CHAPTER 5

VERBS

5.1 GENERAL

5.1.1 Verb classes and suffix groups

5.1.1.1 There are three classes of verbs, distinguishable by the final vowels of their basic stems. The first two classes are made up of regular verbs, while the third comprises irregular ones. Examples of verbs in their basic stem forms are:

<u>Class 1</u>		Cla	Class 2		<u>Class 3</u>		
le	utter	bi	make/do	ibu	come		
he	have/be	mi	take/give	biru	sit		
ne	ingest	hiri	roast	palu	lie down		
dabe	choose	dugwi	lift up	pu	go		

5.1.1.2 Stem-final vowels undergo changes according to the suffixes with which they occur, and this conveniently divides the suffixes into three groups, corresponding to the stem-final vowels of the regular verbs. The possible realizations of these vowels and the suffix groups that correspond with them are shown in figures 4 - 6, the groups being labelled A, B and C.

5.1.1.3 Wurm (1982: 62) has noted that languages of the Trans-New Guinea phylum commonly distinguish between realis and irrealis in their verb morphology, and it is interesting to observe that group B suffixes are generally concerned with the former, group C suffixes with the latter. Group A suffixes contain a

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STEM VOWEL

SUFFIXES

Figure 4: Group A verb suffixing system

STEM VOWEL SUFFIXES





STEM VOWEL SUFFIXES



Figure 6: Group C verb suffixing system

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mixture of both.

5.1.2 Stem-final vowel rules

5.1.2.1 Table 14 sets out the stem-final vowels of regular verbs according to class and according to the suffix groups with which they occur.

verb	basic	stem-final vowels with suffix groups			
class	stem	A B		С	
ĺ	(X)Ce	(X)Ce a e		0	
2	Ci	i	i	u	
	CVC(V)i	a	i	u	

Table 14: Stem-final vowels

The changes shown involve lowering and rounding, and are governed by two sets of rules.

5.1.2.2 The first set involves two ordered rules that account for lowering in classes 1 and 2. The first rule applies only to class 2 verbs, and is

(L1) i ---> e / CVC(V)__] + [

which says that if a disyllabic stem's final vowel is i, it is lowered to e when group A suffixes are added. The result of this is then fed into the second rule,

(L2) e ---> a / (X)C(V)__] + [which says that stem-final e is lowered to a on the addition of a group A suffix. This rule also applies to class 1

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verbs. Class 2 monosyllabic verbs are not affected by the lowering rules, although it is worth recalling that vowel harmony rules lower the final vowel of class 2 basic stems in certain instances (cf 4. 4, 3.6, 4. 4, 3.7). Note that class 2 verbs whose stems terminate in the sequence C^WV are subject to these rules. Examples of the lowering rules in operation are given below, with the rule that is being applied indicated in brackets. (L1 and L2 here and in 5.1.2.2 stand for "lowering rule 1" and "lowering rule 2' respectively.)

hiri- to hira- in:

mbirini hiri + rama (Ll) ---> mbirini hire +rama meat roast-STM lP-SIMP PRES

(L2) ---> mbirini hira +rama = mbirini hirarama meat we roast we roast meat

dugwi- to dugwa- in:

panga dugwi + ribi (Ll) ---> panga dugwe +ribi door lift up-STM 2D-SIMP PAST

(L2) ---> panga dugwa +ribi = panga dugwaribi door you two lifted up you opened the door

le- to la- in:

bi mbira le + ro (L2) ---> bi mbira la +ro word one utter-STM lS-SIMP PRES

= bi mbira laro
word one I say
I say something

he- to ha- in:

keba timbuni he + ja anger big have-STM 3-SIMP PAST

(L2) ---> keba timbuni ha +ja = keba timbuni haja anger big (he) had (he) was very angry

5.1.2.3 The second set of rules induces rounding. The first of these says that basic stem-final vowels i and e become the corresponding back vowels in association with group C suffixes:

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hende- to hondo- in:

ira hende + wa mogo laja
wood see-STM CONS surprise utter-3-PAST

- (R1) ---> ira hendo +wa mogo laja
 trees seeing surprise (he) expressed/had
 - (R2) ---> ira hondo +wa mogo laja

= ira hondowa mogo laja seeing the trees he expressed surprise

5.1.2.5 There is a rule that deletes the feature [round] from the final consonant of class 2 disyllabic stems when they receive

polysyllabic suffixes. It can be stated thus:

C [+round] ---> [-round] / CV [+high] + CVCVX

Examples of this rule in operation after the application of Rl are:

[tug^Wi-] to [tugu-] in:

[ma:] [tug^Wi] + [Juma] (Rl) ---> [ma: tug^Wu +Juma] taro pull up-STM lP-FUT

(del) ---> [ma: tugu +Juma] = ma duguluma we'll pull up some taro

[thug^Wi-] to [thugu-] in:

[thiabu] [thug^Wi] + [Je] [p^hIja] asparagus pick-STM PURP go-3-PAST

> (Rl) ---> [thiabu thugwu +It phija] asparagus pick might (he) went

(del) ---> [thiabu thugu +It phIja]

= tiabu tugule pija
he went to pick some asparagus

5.1.3 Suffix rules

5.1.3.1 There are three vowel change rules that apply to suffixes. The first two are the the vowel harmony rules given

in 4.4.3.3 - 4.4.3.5, concerning the suffixes -go and -ne.

5.1.3.2 The third is a deletion rule,

STM SUFX a ---> Ø / (X)Ca] + [___(X)

which says that suffix-initial a is always deleted when the stem-final vowel is a. This is a frequently invoked rule, and is operative beyond the process of verb suffixation. Examples:

la + a ---> la +Ø = la utter-STM 2S-IMP PRES speak!

tomo na + ai haja food ingest-STM COMP have-3-SIMP PAST

---> tomo na +Øi haja food eat completely (he) had

= tomo nai haja
he ate all the food / he finished eating

hai hira + abe ---> hai hira +Øbe banana roast-STM 2S-IMP FUT banana roast (later)

= hai hirabe
roast the banana later

5.1.3.3 By way of exception, the deletion rule also applies in the cases of the irregular verbs **ibu** 'come' and **pu** 'go' when the suffix is the singular imperative present, thus:

abale ibu + a ---> abale ibu +Ø quickly come-STM 2S-IMP PRES quickly come

= abale ibu
come quickly

biabe bule pu + a ---> biabe bule pu +0
work do-PURP go-STM 2S-IMP PRES work to do go
= biabe bule pu
go and do some / your work

5.1.3.4 It needs to be noted that the verb ji 'hold' is exceptional in that it behaves as if its configuration were CVCi, not Ci.

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5.1.3.5 Phonological motivation is discernable for suffix rules, but is not apparent in verb stem rules - except for those instances considered under vowel harmony (cf 4.4.3.3-7), the rounding rule of 5.1.2.4, and the deletion rule of 5.1.3.2. There are no features or conditions common to each suffix group, or present in each verb class, that can account for the changes that occur in stem-final vowels. The only commonalities are the semantico-cultural ones referred to in 5.1.1.3, and discussed more fully in 5.1.5 and 10.4. This apparent lack of phonological motivation in stem vowel changes persists in some of the irregular verbs, too.

5.1.4 Irregular verbs

5.1.4.1 Class 3 verbs may have two or three different stems operative with the suffixes of a single suffix group. Table 15 gives the stem-final vowel changes for the class 3 verbs listed in 5.1.1. Details of matching stems to suffixes are set out in 5.2 - 5.4; but it is useful to illustrate table 15 with some examples of suffixing with the verbs that appear there.

5.1.4.2 Suffixation from group A changes

ibu- to ibi- in:

bamba ibu + ja ---> bamba ibi +ja before come-STM 3-SIMP PAST before (he) came = bamba ibija he came some time ago

ibu- to iba- in:

ibu + limu ---> iba +limu = ibalimu come-STM 2P-IMP FUT come (later)!

ibu- unchanged in:

basic	stem-final vowels with suffix groups				
stem	А	В	С		
ibu	i a u	i	u		
biru	a	e	u		
palu	a i	e	u		
pu	u o i	e	u o		

Table 15: Examples of class 3 verb stems

biru- to bira- in:

dagiani biru + riba ---> dagiani bira +riba plank-LOC sit-STM 1D-SIMP PAST on the plank we two sat

= dagiani birariba
we sat on the plank

palu- to pala- in:

aju palu + ro ---> aju pala +ro now lie down-STM lS-SIMP PRES now I lie down

= aju palaro
I lie down now

palu- to pali- in:

abe ti palu + rimi yesterday 2P lie down-STM 2P-SIMP PAST

> ---> abe ti pali +rimi yesterday you many lay down / slept

> > = abe ti palirimi you slept yesterday

5.1.4.2.1 Phonological motivation seems frequently to be present in the changes that palu undergoes. In the above example it is possible to ascribe the vowel change to regressive spreading of the feature [-back] from the suffix-initial vowel, while the previous example, palu ---> pala, could similarly be interpreted as regressive assimilation of the feature [-high].

5.1.4.2.2 Further examples of suffixation from group A are: pu- to po- in:

bajwa pu + be ---> bajwa po +be carefully go-STM 2S+IMP FUT carefully go (later)

= bajwa pobe
go carefully

pu- to pi- in:

andaga pu + ai haja house-LOC go-STM COMP have/be-3-SIMP PAST

> ---> andaga pi +ai haja house-to go (completely) (they) had / were

= andaga piai haja
they went home completely
they all went home / they went all the way home

pu- unchanged in:

libu pu + daba ---> libu pu +daba 2D go-STM 2-IMP PRES you two go (now) = libu pudaba you go

5.1.4.3 Suffixation from group B changes

ibu- to ibi- in:

agali ibu + lo hondo ha man come-STM 3-PERM see-PURP have/be-3-IMP PRES

> ---> agali ibi +lo hondo ha man come might to-see you have/be/wait

> > = agali ibilo hondo ha
> > wait for the man to come

biru- to bere- in:

wandari andagani biru + ne girl house-LOC-LOC sit-STM EX DEF ---> wandari andagani bire +ne (the) girl in the house was seated

> ---> wandari andagani bere +ne the girl at home was

> > wandari andagani berene the girl was at home

5.1.4.3.1 The exceptional nature of this example can be seen in that the stem-final vowel assimilates regressively to the suffix vowel, rather than the suffix vowel assimilating to the stem vowel, as might have been predicted (cf 4.4.3.4). It then undergoes regressive spreading of the feature [-high], followthe rule given in 4.4.3.7.

5.1.4.3.2 Futher examples of suffixation from group B are: palu- to pale- in:

dagiani palu + 10 ---> dagiani pale +10 plank-LOC lie down 3-PERM plank-on lie let him

> dagiani palelo let him lie/sleep on the plank

pu- to pe- in:

iba pu + da ---> iba pe +da water go-STM 3-EX PRES water goes

> iba peda the river flows

5.1.4.4 Suffixation from group C leaves

ibu- unchanged in:

nogo tamuha ibu + ligo pabe bibe pig within-LOC come-STM PREC FUT fence make-2S IMP FUT

> = nogo tamuha ibuligo pabe bibe pig/s inside lest it/they come fence make make a fence to stop the pigs coming in

biru- unchanged in:

ĩ	biru	+	lija	henge	ngi		
1S	sit-STM		1S-PERM	space	give-2S	IMP	PRES
I	sit		might	space	give		

= î birulija henge ngi

give me room to sit down

palu~ unchanged in:

ina palu + lumaja tamunguru ngija lP lie down-STM lP-PERM woven mat give-3-SIMP PAST we lie down / sleep might a mat (he) gave

> ina palulumaja tamunguru ngija he gave us a mat to sleep on

pu- changing to po- in:

hamaga pu + lene nga clearing-LOC go-STM OBLIG 3-EV

> ---> hamaga po +lene nga clearing-to/at go ought is

> > = hamaga polene nga there's an oughting-to-go to the clearing there's a need to go to the clearing (we) should go to the clearing

pu- unchanged in:

ani pu + wa tomo naja thus go-STM CONS food ingest-3-SIMP PAST thus having gone food (he) ate

> ani puwa tomo naja after going there he had something to eat

5.1.5 Realis-Irrealis.

5.1.5.1 This dichotomoy has been referred to in 5.1.1.3 and in 5.1.3.4, and something further needs to be said before progressing to an exploration of verbal suffixes. Realis is used here of states, events and processes that the speaker declares, without modulation or modality, to have happened or to be now happening; irrealis refers to states, events and processes that the speaker declares have yet to happen, or whose happening is qualified by modulation or modality.

5.1.5.2 Discounting forms that are adjuncts in adjunct + proverb (APV) configurations (cf 5.1.8), the vast majority of group B verbal suffixes (15 out of 16: cf figures 4-6) signal realis,

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while 13 out of 14 of group C suffixes signal irrealis. Group A suffixes are a mixture of both, 10 of them signalling realis and 26 irrealis. The systems are shown conflated in figure 7, which uses stem-final vowels and suffix-initial graphemes to display the pattern. The data do not include the small set of class 3 verbs, nor the existential verbs (EVs - cf 5.1.7).



Figure 7: Realis-Irrealis system

5.1.5.3 The figure shows that, except for the CONS, represented by the grapheme 'W', realis is signalled by the EX and SIMP forms, and irrealis by the others. Group B suffixes cover realis, group C suffixes irrealis. Conversely, unchanged verb stems are associated with realis, changed stems with irrealis. Group A suffixes are mostly irrealis, and class 1 verbs change their final vowels to receive them.

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5.1.5.4 The first reference mentioned above in 5.1.5.1 cited Wurm's comments (1982: 62) about this distinction being reflected in the verb morphology of Trans-New Guinea phylum languages, while the second arose in the context of seeking motivation for stem-final vowel changes in verb stems. While the data set out in figure 6 do not suggest motivation for the vowel changes, Wurm's comments are certainly supported by them. This is shown even more clearly when the two systems, realis and irrealis, are dissociated and set out separately, as in figures **%** and **9** below.





Figure 9: Irrealis system

5.1.5.5 In each of the above figures, superscript I stands for 'if', and superscript T stands for 'then'. Thus in figure

8, if the stem o^{-}/u^{-} is selected, then the initial grapheme of the suffix will be w; in figure 9, if the stem e^{-}/i^{-} or the stem o^{-}/e^{-} is selected, then the initial grapheme of the suffix has to be t. Note that selection of the stem a^{-}/i^{-} does not impose the same restriction.

5.1.5.6 Examples of the realization of these choices are spread throughout 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4. It will be sufficient here to give one or two by way of illustration.

REALIS:

abe andaga pi= + ru = abe andaga piru go=STM lS=SIMP PAST I went home yesterday yesterday home (I) went

ani pu² + wa hina dawi² + ru go²STM CONS cook²STM 1S²SIMP PAST thus having gone sweet potato (I) cooked having gone there, he cooked some sweet potato = ani puwa hina dawaru

bame be- + dama = bame bedama
sit-STM lP=EX PRES we're sitting idle
nothing (we) sit/are sitting

tigwa bi henene ore la- + ja, le- + ne say=STM 3-SIMP PAST say-STM EX DEF they talk true very said, (he) said he said they told the truth = tigwa bi henene ore laja, lene

IRREALIS:

ibugwa le- + lo henge mi- + mĩjã say-STM 3-PERM give-STM 1P-EXH FUT to-speak space give-let-us he let's give him a chance to speak = ibugwa lelo henge mimījā biabe bu= + le = biabe bule bira bira do/make-STM PURP work to=do (he) is doing/making he's going to do some work jawi ĩ dindi ibu- + luma come-STM 1P-FUT tomorrow your ground (we) will come we'll come to your place tomorrow = jawi ĩ dindi ibuluma

bi hendore hendore la- + limu

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say-STM 2P-IMP FUT talk softly softly speak (later) talk very softly = bi hendore hendore lalimu

5.1.6 Comments on suffix groups

5.1.6.1 Some general observations can be made as regards interpreting the suffix data given in figures 4 - 6.

5.1.6.2 Suffixes are frequently portmanteaux morphemes.

5.1.6.3 3 suffixes never differentiate for number.

5.1.6.4 b always signals dual number, except in +be(X).

5.1.6.5 m always signals plural number. Exceptions are the suffixes +ma## and +me##. Franklin (1971: 112) has identified b and m as functioning in a similar way in Kewa verb morphology, while it is possible to identify mb as signalling dual and m plural in Enga (cf Lang 1975: 37).

5.1.6.6 1 always indicates irrealis. Exceptions are configurations in which 1 is followed by a vowel that is specified as [+high]. Again, it can be noted that Enga appears to signal irrealis with t (Lang 1975: 37).

5.1.6.7 Irrealis suffixes of group A have the configuration (C)V(CV)(CV), while irrealis suffixes of group C have the configuration CV(V)(CV)(CV).

5.1.6.8 Most irrealis forms shown can operate as medial verbs but this is not generally true of realis forms unless they undergo further, non-inflectional, suffixing (cf 5.5).

5.1.6.9 The presence of r in a suffix always signals realis.

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5.1.6.10 Realis suffixes of group A have the configuration CV(CV): if the compulsory V is a mid vowel it indicates PRES, whereas if it is a high vowel it indicates PAST.

5.1.6.11 Realis suffixes of group B have the configuration (C)V(CV).

5.1.6.12 Foley has illustrated (1986: 133-142) that many Papuan languages are like Huli, having portmanteau morphemes in which syllables, and even single segments, signal person, number, mood and tense. He notes, too, verb stem changes in languages such as Bena Bena (Young 1971), Gahuku (Deibler 1976) and Hua (Haiman 1980) that are part of the person/number signal.

5.1.7 Existential verbs

5.1.7.1 The appearance of items such as

wandari andagani berene hamaga polene nga the girl was at home (we) should go to the clearing among the examples given suggests that it has become necessary to say something about Huli existential verbs (EVs). These are part of a covert classificatory system, each EV governing its own set of referents. Their primary signal is simply that the The five Huli EVs and their referents are referent is, exists. listed together in table 16, the verbs being in their 3-PRES form, which is how they they are recorded in the lexicon.

5.1.7.2 EVs have stems whose configuration pattern is (CV)C, and to these stems the inflections given in figure 10 are affixed. It will be noticed that this system replicates to a large extent the EX PRES forms of group B suffixes (cf figure 5).

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EV	KINDS OF REFERENTS
ka	rising from the ground, rooted in it or free moving; independent; strong, or potentially harmful
beđa	low or squat on the ground; arboreal; dependent; non-threatening; weak or timid
nga	placed on or living flat on the ground
pada	subterranean; cave dwelling; within other things
da	protruding or emanating from another thing; hanging or growing on, or ad- hering to another thing

Table 16: EVs and their referents

$$(CV)C + -- \begin{vmatrix} - & 0 & 1S \\ - & a & --- \end{vmatrix} \begin{vmatrix} - & b & - & - & a & 1D \\ - & b & - & - & i & 2D \\ - & m & - & a & 1P \\ - & m & - & i & 2P \\ - & e & 2S \end{vmatrix}$$

Figure 10: EV suffixing system

5.1.7.3 The significance of EVs cannot be adequately treated here. The import of their classificatory function arises again in, for example, the description of determiners (cf 7.7), and is further discussed in 10.4.

5.1.8 Adjunct + Pro-Verb constructions

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5.1.8.1 A knowledge of this construction is important for understanding Huli verb morphology. The language exploits the configuration to make verbal groups, constructing a range of meanings that are not available in simple inflected forms or in other groups in which verbs can co-occur.

5.1.8.2 APVs consist of an initial uninflected nominal item (the adjunct), which is the lexical nucleus, and a verb stem (the pro-verb) that has little if any lexical function, and to which are attached regular verb inflections and secondary suffixes (cf 5.5 for the latter). Outside such periphrastic constructions the pro-verb can function as a complete verb, being both the lexical and the formal nucleus of the verb expression. Examples of such verbs (in basic stem forms) are:

le	utter	bi	make/do
he	have/be/stay	ne	ingest
ji	hold	wi	place

5.1.8.3 The adjuncts are usually non-concrete referents, and are frequently derivational forms. They seem first to have been called "adjuncts" by Healey (1965a: 30-42), while the APV construction has been variously reported and described in Kapau (Oates & Oates 1968), Kewa (Franklin 1971), Selepet (McElhanon 1972) and Enga (Lang 1975). Lang (1975: 180-219) also identifies APVs in Asmat, Oksapim, Melpa, Banz, Kuman, Bena Bena, Tairora, Waffa, Kate, Mabak, Weri, Kunimaipa, Suena and Korafe. Of particular interest for this thesis is her quotation from Nilles, who describes PVs as auxiliaries, and records that in Kuman there are

idiomatic verbal expressions in which verbs, nouns, adverbs and other parts of speech are used with the auxiliary verbs. (quoted in Lang 1975: 200)

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This description indicates that As in Kuman are not restricted to a single word class, and the same holds true for As in Huli.

5.1.8.4 The PVs, like the EVs (5.1.7), are part of the covert classificatory system, described in 10.4. Examples of APV constructions, with adjuncts labelled 'A' and pro-verbs 'PV', are:

îna bi laro A PV lS-ERGword utter-lS-SIMP PRES I speak/talk/say (a word/ words)

ege ande laja A PV bird turn/bank utter-3-SIMP PAST the bird banked

ani mitangi bido A PV thus thought make/do-1S-EX PRES that's what I think

biabe biribi A PV work make/do-2D-SIMP PAST you two worked

ibu tandaga nene A PV 3S pain ingest-EX DEF he was in pain

abale ira hibu na A PV quickly wood kindling-bundle ingest-2S IMP light the firewood quickly

ibu ngu jaja A PV 3S stink hold-3-SIMP PAST he sniffed a bad odour

nga A jaro PV pleasant smell hold-1S-SIMP PRES I smell something nice

ira tago wija A PV wood addition place-3-SIMP PAST he added more wood

aju nege wibe A PV axe edge place-2S-IMP FUT sharpen the axe

5.1.8.5 Seven verb forms given in figures 4-6 usually occur as As in APV constructions. These will be described in the course of the next few pages, in turn with the other suffixes of groups A, B and C. Some illustrative examples are:

> ani bule bira A PV thus make/do-PURP make/do-3-SIMP PRES thus in-order-to-do he does/is doing he'll do that

lai harima A PV utter-COMP have/be/stay-lP-SIMP PAST completed utterance we have we've finished talking

lairihalupijaAPVutter-CESShave-SIM1 go-3-SIMP PASTutterance-interrupted havinghe wentbreaking off what he was saying, he left

iba noa haja A PV water ingest-DES have/be/stay-3-SIMP PAST water desire-to-drink he had he wanted a drink of water

aju julene nga A PV axe hold-OBLIG EV axe oughting-to be-held is it's necessary to carry an axe

5.1.8.6 The last example shows an EV acting as as a PV, something which can occur if the A is derived from a verb, while, along with the previous example, it suggests that embedding can

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occur within APV configurations. These notions are further explored in 8.4.9 and 10.4.

5.1.8.7 This excursion into the morphosemantics of EVs and APVs was necessary in order to allow for clarity of description of the suffix groups, which is taken up next.

5.2 GROUP A SUFFIXES

5.2.1 Overview. This is the "mixed" group of suffixes, representing the overlap of realis (10 suffixes) and irrealis (26 suffixes). This group includes all Simple forms and excludes all Existential forms, these latter being confined to group B.

5.2.1.1 In the discussion of embedding in APV constructions, (5.1.7.5 - 5.1.7.6), it was mentioned that forms derived from verbs can fill the A slot. These forms are best considered as nominals, but they will be described here, along with inflected and other verb forms, since some of them can function as verbs, and most of them can become constituents of a type of verbal configuration (the APV) that is peculiar to Huli and its cognates. This will not preclude their being further considered in the section on nominals (chapter 7).

5.2.2 Simple Present. This form is chiefly concerned with present realis, and focuses on a process (action or state) to which the speaker is witness. It does not comment on aspect, and may be glossed in English by the present simple tense or the present continuous. It has a marked usage in the l person, when it may function as a directive: "I want to /let me...".

The verb stem + suffix system is set out in figure lf.

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Figure 11: Simple present

Regular verbs follow the rules (including vowel harmony rules) already given. Irregular verb stem changes are: ibu as in 4.11.3.6-7; pu goes to po; palu becomes pala. Examples are:

nogo kangome ba + ro = nogo kangome baro
pig stick-ERG hit-STM lS
pig with-stick I hit/am hitting
I'm hitting the pig with a stick

aga le bi + re = aga le bere . cloak sew do-STM 2S cloak sew you do/are doing you repair the cloak

ina ira dibi + rama = ina ira dibarama
lP tree chop-STM lP
we tree chop down/are chopping down
we're chopping down a tree

ĩ garoni* bira + ro = ĩ garoni* biraro
lS car-LOC sit-STM lS
I car-in sit/want to sit
I want a ride/ let me have a ride

5.2.3 Simple Past. This structure indicates simply a point in past time, without reference to the perfectivity or imperfectivity of the process (Comrie 1981). The system is set out in figure 12. Irregular verbs behave as follows: pu goes to pi; ibu becomes ibi; and palu changes to pali. Examples are:

tandaga timbuni na + ribi = tandaga timbuni naribi
pain great ingest~STM 2D you felt a lot of pain
pain great ate (you two)



Figure 12: Simple past

dindi tu wi = dindi tu wija + ja land boundary place-STM 3 land boundary he/they placed he marked the boundary of the land

guja + rima = ma gujarima ma taro bake~STM lp taro we baked we baked taro

hai ungwa + ri = hai ungwari banana pick-STM 1P banana you picked you picked a banana

mbiraga andagani pali + ru night house-LOC-LOC lie down-STM 1S night at home I lay down (that/at) night I slept at home

mbiraga andagani paliru

5.2.4 Iterative. This is an APV construction, the A being formed as given in 4.4.3.3, the PV being bi 'make/do'. The whole stem may be reduplicated. In the case of irregular verbs, ibu becomes ibi and palu goes to pali. The sense is that the action is/was/will be done over and over again by an individual, or severally by members of a group. Examples are:

ibugwa nogo ba + go bija 35-ERG pig hit-STM ITER do-3-SIMP PAST pig hit-&-hit did he he hit the pig again and again =

ibugwa nogo baga bija

agali ti dindini pali + go bija men 3P ground-LOC lie down-STM ITER do-3-SIMP PAST men they on the ground lie down-&-lie down did one by one the men stretched out on the ground = agali ti dindini paligi bija

bi la + go la + go bule bira talk utter-STM ITER utter-STM ITER do-PURP do-3-SIM PRES talk utter & utter (& utter) in-order-to-do (they) do talk again and again in-order-to they do/are doing everyone's going to talk have a say

= bi laga laga bule bira

5.2.5 Customary. This is formed by adding to the verb stem the suffix -aga, which remains uninflected for person or number. The resulting form can fill the A slot in an APV construction whose PV is ka or its overlap, he 'stay/be/have'. Class 3 verb stem changes are: ibu to iba ; biru to bira ; palu to pali ; and pu to pi. The form signals behaviour and/or abilities customarily or usually associated with a group or an individual person. It may be used of irrealia, such as in saying what one might do or be expected to do, and as such, its semantic domain is in overlap with but not quite the same as that of the habitual (5.2.20), which is used only of realia known to the speaker. Examples are such as:

Obena wali mundu na + aga Obena women tobacco ingest-STM CUST Obena women tobacco customarily smokes Obena women smoke = Obena wali mundu naga

agali tigwa bi te la + aga men 3P-ERG talk tuft/stand utter-STM CUST men they folk tales customarily tell men tell folk tales = agali tigwa bi te laga

5.2.6 Unseen. This form occurs only in the 3 person, being marked for past and present tenses. The unseen present tense suffix is -arwa, and the past tense suffix -ajwa, the realizations being [ar^WX] and [aj^WX] respectively. Irregular verb stem changes are: ibu to iba; palu to pali; and pu to pi. The unseen is used to indicate that what the speaker is saying is based not on visible but on other sensory evidence. Examples:

abe gununu pi + ajwa yesterday aeroplane go-STM UNSN PAST yesterday aeroplane went/left (but I didn't see it) the aeroplane left yesterday = abe gununu piajwa

jawi ibagwa la + rwa tomorrow come-1S-FUT utter-STM UNSN PRES tomorrow I shall come (he) says (I heard but didn't see I'll come tomorrow, he says him speak) = jawi ibagwa larwa

garo* iba + rwa = garo ibarwa car come-STM UNSN PRES car comes (I can hear but not see it) a car's coming/there's a car coming

5.2.7 Continuative. This is an APV configuration, the PV being he 'have/be/stay'. The A is formed by adding to the verb stem the suffix ~aabo. Among irregular verbs, ibu changes to iba, and palu becomes pali. The meaning signalled by this form is persistance in an action, condition or state. Examples:

turu ha + aabo hole bira happiness have/be-STM CONT have/be-PURP do-3-SIMP PRES happiness continually have in-order-to-have he does/is doing he's going to be happy all the time

= turu haabo hole bira

dagiani bira + aabo hene plank~LOC sit~STM CONT have/be/stay~3~SIMP PAST plank on continually sit he had/was/stayed he sat on the plank all the time = dagiani biraabo hene

anga hira + aabo harama pandanus nuts roast-STM CONT have/be-1P-SIMP PRES pandanus nuts continually roast we have/are having we're roasting pandanus nuts all the time

= anga hiraabo harama

Obene pu+ aabo holeberoObene go-STMCONT have/be-PURPdo/make-1S-SIMP PRESObene continually go in-order-to-have/be I do/am doing/making

I'm making to keep on going to Obene

I'm going to go all the way to the Obene country

= obene puaabo hole bero

5.2.8 Completive. This APV is configured is by suffixing -ai to the verb stem to form the A, and then using he as the PV. Among class 3 verbs, ibu becomes iba; palu changes to pali; and pu goes to pi. The sense convenyed by this form is of an individual completely finishing an action, or a group acting together in such a way that each member is involved and/ or contributes towards what is being done. Examples are:

tomo na + ai harima = tomo nai harima
food ingest-STM COMP have/be-lP-SIMP PAST
food completely eaten we have
we've eaten all the food/ we've all eaten

muni* mi + ai haru = muni* miai haru money give/take-STM COMP have/be-lS-SIMP PAST money completely give/take I have I've given/taken all the money

panga paja + ai harimi = panga pajai harimi door close-STM COMP have/be-2P-SIMP PAST door/s completely close you have you've closed the door completely/you've closed all the doors

wali agali bira + ai hole bira women men sit-STM COMP have/be-PURP do/make-3-SIMP PRES people completely sit in-order-to-be they make/are making the people are making to sit down completely all the people are going to sit down

= wali agali birai hole bira

5.2.9 Cessative. This APV construction forms its A by adding the suffix -airi to the verb stem and employing he as the PV. Irregular verb stem changes are: ibu to iba and palu to pali. The form signals that the actor breaks off one action in order to take up another. Examples are:

bi mende lole pigane la + airi haja talk second utter-PURP first utter-STM CESS have-3-SIMP PAST talk second might-say first cease-saying he had he interrupted what he was saying to say something else = bi mende lole pigane lairi haja biabe bi + airi hole bira work do-STM CESS have/be-PURP do-3-SIMP PRES work cease-doing might-have he does/is doing he's making to cease the work he's doing he's going to break off work

= biabe biairi hole bira

hina guja + airi harima sweet potato bake-STM CESS have-lP-SIMP PAST sweet potato cease-baking we had we left off baking the sweet potatoes

= hina gujairi harima

5.2.10 Simultaneous 1. This form indicates one of two or more actions that are being performed at roughly the same time. It is produced by suffixing -alu to the verb stem: ibu changes to iba; biru becomes bira; palu goes to pali; pu becomes pi. The result is not inflected for person or number, and is a medial form that in careful, as opposed to casual, speech would not occur at the end of an utterance. The grammatical subject of this medial form is also the grammatical subject of the main verb form. Examples are such as:

nogo mende wa ha + alu mende dabaja pig second reject have-STM SIM1 second choose-3-SIMP PAST pig first reject-having second he chose rejecting the first pig, he chose the second = nogo mende wa halu mende dabaja

ko bi + alu taga harama bad do-STM SIMI shame have-lP-SIMP PRES wrong doing shame we have we're doing wrong and we're ashamed

= ko bialu taga harama

5.2.10.1 These glosses attempt to illustrate how this medial form signals an action that overlaps with the action described by the main verb, but that is not necessarily co-terminous with it. This point is brought out when the main verb is one of motion: in such cases, the SIM1 can be regarded as signalling consecutive actions, involving minimal, if any, overlap in time with the action of the main verb. An example is,

tomo dawalu andaga pija food cook-SIMl house-LOC go-3-SIMP PAST food cooking to-home he went cooking some food, he went home

= tomo dawalu andaga pija

in which the act of cooking was probably over and done with before he set out for his house. Nevertheless, Huli considers actions encoded in the SIM1 medial form to be somehow in overlap with the action represented by the main verb, and an utterance that involves strings of these medial forms is not readily caught by English glosses, as can be seen by the example,

mabu biabe bialu tani balu hina dugwalu
garden work do-SIMl weeds hit-SIMl sweet potato lift-SIMl
garden work doing weeds hitting sweet potato lifting
gardening, weeding, digging up sweet potatoes,

ma tambe nalu nogo hinalu andaga dai birima taro cold ingest-SIMl pig feed-SIMl house-LOC return do-lP-PST taro cold eating pig/s feeding to-home return we did eating cold taro, feeding the pig/s, we returned home

Verbs of motion seem, however, to be a special case, and on occasions a speaker may wish to be more precise about the boundaries of temporal overlap between medial and main verbs. The Simultaneous 2 form may then be used.

5.2.11 Simultaneous 2. This medial verb form occurs only in utterances whose main verb is a verb of motion, and is formed by suffixing -ma to the verb stem. It signals that the action described by medial and main verbs are simultaneous, and, in some instances, even co-terminous. Examples are:

ibu u la + ma ibija = ibu u lama ibija he yodel utter~STM SIM2 come~3~SIMP PAST he yodel uttering came he yodelled as he came dugu bi + ma porama = dugu bima porama cry do-STM SIM2 go-lP-SIMP PRES keen doing we go/are going we're keening as we go

oba ha + ma iraga hole bira laugh have-STM SIM2 climb have-PURP do/make-3-SIMP PRES laugh having climb to-have (he} does/is doing he'll climb up laughing

This form is identical with the 1P Exhortative Present (5.2.17).

=

oba hama iraga hole bira

= ni dame ka

5.2.12 Ubiquitive. This is an APV configuration, the PV being either the EV ka or its cognate, he, and the A being formed by adding the suffix ~me to the verb stem. The semantic import is that the action being described is widespread, even everywhere. Examples are:

ni da + me ka sun shine-STM UBIQ is-EV sun shine-everywhere is the sun shines/is shining everywhere

datani anda ha + me hole bira grass house have-STM UBIQ have/be-PURP do/make-3-SIMP PRES grass house have-everywhere to-have makes/is making grass will grow everywhere/all over the place = datani anda hame hole bira

The Ubiquitive is rare, and class 3 verbs lack this form.

5.2.13 Benefactive. This is yet another APV configuration, the A being formed by adding -a to the verb stem, the PV being he. Among class 3 verbs, biru becomes bira, and palu changes to pali; both ibu and pu remain unchanged and delete the suffix completely. This form signals actions done on behalf of, or to benefit, others, but also actions that are deliberately autobenefactive. Examples are:

ibunaga bi la + a haro = ibunaga bi la haro 3S-POSS talk utter-STM BENE have/be-lS-SIMP PRES his talk say-for I have I'm speaking for him/on his behalf

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i danda ja + a haja = i danda ja haja
ls bow hold~STM BENE have/be~3S~SIMP PAST
I/my bow hold~for(~me) he had
he held my bow for me

wane igini biabe bi + a harama daughter son work do/make-STM BENE have/be-lP-SIMP PRES children work do-for(-them) we have we're working for the sake of the children = wane igini biabe bia harama

ibu onenaga mi + a hole bira
3 wife-POSS take/give-STM BENE have-PURP make-3-SIMP PR
he/his wife's take/give-for might-have he is making
he's going to take/give for his wife

5.2.14 Imperative Present. This is the first irrealis form to be described in detail. Class 3 verb stem changes are: ibu changes to ibi for D and P; biru becomes bira; palu changes to pali. The suffixing system and regular verb stems are set out below in figure 13.

 $\{i_a\} + - \begin{vmatrix} -a & 2S \\ -a & 2D & 2P \end{vmatrix}$

Figure 13: Imperative present

The person involved is always 2, and the semantic focus in on a command to be obeyed right away. The deletion rule (5.1.3.2) applies:

la + a utter-STM 2S+IMP PRES	=	la speak!
wi + a place-STM 2S-IMP PRES	=	wia place!
panga paja + a door close~STM 2S~IMP PRES	=	panga paja close the door
ibu + a come-STM 2S-IMP PRES	=	ibu come!
pu + a go~STM 2S~IMP PRES	=	pu go!

5.2.15

Imperative Future. This signals a command to be

obeyed in the future, the time span varying from almost immediately to some indefinite time later on. It has the interpersonal function of being a polite and less direct form of comm-Irregular verbs undergo the following changes: ibu goes and. to iba; biru to bira; palu to pali; and pu to po. The system is set out in the figure below.

> $\{ a \} + - - - 1ibu 2D$ limu 2P

Figure 14 : Imperative future

Examples:

mundu na + be = tobacco ingest~STM 2S~IMP FUT tobacco smoke	=	mundu nabe have a smoke
e bi + libu new garden do/make~STM 2D~IMP FUT	=	e bilibu make a new garden
anga ungwa + limu pandanus nuts pick-STM 2P~IMP FUT	=	anga ungwalimu harvest pandanus
hendore po + be carefully go-STM 2S-IMP FUT	=	hendore pobe go carefully

5.2.16 Possibilitative. This is an APV configuration, the A being formed by suffixing -behe to the verb stem, while the PV is usually the EV ka. Among class 3 verbs, ibu becomes iba; palu goes to pali; and pu changes to po. Examples are:

+ behe kama = bi labehe kama ogoni la bi talk that utter-STM POSB EV-1P we could/can say that talk that might-utter we are biabe bi + behe kami = ti biabe bibehe kami ti work do-STM POSB EV-2P 2P you can work you work possibly-do are = ibu jawi ibabehe ibu jawi iba + behe tomorrow come-STM POSB 3S he could come tomorrow tomorrow possibly-come (will) he

5.2.17

Exhortative Present. This form could also be in-

terpreted as being the 1 of the IMP PRES, its force being to exhort ego and another/others to perform an action together now almost immediately. It can be glossed as "let's ... now".

Of class 3 verbs, ibu has not been recorded in this form; biru becomes bira; and palu goes to pali. pu 'go' is quite exceptional, its 1D being mba, and its 1P being ma. This suggests that its stem, in this instance, could be m-, an idea that is supported by the regular stems and suffixes, given in figure 15 below.



Figure 15: Exhortative present

Examples are:

aju bi lama aju bi la + ma now talk utter-STM 1P-EXH PRES let's talk now now talk utter let-us-many ija gini bi + ba ija gini biba let's play lD play do/make-STM 1D-EXH PRES we two play do let-us-two paboro tugwa + ba paboro tugwaba let's pick beans bean pick-STM 1D-EXH PRES beans pick let~us~two andaga ma , andaga ma house-LOC go-1P-EXH PRES let's go home house-to go-let-us-many

5.2.18 Exhortative Future 1. This is used to exhort ego and another/others to perform an action together in the future, the time span encompassed being the same as that for the IMP FUT (cf 5.2.16). Before suffixing, class 3 verbs change as follows: ibu to ibi; biru to bira; and palu to pali. As with the EXH PRES, pu has special forms: mbaliya and mãlĩya, the first being 1D, the second 1P. Fig. 16 shows the regular system.

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Figure 16: Exhortative future 1

agali babija

=

Examples are:

agali ba + bija man hit/kill-STM lD-EXH FUT man kill let-us-two let's kill the man

awe ira wi + mījā = awe ira wimījā later wood place-STM lP-EXH FUT later wood place let-us-many let's put the wood down later

mani garoni* bira + bija = mani garoni* birabija later car-LOC sit-STM lD-EXH FUT later car-in sit let-us-two later on, let's sit in the (ie go by) car

jawi Gobiago malījā = jawi Gobiago malījā tomorrow Gobiago go~lP~EXH FUT tomorrow Gobiago go~let~us~many let's (all) go to Gobiago tomorrow

5.2.19 Exhortative Future 2. The semantic field of this construction is the same as that of the EXH FUT1. The form is derived from the EXH PRES (5.2.17) by adding the secondary suffix -10 to its inflections. In the case of the 1P, the feature [+nasal] spreads regressively from the segment [m] to the vowels of the suffix. The exceptional forms for **pu** 'go', **mbalo** and **malo**, are similarly affected. Examples:

agali baba + lo = agali babalo man hit/kill-lD-EXH PRES 1D-EXH FUT2 man kill-let us two (later) let's kill the man

awe ira wima + lo = awe ira wimalo later wood place-lP EXH PRES lP-EXH FUT2 later wood place-let us many (later) let's put the wood down later

garoni* biraba + lo = garoni* birabalo car-LOC sit-ID EXH PRES 1D-EXH FUT2 let's go by car car-in sit-let us two (later) The rôle of -lo in switch-referencing is discussed in 10.3.

5.2.20 Habitual. This form is used to describe actions habitually performed in past or present time, the temporal focus being supplied by the context. The habitual signals realis, something that the speaker knows about with sureness, not which he or she is speculating about or has no personal knowledge of (cf 5.2.5). The secondary suffix -li is added to the forms of the SIMP PRES (cf 5.2.2), which induces progressive vowel harmony in the primary suffix according to the rule,

which has the effect of raising suffix 1 final vowels o to u, (1S) and e to i (2S). In the class 3 verbs ibu and pu the stem-final vowel is also affected: pu becomes pi, not po; and, similarly, ibu goes to ibi. Examples of the habitual are:

bibahendengi Goloba poro + li all-LOC (temp.) Goloba go-lS-SIMP PRES HAB all-the-time Goloba I go (habitually) I go to Goloba every day ---> bibahendengi Goloba poru +li ---> bibahendengi Goloba piru +li = bibahendengi Goloba piruli

namame dindi tombarama + li digging stick-FRG earth till-lP-SIMP PRES HAB digging sticks-by earth we till (habitually) we till the earth with digging sticks = namame dindi tombaramali

lai lara + li = lai larali
swear words utter-3-SIMP PRES HAB
swear words (he) utters (habitually)
he swears

mundu nare + li ---> mundu nari +li
tobacco ingest-2S-SIMP PRES HAB
tobacco you smoke (habitually)
you smoke = mundu narili

5.2.21 Didactive.

This is an APV construction, the A be-

ing formed by adding the suffix -wai to the verb stem. The PV is the verb he 'have/be/stay'. The form is used to signal one person passing on skills to another through a demonstration of them. This form has not been found with class 3 verbs. Examples are:

la bi te + wai haja word/s cluster/tuft utter-STM DID have-3-SIMP PAST folktale utter teaching (he) had he taught a folktale bi te lawai haja = biabe bi + wai hole bira mabu garden work do-STM DID have-PURP do-3-SIMP PRES do teaching might-have he does/is making garden work he's going to teach gardening = mabu biabe biwai hole bira hina hanga habe + wai sweet potato plant-STM DID have-2S-IMP FUT sweet potato plant teaching you have teach (me) how to plant sweet potatoes

hina hangawai habe

5.3 GROUP B SUFFIXES

5.3.1 Overview. The unmarked semantic signal of almost all suffixes (some 15 out of 17) in this group is fixed in realis. All of these realis forms are existential, the sole form that is always irrealis being the 3 -PERM (treated under 5.4.8) while the causative (5.3.6), being an APV configuration, selects for realis/irrealis in the PV, not the A, which is the derivational form that appears in this group.

5.3.2 Existential tenses. The EVs have been described in section 5.1.7, while sections 10.4.2.2-7 explain how, in tenses outside the present, verbs in semantic overlap with EVs can substitute for them. Some of these verbs have their own present tense forms, the grammatical equivalents of the EVs, but these forms occur only rarely.

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5.3.2.1 All, or nearly all, other verbs in the language also have these present tense and past tense forms. They are used to speak about situations that endure either because they are the result of a previous action and will continue until another action alters them, or because they are maintained by a repeated or continuous action and can only alter if that action is withdrawn or modified. Examples are:

ibu hina henge + da = ibu hina hengeda
3S sweet potato plant-STM 3S-EX PRES
he sweet potato plant enduring/existing
he's got sweet potato planted

ibu hina henge + a = ibu hina hengea
3S sweet potato plant-STM 3S-EX PAST
he sweet potato plant was enduring/exisiting
he had sweet potato planted

ibu hina henge + ne = ibu hina hengene
3S sweet potato plant-STM EX DEF
he sweet potato plant completed enduring/existing
he (has) completed planting sweet potatoes

hã le + do = hã ledo gasp utter-STM lS-EX PRES gasp utter enduring/existing I gasp/am gasping for breath

ti manda bi + dami = ti manda bidami
2P head do/make-STM 2P-EX PRES
you head make enduring/existing
you know/understand

5.3.2.2 Providing glosses for these forms presents difficulties, since there are no direct equivalents in the English language. However, I hope that in the course of the descriptions that follow their sense and usage will become clear.

5.3.3 Existential Present. This form is used to speak of present enduring situations. In some instances it is best glossed by the English present continuous, in others by the present perfect. Verb stem changes, for this and for all the existential forms, are as given in tables 14 (5.1.2.1) and 15

(5.1.4.1). The suffixing system is set out in figure 17.



Figure 17: Existential present

Examples are:

= tomo nedo tomo ne + do food ingest-STM 1S I'm eating some food food eat I-exist

ani manda bi + dama = ani manda bidama thus head do/make-STM lP we know this thus know/understand we-exist

guni* anga hiri + da = guni* anga hirida corn pandanus roast-STM 3 corn cob/s roast he-exists he has some corn cobs roasted

dugwi + de = hina dugwide hina sweet potato lift up-STM 2S sweet potato dig up you-exist you have some sweet potato dug up

Existential Past. The stems and suffixing system 5.3.4 of this construction are given in figure 18, below.



Figure 18 : Existential past

5.3.4.1 A minor phonological rule,

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STM SUFX B e ---> Ø / (X)Ce]+[

deletes suffix-initial e when the stem-final vowel is e.

5.3.4.2 With the exception of -a (3), these forms seldom occur without secondary suffixes, the most usual being the defining morpheme, -ne (cf 4.11.3.4). When the EX PAST occupies a medial verb slot, its secondary suffix is most frequently a locative, such as -ria 'while/when'. Examples are such as:

i igiri emene he + wa + ria
lS boy small have/be/stay-STM lS LOC
I boy small be enduring while/when
When I was / while I was still a little boy,

honabi ibija ginger pig-COMP come-3-SIMP PAST ginger pig-like came ginger pig-like (people) came the whiteman came = ĩ igiri emene hewaria honabi ibija

timu dewa harigani wi + a arrow many track-LOC place-STM 3 arrows many track-on place (they) enduring/existing (they) put many arrows on the track = timu dewa harigani wia

5.3.5 Existential definitive. This form is generated by adding the definitive suffix, - ne, to the verb stem, the vowel harmony rules given in 4.4.3.4 being operative. The form signals past, completed actions, and is used in particular in reporting events in which the speaker did not participate. It may also function as post-head modifier in a nominal group (cf

7.4.2; 7.6.2). Examples are:

abe ibu Tari pe + ne = abe ibu Tari pene yesterday 3S Tari go-STM DEF yesterday he Tari go (completed) he completed a journey to / went to Tari yesterday damame u le + ne = damame u lene malign spirit-ERG shout utter-STM DEF malign spirit shout utter completed the malign spirit uttered a shout

bamba ibu oali haga before 3S local resident have/be/stay-CUST before he local resident customarily be he came to take up residence here

> hole ibi + ne have/be/stay-PURP come-STM DEF in-order-to-stay come completely a long time ago

= bamba ibu oali haga hole ibini

agali tigwa anda bi + ne = agali tigwa anda bini men 3P-EAG house do/make-STM DEF men they house make completely the men built the house

hina guji + ne = hina gujini sweet potato bake-STM DEF sweet potato bake completely (he) baked the sweet potato

5.3.5.1 This last example is one in which the verb could be taken as modifying the noun, and the two could be interpreted as a nominal group in which hina is Head and gujini is Qualifier (cf 8.1):

hina gujini H Q sweet potato baked baked sweet potato

Such an interpretation is supported by data such as:

ngija hina qujini sweet potato bake-EX DEF give-3-SIMP PAST sweet potato baked (they) gave (me) they gave me baked sweet potato nogo mbirini dawene ngo cook-EX DEF is-EV-1S pig meat pig meat cooked I've got <CL= Classifier> H CL Q I've got some cooked pig meat

5.3.5 Causative. This is an APV configuration, in which the A is simply the unsuffixed verb stem, and the PV is le 'utter'.

The verb is always one of those associated with an EV (cf 10.4), and the semantic import of the configuration is that of leaving in place or causing to be in place. Examples are:

ibugwa anda gene he lene 3S-ERG house post stay/have-STM/EV utter-EX DEF he house post stay/stand uttered he left the house post standing

wandari bere lalu andaga pija girl sit-STM/EV utter-SIMl home-LOC go-3-SIMP PAST girl seated/sitting uttered home-to (she) went she went home, leaving the girl there

ira de lole hibu naribe
wood light/flame-STM/EV utter-PURP ingest/do-2S-SIMP PRES-Q
wood flaming/flaring to-utter make (you) ?
are you going to light a fire?

5.4 GROUP C SUFFIXES

5.4.1 Overview. These suffixes signal irrealis, with the single exception of the consecutive (5.4.4), a medial form that does not imply selection for realis/irrealis. The other 13 forms in this group are concerned with modulation, modality or future time.

5.4.2 Future. This tense exists only in the first person forms, with the S suffix belonging to group A, and the D and P suffixes from this group. The systems are as set out in figure 19, below. In conjunction with -agwa: ibu goes to iba; palu to pali; and pu to pi. With the other suffixes, pu becomes po.

 $\begin{cases} i \\ a \end{cases} + - agwa S$ $\begin{cases} u \\ a \end{cases} + - 1V - \begin{vmatrix} - ba \\ - ma P \end{vmatrix}$

Figure 19: Future

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5.4.2.1 The vowel in the syllable -1V-, above, is specified according to the progressive assimilation rule,



which says that it has the underlying specification [+back] and copies its specifications for [high] and [low] from the stemfinal vowel. Examples of the future are:

jawi nogo bo + lVma = jawi nogo boloma tomorrow pig hit/kill-STM lP tomorrow pigs kill we-shall we'll kill pigs tomorrow

alendo pabe bu + 1Vba = alendo pabe buluba afternoon fence do/make-STM 1D afternoon fence make we-two-shall we'll make a fence this afternoon

ira habe diba + agwa = ira habe dibagwa
tree habe chop-STM lS
tree habe cut down I-shall
I'll cut down a habe tree

habe dibalu Burani pi + agwa habe chop-SIM l Burani go-STM lS habe cutting down Burani go I-shall after cutting down the habe, I'll go to Burani = habe dibalu Burani piagwa

5.4.3 Desiderative. This is an APV configuration, the A being formed by suffixing -a to the verb stem, while bi, he or the EV, ka are able to fill the PV slot. However, the occurrence of bi is restricted to an idiom in which the 3-SIMP PAST is used of the first person. Among the irregular verbs, pu changes to po. Examples of the desiderative are:

timu bonge lo + a haja arrow test utter-STM DES have/be/stay-3-SIMP PAST arrow test utter-want (he) had he wanted to test the arrow

= timu bonge loa haja

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abi bu + a ke = abi bua ke wergild do/make-STM DES EV-2S wergild make-want you are you want to pay wergild

panga payu + a harama = panga payua harama door close-STM DES have-lP-SIMP PRES door close-want we have we want to shut the door

abe ĩ Gumu po + a bija yesterday 1S Gumu go-STM DES do/make-3-SIMP PAST yesterday I Gumu go-want (he) did yesterday I Gumu go-want one did one wanted to go to Gumu yesterday

= abe ĩ Gumu poa bija

5.4.4 Consecutive. This is a medial verb form, the same for all persons and numbers, constructed by suffixing -wa to the verb stem. The consecutive form is used to signal an action completed prior to the action of the main or final verb, both verbs sharing the same grammatical subject. Examples:

tia bo + wa dawaja = tia bowa dawaja
possum hit/kill-STM CONS cook-3-SIMP PAST
possum kill (having) (he) cooked (it)
having killed the possum, he cooked it

ani bu + wa ma dugwarima = ani buwa ma dugwarima thus do-STM CONS taro lift/dig up-lP-SIMP PAST thus do (having) taro we dug up having done this, we dug up some taro

panga dugu + wa ira de lole bira door lift-STM CONS wood light utter-PURP do-3-SIMP-PRES door open (having) wood light to-utter (he) makes/does having opened the door, he'll light a fire = panga duguwa ira de lole bira

andaga pu + wa bi baywa lo + wa house-LOC go-STM CONS talk well utter-STM CONS home go (having) talk well utter (having) having gone home, spoken well,

5.4.4.1 One, two, or three CONS, with their suffixes deleted, can occur in strings prior to the final verb. The force of

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such strings is to signal some overlap in the actions described.

Examples are such as:

ira dibu ngelarami
wood chop-STM put down-2D-SIMP PRES
wood chop put down / are putting down /stacking
you're chopping the wood and stacking it /
you're chopping and stacking the wood

weli* odo wahajabe oil pour out-STM reject-3-SIMP PAST-Q oil pour out threw he away? did he tip out and throw away the oil?

tia bo dawo harima possum kill-STM cook-STM have-lP-SIMP PAST possum kill cook we had we've killed and cooked a possum

hina wo kedo guju bedama sweet potato dig up-STM peel-STM bake-STM EV-1P sweet potato dig up peel bake we are we're digging up, peeling and baking sweet potato

5.4.5 Purposive. This is formed by suffixing -le to the verb stem, the only irregular stem being pu, which goes to po . The resulting form occurs either as a medial verb whose grammsubject is the same as that of the main/final verb, atical or as the A in an APV configuration whose PV is bi. This APV signals an action being posited for the future, the PV being in a SIMP form, either PRES or PAST. The 3-PAST is the most usual form in the latter case, occuring with all persons and numbers, and best analysed as carrying an impersonal meaning. When the PURP occurs as a medial verb it indicates purpose or intention. Examples of these uses of the PURP are such as:

ibugwa bi lo + le hejini 3S~ERG talk utter~STM PURP stand up~3~EX PAST he talk in-order-to-utter stood up he stood up to speak = ibugwa bi lole hejini

5.4.5.1 As was the case with the CONS form (5.4.4.1), the PURP, its suffix deleted, can occur prior to the final verb in a verbal string. The semantic force is of actions that are in sequence or in some degree of overlap, as exemplified by:

tomo no pu food ingest-STM go-2S-IMP PRES food (to) eat go go and eat your food

ira bo pija tree/wood hit-STM go-3-SIMP PAST wood (to) cut (he) went he went to cut wood

bapalo* hondo ibidaba buffalo see~STM come~2D/P~IMP PRES buffalo (to) see come = come and see the buffalo

5.4.5.2 With verbs of motion it seems reasonable to analyse the stems shown above as PURP, but with other verbs, it is not always clear whether it is the PURP suffix or the CONS suffix that has been deleted, and interpretation depends heavily on the situational context in which the utterance occurs. Native speakers, with their shared world view and mutually created set of cultural expectations, are able to recover ellipses and deletions more easily than foreigners, since they know the script that the language follows and the expectancy chains encoded in it (cf Colburn 1984: 251). Even so, it seems that there are, at least potentially, occasions on which doubts will remain unresolved by the context of situation or of culture.

5.4.5.3 These configurations inviting doubt, described above in 5.4.4.1 and 5.4.5.1-2, have parallels in a number of other Papuan languages (cf Foley 1986: 113 et seq), and these instances of verb serialization are modest in comparision to the configurations encountered in, for example, Kalam (Pawley 1987), Imonda (Seiler 1986) and Alamblak (Bruce 1984; 1986). Serialization in Huli is described more fully in 8.4.1.

The suffix of this form, ad-5.4.6 Simple Precautionary. ded to the verb stem, is -li. However, it seldom occurs without further suffixation. The switch-reference (SR) morpheme -lo may be added (cf 10.3.2.8-9), followed by the DEF -ne. Vowel harmony produces the complex suffix -lono, and this form is used of past time. To signal future time, the DET -go is added to the SR may occur optionally with either form. SIMP PREC. The stem pu changes to po in association with these forms. Examples:

+ go + 11 hendore pobe ĩ pi 10 fall utter-STM SIMP PREC FUT DET slowly go-1S-IMP FUT 2S you fall utter-lest-might-that slowly go (later) go slowly, lest should you fall

> = ĩ pi loligo hendore pobe

+ lo +no mbuga mbira ngija ina kagwa bu + li wrong do-STM SIMP PREC SR DEF book one give-3-SIMP PAST 1P wrong do-lest-should-have book а (he) gave (us) We he gave us a book so we wouldn't go wrong = ina kagwa bulilono mbuga mbira ngija

ibugwa anga hiru + 11 + go 3S-ERG pandanus nut/s roast-STM SIMP PREC DET pandanus nuts roast-lest-might-that he lest he should roast the pandanus nuts

> hanalu ĩ poro 1S put-in-sting-bag-SIM1 go-1S-SIMP PRES putting-in-string bag go/am going Ι I'm taking them away in my string bag = ibugwa anga hiruligo ĩ hanalu poro

5.4.7 Precautionary Future. These are forms for the 2 per-

son, consisting of special secondary suffixes being added to the SR morpheme, as in figure 20 below. Once again, the only irregular verb to change its basic stem is **pu**, which becomes **po**.

STM	SR	PREC FUT
	n an chuir ann an c Chuir ann an chuir an	ani 25
{ ^u ₀ }	+ 10 +	bini 2D
		– mini 2E

Figure 20: Precautionary future

5.4.7.1 In the northwest Huli country, particularly in the Mogorapuga area (dialect Al), the PREC FUT functions as the NEG IMP FUT (5.5.2). This raises the question of the status of medial verb forms: clearly, in some instances they can stand alone as utterances, so in what sense are they 'medial'?

5.4.7.1.1 Seen by Foley as dependent verbs (1986: 175 et seq) and by Franklin (1971) as in interdependent relationship with sentence-final verbs, medial forms are a well attested characteristic of many Papuan languages (egs: McCarthy 1965; Capell 19 69; Trefry 1969; Lawrence 1972; Tipton 1982), and are very common in languages of the Trans-New Guinea phylum (Wurm 1982: 63).

5.4.7.1.2 In the case of Huli, it is possible for every medial form to occur in utterance-final position, while non-medial or "final" forms cannot occur in medial positon without further suffixing. If we take an utterance to be the spoken medium's correspondent to the written medium's sentence (Brown & Yule 19 83: 19), it is possible to say that Huli medial verbs may occur in either medial or final position in a sentence. In careful speech, such as that produced by informants, medial forms rarely appear in final position, but in ordinary speech such occurren-

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ces are quite normal.

5.4.7.1.3 Hence, a Huli medial verb form can be distinguished from a non-medial form in that it can occur without secondary suffixing in utterance-medial position. At the same time, I interpret the relationship between medial and non-medial forms as varying, rather than definitely dependent or interdependent, as presented in the discussion of verbal group complexes (cf 8.3).

5.4.7.2 Examples of the PREC FUT are:

kagwa bu + lo + mini hale halimu wrong do-STM SR 2P-PREC FUT ear have-2P-IMP FUT wrong do-lest you (many) should ear/s have wrong lest you should do listen/pay heed pay heed, lest you should err = kagwa bulomini hale halimu

jawi hamaga po + lo + bini tomorrow clearing-LOC go-STM SR 2D-PREC FUT tomorrow clearing-to go-lest you (two) should rather than go to the clearing tomorrow,

> andaga halibu house-LOC have/stay-2D-IMP FUT home-at stay stay at home = jawi hamaga polobini andaga halibu

hamaga po + lo + bini = hamaga polobini clearing-LOC go-STM SR 2D-PREC FUT clearing-to go-lest you two should don't go to the clearing (dialect Al)

pungunu ho + lo + ani poverty have/be-STM SR 2S-PREC FUT poverty have-lest you should lest you should become poor

kopi* hangawai hole bira coffee plant-teaching have-PURP do/make-3-SIMP PRES coffee teaching-to plant might have (he) is making he's going to teach you how to plant coffee = pungunu holoani kopi* hangawai hole bira

5.4.8 Permissive. The grammatical subject of this medial verb form is always different from that of the main/final verb. The complete verb paradigm involves suffixing systems from each of the three groups, as is shown in figure 21.

5.4.8.1 In every case, -lo(-) is the SR morpheme and signals obligatory switch-referencing.

5.4.8.2 In association with 2 person suffixes, the stem-final vowels of **ibu**, **palu** and **pu** are fronted to **i**. With 1 and 3 person suffixes, class 3 verb stems change according to table 15 (5.1.4.1): **pu** goes to **po** for 1 person inflections. Examples:

egene anda he + 10 bajwa hangamĩjã ira tree shoot house have-STM 3-PERM/SR well plant-1P-EXH FUT1 it may place have well let us plant sapling it place may have carefully let us plant (it) sapling let's plant the sapling carefully, so that it may grow ira egene anda helo bajwa hangamījā

jawi ira pini dugu + lo + baja tomorrow tree root pull up-STM SR lD-PERM tomorrow tree roots pull up we two may he's said we can/may pull up the tree roots (he's given us permission to pull up the

> ani bilibu laja thus do-2D-IMP FUT utter-3-SIMP PAST thus you two do (he) said tomorrow tree roots tomorrow) = jawi ira pini dugulobaja ani bilibu laja

wena jolo bi + limu + lo muni* henedo
fish price make/do-STM 2P-PERM SR money carry-lS-EX PRES
fish price make you many may money I am carrying
I've got money so that you can buy fish
= wena jolo bilimulo muni* henedo

5.4.9 Obligative. This is formed by adding the secondary, defining, suffix, -ne, to the PURP (5.4.5). The resulting form is an A, whose PV is the EV nga. The semantic force of the APV configuration is always that of obligation or necessity, although when the A occurs without the PV the modulation signalled is less direct, and the nominal may be glossed as a gerund in English. Examples are:

tigwa biabe bu + le + ne nga 2P-ER4 work do-STM PURP DEF 3-EV you many work do in-order-to (obligation) is you must work/there's work for you to do = tigwa biabe bulene nga

bi lo + le + ne talk utter-STM PURP DEF talk utter in-order-to (obligation) talk oughting-to-be-said he will lay down what is to be said

nogo jalupo+ le+ nengapighold/carry-SIMl go-STMPURPDEF3-EVpigcarryinggoin-order-to (obligation) ispigcarryingoughting-to goisit's necessary to carry the pig/the pig needs to be carried=nogo jalu polene nga

5.5 OTHER AFFIXES AND PARTICLES

There are a number of other, non-inflectional, affixes and particles that are associated with both verbal and non-verbal items, introducing varying degrees of meaning change. Figure 29 gives an overview of the systems, which include the interrogative enclitic; modality and modulation; and some locative suffixes. I shall begin with the interrogative enclitic.

5.5.1 Interrogative. There is a particle that is enclitic in association with verbal and nominal forms. This is the partical (~)be, which signals the interrogative mood. Examples:

Mulungu i	ibija		be	agali	ka	be
Mulungu d	come~	3-SIMP PAST	Q	man	3-EV	Q
Mulungu d	came~	Q		man	is-Q	
did Mulu	ingu	come?		is the	ere a	man present?
	=	Mulungu ibij	a be	and the second	··· : .=	agali ka be
					· · ·	

dugu berebemanolebecrydo-2S-SIMP PRES Qtaro ingest-PURP Qcryyou do/are doing-Qtaro purpose to eat-Qareyou crying?are (you) going to eat taro?=dugu bere be=

du hame ledemibewaru penebesugar like utter-2P EX PRES QWaru go-EX DEF Qsugar like-you-QWaru been-Qdo you like sugar?have (you) been to Waru?= du hame ledemi be= waru pene be

anger have-2P-SIMP PAST Q anger you had-Q were you angry? = keba harimi be iba noa be

be

keba harimi

5.5.1.1 This enclitic, (-)be, functions socio-culturally as a softener: it ameliorates forms such as the NEG IMP PRES (Cf 5.6. 1.1) and the 2S IMP PRES (cf 5.2.14), changing the latter into

(-) be interrogative





- mo causative prefix
- (-) ore modality/ intensifier

Figure 22: Other affixing systems

the 2S IMP FUT (cf 5.2.15), in each case permitting the speaker to attend to the negative face wants of the hearer/s (cf 2.5.4). Likewise, in the last example of 5.5.1 above, the softening effect of (-) **be** produces an utterance that could be glossed as 'can/may/shall I?', signalling deontic modality.

5.5.2 The determiners -go and -ru. These are specifying deictics in the Huli nominal system, and can be suffixed to verbals and to nominals.

5.5.2.1 Consider the utterances:

2 agali ibija agali ibija 1 + go come~3-SIMP PAST come~3~SIMP PAST DET man man man came man came that the man came that man came/the man who came agali ibijago

3 agali + me nogo baja man ERG pig hit/kill~3~SIMP PAST man~ERG pig killed the man killed the pig = agalime nogo baja

4 agali ibijago + me nogo baja man come-3-SIMP PAST-DET ERG pig hit/kill-3-SIMP PAST man came-that-ERG pig killed that man who came killed the pig = agali ibijagome nogo baja

The first utterance gives the verb unsuffixed, and it can be seen from the second that the suffix nominalizes the verb. This is further reinforced by utterance 4, which shows how the nominalized verb is able to accept the ergative suffix that is, or can be, added to nominal items (as in utterance 3).

5.5.2.2 -ru is the plural form of -go, and behaves in the same way. However, it is restricted in the number of suffixes it can itself accept: besides the ERG -me, it is able to take only the locatives -ni and -ha.

5.5.2.3 These determiners are interpreted in 7.9.3 as producing derivational adnominals when suffixed to verb forms as in examples 2 and 4 in 5.5.2.1.

5.5.3 Locatives. This term covers spatial and temporal loc-

atives, and the terms 'adessive' and 'inessive' indicate, respectively, punctiliar ('at/on') and linear ('in/within') aspects of space and time. There is considerable overlap, however, and these distinctions are not always maintained. The system is set out in figure 23 below.

temporal: adessive ngi tagi temporal: inessive tambu temporal: adessive - ria spatio-temporal: inessive ·la temporal: adessive qo (ru)spatio-temporal: adessive ni - ha spatio-temporal: inessive *

Figure 23: Locative suffixes

5.5.4 Temporal locatives: adessive. These generally refer to points in time, rather than to linear stretches of time, the first suffixes to be described will be -ngi and -tambu, after which -gola will be considered.

-ngi and -tambu are secondary suffixes of non-medial 5.5.4.1 verb forms, and their presence allows these forms to occupy medial positions in utterances in which switch referencing occurs, and their grammatical subjects differ from the grammatical subjects of the utterance-final verbs. -ngi usually occurs with verbs that are in SIMP PRES or SIMP PAST forms, while the suffix -tambu is usually added to EX PRES or EX PAST forms, and is of infrequent occurrence. Examples of these suffixes are: + ngi mirima agali ibija nogo abi come-3-SIMP PAST LOC pig wergild gave-1P-SIMP PAST man when pig wergild we gave (them) came men when the men came we paid them wergild in pigs

agali ibijangi nogo abi mirima

ina ira dibaro + ngi ti ibilimu
lS-ERG tree cut down-lS-SIMP PRES LOC 2P come-2P-IMP FUT
I tree cut down when you come
when I cut down the tree, you come
= ina ira dibarongi ti ibilimu

5.5.4.2 The suffix -gola. This comprises the determiner -go and the commitative -la (cf 6.5.2), and can sometimes be glossed by 'with ...ing', as in

gununu ibiragola --> with the plane coming ie when the plane comes

It is a temporal locative only, signalling 'when' in the sense of time at or on, and may be suffixed to any SIMP form, most EV forms and, rarely, to EX PAST forms. The verb thus suffixed occupies a medial position in a switch reference utterance. Examples:

gununu ibira + gola de hondole malījā aeroplane come-3-SIMP PRES LOC eye sense-PURP go-1P-EXH FUT1 aeroplane comes when eye to-sense let's go when the aeroplane comes, let's go to see it = gununu ibiragola de hondole malījā

hamaga ka + gola wandari pole bira clearing-LOC 3-EV LOC girl go-PURP do/make-3-SIMP PRES clearing-at is when girl/s to-go is/are making when he is at the clearing, the girls will leave = hamaga kagola wandari pole bira

5.5.5 Temporal locatives: inessive. There is a single suf fix in this group, -tagi, which is infrequent in occurrence, and not well attested with forms that are not 3 person. It may be suffixed to SIMP forms, the verb then filling a medial pos-

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ition in switch reference occurs. Examples are:

5.5.6 Spatio-temporal locatives: adessive. The suffix in question is -goni, formed by adding to the determiner -go the adessive suffix -ni. The spatial sense of this compound suffix is 'there: at/on'; the temporal sense is the punctiliar 'at that time/when'. It may be suffixed to SIMP or to EV forms. Examples are such as:

garo* ibira + goni = garo* ibiragoni
car come~3~SIMP PRES LOC
car comes there
a car's coming there

abe bi langiru + goni yesterday talk utter-give-lS-SIMP PAST LOC yesterday talk I said-gave (to you) then (what) I told you then yesterday

= abe bi langirugoni

agali oka + goniwali beda + gonimanhere 3-EVLOCwoman 3-EVLOCmanhere isat/onwoman istherethere's a man right here= agali o kagoni= wali bedagoni

5.5.7 Spatio-temporal locatives: inessive. There are two inessive suffixes, ~ria and ~ha, which may either be added directly to non-medial verb forms, or first added to the determiner -go, and then suffixed to the verb.

5.5.7.1 The suffixes ~ria and ~goria signal 'at', the spatial sense being 'in the area/towards', and the temporal sense 'when /while/during'. -ria is usually suffixed directly to EX PAST,

EV, and, though rarely, EX PRES and 3-SIMP PAST forms; -goria may be suffixed to any SIMP, EX PRES or EV form. -ria is usually used to signal location in time, -goria location in space. Examples are:

agali homaja + goria ngwai harima man die-3-SIMP PAST LOC group have-lP-SIMP PAST man died at gather we had we gathered where the man died = agali homajagoria ngwai harima

ibu ka + goria pobe 3S 3-EV LOC go-2S-IMP FUT he is to go go to/towards where he is = ibu kagoria pobe
ibu ka + ria pobe 3S 3-EV LOC go-2S-IMP FUT he is when go go when he is there = ibu kagoria pobe = ibu karia pobe

5.5.7.2 The suffixes -ha and -goha signal 'in/within'. The former, -ha, has been attested with EV forms, and has the sense of 'within/with reference to this point in time'; -goha is used of space, concerned with 'that in/within (which)', and may be suffixed to SIMP and EX forms, and EVs. A verb form that has one of these suffixes may occupy a medial position in an utterance in which switch-referencing occurs. Examples are:

agali naka + ha dama hene man NEG-3-EV LOC spirit have/stay/be-EX PAST man not-is when spirits were spirits existed before humans = agali nakaha dama hene

mabu birima + goha iba li beda garden make-lP-SIMP PAST LOC water high 3-EV garden we made in there water high is in the garden we made there is high water the garden we made is under flood

= mabu birimagoha iba li beda

5.5.8 Modals. Huli has an extensive system of modality and modulation, encoded partly in the morphology of the language through suffixes added to verbal and nominal items. These modal suffixes relate utterances to the sort of evidence on which they are based, direct or indirect, past or present, allowing the speaker to decline from direct assertion and to imply degrees of probabilty or necessity. Figure 24 sets out this system of suffixes.



Figure 24: Modal suffixes

5.5.9 The definitive suffix -ne. This can signal high modulation, as in some instances of counter-vowel harmony (cf 4.11.3.8) and in the case of the OBLIG (5.4.9). It can also signal high modality, as in the case of the EX DEF (cf 5.3.5). In the latter case, the modality-modulation distinction can be somewhat blurred, as is shown by the examples

aju bi lara + ne = aju bi larane now talk utter-3-SIMP PRES DEF now talk (he) utters-can now he can talk

bi ogoni lara + ne = bi ogoni larane talk that utter-3~SIMP PRES DEF talk that (he) utters~can/must he must say that

mbirini ogoni dende bija + ne meat that sweetness make/do~3~SIMP PAST DEF meat that sweetness made-must (certainly) that meat was certainly tender! = mbirini ogoni dende bijane

5.5.10 The suffix -jane. -ne can be added to the modal suffix -ja to produce the compound form -jane. This signals positive modality, an assertion of certainty based on evidence that the speaker has seen or experienced. The compound is suffixed to SIMP forms in the PURP APV construction (5.4.4). *Examples are :

tigwa ani bule bira + jane 3P•£R4 thus do/make-PURP do/make-3-SIMP PRES MOD they thus to-do are making previous-certain -evidence thus they are making to do, as previously they're certainly going to do this = tigwa ani bule birajane

5.5.11 The suffixes -da and -ja. These indicate that the certainty of what is being said is based on indirect evidence that the speaker now sees (-da) or has seen (-ja), rather than on direct, eye-witness, evidence. A useful gloss is 'must'. The suffixes are added to non-medial verb forms. Examples:

nogo homaja + da = nogo homajada
pig die-3-SIMP PAST MOD
pig died it seems certain/probable
the pig must have died

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nogo homaja + ja = nogo homajaja pig die-3-SIMP PAST MOD pig died it seemed certain/probable the pig must have died

nogo homene + ja = nogo homeneja
pig die-EX DEF MOD
pig died it seemed certain/possible
the pig must have been dead

5.5.12 The suffix -gwa. This may be added to -da and -ja, and it may also be directly suffixed to a non-medial verb form: whichever the case, the verb then occurs in medial position in an utterance that has optional switch referencing. It is possible for -jagwa to be suffixed to some derivational forms, such as the A of the PURP APV construction, the resulting compound occurring in utterance-medial position. -gwa indicates modulation, oblique or hypothetical, of ability, and can be glossed as 'like/how/should/if', as the context may suggest. When combined with -da or -ja it carries the additional overtone, signalled by these morphemes, that the certitude of the utterance rests on indirect evidence. Examples are such as:

tes MOD ibu pora + gwa ina ma qo+3-SIMP PRES MOD MOD 1P go-1P-EXH PRES 35 is-evident-must like we go-let-us he qoes qoes-must-like let us go he let us go as he goes / let's follow him = '' ibu poradagwa ina ma

ina lari + da + gwa
2S utter-2~SIMP PAST MOD MOD
you said
you said-must~like
like you said
they'll quickly do as you said

.

dalu ibija + gwa napole berama rain come-3-SIMP PAST MOD NEG-go-PURP make/do-1P-SIMP PRES rain came like not-to-go we make/are making rain came-like/should we are making not to go like/should rain have come we're not going to go (ie should it rain, we won't go)

= dalu ibijagwa napole berama

biabe biru + ja + gwa work do-lS-SIMP PAST MOD MOD work I did was-evident-must like/should/since work I did-like/since since I worked

> ti nde biabe bilimu 2P yes work do-2P-FUT IMP you then work do you also work

= biabe birujagwa ti nde biabe bilumu

dewali hea + ja + gwa many-people have/stay-3-EX PAST MOD MOD many people had/stayed/were was-evident-must since/should many people were-should/since as many people were there / should there be a large crowd

> bi lamījā talk utter-1P-EXH FUT talk let-us-say let's have a meeting = dewali heajagwa bi lamījā

5.5.13 The suffix -ba. This signals high positive modality based on evidence internal to the speaker - ie. his or her emotions, feelings and thoughts. It is of infrequent occurren**ee** with verbals, although commonly suffixed to the A of the DES form (cf 5.4.3), as in the examples,

iba noa + ba = iba noaba
water ingest~DES MOD
water desire-to-drink evident-feel-must
(I) want a drink / feel like a drink / (I'm) thirsty

ira mua + ba = ira muaba
wood take/give-DES MOD
wood desire-to-take evident-feel-must
(I) want to take some wood / feel like taking some wood

5.5.13.1 -da can be added to -ba, signalling mixed evidential sources - external and internal - and conveying the notion of probability. The compound is suffixed to SIMP and EX forms, as in the examples, Tigibi pija + ba + da Tigibi go-3-SIMP PAST MOD MOD Tigibi (he) went feel-must see-must he probably went to Tigibi = Tigibi pijabada

dalu ibule bira + ba + da rain come-PURP make/do-2-SIMP PRES MOD MOD rain to-come makes/is making feel-must see-must it's probably going to rain = dalu ibule birabada

wali maru beda + ba + da = wali maru bedabada
women some 3-EV MOD MOD
women some are feel-must see-must
there are probably some women there

dama homene + ba + da evil spirit die-EX DEF MOD MOD evil spirit dead feel-must see-must the evil spirit's probably dead = dama homenebada

5.5.14 The suffix -le. Like -gwa, this suffix signals modulation, oblique or hypothetical, of ability. It is the nominalizing suffix from le 'utter', already met in the PURP (5.4.5), which forms derivational adjectives, and which can be usefully glossed as '-ish/like/should/if'. When suffixed to EX PRES forms, as in

Ngibe ibida+ leaju ka + leNgibe come-3-EX PRES MODnow 3-EV MODNgibe comelike/should/etc now is-ish/if/etcNgibe come-ish/if (he) now is-ish/should

it conveys the sense of a hypothetical proposition, such as

if Ngibe is come he should now be here / had Ngibe come he would be here now

Other examples are:

5.5.15 The suffix -lo. This signals high modality - certainty based on direct present evidence - and/or high modulation of positive inclination. It is of very infrequent occurrence, and is suffixed to SIMP PRES and to EV forms, as in the:

ibu dai bule bira + 1o 3S return make/do-PURP make/do-3 PRES SIMP MOD he return to-make is making certainly he is certainly going to return = ibu dai bule biralo

agali ka + 10 manda bidama man 3-EV MOD head make/do-1P-EX PRES man is certainly (we) thought/knowledge make we know that there's certainly a man there = agali kalo manda bidama

5.5.16 The enclitic (-)ore. This configuration, with the particle enclitic on a verb form, is rare but does occur. It is limited to non-medial forms, and functions as an intensifier. (cf 6.4.2). It may be glossed variously as 'truly', 'indeed',

and so on. Examples are:

ani laja ore thus utter-3-SIMP PAST ENCL thus (he) said truly thus he truly said OR: thus he said, indeed

jawi biabe bule berama ore tomorrow work make/do-PURP make/do-lP-SIMP PRES ENCL tomorrow work to-do (we) are making truly we are indeed going to work tomorrow OR: tomorrow we're really going to work

5.6 PREFIXES

5.6.1 The negative prefix, na~. Negation is achieved by

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adding this prefix to medial and non-medial verb forms, although it is common for it to be attached to the A rather than to the PV in APV constructions. The unmarked form of negative declaratives, all persons and numbers, is the verb stem, changed as if to receive group B suffixes, with the negative prefix added to it.

Negative IMP PRES are interesting , since in the Al 5.6.1.1 dialect special forms are selected for negative imperatives (cf 5.4.7.1), while other dialects use the softening particle (-) be

(cf 5.5.2.1). Examples of negatives are:

ng (~)be andaga nana~ pe NEG go-STM house-LOC NEG 0 C go-STM house-to (did) not-go (not) go (eh?) (please) don't go (I,you,etc) didn't go - = = andaga nape nopobe biabe na- bilimu bi na-laja work NEG do-2P-IMP FUT talk NEG utter-3-SIMP PAST work not do talk not (he) said don't work he didn't speak = biabe nabilimu = bi nalaja (-)be bi na-ladaba (-)be oba na- hadaba smile NEG have-2/3-IMP PRES Q talk NEG say-2/3-IMP PRES Q smile not have (now) talk not say (now) don't laugh/smile don't talk/speak

= oba nahadababe

ega na- beda bird NEG 3-EV bird not is there isn't a bird = ega nabeda

nogo na- dawamījā pig not cook-let's not to-go (he) is make let's not cook pig he's not going to go / = nogo nadawamĩyã

tomo na- ne kama food NEG ingest-STM 1P-EV food not eaten (we) are we haven't eaten anything = tomo nane kama

= bi naladababe

na- pole bira pig NEG cook-1P-EXH FUT1 NEG go-PURP make-3-SIMP PRES not to-go (he) is making he won't go = napole bira

5.6.2 The causal prefix, mo-. This may be prefixed to non+medial verb forms, but may also be attached to the A rather than the PV in an APV construction. It signals an action performed in order to bring about another action or state. The one caused to act or change can be either the original actor or someone/something else. In the latter case, the actor causes a change of state or posture in the patient or does something for or on behalf of the patient. It is possible, on the basis of this description, to speak of mo- as being used to signal auto-, alter and benefactive causality. Examples are:

ibugwa ira mbira mo- wija 3S-ERG tree/wood one CAUS put/place-3-SIMP PAST he log a cause (self to) put (in place) he took and put a log in place = ibugWa ira mbira mowiya

hali mo- ngi needle CAUS give-2S-IMP PRES needle cause (self to) give (me) (take and) give me a needle = hali mongi

hariga moroad CAUS road cause (other to) right to-do we are making to cause to right the road we're going to repair the road tiga bule berama berama berama berama (we) are making bule berama

damame wali agali mo- ko haga evil spirit-ERG women men CAUS bad have-CUST evil spirits people cause (other to) bad has/does evil spirits make people bad / harm people = damame wali agali moko haga

ibugwa ĩ ge mo- dabi haja 3S-ERG 1S leg CAUS shine-like have-3-SIMP PAST he my leg cause (other to) well had he made my leg better = ibugwa i ge modabi haya

Iwaniginimo-hejahabe2Sdaughter-sonCAUSstandup-BENEhave-2S-IMPPRESyou/yourchildcausestanduphavestandyourchildup=Iwaniginimohejahabe

This concludes the description of Huli verbs, with its special focus on morphology. The next chapter will describe the adverbials.