List of Tables

Table 1.1 Census figures from various sources —— **7**
Table 1.2 Possible correspondences between Anêm, Ata and Yélî Dnye —— **16**
Table 1.3 Monofocal/Polyfocal distinction: Benabena compared to Yélî Dnye —— **16**
Table 1.4 Pronouns in Proto-TNG and Yélî Dnye —— **17**
Table 1.5 proto-TNG reconstructions and possible Yélî Dnye cognates —— **17**
Table 1.6 Possible cognates shared between Proto-Gorokan and Yélî Dnye —— **18**
Table 1.7 Material culture —— **21**
Table 1.8 Sea-faring and environment —— **21**
Table 1.9 Numbers —— **22**
Table 2.1 Example quote formulae —— **28**
Table 2.2 Main tense distinctions in Yélî Dnye —— **36**
Table 2.3 Cross-cutting categories of tense, mood and aspect in Yélî Dnye —— **38**
Table 3.1 Stops and nasals – 1 Single articulations —— **42**
Table 3.2 Stops and nasals – 1 Double articulations —— **43**
Table 3.3 Stops in practical orthography, with IPA counterparts beneath in slashes —— **44**
Table 3.4 Nasals in practical orthography, with IPA counterparts beneath in slashes —— **45**
Table 3.5 Non-nasal continuants in practical orthography, with IPA counterparts beneath in slashes —— **46**
Table 3.6 The oral short vowels in practical orthography with IPA counterparts beneath in slashes —— **46**
Table 3.7 Nasalized short vowels in practical orthography with IPA counterparts beneath in slashes —— **47**
Table 3.8 Lengthened oral vowels —— **48**
Table 3.9 Lengthened nasal vowels —— **48**
Table 3.10 Syllable lengths —— **55**
Table 3.11 Monosyllabic roots – values of initial consonants —— **56**
Table 3.12 Monosyllabic roots (N=2175) – different kinds of nasal consonants —— **56**
Table 3.13 Vowel quality frequencies in monosyllabic roots —— **57**
Table 3.14 C2 in bi-syllabic roots —— **58**
Table 3.15 Consonants in bi-syllabic roots —— **59**
Table 3.16 Bi-syllabic roots: characteristics of 2nd syllables —— **60**
Table 3.17 (a) Short oral vowels in V1 —— **61**
Table 3.18 (b) Long vowels in V1 —— **61**
Table 3.19 (c) Nasal vowels in V1 —— **62**
Table 3.20 (d) Numbers of bi-syllabic roots, sorting by V2 (out of a total 1985 roots) —— **63**
Table 3.21 Combinations with vowels —— **64**
Table 3.22 Y-initial words —— **65**
Table 3.23 Body parts which are unchanged under 2nd person possession —— **70**
Table 3.24 Body parts changed under 2nd person possession —— **70**
Table 3.25 2nd person posssessive forms by initial consonant of root —— **71**
Table 4.1 The major parts of speech —— **78**
Table 4.2 Collocations of specified and unspecified forms —— **82**
Table 4.3 Body part terms, with suppletive forms —— **91**

Open Access. © 2022 Stephen C. Levinson, published by De Gruyter. BY-NC-ND This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110733853-205

Table 4.4 Special kin possessive forms — **96**
Table 4.5 Yélî Dnye personal pronouns — **98**
Table 4.6 Reflexive pronouns — **99**
Table 4.7 A core set of spatial demonstratives — **101**
Table 4.8 Demonstrative pronouns and corresponding adverbs — **101**
Table 4.9 Henderson's (1995:46) analysis of the deictics — **102**
Table 4.10 Full adverbial demonstrative paradigm — **103**
Table 4.11 Quantifiers — **106**
Table 4.12 Cardinal, ordinal and multiplicative numerals — **112**
Table 4.13 Counting diurnal spans from today — **113**
Table 4.14 Lower numerals and number marking — **114**
Table 4.15 Size — **115**
Table 4.16 Dimension — **116**
Table 4.17 Quality — **116**
Table 4.18 State — **116**
Table 4.19 Taste (Derived from nominals) — **117**
Table 4.20 Colour, Surface property (derived) — **117**
Table 4.21 Inflectional irregularities (sample) — **120**
Table 4.22 Labile verbs — **121**
Table 4.23 Transitive verbs with intransitive counterpart: 'break' — **121**
Table 4.24 Transitive verb with intransitive counterpart: 'turn over' — **122**
Table 4.25 Transitive/intransitive doublets with shared head entry — **123**
Table 4.26 Causative alternation — **124**
Table 4.27 Verbs of eating — **125**
Table 4.28 Strong and weak verbs in Remote Past — **128**
Table 4.29 Verb Suppletion – numbers of verbs with multiple roots (coded database, March 5, 2000) — **129**
Table 4.30 Suppletive roots for the verb 'to give' — **130**
Table 4.31 Summary of verb suppletion tendencies by default aspect of root — **131**
Table 4.32 Suppletion by transitivity of root — **132**
Table 4.33 Positional roots and causative counterparts — **132**
Table 5.1 Template for the NP with examples — **141**
Table 5.2 Case-marking postpositions — **155**
Table 5.3 Comitative pronouns — **160**
Table 6.1 Template of 'slots' in the Verb Complex — **168**
Table 6.2 The pre-verbal nucleus — **169**
Table 6.3 Examples of portmanteau fusion of grammatical categories in Pre-Nucleus — **170**
Table 6.4 Grammatical categories coded in the core proclitic — **171**
Table 6.5 Number of tense distinctions in each aspect and mood — **171**
Table 6.6 Pronouns and sample proclitics (Remote Past, Continuous aspect) — **173**
Table 6.7 Punctual Aspect: Core Inflectional Proclitics (Henderson 1995:102) — **174**
Table 6.8 Continuous Aspect: Core Inflectional Proclitics (Henderson 1995:103) — **175**
Table 6.9 Continuous (italics) vs. Punctual (bold) aspect proclitics compared — **176**
Table 6.10 Monofocal/Polyfocal marking pattern — **177**
Table 6.11 Partial Monofocal/Polyfocal patterns in the proclitics (some Continuous forms illustrative of conflation patterns) — **177**

Table 6.12 Punctual Aspect: Deictic 'hither' (*a/-nê*) plus core proclitics (basic non-deictic forms in parentheses for comparison) (after Henderson 1995:106) —— **179**
Table 6.13 Continuous Aspect: Deictic 'hither' (*a/-nê*) plus core proclitics (basic non-deictic forms in parentheses for comparison) (after Henderson 1995:107) —— **179**
Table 6.14 *Kî* 'Evidential – certain': some examples of incorporation into the core proclitic (These conflations are optional) —— **181**
Table 6.15 *Kî* ('Certain') with Punctual Proclitic Paradigm, 'hither' (CLS) forms compared —— **183**
Table 6.16 *Kî* ('certain') + Continuous proclitic paradigm, and *kî* with motion —— **184**
Table 6.17 *Wu* + Punctual Future forms (with PI verb *kudu* 'wash yourself') —— **187**
Table 6.18 *Wu* + Continuous Aspect forms (with *kuku* 'washing (oneself)' —— **188**
Table 6.19 Punctual Aspect: Associated motion (*n:aa/mî*) plus core proclitics (basic non-deictic forms in brackets for comparison) (after Henderson 1995:104) —— **189**
Table 6.20 Continuous Aspect: Associated motion (*n:aa/mî*) plus core proclitics (basic non-deictic forms in brackets for comparison) (after Henderson 1995:105) —— **190**
Table 6.21 Punctual Aspect: Motion + Deictic 'hither' (*a/-nê*) proclitics (basic non-deictic forms in brackets for comparison) —— **192**
Table 6.22 Incorporation of *mê* REP ('again') PUNCTUAL Aspect (with verbs *diyé* 'return' or *lê* 'go') —— **194**
Table 6.23 Incorporation of mê REP ('again') in CONTINUOUS ASPECT illustrated with verb *lêpî* 'going' (with some additional CLOSE or 'hither' forms in brackets) —— **195**
Table 6.24 REPETITION + CLOSE Punctual Aspect (with verb *diyé* 'return') —— **196**
Table 6.25 'Also' with and without CLS 'Hither' – PUNCTUAL forms (incorporation of *mye* in Pre-N) —— **198**
Table 6.26 CONTINUOUS ASPECT + *mye* 'Also' —— **199**
Table 6.27 Negative stand-alone particles in verbless sentences —— **201**
Table 6.28 Negative Inflectional Proclitics: Punctual Aspect only —— **202**
Table 6.29 Negative Proclitics: Continuous Aspect —— **204**
Table 6.30 Irregular verb *lê* 'go' —— **207**
Table 6.31 NEG + MOTION: Punctual transitive verb 'see' TV (*m:uu*; *módu* = Remote Past root), 3s Object held constant —— **209**
Table 6.32 NEG + MOTION: Continuous intransitive verb root 'wash' (*kuku*) —— **211**
Table 6.33 The Monofocal/Polyfocal distinction —— **213**
Table 6.34 Example of Monofocal/Polyfocal marking: transitive enclitics, proximal tenses, indicative mood —— **213**
Table 6.35 Intransitive Enclitics —— **215**
Table 6.36 Intransitive enclitics with an Inherently Continuous verb: *paa* 'walk, go down' (enclitics in bold) —— **216**
Table 6.37 Intransitive enclitics with an Inherently Punctual verb: *lê* 'go' (with Remote Past root *loo*, followed root *lee*, imperative *lilî*) —— **217**
Table 6.38 Transitive Enclitics (Post-verbal Nuclei for Transitive Verbs) —— **219**
Table 6.39 Punctual Near Past ('yesterday'): Transitive enclitics FIRST PERSON OBJECT —— **220**
Table 6.40 Punctual Near Past ('yesterday'): Transitive enclitics SECOND PERSON OBJECT —— **221**
Table 6.41 Punctual Near Past ('yesterday'): Transitive enclitics THIRD PERSON OBJECT —— **222**

Table 6.42 Punctual Remote Past ('before yesterday'): Transitive enclitics FIRST PERSON OBJECT —— **223**
Table 6.43 Punctual Remote Past ('before yesterday'): Transitive enclitics SECOND PERSON OBJECT —— **224**
Table 6.44 Punctual Remote Past ('before yesterday'): Transitive enclitics THIRD PERSON OBJECT —— **225**
Table 6.45 Transitive Punctual Imperatives —— **226**
Table 6.46 Continuous Remote Past ('before yesterday'): Transitive enclitics FIRST PERSON OBJECT —— **227**
Table 6.47 Continuous Remote Past ('before yesterday'): Transitive enclitics SECOND PERSON OBJECT —— **227**
Table 6.48 Continuous Remote Past ('before yesterday'): Transitive enclitics THIRD PERSON OBJECT —— **228**
Table 6.49 Intransitive Positive and Negative enclitics compared —— **230**
Table 6.50 Transitive enclitics, showing NEGATIVE ENCLITICS IN **BOLD** only where different from the positive ones —— **232**
Table 6.51 Transitive PI Future Positive = non-bold, NEGative = **bold**, Object number marked by slashes: Sing/Dual/Pl Objects —— **234**
Table 6.52 Transitive PI Today —— **235**
Table 6.53 Yesterday PI (**Negatives in bold**) —— **236**
Table 6.54 Remote Past —— **237**
Table 6.55 Habitual PI (**Negatives in bold**) —— **238**
Table 6.56 Future (DISTAL – tomorrow, always) —— **239**
Table 6.57 Immediate Future (later today) —— **241**
Table 6.58 Present —— **242**
Table 6.59 Immediate Past (earlier today) —— **243**
Table 6.60 Yesterday – Near Past CI (**Negatives in bold)** —— **244**
Table 6.61 Remote Past *m:iituwó* —— **245**
Table 6.62 Habitual Continuous —— **246**
Table 6.63 Imperatives Continuous Aspect (**Negative in bold**) —— **247**
Table 7.1 Order of phrases in three and four participant clauses (picture description data; A agent, O object, V verb, D dative phrase, L locative phrase, I instrumental phrase) —— **254**
Table 7.2 Marking of Tense/Mood/Aspect/Force —— **255**
Table 7.3 Imperative Pre-nuclear Clitics – Subject properties, Tense, Aspect (Positive only – negatives treated later) —— **258**
Table 7.4 Verb root suppletion in Imperatives: Some examples —— **259**
Table 7.5 Imperative intransitive post-verbal clitics, punctual aspect (positive only) —— **259**
Table 7.6 Imperative transitive post-verbal clitics, punctual aspect (positive only) —— **259**
Table 7.7 Imperative Transitive Post-Verbal Clitics, Continuous aspect (positive only) —— **260**
Table 7.8 Suppletive forms of *kuku* 'to wash oneself' —— **264**
Table 7.9 Negative Imperatives – Continuous Aspect, Intransitive (illustrated with *kuku*, 'wash oneself, continuous aspect') —— **264**

Table 7.10 Negative Imperatives – Punctual Aspect, Present Tense, Intransitive (with *kudu/kpêê* 'wash oneself, Punctual'), Present Tense —— **264**
Table 7.11 Negative Imperatives – Punctual Aspect, Future/Deferred Tense, Intransitive (with *kudu/kpêê* 'wash oneself, Punctual') —— **265**
Table 7.12 Negative Imperatives – Continuous transitive root *pîpî* 'eating something' —— **266**
Table 7.13 Negative Imperatives – Punctual Transitive Root *ma* 'eat something' —— **267**
Table 7.14 Wh-forms —— **271**
Table 7.15 Negatives of equative clauses (tenseless) —— **285**
Table 7.16 Positional verbs (with inherently continuous aspect) —— **294**
Table 7.17 Some default assignments of different nominal concepts to positional predicate —— **295**
Table 7.18 Active, causative and uncausative positional counterparts —— **300**
Table 7.19 Experiencer Subject marking —— **301**
Table 7.20 Roots of the verb 'to go' —— **308**
Table 7.21 The verb 'to hit (kill)' —— **314**
Table 7.22 Transitive Imperatives: 1st Person Sing OBJECT held constant —— **317**
Table 7.23 Transitive Imperatives: 1st Person Dual OBJECT held constant —— **318**
Table 7.24 Reflexive 'Pronouns' —— **318**
Table 7.25 Punctual aspect transitive inflectional enclitics associated with incorporated reciprocals – paradigm with verb *vy:a/vyee* 'hit, hitting', all Subjects with coreferential Objects —— **327**
Table 7.26 Continuous aspect intransitive inflectional enclitics associated with incorporated reciprocals – paradigm with verb *y:ene* 'be looking at' —— **327**
Table 7.27 Yélî Dnye: Shifted marking of reciprocals, with increased intransitivity in continuous aspect —— **331**
Table 7.28 Features of the main Reflexive vs. Reciprocal (*numo*) Constructions —— **340**
Table 7.29 Reflexive vs. Reciprocal inflection contrasted – Reflexives in bold, Reciprocals in roman (inflected with transitive verb *vy:a* /*vyee* 'to hit') —— **340**
Table 7.30 The transitive and intransitive verbs 'to break' —— **344**
Table 7.31 Transitive and intransitive verbs 'to open' —— **351**
Table 7.32 Positionals with active and causative counterparts —— **352**
Table 7.33 Auxiliary verbs with valence changing, aspect changing or causativing effects —— **356**
Table 7.34 Inchoative and causative inchoative verbs with citation form *pyódu* 'become' —— **361**
Table 8.1 Patterns of relativization (√ denotes NP is relativizable) —— **374**
Table 8.2 Intransitive Conditional enclitics (bold) with non-conditional forms (non-bold) for comparison —— **381**
Table 8.3 Transitive Conditional enclitics (bold), with non-conditional forms for comparison (nonbold) —— **385**
Table 8.4 Counterfactual Conditional proclitics – Punctual Aspect —— **399**
Table 8.5 Counterfactual Conditional proclitics – Continuous Aspect —— **404**
Table 8.6 Negative Counterfactual proclitics – Punctual Aspect (Positive form in non-bold, Negative in **bold** for comparison) —— **411**
Table 8.7 Negative Counterfactual Proclitics – Continuous Aspect (Positives in roman, corresponding Negatives in **bold**) —— **419**

Table 8.8 Ordinary unmarked pronouns for reference —— **432**
Table 8.9 Ordinary Dative pronouns for reference —— **432**
Table 8.10 Some frequent exponents of the addressee-component, preceding the speaker component —— **432**
Table 8.11 Future (Tomorrow only) —— **433**
Table 8.12 Present Tense Continuous Aspect presumes *ala ngwo* 'right now' e.g. *kwo numo–* 'I am telling him now') —— **434**
Table 8.13 Quote Formulae for Immediate Past (earlier today), Punctual Aspect* —— **436**
Table 8.14 Near Past Tense *M:a* (Yesterday) or Remote Past (*m:iituwo*, day before yesterday) —— **439**
Table 8.15 Imperative Quote Formulae (e.g. *a kipi* = 'you tell me') —— **441**
Table 8.16 Habitual forms (addressee prefixes are optional) —— **444**
Table 8.17 Speaking to self, or unspecified addressee (Punctual aspect, apparently either of unmarked tense or mixed tenses) —— **446**
Table 8.18 "It seems to me/you/him etc" (tenseless) —— **447**
Table 8.19 Without Knowing (present tense paradigm) —— **448**
Table 8.20 *yi*-Construction – the Punctual aspect paradigm —— **460**
Table 8.21 *yi*-Construction: The Continuous aspect paradigm —— **462**
Table 8.22 Yinê Construction, Punctual Aspect (Indicative Mood unless noted) Illustrated with verb *kââ/kaa/kapî* 'put'/'putting', with 3s Object e.g. 'He is the one who put it' —— **470**
Table 8.23 *Yinê* Construction, Continuous aspect —— **471**
Table 8.24 'To turn something over' vs. 'to turn over (e.g. capsize)' —— **475**
Table 9.1 Percentage of newly-introduced referents in A-, S- and O-function —— **488**
Table 10.1 Suppletive forms of the verb 'to go' —— **497**
Table 10.2 Universal quantification – Negatives and positives compared —— **501**
Table 10.3 'Never': Negative Universal quantification over time —— **501**
Table 11.1 Transitive verb with Intransitive counterpart: 'break' —— **510**
Table 11.2 Transitive verb with Intransitive counterpart: 'sever along the grain: split, tear' —— **510**
Table 11.3 Transitive verb: 'sever across the grain: cut, chop, sunder' —— **511**
Table 11.4 Positional Verbs (with inherently continuous aspect) —— **514**
Table 11.5 Correspondence between positional verbs and verbs of PUT and TAKE —— **515**
Table 11.6 Suppletive parts of the three major PUT and three major TAKE verbs —— **516**
Table 11.7 Some more specialized PUT and TAKE verbs —— **518**
Table 11.8 Verbs of movement in the landscape —— **521**
Table 11.9 Composition of village names (sample of 147) —— **525**
Table 11.10 Area names —— **526**
Table 11.11 Major categories of the natural world, with some exemplification of subordinate taxa —— **531**
Table 11.12 Rossel natal kin terms —— **540**
Table 11.13 Complete list of Rossel kin terms —— **541**
Table 11.14 Classificatory rules for a male ego —— **547**
Table 12.1 Sample of women's traditional vocabulary replacements —— **549**
Table 12.2 In-law respect vocabulary —— **551**
Table 12.3 Taboo vocabulary used on sacred isle of Lów:a —— **553**
Table 12.4 Some verbs from the taboo vocabulary used on sacred isle of Lów:a —— **556**