 481, 482, 485, 491, 496, 497, 508,  
 510, 512, 536, 550, 562, 575, 584, 586, 588,  
 590--592, 600, 606, 621--626, 628--631, 647--  
 653, 655, 656, 658, 661--670, 767  
**tree grub** - hanol (sg:-l, pl:-lbia)  
 N. a type of tree grub  
 76, 186, 238, 250, 256, 261, 503, 520, 526, 767

**tree hole - tapo** (-gil)

N. a hole in a tree

131, 245, 252, 274, 326, 593, 767

**tree wallaby - nobi** (-gal)

N. a tree wallaby or tree kangaroo

61, 768

**tree, breadfruit - hiwol** (-i)

N. a type of breadfruit

230, 250, 258, 317, 318, 371, 394, 414, 768

**tree, duar - duar** (-agia)

N. (i) a type of tree with strong wood often used for house posts, (ii) a type of black vine

68, 254, 327, 768

**tree, habrogil - habrogil** (-gal; -hegal)

N. a type of tree with small leaves

262, 768

**tree, halu - halu** (-gal)

N. a type of tree

61, 768

**tree, hapuaki - hapuaki** (-l)

N. a type of tree often found in gardens whose sticks are used to plant bananas

70, 768

**tree, haripei - haripei** (-gil)

N. a type of tree with large round leaves that grows near the river banks. Its leaves are not good for building houses.

322, 768

**tree, hayir - hayir** (-gal; -egal; -hegal)

N. a type of tree with red seeds often used to build houses

97, 252, 261, 262, 322, 768

**tree, hilpote - hilpote** (-gal)

N. a type of tree with red seeds and round leaves

52, 53, 57, 74, 75, 322, 768

**tree, limbum - nagela** (sg:-la, pl:-bia)

N. a limbum palm, the bark of the limbum palm

96, 256, 281, 436, 464, 768

**tree, marmar - marmar** (-gil)

IDEO/N. a type of tree often planted near villages

192, 420, 768

**tree, mawu - mawu** (-gal; -hegal)

N. a type of tree

101, 248, 252, 528, 768

**tree, palpila - palpila** (-megal)

N. a type of tree with very tiny leaves

75, 254, 768

**tree, parka - parka** (-gil; -l)

N. a type of tree with strong-smelling leaves which are often boiled for use dugging singsings

262, 768

**tree, parpar - parpar** (-gil)

IDEO/N. a type of tree

77, 768

**tree, plane - plane** (-ia-l-gi)

N. a type of tree found in old gardens

76, 768

**tree, pirupiru - pirupiru** (-gal)

IDEO/N. a type of large tree found in the bush, often scraped and given to the pigs

77, 768

**tree, porotou - porotou** (-gil; -egal)

N. a type of tree with fruit found in the bush that is similar to the thorn tree

75, 253, 768

**tree, pirmore - pirmore** (-ia-gil)

N. a type of tree that grows along the river and whose fruit is eaten by flying fox

75, 768

|                                                                                       |                                                                                                                        |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>tree, robal</b> - robal (-gil)                                                     | <b>N.</b> a type of tree with red seeds found in the bush                                                              |
| with betel nut or given to animals                                                    | 97, 769                                                                                                                |
| 44, 66, 768                                                                           | <b>trick</b> - sisekia                                                                                                 |
| <b>tree, taguane</b> - taguane (-ia-gil)                                              | <b>IDEO.</b> to lie or pretend                                                                                         |
| <b>N.</b> a type of small tree found in old gardens                                   | 125, 351, 546, 769                                                                                                     |
| 62, 769                                                                               | <b>turn</b> - alolia (e : -me- : -n)                                                                                   |
| <b>tree, tulip</b> - homnugi (sg:-l, pl:-i)                                           | <b>VT.</b> to turn or roll                                                                                             |
| <b>N.</b> (i) a tulip tree; (ii) the leaves of a tulip tree, often eaten as greens    | 357, 478, 528, 624, 652, 769                                                                                           |
| 69, 73, 105, 258, 769                                                                 | <b>turn color</b> - alkual (e : -m- : we-n)                                                                            |
| <b>tree, walmine</b> - walmine (-gal)                                                 | <b>V.</b> to change colors                                                                                             |
| <b>N.</b> a type of tree with small leaves                                            | 147, 499, 769                                                                                                          |
| 75, 769                                                                               | <b>twist</b> - gaperi (e : -m- : a-n, we-n)                                                                            |
| <b>tree, welia</b> - welia (-l; -lgil)                                                | <b>V.</b> to twist or twist off                                                                                        |
| <b>N.</b> a type of tree with small leaves and thorns often used for house posts      | 362, 769                                                                                                               |
| 11, 769                                                                               | <b>twisted</b> - birbiar                                                                                               |
| <b>tree, wild betel nut</b> - bobua buabua (-gil; -hegal)                             | <b>IDEO.</b> to be twisted or crooked in shape                                                                         |
| <b>IDEO/N.</b> wild betel nut that grows in the bush                                  | 124, 769                                                                                                               |
| 11, 63, 84, 229, 769                                                                  | <b>two</b> - wia (fem:-i, masc:-m)                                                                                     |
| <b>tree, wild fig</b> - hobehi (sg:-l, pl:-i)                                         | <b>NUM.</b> two                                                                                                        |
| <b>N.</b> a wild fig tree whose leaves are frequently eaten                           | 93, 137--143, 145, 174, 175, 200--202, 205, 207,                                                                       |
| 258, 388, 769                                                                         | 208, 214, 219, 222, 223, 236, 241, 242, 244,                                                                           |
| <b>tree, wobla</b> - wobla (-megal)                                                   | 245, 264, 271, 274, 276, 278, 279, 286, 287,                                                                           |
| <b>N.</b> (i) a type of tree; (ii) seeds from the same tree                           | 299, 300, 304, 305, 308--310, 312--315, 319,                                                                           |
| 115, 155, 231, 250, 254, 403, 412, 598, 769                                           | 320, 337, 338, 393, 405, 464, 494--496, 503,                                                                           |
| <b>tree, wirima</b> - wirima (-aguei)                                                 | 504, 511, 520, 526, 529, 538, 539, 583, 589,                                                                           |
| <b>N.</b> a type of tree that grows very tall and whose seeds are eaten by flying fox | 600, 625, 632, 637, 639, 664, 665, 769                                                                                 |
| 255, 769                                                                              | <b>two days before</b> - laharria (inv)                                                                                |
| <b>tree, yabanul</b> - yabanul (-gal; -hegal)                                         | <b>N.</b> (i) the day before yesterday; (ii) a recent day in the past that is not necessarily the day before yesterday |
|                                                                                       | 195, 379, 485, 498, 598, 624, 645, 647, 769                                                                            |
|                                                                                       | <b>U</b>                                                                                                               |
|                                                                                       | <b>under</b> - wisebia weisiebia (unknown)                                                                             |
|                                                                                       | <b>N.</b> (i) the underside; (ii) to be located under something                                                        |
|                                                                                       | 73, 323, 325, 327--330, 391, 769                                                                                       |

**until - no**

**SUB.** until

115, 162, 410, 445, 478, 596--598, 643, 654, 664, 670, 769

**upriver - tihewar** (inv)

**N.** upriver

82, 137, 294, 633, 770

**urine - nanuta nonuta** (inv; -gil)

**N.** urine

229, 770

**use - oki** (ie : -m- : -n)

**VT.** to use

41, 56, 83, 108--110, 144, 154, 161, 168, 222, 226, 248, 268, 312, 314, 361, 364, 374, 408, 470, 477, 547, 550, 597, 598, 622, 624--626, 653, 664, 770

**usually - wdi**

**CP.** usually

230, 245, 517, 577, 770

## **V**

**veranda - tiprigal** (inv)

**N.** a veranda

362, 770

**very - laladi**

**DEG.** very, only occurs with *sipeki* and *tiawa*

156, 237, 273, 644, 770

**very - moki**

**DEG.** very

135, 155, 156, 241, 286, 520, 770

**very - nadi**

**DEG.** very

81, 91, 115, 117, 154, 155, 163, 185, 186, 195--198, 201, 209, 212, 242, 248, 307, 311, 328, 330, 335, 361, 382, 403, 408, 474, 501, 525, 526, 529, 571, 594, 595, 611, 614, 621, 622, 624, 644, 770

**village - nogil** (inv)

**N.** a village, town, or place

73, 88, 113, 134, 142, 156, 203, 240, 294, 307, 310, 312, 320, 339, 381, 409, 443, 450, 462, 466, 475, 491, 504, 518, 519, 561, 588, 595, 632, 636, 646, 651, 655, 661--664, 770

**village - tinogil** (inv)

**N.** a village

30, 118, 139, 214, 215, 294, 334, 422, 491, 495, 508, 510, 524, 561, 573, 591, 595, 611, 639--642, 649, 651, 654, 659, 661, 663, 668, 770

**village, kopom - Kopom**

**PN.** the name of a village

101, 770

**village, mai - Mai**

**PN.** the name of a village

203, 598, 770

**village, marikumba - Markebal**

**PN.** the Yeri name for the Marikumba village located to the east of Yeri

101, 240, 546, 634, 635, 770

**village, seigi - Seigi Seigil**

**PN.** the name of a village

412, 635, 636, 770

**village, sibilanga - Splaga**

**PN.** the Yeri name for the Sibilanga village located to the west of Yeri

68, 101, 422, 541, 551, 634, 635, 770

**village, sumil - Sumil**

**PN.** the name of a village to the west of Yeri

318, 333, 533, 543, 576, 632, 633, 770

**village, weiki - Poabi**

**PN.** the Yeri name for the Weiki village located to the west of Yeri

547, 632, 633, 770

- village, wuro** - Nawun  
 PN. the Yeri name for the Wuro village  
 101, 634, 770
- village, yapunda** - Yipuda *Yapuda*  
 PN. an alternate name for the Yeri village  
 57, 88, 101, 248, 771
- village, yolpa** - Poloyolpa *Poyolpa*  
 PN. the Yeri name for the Yolpa village  
 located to the south of Yeri  
 202, 248, 266, 320, 519, 634, 771
- vine** - moi (-gil)  
 N. vine or rope  
 97, 392, 398, 445, 592, 771
- vine, sarapiaka** - sarapiaka (-gil)  
 N. a type of vine  
 74, 771
- vine, yipeta** - yipeta *hipeta* (-gil)  
 N. a type of vine with thorns  
 49--51, 62, 771
- vomit** - olkal (e : -m- : unknown)  
 VI. to vomit  
 110, 342, 385, 431, 771
- vomit** - pikiapikia  
 IDEO. to make the sound associated with  
 vomiting  
 125, 177, 195, 196, 302, 422, 471, 503, 504,  
 771
- W**
- waist** - hiari (inv; -gal)  
 N. the waist of the body  
 70, 771
- wait** - orkemia (e : -m- : -n)  
 V. to wait for someone  
 476, 661, 771
- walk** - eikia (i : -m- : ka-n)  
 VI. to walk  
 110, 113, 154, 309, 342, 374, 384, 401, 460,  
 481, 528, 536, 572, 578, 580, 584, 649--652,  
 655, 664, 771
- walk around** - dihelial (e : -me- : un-  
 known)  
 VI. to wander around aimlessly  
 435, 771
- walking stick** - tuaki (-gal; -hegal)  
 N. a walking stick  
 53, 68, 110, 229, 771
- wall** - padia (-l)  
 N. the wall or side of a building  
 317, 771
- wash** - gakua *garkua* (e : -me- : -ne-)  
 VT. to wash something  
 66, 329, 352, 353, 398, 400, 437, 457, 486, 522,  
 568, 639, 771
- wash self** - garkua (e : -m- : unknown)  
 VI. to bathe  
 138, 538, 658, 771
- waste time** - digoba *digobua* (ie, e : -me-,  
 -ma- : wa-n)  
 VI. to waste time  
 435, 771
- water** - wul (inv)  
 N. any type or body of water such as rain,  
 a river, a lake, or drinking water  
 11, 133, 137, 195, 198, 214, 215, 229, 273, 294,  
 295, 312, 318, 325--327, 333, 349, 363, 365,  
 375, 388, 397, 411, 422, 424, 427, 443, 445,  
 472, 478, 483, 485, 489, 492, 498, 502, 503,  
 509, 521, 522, 570, 579, 589, 592, 616, 617,  
 637, 642, 647, 649, 652, 771
- we** - hebi  
 PF. a pronoun that refers to the speaker  
 and at least one other person  
 80, 104, 105, 114, 137, 138, 140--142, 145--  
 147, 158, 160, 161, 168, 170, 174, 175, 181,

188, 192, 198, 200, 201, 204, 206, 214, 225, 244, 248, 267, 268, 284, 293, 295, 306, 310, 314, 333--335, 340, 347, 349, 365, 377, 378, 383, 386, 395, 396, 399--401, 403, 406, 409, 412, 416, 426, 427, 446, 453, 463, 466, 468, 472, 475, 479, 481, 483, 488, 499, 508, 511, 513, 515, 516, 518, 522--525, 529, 532, 539, 544, 550, 553, 554, 556, 562, 565, 566, 570, 589--591, 598--600, 607, 611, 614, 615, 632, 645, 646, 648--655, 657, 660--669, 771

**wear** - dago (e : -m- : -ne-)  
vt. to tie traditional clothing around the hips  
92, 193, 589, 594, 772

**week** - mineigi *minigi* (inv)  
n. an unspecified period of time that is generally longer than two days and shorter than a month  
138, 159, 213, 214, 308, 338, 550, 561, 772

**wet** - nibisi (inv)  
cw. to be wet  
629, 772

**wewak** - Wiwak  
pn. the capital city of the East Sepik province of Papua New Guinea  
275, 279, 310, 337, 365, 538, 584, 586, 587, 772

**what** - maga (-∅; -n; -i (inanimate); magil (human))  
qw. (i) what; (ii) who; (iii) which  
29, 33, 43, 67, 103, 122, 133, 161, 176, 211, 263, 289, 290, 293, 317, 336, 379, 383, 398, 400--402, 456, 470, 505, 506, 513, 539--549, 561, 562, 604, 605, 607, 608, 639, 641, 646, 655, 660, 664, 772

**what** - mal (inv)  
qw. what  
67, 103, 161, 286, 402, 539--541, 548, 549, 772

**where** - nia *ania* (-∅, -n, -i, -m)  
qw. where  
42, 118, 133, 136, 266, 270, 277, 287--289, 409, 418, 540, 541, 551--557, 561, 562, 646, 647, 649, 660, 662, 772

**whip** - iesebił (i : -me- : a-n)  
v. to whip or slash at something  
370, 374, 772

**white ghost** - hiłka (-gil)  
n. a white ghost or spirit  
141, 200, 772

**who** - magil (*maja* (sg))  
qw. the form of *maja* that is used for more than one human  
398, 463, 540--544, 546, 551, 561, 603, 605, 772

**wife** - hiwora *wora* (-gil; -gi)  
n. wife  
46, 96, 98, 107, 186, 192, 266, 268, 309, 319, 320, 331, 332, 338, 340, 348, 382, 412, 416, 436, 441, 442, 491, 545, 598, 646, 654, 658, 661, 662, 665, 668, 772

**wild** - namiagi (inv)  
n. wild flora or fauna found in the jungle  
294, 472, 772

**wild pitpit** - wagiēti (sg:-eti, pl:-wil)  
n. wild pitpit  
256, 772

**wild.mustard** - hasiwuagi (-l; -gal)  
n. a wild mustard that grows in the bush and is not used with betel nut  
11, 772

**wildlife** - wualeigal (inv)  
n. wildlife, protein (from the collocation of *wual neigal*, literally 'pig cuscus')  
110, 772



- wing - pine** (-i)  
 N. a wing  
 57, 171, 178, 207, 208, 304, 305, 320, 330, 394, 772
- work - helol** (inv)  
 N. (i) work; (ii) year  
 94, 117, 133, 139, 159, 161, 197, 213, 247, 267, 272, 274, 284, 285, 314, 335, 365, 378, 380, 386, 400, 405, 502, 503, 520, 537, 539, 558, 567, 586, 589, 602, 621, 629, 668, 772
- write - nogir** (e : -me-, -m- : -ne-)  
 V. to write  
 115, 350, 372, 456, 457, 773
- Y**
- ya - ya**  
 CP. a particle whose meaning is still unclear; it is frequently used in the expression *hiro ya* to mean ‘not at all’.  
 208, 247, 329, 389, 448, 512, 640, 642, 650, 651, 773
- yam, mame - mame** (-gal; -hegal)  
 N. one of the two major types of yams  
 512, 773
- yam, marpal - marpal** (-gil)  
 N. a type of yam  
 97, 252, 773
- yam, mayi - mayi** (inv; -gal)  
 N. a type of yam  
 84, 115, 243, 273, 283, 284, 482, 528, 612, 773
- yam, parapara - parapara** (-gil)  
 IDEO/N. a type of yam often planted in gardens  
 77, 773
- yam, siweya - siweya** (-gil)  
 N. one of the two major types of yams  
 229, 482, 528, 773
- yam.sago - mamyatı** (inv)  
 N. yam and sago, literally ‘yam sago’ from *mami yatı*  
 657, 773
- yams - wopsilıl** (inv)  
 N. yams, a label used to describe any and all species of yam  
 290, 427, 604, 607, 612, 773
- yellow - worpetı warpetı** (sg:-ti, pl:-wil)  
 N. to be yellow in color  
 155, 185, 186, 507, 582, 773
- yeri - Yeri**  
 PN. the name used by people living in Yapunda village to refer to themselves, their village, and their language  
 101, 142, 156, 203, 310, 365, 410, 443, 466, 504, 508, 519, 626, 773
- yes - awo nawo**  
 CP. yes  
 187, 195, 202, 205, 380, 480, 494, 645, 659, 667, 773
- yesterday - lahabi** (inv)  
 N. yesterday  
 42, 55, 66, 107, 187, 213, 214, 309, 350, 362, 378, 446, 462, 492--494, 534, 543, 557, 588--590, 615, 773
- you - yem**  
 PF. a pronoun that refers to more than one addressee, you (plural)  
 30, 103, 104, 113, 140, 159, 185, 202, 225, 267, 274, 289, 298, 300, 316, 317, 334, 347, 350, 351, 361, 378, 380, 382, 383, 386, 398, 400, 401, 403, 404, 410, 411, 414, 418, 425, 426, 450, 474, 475, 479, 480, 511, 518, 519, 553, 600, 773
- you - ye**  
 PF. a pronoun that refers to only one addressee, you (singular)

42, 55, 56, 61, 80, 88, 94, 104, 109, 126, 136, 580--582, 593, 598, 602, 605, 614, 621--623,  
 142, 145, 151, 155, 159, 175, 176, 185, 193, 625--630, 639, 641, 645, 647, 653, 659--662,  
 198, 201, 212, 242, 244, 268, 275, 288--290, 664, 665, 670, 773  
 302, 306, 308--310, 314--316, 319, 336, 340, **younger brother - wɪnyawi** (inv; woyawi,  
 346--348, 350, 353, 362, 365, 370, 377, 378, yawi, meiyawi)  
 383--385, 389, 394--396, 398, 400, 402, 407, **n.** a younger brother  
 409--411, 414, 421, 425--427, 436, 463--467, 48, 49, 220, 237, 583, 593, 774  
 470--474, 481, 483, 492, 493, 499, 504, 506, **younger sister - wɪyawɪ** (weiyawi)  
 508, 518, 521, 524, 532--534, 536--538, 542, **n.** a younger sister  
 543, 546, 547, 549--556, 559, 562, 566, 577, 220, 261, 774

# Appendix E: Terminology

All major terminology used in the grammar is defined here. Where my use of a term is taken from another linguist, citations are provided following the definition. Where definitions do not include a citation, it can be assumed that my own definition is provided. This is the case for all terminology which is specific to Yeri.

**A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | I | L | M | N | O | P | Q | R | S | T | U | V | W**

## **A**

### **adjective**

a semantic subclass of adnominals.

### **adjective predicate**

an adjective phrase functioning as a predicate.

### **adjunct nominal phrase**

an optional nominal phrase which is not functioning as a subject, core object, applicative object, non-grammatical object, or complement of a prepositional phrase.

### **adnominal**

(i) word class defined by the ability of a member to follow the noun it modifies in the adnominal construction, (ii) a label referring to the use of an element to modify a noun in a nominal phrase.

### **adnominal construction**

a construction which requires adnominals to follow the noun they modify when they co-occur in the same nominal phrase.

### **adnominal predicate**

an adnominal phrase functioning as a predicate.

**adverb**

a word which can function as the sole element of a non-verbal predicate in addition to being able to modify predicates when they occur in one of three positions: (i) clause-initially, (ii) immediately before the predicate they modify, or (iii) clause-finally.

**adverb predicate**

an adverb phrase functioning as a predicate.

**agreement class**

a class of lexical items which display the same possible range of person, gender, or number agreement, although the exact form of the person, gender, or number morphemes that occur may vary by lexical item. There are five agreement classes: (i) the PGN agreement class, (ii) the GN agreement class, (iii) the G agreement class, (iv) the N agreement class, and (v) the I agreement class.

**agreement controller**

“the element which determines the agreement” Corbett (2003).

**agreement target**

“the element whose form is determined by agreement” Corbett (2003).

**alienable possessive construction**

a possessive construction which is expressed by the schema: possessee+third person genitive pronoun+possessor.

**allomorph**

one of a set of forms that realize a morpheme.

**and-verb**

the Yeri verb *ode* ‘and, with’ which can be used to conjoin nominal phrases.

**applicative object**

an object added to a clause by an applicative construction. An applicative object can be indicated by means of a nominal phrase or by a pronominal form.

**apposition**

“a syntactic relation in which an element is juxtaposed to another element of the same kind. Especially between noun phrases that do not have distinct referents” (Matthews 2007: 24).

**asyndetic coordination**

a type of clause coordination whereby clauses are juxtaposed and no overt coordinating particle occurs.

**augment**

a semantically empty morph which immediately precedes an object suffix.

**augmented suffix**

the combination of a lexically specified augment allomorph and an immediately following object suffix.

**B****bare form**

a form of a word or clitic that does not include any predicate morphemes.

**bare pronominal clitic**

a form of a pronominal clitic that does not include any predicate morphemes.

**benefactive object**

an applicative object which refers to someone who benefits from an action.

**C****class 1**

a clause particle which is located in (i) clause-initial position or (ii) preceding the predicate it holds scope over, and can occur only once within a clause.

**class 2**

a clause particle which is located in (i) clause-initial position, (ii) preceding the predicate it holds scope over, or (iii) clause-final position. It can optionally occur twice within the same clause as long as one of those locations is clause-final position.

**class 3**

a clause particle which is located in clause-final position, and can occur only once within a clause.

**classificatory noun**

a noun that refers to a larger class that is placed before a word referring to a specific species or member of that class.

**classificatory noun construction**

a construction whereby a noun that refers to a larger class is placed before a word referring to a specific species or member of that class.

**clause particle**

a word which cannot act as the sole element of a predicate and which can only occur in a restricted set of syntactic positions. These positions include (i) clause-initial position, (ii) immediately preceding the predicate it holds scope over, and (iii) clause-final position. The word class can be divided into subclasses on the basis of exactly which of these three positions a particle can occur in.

**clitic**

any form which shows some range of behavior that makes me wish to distinguish it from completely free unbound words and morphemes on the one hand and tightly bound morphemes on the other hand.

**coda**

“the part of a syllable, if any, that comes after the nucleus” (Matthews 2007: 61).

**conjunct**

“any phrase etc. linked to another by coordination” (Matthews 2007: 72).

**conjunction**

a word which can coordinate nominal phrases or clauses, occurs after a coordinated element, and is optional after the last coordinated element.

**conominal**

a nominal in the same narrow clause that has the same role and reference as an argument index.

**consultant**

anyone who completed linguistic tasks beyond simple letting their speech be recorded. Consultants worked more closely with me to answer my questions regarding the language, often completing tasks like repeating speech slowly, translating previously recorded language data to another language, providing grammaticality judgements, and answering questions regarding the meaning of different utterances.

**controller gender**

“the genders into which nouns are divided” (Corbett 1991: 151).

**copula complement**

a copula word which is obligatory with the verbal copula.

**copula word**

a word which co-occurs with a verbal copula as its complement.

**copula word expression**

a phrase minimally composed of a verbal copula and a copula word, but which can also include a degree word modifier.

**core object**

an object that is required by a transitive verb and is not added by an applicative construction.

**covert gender**

nouns where gender is not indicated by the form of the noun (Corbett 1991).

**D****degree word**

a class of invariant words which follow the element they modify and express a greater degree of intensity.

**demonstrative**

a semantically-defined subclass of adnominal including two roots: *-yot-* and *yaʔa*.

**demonstrative predicate**

a demonstrative functioning as a predicate.

**directional verb**

a verb which expresses the direction in which the movement occurs and which often occurs with an applicative object expressing a location.

**distributive**

“indicating reference to each individual member of a set” (Matthews 2007: 110).

**E****exclamative**

a word which can occur alone to express a speaker’s surprise, pain, excitement, or other noticeable emotional state.

**explicit agreement form**

An agreement form which always provides information about gender and/or number based on its morphological form.

**explicit form**

A form of a noun which always overtly indicates number, semantic or grammatical, on the basis of its morphological form.

**F****focus construction**

a cleft construction used to express focus in Yeri.

**G****G agreement class**

lexical items that can only show some form of gender agreement.

**general agreement form**

An agreement form which can be used without reference to gender or number.

**general form**

A form of a noun which can be used without reference to number (Corbett 2000).

**genitive phrase**

a phrase consisting minimally of a genitive pronoun or the combination of a third person genitive pronoun and a possessor nominal phrase.

**genitive predicate**

a genitive phrase functioning as a predicate.

**genitive pronoun**

a type of adnominal which is composed of a relational clitic which shows gender and number agreement with the possessee followed by a personal pronoun which shows person, gender, and number agreement with the possessor.

**GN adjective**

an adjective which can occur with gender and number morphemes, but not the relational clitic.



**GN agreement class**

lexical items that can only show some form of gender, and number agreement.

**H****harmony high vowel**

one of a set of vowels (/i/, /e/, and /u/) which triggers a low vowel in vowel disharmony contexts

**high vowel**

a vowel (either /i/ or /u/) which has both a vowel allophone and a glide allophone.

**high vowel disharmony**

a process whereby of a set of vowels (/i/, /e/, and /u/) trigger an allomorph containing a low vowel and all other vowels or VV sequences trigger an allomorph containing a harmony high vowel.

**HV+V sequence**

an instance of a high vowel followed by a vowel.

**I****I agreement class**

lexical items that cannot show agreement.

**ideophone**

a word which can occur in a reduplicated form, selects for predicate morphemes that follow the root and do not undergo vowel disharmony, and can occur with the applicative suffix *-ki*.

**ideophone predicate**

an ideophone phrase functioning as a predicate.

**inalienable possessive construction**

a possessive construction which is expressed via juxtaposition with the possessor preceding the possessee.

**index**

a bound person form.

**inflectional class 1**

nouns which suffix one of the plural phonological allomorphs *-gal*, *-gil*, or *-egal*.

**inflectional class 10**

nouns which suffix the singular allomorph *-l* and the plural allomorph *-i*.

**inflectional class 11**

nouns which suffix the singular allomorph *-ti*.

**inflectional class 12**

nouns which suffix the plural allomorph *-i*.

**inflectional class 13**

nouns which suffix the plural allomorph *-ia*.

**inflectional class 14**

nouns which suffix the plural allomorph *-gi*.

**inflectional class 15**

nouns which suffix the plural allomorph *-l* and a plural phonological allomorph *-gal* or *-gil*.

**inflectional class 2**

nouns which suffix the plural allomorph *-hegal*.

**inflectional class 3**

nouns which suffix the plural allomorph *-megal*

**inflectional class 4**

nouns which suffix the plural allomorph *-pegal*.

**inflectional class 5**

nouns which suffix the plural allomorph *-agia*.

**inflectional class 6**

nouns which suffix the plural allomorph *-agwei*.

**inflectional class 7**

nouns which suffix one of the singular phonological allomorphs *-ti*, *-ta*, or *-eti* and the plural allomorph *-wil*.

**inflectional class 8**

nouns which suffix one of the singular phonological allomorphs *-l* or *-la* and the plural phonological allomorphs *-lbia* or *-bia*.

**inflectional class 9**

nouns which suffix the plural allomorph *-l*.

**intransitive verb**

a verb which requires only a subject.

**irrealis vowel**

the vowel(s) in a verb root which express irrealis mood.

**L****lexical allomorph**

one of a set of forms that realize a morpheme, the choice between which is lexically conditioned. Also referred to as lexically conditioned allomorphs.

**locative object**

an applicative object which refers to a location.

**M****middle**

a morpheme that reduces the number of core arguments by one, with the agent being removed and the patient being expressed as the subject. This sense of ‘middle’ can also be referred to as an ‘anticausative’, as is the case in (Haspelmath & Thomas Müller-Bardey 2004).

**mood vowel**

the vowel(s) in a verb root which express either realis or irrealis mood.

**multi-predicate clause**

a clause which includes more than one predicate and whose predicates obligatorily share at least one argument, the same mood, and fall under the scope of the same clause particles.

**N**

**N adjective**

an adjective which can only occur with number morphemes.

**N agreement class**

lexical items that can only show some form of number agreement.)

**nominal phrase**

anything that occurs in the following syntactic locations where a noun, with or without additional modifiers, can occur: subject, core object, applicative object, non-grammatical object, nominal possessor, prepositional complement, and nominal adjunct.

**nominal predicate**

a nominal phrase functioning as a predicate.

**non-grammatical object**

a nominal phrase which might semantically be viewed as an object of a verb, but which cannot be indexed on the verb.

**non-verbal predicate**

a predicate which does not contain a verb.

**non-verbal variant**

a variant of the posture verb construction where the posture verb is omitted (also referred to as the possessive 'have' construction).

**noun**

word class defined by the ability of a member to precede an adnominal that modifies it in the adnominal construction

**numeral**

a semantically-defined subclass of adnominal that indicates precise numbers.

**numeral predicate**

a numeral phrase functioning as a predicate.

**O****object**

the argument represented by a pronominal clitic on non-verbal predicates or by either the second prefix slot for first or second person or by the infix/suffix slot for third person on verbal predicates.

**onset**

“the part of a syllable, if any, that comes before its vowel or nucleus” (Matthews 2007: 276).

**overt gender**

nouns where gender is indicated by the form of the noun (Corbett 1991).

**P****patrilineal**

membership in a group that is determined on the basis of the father’s lineage.

**patrilocal residence**

A social practice whereby a married couple lives with or near the husband’s kin group or clan.

**PEL nominal phrase**

the only obligatory nominal phrase in the non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction, named so because it usually describes the possessee or the entity whose existence or location is being discussed (short for possessee/existential/located nominal phrase).

**personal pronoun**

a subclass of nouns which are distinguished from other nouns in their ability to occur with the relational clitic to create genitive pronouns.

**PGN agreement class**

lexical items that can show some form of person, gender, and number agreement.

**phonological allomorph**

one of a set of forms that realize a morpheme, the choice between which is phonologically conditioned. Also referred to as phonologically conditioned allomorphs.

**pluralia tantum**

a Yeri noun that has only one form which always triggers plural agreement.

**polar question**

a question that is answered by yes or no.

**possessive ‘have’ construction**

an alternative name for the non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction.

**possessor index**

a non-verbal pronominal clitic that cross-references the possessor in the possessive ‘have’ construction.

**posture verb**

a verb which expresses the position or orientation of an entity and which often occurs with an applicative object expressing a location.

**posture verb construction**

a construction involving a posture verb which is used to express location, existence, or predicate possession.

**predicate morpheme**

an imperfective or additive morpheme which can occur on the majority of word classes operating as predicates and whose location is dependent on the word class it occurs on.

**preposition**

a word which cannot serve as the sole element of a predicate and which selects for a following complement nominal phrase.

**pronominal clitic**

a type of bound person form that can index the applicative object of an ideophone or the possessor in the non-verbal variant of the posture verb construction (also known as the possessive ‘have’ construction), but it cannot (i) occur as the first element of the adnominal construction, (ii) be coreferential with all other pronominal form types, or (iii) function as the sole element of a subject NP like pronouns can. Also referred to as a non-verbal pronominal clitic.

**pronominal form**

any pronoun or bound person form, including personal pronouns, pronominal affixes and pronominal clitics.

**pronoun**

a language specific term which is used as part of the labels for ‘personal pronouns’ and ‘genitive pronouns’. When ‘pronoun’ is used on its own without ‘genitive’ or ‘personal’,

it should be understood as an alternative label for personal pronouns. Personal pronouns are categorized as a subclass of nouns.

**proper noun**

a semantic category of nouns which includes the names given to specific people, landmarks, rivers, mountains, areas of land, etc.

**Q**

**quantifier**

a semantically-defined subclass of adnominal that refers to an amount or number of an entity.

**quantifier predicate**

a quantifier phrase functioning as a predicate.

**R**

**realis vowel**

the vowel(s) in a verb root which express realis mood.

**relational clitic**

a /w/ morpheme which occurs as part of Yeri genitive pronouns and Yeri WGN adjectives, as well as a general preposition and a subordinating clause particle in Yeri.

**relational noun**

a semantic category of nouns which are used, either alone or in conjunction with other nouns in a possessive relationship, to express spatial relationships.

**relativizer**

a morpheme which introduces a relative clause.

**S**

**singularia tantum**

a Yeri noun that has only one form which always triggers singular agreement.

**speaker**

anyone able to produce utterances in the language in question, but especially those who permitted their utterances to be recorded.

**stress-affecting form**

forms that are counted as part of a word in the determination of primary lexical stress

**stress-unaffected form**

forms that are not counted as part of a word in the determination of primary lexical stress

**subject**

the single argument of a non-verbal predicate or the the argument indexed by the first prefix slot on a verbal predicate.

**subordinator**

a subordinate clause linker which overtly links a subordinate clause to the nominal phrase or matrix clause it relates to.

**T****tail-head linkage**

“a way to connect clause chains in which the last clause of a chain is partially or completely repeated in the first clause of the next chain” (de Vries 2005: 363).

**target gender**

“the genders which are marked on adjectives, verbs, and so on” (Corbett 1991: 151).

**temporal noun**

a noun which is used to express a temporal meaning.

**transitive verb**

a verb which requires a subject and an object.

**U****unmarked relative clause**

a relative clause that occurs without an overt clause linker to indicate that the clause is modifying a nominal phrase.

**V****V+HV sequence**

an instance of a vowel followed by high vowel.



**VA1**

verbs which belong to the first stem-final vowel alternation class.

**VA2**

verbs which belong to the second stem-final vowel alternation class.

**VA3**

verbs which belong to the third stem-final vowel alternation class.

**verb**

a word that can occur with subject prefixes, mood vowels, and imperfective and additive infixes.

**verbal copula predicate**

a type of intransitive verbal predicate which contains a form of the verbal copula.

**verbal predicate**

a predicate which contains a verb.

**VV sequence**

an instance of a vowel followed by a vowel.

**W****WGN adjective**

an adjective that can occur with a relational clitic as well as gender and number morphemes.

## Appendix F: Data types

### ANS

Answer. This type of data was collected by asking a consultant to provide acceptable answers to a question in the Yeri language. The Yeri question could have been initially offered by the consultant, present in a recording, or prompted by any type of elicitation (e.g. guided elicitation, direct elicitation). This strategy was commonly used to reach a better understanding of a question's meaning. For instance, when asked to use the applicative form of a verb in a sentence (guided elicitation), consultants frequently used the form in a question. To better understand how the meaning of this question differed from the corresponding question where the verb occurred without the applicative morpheme, I would often ask the consultant to give possible answers to these questions.

### CO

Corrections. This type of data was collected whenever a consultant corrected another Yeri utterance. The utterance was often one made by me, a non-native speaker, or a less fluent Yeri speaker. However, sometimes consultants would correct a recorded utterance by another fluent speaker. When this happened, the consultants would often indicate that either (i) there was a speech error in the utterance or (ii) there was another way of phrasing an utterance that they preferred.

### DE

Direct elicitation. This type of data results from my providing a word or simple sentence, typically in English, but sometimes in Tok Pisin, and having the consultant provide a Yeri translation. This type of data collection generally occurred at the beginning of my first trip and served to facilitate quick identification of the most common Yeri morphology, as well as a quick buildup of examples for phonological analysis. It also served as a quick way to collect vocabulary to be added to the dictionary. An attempt was made to restrict generalizations from this data to those which are

phonological or morphological in nature. Sentence elicitation was often influenced by speaker knowledge of English and sometimes resulted in less natural speech. For this reason, directly elicited data was initially used as a foundation for parsing and understanding natural data collected later. Despite this, directly elicited examples are often provided as examples in the grammar for ease of illustration. Textual examples are often quite long and complex and can be difficult to parse. In these cases, directly elicited examples may be provided for illustration, with naturally occurring examples provided afterwards as evidence that parallel examples can be found in natural speech.

## ES

Elicited situation. This type of data is collected by first describing a hypothetical situation to a consultant and then asking what could be said in this context. For example, I might describe a situation where the consultant's wife just used the last of their salt. If a cousin came to the house to ask if the consultant had any salt, how might the consultant respond to his cousin. After I describe a situation, the consultant might provide several possible responses or he might ask additional questions about the situation before the providing possible responses.

## GE

Guided elicitation. This type of data involved my providing a specific word form (or two or three word forms), typically chosen from forms which occurred in recorded natural speech, to a consultant. The consultant would then provide me with one or more Yeri sentences using that word form. For example, in a recorded conversation, I might notice an unusual form like *abero*, a less common form of *ar* 'go'. Later, when working with consultants, I would provide the form *abero*, and they would think of situations where they could use *abero*. Sometimes, I might request they use it in a short utterance. Other times I would request they use it over the course of several utterances. This could sometimes provide me with enough context to better understand the meaning of the word form. It is worth noting that not all consultants were able to do this. However, several consultants who had completed higher levels of education (grade 7 or 8) were able to consistently give data in this way. The advantage to this form of elicitation is that I can avoid possibly 'creating' a new form if the form given is selected from natural speech. Additionally, the resulting Yeri sentences were not directly translated from English or Tok Pisin, and this helped avoid less natural examples or calques which could sometimes be noticed in direct elicitation contexts. Finally, this type of elicitation was sometimes paired with paradigm elicitation or

grammaticality judgements. In the case of paradigm elicitation, the consultant would provide the form as described in the description of paradigm elicitation before then using this form in a sentence. For utterances collected in this way, I indicate both data types and include the provided word form(s) in square brackets afterwards (e.g. PE+GE-[word form(s)]). In the case of grammaticality judgements, several consultants were asked if a word form was good Yeri. If they judged the word form grammatical, they were asked to use it in an utterance. For utterances collected in this way, I indicate both data types and include the provided word form(s) in square brackets afterwards (e.g. GJ+GE-[word form(s)]).

## GJ

Grammaticality judgement. This type of data involved a consultant judging a Yeri utterance. These often resulted in clearly affirmative answers, with the consultant providing several other parallel examples, or clearly negative answers, with the consultant laughing at an ungrammatical example. At times, however, this resulted in the consultant pausing to think and then providing me with a slightly different sentence, one often including a different form of the verb, for example. I have endeavored to only provide examples of clear grammaticality judgements in the grammar, those judgements where speakers had strong opinions as to an utterance's grammaticality. Whenever the consultant indicated uncertainty regarding a grammaticality judgement, I have used a question mark (?) to make transparent this uncertainty. As a general rule, when utterances were judged ungrammatical, speakers would often repeat the bad examples and say either *wilua* 'bad' or *hiro* 'no' to indicate their unacceptability. Finally, at times, consultants would spontaneously provide adjusted examples back to me and indicate that these were better ways to express the meaning. These adjusted examples are classified as corrections.

## MD

Metadata. This type of data includes any data collected about any of the data in this project. It was collected in order to aid myself and others in interpreting the data by helping to establish the context in which the data was collected. Some examples of metadata I collected include: (i) speaker metadata (e.g. name, age, language proficiencies, previous places the speaker lived, etc.), (ii) recording metadata (e.g. date of recording, location of recording, who participated in the recording, what equipment was used to record, what languages are present in the recording, etc.), and (iii) administrative metadata (e.g. has a recording been transcribed? translated? glossed? etc.).

## OS

Offered speech. This type of data was collected whenever a consultant offered an utterance in Yeri without any prompting from me. Any data collected in this way can be assumed to be natural speech.

## P

Pictures. This type of data includes pictures of items and events involved in life within the Yeri village. This includes pictures of the village, the speakers, cultural tools, cultural events, such as marriages or celebrations, as well as pictures of different fauna, flora and objects. Many involve specific items or events that Yeri speakers asked be recorded.

## PE

Paradigm elicitation. This type of data was employed to fill in paradigm gaps, especially those forms which were less frequent in natural data. In these situations, I would provide a Yeri form and a consultant would provide the missing form. For example, number is optionally marked in Yeri and many nouns did not occur in a plural form in the large corpus of natural data recorded. To collect plural forms, I would first give the consultant several examples like *nol/nolmi* ‘bird’, *nebo/neboi* ‘dog’. After speakers recognize the relationship between the forms, I would provide them with a singular form for which I had no plural form, and the consultant would provide the plural. A general effort was made when doing paradigm elicitation to do this with multiple consultants for greater reliability.

## RNS

Recorded natural speech. This type of data involved recording Yeri speech from one or more Yeri speakers at a time, and then translating the recording with the help of a consultant. This includes the bulk of the data collected in this documentation project and can be further classified according to different genres like legends, autobiographies, procedurals, conversations, church oratory, songs, and so on. As a general rule, data collected in this way can be assumed to be completely natural Yeri for the context in which it was collected. At times, when speakers wished to be recorded but were not sure what to talk about, I suggested possible topics (e.g. politics, what did you do yesterday, describe how your daughter got married, etc.). Regardless of topic however,

examples which come from recorded natural speech can be understood to illustrate spontaneous natural language use.

## **RWS**

Recorded written speech. This type of data includes the recording of a consultant reading aloud something previously written, whether it was an untrained written speech or a trained written speech.

## **SE**

Simple example elicitation. This type of data was collected in a way parallel to grammaticality judgements. I would provide a simple Yeri utterance to the consultant, and ask them to repeat the utterance and judge it grammatical or ungrammatical. If it was grammatical, they were then asked to translate the utterance. However, there is one important distinction between simple example elicitation and grammaticality judgements. For simple example elicitation, I only provided utterances that were clearly grammatical. These utterances were collected specifically to serve as less complex examples for various grammatical phenomenon than other recorded examples in the corpus. This collection strategy was used for expediency and all utterances collected in this way can be verified as grammatical by comparing them to utterances collected by more reliable data collection strategies (e.g. recorded natural speech, offered speech, elicited situation, guided elicitation, written texts, etc.). Examples were judged by consultants to serve as an additional precautionary measure against inadvertent grammatical errors introduced by me. However, this precautionary measure is to some extent redundant because almost all of these examples were provided to me at some point previously by a consultant. Frequently, this data collection strategy was used to record useful examples as quickly as possible that were originally collected only via written means.

## **ST**

Stimulus tasks. This type of data includes utterances made in the process of completing a stimulus task. These tasks were designed to prompt certain types of information or types of speech which are not easily elicited and do not frequently occur in spontaneous speech. For example, the consultant might look at a set of pictures and tell a story about them.

## **TWL**

Trained written language. This type of data is similar to the untrained written speech, but specifically refers to those consultants who worked closely with me during this project and used the same orthography I did in my work on Yeri. Consultants chose to write legend stories, autobiographical stories, descriptions of different animals, and other texts. At times after sessions, they would think of relevant examples to help me understand an issue I had questioned them about and write these examples down as well.

## **UWL**

Untrained written language. This type of data comes from speakers who chose to write in the Yeri language. This includes short Yeri utterances printed on signs or written as notes, as well as longer stories. These speakers were literate in Tok Pisin and extended this knowledge spontaneously to the Yeri language. Stories written in this way have been made available in the archive as is, without any spelling adjustments by me.

## Appendix G: Speakers

The Yeri documentation project would not have been possible without the participation, generosity, and hard work of the Yeri speakers. All utterances in the grammar are attributed to the speaker who provided them here. Where village names are known, they are included in parentheses.

**AS** Ansela Nibisan



**LA** Leo (Yitebian) Ainaris  
Primary consultant



**JS** John (Wanesi) Sirio  
Primary consultant



**LN** Linus (Kawun) Hariesi



**KL** Marinus (Kalial)



**PA** Pais Nelden

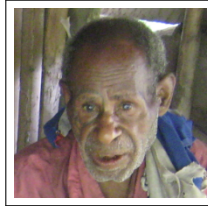




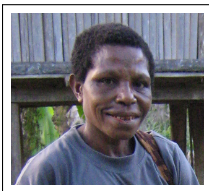
**PM** Peter Muai



**YP** Yakop Muai



**TW** Vero (Tawan) Nibisan



**YW** Josepa (Yigi) Yikaina



**YM** Rosa (Yigi)



# Index

- /ai/ as [ɛi], 93--96
- /mp/ as [ᵐb], 112--113, 435--437
- /oi/ as [ɛi], 96--97, 354--355
- adjective, 129--132, 198--200
  - in nominal phrase, 306--307
- adnominal, 128--129, 197--205
  - adjective, 129
    - GN adjective, 131--132
    - N adjective, 132
    - WGN adjective, 129--131
  - demonstrative, 132
  - genitive pronoun, 145--148
  - numeral, 138--144
  - quantifier, 144--145
- adverb, 154--155, 205, 212--213
- adverb phrase, 212--213
- agreement, 262--294
  - across word classes, 291
  - agreement class, 262--286
    - G agreement class, 278--279
    - GN agreement class, 270--278
    - I agreement class, 285
    - N agreement class, 279--285
    - PGN agreement class, 264--270
- conjunction *nia*, 275--276
- copula word, 280--283
- demonstrative, 274
- genitive pronoun, 265--270
- GN adjective, 273
- ideophone, 277--280
- interrogative word *nia*, 277
- mismatch, 286--287
- N adjective, 283--284
- numeral *ŋa*, 274
- optional, 287
- personal pronoun, 265
- preposition *danua*, 276
- quantifier *peigilia*, 275
- quantifier *sapiten*, 284--285
- subordinator *wɔ̃i*, 285--286
- verb, 264
- WGN adjective, 271--272
- with first and second person referents, 287--289
- allomorph terminology, 33--34
- allophones of /e/, 47--56
- and-verb, 332--335, 568
- applicative object, 170, 172, 380--401
  - applicative suffix, 397--401
  - benefactive object, 394--395, 397
  - locative object, 370--371, 387--389, 445--448
  - with ideophone predicate, 177--178
  - with intransitive verb, 381--394
  - with posture verb, 393--394
  - with transitive verb, 394--397

- approximant, 44--46
- assimilation
  - to /o/, 88--89
  - to high vowels, 55--56
- augment allomorph, 355--359
- augmented suffix
  - with conominal, 406--408
- clan, 7--8
- classificatory noun construction, 321--322
- clause
  - clause types, 183--184
  - coordination, 578--581
    - asyndetic, 578--579
    - conjunction, 579--581
  - linkage, 578--604
  - non-verbal clause, 190--211
  - optional element, 211--216
  - subordination, 581--604
  - verbal clause, 184--190
- clause particle, 157--158, 211--212, 457--497, 561--567
  - ba* 'strong belief', 472--473
  - he* 'continuous', 482--485
  - hiro* 'no', 479--481
  - kua* 'still, first, yet', 477--479
  - ki* 'already', 464--468
  - la* 'assumed truth', 485--486
  - la* 'past', 460--461
  - mai* 'polar question', 486
  - siwei* 'back, again', 476--477
  - ta* 'future', 461--464
  - teipa* 'then, later', 473--475
  - tomal/komal* 'prohibitive', 468--472
  - and temporal nominal phrase, 490--491
  - class 1 particle, 459--475
  - class 2 particle, 475--481
  - class 3 particle, 481--486
  - co-occurrence, 487--490
  - delimiting a clause boundary, 495--497
  - in possessive 'have' construction, 491--495
  - negative, 498--527, 530--531
    - alternative pronunciation with tense particle, 518--521
    - non-negating use, 522--527
    - with predicate morpheme, 444
  - position, 457--459
  - question, 528--530
  - tense, 460--464
- clitic
  - pronominal clitic, 172--175
    - in possessive 'have' construction, 510--511
    - with predicate morpheme, 445--448
  - relational clitic, 148--151
    - with genitive pronoun, 146--148, 314--316
    - with WGN adjective, 129--131
- complement clause, 595--599
- conjunction, 163, 335--337, 533--535, 579--581
- conominal, 401--408
  - interpretation with infix, 405--406
  - location with augmented suffix, 406--408
  - optional object with conominal, 403--405
  - optionality, 401--403
- consonant inventory, 40--41
- consultant role, 13
- controller class, 233--248
- coordination
  - clause, 578--581

- nominal phrase, 329--339, 339
  - agreement, 337--338
  - and-verb, 332--335
  - conjunction, 335--337
  - juxtaposition, 329--332
- copula complement, 170
- copula word, 151--153, 186--187, 503--504
  - in nominal phrase, 305--306
- copula word expression, 151--153, 432--433
- curse, 360--361
- degree word, 155--157
- deletion
  - of /ʉ/, 147--148
  - of /e/, 90--92
  - of /n/, 106--111
  - of /ʉ/, 46
  - of velars, 111--112
  - velar, 429
  - vowel reduction/deletion, 83--84, 92--93, 362--363
- demonstrative, 200--201
  - in nominal phrase, 310--312
- detransitivizing prefix, 369--371
- directional verb, 121--122
  - in multi-predicate clause, 570--571
  - with applicative object, 386--388
- epenthesis, 85--87
- exclamative, 163--164
- existential statement, 391--394, 492--495, 505--511
- expressed desire construction, 598--599
- fricative, 43--44
- gender, 219--233
  - agreement in the plural, 222--224
  - agreement with the numeral 'two', 222--224
  - assignment, 224--233
    - by natural sex, 224--228
    - by semantic principle, 228
  - controller gender, 219--220
  - default gender, 292--294
  - overt and covert gender, 220--221
  - overview, 219--220
  - target gender, 219--220
  - variability
    - with no semantic change, 230--231
    - with semantic change, 231--233
- genealogical classification, 2--4
- genitive pronoun, 203--205
  - adnominal possession, 314--316
  - in alienable possessive construction, 318--320
  - in nominal phrase, 308--309
  - predicate morpheme, 422--424
- grammatical overview, 36--38
- grammatical relation, 166--172
  - non-verbal predicate, 171--172
  - verbal predicate, 166--170
- high vowel, 58--60
- ideophone, 124--128, 196--197
  - with predicate morpheme, 438
- ideophone predicate
  - and pronominal clitic with predicate morpheme, 447--448
- imperative, 378--380
- imperfective, 379--380
- infix, 449--456
  - definition, 449--450
  - infix stacking, 433--437
  - object, 351--355

- with non-human conominal, 405--406
  - object morpheme, 453--456
  - predicate morpheme, 450--453
- inflectional class, 249--260
- interrogative word
  - mal* 'how many', 547--548
  - mal* 'what, who, which', 545--546
  - maga* 'who, what', 538--544
  - nia/ania* 'where', 548--553
  - odinia* 'how, do how', 553--557
  - non-interrogative use, 557--559
- intonation, 523--527, 531--533, 609--614
  - falling intonation, 612--614
  - rising intonation, 610--614
    - in polar question, 531--533
    - semantically connected clause, 610--612
    - topic, 610
  - tail-head linkage, 612--614
- intransitive verb, 121--122, 185--187, 369--371
- irrealis mood, 502--514, 562--564, 569--570
  - and vowel reduction, 92--93, 374--375
  - optionality, 503--504
  - semantics, 375--380
    - complement clause expressing 'want', 380
    - counterfactual statement, 377--378
    - imperative statement, 378--380
    - negation, 375--377
- irrealis vowel, 371--375
- language endangerment, 8--12
- lexical allomorph, 33--34, 356--359
- locative prefix, 294--295
- locative statement, 393--394, 506--511
- locative suffix, 410--412
- marriage, 6--7
- methodology, 12
- middle, 369--371
- modifier, 302--312
- mood
  - realis and irrealis, 340--341, 371--380
- mountain language, 11
- multi-predicate clause, 560--577
  - clause particle scope, 561--567
  - direction, posture, and manner, 575--577
  - negation, 511--514
  - operational definition, 560--561
  - shared argument, 567--568
  - shared mood, 569--570
  - subject prefix omission, 570--571
  - with non-verbal predicate, 574--575
  - with predicate morpheme, 571--573
- nasal, 43
- negation, 207--208, 375--377, 498--527, 562--564
  - in multi-predicate clause, 511--514
  - in non-verbal clause, 499--502
  - in possessive 'have' construction, 506--511
  - in posture verb construction, 504--511
  - in verbal clause, 502--511
  - negative concord, 514--517
  - negative particle
    - non-negating use, 522--527
  - negative particle pronunciation, 518--521
  - with predicate morpheme, 444
- nominal phrase, 190--196, 296--339
  - adjunct, 213--216
  - apposition, 607
  - coordination, 329--339

- distribution across clauses, 605--606
- minimal nominal phrase, 296--301
- modifier order, 302--312
  - adjective, 306--307
  - copula word, 305--306
  - demonstrative, 310--312
  - genitive pronoun, 308--309
  - numeral and quantifier, 307--308
  - overview, 302--304
  - personal pronoun, 304
- temporal, 195--196, 213
- without noun, 312--314
- non-grammatical object, 170, 188--190
- non-verbal predicate
  - adnominal phrase, 197--205
    - adjective phrase, 198--200
    - demonstrative phrase, 200
    - genitive phrase, 203--205
    - numeral phrase, 201--202
    - quantifier phrase, 202
  - adverb phrase, 205
  - ideophone phrase, 196--197
  - in multi-predicate clause, 574--575
  - nominal phrase, 190--196
- noun, 122--124, 217--262
  - morphology overview, 217--218
  - phonological characteristic, 217
- number, 233--262
  - controller class, 233--248
  - general form and explicit form, 233--235
  - inflectional class, 249--260
  - morpheme overview, 249--251
  - pluralia tantum, 246--248
  - singularia tantum, 248
  - suppletion and irregular morphemes, 260--261
  - variability, 261--262
- numeral, 201--202
  - in nominal phrase, 307--308
- object, 166--170, 181--183, 403--405
- object augmented suffix, 355--359
- object prefix, 348--350
- object suffix, 355--359
- orthography, 64
  - representing /e/, 56--57
  - representing high vowels, 60--61
- PEL nominal phrase, 210--211, 459, 491--495, 506--511
- perceived event construction, 595--597
- personal pronoun
  - in nominal phrase, 304
- phonological allomorph, 33--34, 356--359
- phonotactics, 65
  - codas, 69--70
  - in verb root, 340--342
  - onsets, 66--69
  - vowels and VV sequences, 70--72
- plosive, 41--42
- possession, 203--211, 360--361, 394, 445--448, 491--495, 505--511
  - adnominal, 314--321
    - alienable possessive construction, 319--320
    - choice of possessive construction, 320--321
    - genitive pronoun, 314--316
    - inalienable possessive construction, 316--319
  - predicative, 203--211
- possessive 'have' construction, 206--211
  - clause particle, 491--495
  - negation, 506--511

- pronominal clitic with predicate morpheme, 445--448
- possessor index, 208--210, 510--511
- posture verb, 121--122, 369--371
  - selection of, 389--391
  - with applicative object, 389
- posture verb construction, 389--394
  - negation, 504--511
  - non-verbal, 206--211
    - comparison to verbal, 210, 211
    - location of clause particle, 491--495
  - verbal
    - clause particle location, 493--495
    - comparison to non-verbal, 210--211
- posture-arranging verb, 369--371
- predicate morpheme, 413--448, 450--453
  - additive, 418--421
  - and object infix, 433--435
  - and the particle *he* 'continuous', 440--444
  - distribution, 413--415
    - after the root, 438--444
    - before the root, 421--427
    - within the root, 427
  - ideophone, 438
  - imperfective, 416--418
  - imperfective and additive
    - co-occurrence, 435--437
  - in multi-predicate clause, 571--573
  - other word classes, 438--444
  - pronominal clitic, 445--448
  - semantics, 415--421
  - verb, 427--437
    - irregular verb, 431--433
- prenasalization, 41--42
- preposition, 158--163, 216
  - danua*, 161--163, 543--544
  - wɔi*, 158--161, 541--542
- prepositional phrase, 216
- pronominal form, 172--181
  - bound vs. nonbound, 172--175
  - personal pronoun, 123--124, 172--177
  - pronominal affixes, 172--175
  - pronominal clitic, 172--175, 177--180, 208--511
    - with predicate morpheme, 445--448
  - with adnominal, 180--181
  - with detailed nominal phrase in following clause, 608--609
  - with ideophone predicate, 177--178
  - with possessive 'have' construction, 178--180
- pronoun, *see* pronominal form, 123--124
- proper noun, 123--124
- purpose clause, 591
- quantifier, 202
  - in nominal phrase, 307--308
- question, 528--559
  - alternative question, 533--536
  - content question, 536--559
    - malmal* 'how many', 547--548
    - mal* 'what, who, which', 545--546
    - maŋa* 'who, what', 538--544
    - nia/ania* 'where', 548--553
    - odinia* 'how, do how', 553--557
  - overview, 537--538
- polar question, 528--533
  - alternative question strategy, 535--536
  - negative particle, 530--531
  - question particle, 528--530
  - rising intonation, 531--533
- realis mood, 569--570

- realis vowel, 371--375
- reciprocal, 369--371
- reduplication, 113--119
  - complete, 114--115, 124--126
  - in ideophones, 124--128
  - partial, 115--119, 124--126
- referencing active participants, 606--607
- reflexive, 369--371
- relational noun, 123--124, 322--329
- relative clause, 582--591
- reported speech construction, 597
- sociolinguistic information, 5--11
- speaker role, 13
- stem-final vowel alternation, 362
  - by object and predicate morpheme, 365--367
  - by object morpheme, 362--363
  - by predicate morpheme, 363--364
  - comparison of classes, 368
- stress
  - and form types, 78--81
  - and reduplication, 77--78
  - antepenultimate and final, 75--76
  - final, 76--77
  - penultimate, 73--74
  - stress shift, 81--83
- subject, 166--168, 171--172, 181--183
- subject prefix, 345--348
  - omission, 104--106
  - omission in multi-predicate clause, 570--571
- subordination
  - clause, 581--604
- subordinator, 163, 581--595
  - nomal*, 592--593
  - no*, 593--595
  - wɗi*, 582--591
- temporal clause, 591--592
- temporal noun, 123--124
- the focus construction, 599--604
- tier structure in Elan, 23--25
- topic, 608
- transitive verb, 121--122, 187--190, 369--371
- verb, 121--122, 340--412
  - applicative object, 370--371, 380--401
  - applicative suffix, 397--401
  - detransitivizing prefix, 369--371
  - form of *ar* 'go', 408--410
  - locative *-gVl*, 410--412
  - morphology overview, 342--344
  - object infix, 351--355
  - object prefix, 348--350
  - object suffix and augmented suffix, 355--359
  - possessor marking, 360--361
  - predicate morpheme, 427--437
    - allomorphy, 427--431
    - irregular verb, 431--433
  - stem-final vowel alternation, 362
  - subject and object overview, 344--345
  - subject prefix, 345--348
  - third person object overview, 350--351
  - third person object variability, 359--360
- verb root
  - phonological composition, 340--342
- verbal copula, 186--187, 503--504, 522--523
  - predicate morpheme, 432--433
  - with applicative object(, 385
  - with applicative object), 386
- verbal predicate
  - intransitive, 185--187
  - transitive, 187--190



vowel coalescence, 84--85

vowel disharmony, 97--103, 357--359

    with predicate morpheme, 365--367,  
    430--431, 439--440

vowel harmony, 88--89

vowel inventory, 46--47

vowel neutralization, 62--64

WGN adjective

    predicate morpheme, 424--427

word order, 181--183

Yeri corpus, 20--25

Yeri village, 1--2

# Bibliography

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2012. Round women and long men: Shape, size, and the meanings of gender in New Guinea and beyond. *Anthropological Linguistics* 54(1). 33--86.
- Beran, Harry & Barry Craig (eds.). 2005. *Shields of Melanesia*. University of Hawai'i Press.
- Bickel, Balthasar & Johanna Nichols. 2007. Inflectional morphology. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*, 169--240. Cambridge University Press 2nd edn.
- Blevins, Juliette. 2009. Low vowel dissimilation outside of Oceanic: The case of Alamblak. *Oceanic Linguistics* 48(2). 447--483.
- Blust, Robert. 1996. Low vowel dissimilation in Ere. *Oceanic Linguistics* 35(1). 96--112.
- Brown, Lea & Matthew S. Dryer. 2008. The verbs for 'and' in Walman, a Torricelli language of Papua New Guinea. *Language* 84(3). 528--565.
- Conrad, Robert J. & Joshua Lukas. 1995. The assertion of high subjective certainty in Mufian (Papua New Guinea) oral narratives. In Sandra A. Thompson Werner Abraham, T. Givon (ed.), *Discourse grammar and typology*, vol. 27, 103--118. John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Corbett, Greville. 1991. *Gender*. Cambridge University Press.
- Corbett, Greville. 2007. Gender and noun classes. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*, Cambridge University Press 2nd edn.
- Corbett, Greville G. 2000. *Number*. Cambridge University Press.
- Corbett, Greville G. 2003. The role of agreement in natural language (Texas Linguistics Forum 53), 109--122.
- Croft, William. 2001. *Radical Construction Grammar*. Oxford University Press.

- Crowley, Terry. 2002. *Serial verbs in Oceanic: a descriptive typology*. Oxford University Press.
- Dryer, Matthew S. 2007. Clause types. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*, vol. 1, 224--275. Cambridge University Press 2nd edn.
- Foley, William A. 1986. *The Papuan languages of New Guinea*. Cambridge University Press.
- Foley, William A. 1991. *The Yimas language of New Guinea*. Stanford University Press.
- Foley, William A. 2000. The languages of New Guinea. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 29. 357--404.
- Fortune, Reo Franklin. 1977. *Arapesh*, vol. 19. AMS Press.
- Gil, David. 2013. *Distributive numerals*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. <http://wals.info/chapter/53>.
- Hammarström, Harald, Robert Forkel, Martin Haspelmath & Sebastian Bank. 2015. Glottolog 2.4. <http://glottolog.org>.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 1987. Transitivity alternations of the anticausative type. In *Arbeitspapiere, n.f. 4*, Cologne: Institute für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität zu Köln.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 1993. *Causatives and transitivity* (Studies in Language Companion Series 23) Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2013. Argument indexing: A conceptual framework for the syntactic status of bound person forms. In Dik Bakker & Martin Haspelmath (eds.), *Languages across boundaries: Studies in memory of Anna Siewierska*, 197--226. De Gruyter Mouton.
- Haspelmath, Martin & Thomas Müller-Bardey. 2004. Valence change. In Geert Booij, Christian Lehmann, Joachim Mudgan & Stavros Skopeteas (eds.), *Morphology: An international handbook on inflection & word-formation handbook on inflection and word formation*, vol. 17.2 Handbooks of Linguistics and Communication Science, De Gruyter.
- Hemmilä, Ritva & Pirkko Luoma. 1987. Urim grammar. Unpublished manuscript. <http://www.sil.org/pacific/png/abstract.asp?id=52255>.
- Henry, Joan. 2010. Kombio grammar essentials. Unpublished manuscript. <http://www.sil.org/pacific/png/abstract.asp?id=928474543826>.
- Klok, Jozina Vander & Lisa Matthewson. 2015. Distinguishing already from perfect aspect: A case study of Javanese *wis*. *Oceanic Linguistics* 54(1). 172--205.

- Kulick, Don. 1992. *Language shift and cultural reproduction: Socialization, self, and syncretism in a Papua New Guinean village*. Cambridge University Press.
- Laycock, D. C. 1968. Languages of the Lumi subdistrict (West Sepik district), New Guinea. *Oceanic Linguistics* 7(1). 36--66.
- Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons & Charles D. Fennig (eds.). 2013. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International seventeenth edn. <http://www.ethnologue.com/>.
- Lombardi, Linda. 2002. Markedness and the typology of epenthetic vowels. In *Linguistics and phonetics*, .
- Lynch, John. 2003. Low vowel dissimilation in Vanuatu languages. *Oceanic Linguistics* 48(2). 447--483.
- Matthews, P. H. 2007. *Oxford concise dictionary of linguistics*. Oxford University Press.
- Matthewson, Lisa. 2004. On the methodology of semantic fieldwork. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 70(4). 369--415.
- McGregor, Donald E. & Aileen R. McGregor. 1982. *Olo language materials*, vol. 42 Pacific Linguistics Series D. The Australian National University.
- Moravcsik, Edith. 2000. Infixation. In *Morphology: An international handbook on inflection & word-formation*, vol. 17.1 Handbooks of Linguistics and Communication Science, 545--52. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Newell, Heidi C. 2005. *A consideration of feminine default gender*. University of Cincinnati MA thesis.
- Svård, Erik. 2015. *Grammatical gender in New Guinea*. Stockholms Universitet MA thesis.
- Thieberger, Nicholas & Andrea Berez. 2012. *Linguistic data management*. Oxford University Press.
- Ulan, Russell. 1975. Infixes & their origins. In *Linguistic workshop 3*, 156--205.
- de Vries, Lourens. 2005. Towards a typology of tail-head linkage in Papuan languages. *Studies in Language* 29(2). 363--384.
- Wilson, Jennifer. 2014. Infixation after the first syllable: Data from a Papuan language. *Phonology* 31(3).

Wurm, Stephen. 2007. Australasia and the Pacific. In *Encyclopedia of the world's endangered languages*, Routledge.

Yu, Alan C. L. 2007. *A natural history of infixation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.