



HAL
open science

Expressions of directed caused accompanied motion events in Yali

Sonja Riesberg

► **To cite this version:**

Sonja Riesberg. Expressions of directed caused accompanied motion events in Yali. Anna Margetts; Sonja Riesberg; Birgit Hellwig. Caused Accompanied Motion. Bringing and taking events in a cross-linguistic perspective, 134, John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp.369-395, 2022, Typological Studies in Language, 9789027210982. 10.1075/tsl.134.13rie . hal-03700805

HAL Id: hal-03700805

<https://hal.science/hal-03700805v1>

Submitted on 21 Jun 2022

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

Expressions of directed caused accompanied motion events in Yali*

Sonja Riesberg
CNRS-LACITO & Universität zu Köln

Abstract

This chapter investigates expressions of directed caused accompanied motion (directed CAM) events in Yali, a Trans New-Guinea language of West Papua, Indonesia. The most frequent strategy to express these kinds of events in Yali is to build a clause chain consisting of a TAKE verb in the medial-verb slot, and a deictically specific motion verb (‘come’ or ‘go’) as the finite verb. Less frequently, non-deictic motion verbs can occur in the finite verb slot. The chapter also discusses a second construction – here called purpose of motion construction – used to express directed CAM events, and shows how the different directed CAM expressions interact with the Yali system of differential object marking.

Keywords: accompanied motion, caused motion, clause chaining, differential object marking

1 Introduction

This chapter discusses directed caused accompanied motion (CAM) events in Yali (apah1238), a Trans New-Guinea (TNG) language of the Dani family. Yali is spoken by approximately 30.000 people in the mountainous area north-east, east, and south-east of the city of Wamena (West Papua, Indonesia). The Ethnologue lists Pass Valley Yali, Angguruk Yali, and Ninia Yali as three distinct

* I want to express my gratitude to the Volkswagen Foundation for supporting my work in many ways and over a long period of time. The research presented in this chapter was carried out within two DoBeS projects (*Cross-linguistic patterns in the encoding of three-participant events*, 2013-2017, and *Cross-linguistic patterns in the encoding of three-participant events - investigating BRING and TAKE*, 2017-2020). Most data used for this study was collected within the DoBeS project *Documentation Summits in the Central Mountains of Papua* (2012-2016). Further field work (2017-2019) was funded by the Australian Research Council as part of my post-doc position within the ARC *Centre of Excellence for the Dynamics of Language* at the Australian National University. I furthermore gratefully acknowledge financial support from the Collaborative Research Centre 1252 *Prominence in Language* (Project-ID 281511265) funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) at the University of Cologne.

Thanks to two anonymous reviewers, and to Birgit Hellwig and Anna Margetts for helpful comments and suggestions on earlier versions of this chapter.

My very special thanks goes to the Yali people in Apahapsili and Masahangguli who have welcomed me into their families and patiently helped me to learn and understand their language.

languages, belonging to the Ngalik sub-group of the Dani family. The Yali themselves distinguish four different dialectal regions: Abenaho, Apahapsili (which are subsumed under the label ‘Pass Valley’ in the Ethnologue classification), Angguruk, and Ninia.

Yali has no monomorphemic verbs for BRING and TAKE events. The semantic components of directed CAM events discussed in the introductory chapter of this book (i.e., caused motion, accompaniment, (deictic) directedness of motion, and optionally manner of motion and manner of causation) are distributed over various elements within the clause and across clauses. The most common expression of a directed CAM event in Yali consists of a chain of two clauses one of which includes the verb for ‘take’. The use of ‘take’ here denotes what we might want to call a REMOVAL event, i.e., an event in which the agent is by default the endpoint of the caused motion of the theme. This use of ‘take’ has to be distinguished from English *take* denoting a directed CAM event, in which the agent causes the theme to move – and accompanies it – away from the deictic centre (in opposition to *bring*). The Yali clause chain consist of this removal ‘take’ verb in form of a non-inflected medial verb, plus a fully inflected motion verb that expresses deictic or non-deictic directedness. A goal participant can optionally be expressed by a postpositional phrase or a locative noun phrase. If either the theme or the goal is human, e.g., if the event involves an animate recipient, the use of special object verbs is common (though not obligatory). Manner is either expressed by coverbs or can be added by the use of participles and adverbial clauses. Section 2 will introduce some of these general features of Yali grammar, before Section 3 then turns to a more detailed description of how these features are employed in the two most frequent constructions used to express directed CAM events. Sections 4 and 5 discuss expressions of directed CAM events that involve human recipients or human themes, and that specify either manner of causation or manner of motion.

The data discussed in this chapter was collected in the village of Apahapsili and its surrounding hamlets between 2012 and 2019. It consists of a corpus of 05:26:48 hours of natural spoken speech of different genres, including both traditional and stimuli-based narratives and natural conversations and conversational tasks (see Table 1). The corpus is archived in The Language Archive and available under <https://hdl.handle.net/1839/00-0000-0000-0017-EA2F-C> (Riesberg et al., 2012-2016). In all example sentences below, reference is made to the name of the recording, the line (= intonation unit) where the example occurs, and to the genre, abbreviated as in Table 1. The natural and staged data has been complemented by elicited material, which is explicitly marked as such. All frequency statements made in this chapter solely refer to the corpus of natural and staged texts (i.e., no elicited material entered into the counts).

Table 1. Database of Yali natural texts

Text type	Abbreviation	Amount of data
Conversations	C	01:01:51 hours
Conversational tasks	CT	00:44:05 hours
Descriptions	D	00:42:09 hours
Interviews	I	01:05:34 hours
Narratives	N	00:31:36 hours
Explanatory	E	00:30:59 hours
Retellings	R	00:50:34 hours

2 Grammatical Background

In many ways Yali is a ‘typical’ Papuan language, exhibiting many of the features observed in other TNG languages of New Guinea. As in most non-Austronesian languages in the area, unmarked word order is SOV. Yali exhibits complex verbal morphology, a rich tense system, pragmatic agent marking, and makes extensive use of tail-head linkage.

This section gives a brief introduction to those features of the Yali grammar that are employed to express directed caused accompanied motion (CAM) events. It will discuss simple and complex verbal predication, object marking, adverbial modification, and the two syntactic structures most frequently used in directed CAM expressions, i.e., clause chaining and the so-called purpose of motion construction.

2.1 Simple and complex verbal predication

A simple finite verbal predicate obligatorily agrees with its subject in person and number, and inflects for one of six tense categories (remote past, past, immediate past, present (progressive), immediate future, and future), as illustrated in (1). Object agreement is obligatory when the object is human (see Section 2.2), and unlike in example (1) both subject and objects NPs are frequently omitted natural speech.

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

Simple INDEPENDENT VERBS like *na* ‘eat’ in (1), where tense and agreement marking attaches directly to the verb root, however, are comparatively rare in Yali and only make up roughly one third of the verbal lexicon. The other two third consist of so called COVERBS. Coverbs are non-inflecting, bare roots that cannot predicate on their own but have to collocate with semantically generic verbs, called LIGHT VERBS here, which take all necessary inflection. There is thus a rather strict division of labour between the coverb and the light verb: the former carries (most of) the semantic content, the latter the grammatical information. Some coverbs can collocate with two or three different light verbs, sometimes with and sometime without any notable difference in meaning. Others occur in fixed collocations with one specific light verb only. The data in (2) exemplifies the use of the coverb *hurug* ‘sink’, that can collocate with two light verbs, *la-* ‘go’ and *u-* ‘say’, yielding the reading ‘swim’ and ‘set’, respectively.

- (2) a. *Delin ik hurug larukon awan*
Delin ik hurug la-tuk=on awan
 PN water **sink** **go-PROG=AM** not.yet
 ‘Delin is not able to swim, yet’ (complex_sentences 004 – elicited)
- b. *mo hubula fil hurug uruk*
mo hubula fil hurug u-tuk
 sun west direction **sink** **say-PROG**
 ‘the sun sets in the West’ (lexex_hurug – elicited)

The 11 light verbs that productively occur in coverb constructions (CVCs)¹ are listed in (3).

- (3) *su-* ‘do’ *laha-* ‘go up’ *wa-* ‘take’
u- ‘say’ *ambu-* ‘go down’ *ha-* ‘perceive’
la- ‘go’ *at-* ‘become’ *pal-* ‘cut’
waha- ‘come’ *wat-* ‘hit’ *yat-* ‘plant’

Yali exhibits a number of other types of complex predicates and multi-verb constructions. In addition to complex predicates with object verbs (Section 2.2), directedness and purpose of motion constructions (2.3) and clause chains (2.4), progressive forms are the most frequent instances of multi-verb constructions. While the third person present (progressive) is strictly speaking unmarked for

¹ There are three more verbs in the corpus that occur as light verbs in what might be considered a CVC. However, for each of them there is only a single token. It is thus not possible whether we are really dealing with coverb constructions in the strict sense.

person and number (cf., e.g., example 2), all other progressive forms are built by marking the (independent) verb stem with the progressive marker *-tuk* ‘PROG’ and adding the inflected form of the verb (*wi*)*lat-* ‘stay’, as illustrated in (4).

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

2.2 *Oblique objects and object marking*

Direct objects occur in second position in unmarked word order and are not further marked (see example (1) above). If a goal argument is overtly expressed, it is usually marked by the locative clitic =*mu*, as in (5a) below. Less frequently, goal arguments can also be followed by the spatial noun *mbeg*. Spatial nouns are nouns that are obligatorily possessed, i.e., they are obligatorily prefixed with a genitive prefix, and express directionality. In (5b), *ambeg* literally translates as ‘his/her/its place’. In this context, however, it signals directionality to or towards a third person participant. SOURCE arguments are marked by the ablative clitic =*en*, which is also homophonous with the pragmatic agent marker and the marker for body part instruments (cf. Riesberg, 2018).

- (5) a. *yabukmu* *lahasareg...*
yabuk=mu *la-ehesa-teg*
 garden=LOC go-3p.IM.PST-SS.PRIOR
 ‘after they went to the garden...’ (R pear_story_Edo 016)
- b. *sahowon* *ambeg* *laruk* *eleg*
saho=on ***a-mbeg*** *la-tuk* *eleg*
 blue=AM **3s.GEN-place** go-PROG NEG
 ‘it doesn’t go to the blue one’ (D ECOM_sr_KW 086)
- c. *ik* *ambut* *filen* *lahik* *waharuk*
ik *ambut* *fil=en* *laha-ik* *waha-tuk*
 river lower.course direction=ABL go.up-DIR come-PROG
 ‘he is coming up from the lower course of the river’
 (R pear_story_Edo 043)

Caused accompanied motion away from a source is rarely expressed overtly in Yali. In the few cases where the source is expressed, it always occurs outside of the verb complex, usually preceding it. As there are only four instances of

directed CAM events with overt source expressions in the corpus, this chapter will not further discuss the behaviour of sources (but see (17a), (21b), and (24a) for examples).

If an object is human, either expressing a recipient/beneficent or a theme argument, it is usually cross-referenced within the verb complex with the help of a so-called object stem.² The object stem either follows the independent verb root or the coverb. In the case of coverb constructions, the object stem replaces the light verb. Yali has three distinct object stem paradigms (simply called A, B, and C here) which mark person and number, and to a certain extent also the semantic role of the participant in object function: forms of the A paradigm usually mark themes, while forms of the B paradigms mark benefactives or recipients. Referents marked by forms of the C paradigm are often less affected than the ones marked by the A paradigm and often involve stimuli of experiencer verbs or the addressee of verbs of saying. Note, however, that these generalizations are tendencies only and exceptions are frequent. There are four verbs in Yali that take a special suppletive object stem when occurring with human recipient/beneficent or theme arguments. These verbs are *wa-/og* ‘take, give’, *wat-/su-* ‘kill, hit’, *embe-/umbaha-* ‘put, leave’, and *eset-/isag* ‘cook’.

Table 2. Object stems

	A	B	C
1SG	<i>nap-</i>	<i>nut-</i>	<i>niya-</i>
2SG	<i>hap-</i>	<i>hut-</i>	<i>hiya-</i>
3SG	--	<i>ut-</i>	<i>ha-</i>
1PL	<i>ninap-</i>		<i>nisa-</i>
2PL	<i>hinap-</i>		<i>hisa-</i>
3PL	<i>inap-</i>		<i>isa-</i>

The data in (6) illustrates nicely how two different object verbs change the interpretation of the object argument: In (6a), the object verb of paradigm B marks the object as a benefactive, while in (6b) the object verb of paradigm A enforces an interpretation of the object as patient. In both cases the suppletive object stem *isag* ‘cook’ has to be used. In (6c), by contrast, the patient is non-

² There are three independent verbs (*wat-* ‘to hit/kill’, *embe-* ‘to put/leave’, and *na-* ‘to eat’) that mark their objects by genitive prefixes instead of using object verb stems. This is not of further importance here but see example (17b) in Section 3.3 below, where the suppletive object stem *umbaha-* of the verb *embe-* carries the first person genitive prefix to mark the theme argument.

human. Therefore the ‘ordinary’ stem *eset-* ‘cook’ is used and no special object marking is required (or in fact possible).

- (6) a. *amloho itno isag utuk eneg*
amloho itno isag ut-tuk eneg
 3s.POSS:son DET **cook** **3s.OBJ:B-PROG** afterwards
enegte
eneg=te
 afterwards=TOP
 ‘she cooked for her son, then...’ (N suit_13 169)
- b. *isag hinabul*
isag hinap-ul
cook **2p.OBJ:A-1p.IM.FUT**
 ‘we will cook you’ (E 1st_initiation 267)
- c. *bapaen eyug warisimu esetukuk*
bapa=en eyug wa-tisi=mu eset-tukuk
 father=AGT leg take-3s.PST=DS.PRIOR **cook-1p.PST**
 ‘he bought the leg (of a wild boar) and we cooked it’
 (C conversation_1 354)

The two examples in (7) are two ways to express the same event (i.e., baking sweet potatoes for someone) and illustrate that human beneficiary arguments do not necessarily have to be realized by means of an object verb (as in 7a). They can also be marked by the postposition *fahet*, as illustrated in (7b).

- (7) a. *suburu wirag nitnihin*
suburu wirat nut-nihin
 sweet.potato bake **1s.OBJ:B-2s.IM.FUT**
 ‘bake me sweet potatoes’ (Zöllner & Zöllner, 2021, p. 280)
- b. *iren suburu nit fahet wiratusa*
it=en suburu nit fahet wirat-tusa
 3p=AGT sweet.potato **1p** **for** bake-3p.PST
 ‘they baked sweet potatoes for us’ (lexex_wirat – elicited)

2.3 Directedness and purpose of motion

The marker *-ik* combines two verbs, V1-*ik*+V2, the second of which always has to be a verb of motion. Only the second verb carries tense and agreement marking

and the two verbs always have the same subject referent. The interpretation of this construction depends on the context. If only the second, but not the first verb is a motion verb, it expresses a purposive relation between the event denoted by V1 and the motion event denoted by V2. If both the second and the first verb are motion verbs, or if the first verb denotes an event which entails movement towards a location, V2 marks directedness of motion. Consider the following three examples:

- (8) a. *Kriste nohik kehek*
Kris=te noho-ik ku-ehek
 Kris=TOP sleep-**DIR** enter-3s.IM.PST
 ‘Kris went inside to sleep’ (C women_chat_1 330)
- b. *sabu fam pugteferuk lit embik lahakek*
sabu fam pug-te-fe-tuk lit embe-ik laha-ehek
 string with tie-SF-CAUS-PROG CONJ **put-*DIR*** **go.up-3s.IM.PST**
 ‘he fastened it (the basket) with a rope and put it up (on the bike)’
 (R pear_story_Edo 084)
- c. *Tepmi ambiyangmen lahik watug...*
Tepmi ambiyang=en laha-ik waha-tug
 Tepmi top=ABL **go.up-*DIR*** **come-SEQ**
 ‘you come up from the top of Mt. Tepmi...’
 (I interview_IP_Ware 0369)

Example (8a) illustrated the purposive use of this construction, i.e., the entering takes place for the purpose of sleeping. If both verbs are motion verbs, like in (8c), the only two verbs that can occur in the V2 slot are *waha-* ‘to come’ or *la-* ‘to go’, denoting movement towards or away from the deictic centre. It is conceivable that diachronically the direction of motion reading in (8b) originated in the purposive use of *-ik*. I.e., ‘going up in order to put sth.’ effectively results in ‘putting sth. up’. Synchronically, however, the two verbal elements in (8b) and (8c) seem to predicate as a unit with their arguments being mapped onto a monoclausal syntactic structure. Crucially, and unlike in (8a), the motion denoted by V2 modifies the event denoted by V1. For a transitive event such (8b) this means that rather than the subject, only the object referent is moving in the given, here upward, direction. In this, it is clearly different from the purposive reading, in which the subject referent would first move upwards, then performing the putting event.

Directedness and purpose of motion can be combined, resulting in a string of three verbs, V1-*ik*+V2-*ik*+V3, in which V2 and V3 together denote the direction of motion and V1 denotes the purpose. See (9) for an example.³

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

As we will see in Section 3.3 it is the purposive reading of this construction (as illustrated in 8a and 9) that can be employed to express directed CAM events in Yali.

2.4 Clause chaining and medial verbs

As mentioned in the beginning of this section, Yali is a SOV language with the finite verb occurring in sentence final position. Like many verb final languages, Yali exhibits clause chaining, a phenomenon in which several clauses are ‘chained’ together, only the final one of which containing a fully inflected verb. Being the only clause in the chain with a finite verb, this final clause is usually considered an independent clause, all preceding clauses being dependent. The verbs in the dependent clauses, often called medial verbs, are marked by a suffix which indicates the relation between the clauses, but otherwise lack the obligatory verbal inflection (i.e., subject agreement and tense marking).

The Yali example below consists of six such dependent clauses, plus the independent clause in the final position of the chain. The dependent clauses all contain a medial verb which is not inflected for tense and subject agreement, but instead is marked by the dependent marker *-tug*. This marker signals the sequentiality of events in the chain. The TAM and agreement features of the final, finite verb are transmitted to the medial verb(s).

- (10) i. *e saloma wak lalug*
e saloma wa-ik la-tug
 wood k.o.tree take-DIR **go-SEQ**

³ There are no examples in the corpus that involve more than two *-ik* marked verbs in a row.

Expressions of directed CAM events in Yali

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

men got up, (vii) and they discussed the “pig talk” (= taboo term for *initiation*)’ (E 1st_initiation 047-058)

In procedural descriptions similar to the one in example (10), one will often find longer chains. Short chains, only consisting of the independent clause plus one dependent clause, are, however, also very common. Furthermore, the dependent marker *-tug* can also be used in a similar function to the directed motion marker *-ik* discussed in Section 2.3. That is, in a V1-*tug*+V2 string, the second verb is often a verb of motion that indicates the directedness (either deictic or non-deictic) of the event. Thus, for example, *hilalug amburuk* ‘take:SB-SEQ go.down-PROG’ translates as ‘take sth. down (for oneself)’. As will be shown in the next section, this is by far the most frequent strategy to express bringing and taking events in Yali.

3 Basic expressions of directed CAM events in Yali

It has been repeatedly mentioned in the literature that Papuan languages have a tendency to distribute information over several grammatical units, which in other languages might be packed into a single verb or a single clause (see, e.g., de Vries, 2005; Heeschen, 1998; Pawley, 1993; but also Hellwig, this volume). Yali is no exception to this rule of thumb and it thus does not come as a surprise that, as mentioned in the introduction, Yali does not have monomorphemic verbs (like English ‘bring’ and ‘take’) to express caused accompanied motion events in a direction. Instead, the semantic components that define directed CAM events are expressed by different grammatical elements, often verbs, that are distributed over two (or more) clauses. By far the most frequent strategy to express directed CAM events is to use clause chaining, as introduced in Section 2.4 above and illustrated in the following two examples.

- (11) a. *at wam walug waha*
at wam wa-tug waha
 3s pig take-SEQ come:3s.IM.PST
 ‘he brought the pig here’ (bring_take 05 – elicited)
- b. *at wam walug laha*
at wam wa-tug laha
 3s pig take-SEQ go:3s.IM.PST
 ‘he took the pig there’ (bring_take 05 – elicited)

The two examples in (11) illustrate the simplest way of expressing ‘bringing’ and ‘taking’ events in Yali. They consist of a clause chain made up of the medial verb form of *wa-* ‘take’, and either *waha-* ‘to come’, or *la-* ‘to go’ in the final verb slot, denoting movement towards or away from the deictic centre. While it is well possible that *la-* ‘go’ is in fact deictically neutral, in directed CAM clause chaining its opposition to *waha-* ‘come’ always evokes a reading of accompanied motion away from the deictic centre. There are no examples in the corpus in which a directed CAM clause chain with *la-* ‘go’ in final position could be interpreted as motion towards the deictic centre. In addition to ‘come’ and ‘go’, non-deictic verbs of motion can occur in the final verb slot expressing the component of ‘movement in a direction’. These are the independent verbs *laha-* ‘go up’, *ambu-* ‘go down’, and *ku-* ‘enter, go inside’, and the coverb collocation *wilip at-* ‘go out’. For these predicates, it depends on the context whether the motion is to be interpreted as towards or away from the deictic centre. 75% of all directed CAM clause chains use a deictic verb of motion (i.e., *la-* ‘go’ = 40%, and *waha-* ‘come’ = 35%).

The great majority, i.e., 91%, of all instances of directed CAM expression use the verb *wa-* ‘take’ as the lexical core (including both clause chaining construction and purpose of motion constructions), as illustrated in the two previous examples in (11). Section 3.1 therefore first takes a closer look at the semantics of this verb. Section 3.2 then describes in more detail; how directed CAM events are expressed in clause chaining constructions. Section 3.3 turns to the second most widespread construction employed for expressing directed CAM events, i.e., the purpose of motion construction introduced in 2.3.

3.1 The basic meaning of *wa-*

The verb *wa-* has two basic senses that can be glossed as ‘take’ (in its REMOVE sense as explained in the introduction) and ‘carry’ and which are sometimes hard to distinguish. The ‘take’ reading is by far the most frequent one. Typical examples of both senses are given in (12).

- (12) a. TAKE
- | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|
| <i>eke</i> | <i>mondog</i> | <i>obog</i> | <i>toho</i> | <i>heyen</i> |
| <i>eke</i> | <i>mondog</i> | <i>obog</i> | <i>tu-oho</i> | <i>he=en</i> |
| and | just | all | do-ADV.PART | woman=AGT |
| <i>heyen</i> | <i>waruk</i> | <i>eleg</i> | | |
| <i>he=en</i> | <i>wa-tuk</i> | <i>eleg</i> | | |
| woman=AGT | take-PROG | NEG | | |
- ‘and don’t just take them all, woman’ (C kitchen_chat_4 008)

- b. CARRY
hiyaben malik toron fani roho
hiyap=en malik tot=on fani tu-oho
 woman=AGT child small=AM put.into.net do-ADV.PART
waruk
wa-tuk
 carry-PROG
 ‘the women carry their little children in a net’ (Zöllner & Zöllner, 2021, p. 84f.)

In example (12a), two women are preparing greens for cooking and it is clear from the contexts that in this case *wa-* does not denote cause accompanied motion but rather a REMOVAL event, in which the agent is the endpoint of the caused motion of the theme, but does not herself move along with it. Example (12b), on the other hand, denotes a caused accompanied motion event (which includes manner of causation), though not a directed one. That is, the women clearly move along while carrying their children, but no movement towards a goal or from a source is specified. The verb has a number of different contextual readings in addition to the more basic ones. The most frequent one is ‘buy’, i.e., taking and giving money in return, but *wa-* can also be used for ‘record’, i.e., taking a video or a picture, non-volitional ‘obtain’, i.e., getting something without the (volitional) impact of the agent, or be sick, i.e., to ‘carry a disease’.

In addition to frequency – as stated above, ‘take’ is the most frequent meaning of *wa-* as an independent verb – the reason for choosing the gloss ‘take’ rather than ‘carry’ in (11) and all following examples is twofold: First, the BRING and TAKE events denoted in these examples do not imply any manner of causation. That is, the pigs in (11) are clearly not being carried, they are simply brought or taken along. The manner neutral gloss ‘take’ thus seems more appropriate. Second, as seen in the longer chain in example (10), the marker *-tuk* denotes the temporal sequentiality of the events in the chain. While the meaning component of sequentiality is probably bleached in its synchronic use in CAM clause chains (see Section 3.2), it seems conceivable that this has been the origin of the construction. The examples in (11) literally translate as ‘take and (then) come/go’. This kind of transliteration would not be available for ‘carry’, as the carrying event and the motion event would have to take place simultaneously. As we shall see in Section 3.3, the choice for using ‘take’ as the gloss for *wa-* in CAM expressions is further supported by its use in the purpose of motion construction.

3.2 Directed CAM events expressed in clause chaining constructions

We have seen two first examples of a basic directed CAM clause chain in (11), consisting of the medial verb *walug* (*wa-tug* ‘take-SEQ’) and one of the two deictic motion verbs, *waha-* ‘come’ or *la-* ‘go’, in the final verb slot. However, as the examples in (13) show, deixis does not have to be expressed in basic directed CAM clause chains – the final verb slot can also be filled by a non-deictic but path-encoding verb of motion, here illustrated with *laha-* ‘go up’, and *ku-* ‘enter’. Whether the respective event is to be interpreted as a bringing or a taking event then depends on the context.

- (13) a. *yu, sum angge nenhen toho walug*
yu sum angge nenhen tu-oho wa-tug
 yes netbag CLASS many do-ADV.PART take-SEQ
laharuk lapag
***laha-tuk** lat-pag*
go.up-PROG stay-3.REM.PST
 ‘yes, he was bringing/taking up a lot of goods’
 (N land_slide_ayabiye 068)
- b. *itno walug kuruk lapag ari*
*itno wa-tug **ku-tuk** lat-pag ari*
 DET take-SEQ **enter-PROG** stay-3.REM.PST DEM
 ‘they were bringing/taking it inside’ (E 1st_initiation 255)

As for the choice of the medial verb, there is hardly any variation: in 97% of all cases (151 out of 156), the medial verb in a directed CAM clause chain is *wa-* ‘take’. This is particularly striking when compared to the purpose of motion construction (see Section 3.3), where only 63% of the instances are construed with *wa-* ‘take’ and as much as 37% involve a different lexical core (compare also Tables 3 & 4 and the discussion in Section 6 for the differences between CAM clause chaining and CAM purpose of motion). There are only four instances of directed CAM clause chains in the corpus that do not use *wa-* as their lexical core. All of them use the coverb collocation of *ha su-* ‘carry’ instead.

- (14) *malik toron itno (...)*
malik tot=on itno
 child small=AM DET

<i>e</i>	<i>anggen</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>sulug</i>	<i>larukmen</i>	<i>watsehek</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>anggen</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>su-tug</i>	<i>la-tuk-men</i>	<i>wat-ehek</i>
tree	fruit	carry	do-SEQ	go-PROG-CONJ	fall-3s.IM.PST

‘the little child (...) it took away the fruits and fell down’
(R pear_story_Sep 070)

Goal arguments can be added to the directed CAM clause chaining constructions, either occurring before the final verb, as in (15a), or preposed to the whole chain, as in (15b).

- (15) a. *asumbulal* *wirako* [*walug* *owikmu* *itno*
a-sumbulal *wirat-ko* *wa-tug* ***owik=mu*** ***itno***
 3s.GEN-pig.fat bake-ADV.PART take-SEQ **cave=LOC** **DET**
libag]
la-ibag
 go-3.REM.PST
 ‘they took the baked pig fat to the cave’ (N man_and_pig 198)
- b. *owikmu* *itno* [*walug* *libareg*] ...
owik=mu ***itno*** *wa-tug* *la-ibag-teg*
cave=LOC **DET** take-SEQ go-3.REM.PST-SS.PRIOR
 ‘after they took it to the cave...’ (N man_and_pig 200)

The data in (15) are two consecutive clauses in a story.⁴ They constitute a nice example of tail-head linkage, where parts of the first sentence in (15a) are taken up again in the second sentence in (15b), in turn making up the first part of the next sentence. It is conceivable, that the directed CAM event in (15a), where the locative argument intervenes between the medial verb and the final verb, is construed less tightly than in (15b), where the locative event has scope over both medial and final verb. That is, the former literally translates as ‘they took the baked pig fat and went to the cave’, and the latter as ‘they took it to the cave’. Yet, the fact that the speaker is using a tail-head linkage structure here can be taken as evidence that both sentences are referring to one and the same event. Structures like (15a), in which the goal intervenes between *wa-* ‘take’ and the motion verb, are rare in directed CAM clause chaining constructions. It only occurs in four out of 14 instances in the corpus, where a goal participant is expressed. In all other instances of directed CAM clause chaining, the medial verb *wa-* ‘take’ and the final motion verb stand in immediate juxtaposition. We

⁴ There is one intonation unit between the two example sentences in (14), but this only consists of a meta comment by the speaker, saying ‘I am not telling this in detail’.

have seen that this is not the case in ‘ordinary’ clause chaining constructions, such as the one illustrated in (10), where lots of lexical material, and in fact several clauses can occur between the (first) medial verb and the final verb. The tight juxtaposed position in CAM clause chaining can be taken as evidence that these expressions are possibly on their way to becoming lexicalized. Three further observations support this analysis. First, as just mentioned, in CAM clause chains the first verb slot is basically restricted to one verb, i.e., *wa-* ‘take’. Second, a similar restriction holds for the clause linking element: directed CAM clause chains always use the sequential marker *-tug*, rather than any other linking element (e.g., *lit* ‘while’, see Section 3.1). And finally, in CAM clause chaining, negation always has scope over the two verbs and can never occur between *wa-* and the motion verb, as illustrated in (16).

- (16) a. *at wam walug waha fug*
at wam wa-tug waha fug
 3s pig take-SEQ come:3s.IM.PST NEG
 ‘he didn’t bring the pig’ (bring_take 005 – elicited)
- b. **at wam walug fug waha*
at wam wa-tug fug waha
 3s pig take-SEQ NEG come:3s.IM.PST
 for: ‘he didn’t bring the pig’ (bring_take 005 – elicited)

Thus, with respect to negation, the two elements of the CAM ‘clause’ chain do no longer behave like two separate clauses, but rather like a complex predicate with a monoclausal syntactic structure (cf. Bohnemeyer et al., 2007). However, examples with an intervening goal expression, like (15a), show that the lexicalization process is not completed yet.

3.3 Directed CAM events expressed by purpose of motion constructions

The second-most wide-spread strategy to express directed CAM events is by means of the purpose of motion construction (see Section 2.3). Consider the following two examples:

- (17) a. *tu fikirente sak wak lag o*
tu fikit=en=te sak wa-ik lag o
 DET direction=ABL=TOP pandanus take-DIR go:2s.IMP DMV

ulug ibag
ulug ibag
 SAY say:3.REM.PST
 ‘they asked him to bring pandanus from that area’
 lit: ‘they asked him to go in order to get pandanus from the area’
 (N land_slide_ayabiye 015)

- b. *he ari Pongen*
he ari Pong=en
 woman DEM Pong=ACT
wak ambik waha-uk sibagma
wa-ik ambu-ik waha-tuk sa-ibag=mu
 take-DIR go.down-DIR come-PROG do:SB-3.REM.PST=DS.PRIOR
 ‘(whether) the woman was taken away by the Pong people’
 lit: ‘(whether) the Pong people came down in order to take the
 woman’ (I interview_IP_Ware 443)

Literally, these two examples translate as ‘go/come in order to take’.⁵ Both examples include a directed motion verb, but unlike in the clause chaining CAM construction, this motion verb does not involve *accompanied* motion. Rather, the motion verb in the purpose of motion construction denotes motion from one location towards the THEME, which is situated at another location, and then back again to the original location. Only the last component of this complex motion event includes accompanied motion, but the accompaniment remains unexpressed and is only implied by the context.

So, *la-* ‘go’, which in the clause chaining construction denotes accompanied motion *away* from the deictic centre, in (17a) denotes motion towards the theme, which is located somewhere distant from the deictic centre. The accompanied motion is only implied, and takes place back *towards* the deictic centre, after the theme has been obtained. The opposite holds for *waha-* ‘come’ in (17b). Again, it denotes motion towards the theme, but this time the theme is located with, or close to, the deictic centre. And again, the accompanied motion is only implied, and now is directed away from the deictic centre. Thus, while clause chaining constructions expressing directed CAM events in Yali code directedness towards the final goal, the two purpose of motion construction examples in (17) code directedness towards the theme, before the theme is obtained and moved. Here, the *accompanied* motion goes opposite to the direction encoded by the motion verb used in the construction.

⁵ It is clear from the context that the Pong people did not just come, take the woman, and stay, but rather that they left again, taking the woman with them.

However, the interpretation of accompanied motion opposite to the direction encoded by the motion verb is not *per se* enforced by the purpose of motion constructions. As the following two examples illustrate, whether or not this ‘switch’ takes place, depends on the verb in the first slot of the construction.

- (18) a. *bawang wak ambin manggia bawang*
bawang wa-ik ambu-in manggia bawang
 garlic take-DIR go.down-2s.IMP first.born garlic
 ‘bring up the garlic, first born child, the garlic!’
 lit: ‘go down and get the garlic’ (C kitchen_chat_4 256)
- b. *Amanda ambeg numbahik ambiyek*
Amanda a-mbeg n-umbaha-ik ambu-iyek
 Amanda 3s.GEN-place 1s.GEN-leave-DIR go.down-2p.IMP
 ‘take me down to Amanda’
 lit: ‘go down in order to leave me with Amanda’
 (C women_chat_1 109)

Example (18a) is parallel to the two examples discussed above: Just like (17), it includes the verb *wa-* ‘take’ in V1 position. Literally it translates as ‘go down in order to get the garlic’, and thus encodes motion downwards, away from the deictic centre. The *caused accompanied motion*, however, takes place upwards, towards the deictic centre. In (18b), on the other hand, the verb *umbaha-* ‘leave’ does not trigger a reverse interpretation of the directed motion verb. That is, only when the obtaining event takes place after the motion event, e.g., when moving into a direction in order to *get* a theme, accompanied motion in the opposite direction is implied. When movement in a direction takes place in order to *leave* a theme, the OBTAIN event must have happened before the motion event starts. In this case, just like in the clause chaining construction, the ‘literal’ directionality denoted by the motion verb will also be the directionality of the accompanied motion.

4 CAM events with human recipient or theme arguments

As mentioned in Section 2.2, human object referents, i.e., recipients, benefactives and themes, are usually cross-referenced within the verb complex with the help of object stems. This is also the case in the expression of directed CAM events, as the two following sections will demonstrate in more detail. Section 4.1 discusses expressions of human object referents in clause chaining constructions, Section 4.2 does the same for purpose of motion constructions.

4.1 *Human recipients and themes in CAM clause chaining constructions*

If the goal argument is a human recipient rather than a location, this is usually expressed by use of an object verb of the A-paradigm (see Section 2.2). The verb *wa-* shows a few peculiarities in this construction: First, its suppletive object stem (*og*) has to be used (cf. Section 2.2). Second, deixis or directedness of motion does not have to be further expressed. That is, unlike in all other cases discussed so far, clause chaining (or purpose of motion construction, see Section 4.2) *can* but does not need to be employed. In this context the person marking on the object verb seems sufficient to signal that motion takes place towards the recipient. The examples below illustrate both possibilities: *og* + object verb within a clause chain (19a), and on their own (19b.) When *og* occurs with an object verb of the B-paradigm, there is a semantic shift, and it no longer means ‘bring’, but ‘give’, as shown in (19c).

- (19) a. *aren wam og naplug waharuk*
at=en wam og nap-tug waha-tuk
 3s=AGT pig take 1s.OBJ:A-SEQ come-PROG
 ‘he is bringing me a pig’ (bring_take 001 – elicited)
- b. *at wam og naptuk*
at wam og nap-tuk
 3s pig take 1s.OBJ:A-PROG
 ‘he is bringing me a pig’ (bring_take 001 – elicited)
- c. *at wam og nutuk*
at wam og nut-tuk
 3s pig give 1s.OBJ:B-PROG
 ‘he is giving me a pig’ (object_forms *og* – elicited)

Note also that in (19a) and (19b) the object argument marked by the object verb has the semantic role of a recipient, even though the object verb is of the A-paradigm, which otherwise marks themes (see Section 2.2). In fact, the phrase *og naplug waharuk* is ambiguous between ‘bringing me_{RECIPIENT} (something_{THEME})’ and ‘bringing me_{THEME} (somewhere_{GOAL})’.

Alternatively, human goal arguments can also be realized within a postpositional phrase, rather than as a direct object marked on the object verb. In this case, any other non-object verb strategy to express CAM events has to be used, such as, e.g., the ordinary clause chaining construction in which the final verb denotes

directedness. In (20a), the postposition *fahet* ‘for’ marks the goal as a recipient, in (20b) the spatial noun *mbeg* ‘place’ is used for the same purpose.

- (20) a. *at wam an fahet walug waha*
at wam an fahet wa-tug waha
 3s pig 1s for take-PROG come:3s.IM.PST
 ‘he brought me a pig’ (bring_take 002 – elicited)
- b. *at wam walug Seti ambeg*
at wam wa-tug Seti a-mbeg
 3s pig take-SEQ Seti 3s.GEN-place
waha / laha
waha / laha
 come:3s.IM.PST / go:3s.IM.PST
 ‘he brought/took a pig to Seti’ (bring_take 003 – elicited)

If the theme argument is human, it always has to be marked by an object verb of the A-paradigm, i.e., in contrast to recipients, there is no alternative non-object verb strategy available. Just like in (19), directedness can, but does not have to be further expressed in the verbal complex (compare 21a and 21b). In the latter case, there will often be a locative NP expressing the goal, and more rarely, also an ablative marked NP that expresses the source.

- (21) a. *og inaptug ambik*
og inap-tug ambu-ik
 take 3p.OBJ:A-SEQ go.down-DIR
wapagmare
waha-pag=mu=te
 come-3.REM.PST=DS.PRIOR=TOP
 ‘after they brought them (the women) down here’
 (I interview_IP_Ware 0452)
- b. *inisingasi mel wereg ambeg ibmanoen*
in-isinga-si mel wereg a-mbeg ibma=no=en
 3p.GEN-mother-p ANA EXIST 3s.GEN-place there=GIV=ABL
og inaptuk yobimu
og inap-tuk yobi=mu
 take 3p.OBJ:A-PROG men’s.house=LOC
 ‘they (the men) are taking/bringing them (the children) from their mothers’ place to the men’s house’ (E 1st_initiation 137)

Importantly, note that in order for a theme argument to be referenced by an object verb in a directed CAM construction, it has to be less causally involved than the agent. That is, if both agent and theme are equally involved, a comitative construction, as illustrated in 0, has to be used (see also Hellwig, this volume, for a similar alternation in Qaqet). Note that in both examples in (22) the verb is in the plural, signalling that both participants are actively taking part in the motion event.

- (22) a. *hat te an ninim an nibam ibma lahe*
hat te an ni-nim an n-ibam ibma la-ehe
 2s TOP 1s 1s.GEN-with 1s 1s.GEN-house there go-1p.IM.PST
 ‘you, together with me, we went to my house’ (N suit_13 045f.)
- b. *ap eke wam domba inim wahasareg...*
ap eke wam domba i-nim waha-ehesa-teg
 man one pig sheep 3s.GEN-with come-3p.IM.PST-SS.PRIOR
 ‘a man is coming with his sheep...’ (R pear_story_Fedrik_Sadrak 031f.)

4.2 Human recipients in CAM purpose of motion constructions

Human recipients in directed CAM purpose of motion constructions are usually marked by object verbs, similar to their realization in directed CAM clause chaining constructions. Note, however, that in the purpose of motion construction, only object verbs of paradigm B can be used to mark the recipient, which outside of the purpose of motion constructions would actually receive a reading of ‘give’ rather than ‘bring/take’, as mentioned in discussion of the examples in (19) above. (23) shows two examples, one illustrating movement towards the deictic centre with a first person recipient, the other one denoting motion away from the deictic centre with a third person recipient.

- (23) a. *wam an og nirik waharuk*
wam an og nit-ik waha-tuk
 pig 1s take 1s.OBJ:B-DIR come-PROG
 ‘he is bringing me a pig’
 lit: ‘he is coming to give me a pig’ (object_forms og – elicited)
- b. *(unggul asum) og irik lahasama*
unggul a-sum og it-ik la-ehesa=mu
 head 3s.GEN-cloth take 3s.OBJ:B-DIR go-3p.IM.PST=DS.PRIOR

e anggen hinahan og isehek
e anggen hinahan og isa-ehék
 tree fruit three give 3p.OBJ:B-3s.IM.PST
 ‘they brought him (his hat) and he gave them three fruits’
 lit: ‘they went to give him (his hat) and he gave them...’
 (R pear_story_Marthen_b 058f.)

Example (23b), especially in comparison with (19a) and (19b), nicely illustrates how the use and meaning of the suppletive object stem *og* of *wa-* ‘take’ interacts with both the paradigm of the object verb, and the construction type it occurs in: In the clause chaining construction, only A-paradigm object verbs can be used, which are then, theoretically, ambiguous between marking the theme and the recipient. The purpose of motion construction, on the other hand, only occurs with B-paradigm object verbs that always mark the recipient. Furthermore, *og* in combination with A-paradigm object verbs can express caused accompanied motion even in the absence of a motion verb (cf. 19b). This is not the case for the B-paradigm, as can be seen in (23b). Here the purpose of motion construction, and thus per definition also a motion verb is needed, to express a CAM event. In the absence of that, *og* plus B-paradigm object verb simply denotes a GIVE event (as in the second clause of 23b).

5 Manner of causation and manner of motion in Yali CAM expressions

In basic Yali directed CAM expressions, neither manner of causation nor manner of motion is expressed. As discussed in the previous sections, in the vast majority of basic CAM expressions, the lexical core is the manner neutral verb *wa-* ‘take’, which combines – either in a clause chaining construction, or in a purpose of motion construction – with a manner neutral motion verb to express directedness towards a goal. Yet, there are of course strategies to express both manner of causation and manner of motion in Yali directed CAM expressions, though both are rather rare in natural speech.

5.1 Manner of causation

Manner of causation is more frequently expressed in CAM expressions than manner of motion. There are various ways to do so, the most common and productive one is the use of manner participles. Manner participles can be used to modify any given predicate, and they frequently occur in combination with manner neutral *wa-* ‘take’ in both CAM clause chaining and CAM purpose of motion constructions to specify the manner of causation. The following two

examples illustrate the use of a manner participle, one derived from the independent verb *lisu-* ‘pull’ (in 24a), and one derived from the coverb *fonggog* ‘push’ (in 24b). In the former case, the manner suffix *-oho* attaches directly to the independent verb stem, in the latter the auxiliary stem *tu-* ‘do’ is needed to host the adverbial manner suffix. This auxiliary stem replaces the light verb that would otherwise collocate with the coverb, and the participle form of the coverb can then be used to modify any other predicate, just like the participle form of an independent verb.

- (24) a. *misig fam embik lahama misig famen*
misig fam embe-ik laha=mu misig fam=en
 one at put-DIR go:3s.IM.PST=LOC one at=ABL
[[lisoho] walug] lahama...
lisu-oho wa-tug laha=mu
 pull-ADV.PART take-SEQ go:3s.IM.PST=DS.PRIOR
 ‘he put it in one (place), from another (place) he pulled it...’
 (D ECOM_sr_Nias 061f.)
- b. *sahowon misig [[fonggog toho] walug] laruk*
saho=on misig fonggog tu-oho wa-tug la-tuk
 blue=AM one push do-ADV.PART take-SEQ go-PROG
 ‘he is pushing the blue one’ (D ECOM_sr_KW 027)

Less frequently, a complex predicate consisting of a coverb and its appertaining light verb takes the first slot in a directed CAM clause chaining or purpose of motion construction, specifying manner of causation. In (25a), for example, the coverb construction *paya wa-* ‘carry on shoulder’ fills the first slot in a CAM clause chaining construction. Note that this is syntactically very different from the construction in the example discussed above: In (24b) the participle form of a coverb modifies the independent verb *wa-* ‘take’. In (25a) *wa-* fills the light verb slot in a coverb construction, no longer retaining its independent verb semantics ‘take’. Another example of this type with another light verb (*su-* ‘do’) was illustrated in (14), repeated here as (25b).

- (25) a. *Miyahun e famen pule ambehekma*
Miyahun e fam=en pule ambu-ehék=mu
 PN tree from=ABL fall go.down-3s.IM.PST=DS.PRIOR

causation, as in the following examples. Example (27a) consists of two clauses, linked by the coordinating conjunction *lit* ‘while’, which marks concurrency between the two events denoted by the two clauses. The part following the conjunction is an ‘ordinary’ directed CAM clause chain consisting of manner neutral *wa-* ‘take’ and the motion verb *la-* ‘go’. It is the clause that precedes the conjunction that specifies the manner of causation, which otherwise would not be expressed.

- (27) a. *oyo iyuhen sobeg lit*
oyo iyug=en sop-eg lit
 yes foot=AGT step-ATTR.PART while
walug laruk lation (fahet uruk)
wa-tug la-tuk lat-tisi=on fahet u-tuk
 take-SEQ go-PROG do-3s.PST=AM to speak-PROG
 ‘yes, (he told me that) he was pushing (the scooter)’
 lit: ‘yes, (he told me that) his feet stepped while he was taking (the scooter)’ (C conversation_1 108)
- b. *yu, wam usir sil waharuk laha*
yu wam usir su-til waha-tuk laha
 yes pig chase do-CONT come-PROG 3s.IM.PST:stay
 ‘yes he is coming while chasing a goat (lit. a pig)’ (R
 pear_story_Diana_Hani 034)

5.2 Manner of motion

The by far most frequent motion verbs in Yali are the manner neutral independent verbs *la-* ‘go’ and *waha-* ‘come’, followed by *laha-* ‘go up’, *ambu-* ‘go down’, and *ku-* ‘enter’. As discussed in the previous sections, all these five verbs occur in clause chaining constructions and purpose of motion construction to express directed CAM events.

Most intransitive motion predicates which lexicalize manner of motion in their semantics are coverbs (cf. Section 2.1), as the following three examples illustrate. Note that only in (28a) the coverb collocates with a light verb that in its independent use would likewise denote a motion event. The other two collocations are semantically more opaque, involving the light verbs *su-* ‘do’ and *u-* ‘speak’.

- (28) a. *yahiye solnog solnog laruk*
yahihe solnog solnog la-tuk
 frog jump jump go-PROG
 ‘the frog is jumping’ (lexex *solnog* – elicited)
- b. *aharabulen ta suruk ari nimin itno ahandi*
aharabul=en ta su-tuk ari nimin itno ahandi
 wing=INSTR fly do-PROG DEM boy DEM below
 ‘it is flying with its wings and below there is the little boy’
 (R frog_story_Silpa_Fince 146f.)
- c. *nami tam larukmu an oho timbag*
n-ami tam la-tuk=mu an oho timbag
 1s.GEN-uncle first go-PROG=DS.PRIOR 1s too walk
irikik
irikik
 speak: 1s.REM.PST
 ‘my uncle was going first and I walked behind him’
 (lexex *timbag* – elicited)

Coverb constructions that express manner of motion in expressions of directed CAM events are extremely rare. In theory, they are able to fill the slot of the motion predicate in both directed CAM clause chaining and purpose of motion construction, but there are only two examples in the corpus where this is the case, both using the self-benefactive stem of *wa-* (*hila-* ‘take for oneself’) in a clause chaining construction in combination with the manner of motion coverb *katek* ‘run’, as illustrated in (29a).⁶ Example (29b) is an elicited purpose of motion construction containing the same coverb.

- (29) a. *um malik misihen hilalug wilip aha*
um malik misig=en hila-tug wilip aha
 INTJ child one=AGT take:SB-SEQ go.out become: 3s.IM.PST
hilalug katek ehek
hila-tug katek ehek
 take:SB-SEQ run speak:3s.IM.PST
 ‘um, a child takes (them) for himself and walks out, he takes
 (them) for himself and runs off’ (R pear_story_Edison 042f.)

⁶ There are two more instances of a directed CAM clause chain with a MANNER OF MOTION verb. Both of them use the Indonesian verb *lari* ‘run’ in combination with the Yali light verb *su-* ‘do’ (i.e. the default way of integrating loan verbs into Yali grammar).

- b. *Yones karog wak katek uruk*
Yones karog wa-ik katek u-tuk
 PN machete take-DIR run speak-PROG
 ‘Yones runs to get the machete’ (lexex_katek – elicited)

6 Summary

This chapter discussed expressions of directed cause accompanied motion events in Yali, a Trans-New Guinea language of West Papua, Indonesia. Yali has no monomorphemic verbs to express BRING and TAKE events, but rather uses two kinds of complex constructions: clause chaining and the so-called purpose of motion construction. Tables 3 and 4 show the general frequencies of these two construction types (156 clause chaining directed CAMs vs. 52 purpose of motion directed CAMs) and summarize the distribution of their verbal components. Both constructions most frequently consist of the manner neutral verb *wa-* ‘take’ (or one of its suppletive stems *og* or *hila-*), and either of the deictically specific motion verbs *waha-* ‘come’ and *la-* ‘go’. As mentioned in Section 3.2, the preference to use ‘take’ to express causation of motion is far more pronounced in directed CAM clause chaining (97%) than it is in the purpose of motion construction (63%). Furthermore, there seems to be slightly more variation in the choice of motion verbs in clause chaining than in purpose of motion constructions. In particular, while expressing manner of motion is theoretically possible in both construction types (cf. 29), in the corpus of natural texts it only occurs in clause chaining (albeit only rarely). Whether this is indeed a general trend or only due to the relatively small numbers of directed CAM purpose of motion constructions requires further investigation. Manner of causation is more frequently expressed than manner of motion in both clause chaining and purpose of motion constructions and can be done so either by modification through manner participles or by the use of coverbs.

Expressions of directed CAM events in Yali

Table 3. Verb combinations in directed CAM clause chaining

	<i>waha-</i> 'come'	<i>la-</i> 'go'	<i>laha-</i> 'go up'	<i>ambu-</i> 'go down'	<i>ku-</i> 'go in'	<i>wilip at-</i> 'go out'	<i>katek u-</i> 'run'	<i>lari su-</i> 'run'	total
<i>wa-</i> 'take'	49	45	14	6	6	3	-	-	123
<i>og</i> 'take' (OBJ stem)	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	4
<i>hila-</i> 'take' (SB stem)	5	12	1	1	-	1	2	2	24
<i>ha su-</i> 'carry'	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
total	55	63	15	7	8	4	2	2	156

151

Table 4. Verb combinations in directed CAM purpose of motion

	<i>waha-</i> 'come'	<i>la-</i> 'go'	<i>laha-</i> 'go up'	<i>ambu-</i> 'go down'	<i>wilip at-</i> 'go out'	total
<i>wa-</i> 'take'	4	6	4	5	2	21
<i>og</i> 'take' (OBJ stem)	9	3	-	-	-	12
<i>hihil-</i> 'move, push'	-	8	-	-	-	8
<i>embe-</i> 'put'	5	-	-	-	-	5
<i>kilap-</i> 'insert'	2	1	-	-	-	3
<i>umbaha-</i> 'leave' (OBJ stem)	-	-	-	1	-	1
<i>hilil-</i> 'eject'	1	-	-	-	-	1
<i>ku-</i> 'go in'	1	-	-	-	-	1
total	22	18	4	6	2	52

33

Directed CAM events in the available Yali corpus almost exclusively involve motion towards a goal, rather than from a source. The marking of human object participants is done by the use of special object verb stems, and, as shown in Section 4, there are restrictions on the object verb paradigm depending on the construction type. In the clause chaining construction, only A-paradigm object verbs can be used, which then can be ambiguous between marking the theme or the recipient. The purpose of motion construction, on the other hand, only occurs with B-paradigm object verbs that always mark the recipient. Furthermore, in clause chaining constructions with human recipients, caused accompanied motion can be expressed without the additional use of a motion verb. This is not possible in any other expression of directed caused accompanied motion events in Yali.

Abbreviations

1 – first person; 2 – second person; 3 – third person; A – object paradigm A; B – object paradigm B; ABL – ablative; ADV.PART – adverbial participle; AGT – agent; ANA – anaphoric; AM – attributive marker; ATTR.PART – attributive participle; CAUS – causative; CLASS – classifier; CONJ – conjunction; CONT – continuous; DEM – demonstrative; DET – determiner; DMV – direct speech marking vowel; DS – different subject; DIR – direction; EXIST – existential; FUT – future; GEN – genitive; GIV – given; IM – immediate; IMP – imperative; INSTR – instrument; LOC – locative; NEG – negation; OBJ – object; PN – proper name; p – plural; PRIOR – prior (to the event denoted in the previous clause); PROG – progressive; PST – past; REM – remote; S – singular; SAY – quotative; SB – self benefactive; SEQ – sequential; SF – stem former; SS – same subject; TOP – topic.

References

- Bohnenmeyer, J., Enfield, N. J., Essegbey, J., Ibarretxe-Antuñano, I., Kita, S., Lüpke, F., & Ameka, F. K. (2007). Principles of event segmentation in language: The case of motion events. *Language*, 83(3), 495–532.
- de Vries, L. (2005). Towards a typology of tail-head linkage in Papuan languages. *Studies in Language*, 29(2), 363–384.
- Heeschen, V. (1998). *An ethnographic grammar of the Eipo language spoken in the central mountains of Irian Jaya (West New Guinea), Indonesia*. Berlin: Reimer.
- Pawley, A. K. (1993). A language which defies description by ordinary means. In W. A. Foley (Ed.), *The role of theory in language description* (pp. 87–130). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Riesberg, S. (2018). Optional ergative, agentivity and discourse prominence: Evidence from Yali (Trans-New Guinea). *Linguistic Typology*, 22(1), 17–50.
- Riesberg, S., Walianggen, K., & Zöllner, S. (2012–2016). *DoBeS Documentation Summits in the Central Mountains of Papua*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1839/00-0000-0000-0017-EA2F-C>
- Zöllner, S., & Zöllner, I. (2021). Dictionary Yali (Angguruk) – English – German. In S. Riesberg, C. Dawuda, L. Haiduk, N. P. Himmelmann, & K. Malcher (Eds.), *A Yali (Angguruk) – English – German dictionary. Wörterbuch Yali (Angguruk) – Englisch – Deutsch* (pp. 50–294). Canberra: Asia-Pacific Linguistics.