CHAPTER 6

ADVERBIALS

6.1 HULI WORD CLASSES

At this stage it is useful to locate what are interpreted as adverbials within the Huli word class system, diagrammed below. Section 5.5 has indicated that the system of secondary

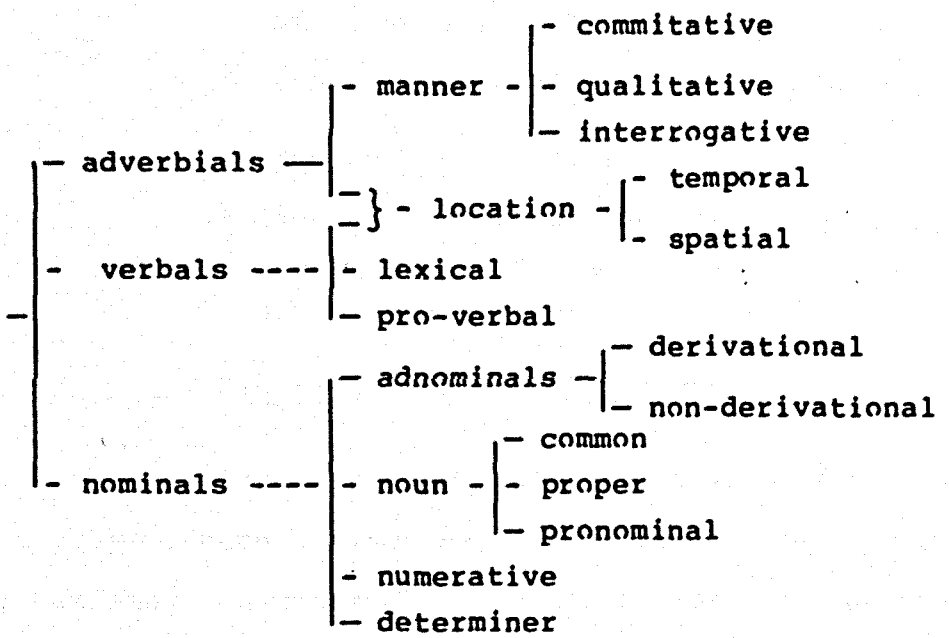


Figure 25: Word class system

suffixes intersects with the semantic area covered by free location morphemes. It is these free morphemes that are interpreted here as adverbials, and figure 25 shows that the major subdivision of this word class are i) location and ii) manner.

6.2 LOCATIVE ADVERBIALS

6.2.1 Spatial locatives. There is a system of spatial loc-

atives that function as exophoric references. They can receive the spatio-temporal suffixes described in 5.5.7, the determiner -go, realized according to the vowel harmony rule given in 4.11.3.4, usually preceding whichever inessive is selected. The system is set out in figure 26.

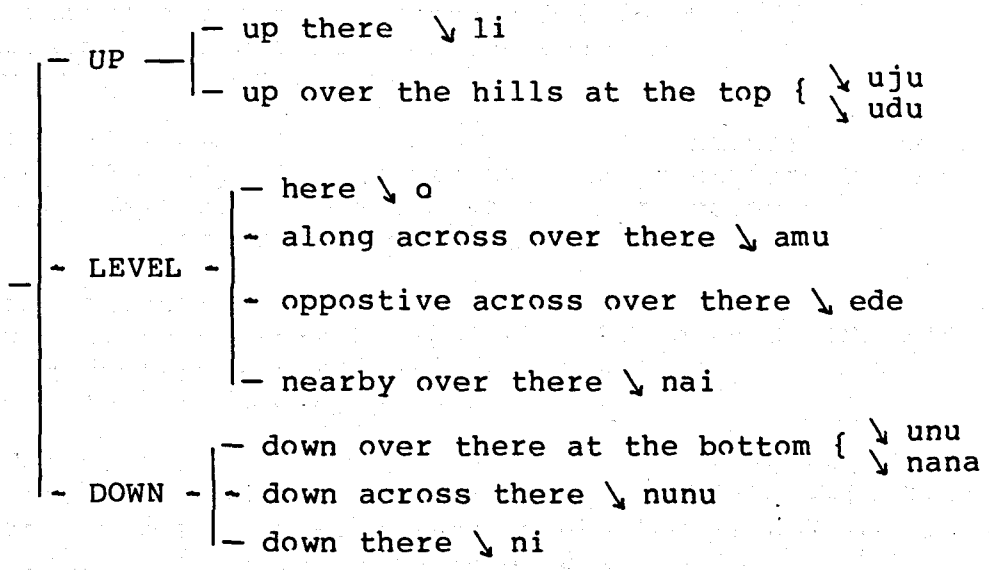


Figure 26: Spatial locatives

6.2.1.1 The unbound morphemes occur unsuffixed in utterances in which they precede a place name or refer to a place that the speaker can see. When the place cannot be seen by the speaker, he/she will select the suffix -goha, while -goria is used when the speaker wishes to signal some form of allation, or movement towards a place.

6.2.1.2 **udu** and **uju** seem to be interchangeable, with **udu** being the more frequent in dialect A1. **nana** tends to substitute for the more widespread **unu** in dialect B1.

6.2.1.3 Examples of spatial locatives are:

ega li jaga lara
bird up-there flight utter-3-SIMP PRES
(the) bird up-there flies/is flying
the bird is flying up there

uju Dagamabi poro
up-over-the-hills-at-the-top Dagamabi go-1S-SIMP PRES
up-over-the-hills-at-the-top (to) Dagamabi (I) go/am going
I'm going right up to Dagamabi at the top of the hills

Megia ira ogoria wija
Megia wood here-DET-LOC put-3-SIMP PAST
Megia wood (right) here put
Megia put the wood right here

bapalo* amuguha ka
buffalo along-across-over-there-DET-LOC 3-EV
buffalo along-across-over-there-in is
the buffalo's over there

wali ti ede mabuni beda
women 3P opposite-across-over-there garden-LOC 3-EV
women they opposite-across-over-there garden-in are
the women are across there in the garden

anda naiguria palimu
house nearby-over-there-DET-LOC lie down-2P-IMP FUT
house nearby-over-there-in/about sleep
sleep in that nearby house

Paderigi unu Pala Pala ka
Patrick down-over-there-at-the-bottom Pala Pala 3-EV
Patrick down-over-there-at-the=bottom Pala Pala is
Patrick is down there in Pala Pala

nunuguha anda birimibe
down-across-there-DET-LOC house make/do-2P-SIMP PAST-Q
down-across-there-in/on house made (you)?
did you make a house down over there?

nano ni dago mule bero
mushroom down-there 3-EV-DET take-PURP make-1S-SIMP PRES
mushroom down-there is-that to-take (I) make/am making
I'm going to get that mushroom down there

6.2.1.4 There are three exceptional instances when -go is realized as -ga, and it functions grammatically as a determiner -cum-locative without further suffixing. These exceptions are:

i) anda + go = andaga
house DET house-that one/in/to/at

as in: andaga poro
house-DET/LOC go-1S-SIMP PRES
house-to I go/am going
I'm going home

andaga beda
house-DET/LOC 3-EV
house-at (she) is
she's at home

2) hama + go = hamaga
clearing DET clearing-that one/in/to/at

as in:
hamaga poro
clearing-DET/LOC go-1S-SIMP PRES
clearing-to I go/am going
I'm going to the clearing

hamaga ka
clearing-DET-LOC 3-EV
clearing-at (he) is
he's at the clearing

3) dali + go = daliga
above DET above-that one/in/to/at

as in:
ni daliga ka
sun above-DET-LOC 3-EV
sun above-at is
the sun's up above

6.2.1.5 Other free spatial locatives, such as **tamu** 'inside' and **tagi/tagira** 'outside',frequently occur with spatio-temporal suffixes (cf 5.5.3, 5.5.6 and 5.5.7). The suffixes that can be selected are -ni (adessive) and -ha (inessive), suffixes which can also be used with nominal items to signal location. Examples are such as:

ibu tamu + ha pija = ibu tamuha pija
3S inside LOC go-3-SIMP PAST
he inside in/within went
he went inside/into the inside

dama hari daliga + ni haga
evil spirit mountain/sky above LOC have/stay-CUST
evil spirit mountain above at/on stays
the evil spirit lives on the mountain above
= dama hari daligani haga

hina be + ha gujarami
sweet potato ash LOC bake-2P-SIMP PRES
sweet potato ashes in/within you bake/are baking
you are baking sweet potato in the ashes
= hina beha gujarami

wandari emene dagia + ni beda
girl little plank LOC 3-EV / sit-3-EX PRES
girl little plank on is / sits/is sitting
the little girl is sitting/is on the plank
= wandari emene dagiani beda

6.2.2 (-)hondo and (-)howa. These two forms can be conven-

iently described here, since they are used to signal location: 'to/towards' and 'from', respectively. It is possible to analyse them as enclitics, but it seems likely that both are forms of **he** 'have/stay/be': **howa** can be interpreted as the CONS (5.4.4), and **hondo** as the PURP stem (5.4.5.1) plus the negative particle **ndo** 'no'.

6.2.2.1 This analysis is supported by the semantic function of **howa** in utterances such as

```
ani  lajagola                    howa
thus utter-3-SIMP PAST-DET-LOC   have/stay/be-CONS
thus he uttered-when/at          having stayed/after staying
thus when he uttered             afterwards
after he'd said that,
```

```
ibugwa abare        jolo  bija
3S-ERG red pandanus price make/do-3-SIMP PAST
he     red pandanus price made/did
he made (the) price (for the/some) red pandanus
he bought some red pandanus
```

in which it could be said to be acting as a temporal locative. Its use as a spatial locative can be similarly analysed:

```
howa
have/stay/be-CONS
having stayed/after staying
after staying at / from
```

Examples of howa used of spatial location are:

```
Det   howa ibiri             be
Det   LOC  come-2S-SIMP PAST Q
Det   from came (you)?
did you come from Det?

ndo, Gubari   howa ibiru
no   Gubari   LOC  come-1S-SIMP PAST
no   Gubari   from (I) came
no, I came from Gubari
```

6.2.2.2 While (-)howa may be spatial or temporal, (-)hondo is only used of space - 'to' a person -, but in a special sense: it signals giving something to someone temporarily, for that

person to pass on to another, or because what is given - eg speech, food - cannot be kept permanently. A tentative reconstruction of **hondo** would suggest that the PURP suffix -le has been deleted, and the negative then fused with the stem:

hole	ndo	---> ho ndo	= hondo
have/stay/be-PURP	no		
in-order-to-have/stay/be	no		
to-stay	no		

The resulting form is enclitic on a personal pronoun, a proper name, or a noun whose referent is animate. A verbal form that signals giving completes the configuration. Examples are:

ibu hondo bi lamia
3S LOC talk/words utter-give-2S-IMP PRES
he/him to words utter-and-give
say something to him/tell him

igiri hondo hai miru
boy LOC banana give-1S-SIMP PAST
(the) boy to (a) banana (I) gave
I gave a banana to the boy/ I gave the boy a banana

Dewali hondo nogo mbira miribe
Dewali LOC pig one give-2-SIMP PAST-Q
Dewali to pig a gave (you)?
did you give a pig to Dewali?

6.2.3 Temporal locatives. Only two of the temporal suffixes described in 5.5.3-5.5.7 occur with non-verbal items: these are -ngi, and -ni, both of which are limited to a handful of time words. Examples are:

bibahende - ngi		=	bibahendengi
all/every LOC			always/every day/each day
bibahende - ni		=	bibahendeni
all/every LOC			always/every day/each day
pigane - ngi		=	piganengi
first LOC			at first/at the start
mbira - ngi		=	mbirangi
one LOC			at/on the first

6.2.3.1 Among time words are those used for referring to days ahead and days past. The way Huli culture deals with time is represented, in part, by this system, which shows that the need to count backward or forward beyond a few days, or to organize days into groups (eg months and years), used not to be important. It is only since the white people came that Huli society has had to accommodate this way of viewing time, and it has adapted mainly by borrowing terms as well as concepts from the dominant culture (cf 7.7.6). The traditional Huli system of adverbial/nominal time words is given below in table 17.

	past	days	future	
yesterday	abe	1	jawi	tomorrow
	lebe	2	luma	
	lebene	3	lumani	
	golebene	4	golumani	
	ogolebene	5	ogolumani	
6 days ago	ogogolebene	6	ogogolumani	6 days hence

Table 17: Day time words

6.2.3.1.1 This table shows that the stem for days past can be analysed as **be**, and for days hence as **ma**. The form for 'tomorrow' can be considered irregular, while **be** signals 'yesterday' by accepting the prefix **a**. Thereafter each stem carries a primary prefix 1V-, whose vowel is realized according to the rule,

$$V \dashrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \alpha\text{high} \\ \beta\text{back} \end{bmatrix} \; / \; C\_\_ \; \left]_{PRFX}\right. + \left[\; C \begin{bmatrix} V \\ \alpha\text{low} \\ \beta\text{back} \end{bmatrix} \right]_{STM}$$

which says that it copies its specification for [back] from the stem vowel, while its specification for [high] is the same as the stem vowel's specification for [low]. This yields the forms **lebe** '2 days ago' and **luma** '2 days hence'.

6.2.3.1.2 In generating the next form, '3 days...', the suffix =**ne**/=**ni** is added. Since with **luma** the suffix vowel is realized as [+high], it appears possible that the vowel harmony rule given in 4.4.3.4 is operating in an attenuated fashion, or that a form of counter=vowel harmony is operative in that the suffix vowel has taken on a specification counter to that of the stem vowel for the feature [low]. A more interesting possibility is that the suffix vowel is copying not from the stem vowel but from the (initial) prefix vowel, according to the rule,

$$\overset{V}{[=back]} \Longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \gamma high \\ \beta low \end{bmatrix} \; / \; C \left[\begin{array}{c} \overset{PRFX}{\overset{V}{\begin{bmatrix} \alpha high \\ \beta low \end{bmatrix}}} \\ \overset{STM}{+} \\ \overset{SUFX}{+ \; C\_\_\_} \end{array} \right]$$

which would support the previous analysis, ie in 4.4.2.10, of the mediating function of /a/ in Huli phonological processes, since here it would be present as a bridge in feature copying.

6.2.3.1.3 However, some dialect A1 speakers consistently use the suffix =**ni** for all forms, which suggests that the morpheme being employed is the spatio=temporal adessive =**ni** described in 5.5.6. The same speakers tend to use **ba** rather than **be** as the stem for signalling 3 or more days past.

6.2.3.2 Beyond the naming of days, the general time continuum is divided into broad areas that do not concern themselves with locating points of time with precision: traditional Huli culture had no need of that. The overlapping areas of time as perceived by the Huli, measured according to the position in time of the speaker,are given in table 18.

direction	location	Huli	gloss
^	past	bamba ala abale	long time ago long ago previously
*	present	ajure aju wene	just now now/today shortly
v	future	mani awe	later a long way ahead

Table 18: General time continuum

6.2.3.3 Of the forms given in table 18, there is an example of elision between adverb and intensifier/modifier (6.4.2), namely:

aju	+ ore =	ajure	
now	very	right now/just now	

A second form, **mani**, is the future-time morpheme **ma** (6.2.3.1.1) plus the adessive suffix **-ni** (5.5.6). **ma** can often be glossed as 'after', and frequently signals time subsequent to that encoded

in the process word. It may also accept the inessive suffix **-ha**, the compound being usefully glossed as 'afterwards'.

6.2.3.4 The unbound morphemes that measure out the day reflect the cultural notion that a new day begins at dawn, and that all named time segments prior to daybreak belong to yesterday. Hence,

aju	mbiraga		
now	dark(ness)		
today's	night		
tonight		=	from nightfall today to dawn tomorrow

abe	mbiraga		
yesterday	darkness		
yesterday's	night		
last night		=	from nightfall yesterday to dawn today

Some of the adverbials involved, along with their glosses, are given in the set (one of several) od time-measuring words below:

horo	day	horombe	middle of day
muna	dawn	alendo	afternoon
egerebagi	morning	ne lanini	dusk
	mbiraga night		

6.3 INTERROGATIVES

6.3.1 **A= forms.** The interrogative adverbials all begin with the segment **a=**, which cannot stand on its own, but is the stem to which suffixes are added, as set out in figure 27. The utterance-final Q particle (cf 5.5.1) is optional with A- questions.

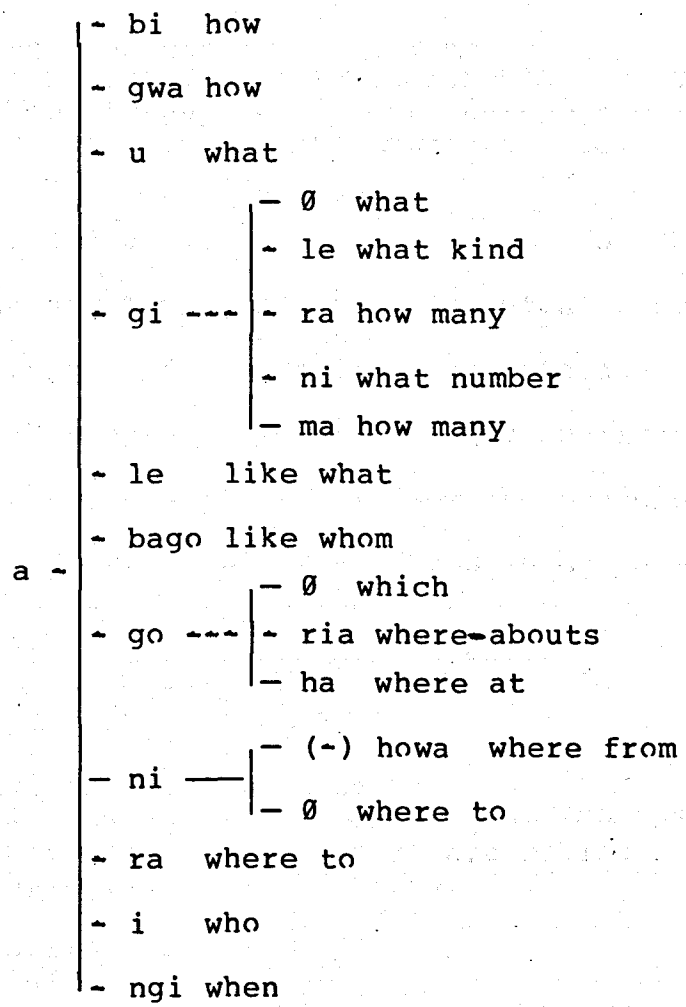


Figure 27 : A- interrogatives

6.3.2 **abi** and **agwa** may both be glossed 'how?', but the former occurs in contexts such as enquiring after a person's well-being, the latter in asking the way in which something is done. The suffix -bi is derivational, from the verb **bi** 'make/do', and gives the interrogative the sense of 'how-ish/how-like/like-what?' (Derivational suffixes are treated more fully in 7.9.) Examples are such as:

ĩ	abi	kebe		ti	abi kami
2S	INT	EV-2S-Q		2P	INT EV-2P
you	how	are		you	how are
how	are	you?		how	are you?

nu		agwa	bija
string	bag	INT	do/make3-SIMP PAST
string	bag	how	(he) made

how did he make the string bag?

ira agwa dibule berama
tree INT cut down-PURP do-make-1P-SIMP PRES
tree how to-cut down (we) make/are making
how are we going to cut down the tree?

6.3.3 **au, agi** and **agile.** A cover gloss for these forms is 'what?'. **au** and **agi** have the same referential field: non-human things; and **agile** asks for specification within a given class of referents. The suffix -le of agile is derivational, from the verb **le** 'utter', and gives the form the sense of 'what-ish/what-like?'. Examples of these forms in use are:

honabi au lajabe
ginger pig-like INT utter-3-SIMP PAST-Q
white man what (he) said?
what did the white man say?

jawi agi bule berabi
tomorrow INT do/make-PURP do/make-2D-SIMP PRES
tomorrow what to-do (you) are making
what are you going to do tomorrow?

ira ogo agile ira
tree this INT tree
tree this what tree
what sort of tree is this?

6.3.4 **agira** and **agini.** These forms ask about quantities. While **agira,** can be glossed as 'how many?', **agini** seeks specification: 'what?' in the sense of which number, eg fourth/fifth? The suffix -ni is here probably the definitive -ne, the vowel being raised owing to the constraints of vowel harmony. Examples of these forms are such as:

wena agira jolo birima
fish INT price do/make-1P-SIMP PAST
fish how many price (we) made
how many fish did we buy?

nogo ogoni agini
pig that INT
pig that what/which number
what number pig is that?

o biagoni hombene
EXC that twelfth
oh that twelfth
oh, that's the twelfth

6.3.4.1 **agi** may also take the suffix -ma, a commitative (cf 6.5), to yield a form that rarely occurs in A- questions, and that has the sense of 'what-about/around-what?'. Its usual occurrence is in utterances such as

```
hina           agira    hanarebe
sweet potatoes INT      carry-in-string-bag-2S-SIMP PRES-Q
sweet potatoes how many you carry/are carrying
how many sweet potatoes are you carrying?
```

```
duria maria agima
five  four  INT
five  four  what-about/around-what
about four or five
```

```
pauni* hanare* maria agima jido
pounds hundred four  what-about/around-what hold-1S-EX PRES
pounds hundred four  around                 (I) hold
I've got around four hundred pounds with me
```

6.3.4.2 **ale** and **abago** are similar to agima in that they are appendages to the system of A- forms: they rarely occur in A- questions, and have been set aside for special usage. In the A- question,

```
taiga* ibu agi  ale       ka
tiger  3S  INT  INT       EV-3
tiger  he  what what-like is
what is a tiger like?
```

the form **ale**, usually in such a construction contracted to -le and then suffixed onto **agi**, functions as an interrogative. But in the utterance

```
ibu homogo          ale          ka
3S  important man   INT          EV-3
he  important man   (what-) like is
he's like/just like an important man
```

any semblance of its being an interrogative seems to disappear: it is certainly lost in translation, and is perhaps most usefully glossed as 'like / the same as'.

6.3.4.3 **abago**, which can often be glossed as 'what's his name', can be interpreted as a special interrogative used as a

filler when the speaker fails to recollect something. The suffix -bago is probably an elison of **biago**, a nominal anaphoric deictic (cf 7.4). The form abago occurs in utterances such as:

```
abago          ibugwa te                      lelo
INT            3S-ERG stand/clump             utter-3-PERM
what-that one he      stand/clump (of talk)   utter-may
what's-his-name       talk/tale/story         may tell
you be quiet so that what's-his-name can

               Ĩna    wa
               2S-ERG reject-2S-IMP PRES
               you    reject (your talk/tale)
               you    be quiet
               say his piece
```

6.3.5 **ago, agoria** and **agoha.** The first of these forms signals a request for discrimination between or among things. Its English gloss would be classed as a nominal, but like other items - such as **agi** 'what' and **ai** 'who' - it is interpreted as belonging to the set of A- forms and best described here. It may be suffixed with the locatives -ria or -ha, already described in 5.5.7: the sense is always spatial. Examples are:

```
aju  kira ngago:   Ĩnaga   ago
axes two  EV-3-DET 2S-POSS INT
axes two  are      yours   which
there are two axes: which is yours?

ira  dibini          agoria       wimĩjã
wood cut down-EX DEF INT          place-1P-EXH FUT1
wood cut down        where-abouts (we) shall place
where-abouts shall we put the chopped wood?

Debidi* agoha kabe          mbagwa agoha wini
David   INT   EV-3           tree oil INT place-EX DEF
David   where-at is          tree oil where-at put/placed
where's David at?           where's the tree oil been put?
```

6.3.6 **ani, ani howa** and **ara.** The forms **ani** and **ara**, meaning 'where/where to?' are used mainly with **pu** 'go'; **ani howa** occurs with **ibu** 'come', and means 'where from?'. -ni is the adessive locative described in 5.5.6, and (-)howa has been discussed above in 6.2.2. Examples are such as:

ti	ani	pirimibe	ibu	ani	haga
2P	INT	go-2P-SIMP PAST-Q	3S	INT	have/stay-CUST
you	where-to	went?	he	where	stays/lives
where did you go?			where does he live?		

ara	porebe	agali-o	ti	ara porami
INT	go-2S-SIMP PRES	men-EXC	2P	INT go-2P-SIMP PRES
where-to	(you) go?	men!	you	where-to go
where're you going?		men!	where	are you going?

ani	howa	ibiribe	ti	ani	howa
INT		come-2S-SIMP PAST-Q	2/3P	where	from
where-from		(you) came?	you/they	where	from
where did/have you come from?			where are you/they from?		

6.3.7 **ai.** This A- form can frequently be glossed by 'who/whom?'. The examples given below illustrate that the use of traditional category labels may not be apt for describing Huli: the English gloss 'what?' suggests that ai is an interrogative pronoun/adverb; the gloss `who?' (second example) suggests simply an interrogative pronoun. The examples are:

ĩ	mini	ai	andira	ai kabe
2S	name	INT	lean-to/shelter	INT EV-3-Q
you/your	name	who	(in) shelter	who is?
what is your name			who's in the shelter?	

6.3.8 **angi.** This form is produced by adding the temporary locational inessive -ngi (cf 5.5.4.1.1) to the Q stem, a-. Examples are:

angi	ibirimibe	angi	pija	
INT	come-2P-SIM PAST-Q	INT	go-3-SIMP PAST	
when	came (you)?	when	went (they)	
when did you come?		when did they go?		

angi	homene	angi	wule	bere
INT	die-EX DEF	INT	place-PURP	2S-SIMP-PRES
when	died (he)	when	to-place	make (you)
when did he die?		when are you going to place it?		

6.4 QUALITATIVES

6.4.1 These adverbials usually occur immediately before the verb form in an utterance, although they may precede the A in

wali agali marasini* hangu hangu no ibalimu
women men medicine ADV ADV ingest-PURP come-2P-IMP FUT
people medicine only only to-drink/eat (you) come
you people come to get your medicine one by one

6.5 COMITATIVES

6.5.1 This term covers morphemes that indicate the accompaniment or involvement together of participants in a process. The suffixes -la and -ma, signal that the nominal to which they are attached is, together with one or more other nominals, the grammatical subject; -bi and -ru signal that the nominals to which they are suffixed are in the same grammatical category; the enclitics, (-)heba, (-)haru and (-)baba, signal that the nominals on which they lean are not grammatical subjects.

6.5.2 The suffixes -la and -ma. The first, -la, is added to the second of two nominals in a group, signalling that these in concert are the grammatical subject of the verb. In a similar way, -ma is added to the last nominal of a group of three or more. If the nominals are 1 or 2 person, the verbal inflections will reflect the force of the suffixes, being always either D or P in number. Examples are such as:

ĩ ĩ one + la jawi ibalibu
2S 2S wife ADV tomorrow come-2D-IMP FUT
you you/your wife-with tomorrow (you two) come
come with your wife tomorrow
= ĩ ĩ onela jawi ibalimu

ẽ ĩ ibu + la ibuluba
yes 1S 3S ADV come-1D-FUT
yes I she-with (we two) shall come
yes, we'll come = ẽ ĩ ibula ibluba

Andagali Madiabe Bigo + ma Mendi pijija
Andagali Madiabe Bigo ADV Mendi go-3-SIMP PAST-MOD
Andagali Madiabe Bigo-with Mendi went-must/would have
Andagali, along with Madiabe and Bigo, must have gone to Mendi
= Andagali Madiabe Bigoma Mendi pijija

```
ĩ  ĩ    one  ija          igini + ma  ina tomo narima
1S 1S   wife 1D           son     ADV 1P  food ingest-1P-SIMP PAST
I  I/my wife we-two/our   son-with    we  food ate
I  my   wife our          son with/and we food ate
my wife and I, and our son, have all eaten
                          =  ĩ ĩ one ija iginima ina tomo narima
```

6.5.3 The suffixes -bi and -ru. Both of these are multi-functional, but can often be glossed as 'and'. -ru is an optional plural suffix that can be glossed as 'and/with/along with' when suffixed to a string of nominal items that together comprise the grammatical subject, while -bi functions in the same way. There are clear reason why these two suffixes should be regarded as conjunctives, but they also need to be mentioned here since they can function as comitatives in the same way as the previously described suffixes. Examples are:

```
ma + ru   du          + ru   hai   + ru  anda  hene
taro ADV  sugar cane ADV  banana ADV house stay-have-EX DEF
taro-with sugar cane-with banana-with house had
     and              and          and
taro, sugar cane and banana had all grown
                                  =  maru duru hairu anda hene
```

```
tia + bi   jari  + bi  tajanda daligani beda
possum ADV cassowary ADV high bush high-LOC EV-3
possum-with cassowary-with high bush high-in are
       and             and
there are possum along with/and cassowary up in the high bush
                         =  tiabi jaribi tajanda daligani beda
```

6.5.4 (~)heba, (~)haru and (~)baba. These lean back on a nominal group that follows the grammatical subject of the utterance. They are used interchangably, but (~)heba and (~)haru are usually selected when the verb is one of motion, (~)haru signifying semantically that the nominal group to which it is enclitic is being controlled by what-/whoever is the grammatical subject of the utterance. The form (~)baba is favoured when the verb signals some kind of mutual interaction between the participants. Examples are:

Ĩ Wariabe heba pole berebe
2S Wariabe ADV go-PURP make/do-2S-SIM PRES-Q
you Wariabe along-with to-go (you) are making?
are you going to go with Wariabe?

Malingi Agilu heba tomo nole biraja
Malingi Agilu ADV food ingest-PURP sit-3-SIMP PAST
Malingi Agilu together-with food to-eat sat down
Malinigi sat down to eat with Agilu

ina nogo haru eberema
1P pig ADV come-1P-SIMP PRES
we pig along-with come/are coming
we're coming with the pig

bapalo* haru halimu
buffalo ADV have/stay-2-IMP FUT
buffalo along-/together-with stay
you stay with / look after the buffalo

tigwa Gambali baba wai binija
3P-ERG Gambali with/against war make/do-EX PAST-MOD
they Gambali with war made-must/would
they would have made war with Gambali

gabamanali* baba bi lo mbijore wini
government-men with talk utter-STM one-ADV place-EX PAST
Government with talk having-said one-truly (they) placed
they made an agreement with the Government

6.5.4.1 In dialect area A2, **doba** may substitute for **haru** or for **heba**.

This concludes the description of Huli adverbials.

CHAPTER 7

NOMINALS

This chapter will describe in turn nouns, numeratives, determiners and adnominals (cf figure 24, section 6.1), as being useful subdivisions of the word-class nominal. The nominal system is set out in figure 28.

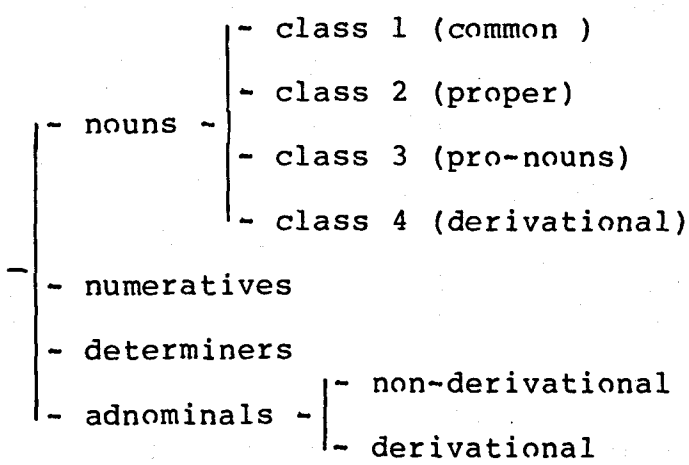


Figure 28 : Nominal system

7.1 NOUNS

7.1.1 The sub-group 'nouns' comprises four classes: class 1 (common), class 2 (proper), class 3 (pro-nouns), and class 4 (derivational forms). These classifications are based chiefly on formal distinctions evident in the way items are marked for ergativity.

7.1.2 Ergativity is signalled by suffixation. Agents are optionally marked for ergativity, while instruments must always be so marked. Thus, in the Huli system it is possible to have two participants in the same utterance marked for ergativity.

7.1.3. Class 1 nouns, which form the biggest and most general class, take only the ergative suffix -me. Class 2 nouns nouns take only -handa, while class 3 nouns take the suffixes -na, -me and -gwa. Class 4 nouns, like those of class 1, also take only the suffix -me, but they are formally distinct from class 1 nouns in that they are all derivational.

7.1.4 These ergative suffixes will be described at the same time as the noun classes with which they are associated. Other nominal suffixes, given in figure 30, will be described together in a separate section (7.10). Many of these have been met before in the course of chapters 5 and 6 (cf 5.5 and figure 22).

7.2 CLASS 1 NOUNS

7.2.1. Class 1 nouns are non-derivational nominal items that accept only -me as their ergative suffix. They may be specified by determiners or other deictics, their referents usually being concrete animate or inanimate objects. Examples are such as:

nogo pig	ira tree	keba digging stick
beraliba cloud	biango dog	iba water
wali woman	nu string bag	hari mountain/sky

7.2.2 Lexical sets of class 1 nouns may occur in semantic groupings, each member a hyponym of a superordinate item. Thus, **nogo** 'pig' is superordinate to a set of hyponyms typed on colour, viz: **mindi** 'black-pig', **hone** 'ginger-pig' and **pagwa** 'piebald pig'; **haro** 'oak', **dugu** 'swamp pine' and **baua** 'casuarina'

are hyponyms of ira 'tree'. Increasing levels of delicacy eventually result in subordinates that are either realized as proper names or specified by deictics.

7.2.3 The ergative suffix -me. This morpheme always occupies final suffix position. Examples are such as:

```
nogo + me   mabu   najada                = nogome mabu najada
pig    ERG  garden ingest-3-SIMP PAST-MOD
pig    (by) garden ate-must have/certainly
a pig has rooted up the garden

ina kango     + me  nogo baramali
1P  stick/club  ERG pig  hit/kill-1P-HAB
we  club        (by) pigs kill-usually
we usually kill pigs with a club
                                  = ina kangome nogo baramali

agali + me   ira     aju + me   dibaga
man     ERG  tree    axe   ERG  cut down/fell-CUST
men     (by) trees axes    (by) fell-customarily
men fell trees with axes / men use axes to fell trees
                                   = agalime ira ajume dibaga
```

7.2.4 Compound nouns are nouns that are separated by less than a full word boundary. Compounding can take place through elision of class 1 nouns that occur in collocation and have adjacent segments that provide an environment for deletion to take place. There are two elision rules, the first of which,

$$V_{[-high]} \text{ ---> } \emptyset \;/\; X\ C_{[-back]}\_\_\_\ \#\ V_{\begin{bmatrix}+high\\-back\end{bmatrix}}\ X$$

says that a mid or low vowel is deleted when it is preceded by a consonant carrying the feature [+back], and followed first by an internal word boundary and then by a vowel that has the specifications [+high,-back]. Examples are such as:

```
wane    + igini      =     wanigini
daughter  son               child/children

manda  + iri         =      mandiri
head     hair               hair

hame   + igini       =      hamigini
brother  son                clan member
```

anda	+ ira	=	andira
house	tree/wood		open shelter

7.2.4.1 The second elision rule states that a high vowel is deleted when it follows an internal word boundary that is preceded by a CV syllable whose segments have the specification [+back], thus:

$$\begin{matrix} V \\ [+high] \end{matrix} \quad \text{---> } \emptyset \quad / \quad \begin{matrix} C \\ [+back] \end{matrix} \quad \begin{matrix} V \\ [+back] \end{matrix} \; \# \; \underline{\quad} X$$

Examples are:

ega	+ iri	=	egari
bird	hair		feather/s
kora	+ uli	=	korali
scoop	hole		cooking pit
anga	+ iri	=	angari
jaw	hair		beard

7.2.4.2 Other collocations that the Huli, on the evidence of the way many of them write, seem to consider as compounds are items such as

de	+ ngwi	=	dengwi
eye	nose		face
ira	+ bu	=	irabu
tree	core		thick bush/forest
wane	+ kuni	=	wanekuni
daughter	bone		forehead

In the first of these examples, vowel harmony conventions are not observed. In the third example, vowel harmony rules that apply to free morphemes (cf 4.4) are not operative, illustrating that the internal word boundaries of compound items can act as phonological barriers in much the same way as the morpheme boundaries of suffixes. (Cf also 4.4.3).

7.2.4.3 A number of common collocations whose adjacent vowels are non-harmonious are not considered to be compounds, on the

basis that no elision occurs in their articulation. Examples:

hambu lip	+ iri hair	=	hambu iri moustache
du sugar cane	+ egene shoot	=	du egene sugar cane shoot
igiri boy	+ emene small	=	igiri emene little/small boy

7.3 CLASS 2 NOUNS

7.3.1 Class 2 nouns are nouns that either do not take an ergative suffix or that accept only -handa. Names of persons and certain kinship labels are in this latter category, while names of places are in the former. Examples are:

Juwi man's name	Dewali woman's name	Darali man's name
Mogome woman's name	Ango man's name	Wariabe man's name
Godabi place name	Pajaba place name	Bebego place name

7.3.1.1 Such names may be descriptive - for instance, Mogome can be glossed as 'by surprise', and Godabi as 'mounded-like' - and may be a comment on an event or the circumstances surrounding the name-giving. It is also not uncommon for a person to be given a change of name to remind him/her of something significant: an enduring change would be such as Pagwabi 'piebald-pig-like', reminding the person of a pig given as a gift, while a less enduring change would be **igini ãĩja** 'son's mother' to honour a woman on the birth of a male child.

7.3.2 The ergative suffix -handa only occurs with class 2 nouns. It cannot occur with class 2 nouns that are place names, nor with proper names that are not the names of humans -

thus the names of spirits, such as **Hejolabe** and **Hiwagamabi**, are class 1 nouns, taking the ergative suffix -me. -handa occurs as the ergative marker of certain terms denoting close kinship, such as **aba** 'father', **aĩjã** 'mother' and **ama** 'maternal aunt', which belong to this class of nouns. Examples of -handa are:

```
Juwi + handa bi          lole        bira
Juwi   ERG   talk/words utter-PURP make/do-3-SIMP PRES
Juwi   (by)  talk        to-utter   makes/is making
Juwi will speak                  =  Juwihanda bi lole bira

Ĩ    aba    + handa anda  ogoni bini
1S   father  ERG   house that  make/do-EX DEF
I/my father  (by)  house that  made
my father built that house
                              =  Ĩ abahanda anda ogoni bini

Malagi* + handa beba* ogo  gili bijada
Malachy   ERG   paper this line make/do-3-SIMP PAST-MOD
Malachy   (by)  paper this lines did-certainly/must have
Malachy must have written this letter
                    =  Malagihanda beba* ogo gili bijada
```

7.4 CLASS 3 NOUNS

7.4.1 Personal pro-nouns constitute class 3, occurring with the ergative suffixes -na and -gwa, and, when suffixed for reflection, -me. There is a singular (S), dual (D) and plural (P) in each person (1, 2 and 3), the system being set out below in figure 29. In most dialects, distinctions in tone are main-

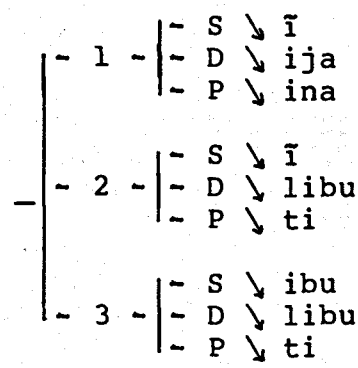


Figure 29: Personal pro-nouns

tained between 1S and 2S, 2D and 3D, and 2P and 3P (cf table A1).

7.4.2 The definitive suffix -ne may be added to these forms to generate a form that signals reflection. In accordance with vowel harmony rules, it is realized as -ni with all of these items except the 1D and 1P.

7.4.2.1 The reflection signalled may be emphatic, as in:

```
ibu + ne     ira  mopene                  =  ibuni ira mopene
3S    DEF    wood CAUS-go-EX DEF
he    (self) wood cause-went
he himself went to fetch wood

garo* ina + ne       hondole         berama
car   1P    DEF      sense/see-PURP make/do-1P-SIMP PRES
car   we    (selves) to-see          make/are making
we ourselves are going to see the car
                                =  garo* inane hondole berama

ĩ + ne    hangu      birabe          =  ĩni hangu birabe
2S  DEF   only/alone sit down-2S-IMP FUT
you (self) alone     sit down
you sit down by yourself / you alone sit down
```

it may be reflexive, as in:

```
ibu + ne     mojari           bule         bira
3S    DEF    CAUS -decoration make/do-PURP make/do-3-SIMP PRES
he    (self) cause decoration to-make     is making/makes
he is going to cause himself to be decorated
he's going to decorate himself     =  ibuni mojari bule bira

ina + ne       ani  manda bidama
1P    DEF      thus head  make/do-1P-EX PRES
we    (selves) thus head  make/are making
we ourselves know this
```

or it may be reciprocal, as in:

```
agalirume   ti       + ne       baga     baga     bija
man-COM-ERG 3P         DEF      hit-ITER hit-ITER do-3-SIMP PAST
men     (by) they/them (selves) hit hit did
the men hit themselves over and over again
                               =  agalirume tini baga baga bija
```

7.4.3 The ergative suffixes -na, -me and -gwa occur with class 3 nouns: -na with 1S and 2S; -me with 1D, 1P and forms that carry the DEF suffix; and -gwa with all other forms. Ex-

amples are such as:

```
Ĩ + na   bi   loabe          =  Ĩna bi loabe
1S  ERG  talk utter-DES-Q
I   (by) talk utter-wish?
I'd like to speak

Ĩni  +me    bi   lole       bero
1S-DEF ERG  talk utter-PURP make/do-1S-SIMP PRES
I-self (by) talk to-utter   make/am making
I myself am going to speak          =  Ĩnime bi lole bero

ija + me   tia    bariba
1D    ERG  possum hit/kill-1D-SIMP PAST
we    (by) possum killed
we killed a/the possum                 =  ijame tia bariba

libu + gwa  bebani*   gili  binibe
2D     ERG  paper-ADV line  make/do-EX DEF-Q
you    (by) paper-on  lines made?
did you write on the paper?
                              =  libugwa bebani* gili binibe

abe       ibu + gwa  gana  timbuni bija
yesterday 3S    ERG  ditch big     make/do-3-SIMP PAST
yesterday he    (by) ditch big     made/dug
yesterday he dug a big ditch
                           =  abe ibugwa gana timbuni bija
```

7.4.3.1 It is possible to interpret 1D, 1P and all reflex forms (with DEF suffix) as class 1 nouns, since they accept only -me as ERG suffix. However, it is convenient to regard 1D and 1P as being exceptions, and to retain the reflexives with the other pro-nominal forms in class 3 on the grounds that they have basic forms that belong to this class.

7.4.4 The ergative suffix -wa can also conveniently be described here, since it is the only remaining ERG suffix, even though it is not one of those accepted by any of the noun classes and really belongs to the section dealing with suffixes in in general (7.10). It is limited in occurrence to the A- form adverbial ai 'who?', as in the examples

```
wena ai + wa   page  bija          ai + wa   lajabe
fish who  ERG  steal make/do      who  ERG  utter-3-SIM PAST-Q
fish who  (by) steal did          who  (by) said/spoke-?
who stole the fish?               who said / who spoke?
```

= wena aiwa page bija . = aiwa lajabe

7.5 CLASS 4 NOUNS

7.5.1 The customary verb form (5.2.5) and the purposive verb form (5.4.5) generate class 4 nouns when they receive as a suffix the definitive morpheme, -ne. In the case of the CUST, suffixing the DEF morpheme signals a customary actor, instrument or action, as in the examples:

tomo wiaga + ne mini peledi*
food place/put-CUST DEF name plate
food place-customarily that name plate (is)
that's for putting food on, (and is) called a plate
= tomo wiagane mini peledi*

paliaga + ne ogoni
lie down/sleep-CUST DEF that
sleep-customarily that that (is)
that's the sleeping place/board/mat/etc
= paliagane ogoni

aju nege wiaga + ne
axe sharp edge place-CUST DEF
axe sharp edge place-customarily that
(an) axe sharpener = aju nege wiagane

tomo dawaga + ne
food cook-CUST DEF
food cook-customarily that
(a) cook / (a) stove = tomo dawagane

7.5.2 The purposive verb form accepts the DEF suffix to generate class 4 nouns as in the examples,

bule + ne
do/make-PURP DEF
in-order-to do/make that
(a/the) doing/making
= bulene

hole + ne
have/stay/be-PURP DEF
in-order-to have/stay/be that
(a/the) having/staying/being
= holene

nole + ne
ingest-PURP DEF
in-order-to eat/smoke that
(a/the) smoking/eating
= nolene

pole + ne
go-PURP DEF
in-order-to go that
(a/the) going
= polene

7.5.2.1 These nouns frequently occur as A in obligative APV

constructions with the EV nga functioning as PV (cf 5.4.9). In other cases, when it is the PV of an APV construction that is suffixed, the result is that the APV construction itself is, given the limitations of descriptive terminology, nominalized. Examples are such as:

turu hole + ne
well being have/stay/is-PURP DEF
well being in-order-to-have/stay/be that
well being having / well being / happiness
= turu holene

biabe bule + ne
work do/make-PURP DEF
work in-order-to-do/make that
work / working = biabe bulene

bi lole + ne
talk/word/s utter-PURP DEF
talk in-order-to-utter/say that
talk-saying / saying / speaking/talking
= bi lolene

7.5.2.2 Class 4 nouns take the ergative suffix -me, as is exemplified in

turu holene + me ibu moturu haja
well being having ERG 3S CAUS-well being have/stay-3-SIMP PAST
happiness having (by) he cause-happiness had
happiness made him happy
= turu holeneme ibu moturu haja

nege wiagane + me aju nege wia
sharp edge placer ERG axe sharp edge place-2S-IMP PRES
sharp edge placer-by axe sharp edge place
sharpen the axe with the sharpener
= nege wiaganeme aju nege wia

7.6 NUMERATIVES

7.6.1 The Huli counting system is an integrated one, and is best described as a whole rather than treated piecemeal under separate category labels such as adverbials / adnominals / etc. It has a base of 15, some of the names given to the units or numbers being parts of the body. Indeed, the system is taught

by counting first the fingers and thumb of one hand, and then proceeding up the arm, across to the chest, and then on to the head, the final unit counted being the nose, **ngwi** - which is the name given to 15. This and the previous three units are clearly identifiable as body parts, although the other numerals are not.

7.6.1.2 The use of a transformational-generative descriptive framework, such as that proposed for English by Hurford (1975: 20), would be interesting. However, such a framework would incorporate a basic assumption that universal number concepts exist, and that an account of the Huli language should include a description of how it

> associates arbitrary phonological sequences (words) with these universal concepts. (Hurford 1975: 2)

More appealing, and perhaps less tied into European cultural perspectives, is Yallop's proposal

> to dispense with the assumption that numbers are universal concepts and to see numeral systems as part of linguistic and cultural elaboration ... (Yallop 1987: 738)

Accordingly, I propose to describe the traditional numerative system in relation to its social function, and the way it is being adapted to new, non-Huli, concepts that are being taken up by the speech community.

7.6.1.1 The fifteen units of the system are:

mbi	one	ki	two	tebo	three
ma	four	dau	five	waraga	six
ka	seven	hali	eight	di	nine
pi	ten	bea	eleven	hombe	twelve (chest)
hale	thirteen (ear)	de	fourteen (eye)	ngwi	fifteen (nose)

7.6.2 The definitive suffix, -ne. This is added to the stem count unit to yield a form that can usefully be glossed by an ordinal number in English. The vowel harmony rules given in chapter 4 (cf 4.11.3.3) apply, as in the examples:

```
tebo + ne                    pi + ne      --->  pi +ni
STM    DEF                   STM  DEF
three  (that)                ten  (that)
third        =  tebone       tenth             =  pini

di  + ne   --->  di +ni      hombe + ne
STM   DEF                    STM     DEF
nine  (that)                 twelve  (that)
ninth        =  dini         twelth            =  hombene
```

7.6.2.1 **mbi** 'one' and **ki** 'two' have exceptional forms, neither involving the DEF suffix. They are:

```
mbi + ra        =  mbira          mende
STM   NUM                         (STM+NUM?)
one   at/towards                  second
one-at
```

7.6.2.2 The enclitic (-) labo is a further elaboration, signalling duality. It may be used to specify determiners (cf 7.7) or, in dialect A3, with **halu** (cf 7.6.4.4) to denote two linked or consecutive occasions. Examples are:

```
ogoni labo          gununu    labo halu   ibija
DET   NUM           aeroplane NUM  (time) come-3-SIMP PAST
these two           the aeroplane came twice
```

7.6.3 The numerative suffix -ra. This suffix has the underlying form [ɾ^{y}a]. Non-phonemic palatalization has been described in 3.10.3, and orthographic representations such as -ira illustrate the environment in which this occurs. In the present case it persists even when the antepenultimate segment is /a/, but disappears with suffixing. The PO does not allow a palatalized consonant to occur in the environments -ara, -ura and -era, hence an orthographic convention intrudes i after the consonant to indicate this. Examples are:

pi + ra	=	pira	de + ra	=	deria
STM NUM		1Ø	STM NUM		14
1Ø (number)			14 (number)		
waraga + ra	=	waragaria	ka + ra	=	karia
STM NUM		6	STM NUM		7
6 (number)			7 (number)		

7.6.3.1 A deletion rule,

$$V \longrightarrow \emptyset \;/\; C\underline{\quad}V\,\big|^{STM} + \big|_{SUFX}\, C^{y}V$$

removes a from **dau** 'five', there being no apparant phonological motivation present. Another rule fronts and raises the final vowel of **tebo**, and in this case it is possible that this is due in part to the influence of the palatalized consonant, which has the same feature specifications as those adopted by the vowel. This second rule can be written as:

$$\begin{bmatrix} V \\ -high \\ +back \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +high \\ -back \end{bmatrix} \;/\; X\underline{\quad}\,\big|^{STM} + \big|_{SUFX}\, C^{y}V$$

Examples of these rules in operation are:

dau + ra	--->	du + ra		=	duria
STM NUM		5	(number)		5
tebo + ra	--->	tebi + ra		=	tebira
STM NUM		3	(number)		3

7.6.4 The clitics **e, lu, pu** and **halu.** These occur as proclitics with the first three count units, and as enclitics with the rest. They reflect the way Huli society thinks about and uses certain items that figure significantly in its activities.

7.6.4.1 e is employed in counting things that are regarded as composed of individual parts that are similar or even identical. It appears to be restricted to fruit that grows in clusters - eg bananas - or syncarps - eg pandanus nuts. Examples are:

hai e mbira jalu · pija
banana (hand) one carry-SIM1 go-3-SIMP PAST
bananas hand one carrying (he) went
he carried away a hand of bananas

anga dau e jolo bulebe
pandanus five (syncarp) price do/make-PURP-Q
pandanus five syncarps price in-order-to-do?
(do you) want to buy five pandnaus syncarps?

7.6.4.2 **lu** is used in counting individual items or parts of an e: individual bananas or single nuts. It has also been heard being used of individual planks in a stack of wood - as in the first example below - and may replace **halu** in dialect A1.

(Ø) lu mbira jido
(plank) (individual) one hold-1S-EX PRES
(individual plank) one (I) have grasped/am holding
I've got hold of one plank

anga lu tebo hangu ngo
pandanus (individual nuts) three only EV-1S
pandanus nuts three only I-have-placed
I've only got three pandanus nuts

hai ngwi lu miru
banana fifteen (individual fruits) take/give-1S-SIMP PAST
banana fifteen individual ones (I) gave/took
I gave him / took from him fifteen bananas

7.6.4.3 **pu** is used in counting beads or small shells and, unlike **lu**, which is something like 'ones', refers to twos or pairs. Examples are:

dange pu mende ngiru
cowrie shell (pair) two/second give-1S-SIMP PAST
cowrie shell pairs two (I) gave (you)
I gave you two pairs of cowrie shells

gurubu dau pu handaro
gurubu beads five (pair) see-1S-SIMP PRES
gurubu beads five pairs (I) see
I see five pairs of gurubu beads

7.6.4.4 **halu** counts occasions, or times: it can be glossed as 'time/s', and occasionally as 'often'. Speakers of A1 dialect sometimes substitute **lu** for **halu**. The collocation of **halu** and **labo** has been described in 7.6.2.2. Examples are:

gununu halu ki ibija
aeroplane (time) two come-3-SIMP PAST
aeroplane times two came
the aeroplane came twice

ibugwa hombe halu kangome bajaja
3S-ERG twelve (time) stick-ERG hit-3-SIMP PAST-MOD
he-by twelve times stick-by hit (it/him)-must/would
he must have hit (him) twelve times with the stick

7.6.4.4.1 **halu** may occur with the A- word **agi** 'what?' to produce an interrogative such as:

agi halu bajabe
what (time) hit-3-SIMP PAST-Q
what times hit (it/him)-?
how many times did he hit (him)?

7.6.5 Numbers beyond 15 are obtained by suffixing and by forming numerative groups. The second 15 numbers are represented by the formula,

STM + NUM + LOC ## STM + NUM

in which STM is the numerative stem (referred to above as the 'count unit'), the first suffix is the number suffix -ra, and the second the locative suffix of the adessive -ni (cf 5.5.6). Numerative groups patterened on this formula are such as:

ngwi	+ ra	+ ni	##	mbi	+ ra	=	ngwirani mbira
STM	NUM	LOC		STM	NUM		fifteen and one
15	(number)	(there/at)		1	(number)		sixteen

ngwi	+ ra	+ ni	##	waraga	+ ra	=	ngwirani waragaria
STM	NUM	LOC		STM	NUM		fifteen and six
15	(number)	(there)		6	(number)		twenty-one

ngwi	+ ra	+ ni	##	hombe	+ ra	=	ngwirani homberia
STM	NUM	LOC		STM	NUM		fifteen and twelve
15	(number)	(there)		12	(number)		twenty-seven

7.6.5.1 Subsequent fifteens have the formula

STM ## STM (## STM ## STM+DEF+DET+POSS ## STM+NUM)

Examples of such numerative groups are:

ngwi	##	ma	ngwi	##	di	ngwi	##	ngwi
STM		STM	STM		STM	STM		STM
15		4	15		9	15		15

```
= ngwi ma          = ngwi di          = ngwi ngwi
  four fifteens      nine fifteens      fifteen fifteens
  sixty              thirty-five        two hundred & twenty-five
```

```
ngwi ## ki ## ngwi ## tebo + ne    + go      + naga ## dau + ra
STM     STM   STM     STM    DEF    DET       POSS    STM   NUM
15      2     15      3      (that) (that)    of      5     (no.)
15      2     15      3      (that-very-one)-of       5     (no.)
```

= ngwi ki ngwi tebonegonaga duria
two fifteens and four of the third fifteen
thirty-five

```
ngwi ## hale ## ngwi ## de + ne    + go      + naga ## ka + ra
STM     STM    STM     STM   DEF    DET       POSS    STM   NUM
15      13     15      14    (that) (that)    of      7     (no.)
15      13     15      14    (that-very-one)-of       7     (no.)
```

= ngwi hale ngwi denegonaga karia
thirteen fifteens and seven of the fourteenth fifteen
two hundred and two

7.6.6 New ways of counting have arisen as a result of contact with European cultures. Base 10 has become widely used, and is managed within the framework used for base 15. The basic units are the morphemes for 1 to 10 (7.6.1), suffixed as usual (7.6.2; 7.6.3). Numbers above ten and below twenty follow the formula used for the second group of fifteen (cf 7.6.5), as exemplified by:

```
pi + ra      + ni      ##  mbi + ra          =  pirani mbira
STM  NUM       LOC           STM   NUM           ten and one
10   (number)  (there/at)    1     (number)      eleven

pi + ra      + ni    ##  dau + ra          =  pirani duria
STM  NUM       LOC       STM   NUM           ten and five
10   (number)  (there)   5     (number)      fifteen
```

7.6.6.1 Numbers above 19 are represented by a modification of the formula for numbers above 29 (7.6.5.1), thus:

STM+NUM ## STM+NUM (## STM+DEF+DET+POSS ## STM+NUM)

Examples of numerative groups with this formula are:

```
pi + ra        ## ki + ra        =  pira kira
STM  NUM          STM  NUM          two tens
10   (number)     2    (number)     twenty

pi + ra       ##  tebo + ra      =  pira tebira
STM  NUM          STM    NUM       three tens
```

```
10   (number)      3      (number)     thirty

pi + ra     ##  ma + ra     ##
STM  NUM        STM  NUM
10   (number)   5    (number)

     dau + ni    + go    + naga  ##  di   + ra
     STM   NUM     DET     POSS        STM    NUM
     5     (that)  (that)  of          9      (number)
                           =  pira maria daunigonaga dira
                              four tens and nine of the fifth
                              forty-nine

pi + ra         ##  ka + ra       ##
STM  NUM            STM  NUM
10   (number)       7    (number)

     hali + ni    + go    + naga  ##  hali + ra
     STM    DEF     DET     POSS        STM    NUM
     8      (that)  (that)  of          8      (number)
                            =  pira karia halinigonaga halira
                               seven tens and eight of the eighth
                               seventy-eight
```

7.6.6.2 One hundred is usually **pira pira** 'ten tens', but it may also be transliterated as **hanare***. For counting beyond the hundred, the borrowed item is employed, according to the formula given above in 7.6.6.1, with the formula given in 7.6.6 added if needed. Examples are:

```
hanare* ##  ki + ra    ##    tebo + ne    + go    + naga ##  dau + ra
hundred     STM  NUM          STM    DEF     DET     POSS      STM  NUM
100         2    (number)     3      (that)  (that)  of        5    (no.)
                              =  hanare* kira tebonegonaga duria
                                 two hundreds and five of the third
                                 two hundred and five

hanare* ##  di + ra    ##    pi + ni    + go    + naga ##
hundred     STM  NUM          STM  DEF     DET     POSS
100         9    (towards)    10   (that)  (that)  of

     pi  +ra      ##  dau + ra      + ni   ##  ma + ra
     STM  NUM         STM   NUM        LOC      STM  NUM
     10    (number)   5     (number)   (there)  4    (number)
      =  hanare* dira pinigonaga pira durani maria
         nine hundreds and five tens and four of the tenth
         nine hundred and fifty-four
```

7.6.6.3 A further major change in the counting system has been brought about by the new need to count weeks, months and years. White colonizers presented the Huli with a week made up

of 5 days on which work was done and 2 on which it wasn't, and the earliest incorporation of this into Huli culture is expressed in the way in which days were named. Each workday was signalled by the formula

X ## STM + DEF

in which X = **biabe** 'work'. This covers numerative groups like:

biabe tebo + ne	biabe dau + ne
work STM DEF	work STM DEF
work 3 (that)	work 5 (that)
work third	work five
= biabe tebone	= biabe dauni
Wednesday	Friday

7.6.6.4 Of the two non-work days, one was promoted by the Christian missionaries as being more important - bigger - than the other. The term 'Saturday' was borrowed into the language for both non-work days, the first such day being qualified by being designated **emene** 'little', the second being qualified by **timbuni** 'big', thus:

sarere* emene	sarere* timbuni
Saturday little	Saturday big
Saturday	Sunday

7.6.6.5 The morpheme **ege** 'moon/rock' was used to designate months, following the Tok Pisin 'mun' (moon). 'Year' was seen as something recurring after a long stretch of time, similar to the intervals between the public **mali** 'dances' of the **haroli** (2.3.2.7): 'year' became **mali**. **sarere**, when unqualified, is the term now used for 'week'. **ege**, **mali** and **sarere** may be counted in the same way as **biabe** 'work(days)',so that the formula given in 7.6.6.3 extends to the morphemes being considered here: X can be realized by **biabe**, **sarere**, **ege** or **mali**, each of which is superordinate to the one that precedes it.

7.6.6.6 As English has become more dominant, lexical borrow-

ing has increased, and Sunday and Monday have passed into Huli, accruing along the way the locational suffixes -ngi (5.5.4.1) and -ni (5.5.6), which occur in free variation, thus:

mande + ngi	=	mandengi	Monday
sande + ni	=	sandeni	Sunday
mande + ni	=	mandeni	Monday
sande + ngi	=	sandengi	Sunday

7.6.6.7 Expanding beyond six the number of days that can be specified has created the need for a way of counting that can deal with them. Instead of building on the existing system of prefix reduplication (cf 6.2.3.1), the speech community has adapted the general counting methods described in 7.6.5 et seq, and counting beyond 6 days in the past or future is accomplished according to the formulae set out and exemplifed below.

7.6.6.8 The formulae

X ## LOC+DET+LOC

X ## LOC ## V-PAST+DET

represent the next or previous X, where X is one of the time units given in 7.6.6.5, excluding **biabe** 'work(day)'. LOC, suffixed or free standing, is realized as **ede** 'across/over there' (cf 6.2.1; 6.2.1.3); +DET as -go; +LOC as -ria, the inessive suffix (cf 5.5.7.1); and V-PAST is always

pi	+ ja		=	pija
go-STM	3-SIMP	PAST		went/gone

Hence, the latter formula signals only past time. Examples of numerative groups that follow these configurations are:

sarere	## ede		+ go	+ ria		
X	LOC		DET	LOC		
saturday	across/over	there	(that)	at		
at that saturday across there					=	sarere edegoria last/next week

```
mali ##  ede      ##        pi     + ja         + go
X        LOC               V-PAST               DET
dance    across/over there go-STM  3-SIMP PAST that
at that dance gone over there          =  mali ede piyago
                                          last year

ege ede          + go  + ria ibagwa
X   ## LOC          DET   LOC come-1S FUT
moon   across there that  at  I shall come
at that moon across there I shall come
                                    =  ege edegoria ibagwa
                                       I'll come next month
```

It will be noticed from this last example that, when the first formula is used, the context determines whether it applies to past or future time.

7.6.6.9 A subordinate of a designated time unit can be specified with the formula

X ## LOC+DET+POSS ## S ## STM+DEF+LOC

in which S is the subordinate of X; +LOC is an adessive suffix, either -ngi (cf 5.5.4.1) or -ni (cf 5.5.6); and the other abbreviations are as already given. Once again, time past or future is signalled by the context. Examples of this numerative group are:

```
mali ## ede        + go + naga ## ege ## bea + ngi
X       LOC          DET  POSS    S      STM   LOC
dance   across there that of      moon   11    at/when
at the eleventh moon of that dance across there
in the eleventh month of last/next year
                           =  mali edegonaga ege beangi
                              in November of last/next year

sarere ## ede        + go + naga ## biabe ## mane + ni
X         LOC          DET  POSS    S        STM    LOC
saturday  across there that of      work     4      at/on
at/on the fourth workday of that saturday across there
on the fourth day of last/next week
                           =  sarere edegonaga biabe maneni
                              last/next Thursday
```

7.6.6.10 Subordinates of time units beyond those immediately past or to come - ie beyond 'next/last X' - can be specified by the formula

X##STM+NUM##{ENC / V-PAST+DET}(##X)##STM+DEF+DET+POSS##S##STM+DEF+LOC

The upper option applies to future time, the lower to past. ENC is the abessive enclitic **howa** 'from' (6.2.2, 6.2.2.1), and the final +LOC is either of the adessive suffixes -ni or -ngi,as in 7.6.6.9 above. Groups with this formula are such as:

```
sarere ## ki + ra  ##   howa (## sarere) ##
X         STM  NUM      ENC      (X)
saturday  2    (number) from     saturday
after two Saturdays

   tebo + ne   + go   + naga ## biabe ## dau + ni   + ngi
   STM    DEF    DET    POSS    S         STM   DEF    LOC
   3      (that) (that) of      work      5     (that) at
   at/on the fifth day of the third (saturday)
   =  sarere kira howa (sarere) tebonegonaga biabe dauningi
      on the Friday of the third week from now

ege ## waraga + ra  ##   howa (## ege)  ##
X      STM      NUM      ENC      (X)
moon   6        (number) from     (moon)
after six months

    ka + ne   + go   + naga ## sarere ## tebo + ne    + ni
    STM  DEF    DET    POSS    S         STM    DEF     LOC
    7    (that) (that) of      saturday  3      (that)  at
    at/on the third Saturday of the seventh (month)
     =  ege waragaria howa (ege) kanegonaga sarere teboneni
        the third week of the seventh month from now

ege ## waraga + ra  ##   piya          + go   (## ege) ##
X      STM      NUM      V-PAST          DET      (X)
moon   6        (number) go-3-SIMP PAST (that)   (moon)
that six months gone

    ka + ne   + go   + naga ## sarere ## tebo + ne    + ngi
    STM  DEF    DET    POSS    S         STM    DEF     LOC
    7    (that) (that) of      saturday  3      (that)  at
    at/on the third Saturday of the seventh (month)
  =  ege waragaria piyago (ege) kanegonaga sarere tebonengi
     six months and one week ago

sarere ## ki + ra   ##  pija          + go  (## sarere) ##
X         STM  NUM      V-PAST          DET     (X)
saturday  2    (number) go-3-SIMP PAST (that)  (saturday)
that two weeks gone

    tebo + ne   + go   + naga biabe dau + ni   + ngi
    STM    DEF    DET    POSS S     STM   DEF    LOC
    3      (that) (that) of   work  5     (that) at/on
    at/on the fifth day of the third
  =  sarere kira pijago (sarere) tebonegonaga biabe dauningi
```

on the Friday of the week before the week before last

7.6.6.11 There are other formulae being used as Huli society evolves a way of describing the new time-schema that has been imposed on it. The formulae given here are probably the most widely used and understood. They are important in that they offer an illustration of how the speech community uses its linguistic resources to express new, non-traditional concepts and to signal changing patterns of social behaviour.

7.7 DETERMINERS

7.7.1 Huli determiners are those referential items that identify both endophoric and exophoric referents, in relation to their proximity to the point of narrative or to the speaker. This tendency towards speaker centeredness - the speaker being the fixed point of reference - was also evident in the use of spatial locatives (cf 6.2.1).

7.7.2 The determiner suffix -go/-ru has figured in previous sections (egs 5.5.2, 5.5.3, 6.3.5), as has the locative adessive -ni (egs 5.5.6, 6.3.6). The DET suffix indicates a referent closer to the speaker than a referent which, besides the DET, also carries the LOC adessive suffix. The suffixes are typically added to the stems **o, hea, berea, wia, bia** and **ebere**. The system is set out in table 19, below.

7.7.3 The covert classificatory system of the language (cf 5.1.6 et seq) is operative here, in that the referents of the stems **hea, berea** and **wia** are those associated with **ka, beda** and **nga** respectively (cf table 16).

STEM	-go/-ru	-go/-ru + -ni
most proximate:here	less proximate: this / these	least proximate: that / those
o	ogo uru	ogoni uruni
hea	heago hearu	heagoni hearuni
berea	bereago berearu	bereagoni berearuni
wia	wiago wiaru	wiagoni wiaruni
bia	biago biaru	biagoni biaruni
ebere	eberego	eberegoni

Table 19: Determiners

7.7.3.1 The stems can be glossed as:

o 'here/ this place where I the speaker am'

hea 'this ('ka class') person/thing here in this place'

berea 'this ('beda class') person/thing here in this place'

wia 'this ('nga class') thing here in this place'

bia 'this person/thing already referred to here where I am'

ebere 'this one of those two here in this place where I am'

7.7.3.2 Since these referential items are speaker-centred in orientation, "proximate" in table 19 indicates proximity to the speaker, and does not necessarily locate the referent in respect to the hearer.

7.7.3.3 It should be noted that the clitic **labo** (cf 7.6.2.2) may follow the singular form of a determiner to signal duality.

7.7.3.4 It is useful to observe that Huli determiners seem to approximate closely to the "deictic articles" of Erima, in that they have

> the function of 'pointing out' a person, object, event, or idea talked about by locating it in space or time or 'identifying' it, and then relating it or linking it to its grammatical and textual context. (Colburn 1984: 214)

These determiners are marked for proximity and definiteness, and those within the ambit of the covert classificatory system are also marked for "gender". Forms that carry the DET suffix are further marked for number.

7.7.4 Referencing is initiated endophorically by selecting any of the unsuffixed stems (except **bia** or **ebere**), or any stem (except **bia**) carrying the DET suffix marked for plural number. Referencing is continued by use of an appropriately suffixed form of **bia**, or, more rarely, of the original determiner.

7.7.4.1 Exophoric referencing by determiners involves initial use of the appropriate stem, suffixed or unsuffixed, and is maintained by use of suffixed forms, the categories 'most' and 'less' proximate being collapsed.

7.7.4.2 Examples of determiners in use are:

agali o ka
man here EV-3
man here is
there's a man here / this man here

kango ogo jalu ibija
stick/club this hold-SIM1 come-3-SIMP PAST
club this holding/carrying (he) came
he brought this club

nogo ogoni timbuni ndo emene

pig that big no small/little
that pig isn't big, it's small

tugulimboi* uru bajale, uruni mangahe
school children these good those lazy
these school children are good, those are lazy

agali hea ka
man this-one-here-nearest-me EV-3
man this-one-here is
there's this man here

dama hearu + me agali bo naja
spirits these ERG man hit/kill-STM ingest-3-SIMP PAST
spirits these-by man kill(ed) ate
these spirits killed and ate the man
= dama hearume agali bo naja

wali dalo berearu + me dugu bini
women widow(s) these ERG wail make/do-EXT DEF
women widows these-by wail/keen made
these widows keened = wali dalo berearume dugu bini

ibugwa ira wiaruni page bini
3S-ERG woods those-referred to thievery make/do-EXT DEF
he woods those thievery made
he stole those planks

igiri emene ko bia kohe
boy small young that-one-here-previously-referred to bad
boy small young that bad
that little boy is a bad boy

ibuwa, dama biaruni biraja
come-CONS spirits those-already-referred to sit-3-SIMP PAST
having come, spirits those sat down
the spirits, having arrived, sat down

hina timbuni eberego jolo bulija
sweet potato large this-and-not-the-other(s) price do-1S-PERM
sweet potato large this price I-may-make
I'd like to buy this particular large sweet potato

7.8 NON-DERIVATIONAL ADNOMINALS

7.8.1 Adnominals modify or qualify nominal items, and may be derivational or non-derivatonal forms. Non-derivational adnominals are qualifiers such as:

timbu	ko	debene	gahenge
large	bad	good	new
tiga	bare	tumagi	lu
straight	steep	short	long

7.8.2 The intensifier (-)ore. This enclitic may follow an adnominal to signal intensity, which can be usefully glossed in English by 'very' (cf 6.4.2). Examples are such as:

benalia hariga lu ore	agali ogoni tumagi ore
Benalia track long INT	man that short INT
hari bare ore	nogo ko ore
mountain steep INT	pig bad INT

7.8.3 The DEF suffix -ne may be added to some non-derivational adnominals or to the enclitic, to signal slightly more intensity or emphasis (difficult to gloss in English) as in:

timbu + ne	--->	timbu + ni	=	timbuni
large DEF		large (that)		large
lu + ne	--->	lu + ni	=	luni
long DEF		long (that)		long
ko ore + ne	--->	ko ore + ne	=	ko orene
bad INT DEF		bad very (that)		really bad

7.9 DERIVATIONAL ADNOMINALS

7.9.1 Suffixes may be added to certain nominal and to verbal items to generate adnominals. These suffixes are forms identical to certain pro-verb stems, and the DEF suffix -go. They figure prominently in the formation of adjuncts for APV constructions, provide a linguistic device for talking about colours, and illustrate how Huli grammatical categories are not always neatly identified by traditional labels.

7.9.2 Pro-verb forms that occur as suffixes in generating adnominals are most commonly

-bi from bi 'make/do'

-le from le 'utter'

-he from he 'have/stay/be'

I will briefly illustrate how adnominals are formed by means of these.

7.9.2.1 =bi is significant in the formation of adnominals that correspond to English colour words. The stem nominal is a familiar referent that has a distinct colour and is culturally significant. The force of the suffix is to indicate that the nominal being modified is 'like' the stem nominal in colour, so that the adnominal that is formed may be glossed as 'like' or '-ish'. Stem nominals are referents such as clays (which are used as body paints), pigs, and blood, as illustrated by the examples:

beba* ogoni ambwa + bi = beba* ogoni ambwabi
paper that yellow clay ADN
paper that yellow clay-like/-ish (is)
that paper is yellow

ina hona + bi kamago libu mindi + bi kabi
1P ginger pig ADN EV-1P-DET 2D black pig ADN EV-2D
we ginger pig-like are you black pig-like are
we're white and you're black
= ina honabi kamago libu mindibi kabi

garo* darama + bi
car blood ADN
car blood-like
a red car
= garo* daramabi

nu goloba + bi
string bag vermillion clay ADN
string bag vermillion clay-like
a vermillion string bag
= nu golobabi

7.9.2.1.1 -bi may also be used as adnominal suffix to any nominal with which **bi** 'make/do' can co-occur. Thus any adjunct (A) which belongs to the set governed by **bi** (cf 5.1.7) may be adnominalized by this suffix, as well as any nominal which is not of that set but which can occur as grammatical subject of **bi**. Examples are:

labolabo* aju jo + bi
garment now dryness ADN
garment now dryness-ish
the garment's dry now
= labolabo* aju jobi

Ĩ biabe ere kwi + bi bero
1S work back bone ADN do-1S-PRES
I work back bone-ish am doing
I'm doing some hard work
= Ĩ biabe ere kwibi bero

```
dindi dagare     + bi          tomo kau      + bi
land  coldness     ADN         food bitterness ADN
land  coldness-like/-ish       food bitterness-like
a cold place/country           bitter tasting food
        = dindi dagarebi               = tomo kaubi
```

7.9.2.2 -le similarly derives from/corresponds to the classificatory PV **le** 'utter'. It may be suffixed to other verb forms to generate As, as in,

```
biabe bu          + le  brerama
work  make/do-STM  ADN  make/do-1P-SIMP PRES
work  do-like/-ish      make/doe/are making/are doing
work  in-order-to-do    we are making
we're going to do some work
                        = biabe bule berama
```

which exemplifies an APV construction that has been analyzed previously (5.4.5) as the purposive. It occurs as an adnominalizer in

```
ĩ   agali baja   + le          = ĩ agali bajale
2S  man   goodness ADN            you're a good man
you man   goodness-ish
```

and with As of the set governed by **le**, such as:

```
aga   karu    + le   kami          tomo aju libu     + le
cloak wrapping ADN   EV-1P         food now tepidness ADN
cloak wrapping-like we are         food now tepidness-ish
we're wrapped in cloaks            the food's gone cold now
      = aga karule kami                  = tomo aju libule

pu   pongo ndibu   + le            gana  janga + le
vine knot  tightness ADN           ditch width   ADN
rope knot  tightness-ish           ditch width-ish
a tight knot                       a wide ditch
     = pu pongo ndibule                  = gana jangale
```

7.9.2.3 -he is from **he** 'have/stay/be', and occurs in the generation of the possibilitative adjunct (cf 5.2.16), thus:

```
ija jawi      po    + be + he     ĩna    bi  la       + be + he
1D  tomorrow go-STM Q     ADN     2S-ERG talk utter-STM Q    ADN
we  tomorrow go-?-ish/like        you    talk speak-?-is/like
we  tomorrow go-eh?-(is)-like     you    talk speak-eh?-(is)-like
we can go tomorrow                   you can speak
        = jawi pobehe                      = ĩna bi labehe
```

It may also be added to nominals which co-occur with it either as

As that it classifies or as its grammatical subject. Examples:

```
garo* ogo  hongo  + he          ira  kimbi   + he
car   this strength ADN         wood roughness ADN
car   this strength-is-ish      wood roughness-is-ish
this car's powerful             rough wood
    = garo* ogo hongohe                 = ira kimbihe

libu agali wa      + he         ĩ  wali  hale pai  + he
2D   man   rejection ADN        1S woman ear  block  ADN
you  man   rejection-is-ish     I  woman ears block-is-ish
you are old man                 I'm a deaf woman
      = libu agali wahe             = ĩ wali hale paihe
```

7.9.2.4 Examples of similarly derived adnominals are:

-pe from pu 'go':

```
agali embone + pe          dindi  mbala  + pe
man   skull    ADN         ground flatness ADN
man   skull-gone-ish       ground flatness-gone-ish
a bald man                 level ground
    = agali embonepe             = dindi mbalape
```

-wi from wi 'place':

```
ĩ   igiri mini + wi        ti  agali muni* dewa + wi  kami
2S  boy   mind   ADN       2P  man   money much   ADN EV-2P
you boy   mind-put-ish     you men money much-put-ish are
you're a sensible boy      you're rich men
   = ĩ igiri miniwi           = ti agali muni* dewawi kami
```

7.9.2.5 The derivational PV forms **-he, -bi** and **-wi** may be suffixed to the SIM1 forms (cf 5.2.10) of the PVs from which they are derived, forming adnominals whose semantic import is that the nominal being qualified is in a durative state (cf 10.2.3.1) of the process that is signalled. Examples are:

```
haribi  dindibi   wa         biaga     ibu halu      + he  ka
sky-COM earth-COM production make-CUST 3S  have/be-SIM1 ADN EV-3
sky-and earth-and production maker     he  being-ish       is
the maker of heaven and earth is eternal
                        = haribi dindibi wa biaga ibu haluhe ka

libugwa biabe bialu      + bi      dindi tu      wialu    + wi
2D-ERG  work  make/do-SIM1 ADN     land  boundary place-SIM1 ADN
you     work  doing-ish           land  boundary placing-ish
you're working all the time       the boundary stays forever
      = libugwa biabe bialubi                 = dindi tu wialuwi
```

7.9.3 The DET suffix -go/-ru may be added to a non-medial verb form to generate an adnominal, as indicated in the set of examples below (cf also 5.5.2.1):

1. agali ibija
   man come-3-SIMP PAST

2. agali ibija + go
   man come-3-SIMP PAST DET

3. agali ibija + go + me nogo baja
   man come-3 SIMP PAST DET ERG pig kill/hit-3-SIMP PRES
   man came (that) by pig killed
   the man that came killed the pig

The second example can be glossed as 'that/the man who came', and the DET suffix functions as changing the verbal into an adnominal that qualifies agali 'man'. This analysis is reinforced by its occurrence with the ergative suffix and its functioning as grammatical subject in example 3.

7.10 OVERVIEW OF SUFFIXES & ENCLITICS

7.10.1 The systems of suffixes and enclitics that can co-occur with nominals is shown below in figure 30. Many of these have been described in relation to other grammatical classes or, as in the case of the ergatives, in association with nominals (cf 7.1). Consequently, treatment here will be brief.

7.10.2 The interrogative suffix -be has been described in 5.5.1. It may be affixed to any nominal in an utterance that lacks a surface level verbal group, or that is an A- question. Examples are such as:

aju + be
axe Q
(is it) an axe?
= ajube

danda + be
bow Q
a bow?
= dandabe

hai + be
banana Q
a banana?
= haibe

timu + be jandare + be ago hame lede
arrow Q spear Q which (one) desire utter-2S-EX PAST
arrow-? spear-? which desire (say) you
which would you like: an arrow or a spear?
= timube jandarebe ago hame lede

```
(-) be      Q : interrogative

_|- (-) hondo   LOC : adessive
 |- (-) howa    LOC : abessive
 |- ha          LOC : inessive
 |- ni          LOC : adessive

  - naga        POSS

_|- me          ERG
 |- handa       ERG
 |- gwa         ERG
 |- wa          ERG

_|- go          DET : singular
 |- ru          DET / COM

 |- bi          COM
-|- la          COM
 |- ma          COM

 |- ja          MOD : external evidence
_|- da          MOD : external evidence
 |- lo          MOD : external evidence
 |- (-) ore     MOD: intensifier
```

Figure 30: Suffixes and enclitics co-occurring with nominals

7.10.3 Enclitics that may co-occur with nominals have been described earlier: (-)hondo and (-)howa are the adessive and abessive locative particles (6.2.2), and (-)ore is the modal intensifier (5.6.3). Examples are

```
ibu     hondo la          mia
3S      ENC   utter-STM   give/take-2S-IMP PRES
he/him to     speak/talk  give
tell him
```

```
Para Te howa ibiribe                 Ī  Huli wali   ore
Para Te ENC  come-2S-SIMP PAST-Q     2S Huli woman  ENC
Para Te from came (you)?             you Huli woman very
did you come from Para Te?           you're a true Huli woman
```

```
homogo          ore  hamaga       ka
important man ENC    clearing-LOC EV-3
important man very   clearing-at  is
there's a very important man at the clearing
```

7.10.4 The locative suffixes -ha and -ni have been described in 5.5.6 and 5.5.7.2. Examples of them affixed to nom-

inals are:

tini be + ha hiraga
intestines bamboo LOC roast=CUST
intestines bamboo=in/inside (we) roast
we roast the intestines in a bamboo = tini beha hiraga

wali mabu + ha beda
woman garden LOC EV-3
woman garden-in/inside is
the woman's in the garden = wali mabuha beda

igiri dagia + ni beda
boy plank LOC sit-3-EX PRES
boy plank-on is seated
the boy is seated on the plank = igiri dagiani beda

marasini* ge + ni hãĩ hole bero
medicine leg LOC smear have/stay=PURP make-1S SIMP PRES
medicine leg-on smear to-have (I) am making
I'll rub medicine on the leg
= marasini* geni hãĩ hole bero

7.10.5 The possessive. Possession can be signalled by adding the suffix -naga to the nominal item that is the possessor. This is illustrated by the examples:

ogoni wanigini + naga tamunguru
that children POSS sleeping mat
that children of/for sleeping mat
that's the children's sleeping mat
= ogoni wanigininaga tamunguru

nogo + naga hende ngo
pig POSS rope EV-1S
pig of/for rope (I)=have=placed
I've got the pig's rope = nogonaga hende ngo

wali + naga gamu birima
woman POSS ritual/spell do/make-1P-SIMP PAST
woman of/for ritual/spell (we) made/worked
we worked a woman's spell = walinaga gamu birima

It will be noticed that =naga can be glossed as 'of' or 'for': the context usually determines which is the more appropriate. It could be argued that benefaction and possession are seen by the Huli as conflated into a single relationship.

7.10.5.1 The suffix is frequently omitted, so that the above examples could be re-written:

ogoni wanigini tamunguru nogo hende ngo

wali gamu birima

Omission of the suffix signals a closer tie between possessor and possessed, and in the case of inalienable possessions, such as one's name or one's kin, the suffix is rarely used in normal utterances. Examples are such as:

gali ãĩja biabe bule pija
baby mother work make/do-PURP go-3-SIMP PAST
baby('s) mother work to-do went
the baby's mother went to do some work

agali one e godaga
man wife new garden make mounds-CUST
man('s) wife new garden customarily makes mounds
a man's wife makes the mounds in a new garden

wali ama arabunila amuha beda
woman maternal aunt paternal aunt-COM LOC-LOC EV-3
woman('s) maternal aunt paternal aunt-with over there are
the woman's maternal and paternal aunts are over there

7.10.6 The determiner -go/-ru has figured a number of times in the course of describing Huli morphology (egs 5.5.4-7; 6.3.5). It may be suffixed directly to nominals, as in the examples:

agali + go
man DET
man that
that man = agaligo

wali + go
woman DET
woman that
that woman = waligo

igiri + ru
boy DET
boys those
those boys = igiriru

nogo + ru
pig DET
pigs those
those pigs = nogoru

tiabu + ru hai + ru hina + ru paboro + ru
asparagus DET banana DET sweet potato DET beans DET
asparagus those bananas those sweet potatoes those beans those
asparagus and bananas and sweet potatoes and beans
asparagus, bananas, sweet potatoes and beans

7.10.6.1 This last example is a good illustration of -ru functioning as a comitative. The corresponding singular morpheme is -bi (cf 6.5.3). These and the other comitatives are described and exemplified in 6.5.

7.10.6.2 In the same way, ergative suffixes have been adequately

described and exemplified previously, in 7.1 - 7.5.2.2.

7.10.7 Modal suffixes have been described in 5.5.8-16. Those given in figure 29 may be affixed to nominals in utterances with no verbal form, signalling modality and modulation, as in the examples:

nogo + ja = nogoja
pig MOD
pig it seemed certain/probable
it must have been a pig

nogo + da = nogoda
pig MOD
pig it seems certain/probable
it must be a pig

hariga lu + ja = hariga luja
track long MOD
track long it seemed certain/probable
the track must have been long

danda + lo
bow MOD
bow certainly
that's some bow!
= dandalo

hina + lo
sweet potato MOD
sweet potato certanly
that's some sweet potato!
= hinalo

7.10.7.1 This concludes the description of nominals, and this part of the thesis, with its particular emphasis on morphology. The next two chapters describe the formal patterns and structures of the language, and present an interpretation that integrates its phonological and morphological processes. I shall first describe nominal, adverbial and verbal groups, and then clause-level relationships, interpreting their configurations in semantico-functional terms. The interpretion accepts that the functional approach to language description developed by Halliday (eg in Halliday 1985a; 1985b) is valid and useful when adopted and adapted for Huli.

CHAPTER 8

WORD COMPLEXES

8.1 UTTERANCE LEVEL

8.1.1 Huli is a verb-final language in that, when non-medial verb forms occur in an utterance they usually occupy the final position. Given this generality, there is a variety of possible arrangements of constituent groups, the most general descriptive formula being:

\ADV1 \NOM1 \NOM2 \NOM3 \ADV2 \V\

in which at least one group is compulsory, and in which

\ = group boundary
V = verb
ADV1 = utterance modifier
NOM1 = grammatical subject
ADV2 = location/manner
NOM2 = indirect object
NOM3 = direct object

An example in which all of these slots are filled is:

aju	ĩ	dama	hondo	nogo	abale
ADV1	NOM1	NOM2		NOM3	ADV2
today	1S	spirit	to	pig	quickly
today	I	spirit	to	pig	quickly
today	I'll	quickly	sacrifice		

bo	mule	bero
V		
kill-STM	give-PURP	make-1S-SIMP PRES
kill	to-give	make/am making
a pig to the spirit		

8.1.1.1 Other frequently realized formulae are:

NOM2 ADV1 NOM3 ADV2 V
NOM3 NOM1 ADV2 V
NOM3 NOM2 1 V
ADV2 NOM3 V

Examples are:

Wanali	jawi	ega habane	mule	bero
NOM2	ADV1	NOM3	V	
Wanali	tomorrow	bird fat/egg	give-PURP	do/make-1S-SIMP PRES

I'll give Wanali an egg tomorrow

ega habane Wanalihanda ogoria wule bira
NOM3 NOM1 ADV2 V
egg Wanali-ERG here-LOC place-PURP do-3-SIMP PRES
Wanali will put the egg here

ega habane wanigini mule bira
NOM3 NOM2 V
egg children give-PURP make/do-3-SIMP PRES
she'll give the egg to the children

horombe nogo handarima
ADV2 NOM3 V
mid-day pig feel-1P-SIMP PAST
we saw the pig in broad daylight

8.1.1.2 This chapter will describe and interpret nominal, adverbial and verbal groups from the point of view of the functions and configurations of their constituent members, using and adapting the concepts developed by M.A.K. Halliday (1985a, 1985b).

8.2 NOMINAL GROUPS

8.2.1 The constituents of the nominal group's experiential structure are illustrated in the examples:

1) ibu
3S

TH

= he/she/it

2) ira timbuni
tree big

TH	EP

= a big tree

3) ira haro
tree oak

TH	CL

= an oak tree

4)
wali dalo dewa berearume
women widowed many those-DET-ERG

TH	EP	NM	DC

= those many widows

5)
agali ko gibi ore
man bad frightful very

TH	EP

= a terribly wicked man

6) agali biago
man that-one-there

TH	DC

= that man

7) mundu naga wali
tobacco ingest-CUST woman

CL	TH

= a smoker-woman /
a woman who smokes

8.2.1.1 The functions and realizations of the consituents can be set out as follows:

|TH| Thing: the semantic core of the nominal group (Halliday 1985c: 167), may be any of the classes of of nouns described in 7.1 - 7.5. In the examples given it is usually realized by class 1 nouns.

|EP| Epithet: ascribes some quality to the TH, and is usually realized by an adnominal (cf 7.8; 7.9). EPs may be experiential, based on objective evidence (as in examples 2 and 4), or they may be interpersonal, conveying the speaker's affective attitude (as in example 5). They may also conflate these two functions, and **ko** 'bad' in example 5 could be interpreted as an instance of this. Experiential EPs usually come before interpersonal EPs.

|CL| Classifier: indicates the sub-class or type to which the TH belongs. It may be realized by a class 2 noun (as in example 3) or by a verbal group signalling customary action (as in example 7). When realized by a verbal group or by a class 2 noun that is a place name, it always occurs immediately before the TH; when realized by any other class 2 noun it occurs immediately after the TH. It is interesting that Nebilyer also seems to accomodate CLs on either side of the TH, as suggested by occurrences such as **el ung** 'arrow talk' and **ung eke** 'bent talk' (cf Rumsey 1980: 284).

|DC| Deictic: signals the degree of specificity the speaker intends to assign to the TH. Specific DCs are realized by determiners (cf 7.7; 7.9.9), as in examples 4 and 6; possessives (cf 7.10.5); and A- forms (cf 6.3.3;6.3.5) such as **au** 'what?' and **ago** 'which?'. Non-specific DCs are real-

ized by adnominals such as **maru** 'some', **bibahende** 'all', and the NM **mbira** when it signals 'a/n, one'.

|NM| Numerative: signals numerical information about the TH. This may be a definite quantity - indicated by the stem count unit (7.6.1) with the numerative suffix (7.6.3) or the definitive suffix (7.6.2) - or it may be an indefinite quantity - indicated by adnominals such as **dewa** 'many' and **emene** or **maru** when they signal 'small amount, few'.

8.2.1.2 An interesting configuration is exhibited in the example shown below. This illustrates that an initial CL may be a class 2 noun, and that the final constituent may be a derivational adnominal, generated by suffixing the DET morpheme to a non-medial verb form that is in grammatical concord with the head of the group (here the TH). There is clearly a deictical quality to this element, contributed by the DET suffix, while it defines the head element as a direct participant in a process. As such, it qualifies the head, and is labelled "qualifier" (QL) in this analysis, as shown below:

Nduna	agali	wahe	tebira	ibijarume	bi la ngule bira
Duna	men	old	three	came-3-DET-ERG	will tell (you)

CL	TH	EP	NM	QL

= those three old Duna men who came will tell you

8.2.1.3 Further embedding is illustrated by the example,

Nduna	agali	ko	mbiranaga one	mbira	wahe	ore	ibijagome
Duna	man	bad	one-POSS	wife	one	old	very came-DET-EG

DC				TH	DC	EP	QL
CL	TH	EP	DC				

= a very old wife of an evil Duna man who came /
an evil Duna man's very old wife who came

in which the first DC is an embedded nominal group, consisting

of a CL realized by a class 2 noun, a TH realized by a class 1 noun, an EP realized by an adnominal, and a DC realized by a numerative. This indicates that a CL may also be realized by an embedded nominal group, while the configuration of the total group shows that such groups may have more than one DC.

8.2.1.4 Nominal groups with one constituent - eg ibu 3S - are common, while groups with four or five are not unusual. Embedding of nominal and verbal groups is a characteristic of Huli speech, and plays an important part in the realization of nominal group constituents.

8.2.2 The logico-semantic ordering of the constituents in the examples given so far indicate that the TH is the central element to which all the others relate in some way. If the TH is interpreted as the head of the group, then modification to the right of the head can be seen to be recursive, each element modifying the one that went before. This is seen in the example that follows, in which α is the head and the other Greek letters represent progression away from it.

wali dalo dewa berearume
women widowed many those-DET-ERG

TH	EP	NM	DC
α	β	γ	δ

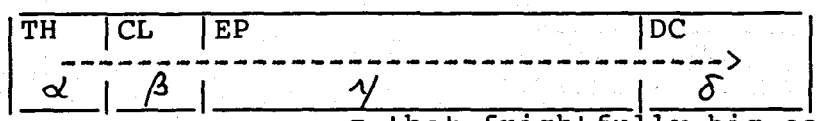
= those many widows

The EP immediately following the TH modifies it by answering the question **agile** 'what kind?'; a NM then modifies the EP, telling us how many - **agira** 'how many?' - THs of that kind, and a DC follows pointing to which specific 'many' - **ago** 'which?' - the speaker has in mind.

8.2.2.1 Elements to the left of the head usually modify it by

signalling its more permanent attributes, as in the examples of pre-head Cls and DCs already given (cf 8.2.1; 8.2.1.2; 8.2.1.3). Post-head CLs are interesting in that while they usually signal permanent attributes, they are also involved in the post-head recursive modification process described above. This is illustrated in the example:

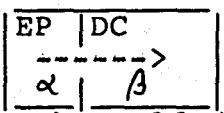
ira haro timbuni gibi ore ogoni
tree oak big frightful very that one



= that frightfully big oak tree

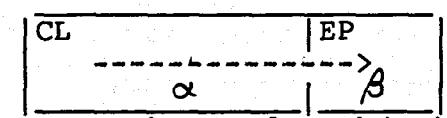
8.2.3 The head of the nominal group need not be a TH, as is shown by the examples,

wahe biago andaga pija
old that home went



= that old (one) went home

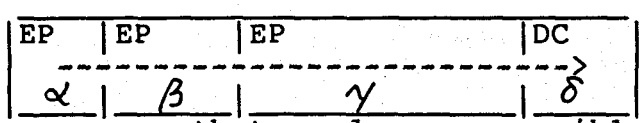
tomo dawaga bajale naibi
food cook-CUST good is not come



= the good cook(er) isn't here

In both cases, the TH is understood to be a person and is omitted. Either group could be expanded, for example:

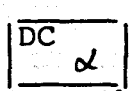
wahe bajale miniwi ore biago
old good sensible very that



= that good, very sensible, old (one)

8.2.3.1 Besides CLs and EPS, NMs and DCs may fill the head slot, as in the examples:

biagome muni* mija
that money took

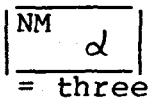


= that (one) took money

ogoni hangu laro
that alone (I) say

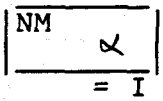
= that's all I'm saying

tebira ibule bira
three to-come are making



= three will come

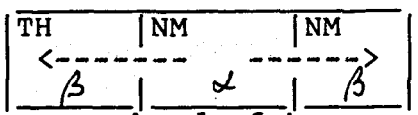
hombene jolo biru
twelfth price (I) made



= I bought the twelfth

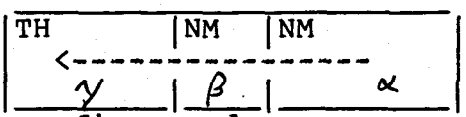
8.2.3.2 Count clitics, e 'cluster', lu 'single' and pu 'pair', are special NMs, and usually function as heads, thus:

hai e mbira
banana cluster one



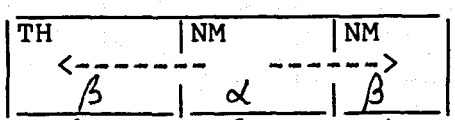
= one hand of bananas

anga dau e
pandanus five clusters



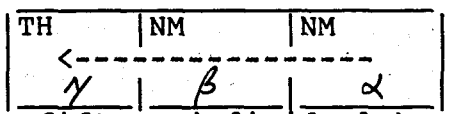
= five pandanus syncarps

anga lu tebo
pandanus singles three



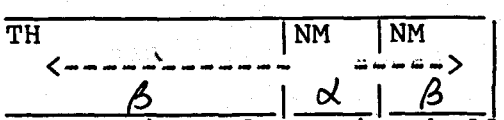
= three pandnaus nuts

hai ngwi lu
banana fifteen singles



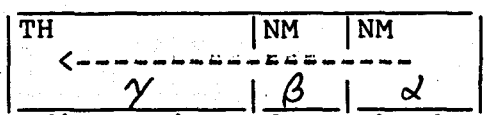
= fifteen individual bananas

dange pu mende
cowerie shells pair two



= two pairs of cowrie shells

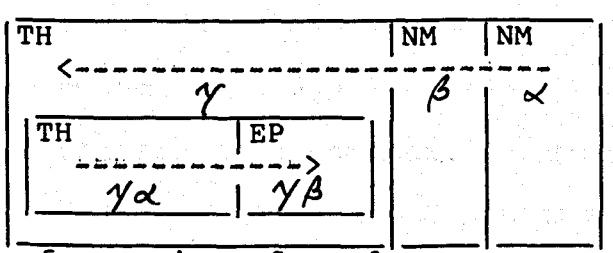
gurubu dau pu
gurubu beads five pairs



= five pairs of gurubu beads

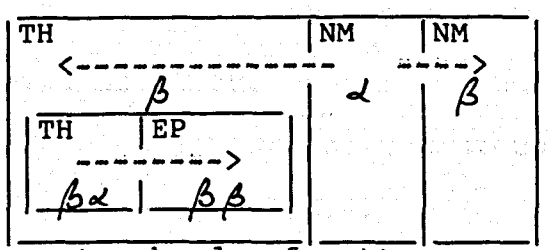
8.2.3.3 The TH of a measure group such as those above may be itself modified, and previous examples have shown that this may occur in other nominal groups. Sub-modification can be indicated as in the examples:

gurubu bajale ma pu
gurubu beads good four pairs



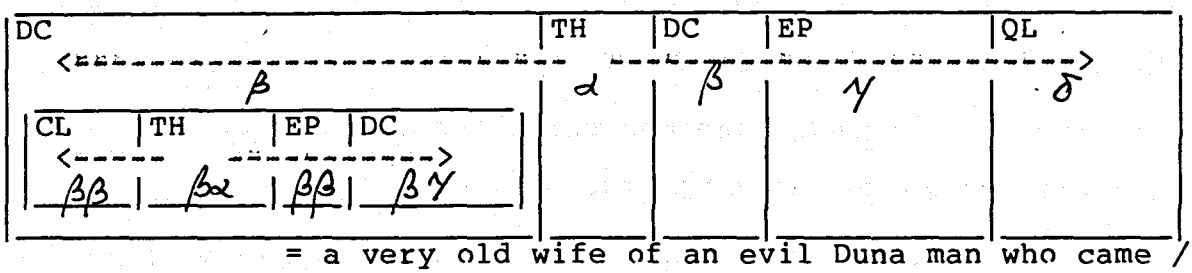
= four pairs of good gurubu beads

hai ngubi e mende
banana stinking hands two



= two hands of rotten bananas

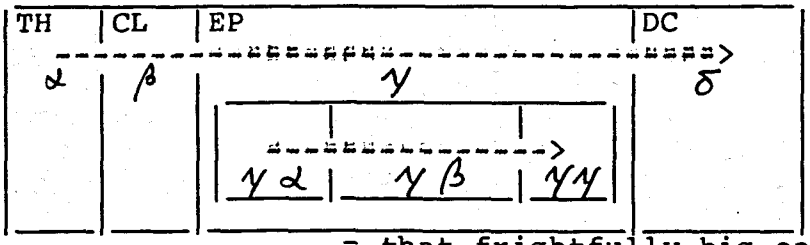
Nduna agali ko mbiranaga one mbira wahe ore ibijagome
Duna man bad one-POSS wife one old very came-DET-EG



= a very old wife of an evil Duna man who came /
an evil Duna man's very old wife who came

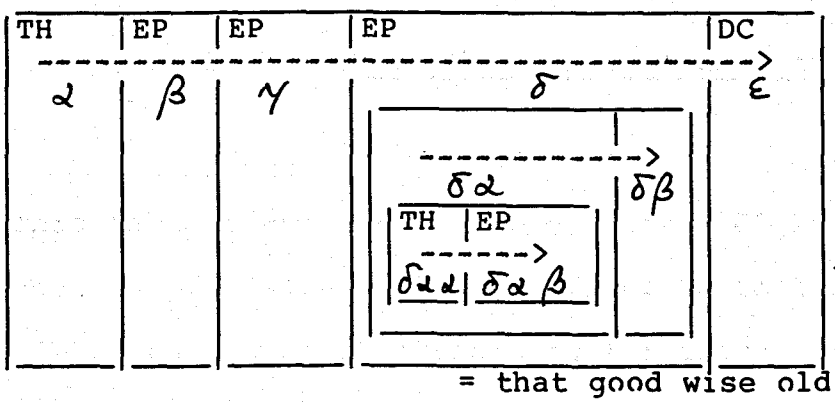
8.2.3.4 EPs with intensifiers can be analysed as having a univariate structure, thus:

ira haro timbuni gibi ore ogoni
tree oak big frightful very that one



= that frightfully big oak tree

agali wahe bajale mini gigabiwi ore biago
man old good mind wise very that



= that good wise old man

8.2.3.5 This last example shows a nominal group embedded within an adnominal group that is functioning as an EP. Most adnominal groups are less complex, and mirror the structure of the group that functions as the EP in the first example 8.2.3.4.

8.2.4 The sequence of elements in the multivariate nom-

inal group is predictable to some extent. Any element, apart from a QL, may appear as the sole member of a group. With the same exception, any element may be the logical head of a group. Higher (ie verbal) or equal (ie nominal) groups may appear embedded in any function slot. Table 20 below shows the possible sequential occurrences of elements in groups of two or more.

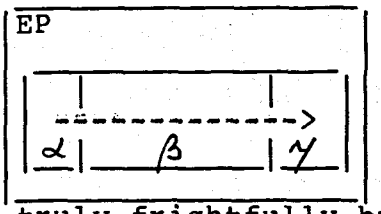
element	can occur before							can occur after						
	Ø	CL	DC	EP	NM	QL	TH	Ø	CL	DC	EP	NM	QL	TH
CL	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
DC	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+
EP	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
NM	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
QL	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
TH	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-

Table 20: Occurrences of nominal group elements

8.2.4.1 This table shows, for example, that a CL is restricted in occurrence to preceding an EP or a TH or to following a null element - ie being the first element in the group - or a TH. A QL, on the other hand, can occur after a DC, EP, NM or TH, but can precede only a null element - ie if it occurs at all, it must occupy final position in the group. The last entry, TH, can occur before any element except another TH, and follow a Ø, CL or DC. (The word classes that realize these functions have been given in 8.2.1.)

8.2.5 Adnominal groups have also figured in this description of nominal groups. Thus, example 5 of 8.2.1 has an adnominal group functioning as EP, whose univariate structure can be represented thus:

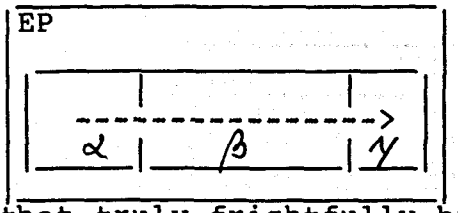
agali ko gibi ore
man bad frightful very



= a truly frightfully bad man

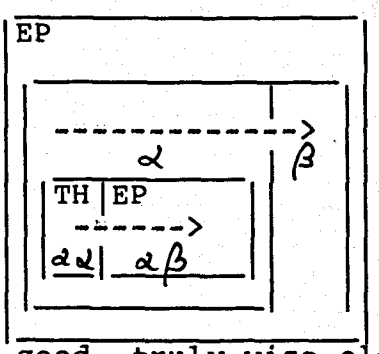
Examples in 8.2.2.1 and 8.2.3, viz:

ira haro timbuni gibi ore ogoni
tree oak big frightful very that one



= that truly frightfully big oak tree

wahe bajale mini gigabiwi ore biago
old good mind wise very that



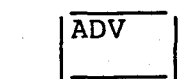
= that good, truly wise old (man/woman)

illustrate that modification of adnominals is limited to the use of intensifiers, such as **ore** 'very', and derivational adnominals in apposition, such as **gibi** 'fearful' in the first example above, and **gigabiwi** 'wise' in the second.

8.3 ADVERBIAL GROUPS

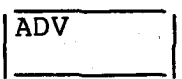
8.3.1 Adverbial groups are univariate in structure and usually contain only one element, as in the examples:

aju la ngija
today utter (he) gave



= he told me today

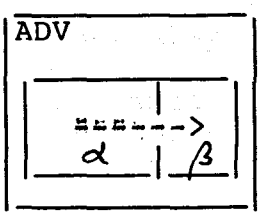
daliwa o lene
strongly call (he) uttered



= he called out strongly

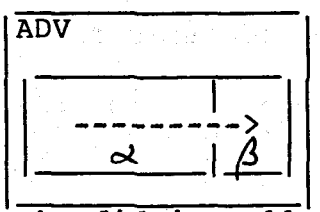
8.3.1.1 Like adnominal groups, adverbial groups may consist of a head modified by an intensifier. This is exemplifed by:

abale ore pija
quickly very (he) went



= he went very quickly

dalimu ndo o lene
forcefully no call (he) uttered



= he didn't call out loudly

8.3.1.2 Adverbial groups may be inserted into APV configurations (cf 8.4.6) and may split other verb groups (cf 8.4.5). These features will be considered under the next section.

8.4 VERBAL GROUPS

8.4.1 General. Adjunct + pro-verb (APV) constructions and serialized verb strings are two candidates for discussion under this heading. APVs were described at length in 5.1.8, and this description has been expanded on the frequent subsequent occasions that they have been encountered. Serialized verbs have been briefly described in 5.4.3.1 and 5.4.4.1, and will be further considered now. However, before discussing these more obvious verbal clusters, I would like to explore the notion that,

in Huli, it is the verb stem and its affixes that constitute the basic verbal cluster or group, whose elements are separated not by word boundaries (as is the case with English), but by morpheme boundaries.

8.4.2 Stems and suffixes. The stem may be regarded as the lexical part of the verb, the suffixes as the finite operators. The stem specifies the representational content, while the finite suffixes relate the verb to the speaker's location in time and space. Hence, the experiential structure of a verbal morpheme group parallels that of a nominal word group: from the event/entity (initiating the group) to a more definite and speaker orientated specification. This can be seen from:

a) anda bajale ogo
house good this
house good this

TH	EP	DC
α	β	γ

= this good house

b) pi + rima
go-STM 1P-SIMP PAST
go-STM we-PAST-SUFX

event	finite
α	β

= we went

8.4.2.1 In this analysis the verb stem is interpreted as expressing a process (an event, action, relation or act of consciousness), and is given the function label "Event" (EVN). Verbal suffixes, on the other hand, can be interpreted as functioning as "Finites" (FIN), relating the process to the location of the speaker in time and/or space (cf Halliday 1985c:176). Figures 3-5 give an inventory of verb stems (identified by the final vowel and its changes) and the three suffix groups with which they occur.

8.4.2.2 FINs may be temporal operators, such as those forms in figures 3-5 labelled PAST, PRES and FUT. They may be aspectual, such as CUST (cf 5.2.5) and HAB (cf 5.2.20). They may be

modal operators, like the PERM (cf 5.4.8). They may conflate operations, as in the case of the PREC (cf 5.4.6-7), which has forms for signalling tense. Some operators conflate tense and aspect (cf 10.2.3.3-4). Examples of some of these FINs are:

a) temporal operators:

pi + agwa
go-STM 1S-FUT

EVN	FIN

= piagwa
I'll go

pe + ne
go-STM EX DEF

EVN	FIN

= pene
(I've) been

po + ro
go-STM 1S-PRES

EVN	FIN

= poro
I'm going

b) aspectual operators:

iname dama hondo nogo ba + alu
1P-ERG spirit/s to pig/s hit/kill-STM SIM1

EVN	FIN

= iname dama hondo nogo balu
we spirits to pigs killing
we (were/are) killing pigs to the spirits

alendo beba* hondo + wa
afternoon/s paper sense-STM CONT

EVN	FIN

= alendo beba* hondowa
in the afternoon paper (I) sensed/saw
I read/saw (a letter/book) in the afternoon

c) modal operators:

andaga pe + lo
house-LOC go-STM 3-PERM

EVN	FIN

= andaga pelo
house-to (he) may go
he may go home

irabu po + lija
bush go-STM 1S-PERM

EVN	FIN

= irabu polija
bush (I) may go
I may go to the bush

d) conflated operators:

ko bu + lilono
wrong do-STM PREC PAST

EVN	FIN

= ko bulilono
wrong lest-(you, etc)-did
lest you did wrong

ko bu + lomini
wrong do-STM PREC FUT-2P

EVN	FIN

= ko bulomini
wrong lest-you-do
lest you do wrong

8.4.3 Secondary suffixes, set out in figure 22 and detailed under 5.5, are also part of the verbal morpheme group. Their function is to lend further modal or locational (spatial/temporal) specification. They may thus be interpreted as assisting the FIN and having an auxiliary function in the group. In the examples given below they are labelled AUX, but without the implication that they are morphemes of what are traditionally called "auxiliary verbs".

agali ibi + ja + ngi abi mirima
man come-STM 3-SIMP PAST LOC wergild we-gave

EVN	FIN	AUX

= agali ibijangi abi mirima
when the man came we paid the wergild

wali homa + ja + go + ria ngwai harima
woman die-STM 3-SIMP PAST LOC LOC group we-had

EVN	FIN	AUX	AUX

= wali homajagoria ngwai harima
we gathered where the woman died

nogo home + ne + ja
pig die-STM EX DEF MOD

EVN	FIN	AUX

= nogo homeneja
the pig must have been dead

ibu ka + lo manda bido
he EV-3 MOD head I-do

EVN +FIN	AUX

= ibu kalo manda bido
I know he's there

8.4.3.1 In the case of EVs (existential verbs: 5.1.6), the functions of EVN and FIN conflate, as is evident in the last example above.

8.4.3.2 It is possible to have up to three AUXs:

agali homa + ja + da + go + ni
man die-STM 3-SIMP PAST MOD LOC LOC

EVN	FIN	AUX	AUX	AUX

= agali homajadagoni
the man there must have died

8.4.3.3 It is interesting that the intrusion of a LOC element into a morpheme verbal group has been recorded for other Papuan languages - egs the elevationals/directionals of Yimas, Dani, Kewa, Yessan-Mayo, Alamblak, Kemtuk, Anggor and Sentani cited by Foley 1986 (148-152).

8.4.4 Prefixes are also part of the morpheme verbal group. The negative prefix na= (cf 5.6.1) marks Polarity (POL) for the whole group, while the causative mo- (cf 5.6.2) contributes to the representational function of the EVN, and will be labelled Pre-Event (PEV). Examples are as follows:

na=	po	+ be
NEG	go-STM	2S-IMP FUT

POL	EVN	FIN
	= napobe	

don't go (later)

bi	na=	la	+ ja
talk	NEG	utter-STM	3-SIMP PAST

POL	EVN	FIN
	= bi nalaja	

(he) didn't speak

ira	mo-	wi	+ ja
wood	CAUS	place-STM	3-SIMP PAST

PEV	EVN	FIN
	= ira mowija	

(he) took and put some wood in place

hali	mo-	mi	+ ru
needle	CAUS	give=STM	1S-SIMP PAST

PEV	EVN	FIN
	= hali momiru	

I took and gave (him) a needle

8.4.4.1 AUXs may co-occur with PEVs and POLs, as in:

bi	na=	le	+ go
talk	NEG	utter-STM	LOC

POL	EVN	AUX
	= bi nalego	

nothing was said

mo=	mi	+ ni	+ ja	+ go
CAUS	give=STM	EX DEF	MOD	LOC

PEV	EVN	FIN	AUX	AUX
	= mominijago			

that must have been given

8.4.4.2 The first example given above underlines the affinity

between EVs and EX forms (cf 5.3.1): the FIN may be omitted. However, in the example shown above, EVN and FIN are not analysed as conflated, as they are in the case of EVs (cf 8.4.3.1). The latter, EVs, carry a morpheme signalling number (cf 5.1.6), probably conflated with (present) tense, but EX forms can signal more that just present tense. Hence, the FIN in the example **nalego**, given above, is best interpreted as being deleted.

8.4.5 The logico-semantic structure of the morpheme verbal group selects elements from a set of closed systems - tense, modality, polarity, location - to modify the core semantic element, the EVN, in an ordered way. The ordering bears some resemblance to that of nominal word groups (cf 8.2.3).

8.4.5.1 The EVN is obligatory, and can be interpreted as head of the group, while the other elements are optional except that at least one has to be present. They modify the head systematically : the PEV and POL signal, within the constraints of the negative/positive systems of polarity and causality, what kind (**agile**) of process it is; the FIN signals the person and number (**agira** 'how many?'), tense (**angi** 'when?'), modality (**au/agi** 'how sure/necessary ': AUXs may introduce modality (how sure?) and location (**ani/angi** 'where/when?').

8.4.5.2 It is possible to select twice for temporal location, first in the FIN and then in an AUX, but modality can be chosen only once - either in the FIN or in the AUX - since forms with modal FINs (like aspectual FINS) do not accept AUXs.

8.4.5.3 Hence, AUXs that follow the FIN modify it by specifying temporal location within the tense it signals, or by intro-

ducing modality to compound with its tense. Examples are:

ani la + ja + gola
thus utter-STM 3-SIMP PAST LOC

EVN	FIN temp: past	AUX temp

= ani lajagola
when he spoke/said that

ibi + rama + ngi
go-STM 1P-SIMP PRES LOC

EVN	FIN temp: pres	AUX temp

= ibiramangi
when we come/arrive

ani la + ja + ja
thus utter-STM 3-SIMP PAST MOD

EVN	FIN temp: past	AUX mod

= ani lajaja
thus he-seemed-to-say

ibi + ni + da
come-STM EX DEF MOD

EVN	FIN temp:past	AUX mod

= ibinida
he-seems-to-have-come

8.4.5.4 Each additional AUX modifies the element that precedes it, while pre-head elements (ie PEV and POL) can be analysed as modifying the EVN. This recursive modification can be illustrated for the morpeheme verbal group with the same notation that was used for the nominal word group (cf 8.2.2), thus:

ibi + ja
come-STM 3-SIMP PAST

EVN	FIN temp
α	β

= ibija
he came

ibi + ja + ngi
come-STM 3-SIMP PAST LOC

EVN	FIN temp	AUX temp
α	β	γ

= ibijangi
when he came

homa + ja + da + go + ni
die-STM 3-SIMP PAST MOD LOC LOC

EVN	FIN temp	AUX mod	AUX spat	AUX temp
α	β	γ	δ	ε

= homajadagoni
the one there must have died

na - pe
NEG go-STM

POL neg	EVN
β	α

= nape
not-gone

na - la + ja
NEG utter-STM 3-SIMP PAST

POL neg	EVN	FIN temp
β	α	β

= nalaja

mo - mi + ni + ja + go
CAUS give-STM EX DEF MOD LOC

PEV caus	EVN	FIN temp	AUX mod	AUX spat
β	α	β	γ	δ

= mominijago

he didn't speak

he seemed to have taken and given (it to him)

8.4.6 Serial verbs occur as strings of unaffixed stems with a final verb that is inflected. Examples are:

nogo bo dawo narima	ma wo no porama
pig kill cook eat-1P-SIMP PAST	taro dig eat go-1P-SIMP PRES
pig kill cook we-ate	taro dig eat we-are-going
we've killed, cooked and eaten the pig	we're going to dig up and eat some taro

8.4.6.1 The stem forms of non-final verbs are those that co-occur with C suffixes (cf 5.1.2; 5.1.4). An exception is the stem form **la** 'utter', which replaces **lo**, the anticipated form, when it is in collocation with **ngi** or **mia**, the 'give/take' verbs (cf 10.4.6.1). These exception are illustrated by:

bi la ngija	bi la mija
talk say-STM give-3-SIMP PAST	talk say-STM give-3-SIMP PAST
talk say-gave (3 to 1 or 2)	talk say-gave (3 to 3)
he told me/us/you	he told him/them

but:

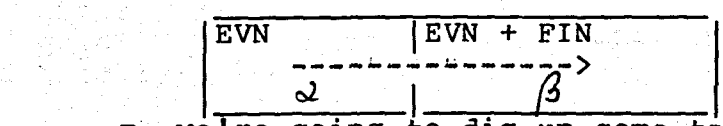
bi lo wija
talk utter-STM place-3-SIMP PAST
talk say-lay down (3)
he lay down rules/norms

The semantics of the 'give/take' verbs are discussed in Ch. 10.

8.4.6.2 The logical head of the serial verb group is an EVN. The sequence of verb stems, each one of them an EVN, represents the temporal sequence of the components making up the process being described. It is possible to interpret all the EVNs as conflating into a single, macro-EVN, or to interpret the temporal sequence as encoding significant discrete pieces of information in each EVN. Given that a large number of Papuan languages exhibit this pattern (Foley 1986: 113), it could be said that this chronological ordering does encode normal, unmarked, logical sequences, and that to show this in analysis is useful, even important. Accordingly, I propose to interpret the initi-

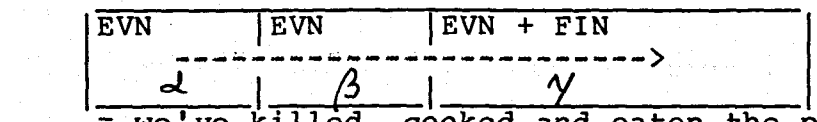
al EVN as logical head, and other EVNs as logically subordinate, the final EVN attracting to itself the arguments because of its position at the end of the chain. Examples are:

```
ma    wo          porama
taro  dig up=STM  go-1P-SIMP PRES
taro  dig up      we-are-going
```



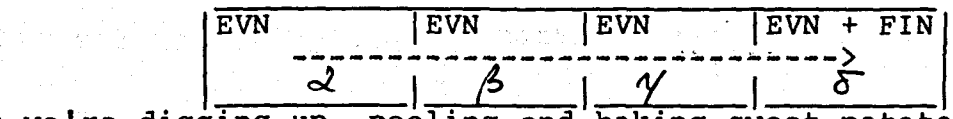
= we're going to dig up some taro

```
nogo bo       dawo      narima
pig  kill-STM cook-STM ingest-1P-SIMP PAST
```



= we've killed, cooked and eaten the pig

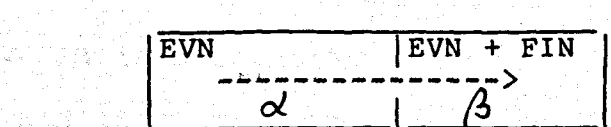
```
hina         wo          kedo      guju      bedama
sweet potato dig up=STM peel-STM bake=STM EV-1P
sweet potato dig up      peel      bake      we are
```



= we're digging up, peeling and baking sweet potato

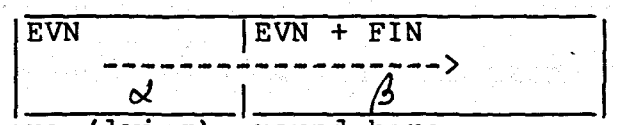
8.4.6.3 There is an interesting configuration of just two verbs, the second always being **le** 'utter', the first always one of a closed set of EV cognates, viz: **he** 'be/stay/have'; **bere** 'be/squat/sit'; **de** 'be/extrude from'; **pale** 'be/lie down'; **nge** 'be/lie flat'. The EV cognate always occurs in its basic stem form (as given here), while **le** 'utter' carries the appropriate affixes. The first EVN is interpreted as the logico-semantic head, in accordance with 8.4.6.2 above. Examples are:

```
ibu agali he          lalu       pija
3S  man   be/stand-STM utter-SIM1 go-3-SIM PAST
he  man   be/stand     saying     went
```



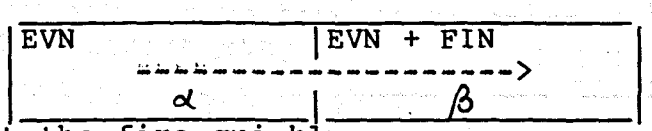
= he went, leaving the man (standing there)

aju ogoriani nge laru
axe here-LOC-LOC be/lie flat utter-1S-SIMP PAST
axe at-this-place be/lie flat (I) said



= I left (my) axe (lying) around here

ira abale de labe
wood quickly be/extrude from utter-2S-IMP FUT
wood quickly (fire) extrude say



= light the fire quickly

8.4.6.4 These groups qualify for consideration as examples of serialization in that the first element is an EVN, and the second an EVN with an appropriate FIN and AUXs. At the same time, they are transparently APV constructions, although unusual ones in that in every case the A is an unaffixed verb stem.

8.4.6.5 The possibility of their being analysed as APV configurations reinforces the above interpretation of their logico-semantic structure. It will be recalled (cf 5.1.8.2), that the adjunct (A) is the lexical element in these constructions, with the pro-verb (PV) being a dummy that carries the inflexions. In this group, the A is the logical and semantic head, and the PV is in hypotaxis with it not as the dominant but as the subordinate element. This reinforces the interpretation of serial verb groups proposed in 8.4.6.2.

8.4.7 Split configurations. These have the structure

V-STM ## LOC ## V

in which V-STM is a form that co-occurs with A suffixes (cf tables 14 and 15), and V is usually **he** 'have/be' or **bi** 'make/do' with the appropriate affixes. It is interesting that this mac-

ro-verbal group has what can be analysed as a 'non-verbal' element intruded into it, in much the same way as 'non-verbal' elements are present in the Huli micro-verbal (morpheme) group. The LOCs in split configurations are non-specific place words that are either nominal items or adverbials. Examples are:

```
bira        tagi     habe
be/sit-STM  ADV      be/have/stay-2S-IMP FUT
sit down    outside  stay
```

EVN	LOC	EVN + FIN

= sit down outside

```
pu      uju               harima
go-STM  ADV               be/have/stay-1P-SIMP PAST
go      up-over-the-top   we have
```

EVN	LOC	EVN + FIN

= we went up over there

```
nogo  wara      anda   haramali
pig   herd-STM  NOM    be/stay/have-1P-HAB
pig   herd      house  we-do-habitually
```

EVN	LOC	EVN + FIN

= we usually herd the pigs into the house

8.4.7.1 Following previous analysis, the initial EVN, the unsuffixed verb stem, is interpreted as being the logico-semantic head of the group. The nominal/adverbial item that splits the verbal items can be analysed as having a status comparable to that of its cognates in the micro-verbal group (8.4.2-4), that is, it may be regarded as having the function of helping to specify the process - a non-verbal "auxiliary". Examples are:

```
igiri  emene  pu      mabu   bini
boy    small  go-STM  NOM    make/do-EX DEF
boy    small  go      garden made
```

EVN	AUX	EVN + FIN
α	β	γ

= the small boy went around (it)

handa amu haribe
feel ADV be/stay/have-2S-SIMP PAST-Q
look along-over-there had-you-?

EVN	AUX	EVN + FIN
α	β	γ

= did you look over there?

la maro beraba
utter-STM NOM make/do-1D-SIMP PRES
speaking conclusion we make/are making

EVN	AUX	EVN + FIN
α	β	γ

= we're concluding what we have to say

mitangi buwa la dai bija
thought do-CONT utter-STM NOM do-3-SIMP PAST
thought having-done uttering return he made

EVN	AUX	EVN + FIN
α	β	γ

= having thought about it, he replied

8.4.8 APVs and serial configurations. The configurations described above in 8.4.6.3 and 8.4.7 have as their final verbs three of the common pro-verbs: **le** 'utter', **he** 'be/have/stay' and **bi** 'make/do' (cf 5.1.7). EV cognates in collocation with **le** 'utter' (8.4.7.3) present examples that qualify for consideration both as serial (V-STM + V-AFFXs) and APV configurations, thus:

ibu agali he lalu pija
V-STM V-AFFX
A PV
he man be/stand uttering went
he went, leaving the man (standing there)

aju ogoriani nge laru
V-STM V-AFFX
A PV
axe at-this-place be/lie flat (I) uttered
I left (my) axe (lying) right here

ira abale de labe
V-STM V-AFFX
A PV
wood quickly (fire) extrude utter
light the fire quickly

8.4.8.1 Split configurations (8.4.7) also share these characteristics in common with serial groups and APVs. In common with serial groups, their initial constituent is always an unaffixed stem, their final constituent a stem that carries affixes. In common with APVs, a single constituent - the initial EVN - fills the adjunct slot, and a dummy final verb takes the affixes. It shares an additional similar feature with APVs, which can occur 'split' by an intrusive modifying element. This is illustrated by the examples below.

Split configurations:

```
        bira        tagi     habe
         A                    PV
         |                    |
        be/sit-STM ADV       be/have/stay-2S-IMP FUT
        sit down    outside  stay
        sit down outside
```

```
    pu      uju                harima
    A                          PV
    |                          |
    go-STM ADV                 be/have/stay-1P-SIMP PAST
    go      up-over-the-top    we have
    we went up over there
```

Adjunct + Pro-Verb configurations:

```
      biabe abale    bija
        A            PV
        |            |
       work  ADV     make/do-3-SIMP PAST
       work  quickly (he) did
       he did the work quickly
```

```
      oba timbuni    hari be
       A             PV
       |             |
      laughter big   be/stay/have-2S-SIMP PAST Q
      laughter big   you had-?
      did you laugh a lot?
```

8.4.8.4 The possibility of analysing split configurations in this way is of interest in that it further illustrates how serial verb groups intersect with APV configurations, and how persistent the latter are across the various differing levels of

the language's structure.

8.4.8.5 Medial verb forms can occur sequentially before non-medial forms, as in the examples:

1) ibu de hondole pija
3S eye sense-PURP go-3-SIMP PAST
he eye to-sense went
he went to see

2) ibu u lama pija
3S shout utter-SIM2 go-3-SIMP PAST
he shout uttering we
he shouted out as he went

3) ibu de hondole u lama pija
3S eye sense-PURP shout utter-SIM2 go-3-SIMP PAST
he eye to-sense shout uttering went
he shouted out as he went to see

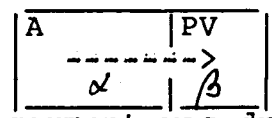
8.4.8.6 The groups here can be understood as clause chains, something which is not so obvious when they occur closer to each other and mirror the pattern of verb stems in serialization (cf 8.3.7). It is the unaffixed stems in collocation with a final, affixed, stem, that I shall regard as serial chains. One reason for this is that other forms are amenable to analysis either as ranking at clause level or as being part of an APV configuration. Another reason, lexico- rather than morpho-semantic, is that it is useful to restrict the term 'serialization' to

> .... sequences of events which are commonly associated culturally or for which there is a culturally based or pragmatic reason for their close association.
> (Bruce 1986: 27)

8.4.9 Analysis of the APV construction. The dummy verb of this construction can be analysed on the morpheme group level, as above, but the construction needs to be treated as a whole, and its structural elements described as a unity rather than as discrete entities, as already intimated.

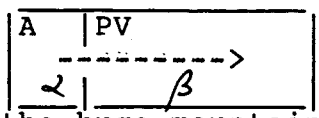
8.4.9.1 APVs can be analysed as having a semantico-logical structure in which the A is head and the PV is subordinate to it. Examples are such as:

aga jo bija
garment dryness made



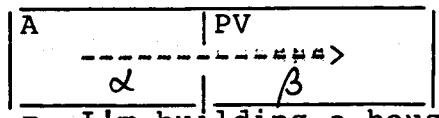
= the garment was dry

hari timbuni de handaribe
mountain large eye (you) sense?



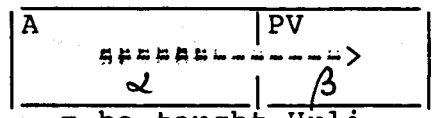
= did you see the huge mountain?

anda bule bero
house make-PURP (I) make
house to-make I am making



= I'm building a house

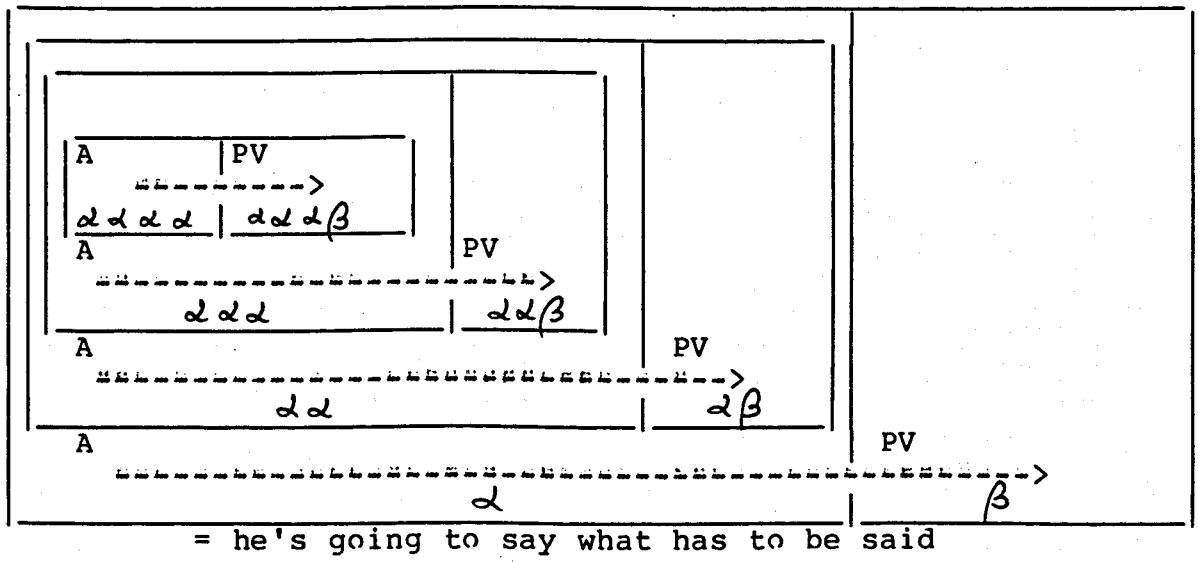
Huli lawai haja
Huli utter-DID (he) had
Huli how-to-speak he had



= he taught Huli

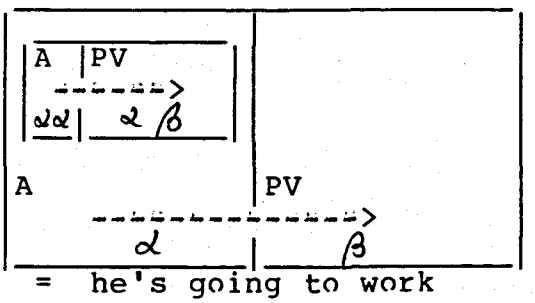
8.4.9.2 Some realizations of this construction comprise As derived from verb forms (cf 5..7.1.4), and can form complexes that involve embedding, realized as right-branching dependencies, as in the examples:

bi lolene ngago lole bira
talk utter-OBLIG EV-3-DET utter-PURP make-3-SIMP PRES
talk to-be-said is-there to-say (he) is making



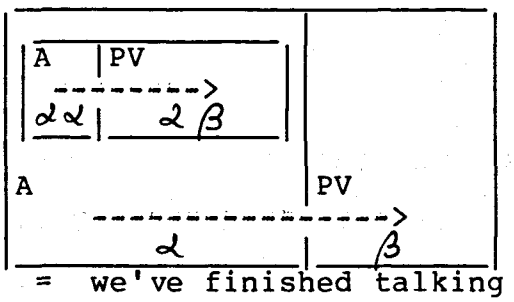
= he's going to say what has to be said

biabe bule bira
work do-PURP do-3-SIMP PRES
work to-do he is making



= he's going to work

bi lai harima
talk say-COMP have-1P PAST
talk say-complete we had



= we've finished talking

8.4.10 Summary. APVs can be regarded as macro-verbal groups, and morpheme clusters as micro-verbal groups. A second macro-verbal group is evidenced by serial verbs - verbs which appear in sequence, with no other elements separating them - while a third macro-group is that which occurs as a split verb configuration.

8.4.10.1 Having described the individual groups, it is useful now to consider briefly group complexes and to explore the texture of the utterance at that level.

CHAPTER 9

GROUP COMPLEXES

9.1 OUTLINE

9.1.1 Word complexes, nominal, adverbial and verbal, were the focus of the last chapter. Implicit in this approach is the assumption that groups are, as it were, 'bloated words' (Halliday 1985a: 192), which together assemble into higher units called clauses. These clauses in their turn, either singly (cf 8.1.1) or in complexes, constitute utterances.

9.1.2 Group complexes and their inter-relationships within the utterance are the focus of attention in this chapter, and I propose to describe nominal, adverbial and verbal group complexes in turn. The method employed will involve the continuation of the use and adaptation of Hallidayan concepts, begun in the last chapter.

9.1.2.1 Given what has been said in 1.4, it is not surprising that these concepts, when applied to Huli, suggest a logico-semantic system that is different from the English one, yet has points of contact with it. In chapter 8 the aptness of the Hallidayan approach was apparent when applied to Huli word complexes, and this chapter shows its usefulness at the level of group complexes.

9.1.3 The interdependency of groups in Huli group complexes can be explored using the categories of taxis already employed (ie hypotaxis and parataxis). Halliday introduces greater levels of delicacy with the categories 'expansion' and 'projec-

tion' (cf Halliday 1985a: 195-196), and still further levels of delicacy within each of these.

9.1.3.1 As applied to Huli, expansion is a type of interdependence whereby one group elaborates (indicated in analysis by the sign (=), extends (+), or enhances (x) another group, with which it is in parataxis or hypotaxis. More precisely:

ELABORATION is the expansion of one group by another through exposition, exemplification, or clarification.

EXTENSION occurs when one group extends another by adding to it, or stating exceptions or alternatives.

ENHANCEMENT is the qualifying of one group by another as regards location, cause or manner.

9.1.3.2 Only verbal group complexes are related by projection, either LOCUTION ("), or IDEA ('). The former is a verbal group that is a quote = a 'construction of wording' (Halliday 1985a: 197) - projected through another verbal group, while the latter is a verbal group that is an idea, a thought, similarly projected. Hypotactic relations in verbal group complexes linked through projection are not well attested.

9.2 NOMINAL GROUP COMPLEXES

9.2.1 Elaboration. The qualifying group or groups always come after the qualified group, and expand it by clarification. The relationship between them is invariably one of parataxis. Examples are:

agali mbira	mini Galo
man a/one	name Galo
NOM 1	NOM =2

biango ogo	ĩ biango
dog this	1S dog
NOM =1	NOM =2

= a man called Galo = this dog (is) my dog

9.2.1.1 It is apparent in these two examples that relational processes can be signalled through the juxtaposing of nominal groups, verbs not being necessary for this purpose. The function of EVs - categorizing existential modes of posture - makes it unlikely that they are underlying copulas, deleted at surface level.

9.2.2 Extension. This is usually accomplished by comitative suffixes (6.5.2-3), which link groups in parataxis. The members of the complex co-function in the same grammatical slot in the clause (cf 6.5). Examples are :

Andagali Madiabela amuguha pija
Andagali Madiabe-COM along over there-DET-LOC go-3-SIMP PAST

NOM 1	NOM +2

= Andagali Madiabe-and along over there-that-in have gone
Andagali and Madiabe have gone along over there somewhere

Megia Bogaja Juima tia bo pija
Megia Bogaja Jui-COM possum kill-STM go-3-EX DEF

NOM 1	NOM +2	NOM +3

= Megia Bogaja Jui-and possum to-kill went
Megia, Bogaja and Yui went to hunt possum

maru duru hairu anda hene
taro-COM sugar cane-COM banana-COM house stay/have-EX DEF

NOM 1	NOM +2	NOM +3

= taro-and sugar cane-and banana-and house had
taro, sugar cane and banana had all grown

9.2.2.1 Possible disjunctive choices can be signalled by use of the MODs -ja and -gwa (5.5.12) and the COM -bi, as in:

igirijagwabi wandarijagwabi
boy-MOD-MOD-COM girl-MOD-MOD-COM

NOM 1	NOM +2

= boy-must have been-like-and girl-must have been-like-and

either a boy or a girl

dandajagwabi nogojagwabi
bow-MOD-MOD-COM pig-MOD-MOD-COM

NOM 1	NOM +2

= bow-must have been-like-and pig-must have been-like-and
bows or pigs or

jandarejagwabi abijagwabi
spear-MOD-MOD-COM wergild-MOD-MOD-COM

NOM +3	NOM +4

= spear-must have been-like-and wergild-must have been-like-and
spears or wergild

9.2.2.2 While comitative suffixes are a sure signal of nominal group complexes linked by paratactic extension, hypotactic extension may be signalled by the negative particle ndo at the end of a group, as in the example :

agali daliahe, agali wahe ndo, laro
man hardy men old NEG utter-1S-SIMP PRES

NOM α	NOM $+\beta$

= I say, hardy men, not old men

9.2.3 Enhancement. Nominal groups linked through comitative enclitics do not co-function in the same grammatical slot (cf 6.5.4). The one that is the grammatical subject in a clause is qualified by the one on which the enclitic leans, the latter expanding the former by supplying circumstantial information about 'how' or 'with whom / what'. Thus, this relationship can be analysed as one of paratactic enhancement: the two groups are equally important in ideational content, and both are agents, even though this is not signalled on the verb. Examples are:

ina nogo haru eberema
1P pig COM come-1P-SIMP PRES

NOM 1	NOM x2

= we pig with come/are coming

we're coming with a pig

tigwa Gambali baba wai binija
3P Gambali COM war make/do-EX DEF-MOD

NOM 1	NOM x2

= they Gambali with war made-must/would
they would have made war with Gambali

ĩ Wariabe heba pole berebe
2S Wariabe COM go-PURP make/do-2S-SIMP PRES-Q

NOM 1	NOM x2

= you Wariabe along-with to-go (you) are making?
are you going to go with Wariabe?

9.2.4 Embedding adds intricacy to relationships within nominal group complexes, as is shown in the examples below:

ĩ ĩ onela ijame mabu bule beraba
1S 1S wife-COM 2D-ERG garden make-PURP make-1D-SIMP PRES

NOM 1		NOM =2
NOM 1	NOM +2	

= I I/my wife-with we-(by) garden to-make make/are making
my wife and I are going to make a garden

Tigi Manga Bogaja Angoma tini hangu hole
Tigi Manga Bogaja Ango-COM 3P-DEF only/alone have/be-PURP

NOM 1				NOM =2
NOM 1	NOM +2	NOM +3	NOM +4	

= Tigi Manga Bogaja Ango-with they-themselves only to-be
so that Tigi, Manga, Bogaya and Ango can be by themselves

Mogome Ajagala libugwa gali mini Jali haru ibini
Mogome Ajaga-COM 3D-ERG baby name Jali COM come-3-EX DEF

NOM 1			NOM x2	
NOM 1		NOM =2	NOM 1	NOM =2
NOM 1	NOM +2			

= Mogome Ajaga-and they baby called Jali with came/have come

Mogome and Ajaga have come with the baby called Jali

9.3 ADVERBIAL GROUP COMPLEXES

9.3.1 Elaboration. Adverbial group complexes occur in paratactic and hypotactic elaboration, as in the examples:

ibu dege hangu Ø
3S just only

ADV 1	ADV =2

= just him alone

ogoha howa amuguha pija
this-LOC from over there-LOC 3-went

ADV α	ADV =β

= he went from here over to there

9.3.1.1 In the first example, both adverbial groups make independent but interrelated qualifications of the elliptical process, and are interpreted as being in parataxis. In the second, the logical sense of the process 'going' is encoded as being from A to B, and this lends itself to the interpretation of dependence shown in the symbols.

9.3.2 Extension may be achieved through parataxis in the use of comitative suffixes, or through hypotaxis - signalled, frequently, by the presence of the NEG particle. Examples are:

hendorebi bajwabi ani bini
carefully-COM well-COM thus do/make-EX DEF

ADV 1	ADV +2

= carefully-and well-and thus (he) did/has done
he did it properly and thoroughly

ajubi jawibi manibi ani bule bira
now-COM tomorrow-COM later-COM thus do-PURP make-3-SIMP PRES

ADV 1	ADV +2	ADV +3

= today-and tomorrow-and later-and thus to-do (he) is making
he'll do the same today, tomorrow and in the future

aju ogoni mani ndo amu ndo, ogoria wibe
now that later NEG over-there NEG here place-2S-IMP PR

ADV α	ADV +β

ADV +β	ADV α

= right now, not later = put here, not over there

9.3.2.1 Note that with adverbial groups in hypotaxis it is always the group qualified by ndo that functions as extending the other group and is interpreted as subordinate to it.

9.3.3 Enhancement occurs between paratactic but not hypotactic groups. Examples are:

hendore hendore pobe
carefully carefully go-2S-IMP FUT

ADV 1	ADV x2
go very	carefully

= go very carefully

dalimu, nde dalimu ore, o labe
loudly POZ loudly very shout utter-2S-IMP FUT

ADV 1	ADV x2
loudly yes loudly very	shout utter

= shout out loudly, yes, very loudly

9.3.3.1 The first example illustrates a very common usage, and one found in many Papuan languages (cf Foley 1986: 204), in which intensity is signalled by reduplication of the whole word.

9.4 VERBAL GROUP COMPLEXES

9.4.1 Verbal groups were seen in chapter 8 to present interesting problems of interpretation and description. Micro-level (morpheme) groups are at one end of the continuum, and APV groups at the other, while somewhere in between come serial and split configurations. The precise boundaries separating these groups are hard to locate, and perhaps even non-existent, but when it comes to describing group complexes, demarkation is less problematic, since micro-level groups do not occur in complexes.

9.4.2 A useful general rule is that groups across which switch-referencing occurs are in hypotactic relation with each other, while those that share the same grammatical subject are linked in parataxis. This holds true for both medial and non-medial forms (cf 5.4.6.1), as is shown in the examples:

ibugwa nogo de hondowa mogo laja
3S-ERG pig eye sense-CONS surprise utter-3-SIMP PAST

CLS 1	CLS 2
= he pig eye sensing	surprise said/had

seeing the pig, he was startled

nogo minajagola ngwai harima
pig catch-3-SIMP PAST-DET-LOC group have/stay-1P-SIMP PAST

CLS β	CLS α
= pig (he) caught-that-then	group/gathering we had

when he caught the pig, we gathered

9.4.2.1 The English gloss in the first example makes one think that the first clause is non-finite and subordinate, but this is an analysis of the gloss rather than of the Huli. The CONS can occur in final position in utterances (cf 5.4.6.1), and an example of this has already been given in 4.10.3.4, viz:

ĩ garo* wedi* lo hene. Huli pole lowa
1S car wait utter-STM have-EX DEF Huli go-PURP utter-CONS

CLS 1	CLS 2
I car wait utter had	Huli to-go uttered

= I waited for a car, having decided to go to Huli

Once again, the English non-finite is misleading: the CONS signals prior consecutive action, not dependency.

9.4.2.2 In the second example, on the other hand, the first clause is dependent in the traditional sense: it cannot stand on its own, and states a secondary, background, circumstance, which expands the meaning of the independent clause.

9.4.3 Elaboration occurs only in complexes whose clauses are related in parataxis, and when the core EVNs of the clause-final verbs are semantic equivalents. Examples are given below, the verb in the first clause of the first example being the iterative form of le 'utter', an APV construction (cf 5.2.4).

ibugwa nogo baga bialu kangome baja
3S-ERG pigs kill-ITER do-SIM stick-ERG kill-3-SIMP PAST

CLS 1	CLS =2
= he pigs kill-again doing	with-a-stick killed

he went round killing the pigs, killing them with a stick

bi bajwa lalu henene ore larida
talk well utter-SIM true very utter-2S-SIMP PAST-MOD

CLS 1	CLS =2
= talk well saying	true very (you) said-seems

speaking well, you clearly told the truth

9.4.4 Extension can occur in conjunction with parataxis or hypotaxis, as is illustrated in the examples:

tomo nowa dagiani palene
food ingest-CONS plank-LOC lie down-EX DEF

CLS 1	CLS +2
= food having eaten	plank-on (he) lay down

he ate and lay down on the plank

keba halu andaga piru
anger have/be-SIM house-LOC go-1S-SIMP PAST

CLS 1	CLS +2
= anger having	house-to (I) went

being angry, I went home

andaga pirimangi Kajuwi ibu hangu nape
house-LOC go-1P-SIMP PAST-LOC Kayuwi 3S only NEG-go-STM

CLS α	CLS $+\beta$
= house-to (we) went-when	Kajuwi he alone did-not-go

when we went home, only Kajuwi didn't go

9.4.5 Enhancement occurs in paratactic and hypotactic group complexes. Examples of enhancing paractic complexes, in

which switch-referencing does not occur, are:

hari iraga halu tajanda abale pene
mountain climb have/stay-SIM high forest quickly go-EX DEF

CLS 1	CLS x2
= mountain climb having climbing the mountain, he went quickly into the high forest	high forest quickly (he) went

hendore hendore pialu maha ore ibija
carefully carefully go-SIM later very come-3-SIMP PAST

CLS 1	CLS x2
= carefully carefully going proceding with great care,	later very (he) came/arrived he arrived much later

9.4.5.1 With hypotactic complexes, the subordinate clause is frequently locational, as in:

ibu dai bijagola tia bo piriba
3S return do-3-SIMP PAST-LOC possum kill-STM go-2D-SIMP PAST

CLS xβ	CLS α
= he return did-that-when when he returned	possum to-kill (we) went we went to hunt possum

ira kagoria ibida pene
tree EV-3-LOC run go-EX DEF

CLS xβ	CLS α
= tree is-there he ran to where the tree is	run (he) went

9.4.5.2 Permissives or precautionaries in group complexes always signal hypotactic enhancement, as in the examples:

bi lolomaja henge ngi
talk utter-1P-PERM space give-2S-IMP PRES

CLS xβ	CLS α
= talk say-(we)-might give us permission to speak	space (you) give (us)

biabe bulija aju ngerene
work make/do-1S-PERM axe give-2S-SIMP PRES-DEF

CLS xβ	CLS α
= work do-(I)-might you must give me an axe so I can work	axe (you) give-that/must

ina kagwa bulilono mbuga* mbira ngija
1P wrongly do/make-PREC PAST book one give-3-SIMP PAST

CLS xβ	CLS α
= we wrongly did-lest should	book a (he) gave (us)

he gave us a book, so we wouldn't make a mistake

9.4.6 Exceptions. This last example raises the question of exceptions to the general rule given in 9.4.2, since PREC forms can occur in complexes without switch-referencing. In such cases, the PREC clause is still subordinate, in hypotaxis with the main clause. Examples are:

pu ereba holoani henedore pobe
go-STM loss have/stay-2S-PREC FUT carefully go-2S-IMP FUT

CLS xβ	CLS α
= go loss have-(you)-lest/should	carefully go

go carefully, so that you don't get lost

ĩ piloligo ge su* wa haro
1S fall-PREC FUT leg shoe reject-STM have/stay-1S-SIMP PRES

CLS xβ	CLS α
= I fall-lest	leg-shoe take off have/am-having

I'm taking off my shoes in case I slip

9.4.6.1 Similarly, the PURP, when not part of an APV configuration, can occur in an enhancing hypotactic clause in a complex without switch-referencing. Examples:

jawi te lole manda manda bu ko
tomorrow story utter-PURP head head do/make-STM EV-3

CLS xβ	CLS α
= tomorrow story to-utter	head head make(d) (I) am

I've got ready to tell my story tomorrow

nambisi* pole nogo baru
nambis go-PURP pig kill-1S-SIMP PAST

CLS xβ	CLS α
= coast to-go	pig (I) killed

I killed a pig in order to go to the coast

9.4.6.2 A non-medial verb form may accept the DET suffix -go and function not as a derivational adnominal (7.9.3) but as the process word of a clause in a hypotactic clause complex. In these instances, switch-referencing is not obligatory. Examples are:

nogo gabwa ibijago ira iraga harima
pig wild come-3-SIMP PAST-DET tree climb have-1P-SIMP PAST

CLS x β	CLS α
= pig wild came-that	tree climb (we) had

a wild pig came along; we climbed a tree

mundu narogo setoa* anda poro
tobacco ingest-1S-SIMP PRES-DET store house go-1S-SIMP PRES

CLS x β	CLS α
= tobacco (I) smoke-that	trade store (I) go/am going

I (want to) smoke; I'm gong to the trade store

9.4.6.3 It is possible to interpret the above complexes as examples of paratactic groups, since both clauses can stand on their own. As set out above, the DET is analysed as a connective, signalling, in these two instances, causation.

9.4.6.4 Another interesting exception is to be found in clause complexes whose verbs carry the suffix -le (cf 5.5.14). These complexes optionally display switch-referencing, and are best interpreted as being in paratactic enhancement, as in:

ko bidale nakale
wrong do/make-3-EX PRES-MOD NEG-EV-3-MOD

CLS 1	CLS x2
= wrong do/doing-if/ish	not-is-if/-ish

if he's done wrong, he won't be here

garo* ibidale ina aju Mendi pu kamale
car come-3-EX PRES-MOD 1P now Mendi go-STM EV-1P-MOD

CLS 1	CLS x2
= car is come-if/-ish	we now Mendi go are-if/-ish

if the car had come, we would have arrived in Mendi now

9.4.7 Projection occurs most frequently in verbal group complexes, ie clause complexes, that are linked in parataxis. This is because locutions and ideas are usually quoted, seldom reported. Examples are:

andaga pole, lene
house-LOC go-PURP utter-EX DEF

CLS "2	CLS 1
home to-go	(he) said

= "I'm going home", he said

ibugwa, ĩ turu ho ko, laja.
3S-ERG 1S happiness have-STM EV-1S utter-3-SIMP PAST

	CLS "2	
	CLS 1	
he, I happiness have	am,	said

= he said, "I'm happy"

dai bule biralo manda bido
return do-PURP do-3-SIMP PRES-MOD head do-1S-EX PRES

CLS '2	CLS 1
return to-do (he) does-certainly	head (I) do/am doing

= I know that he'll certainly come back

ogoni hangu mitangi biribe
that only thought do/make-2S-SIMP PAST-Q

CLS '2	CLS 1
did you think	that was all?

9.4.7.1 The second example in 9.4.7. is a good illustration of nesting in clauses that project. It is not unusual to find quotations spelled out more explicitly , as in:

ibugwa lalu, jawi ibagwa, laja
3S-ERG utter-SIM tomorrow come-1S-FUT utter-3-SIMP PAST

CLS 1	CLS "2	CLS 1
	CLS =2	
he saying	tomorrow (I) will come	said

= he said, "I'll come tomorrow"

9.4.7.1.1 In the above example, the locution and the projecting clause are interpreted as together forming a clause complex that is an elaboration of the first projecting clause. It is possible, however, to consider the second projecting clause to be an elaboration of the complex formed by the projection first clause. A third possibility would be to consider the projection as somehow embedded or nesting between a complex formed by the two projecting clauses. I favour the first interpretation as being more in accord with the general pattern of paratactic projection in Huli.

9.4.7.2 Projection involving group complexes in hypotaxis has generally been thought not to occur in Huli (cf Rule 1977: 39-40), 'quotative sentences' (cf Franklin 1971: 120), such as the example in 9.4.7.1, being considered the only device for reporting locutions. Rumsey (1986a: 252) has suggested that Huli might have devices for encoding locutions in indirect form, and there is some support for this in my own data.

9.4.7.2.1 Data in text 5, line 27E (12.3.1), and text 6, line 14 (12.3.2), seem to suggest that Huli can represent wording as meaning (cf Halliday 1985b: 233) - ie employ reported as well as direct speech. The examples and their interpretations are given below, the fuller contexts being shown in 12.3.1 and 12.3.2.

5.27E ibu hondo lalu ibu nogo no halu
3S to utter-SIM 3S pig ingest-STM have-STM

CLS α	CLS "β
= he/him to saying saying to him	he pig eat having he having eaten

6.14 (agali) ... damanaga bara lowa
(men) spirit-POSS kill-3-SIMP PRES utter-CONS

CLS "β	CLS α

= men spirits-of/for (they) kill having said
men, having said they kill (pigs) to the spirit,

9.4.7.2.2 In example 5.27E, ibu 3S is a different person in each clause. The speaker is talking about what would be said to a pig thief, and the conventions of direct discourse would normally demand that the second, projected, clause be in paratAxis with the first, thus:

ibu hondo lalu ĩ nogo no halu
3S to utter-SIM 2S pig ingest-STM have-STM

CLS 1	CLS "2
= he/him to saying	you pig eat having
saying to him,	"You having eaten, ..."

Similarly, the expectation in example 6.14, where the speaker is telling what men, ie 3P, said, is a paratactic complex such as

(agali) ... damanaga barama lowa
(men) spirit-POSS kill-1P-SIMP PRES utter-CONS

CLS "2	CLS 1
= men spirits-of/for (we) kill	having said
men, having said, "We kill (pigs) to the spirit",	

9.4.7.2.4 Rumsey (personal communication) has suggested that analysis of a Nebilyer dispute (Merlan & Rumsey 1986) shows evidence of linguistic devices akin to indirect discourse, while Tipton (1982: 49-51) indicates that Nembi speakers have 'other types of verbal sentences', apart from quotatives, but does not elaborate. On the evidence of the texts above, it seems that Huli also probably has devices for encoding direct discourse as indirect, reported, speech.

9.4.8 Some exemplification of nominal, and verbal group complexes can be gained by exploring a slightly longer stretch of text than those we have looked at so far. I will set out

the text and gloss first, and then briefly discuss it in the light of this and the preceding chapter. The text is a continuation of the **bi te** 'folktale' sample given in 4.3.5.1.

9.4.8.1 The text:

```
dawe       hole,     lowa,                hurwa  uru,
dawe       have-PURP utter-CONS           skirt  these
dawe dance to-have   having-said/saying   skirts these

dawe bi   lagu      hagane          wijago
dawe talk utter-CUST have-CUST-DEF  place-3-SIMP PAST-DET
dawe talk cust.-say  cust.-have-that placed-that

damene,       mojai                              haja.
relative      CAUS-hold-COMP                     have-3-SIMP PAST
related thing cause (self to) hold completely    had

ai   nde.  Hela Obene pole    wirwa,          laja.
EXCL POST  Hela Obene go-PURP place-UNSN PRES utter-3-SIMP PAST
ah   yes   Hela Obene to-go   places (unseen) (he) said

agali biagome  ibalu    pu     gimbu        pija.
man   that-ERG come-SIM go-STM joint/joining go-3-SIMP PAST
man   that     coming   go     joining       went

herelibi hubane mbira winijago             nu
salt     bundle a/one place-EX DEF-MOD-DET string bag
salt     bundle a     placed-seemed-that   string bag

hanaja.            ai   ibalu    pu     gimbu   pija.
carry-3-SIMP PAST  EXCL come-SIM go-STM joint   go-3-SIMP PAST
carried            ah   coming   go     joining went

udu                          Hela Obene iraga haja.
up over the hills at the top Hela Obene climb have-3-SIMP PAST
up over the top of the hills Hela Obene climb (he) had
```

9.4.8.2 Translation:

> He decided to perform a dawe, and got together these skirts, and what is said to be laid down as relevant to dawe. Ah, yes! "I feel it's ordained for me to go to Hela Obene," he thought. He went back and forth, getting ready. He put a bundle of salt that was there into his string bag. Ah, to and fro he went! Then he set out, climbing up the mountains towards Hela Obene.

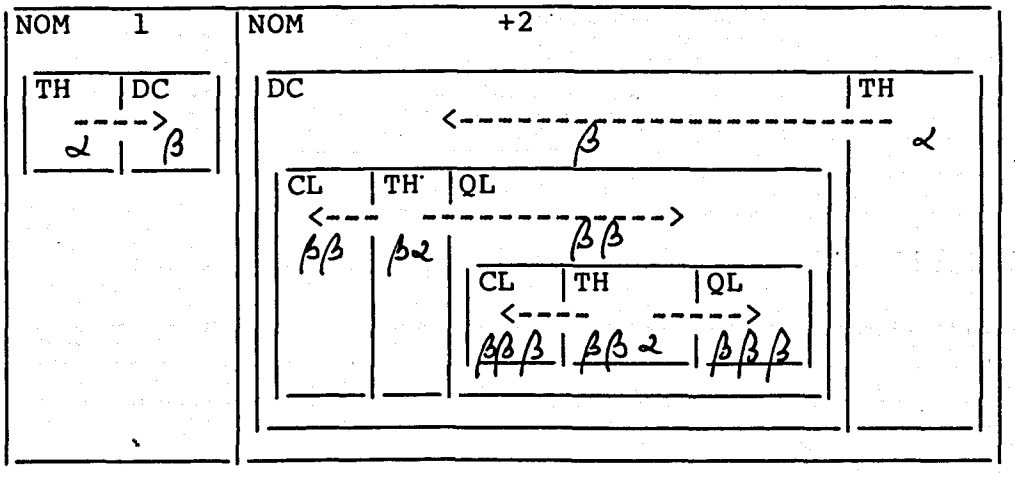
9.4.8.3 The first three lines of the text form one utterance, with two clauses in paratactic extension, the first of these projecting an idea. This is indicated in the notation,

dawe hole, lowa, hurwa uru ... damene mojai haja

which shows that **dawe hole** is an idea, linked to **lowa**, which projects it and which is also linked in paratactic extension to the clause **hurwa ... haja**.

9.4.8.4 The last clause has a nominal group complex, linked in paratactic extension, the second group showing extensive embedding:

hurwa uru, dawe bi lagu hagane wijago damene,



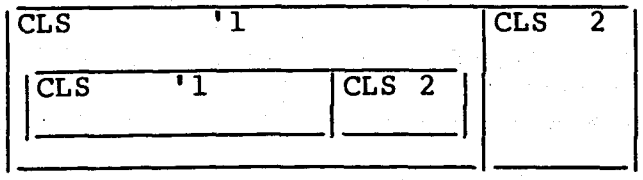
9.4.8.5 Note that in the second nominal group, **lagu** is a stylistic variant of **laga** (cf 5.2.5; 7.5.1), while **hagane** is the full derivational nominal (cf 7.5.1) of **he** 'have/stay/be', and can be glossed as 'haver', 'stayer', etc. In collocation with the form **laga/lagu**, it yields the sense `(talk) customarily said-and-staying'. **wijago** is a derviational adnominal, with the function described in 8.1.1.2, being QL of an embedded nominal group acting as a DC. The interpretation that this group is a deictic is based on its indicating **ago** 'which?' **damene** the speaker is concerned with, while there is reason for thinking that the relationship between this DC and TH is one of inalienable possession - things necessarily bound up with the perform-

ance of **dawe** -, thus making the POSS suffix -naga optional (cf 7.1Ø.5).

9.4.8.5 The verbal group **mojai haja**, the COMP with CAUS prefix, is an APV configuration.

9.4.8.6 The second utterance in line 4 consists of a projecting clause, **laja**, and an idea that is composed of a clause complex in which another idea is projected. This can be shown in the usual way:

Hela Obene pole wirwa, laja.



9.4.8.7 Two other points need to be noted. The first is that the name **Hela Obene** is best interpreted as a single item, rather than as a nominal group complex. The second is that the form **wirwa** is a dialectal variant of **wiarwa** (cf 5.2.7).

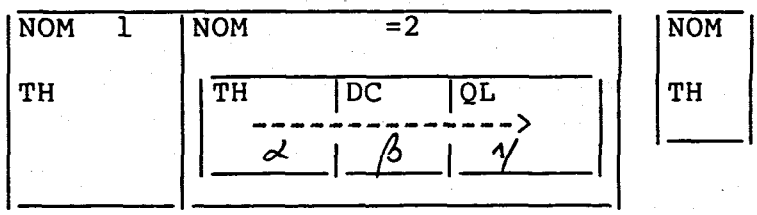
9.4.8.8 In line 5 there is a clause complex consisting of two groups in paratactic extension, the second group being a split verb construction:

agali biagome ibalu pu gimbu pija

9.4.8.9 The nominal group in the first clause consists of a TH plus a DC, the latter functioning as an anaphoric referent.

9.4.8.1Ø Line 6 is an utterance, completed on line 7, that is a single clause, containing three nominal groups, two of which form a complex, thus:

herelibi hubane mbira winijago nu hanaja



9.4.8.11 The last line contains an utterance that is composed of a clause complex that can be interpreted in the same way as that set out in 9.4.8.8 above.

9.4.8.12 The above has been a cursory exploration of a short text to illustrate the application of the interpretations proposed for Huli word and group complexes in this and the preceding chapter. Clearly, the question of a more complete and integrated exposition of Huli texts nows arises. The next two chapters will lead into this, describing important semantic patterns of the language, and the language change that is taking place in concord with changes in society.