



Action Verb and Cultural Ideology in Hubula Language: A Linguistic Anthropology Study

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Abstract

This study examines Hubula action verbs and their cultural ideology. This study uses a linguistic anthropology approach. The object of the study is the Hubula language in the Papua Highlands, Indonesia. Typologically, Hubula has a complex and unique grammatical system. Likewise, from an anthropological perspective, Hubula speakers have a variety of distinctive cultural practices and rituals that are reflected in their language practices. This study aims to identify the types of action verbs, explain the meaning of action verbs from a cultural perspective, and explain the relationship between action verb typology and Hubula cultural ideology. This study uses Comrie's lexical aspect theory and Duranti's linguistic anthropology theory. This study contributes to the development of linguistic typology, cultural linguistics, and the study of local Papuan languages. Based on the results of the research and discussion, there are four types of Hubula action verbs: activity action verbs, completion action verbs, achievement action verbs, and semelfactive action verbs. The cultural meaning of Hubula action verbs refers to work, socio-cultural relations, and rituals. The integration of Comrie's lexical typology theory and Duranti's linguistic anthropology represents a global advancement in interdisciplinary linguistic research.

Keywords: Action verbs, Cultural ideology, Linguistic anthropology, Linguistic typology.

1. Introduction

Language is a symbolic system that plays a role in shaping the social reality of society. According to linguistic anthropology, language is part of a social practice that shapes the cultural meaning, identity, and ideology of a society. This aligns with the opinion of Jones et al. (2024), who assert that language is not a static entity, but rather the result of social practices that continuously evolve through the social interactions of its speakers. Language is not only a social representation but can also construct and reproduce cultural meaning in everyday social interactions. Therefore, linguistic analysis cannot be separated from the underlying cultural dimension.

This study examines the typology of Hubula action verbs and its cultural ideology. Hubula is a language native to the Highlands of Papua. It was formerly known as the Grand Valley Dani language. The name Dani was given by evangelists and foreign researchers who visited the Baliem Valley. The Baliem Valley community calls their language Hubula, the same name as their ethnic group, the Hubula (Fautngil et al., 2016; Walilo, 2021). Hubula language has three dialects: Upper Valley Hubula, Middle Valley Hubula, and Lower Valley Hubula (Fautngil et al., 2016). The language exhibits high linguistic diversity with complex grammatical structures. Furthermore, anthropologically, it possesses numerous distinctive local knowledge systems, cultural practices, and unique ideological frameworks.

The Hubula language is spoken throughout the Baliem Valley in the Central Highlands, within the Papua Highlands. The number of Hubula speakers is estimated at between 100,000 and 150,000 (Eberhard et al., 2026). This language is a non-Austronesian or Papuan language and is also a Trans New Guinea language. Some languages in the Central Highlands of Papua that are part of the Trans New Guinea language family include Hubula, Lani, Yali, Mek, and Mee (Sawaki, 2019). Hubula is considered one of the core members of the Trans-New Guinea language family (Ross, 2005).

This research combines the perspectives of linguistic typology and linguistic anthropology. The choice of language forms, including the use of action verbs, represents the speaker's view of human relations with nature, society, cultural objects, and the spiritual world (Duranti, 1997). Research that combines the analysis of action verbs within the frameworks of linguistic typology and linguistic anthropology remains limited. Most typological research focuses only on structural aspects and does not involve culture or ideology. Verbs, as representations of actions, processes, and experiences, hold a crucial position in constructing cultural meaning because they allow speakers to express social activities, power relations, identities, and even ideological orientations in everyday life.

Comrie (1976) emphasized that verb transitivity relates to the impact on objects, agents, and the power of events in human discourse and experience. However, verb transitivity is not only grammatical but also related to cultural ideology. The choice of action verbs reflects how a particular culture understands the relationship between humans and their environment. Therefore, action verbs become an important medium for reading cultural ideologies hidden in language practices.

Research on action verbs from the perspectives of Comrie's linguistic typology and Duranti's linguistic anthropology has been conducted previously, particularly with regard to action verbs. However, these studies were conducted separately. Saibi and Puspawati (2023) examined the lexical aspects of Minangkabau verbs. This study used Comrie's aspect theory as one of its analytical theories. The results found that there are aspect markers in Minangkabau activity verb phrases. Another study using Duranti's theory was Hariyanto et al. (2025), who analyzed the naming of fishing boats in Cilacap. This study explained that the meaning of the names refers to maritime culture and its relationship to social significance.

Hubula action verbs represent cultural activities, social interactions, and relationships among members of the Hubula-speaking community. Action verbs can organize experiences through typological parameters such as valency, transitivity, and aspect. Furthermore, semantically, action verbs reflect the actions of a society and their impacts. Kogan et al. (2025) explain that meaning is contextual and rooted in experiences, the manifestation of which is mediated by cultural factors. Therefore, action verbs are not merely physical activities but also contain complex conceptual and cultural dimensions.

Hubula action verbs represent the actions and experiences of their speakers in relation to other speakers, nature, religion, and Hubula cultural norms. The study of these action verbs can serve as a means to analyze the unique social and cultural ideology of Hubula, which contains a rich local knowledge. In addition to the construction of Hubula action verbs, this study discusses the meaning of action verbs from a cultural perspective, as well as the cultural ideology contained within each action verb.

The Hubula language has been widely studied structurally and culturally, but studies integrating action verb typology and cultural ideology from a linguistic anthropological perspective are rare. Several structural studies of the Hubula language include Fahner (1978) who studied the morphology of Hubula and Yali, Bromley (1981) who studied Hubula grammar, Fautngil et al. (2016) who wrote the Indonesian-Hubula Dictionary, and Walilo (2021) from a sociolinguistic perspective. These studies have not yet examined action verb typology as central to the analysis of Hubula cultural ideology. Thus, there is a research gap in connecting action verb typology and linguistic anthropology.

This research aims to bridge the gap between structural and cultural approaches in linguistic studies. Furthermore, this research is important because the Hubula language, as one of the languages of the Papua Highlands, contains various cultural representations related to ecological relations, traditional rituals, traditional identities, and the socio-cultural structure of its people. Furthermore, this research can provide a new perspective that Hubula action verbs are not merely grammatical elements, but also reflections of Hubula cultural ideology and the community's perspective on their social and ecological world. From a practical perspective, this study contributes to the preservation of the Hubula language in the digital era, helping to ensure its vitality and prevent language endangerment and eventual extinction.

2. Theoretical Frameworks

2.1. Action Verbs and Situational Aspects

Comrie (1976) explains that action verbs (dynamic) are verbs that require a constant outpouring of energy both internally and externally to continue. This view is based on the situational aspect. The situational aspect discussed in this article is the lexical situational aspect. Aspects are alternative ways to view and perceive the internal temporal structure of a situation. There are three universal semantic features, namely dynamism, duration, and telicity. These three features give rise to the classification of situations into several main categories, namely (1) state (static, durational, atelic), (2) activity (dynamic, durational, atelic), (3) accomplishment (dynamic, durational, telic), (4) achievement (dynamic, instantaneous, telic), and (5) semelfactive (dynamic, instantaneous, atelic). The classification of verbs discussed in this study only focuses on dynamic action verbs, therefore, stative verbs are not considered action verbs.

The theory of lexical situational aspects is used as a formal instrument to explain how the Hubula people shape their temporal reality. The choice of lexical and grammatical verbs in an action can describe whether it is a completed process or an infinitely stable state. Furthermore, this theory is used to analyze the internal structure of the Hubula language as a reflection of its cognitive, philosophical, and sociocultural orientations in daily activities and interactions with nature and traditions.

2.2. Linguistic Anthropology and Cultural Ideology

According to linguistic anthropology, action verbs are not only about the lexical representation of physical activity, but also a discourse instrument that is a reflection and construction of dynamic socio-cultural reality. Duranti (1997, 2004) emphasizes that action verbs in social discourse are a manifestation of the ability of actors (agents) who have full awareness, full control over their actions and the power to influence to change their socio-cultural space. Through this theory, linguistic actions (performativity) are active instruments when agents are not only subject to social structures, but also actively reproduce or challenge those structures. Duranti's agency theory is used to examine the relationship of Hubula action verbs with power relations, social legitimacy and the formation of cultural identity. The choice of action verbs by Hubula speakers in a clause performatively articulates the ideological position of Hubula culture. Thus, Hubula action verbs are a discursively embedded representation of ideology. The agent's sociocultural control of Hubula action verbs is reflected through its language structure.

2.3. Cultural Meaning

The cultural meaning in this study also grounded in Duranti's perspective. According to Duranti (1997; 2004), the meaning of action verbs is related to sociocultural practices, such as social relations within a particular

community or tribe. Specifically, Duranti outlines three main pillars in the analysis of cultural meaning: performance, indexicality, and participation. Through performance, the utterance of Hubula action verbs in rituals or cultural practices functions as a live performance that can create new cultural realities. In terms of indexicality, Hubula verbs describe social contexts beyond the text, such as traditional power, gender role differences, and social status within Hubula society. Furthermore, the participation of action verbs involves the speaker and listener as active actors who jointly maintain and shape cultural rules through their interactions.

3. Methodology

This research is a qualitative descriptive study with a linguistic anthropology paradigm. The study views language as a source of culture and speech as a manifestation of social action and cultural practice (Duranti, 1997; Ahearn, 2012). This study discusses and analyzes the relationship between the typology of action verbs and the cultural ideology of the Hubula people in the Papua Highlands. Therefore, Hubula action verbs are a manifestation of social action and cultural practice in the Hubula community.

The data collection method was carried out using three methods, namely participant observation, in-depth interviews, and literature review. Participatory observation was carried out by directly recording the speech activities of the Hubula community in socio-cultural practice situations, in order to capture the dimensions of concrete cultural performance and participation. In-depth interviews were based on elicitation techniques used to identify action verbs and metalinguistic reflections of Hubula language informants in choosing certain grammatical verb structures because they directly encode agents. The literature review used came from traditional documents, local manuscripts, books and articles written about the language and culture of the Hubula community to strengthen the study of the typology of action verbs and the socio-cultural context of this study.

This research was conducted in Muliamia District, Jayawijaya Regency, Papua Highlands Province. The Hubula language spoken in Muliamia District belongs to the Middle Valley Hubula dialect. The selected informants consisted of six adult speakers who were physically and mentally healthy, fluent in Hubula, and knowledgeable about Hubula's social and cultural conditions.

The data analysis used is the extralingual equivalent technique. The extralingual equivalent technique in this study is the analysis of Hubula language action verbs by connecting them with elements outside the language such as the Hubula socio-cultural context, Hubula socio-cultural relations, the situation of Hubula speakers, gender roles in Hubula culture, and the daily cultural practices of Hubula speakers (Sudaryanto, 2015). Data analysis was carried out in stages: translation, analysis of types of action verbs, analysis of the cultural meaning of action verbs, and conclusions.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. Types of Action Verbs

The structure of action verbs in Hubula is discussed in relation to work, socio-cultural relations, and rituals. There are four types of action verbs, namely (1) activity (dynamic, durational, atelic), (2) completion (dynamic, durational, telic), (3) achievement (dynamic, instantaneous, telic), and (4) semelfactive (dynamic, instantaneous, atelic). The following are examples of action verbs in Hubula sentences.

- (1) *Nagoya su pilamo fahage.*
Mother *noken honai* knit
Mother knits *noken* in the *honai*.
- (2) *Horak ehi impiri su-la yuhahe*
Woman that sweet potatoes *noken-POST* carry
That woman carried sweet potatoes in a *noken*.
- (3) *Ir su Wamena wa-ngka.*
3PL *noken* Wamena sell-3PL
They sell *noken* in Wamena.
- (4) *Ar ungkuluak su yilek.*
3SG head *noken* wrap
He/she wrapped his/her head with a *noken*.
- (5) *Ar impiri su-la bahage.*
3SG food *noken-POST* keep
He/she keeps food in his *noken*.
- (6) *Ir o su-la semasihogi.*
3PL wood *noken-POST* transport
They transport wood in *noken*.
- (7) *Nagoya su elali hahe.*
Mother *noken* fibers natural make
Mother makes *noken* from natural fibers.
- (8) *Nagoya su eak horak ehi wohe.*
Mother *noken* girl that give
Mother gives *noken* to that girl.
- (9) *Ar su pilamo kologobege.*
3SG *noken honai* hang
He/she hung the *noken* on the *honai*.
- (10) *Inagona su uwi inamene yisihogo.*
Grandmother su grandchildren her weave
Grandmother weaves *noken* for her grandchildren.

These sentences represent actions in the context of daily work within the Hubula socio-cultural practices associated with the *noken* as an important symbol in Hubula socio-cultural relations. The types of verbs in these sentences are explained in the following table.

Table 1. Types of Action Verbs Related to Work.

Verb	Type of Verb	Verb Characteristics
<i>fahage</i> 'knit'	accomplishment verb	dynamic, durative, telic
<i>yuhahe</i> 'bring'	activity verb	dynamic, durative, atelic
<i>wangka</i> 'sell'	activity verb	dynamic, durative, atelic
<i>yilek</i> 'wrap'	accomplishment verb	dynamic, durative, telic
<i>bahage</i> 'store'	accomplishment verb	dynamic, durative, telic
<i>semasihogi</i> 'transport'	activity verb	dynamic, durative, atelic
<i>hahe</i> 'make'	accomplishment verb	dynamic, durative, atelic
<i>wohe</i> 'give'	activity verb	dynamic, instantaneous, telic
<i>kologobege</i> 'hang'	accomplishment verb	dynamic, durative, telic
<i>yisihogo</i> 'weave'	accomplishment verb	dynamic, durative, telic

Based on Table 1, there are four completion verbs: *fahage*, *yilek*, *hahe*, *yisihogo*, *kolobege*, and *bahage*. The verb *fahage* (to knit) in the table is included as a completion verb. The characteristics of this verb are dynamic, durational, and telic. This verb represents a series of dynamic processes that are only declared complete or achieved when the object *su* (*noken*) has fully materialized. Duration is seen from the process of constructing the *noken*, which requires a certain time span. The object *su* 'noken' is a direct object (transitive object) that has provided a clear natural boundary or endpoint for the action. There is a *pilamo* that acts as a locative marker that limits the spatial scope of the event without changing the verb structure. The verb *yilek* 'to wrap' is a completion verb that is expanded with an instrumental argument. It is durative because the wrapping action requires a certain duration and is telic because the presence of the noun *ungkuluak* 'head' that has been wrapped becomes the end limit of the process. The addition of the adverb *su* as an instrumental adverb clarifies the medium for fulfilling the action. Thus, the syntactic construction describes a directed process that is declared complete when the target object, *ungkuluak*, is covered by the instrument *su*. The verb *hahe* 'to make' is a completion verb equipped with an argument of origin. The characteristic of this verb is durative because the process of making or physical creation requires a certain duration of time. It is telic because the noun *su* functions as the object of the result that has a natural limit to the action. It is telic because the noun *su* functions as the object of the result, which has a natural limit to the action. *Elali* is an ablative complement (origin of material) that clarifies the basic material constituent. Thus, the verb describes a directed process, then declared complete when *su* 'noken' has been created into a complete *noken*. Another completion verb is *yisihogo* 'to weave'. This verb is similar to the verb *fahage* 'to knit'. The verb *yisihogo* is dynamic, durative, and has a clear endpoint or target (telic). The activity is declared logically complete when *su* has been perfectly formed. There is an additional adverbial argument, namely *uwi inamene* 'for his grandchildren' as an explanation of the purpose for which the *noken* is made. The verb *kologobege* is a completion verb. This verb is dynamic, has a process duration, and has an endpoint. The action is logically completed when *su* 'noken' is perfectly hung on the *pilamo* 'honai'. The verb *bahage* 'to store' is also an achievement verb because it is dynamic. In addition, this verb requires a time duration process and has a clear end point. The action of *bahage* 'to store' is logically completed when the object *impiri* 'food/sweet potato' has completely entered the *noken* space.

Table 1 contains three activity verbs: *wangka*, *yuhahe*, and *semasihogi*. The verb *wangka* (to sell) is a dynamic activity verb. It lasts for a certain duration but has no endpoint. The activity of selling *su* (*noken*) can be repeated as a profession or continuous process without a logical endpoint. The verb *yuhahe* is a dynamic activity verb, with duration and atelic. The action of carrying *impiri* (sweet potatoes) can continue without a logical endpoint. The verb *semasihogi* (transport) is categorized as an activity verb because it is dynamic, lasting for a certain duration, but has no endpoint. The action of carrying *o* (wood) in a *noken* can continue indefinitely. Thus, these verbs do not have a logical endpoint, unlike completion verbs that have a target.

In addition to the two previously discussed verb types, accomplishment verbs and activity verbs, there are also achievement verbs. The achievement verb in this case is *wohe* ('to give'). This verb is dynamic in nature but occurs instantaneously and momentarily (–durative) with a clearly defined endpoint (+telic). The transfer or handing over of *su* ('noken'/traditional woven bag) to *eak horak ehi* ('that girl') takes place within a single moment in time. The transfer of the object occurs briefly and is completed instantly. The following are additional examples of this verb type in Hubula sentences.

- (11) *Ahuni pilamo aburi inom falihogi*
People *honai* family POST build
People build the *honai* together with their families.
- (12) *Nopae silimo duhege*
Father yard go-out
Father goes out to the yard.
- (13) *Eman pilamo awakhahe.*
Eman *honai* clean
Eman cleans the *honai*.
- (14) *Heji himpiri pilamo wosege.*
Mother food *honai* men send
Mother sends food to the men's *honai*.
- (15) *Ir ebeai sawohogon iyaha*
3PL female *honai* around cook
They cook around the women's *honai*.
- (16) *Inompae pilamo wene suane yege*

- Elders *honai* story tale tell
The elders tell stories in the *honai*.
- (17) *Markus yontak pilamo ungkege.*
Markus yesterday *honai* enter.PST
Markus entered the *honai* yesterday.
- (18) *Nir pilamo weakwawnem arwam welago*
1PL.EXCL *honai* bad disturbance guard
We guard the *honai* from disturbances.
- (19) *Nompae pilamo weakma arwak hasikhogo*
father *honai* damaged repair
Father repairs the damaged *honai*.
- (20) *Ir ap pilamo mengke inom yihogi*
3PL guest *honai* POSS POST receive
They receive traditional guests in their *honai*.

Sentences (11)–(20) are sentences related to Hubula socio-cultural relations. These sentences contain ten action verbs. The verbs are categorized according to their types as follows.

Table 2. Types of Action Verbs about Socio-Cultural Relations.

Verb	Type of Verb	Verb Characteristics
<i>falihogi</i> 'build	accomplishment verb	dynamic, durative, telic
<i>duhege</i> 'exit/go out	achievement verb	dynamic, instantaneous, telic
<i>awakhahe</i> 'clean'	accomplishment verb	dynamic, durative, telic
<i>wosege</i> 'send'	accomplishment verb	dynamic, durative, telic
<i>iyaho</i> 'cook'	achievement verb	dynamic, durative, atelic
<i>yege</i> 'tell'	accomplishment verb	dynamic, durative, telic
<i>ungkege</i> 'enter'	achievement verb	dynamic, instantaneous, telic
<i>welago</i> 'guard'	activity verb	dynamic, durative, atelic
<i>hasikhogo</i> 'repair'	accomplishment verb	dynamic, durative, telic
<i>yihogi</i> 'receive'	activity verb	dynamic, durative, atelic

The verbs in Table 2 consist of three types: accomplishment verbs, achievement verbs, and activity verbs. The accomplishment category includes five verbs: *falihogi*, *awakhahe*, *wosege*, *yege*, and *hasikhogo*. The verb *falihogi* ('to build') is classified as an accomplishment verb because it is dynamic, requires an extended process (+durative), and has a clearly defined endpoint (+telic). The action denoted by this verb is considered complete when the *pilamo* '*honai*' has been fully constructed. The verb *awakhahe* ('to clean') is also an accomplishment verb because it requires a certain amount of time and has a logical endpoint. The action is completed when the *pilamo* ('*honai*') has become clean, neat, and orderly.

The verb *wosege* 'to send' is a completion verb that is dynamic, durative, and telic in nature. The *wosege* action is complete when the object *himpiri* 'food/sweet potato' has arrived and been received at the location, namely *pilamo* 'male *honai*'. The verb *yege* 'to tell' is also a completion verb with dynamic, durative, and telic characteristics. The process of telling *wene suane* 'fairy tale' will be complete when the entire story has been told until the end of the story. The verb *hasikhogo* 'to repair' is a completion verb in terms of semantic aspectuality. Its characteristics are the same as other completion verbs, namely dynamic, durative, and telic. The action is absolutely complete when the object *pilamo* '*honai*' has returned to a good and undamaged condition.

There are three achievement verbs in Table 2: *duhege*, *ungkege*, and *yihogo*. The verb *duhege* (to leave) is an achievement verb because it is dynamic, instantaneous, or fleeting (-durative) with a clear ending point (+telic). The subject's position shift from inside the house or *honai* to the yard occurs briefly when the door is passed through. The verb *ungkege* (to enter) is almost the same as the previous verb *duhege* (to leave). It is a dynamic, instantaneous, or immediate (-durative) achievement verb with a clear ending point. The transition or change of position from outside the *honai* to inside occurs in a single beat or a short time after the door is passed through.

There are also three activity verbs: *iyaho* (to cook), *welago* (to guard), and *yihogi* (to receive). The verb *iyaho* (to cook) is also an activity verb. Its characteristics are dynamic, durative, and atelic. It is dynamic and requires a duration of time, but has no end point. The action of *iyaho* (to cook) is a stand-alone action verb without a specific object, so the activity can stop at any time without any logical limitations attached to the verb. The verb *welago* (to guard) is also an activity verb with the characteristics of dynamic, durative, and atelic. The action of *welago* can continue indefinitely. Furthermore, there is the verb *yihogi* (to receive) which is also an activity verb. This verb has dynamic, durative, and atelic characteristics. The act of *yihogi* (reception) is the process of welcoming, meeting, and entertaining guests who come to the traditional *honai*. The process of receiving customary knowledge can last from a few minutes to hours with no time limit.

- (21) *Ir ap wam palihogi*
3PL father pig cut
The fathers slaughtered pigs.
- (22) *Ir humi wam sumpusogo ahuni wosega*
3PL mother meat all villagers distribute
The mothers distributed meat to all the villagers.
- (23) *Ir impiri kir yugu waga bega*
3PL food stone-bake LOC place
They placed food on the heated stones.
- (24) *Ar su mpumpurhage.*
3SG door knock
He/she knocked on the door.

- (25) *Nir entai wenepugur yolago*
1PL EXCL song customary sing
We sang traditional songs.
- (26) *Nir entai nina-muruk silimo paluok.*
1PL EXCL dance 1PL EXCL-POSS yard dance
We performed our traditional dance in the yard.
- (27) *Ar wam sige wagawahe*
3SG pig shoot with arrow
He/she shot a pig with a bow and arrow.
- (28) *Ir wene waga sega polakha*
3PL ceremony during spear throw
They threw spears during the ceremony.
- (29) *Nir wam ongko wene waga niningkidingkilik bogo*
1PL.EXCL pig fine customary POST ten put
We put down ten pigs as a customary fine.
- (30) *Ar su iwar wolokloak.*
3SG noken must carry
He/she must carry a noken.

Sentences (21) – (30) are based on the ritual context in Hubula culture. There are four types of verbs in these sentences. The following is an explanation.

Table 3. Types of Action Verbs in Ritual Activities.

Verb	Verb Type	Ciri Verba
<i>palihogi</i> 'to cut/slaughter'	Accomplishment verb	dynamic, durative, <i>telic</i>
<i>wosega</i> 'to distribute'	Accomplishment verb	dynamic, durative, <i>telic</i>
<i>bega</i> 'to place/put'	Achievement verb	dynamic, instantaneous, <i>telic</i>
<i>mpumpurhage</i> 'to knock'	Activity verb	dynamic, durative, <i>atelic</i>
<i>yolago</i> 'to sing'	Accomplishment verb	dynamic, durative, <i>telic</i>
<i>paluok</i> 'to dance'	Accomplishment verb	dynamic, durative, <i>telic</i>
<i>sige wagawahe</i> 'to shoot with an arrow'	Achievement verb	dynamic, instantaneous, <i>telic</i>
<i>polakha</i> 'to throw'	Semelfactive verb	dynamic, instantaneous, <i>atelic</i>
<i>bogo</i> 'to place/put'	Achievement verb	dynamic, instantaneous, <i>telic</i>
<i>iwar wolokloak</i> 'must carry'	Activity verb	dynamic, durative, <i>atelic</i>

The verbs in Table 3 consist of completion verbs, achievement verbs, activity verbs, and semelfactive verbs. There are four completion verbs in the table: *palihogi* (to cut), *wosege* (to share), *yolago* (to sing), and *paluok* (to dance). *Palihogi* verbs are completion verbs that are semantically dynamic, durative, and telic. These verbs require a specific time span and are dynamic. The action of these verbs is declared complete when the object *wam* (pig) has been cut into pieces according to the customs of the Hubula community and the target expected by the butchers. The verb *wosege* (to share) is a completion verb. The action of *wosege* requires a long duration (+durative), is dynamic, and has a clear and logical endpoint (+telic). The action is completed when the target, *sumpusogo ahuni* (all citizens), has received their respective shares (*wam*). The verb *yolago* (to sing) is a completion verb, just like the previous two. It is dynamic, requires a certain duration (+durative), and has a clear and logical endpoint (+telic). The action is absolutely completed when the *entai wenepugur* (traditional song) is sung to the last lyric. The verb *paluok* (to dance) also includes completion with durative and telic properties. The *paluok* action is completely completed when the entire traditional dance, *entai ninamuruk*, has been performed to completion.

There are three achievement verbs in Table 3: *bega*, *bogo*, and *sige wagawahe*. The verb *bega* (to put) is an achievement verb. In this context, the action of *bega* causes a change in the position of an object, namely *himpiri* (food), which occurs quickly, immediately, and instantaneously (-durative). The action has a clear endpoint (+telic). The change in position of the *himpiri* from being held or from another place to touching the *kir yugu* (hot stone) occurs briefly, in one beat. The verb *bogo* (to put) is the same as the verb *bega* (to put), only with a different subject person that influences the verb. The verb *bogo* (to put, a three-plural subject) is an achievement verb. In Hubula tradition, this action means establishing customary sanctions (an explanation of the cultural meaning is discussed in the next section). The action occurs quickly or immediately (-durative) with a clear endpoint (+telic). The change in the status of the subject *nir* from not being fined (not in debt) to being fined (in debt) occurs quickly in a single beat when the customary decision is mutually agreed upon. The verb *sige wagawahe* 'to shoot' is also an achievement verb. It occurs instantaneously (-durative) with a clear endpoint (+telic). The transition when the *sige* 'arrow' is launched and hits its target, the *wam*, occurs in a short time.

There are two activity verbs in the table: *wolokloak* and *mpumpurhage*. The verb *wolokloak* (to carry) is a dynamic activity verb. It requires a duration (+durative) but does not have an ending point (-telic). The obligation to carry the *noken* (a traditional handkerchief) can continue, and there is no endpoint in the verb itself. Another activity verb is *mpumpurhage* (to knock). This verb is a dynamic and durative series of beats, but does not have a logical stopping point (-telic). The action of *mpumpurhage* (to knock) can be repeated indefinitely, unless limited by the number of beats.

There is one semelfactive verb, *polakha*, meaning "to throw." This action is an instantaneous and punctual (-durative) event when the object *sega*, or arrow, is released from the hand. Furthermore, it is atelic because the act of holding the arrow does not result in any physical or permanent change in the state of *sega*. This verb is purely semelfactive.

4.2. Cultural Meaning of Action Verbs

4.2.1. Work Context

This section discusses the meaning of action verbs in Hubula cultural practices, specifically in relation to work contexts, sociocultural relations, and Hubula traditional rituals. There are ten action verbs related to work in the previous sentences. The following is an explanation of their cultural meaning.

Table 4. Cultural Meaning of Work.

Verb	Cultural Meaning
<i>fahage</i> ‘to knit/weave’	production
<i>yuhahe</i> ‘to carry’	distribution
<i>wangka</i> ‘to sell’	economic activity
<i>yilek</i> ‘to wrap’	identity
<i>bahage</i> ‘to store’	function
<i>semasihogi</i> ‘to transport/carry loads’	tools/instrumental activity
<i>hahe</i> ‘to make’	production
<i>wohe</i> ‘to give’	social relations
<i>kologobege</i> ‘to hang’	storage method
<i>yisihogo</i> ‘to weave/plait’	production

Based on Table 4, the meaning of action verbs is culturally diverse. The verbs *fahage*, *hahe*, and *yisihogo* refer to the act of producing the traditional Hubula bag, *su*. These actions are traditional activities still carried out manually by Hubula women today (You et al., 2019). The verb *yuhahe* refers to distribution. Carrying sweet potatoes in a *noken* indicates the distribution of objects (sweet potatoes) from garden to home, from home to home, from home to church, and from home to market. To this day, *noken* is still used to transport garden produce in the Baliem Valley area. The verb *wangka* refers to actions related to the economy. The *noken* made by Hubula women in Muliamia are for personal use and some are sold at the Wamena market as a cultural commodity. The verb *yilek* refers to actions related to the identity of Hubula women. Hubula women wear *noken* by wrapping it around their heads, while men wear it by hanging it around their necks or arms. The verb *bahage* has cultural meaning, namely related to the *noken's* function as a storage container. For the Hubula people, the *noken* is a mobile home, used for storing food, carrying goods, carrying garden produce, sleeping in children, and as a dowry. Thus, the *noken* plays a very important role in the lives of the Hubula people.

The verb *semasihogi* has a cultural meaning related to a means of transport. The subject of the sentence uses a *noken* to transport wood. This relates to the utilitarian function because the *noken* has benefits and functions for the Hubula people, not just emotional, artistic, or cultural value. The verb *wohe* is an action verb with social meaning because it relates to the giving of culturally valuable objects to family members. This action is a form of cultural inheritance from parents to children. In the Hubula tradition, in addition to giving the *noken*, it is also accompanied by advice and counsel about the roles and obligations of native Hubula women in the socio-cultural life of their tribe. Finally, related to work, the verb *kologobege* means a method of storage. The Hubula people store *noken* in *honai* by hanging it to preserve its natural fibers. This has become a tradition and custom that *noken* must always be hung to maintain its durability and long-term use.

4.2.2. Context of Socio-Cultural Relations

Hubula society is a communal society and is bound by culture. In cultural practice, there is a reciprocal relationship between one another because of the strong kinship and solidarity of the Hubula people. The previous Hubula language sentences contain action verbs whose meaning is related to the socio-cultural relations of the Hubula community. The cultural meanings of action verbs based on Hubula's socio-cultural relations are visualized in the following table.

Table 5. Cultural Meaning of Socio-Cultural Relations.

Verb	Cultural Meaning
<i>falihogi</i> ‘to build’	construction
<i>duhege</i> ‘to go out/exit’	social interaction
<i>awakhahe</i> ‘to clean’	responsibility
<i>nantorek werek</i> ‘to gather/assemble’	social relations
<i>iyaho</i> ‘to cook’	subsistence
<i>yege</i> ‘to tell’	subsistence
<i>ungkege</i> ‘to enter’	social
<i>welago</i> ‘to guard/protect’	protection
<i>hasikhogo</i> ‘to repair’	maintenance
<i>yihogi</i> ‘to receive’	ritual

The verb *falihogi* is a verb that culturally means construction. Although typologically it is an achievement verb, the act of constructing or building a *honai* is carried out in groups or together. A *honai* in the Hubula tradition can be built in one to four weeks together. The verbs *duhege*, *nantorek werek*, and *ungkege* have social meaning because they relate to relationships between one another in a community and a complex, known as *o silimo*. This social meaning is related to community, solidarity, and the division of space within a *honai* and *o silimo*. The Hubula people live in a single *o silimo* (complex) surrounded by a fence and originate from the same ancestor (Rogi, 2025). The verb *awakhahe* means shared responsibility. The *honai* must always be cleaned and maintained to ensure a comfortable stay. The verb *iyaho* means subsistence. Subsistence is related to the act of Hubula women cooking together for all members of the family or community. One of the domestic roles of Hubula women, as explained previously, is cooking with other women around the *honai* (You, et al., 2019; Rogi, 2025).

The verb *yege* signifies actions related to the transmission of Hubula culture. Cultural stories, fairy tales, and other tales can only be told in the *honai*. The Hubula tradition is passed down orally and passed down through

generations within the *honai*. The verb *welago* signifies protective actions. For the Hubula, the *honai* needs to be maintained and protected, one way of doing this is by lighting a fire inside the *honai* to keep it warm (Hasrul and Ikapura, 2023). The verb *hasikhogo* has a cultural meaning related to maintenance. The *honai* needs to be inspected frequently for the strength of its supporting pillars, walls, and thatched roof. This inspection is the responsibility of the Hubula men. Finally, the verb *yihogi* signifies ritual actions. Cultural customs and customary agreements are usually handled within the traditional *honai*. The *honai* symbolizes a ritual space where all matters related to tradition are carried out and resolved. In Hubula religion, the *honai* represents the relationship between humans and other humans, humans and ancestors, and humans and nature.

4.2.3. Ritual Context

The most important cultural meanings relate to rituals. Although Hubula speakers are Protestant, Catholic, and some Muslim, cultural practices still involve their traditional religions (Saberia et al., 2013; Schoorl, 2001). The cultural meanings of action verbs related to ritual actions and activities are shown in the following table.

Table 6. Cultural Meaning of Traditional Rituals.

Verb	Cultural Meaning
<i>palihogi</i> 'cut'	ritual
<i>wosega</i> 'distribute'	social
<i>bega</i> 'put/place'	ritual
<i>mpumpurhage</i> 'knock'	respect
<i>yolago</i> 'sing'	expression
<i>paluok</i> 'dance'	performative
<i>sige wagawahe</i> 'shoot with bow and arrow'	ritual
<i>polakha</i> 'throw'	ritual
<i>bogo</i> 'put/place'	symbolic
<i>iwar wolokloak</i> 'must bring/carry'	identity

The word *palihogi* has cultural significance related to rituals. The most influential ritual is the burning stones, which was explained in the previous section. The person who slaughters the pig in this tradition has high sociocultural status and is influential in Hubula traditions. The verb *wosega* means a social action. In the burning stones, sharing food is one of the domestic roles of Hubula women. Women and mothers distribute food to all members of the community and their families. The verb *bega* means a ritual action. The burning stones tradition is a customary process that involves traditional cooking techniques. Heated stones are placed in a pre-dug hole. Afterward, pork, tubers, and vegetables are added to the hot stones. Then, the hot stones are covered again so that the food inside can cook thoroughly. The verb *mpumpurhage* is an act of respect. A house is more than just a physical structure, especially a traditional house like the *honai*. The *honai* is a sacred space protected by spiritual and ancestral values. Outsiders wishing to visit the *honai* must knock and announce their arrival. This is a form of awareness of the boundaries between public space and sacred domestic space.

The verb *yolago* signifies an act of cultural expression. This expressive meaning emerges during the stone-burning process. While waiting for the food to cook, participants will sing and dance traditional Hubula songs while forming a circle (Nipur et al., 2022). The verb *paluok* signifies a performative act. Just like *yolago*, *paluok* is also performed while waiting for the stone-burning process to complete. Singing and dancing are forms of performance that represent the cultural values of the Hubula people. The verb *sige wagawahe* signifies a ritual. This verb is typologically derived from the noun *sige* 'arrow'. In Hubula tradition, before a pig is slaughtered and split for the stone-burning ceremony, the pig is first shot with an arrow (Nipur et al., 2022). The *sige wagawahe* action is carried out by several tribal chiefs, taking turns aiming at its heart. If the pig dies immediately, it signifies a successful event. The verb *polakhe* has the same customary meaning as the previous verb, namely a ritual act. The *sega* (arrow) is a traditional tool used for warfare and hunting by the Hubula people. The *sega polakha* symbolizes the strength and prowess of a Hubula man. This tradition has shifted from being used for ritual warfare to sport. The verb *bogo* conveys the cultural meaning of the symbol. In Hubula tradition, problems or violations of customary law can be resolved with a fine. The higher the fine, the higher the social status. The final verb is *wolokloak*. *Wolokloak* signifies cultural identity. When attending traditional events or rituals, the Hubula people always carry a *noken* (a traditional headdress). The *noken* is associated with the wearer's identity. For traditional leaders or tribal chiefs, the motif and style of the *noken* differ from those of the general population because they relate to their role and position within the Hubula community.

5. Conclusion

This research indicates that action verbs are a crucial element in understanding the relationship between Hubula language and culture. The most frequently used Hubula action verbs are completion verbs, followed by activity and achievement verbs. The least frequently used Hubula action verbs are semelfactive verbs. Activity verbs possess durative, dynamic, and atelic (open-ended) features, effectively concealing a strong sense of collective ideology. Hubula activity verbs require continuous action and involve many people due to the communal nature of Hubula culture. According to Duranti's perspective, activity verbs rooted in communal and collective culture directly suppress the individualistic ego of Hubula speakers, to maintain a sociocultural order based on togetherness and kinship. In contrast, completion verbs are durative and dynamic in nature but have a clear endpoint. These verbs reveal the distribution of agency and the control exercised by traditional authorities. Furthermore, they indicate the presence of hegemony and hierarchical control within Hubula society. Achievement verbs occur instantaneously, are dynamic, and are irreversible. These verbs signify socio-cultural actions, adherence to cultural norms, and the division of gender roles within Hubula culture.

The cultural meanings conveyed by action verbs are generally related to the process of producing noken (traditional woven bags), methods of storage, and the functions and uses of noken. In addition, these cultural meanings are connected to the social relationships between Hubula speakers and other speakers, as well as to ritual practices.

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