

NOTES ON YOLIAPI¹

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O. Introduction

The name Yoliapi is herein given to the dialect spoken by the group of people living near the area known as Yoliapi in the lower Om River valley in the West Sepik District of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. These people have been known by the Department of Administration as Sisimin. The Yoliapi dialect is a western dialect of Hewa², the southernmost member of the Sepik Hill family of languages³, and is spoken by approximately one hundred and fifty people.

Material for analysis was gathered under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics during nine weeks' field work at Yoliapi, January - March 1968, using a monolingual approach. No one particular informant was used, but noteworthy were Masum, a kin group leader, Xolisal his wife, and Apoxaleron, his sister. Because of the shortness of the field work the conclusions can be regarded as tentative only.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Sachiko Hatanaka of the University of Tokyo, Department of Anthropology, for her encouragement and help as I worked alongside her at Yoliapi, and to Dr. Alan Healey and Miss Dorothy James of S.I.L. for their help in the preparation of this paper.

This paper presents some features of the grammatical structure of the language, using the tagmemic approach⁴ for description.

1. Word Types

1.1. Nouns

Yoliapi nouns fill the head slot in noun and locative phrases. Except in locative phrases there is no affixation on nouns. They may consist of one root or be a compound of two roots. Vowel elision may take place between the two roots.

<u>way</u> ⁵		<u>'apu</u>
house		river
<u>nu'kaya</u>	< ⁶	<u>nu</u> <u>u'kay</u>
thunder		rain sound
<u>i'tal</u>	<	<u>i</u> <u>tal</u>
pole separating men's side of floor from women's		floor wood

When nouns are used in the locative phrase there is an obligatory locative suffix. Locative suffices include:

<u>-elipe</u>	under
<u>-elielisi</u>	over
<u>-enis</u>	near
<u>-enufesu</u>	in front of
<u>-lagus</u>	inside, in
<u>-magalis</u>	beside
<u>-marimosofe</u>	behind
<u>-su</u>	to, toward
<u>'apu-lagus</u>	<u>'way-su</u>
river-in	house-to
in the river	to the house

1.2. Pronouns

Five types of pronouns have been identified: four types of personal pronouns and the demonstrative pronoun.

(1) Fundamental pronouns occur filling subject, object, indirect object and instrumental and stative predicate slots of clauses. Of the several allomorphic variants of the first person singular observed, the most common are ano and an, the latter occurring most frequently before bilabials.

(2) Absolute pronouns occur filling subject, object, indirect object, and instrumental slots of clauses where the exclusion of all other persons is signified. These may be used immediately following fundamental pronouns:

<u>'ano'aynkeli</u>	<u>fe'nekeli</u>
I, I alone	you two alone

(3) Possessive pronouns occur filling the possessive slot in noun and locative phrases. When the first person singular possessive pronoun occurs preceding a noun beginning with a bilabial in a locative phrase, the form am occurs.

<u>am</u>	<u>'way-su</u>
my	house-to
to my house	

(4) Accompaniment pronouns occur filling the accompaniment slot in clauses. Three persons and singular, dual and plural distinctions have been identified.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Person Number	Fundamental	Absolute	Possessive	Accompaniment
1st s	'ano	'aynkeli	'ano	
2nd s	ne	'nekeli	no	'nelio
3rd s	a'le	'aylkeli	lo	'lolio
1st d	te			
2nd d	fe'nay	fe'nekeli		
3rd d	'lafay			
1st pl	'nati			
2nd pl	'nafu			'nafilio
3rd pl	'lafu			

The demonstrative pronoun 'tita refers to a person or thing close at hand.

1.3. Adjectives.

Adjectives fill slots in noun phrases following the nouns they qualify, and in locative phrases where they precede. Qualitative adjectives may fill the predicate slot in stative clauses. Three types of adjectives, qualitative and demonstrative are delineated on the basis of the slot in which they occur in phrases.

<u>'lifi</u>	<u>'tua</u>	<u>'yoya</u>	<u>'tit</u>
man	big	two	this
these two big men			

Adjective stems may be simple or affix-derived, the latter being a compound of a noun stem and the suffix -kate 'without'.

<u>'ruiani</u>	<u>'yane-kate</u>
good	child-without
	sterile
<u>po'gol-kate</u>	<u>'lati-kate</u>
bone - without	hand - without
weak	deformed

1.4. Verbs

Yoliapi verbs may have two orders of prefix and one order of suffix. The second order prefix is dependent on the presence of the negative marker.

$$v = \underline{+} \text{ abil } \underline{+} \text{ mood } + \text{ vst } + \text{ t-a}$$

Abilitative	Mood	Stem	Tense-Aspect
	<u>m-</u>		<u>-ya</u> , <u>-wa</u>
	continuative		recent past
	<u>s-</u>		<u>-y</u>
	narrative		results continuing
<u>am-</u>	<u>p-</u>		<u>-w</u> , <u>-∅</u>
	negative		present
	<u>fi-</u>		<u>-v</u> future
	imperative		<u>-ru</u>

The allomorph -wa of the recent past suffix is used when the negative prefix p- is used. Verbs without peripheral slots have been observed only in embedded clauses.

'm-ofulu-Ø
Cont-fight-Pres
is fighting

's-ofulu-ya
Narr-fight-Recent past
fought

'p'ofulu-v
Neg-fight-Fut
will not fight

am-'p-ofulu-wa
Abil-not-fight-Recent past
could not fight

'm-i-ru
Cont-go-Fut
will be going

'm-a-w 'fi-si
Cont-eat-Pres Imp-come
is eating Come!

i-v
go-Fut
will go

m-olo'bo-y
Cont-pinch-Results continuing
is pinching

1.5. Temporals

Temporals occur filling the temporal, stative subject and stative predicate slots in clauses. Yoliapi temporals include:

<u>'tue</u>	now, today
<u>wo'taw</u>	yesterday, tomorrow
<u>'inta</u>	one day beyond yesterday
<u>'nalita</u>	one day beyond tomorrow
<u>i'namo</u>	one day further removed
<u>o'wosu</u>	a long time ago
<u>'atafiniafia</u>	a short time ago
<u>'kilukilusipilemo</u>	in the future
<u>'awfum</u>	later

1.6. Locatives

Locatives fill the locative stative subject and stative predicate slots in clauses. Yoliapi locatives include:

<u>'tutu</u>	here
<u>a'ley</u>	there
<u>a'leyfanoys</u>	across there
<u>a'limsu</u>	on top

a'wes

on the upper side

ala'lus

on the lower side

1.7. Negative, Interrogatives

The negative and interrogatives have been observed only in the predicate slot of the stative clause. These include:

faw

'pimo

no

what?

'ofitu

'afi

where?

which?

2. Phrase Types

2.1. Noun Phrases

Noun phrases fill subject, object, indirect object, instrumental, accompaniment, and stative predicate slots of clauses.

$$N = \underline{+} M + H \underline{+} \text{Spec} \underbrace{\underline{+} \text{Poss} \underline{+} \text{At} \underline{+} \text{Num} \bar{+} \text{Dem}}_{\underline{+}}$$

In Yoliapi noun phrases the obligatory head slot may be preceded by an optional modifier slot and followed optionally by specifier, possessive, attributive, numerical and demonstrative slots, this being the preferred order. No more than three optional slots have been found to occur together. The demonstrative slot has not been found in the same phrase as the possessive slot. When kinship nouns fill the head slot, the possessive slot precedes the head slot. A noun phrase fills the modifier slot while the head slot is filled by a noun. The specifier slot is filled by a specifier noun or absolute pronoun and the possessive slot by a proper noun or possessive pronoun. The absolute pronoun may occur in the specifier slot only when the head is filled by a fundamental pronoun. A qualitative adjective fills the attributive slot, a numerical or quantitative adjective the numerical slot, and a demonstrative adjective the demonstrative slot when these occur.

'lifi

man

'ano 'lifi

my husband

'wif i'ano 'tua 'yoya

pig my big two

my two big pigs

me i'lay tal

tree Species wood

wood from the ilay tree

<u>'masum 'mian wi</u>	<u>'mian pi'pan tit</u>
Masum son name	son small this
Masum's son's name	this small son

Coordinate noun phrases are formed by the juxtaposition of two or more noun phrases.

<u>'lifi 'yoya 'awune</u>	<u>ta'paxali 'mian pi'pan</u>
man two woman	one son small
two men, one woman and a small boy	

2.2. Temporal Phrases

Temporal phrases fill the temporal slot of clauses.

$$T = + T + (\text{Seas } \bar{+} \text{ Num})$$

$\xrightarrow{\quad}$ $\xrightarrow{\quad}$ $\xrightarrow{\quad}$

Temporal or seasonal slots may stand alone.⁺ The temporal slot may precede the seasonal slot or the seasonal slot may precede the numerical slot. The temporal slot has not been observed to occur with the numerical slot. The temporal slot is filled by temporals or nouns used in the body part counting system, while the seasonal slot is filled by seasonal nouns. The numerical slot is filled by numerical adjectives.

Nouns used in the body part counting system are used to denote the number of days distant from the present, e.g. 'name 'thumb', number one signifies the present, while 'keli 'the fourth finger', number five signifies four days from now, and 'tagu 'inside of forearm', number seven signifies six days from now.

	<u>Left Side of Body</u>		<u>Right Side of Body</u>	
one	<u>'name</u>	thumb	<u>kay'name</u>	twenty-three
two	<u>na'malu</u>	1st finger	<u>kayna'malu</u>	twenty-four
three	<u>'favalu</u>	2nd finger	<u>kay'favalu</u>	twenty-five
four	<u>'kolu</u>	3rd finger	<u>kay'kolu</u>	twenty-six
five	<u>'keli</u>	4th finger	<u>kay'keli</u>	twenty-seven
six	<u>'maluene</u>	wrist (inside)	<u>kay'maluene</u>	twenty-two
seven	<u>'tagu</u>	forearm "	<u>kay'tagu</u>	twenty-one
eight	<u>'aluene</u>	elbow "	<u>yow'aluene</u>	twenty
nine	<u>ala'pen</u>	upper-arm "	<u>yowala'pen</u>	nineteen
ten	<u>a'ley</u>	shoulder	<u>yowa'ley</u>	eighteen
eleven	<u>i'law</u>	neck (side)	<u>yowi'law</u>	seventeen

	<u>Left Side of Body (Cont'd)</u>		<u>Right Side of Body (Cont'd)</u>	
twelve	<u>o'pey</u>	ear	<u>ivanio'pey</u>	sixteen
thirteen	<u>ni</u>	eye	<u>iva'ni</u>	fifteen
fourteen	<u>pata'pa</u>	nose (bridge)		
	Seasonal alone		Temporal alone	
	<u>marua'fifi</u>		<u>'tue</u>	
	afternoon		today	
	<u>nu'awkia</u>		<u>i'law</u>	
	rainy season		ten days from now	
	Temporal and Seasonal		Seasonal and Numerical	
	<u>'tue marua'fifi</u>		<u>'awfe ta'paxali</u>	
	today afternoon		moon one	
	this afternoon		for one month	
	<u>i'law si'lipito</u>			
	ten days from now morning			
	in the morning ten days from now			

2.3. Locative Phrases

Locative phrases are distinguished from noun phrases by the position of the head slot and by the obligatory affixation of a noun filling the head slot.

$$\text{Loc} = \underline{+} \text{ Poss } \underline{+} \text{ Dem } \underline{+} \text{ M } \underline{+} \text{ H } \underline{+} \text{ Loc}$$

The locative phrase consists of an optional possessive slot filled by a proper noun or possessive pronoun followed by an optional demonstrative slot filled by a demonstrative adjective, followed by an optional modifier slot filled by an attributive adjective followed by the obligatory head slot filled by a noun which has an obligatory locative suffix. The demonstrative slot has not been found in the same phrase with the possessive slot:

a'gipa-su

garden-to

to the garden

'masum 'mesini 'way-su

Masum tall house-to

to Masum's tall house

3. Clause Types

Transitive, intransitive and stative clauses have been identified in Yoliapi.

3.1. Transitive Clauses

$$TCI = \underline{+} T \underline{+} S \underline{+} O \underline{+} IO \overline{+} I \underline{+} L + P$$

$\overleftarrow{\quad} \quad \overrightarrow{\quad}$
 $\quad \quad \quad \underline{+}$

The predicate is the only obligatory slot in Yoliapi transitive clauses. The optional temporal slot generally precedes the subject slot but it may occur between the subject and object slots. Indirect object and instrumental slots have not been observed together. The locative slot immediately precedes the predicate slot.

Temporal phrases fill the temporal slot while noun phrases or pronouns fill subject, object, indirect object and instrumental slots. Locative slots are filled by locative phrases. The predicate slot is filled by a verb.

<u>me'talaw</u> <u>m-ona-w</u> fish Cont-catch-Pres I am catching fish	<u>'ano me 'no-su 'o-ru</u> I wood bush-to cut-Fut I will cut wood in the bush
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'tue 'mian mum m-a-w
 now son breast Cont-eat-Pres
 My son is now feeding

<u>'ano 'amo a'le'no-ya</u> I food him give-Recent past I gave him food	<u>me'talaw tagu m-ona-w</u> fish hook Cont-catch-Pres I am catching fish with a hook
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3.2. Intransitive Clauses

$$ICI = \underline{+} T \underline{+} S \underline{+} Acc \underline{+} L + P$$

Yoliapi intransitive clauses consist of optional temporal, subject, accompaniment and locative slots preceding the obligatory predicate slot. The order is generally as stated above but the temporal slot may follow the subject slot. Noun phrases or pronouns fill the subject and accompaniment slots, temporal phrases the temporal slot and locative phrases the locative slot.

<u>am way-su m-i</u> my house-to Cont-go I am going to my house	<u>fi-si</u> Imp-come
---	--------------------------

wo'taw 'ano 'nafilio 'mesini 'way-su m-i-ya
 yesterday I with you two tall house-to Cont-go-Recent past
 Yesterday I went to the tall house with you two.

sofi 'we'ano ma ma'ni-y

long ago my mother die-Results continuing

A long time ago my mother died.

'ano 'tutu m-ulo-w

I here Cont-sit-Pres

I am staying here.

3.3. Stative Clauses

$$SCI = \underline{+} \quad SS \quad \underline{+} \quad SP$$

Stative clauses in Yoliapi are manifested by an optional stative subject slot followed by an obligatory stative predicate slot. The optionality of the subject slot is restricted to when the stative clause acts as a clause of reason dependent on a following transitive or intransitive clause. Two sub-types are set up on the basis of the differing fillers of the two slots.

In sub-type one indicating topic and comment the fillers of the subject slot are noun phrases, pronouns, temporals or locatives while the predicate slot is filled by qualitative adjectives, negative, temporals, locatives or interrogatives.

u'sisi

cold

Because I am cold

'ano u'sisi

I cold

I am cold

'lifi faw

man no

I haven't a husband.

'Yatepre a'leyfanoy

Yatepre across there

Yatepre is across there.

'wotaw na'malu

tomorrow one day from now

Tomorrow is one day from now.

way 'mesini 'ofitu

house tall where?

Where is the tall house?

In sub-type two indicating equation or possession, both the subject and predicate slots are filled by a noun phrase or fundamental and/or absolute pronouns.

'masum 'mian wi

Masum son name

Masum's son's name is Telia.

'telia

Telia

'lifi 'wifi 'tua 'yoya
 man pig big two
 The man has two big pigs

'ano 'masum i'mam
 I Masum family
 I belong to Masum's family.

Footnotes:

1. The author would like to acknowledge the assistance of the New Guinea Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistic Research Fund which provided funds to help cover the costs involved in carrying out the research for this paper.

2. The total Hewa population is estimated at approximately 1,000.

3. The Sepik Hill Languages: A Preliminary Report, W. Dye, P. Townsend and W. Townsend, to be published in Oceania.

4. Language in Relation to A Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior, Kenneth L. Pike, Mouton & Co., The Hague, 1964.

Grammatical Discovery Procedures, Robert E. Longacre, Mouton & Co., The Hague, 1964.

5. The phonemes of Yoliapi are: voiceless unaspirated stops, p, t, k, voiced and voiceless fricatives, p (henceforward written as f) s, x b, g, (henceforward written as v and g respectively), nasals m, n, continuants r, l, w, y, and vowels a, e, i, ə, (written henceforward as o) and u. Analysis of vowel clusters is not yet complete. For the purpose of this paper non-syllabic vowels will be written as w or y. Phonemic stress is represented by ' preceding the stressed syllable.

6. Abbreviations and symbols used throughout the paper are:

<	comes from	=	is made up of
+	obligatory	±	optional

Co-occurrence restrictions are indicated in formulae by marking the first of the pair with + and the second of the pair with ± and joining the pair so restricted with an arrow.

Footnotes Concluded:

abil	abilitative	P	predicate
Acc	accompaniment	pl	plural
At	attributive	Poss	possessive
d	dual in number	S	subject
H	head	s	singular in number
I	instrumental	SCI	stative clause
ICI	intransitive clause	Seas	seasonal
IO	indirect object	SP	stative predicate
L	locative	Spec	specifier
M	modifier	SS	stative subject
N	noun phrase	T	temporal
n	noun	t-a	tense-aspect
Neg	negative	TCI	transitive clause
Num	numerical	v	verb
O	object	vst	verb stem

7. Recent past may include immediately concluded present.

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