CHAPTER 10

SEMANTIC PATTERNS

10.1   INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes some of the semantic patterns that inform and give coherence to utterances. It will consider the systems of tense and aspect, switch-referencing, covert classification, and genres and registers.

10.2   TENSE AND ASPECT

10.2.1   Foley & Van Valin, (1984: 77-88), see the clause as having three layers: nucleus, core and periphery. They consider tense to be a peripheral operator (ibid. 209), functioning across the clause as a whole, while aspect is restricted to the nucleus (ibid. 217), operating on/within the predicate. In applying this analysis to Papuan languages, Foley calls tense an "outer operator" and aspect an "inner operator" (Foley 1986: 143), and says that the latter type are indexed lexically, often by serial constructions, while the former are usually signalled by bound verbal affixes. These observations hold good for Huli to a large extent, but the total picture is more complex.

10.2.2   Tense   will be described as the operator that

> relates the time of the situation being referred to
> to some other time, usually to the moment of speaking.
> (Comrie 1981: 1-2)

It can be marked on the FIN (cf 8.4.2.1-2) and/or through time words, the system being basically a three-way opposition between

past, present and future.   Examples are:

1)   abe   ma   dugwa   + ja
      yesterday   taro lift up-STM   3-SIMP PAST

```
 _____        _____
| ADV:          |       | EVN            | FIN            |
| time          |       |                | temporal       |
|_____|       |_____|_____|
                              =     abe ma dugwaja
                                    yesterday he dug up some taro
```

2)   jawi   ma   dugu   + luma
      tomorrow   taro lift up-STM   1P-FUT

```
 _____        _____
| ADV:          |       | EVN            | FIN            |
| time          |       |                | temp:          |
|_____|       |_____|_____|
                              =     jawi ma duguluma
                                    tomorrow we'll dig up some taro
```

3)   jawi   ma   dugu   + le   be   + rama
      tomorrow   taro lift up-STM PURP make/do-STM 1P-SIMP PRES

```
 _____    _____  _____
| ADV:        |   | A                      || PV                       |
| time        |   |  _____   ||  _____   |
|_____|   | | EVN     | FIN     |  || | EVN      | FIN       |  |
                  | |         | mod.    |  || |          | temporal  |  |
                  | |_____|_____|  || |_____|_____|  |
                  |_____||_____|
        =     jawi ma dugule berama
              tomorrow we'll dig up some taro
```

4)   aju   ma   dugwa   + ro
      today taro lift up-STM   1S-SIMP PRES

```
 _____      _____
| ADV:      |     | EVN            | FIN                 |
| time      |     |                | temporal            |
|_____|     |_____|_____|
                        =     aju ma dugwaro
                              today I lift up some taro
```

5)   lebe   ĩ   Mendi na-   pe
      two days ago 1S   Mendi NEG   go-STM

```
 _____        _____
| ADV:            |       | POL  | EVN      |
| time            |       |      |          |
|_____|       |_____|_____|
                        =     lebe ĩ Mendi nape
                              I didn't go to Mendi two days ago
```

10.2.2.1   The time words are redundant except in nos. 3 and 5,
since time in relation to utterance is signalled by the FIN. In
the last example this is read as deleted (cf 8.4.4.1, 8.4.4.2,
8.4.5.4), and it is not possible to recover from the text which

form, the EX PAST or EX DEF, has been affected.

10.2.2.2   In the third example there is an APV configuration,
which is analysed at macro-group level (cf 8.4.8-10). It has
been argued (cf 8.4.9) that APVs need to be considered as units,
since their semantic force derives from their being in colloca-
tion rather than from their individual parts (cf 8.4.9). This
view posits a single situation in no.3, located in the future
by the time word **jawi** 'tomorrow'. On the other hand, the PURP
can stand alone in an utterance, and it could be said that **jawi**
delimits **bule**, the PURP, and not the APV. This would seem to
imply that two separate situations are encoded in this utter-
ance, the first in future time, the second in the present.

10.2.2.3 It is useful to note that SIMP forms generally indic-
ate single, even punctiliar, actions (cf 5.2.2-3). As such, they
are temporal operators when referring to discrete situations.
EX forms, on the other hand, generally signal completed past
events or present states, and may be aspectual. Examples of EX
forms functioning as temporal, "outer", operators are:

6) ibu   Gumu pe   + ne   7) ma   hiri   + bi
   3S   Gumu go-STM   EX DEF   taro roast-STM 2D-EX PAST

EVN	FIN temp.

=   ibu Gumu pene
    he went to Gumu/
    he's been to Gumu

EVN	FIN temporal

= ma hiribi
   you roasted some taro

8) ẽ   le   + dama   9) du   ne   + do
   yes   utter-STM 1P-EX PRES   sugar ingest-STM 1S-EX PRES

EVN	FIN temporal

= ẽ ledama
   we say yes/
   we're saying yes

EVN	FIN temporal

= du nedo
   I eat sugar cane/
   I'm eating sugar cane

10.2.2.4   Examples 3, 8 and 9 are difficult to gloss well.   In the last two cases, the EX signals a situation that could be either a dynamic event or a continuing state: indeed, Rule has interpreted EX forms as the Stative Voice (Rule 1977:   73-77). It is interesting that EVs, whose semantic field overlaps with EX forms, conflate tense and aspect (state).

10.2.2.5   Also of interest are FINs that conflate modality and tense/aspect, such as the PREC (5.4.5.-6), examples of which were cited previously in this regard (cf 8.4.2.2.).

10.2.2.6   Some other forms that indicate modality or modulation, such as the EXH (5.2.17-18) and the IMP (5.2.14-15), can signal PRES or FUT. More accurately, they signal either immediate future ('now') or less immediate future ('later'). As such they can be interpreted as an exceptional part of the tense system, showing opposition within the category "future".

 10.2.3   Aspect will be considered as the operator that relates the internal temporal constituents of a situation to one another (cf Comrie 1981:3). In micro-verbal groups, it may be marked on the FIN of medial verb forms, on the AUX of non-medial forms, and on the bound morphemes that signal habitual or customary imperfectivity. At the macro-group level, it may be encoded in serial configurations. The system and some of its exponents are set out below in figure 31.

10.2.3.1   This interprets situations as being punctiliar (discrete actions) or durative (extended actions). Durative situations can be states, unchanging over an extended period of time, or events - dynamic, each viewed as a completed or a continuing whole. Events are regarded as entire and complete (perfective);
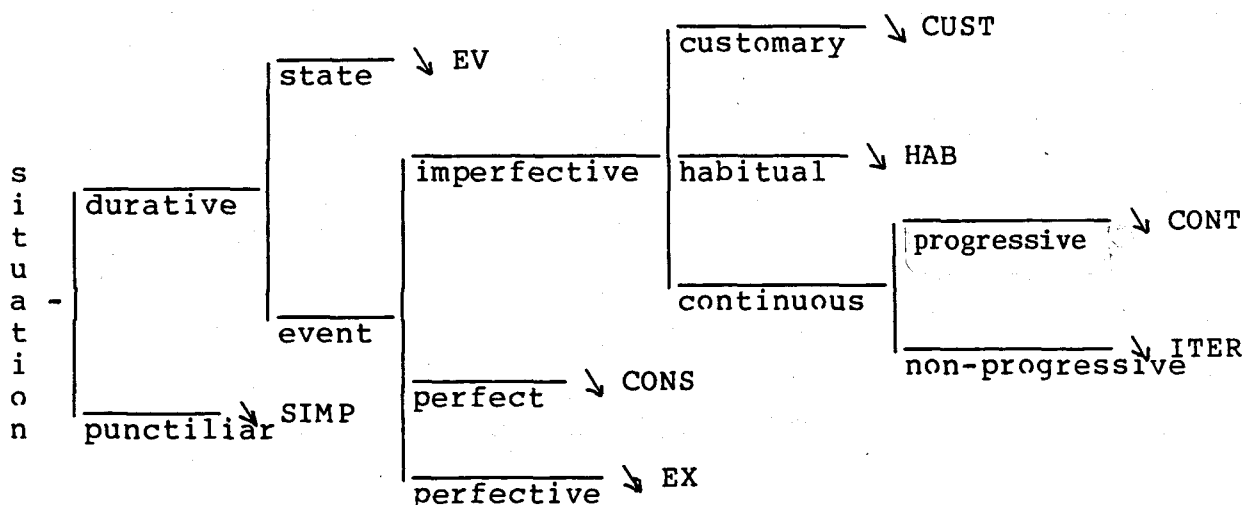
```
                                                      _____
                                            customary |        \ CUST
                              _____
                    state ___|        \ EV
                   |                              _____
s                  |                   imperfective habitual  \ HAB
i                  |                  |                                     _____
t       _____   |                  |                           progressive \ CONT
u       durative  _|                  |                          |
a _____|          |                  |_____                  |
t       |          |                   continuous                |_____
i       |          |_____                                      non-progressive \ ITER
o       |           event   |
n       |_____           |_____
         punctiliar \ SIMP   perfect  \ CONS
                            |
                            |_____
                             perfective \ EX
```

Figure 31 : Aspect system

as completed, with their results continuing (perfect); or as in process towards completion (imperfective). Imperfective events are those that are customary, habitual, or continuous. The latter are events made up of a single sustained act (progressive) or a series of repeated acts of the same kind that are regarded as the same event (non-progressive).

10.2.3.2   In the examples given below, FINs and AUXs that are shown as '(temp.)' are interpreted as functioning within the utterance as aspectual operators, relating the situation they describe to the situation in which they are inserted. From another standpoint, they are temporal operators, in that they relate the situation to which they refer to some other time.

10.2.3.3   Examples:

1)   ani   pu   + wa   abale   mi   + ru
     thus go-STM CONS quickly give/take-STM   1S-SIMP PAST

EVN	FIN asp.		EVN	FIN (temp.)
perfective			punctiliar	

   = ani puwa abale miru
      having gone there, I quickly took it
```
```

-267-

2)   ma   hira   + alu ibu o   la   + ja
         taro roast-STM   SIM1 3S   call utter-STM   3-SIMP PAST

```
┌──────────────────────┐   ┌──────────────────────────────────┐
│ EVN        │ FIN     │   │ A │ PV                           │
│            │ asp.    │   │   │ ┌──────────────────────────┐ │
│            │         │   │   │ │ EVN        │ FIN        │ │
│_____│         │   │   │ │            │ (temp.)    │ │
│ perfective │         │   │   │ │_____│_____│ │
└──────────────────────┘   │   │                            │ │
                           │   │_____│ │
                           │ punctiliar                     │
                           └──────────────────────────────────┘
```

     = ma hiralu ibu o laja
        having roasted the taro, he called out

3)   u   la   + ma   ibiragoni
        shout utter-STM   SIM2 come-3-SIMP PRES-DET-LOC

```
┌──────────────────────────────┐
│ A │ PV                       │
│   │ ┌──────────────────────┐ │
│   │ │ EVN        │ FIN     │ │
│   │ │            │ asp.    │ │
│   │ │_____│_____│ │
│   │                        │ │
│___│_____│ │
│ progressive                │
└──────────────────────────────┘
```

            = u lama ibiragoni
               here he comes, shouting

4)   tomo na   + alu   be   + do
         food ingest-STM   SIM1   sit-STM   1S-EX PRES

```
┌──────────────────────┐ ┌──────────────────────────┐
│ EVN        │ FIN     │ │ EVN        │ FIN         │
│            │ asp.    │ │            │ (temp.)     │
│_____│         │ │_____│             │
│ progressive│         │ │ stative    │             │
└──────────────────────┘ └──────────────────────────┘
```

    = tomo nalu bedo
        I'm sitting eating

5)   edegoria   agali ka
         across over there man   EV-3

```
                    ┌──────────────┐
                    │ EVN + FIN    │
                    │       asp.   │
                    │_____│
                    │ stative      │
                    └──────────────┘
```

        = there's a man (living) across over there

6)   ege   kira ho   + wa anda bi   + ni
         months two   stay-STM   CONS house make/do-STM   EX DEF

```
┌──────────────────────┐   ┌──────────────────────────┐
│ EVN        │ FIN     │   │ EVN        │ FIN         │
│            │ asp.    │   │            │ (temp.)     │
│_____│         │   │_____│             │
│ perfect    │         │   │ perfective │             │
└──────────────────────┘   └──────────────────────────┘
```

        = ege kira howa anda bini

after two months he built a house

7)   ĩ   gali he   + wa   + ria ibu ibi   + ja
     1S baby stay-STM 1S-EX PAST LOC 3S   come-STM 3-SIMP PAST

EVN	FIN (temp.)	AUX (temp)
stative		

EVN	FIN (temp.)
punctiliar	

   =   ĩ gali hewaria ibu ibija
       I was a baby when he came

10.2.3.4   The   above examples are all instances of   aspect   in
micro-verbal groups.   **bedo** 'sit' in no.4 is interpreted as sta-
tive because of the semantic signal of the EVN, which overrides
the temporal signal of the FIN: recall that **beda** is an EV.   And
in the same way, the EV **ka** in no.3 suggests that it   should   be
interpreted as stative.

10.2.3.5   **bini** 'built' in no.6 views the action as a completed
whole, with no implication that the situation   still   pertains,
and is interpreted as perfective.

10.2.3.6   No.7 is an example of an AUX being marked for aspect.
Foley has pointed out that "locational or postural verbs....are
all inherently extended in time" (Foley   1986:   145), and **he** is
such a verb, used as the past time form of the EV **ka**.   The suf-
fix -**ria** is a spatio-temporal inessive (cf 5.5.7.1), signalling
duration.

10.2.3.7   The forgoing have shown that aspect may be signalled
on morphemes, but is also, as might be expected, encoded in the
semantic import of the EVN in micro-verbal groups.   Examples of
tense realization (10.2.2) indicated that   macro-verbal   groups
seem   to rely on their collocationary force to signal tense (cf
10.2.2.2).   Similarly, macro-verbal groups do not rely   on   the

FIN of the final EVN for aspect, although where the FIN is aspectual this may be the signal transmitted by the group.

10.2.3.8   Examples are such as:

8)   ira bo   ju   nge   la   + ru
          hit-STM hold-STM place-STM utter-STM SIM1

EVN	EVN	A	PV	
		EVN	EVN	FIN temp.
non-progressive				

= ira bo ju nge laru
  I cut, brought and stacked some wood

9)   ibu pu   gimbu pi   + ja
          3S go-STM NOM   go-STM 3-SIMP PAST

EVN	LOC asp.	EVN	FIN (temp.)
non-progressive			

= ibu pu gimbu pija
  he went on and on

10)   tini   baga   baga   bi   + ja
          3P-ERG hit-ITER hit-ITER do/make-STM   3-SIMP PAST

A		PV	
EVN + DET	EVN + DET	EVN	FIN (temp.)
non-progressive			

= tini baga baga bija
  they hit themselves/each other over and over again

11)   biabe bi   + ai   ha   + rima
          work do-STM COMP have-STM   1P-SIMP PAST

A		PV	
EVN	FIN asp.	EVN	FIN (temp.)
perfective			

= biabe biai harima
  we've completed the work

12)   bame   la   + aabo ha   + ribi   be
      nothing utter-STM CONT   have-STM 2D-SIMP PAST   Q

A			PV		
EVN	FIN asp.		EVN	FIN (temp.)	AUX mod.
progressive					

      = bame laabo haribi be
         were you talking about nothing all the time?

13)   ogoningi la   + airi ha   + rima
      that-LOC utter-STM CESS   have-STM 1P-SIMP PAST

A			PV	
EVN	FIN asp.		EVN	FIN (temp.)
perfective				

      = ogoningi lairi harima
         at that we broke off talking

10.2.3.9   Two transparently aspectual forms, the CUST and the HAB, are exemplified in 5.2.5 and 5.2.20. Of the examples given here, nos. 8-10 illustrate continuous but non-progressive aspect.   No. 8 is a serialized macro-verbal group in which the EVNs are signalled as occurring sequentially; no.9 is a split configuration (cf 8.4.7); and no.10 is the ITER, an APV configuration that signals repetition of discrete actions.

10.2.3.10   Nos. 11 and 13 exemplify the perfective aspect, referring to entire completed actions with no indication of their continuing effects, while no.12 is here analysed as progressive aspect. It would be possible to interpret other realizations of the CONT, such as those whose semantic fields overlap with EVs, as stative aspect, for instance:

          ibu   biraabo   haja
          3S   sit-CONT   have/stay-3-SIMP PAST
          he/she sat-continuously had/stayed

he/she was seated/sitting all the time

10.2.4 Tense and aspect are thus seen to be interesting and complex systems, the former based on a three-way opposition, the latter on a two-way one (durative and punctiliar). There are sub-divisions within each system, and tense may be conflated with modality. Both systems may be marked on bound morphemes, but the presence of aspectual operators is not an invariant condition for the realization of aspect.

10.2.4.1 I shall leave the discussion of tense and aspect there, and turn now to a brief consideration of the system of switch-referencing.

10.3 SWITCH-REFERENCE

10.3.1 Switch-reference (SR) is generally considered to be a device for avoiding referential ambiguity (cf Haiman & Munro 1983; Heath 1983). Pseudo-switches (eg a marking for a switch where none occurs) and unmarked switches indicate that this is not the whole story, and the question of whether SR is grammar or discourse (or both) has no clear cut answer (cf Finer 1985; Comrie 1984; Roberts 1988). In general, however, it seems safe to say that one function of SR systems is that of tracking referents across clause boundaries.

10.3.1.1 Heath (1983) has shown that Nunggubuyu speakers use reference devices according to their perception of the hearer's ability, ie cultural knowledge and intelligience, to keep track of discourse referents. Lewis (1972) has suggested that deictic features of discourse, such as possible-world, spatio-temporal

location, speaker and hearer, need to be considered in theories

of semantics, and Roberts has demonstrated that SR in Amele

is involved in just these areas of discourse deixis.
(Roberts 1988: 60)

10.3.1.2 In Huli, SR is encoded in morphemes that are FINs and

AUXs, one of whose functions is that of discourse deixis, indi-

cating change of actor, spatio-temporal location, attitude of

the speaker, and possible-world.

10.3.2 SR marking in Papuan languages, according to Haiman

(1983) is of two types. The first consists of systems in which

a different subject (DS) is indicated by verbs that consist of

STM + AFFXs (personal), and the same subject (SS) by STM + AFFX

(invariant), or just by STM. The second type has systems in

which DS is marked by STM + AFFXs (personal) + SR morpheme, and

SS by STM + AFFXs (personal). The Huli system, set out below,

is a conflation of these two types.

```
                         ┌─── ↘ FIN asp.
                 ┌─ SS ──┤
                 │       └─── ↘ FIN temp. + AUX/s mod.
  EVN  ─────────┤
 (V-STM)         │       ┌─── ↘ FIN temp. + AUX/s loc. or mod.
                 └─ DS ──┤
                         └─── ↘ FIN mod. (SR morph)
```
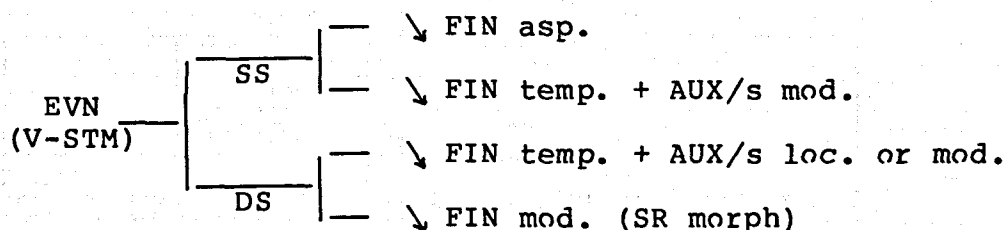
Figure 32 : Switch-reference system

10.3.2.1 This figure shows the configurations of verbal groups

that can occur in utterance medial position. Note that serial

configurations, interpreted as verbal groups (cf 8.4.6), are not

part of the SR system. The EVNs are not considered to be isol-

ated verb stems, possible candidates for clausehood (cf 8.4.8.6

-7), nor can they occur in utterance-final position - a charac-

teristic of Huli medial forms (cf 5.4.7.1).

10.3.2.2   SIM (5.2.10-11) and CONS (5.4.4) configurations, on the other hand, operate as part of the system. They are medial forms whose EVNs carry aspectual FINs, and as such signal SS. The clauses across whose boundaries SS is signalled are usually in parataxis.   Examples are:

1)   bi   la + ma   ibirima
      talk utter-SIM2 come-1P-SIMP PAST

```
|      |EVN |FIN  |                          |
|      |    |asp. |                          |
|      |____|_____|                          |
|CLS   |      1   |CLS          =2           |
|_____|_____|                          |
 talk  saying      (we)  came
 we chatted on the way here
```

2)   ibu keba ha + alu dagiani   biraja
      3S anger have-SIM1 plank-LOC sit down-3-SIMP PAST

```
|      |EVN |FIN  |                                     |
|      |    |asp. |                                     |
|      |____|_____|                                     |
|CLS   |  1 |     |CLS                  x2              |
|_____|____|_____|_____|
 he    anger having      plank-on sat down
 he sat down on the plank, feeling angry
```

3)   ibu ira diba+alu   andaga   pija
      he tree fell-SIM1 house-LOC go-3-SIMP PAST

```
|      |EVN |FIN  |                          |
|      |    |asp. |                          |
|      |____|_____|                          |
|CLS   |  1 |     |CLS          x2           |
|_____|____|_____|_____|
 he    tree felling    home went
 felling the tree, he went home
```

4)   tomo no   + wa   turu   hole   bere
      food ingest-CONS well being have-PURP do/make-2S-SIMP PRES

```
|      |EVN   |FIN  |                                    |
|      |      |asp. |                                    |
|      |_____|_____|                                    |
|CLS   |   1  |     |CLS                     x2          |
|_____|_____|_____|_____|
 food having eaten happiness to-have (you) are making
 you'll feel happy after you've eaten
```

10.3.2.3   SS may also be signalled on modal AUXs when the FIN is a temporal operator. Examples are:

5)   Gumu pe +do   + le aju andaga   kole
       Gumu go-1S-EX PRES-MOD now house-to EV-1S-MOD

	EVN	FIN temp.	AUX mod	
CLS		1		x2

= Gumu go-should/if/-ish now home am-should/if/-ish
  had I gone to Gumu I'd be home now

6)   la +ja   +da +gwa lone lole   bira
       say-3-SIMP PAST-MOD-MOD again say-PURP make=3-SIMP PRES

EVN	FIN temp.	AUX mod	AUX mod		
CLS	xβ			CLS	α

= said-must/seems-like   again to-say is making
  he's going to repeat what he said

10.3.2.4   However, modal AUXs can also signal DS, as in:

7)   gununu   ibi +da   +le Gumu kole
       aeroplane come-3-EX PAST-MOD Gumu EV-1S-MOD

	EVN	FIN temp.	AUX mod		
CLS.		1		CLS	x2

= aeroplane came-should/if/-ish Gumu am-should/if/-ish
  had the aeroplane come I'd be in Gumu

8)   la +ri   +da +gwa lole   bero
       say-2S-SIMP PAST-MOD-MOD say-PURP make=1S-SIMP PRES

EVN	FIN temp.	AUX mod	AUX mod		
CLS	xβ			CLS	α

= (you) said-must/seems-like to-say (I) am making
  I'm going to say just what you said

10.3.2.5   -le (no.7) is a multifunctional morpheme, interpret-
ed here as a modal, although elsewhere as adnominal (cf 5.5.14).
Similarly, the modals in no.8 are interesting: -da indicates a
degree of certainty based on present evidence, while -gwa is
multifunctional (cf 5.4.2, 5.5.12, 7.4.3). These examples ind-
icate that modal AUXs present an area of overlap between SS and

DS, SR being optional when modal AUXs are selected.

10.3.2.6 DS is signalled as obligatory by non-medial verb forms

that have locational AUX/s, as in the examples:

9)   ina dawe anda pi+rima   + ni igiri ti nape
      1P dawe house go-1P-SIMP PAST-LOC boys 3P NEG-go-STM

CLS		EVN	FIN temp. —— + β	AUX loc. ——	CLS α

  = we   mourning house went-when   boys they not-go
     when we went to the mourning house, the boys didn't go

10)   ija gali   he + ba   + ria ibu de   ko   heane
      1D babies stay-1S-EX PAST-LOC 3S eyes bad stay-3-EX PAST

CLS		EVN	FIN temp. —— 1	AUX loc ——	CLS =2

  = we   babies were-when   he eyes bad stayed/had
     when we were both babies, he had bad eyes

11)   gununu   ibi +ja   + go +la Gumu piru
      aeroplane come-3-SIMP PRES-DET-COM Gumu go-1S-SIMP PAST

CLS		EVN	FIN temp. —— x β	AUX loc ——	AUX loc ——	CLS α

  = aeroplane came-that-with   Gumu (I) went
     when the aeroplane came I went to Gumu

10.3.2.7 DS can also be signalled by the morpheme -lo, which

may occur either as a suffix or as an infix (cf 5.4.6, 5.4.8),

and which may be interpreted as a SR morpheme or as part of the

modal FIN.   Examples are such as:

12)   pabe bi   + lo   ira mirima
      fence make/do-3-PERM wood give-1P-SIMP PAST

CLS	EVN —— x β	FIN/SR mod. ——	CLS α

  = fence (he) may-make wood (we) gave (to him)
     we gave him wood to make a fence

13) ina bajwa   lo + lo+mãjã̃ bi   lawai   habe
    1P well   utter-1P-PERM talk utter-DID have-2S-IMP FUT

	EVN	SR	FIN	
		__	mod.	
CLS	x β			CLS α

  = we   well   may-utter   talk utter-teaching have/do
    teach us to speak properly

14) mundu   na   + be+lo   be   ngiru   be
    tobacco ingest-2S-PERM bamboo give-1S-SIMP PAST Q

	EVN	FIN	SR	
		mod	__	
CLS	x β			CLS α

  = tobacco (you) may-smoke bamboo pipe did-(I)-give-(you)
    did I give you a pipe to have a smoke?

15) wena mina +limu+lo pu   tai   bero
    fish catch-2P-PERM vine search make/do-1S-SIMP PRES

	EVN	FIN	SR	
		mod.	__	
CLS	x β			CLS α

  = fish (you) may-catch string search (I) make/am making
    I'm looking for a line for you to fish with

10.3.2.8 The forgoing examples involved the use of the PERM in
utterance medial position, the presence of -lo signalling DS in
each case. However, -lo also occurs in most forms of the PREC,
the negative counterpart of the PERM, but, in these instances
it behaves like the modal AUXs described above (10.3.2.2-4),
and is does not inevitably mark SR.   Examples are:

16) ti warago bo + li +lo +no agi biri   be
    3P malaria hit-PREC PAST   what do/make-2S-SIMP PAST Q

	EVN	FIN	SR	AUX	
		mod	__	loc	
CLS	x β				CLS α

  = they malaria had-lest   what (you) did-?
    what did you do to prevent them getting malaria?

-277-

17) tini   warago bo + li +lo +no agi bija   be
     3P-ERG malaria hit-PREC PAST   what do/make-3-SIMP PAST Q

		EVN	FIN mod	SR __	AUX loc		
CLS			x β			CLS	∝

= they-themselves malaria had-lest   what (they) did-?
   what did they do to stop themselves getting malaria?

18) keba   ho + lo + mini   abale   ibagwa
     anger have-2P-PREC FUT quickly come-1S-FUT

	EVN	SR __	FIN mod.		
CLS			x β	CLS	∝

= anger (you) have-lest quickly (I) shall come
   I'll come quickly so you won't get angry

19) keba   ho + lo + mini   abale   pudaba
     anger have-2P-PREC FUT quickly go-2P-IMP PRES

	EVN	SR __	FIN mod.		
CLS			x β	CLS	∝

= anger (you) have-lest quickly (you) go
   go away quickly, or you'll get angry

10.3.2.9   The PREC FUT form that lacks the SR morpheme, -ligo,

is a modal FIN. Such FINs present the possibility of SR, but,

SR is optional, not a necessity. Examples of DS and SS with

the PREC FUT and with other modal FINs are:

20) ibu pi   lo + ligo   lamu* mibe
     3S fall utter-PREC FUT lamp give-2S-IMP FUT

	A	PV	EVN	FIN mod.		
CLS				x β	CLS	∝

= he fall lest should-utter   lamp give (to him)
   give him a lamp so he won't fall

21) ĩ   pi   lo + ligo   hendore pobe
     2S fall utter-PREC FUT carefully go-2S-IMP FUT

	A	PV			
			EVN	FIN mod.	
CLS			x	β	CLS
					α

=   you fall utter-lest   carefully go
    go carefully or you'll slip

22) bi   la + bija   tamuha   mba
     talk utter-1D-EXH FUT1 within-LOC go-1D-EXH PRES

	EVN	FIN mod.		
CLS		1	CLS	x2

=   talk say-let's   within-in/at go-let's
    let's go inside and talk

23) mitini* la + mĩjã   aju mbelo* ba
     meeting utter-1P≟EXH FUT1 now bell   hit-2S-IMP PRES

	EVN	FIN mod.		
CLS		1	CLS	x2

=   meeting say-let's   now bell strike
    ring the bell now so we can start the meeting

10.3.3 Summary. The data show that aspectual FINs mark SS, while temporal FINs in conjunction with locational AUXs mark DS. Modal FINs and AUXs signal optional SR, the SR morpheme indicating DS when it occurs as a conjunct of a modal FIN. There is a general pattern of SS being associated with clauses in parataxis, and DS with clauses in hypotaxis.

10.3.3.1 The SR system's ambiguities are more apparent than real: for instance, lack of marking for person and number on aspectual FINs and some modal FINs is rendered insignificiant by this information being retrievable from the utterance-final verb (as in examples 1-4) or from the actor being supplied by pronominal reference (examples 16, 17, 20 and 21).

10.3.3.2 At the same time, the morphemes that encode SR may also indicate change or otherwise of actor (examples 1-4 and 12 -15), and change of spatio-temporal location (examples 10 and 11). The attitude of the speaker may be signalled by mod FINs or AUXs, as in examples 6 and 8, where modal AUXs indicate both modality and modulation (cf 5.5.11; 5.5.12).

10.3.3.3 These discourse markers help to maintain cohesion in spoken texts. Texts which are not so overtly marked for cohesion may still be coherent (cf Widdowson 1979) because of other factors, the most general being shared cultural, and also experiential schemata, as indicated by Heath (1983) and Colburn (1984).

10.3.3.4 This discussion has indicated that SR plays a rôle as a syntactic device, marking SS and DS at the intra-utterance level. It has also indicated that SR, because of the morphemes with which it is associated, has a rôle to play at inter-utterance level as a device of discourse deixis.

10.4 COVERT CLASSIFICATION

10.4.1 Existential verbs (EVs - cf 5.1.7) and adjunct + pro-verb (APV) configurations (cf 5.1.8) together form a system for covertly classifying nominals. This is much the same as the system described for Enga by Lang (1975), and which is not uncommon among the languages of the Trans-New Guinea phylum (Wurm 19 82: 34). Indeed, Lang (1975: 116-122; 132-134) has suggested the presence of EV systems in Kamoro (6 EVs), Asmat (5), Kiwai (3), Sinasina (4) Kate (4), Melpa (4) Banz (4), Dani (5), Kewa (4) and Huli (4), as well as Enga in (7).

10.4.1.1 Nominals are assigned to EVs or to PVs on the basis of the configuration of their semantic features, the first broad division being between referents that are [-concrete,+abstract] and referents that are [+concrete,-abstract] (cf Lang 1975:85). The former are assigned to EVs, the latter to PVs, functioning gramatically as adjuncts (As).

10.4.2   EVs   are listed in table 16.   Some examples are:

```
agali ka            wali  beda          hai lini da
man     is-EV       woman is-EV         banana fruit is-EV
there's a man       there's a woman     there's fruit on the banana

hamigini amuguha                pada            nogombi nga
subclan   across there-DET-LOC is-EV            snake     is-EV
the subclan occupies the land over there        there's a snake
```

It is interesting to note how these examples tell us something of the male <--> female rôles in Huli society, and also how a subclan is seen as dwelling within a clan and within the geographical confines that envelop it.

10.4.2.1   Lang says of the Enga EVs that

> The EV chosen depends on the habitual (ie existential)
> posture or shape of the referent as perceived by the
> Enga.   (Lang 1975: 47)

and exemplifies EVs as occurring in a form marked "BE-HAB" (cf pp 42 and 43). Huli EVs, on the other hand, occur in an irregular form, and always signal present time (cf 5.1.7.1). The label "EV" has been restricted to these forms.

10.4.2.2   However, EVs function in concert with common verbs with which they are in semantic overlap. These verbs typically have no EX PRES (cf 5.3.3), the EVs usually being appropriate substitutions for this form, while the EX DEF (cf 5.3.5) and PURP (cf 5.4.5) forms of the related common verbs can be utilized to signal EVs in past or future time.

10.4.2.3 The EVs and their semantic associates are:

ka	in overlap with	he	'have/be/stand'
beda	"	biru	'sit/squat'
pada	"	palu	'lie down.sleep'
nga	"	wi	'place'

10.4.2.4 Examples of EX DEF forms functioning as past time EVs
are such as:

```
he for ka:    bamba  agali mbira Wabia hene
              before man   one   Wabia have/be/stay-EX DEF
              a long time ago there was a man at Wabia

biru for beda:   wandari aumuguha                berene
                 girl    across there-DET-LOC sit/squat-EX DEF
                 there was a girl living across over there

palu for pada:   dama    dindi uliha     palene
                 spirit earth hole-LOC lie down/sleep-EX DEF
                 a wicked spirit dwelt in a hole in the ground

wi for nga:      ibi    dagiani   wini
                 salt plank-LOC place-EX DEF
                 there was salt on the plank (table)
```

10.4.2.5 Examples of PURP forms functioning as future time EVs
are such as:

```
he for ka:    awe    agali hole              bira
              later man   stay/be/have-PURP make/do-3-SIMP PRES
              later men   in-order-to-be     do/are doing
              there will be men in the future

biru for beda:    awe          ega    birule    bira
                  later bird sit/squat-PURP make/do-3-SIMP PRES
                  later birds in-order-to-sit do/are doing
                  there will be birds in the future

wi for nga:      aju  inaga    wule               bira
                 axe  2S-POSS place-PURP           do-3-SIMP-PRES
                 axe  yours    in-order-to-place do/is doing
                 there'll be an axe for you
```

10.4.2.6 The examples given from 10.4.2 onwards have all been
concerned with illustrating EVs in their lexicon form, the third
person (3). Even in that form, adequate glosses are difficult
to find, and the examples given in 10.4.2.4 and 10.4.2.5

-but especially the latter - could be glossed differently, according to context: recall that EVs are in semantic overlap with these common verbs, not semantically coterminous with them. Indeed, once we move away from EV forms, diverse interpretations become possible. The examples that follow illustrate this:

```
bame                  ko              aju  ngo
idle/for no reason EV-1S              axe  EV-1S
I'm doing nothing                     I've got an axe


mundu    ngabi                        abi ke    be
tobacco EV-2D                         how EV-2S Q
you have got tobacco                  how are you?


turu      ho          bedama          andaha      padami be
happiness have-CONS EV-1P             house-LOC EV-2P   Q
we're happy (said by a woman          are you lying down
  speaking for a group of women)      inside the house?
```

10.4.2.7 The last example given, **andaha padami be,** illustrates the point that, although EVs impose a general classificatory grid upon realia, when referents change posture they may also be regarded as having shifted their more recognizable modes of existence. Thus, a living tree, growing up out of the ground, is classified by the EV **ka,** but when it is dead and chopped up it becomes reclassifed and assigned to **nga.** Humans have even more possibilities, irrespective of sex: **ka** if they are standing, **pada** if they are lying down, and **beda** if they are sitting. However, **ka** still remains the chief or superordinate classifier for men and trees, while **beda** is the basic classifier for women. Hence, the EV - referent relationship is not completely rigid, just as there is some overlap in usage within the other part of the classificatory system: the adjunct + pro-verb (APV) constructions.

10.4.3 APVs have been described in 5.1.8, and subsequently in detail in sections such as 8.4.9. Lang (1975), in setting up

her classificatory grid, established semantic features that governed the assignment of referents to EVs and PVs. Her work has been used as a referential basis by others (cf Piau 1981-2), and has had a powerful influence on this present thesis. However, what I would like to present now is not a description of the semantic fields into which EVs and PVs sort nominals, but an outline of the semantic fields into which states, events and processes are sorted by the Huli verb classes.

10.4.4 The three verb classes are associated with the semantic fields set out in figure 33 below.

CLASS 1

affective/ auto-
benefactive/ internal

(X)Ce

CLASS 2

effective/ factive/
external

Ci

CVC(V)i

domestic

locomotion/
posture

(X)Cu
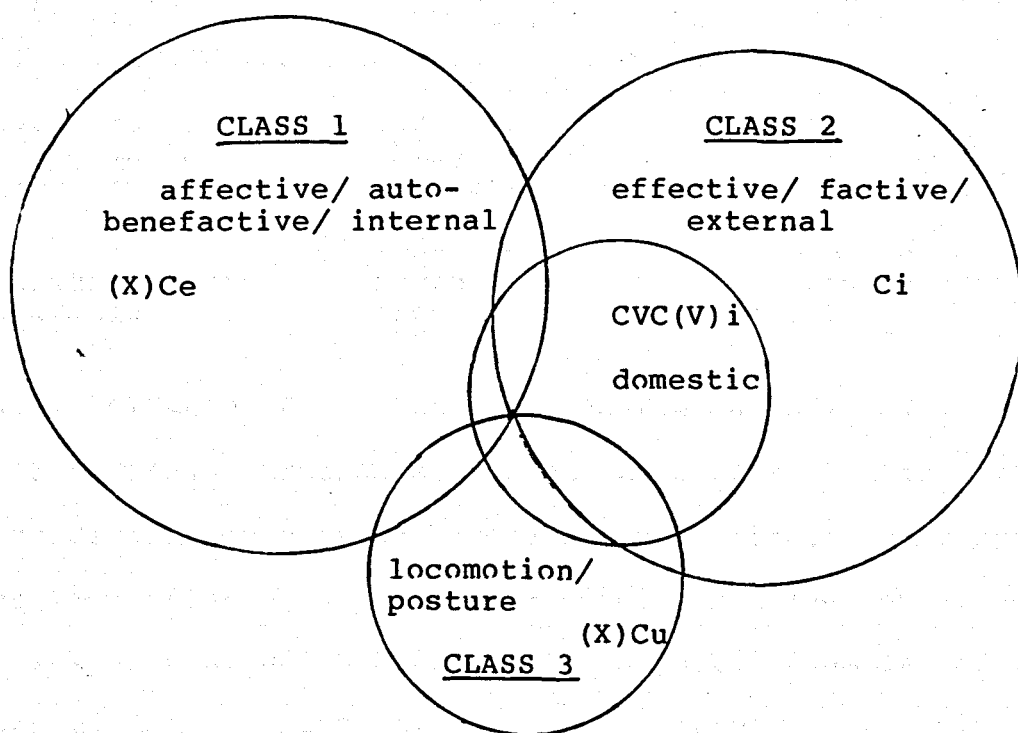
CLASS 3

Figure 33: Verb roots and semantic fields

10.4.4.1 This figure shows that class 1 verbs signal events, states and processes that are perceived to be affective, auto-benefactive or internal; class 2 verbs signal events, etc, considered to be effective, factive, external or domestic; class 3 verbs events, etc, that have to do with locomotion and posture.

There are areas of semantic overlap between the classes.

10.4.5   Class 1 verbs   have the configuration (X)Ce.   They
are generally concerned with processes and states that are in-
ternal to or centred on the actor/undergoer. Some are affective
states and processes, such as emotions or sensations, as in:

```
turu                     he     garibi le      de  hende
well-being/happiness have        hunger utter   eye sense/feel
be happy                          be hungry      see/look


gi    he          pani        ne           hale he
fear have         consequence ingest       ear  have
be afraid         suffer the consequence   hear/listen
```

10.4.5.1   Others are auto-benefactive, such as physical bodily
functions, as in the examples:

```
mundu    ne          dabi  he            ti    te
tobacco ingest        shiny have          faeces emit
smoke                 recover/get well    defecate


bi         le          anda  he           tomo ne
talk/word utter        house have          food ingest
speak/talk             grow                eat
```

10.4.6   Class 2 verbs   have the configurations CVC(V)i and
Ci. These signal processes, states and events that involve the
actor/undergoer in external (non-internal) acts. Those encoded
in the Ci configuration generally involve factive and effective
processes - those which have a telic aspect. Examples are:

```
biabe bi         ira  li          gumu              wi
work   make/do   wood adze/plane  boundary mark place
work             adze             mark a boundary


gungu bi         pele mi          ga        bi
fight make/do    help give        piece/s do
fight            help             chop into pieces
```

10.4.6.1   Within this group occur the verbs mi and ngi, the
'give/take' verbs. Both may have an undergoer that is a recip-
ient (traditionally, 'indirect object') in ellipsis in the utt-
erance. If the undergoer is 1 (person) or 2, ngi must be sel-

ected; if the undergoer is 3, mi has to be chosen. The gloss in every case is 'give'. However, if the undergoer is the direct object of the action, the most suitable gloss is 'take'. In the examples that follow, R indicates an undergoer that is a recipient. Examples:

```
R = 1 or 2 :          ibugwa mundu   ngija
                      3S-ERG tobacco give-3-SIMP PAST
                      he     tobacco gave (me/you)


R = 1 :      abe           hina          ngiri           be
             yesterday sweet potato give-2S-SIMP PAST Q
             yesterday sweet potato (you) gave-? (me)
             did you give me sweet potato yesterday?


R = 3 or Ø :   hina          miri                     be
               sweet potato take/give-2S-SIMP PAST Q
               sweet potato (you) took/gave (him/her/them)-?
               did you take some sweet potato?   OR:
                   did you give him/her/them some sweet potato?


R = 2 :      tabage        ngule        bero
             tabage drum  give-PURP    do/make-1S-SIMP PRES
             drum         to-give (you) (I) am making
             I'm going to give you a drum


R = 3 :      tabage ibu hondo mule           bero
             drum   3S  to    take/give-PURP do/make-1S-SIMP PRES
             drum   him to    to-give         (I) am making
             I'm going to give him a drum


R = 3 or Ø :   ma    mule              bero
               taro take/give-PURP do/make-1S-SIMP PRES
               taro to-take/give    (I) am making
               I'm going to take some taro       OR:
                   I'm going to give him/her/them some taro
```

10.4.6.2 Example 1, 2 and 6 illustrate how ellipsis of R lends itself to apparent ambiguity. However, the context of the utterance will almost always resolve doubts, so that explicit reference to R is generally redundant.

10.4.6.3 Class 2 verbs with the configuration CVC(V)i signal activities particularly associated with subsistence farming and domestic life, as in the examples:

```
ungwi                 hiri                guji
pluck fruit           roast in flames     bake in hot ashes
```

```
        dibi                    dugwi
     fell/cut crosswise        lift up/raise
```

10.4.7   Class 3 verbs   have the configuration (X)Cu, and
signal physical posture or locomotion, as in the examples:

```
     pu        ibu        palu          biru
     go        come       lie down      sit down
```

10.4.7.1 EVs may be considered as functioning together with
class 3 verbs in this system, signalling as they do existential
postures. Two of the above examples are closely associated
with EVs (cf 10.4.2.2-5).

10.4.8   Semantic overlap   is a feature of this system, as
indicated above (10.4.4.1.). Class 1 verbs that are operative
in the field associated with class 2 verbs are such as:

```
     hãĩ    he       gili    le       dabe          be
     spread have     scratch utter    choose        hit/kill
     smear           drag

     dondo  le       dano  he      dawe            henge
     prune  utter    debt  have    steam in ground plant
     prune           be in debt    steam cook
```

10.4.8.1 Class 1 verbs operative in the semantic field of class
3 verbs are such as:

```
     iraga he        ande le          dome            hene
     climb have      bank utter       cross/ford      carry
     climb           bank in flight
```

10.4.8.2 Some class 2 verbs within the domain of class 1 are:

```
     manda bi        korali bi        la    mi        dagare bi
     head  do        scratch do       utter give      cold   do
     know/think      scratch          tell (to 3)     be cold
```

10.4.8.3 Examples of class 2 verbs in the class 3 domain are:

```
     dai    bi        mali  li        gaei    bi
     return do        dance adze      meeting do
     return           dance           meet
```

10.4.9 Verb classes and semantic fields. The morphological characteristics of verb stems were the basis on which they were interpreted as forming three classes (cf 5.1). This section has suggested that each class governs a separate semantic domain, although the lines are not tightly drawn and there are cases of overlap.

10.4.9.1 In a casual sample of 170 verbs (cf appendix C), 164 could be shown to operate within the semantic domain of their class. Of these, 63 have a secondary or allied meaning that allows them to operate also within the semantic field of another class. Of the total sample, there were 6 cases of apparent mis-match between morphological and semantic classification. These are given in table 21.

Verb		Classification	
Huli	gloss	morphological	semantic
go de	mound soil	1	3
e de	pull a bowstring	1	2
ngola he	meet	1	3
dawe	steam cook	1	2
manda bi	know/think	2	1
mitangi bi	think/remember	2	1

Table 21: Mis-match verbs

10.4.9.2   Of the instances tabulated above, the first two seem to be explicable only as exceptions.   The third, ngola he, is used of meeting someone as one walks along a track, and is pro-

bably best interpreted as semantically belonging to class 3: another exception.

10.4.9.3 The last two instances are classified as belonging to class 1 semantically because they are concerned with states or processes internal to the actor. It could be that there is an indication here that the Huli world view sees thought and action as interlinked, and that the use of **bi** 'make/do' alerts us to this. However, **embeda he** 'forget' is morphologically a class 1 verb, indicating that thoughts and feelings are more likely the paired concepts in Huli culture. This leaves the last two items of table 21 to be categorized as exceptions.

10.4.9.4 As a conclusion, it can be said that verb classification according to semantic field appears to be an interesting approach, and reinforces the morphological classes that have been established. A fuller exploration of this notion, perhaps especially in conjunction with genres and registers, might prove fruitful. This thesis cannot undertake such an exploration, but it will be useful to conclude this chapter now with a note on genres and registers.

10.5 GENRES & REGISTERS

10.5.1 Definitions. I take genre to mean

> a particular class of speech events which are
> considered by the speech community as being of
> the same type. (Richards et al 1985: 122)

and register to be

> a speech variety used by a particular group of
> people, usually sharing the same occupation...
> or the same interests
> (cf Richards et al 1985: 242)

10.5.1.1   Variety according to user - dialect - was considered
in 2.5.   Here I propose to consider briefly register as a com-
ponent of the contexts in which genres occur, since

> All genres have contexts or situations to which
> they are fitted and in which they are typically
> found.   (Coulthard 1985: 42)

The table below sets out some of the more significant genre and
indicates registers in which they might be used.

GENRE	REGISTER				
	bame	kãĩ	gamu	mana	tajanda
gãwã	+	+	+	+	
pilipe		+			
hirijule	+	+	+	+	
ɔ		+			
ũ	+	+			
iba gana	+	+	+	+	
bi te		+		+	+
damba bi		+		+	
gamu			+	+	+
bi mana			+	+	+
bi galone	+		+	+	
bi jobage	+	+	+	+	+
te bame	+			+	
bi bame	+			+	

Table 22:   Genres and registers

This table will be explained and clarified by briefly describ-
ing each register and genre.

10.5.2   Registers. These are marked by lexical items assoc-
iated particularly with the activity or area of interest with
which they deal. There are almost always areas of overlap.

10.5.2.1 **bame** 'nothing' is the area of phatic intercourse, and includes a whole range of everyday items, especially those to do with the immediate environment and with daily activites such as gardening and animal husbandry. This is the least restricted of the registers listed, marked by a lack of specialist lexis.

10.5.2.2 **kãi** 'poetry/praise' is a specialist register with lexis whose referents are natural phenomena that are considered to be beautiful (such as clouds, birds, etc); or to do with the affections (heart, liver, musical instruments, etc); or with important events (place names, fights, etc). These are typically grouped in mnemonic sets that replace bame lexis. Examples:

```
beauty:  lungi   ⎤                affections:  jama    ⎤
         alungi  ⎥                             jamali  ⎥
         jugai   ⎬ clouds                      higili  ⎬ heart/liver
         jagame  ⎥                             hagai   ⎥
         bogo    ⎥                             lembo   ⎥
         bogale  ⎦                             lewale  ⎦

important events:   dindi    ⎤
                    digili   ⎥
                    ambwari  ⎬ soils/clays
                    ambwago  ⎥
                    mele     ⎥
                    mejale   ⎦
```

10.5.2.3 **gamu** 'religious rite' is restricted register, used across a wide range of activities. Rites performed to protect children typically use names of types of birds, animals, plants and places; rites to protect warriors list items such as types of arrow, places, birds and animals; rites to protect hunters list flora, fauna and hazards of the bush. **gamu** shares many lexis with **kãi**. (cf Pugh-Kitigan 1975, Peters 1975 and Frankel 1986 for accounts of various **gamu**.)

10.5.2.4 **mana** 'lore' covers origin myths and clan, bush and subclan lore. Typical items are names of spirits; the complex

naming system of areas of land; the names of other clans, sub-
clans and language groups. The register of the **haroli** 'bachelor
cult' is an extension of this register.

10.5.2.5 **tajanda** 'high bush' is a well developed register that
differs from place to place. It consists of replacing nominals
with substitute items. Examples are given in table 23, below.

Huli	gloss	tajanda register of		
		Ambogwa	Jaluba	Bajaga
agali	man	hirale	amona	pede
wali	woman	ima	gendegende	gundi jamu
nogo	pig	gu laga	gu	taju
iba	water	gina	erene	tina
timu	arrow	dugu dugu	jui pinini	himu tiga
pu	go	aremo bi	aremo le	ema bi
bi le	speak	haga he	haga wagi bi	ngi wa he

Table 23: tajanda items

10.5.2.6 It is interesting to note that the common PVs, **he** 'be/
have/stay', **le** 'utter' and **bi** 'make/do' are retained as dummy
verbs in **tajanda** APV configurations, as exemplified by the last
two items. The purpose of the substitution process has been
variously explained as a device to trick the spirits, who can-
not understand **tajanda bi** and thus cannot evesdrop on the plans
of the humans and thwart them; and as the language spoken by
the spirits themselves, who can thus quickly discover that the
human intruders are harmless and not worth bothering about.

10.5.2.7 The first four registers described above have all undergone expansion with the advent of non-Huli religions and technologies. **gamu** 'religious rite' and **mana** 'lore' are interesting in that they have grown with the incorporation of loan words from Tok Pisin and English, in the areas associated with controlling the external environment - ie religion, trade and agriculture. This is discussed further in chapter 11.

10.5.3   Genres.   Huli speech genres include three that are generated in concord with playing musical instruments and are essentially solo performances; three that involve the production of vocal music and are usually group performances; three that involve the solo production of vocal music; three that are non-phatic and normally monologic; and two that are phatic monologues or dialogues. These criteria do not divide the genres so cleanly that there are no areas of overlap, and it needs to be said that almost all occurrences of these genres are either reconstructed or spontaneously created texts: rote learning and repetition are confined almost exclusively to **gamu** and to sets of associated **kaî** items that provide templates for composing songs.

10.5.3.1 The **gãwã** is a double-stringed mouth-bow. It is played by holding the bow against the lips and striking the strings with a small wooden plectrum. The mouth becomes the sound resonator, and the performer articulates words as he or she plays. In this way, stories can be told, emotions expressed, and even **gamu** can be performed. The **gãwã** genre may draw on the use of almost any register, but notably occurs in contexts that suit the registers labelled **bame** 'nothing'. (cf Pugh-Kitigan 1975;

Peters 1975).

10.5.3.2 The **pilipe** is a solo genre, used by young men when they are wooing. The performer sings a simple three-pitch melody, with sharp bursts between verses from a short stopped bamboo pipe, called a **pilipe**. The singer will characteristically draw on endearment terms from the kãĩ register. (cf Pugh-Kitigan 1975; Peters 1975).

10.5.3.3 The **hirijule** is a jaws' harp, made from a piece of bamboo. It is cut to form a slender reed or lamella positioned between two firm outer legs that frame it. The reed is made to vibrate by twitching a piece of twine anchored at the thicker end of the **hirijule**. The performer's mouth becomes the resonator, and - as in gãwã performance - words are articulated as the **hirijule** is being played. The register most used in conjunction with this genre is kãĩ: like the **pilipe**, the **hirijule** is often used for wooing. But, unlike the **pilipe**, and like the gãwã, it is apt for use in other registers, too. (cf Pugh-Kitigan 1975: Peters 1975).

10.5.3.4 The first of the group song genres listed in table 22 is o. This is a mourning song performed by women. The group is led by a soloist, who sings the o as a rapid chant, across a range of three notes (cf Peters 1975: 56), the lowest of these being a protracted o at the end of each line. At this point, or

> at the end of the verse ... all the women join in
> wailing the o. When their breath runs out, the
> solist begins again.   (Pugh-Kitigan 1975: 52)

The o genre draws upon the kãĩ register.

10.5.3.5 Similarly, ũ is mainly performed using the kãĩ register, although the bame registers may also figure in it. This

is because ū, almost exclusively the domain of men and boys, is nowadays simply a courting song or a comment on events and situations. It is created around three basic notes (cf Peters 19 75: 54), which are sung in harmony in high falsetto (cf Pugh-Kitigan 1975: 70-82). A leader supplies the theme, which is taken up by the others, constructed around a sequence of kãĩ terms with which the members of the group are familiar.

10.5.3.6 Although ū is in the male domain, women are familiar with it, and will use the genre occasionally. The leprosy mission in Hojabia incorporates the ū genre in Evensong (cf Peters 1975: 54), while the Catholic Church has published a prayerbook that includes over fifty songs in this genre (Megea et al 1977), many of which contain loan words from the expanded **mana** register.

10.5.3.7 **iba gana** 'water ditch' is the generic term given to songs that do not belong to the other genres listed in table 22. They may use the kãĩ register or the bame register, or, nowadays when hymns in mission services are reckoned to be **iba gana**, the **gamu** or **mana** registers.

10.5.3.8 **bi te** 'folktale' is a genre which is chanted by an individual in melodic phrases grouped around a central pitch, the pitch itself being varied slightly as the story progresses, with the storyteller returning to the central pitch at the end of each utterrance (cf Pugh-Kitigan 1975: 10). The performance usually takes place at night, the hearers being exhorted to keep awake lest their parents should die. They signal their attention by interjecting ẽ 'yes' at the end of each utterance. Another characteristic of bi te is the recurring use of anaph-

oric bridging (cf 4.10.2-3), whereby given information is presented in a medial clause and new information in a final clause, the final clause then being recycled in medial form in the next utterance. Another characteristic is its very rapid delivery. As indicated in table 22, the source registers are most typically **kãĩ, mana** and **tajanda**.

10.5.3.9 **damba bi** 'settlement talk' is a male solo chant in which the background of a dispute is laid out and solutions indicated. It typically draws on items from **kãĩ** and **mana** registers. This genre is one of those that is nowadays little used.

10.5.3.10 **gamu** 'religious rite' is usually chanted by a man or woman in a rapid murmur or whisper. Communal **gamu** are no longer performed, the nearest approach being **gamu** designed to combat sickness, which may involve two or three participants, often with the sick person reciting the **gamu** after the healer - usually a **manaji** 'holder of **mana**'. New religious rites introduced by christian missionaries are not considered **gamu** if held in common, but actions such as praying over the sick individually (which often entails murmured utterances) usually are. The registers most closely associated with this genre are **gamu** and **mana**.

10.5.3.11 **bi mana** 'lore' is a genre characterized by its schematic arrangement, which dispenses to a large extent with anaphoric bridging by setting up information within a system of paired oppositions that can be easily committed to memory. It is interesting for its employment of cataphoric deixis and summative, utterance-final, anaphoric deictics, which makes it distinct from the other genres described so far. It occurs most

often within the gamu, mana and tajanda registers.

10.5.3.12 bi galone 'important talk' is similar to bi mana in its use of summative anaphoric deictics, but lacks its textual schema. This genre is recognized as the one used for conveying instructions, especially about how things - such as gardening, artifact making, and the like - are to be done. It occurs most often in contexts in which bame, gamu and mana are the registers employed.

10.5.3.13 bi jobage 'hidden talk' is the name given to a genre that conveys its meaning by implication. It is characterized by circumluctions, the use of lexis indicating concrete referents, (which indicate something else to those who share the schema), and may be in the form of a short story. It has been noted as a taga-avoidance device in 2.5.4. Sometimes, however, subtlety is sacrificed, and the jobage is marked by use of an inappropriate register, which has the effect of irony or sarcasm. As shown in table 22, bi jobage occurs in all registers.

10.5.3.14 te bame 'report/unimportant story' and bi bame 'small talk/unimportant talk' can be considered together, since they frequently form part of the same phatic speech event. A schema for such an event is:
1) Greeting formulae
2) te bame - participants recount to each other the latest news about themselves and other matters
3) bi bame - participants engage in desultory conversation
4) Leave-taking formulae

10.5.3.15 In the above schema, te bame and bi bame can be considered as separate speech acts. But they can occur independ-

ently, as speech events, and are considered different by native speakers. The former, **te bame**, is marked by anaphoric bridging and little cataphoric deixis. It is typically in past time, and limited to the **bame, gamu** and **mana** registers - the latter two because non-traditional activities frequently figure in reports, and referring to these involves the use of loan items from these registers. This genre lends itself to monologic reporting.

10.5.3.16   **bi bame** is always dialogic, invoking the rules of turn-taking, topic change, appropriacy, and linguistic inter-action in general. Participants signal concord through a shared construction of utterances, claiming turns by using a previous speaker's utterance to create an anaphoric bridge. Moves that do not conform to this schema are usually disallowed. A sub-genre of **bi bame** is desultory conversation that is less struc-tured and more private in its setting, with only two or three participants. Unlike group **bi bame,** such phatic exchanges do not make extensive use of anaphoric bridging, and often build their cohesion around exaphoric deixis.

10.5.4   Conclusion. It has been said that

> One of the most striking first impressions upon
> European visitors to the New Guinea highlands is
> of the sheer volume of talk in the air.
>   Merlan & Rumsey (1986: 69)

This can be said to hold good as regards visitors to Huli coun-try, the "sheer volume" being comprised mainly of the last two genres discussed above, **te bame** and **bi bame**. It is interesting that the latter is the only genre that is necesarily dialogic: others may be considered ritual dialogues (egs **bi te** and **o**), and dialogue may occur within **bi jobage** and **te bame**, but most other genres are monologic performances. There is a rough cor-

relation between formal occasions and monologue, and informal occasions and dialogue, and the "sheer volume" that the foreigner notices is mainly the latter.

10.5.4.1 The importance of talk, of speech, cannot be underestimated for Huli society, and before proceeding to an examination of samples texts of some of the genre described above, it will be useful to consider the language-society relationship, especially from the perspective of change. This is done in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 11

LINGUISTIC AND SOCIAL CHANGE

11.1   INTRODUCTION

11.1.1   This introductory account of the Huli language has been set against the background of 'traditional' Huli society, to provide a context in which it can be better discussed and understood.   Malinowski (1923) long ago argued that language can only be properly understood if we know the 'context of culture' and the 'context of situation' in which it is uttered. Firth built on this, suggesting that knowledge of 'context of situation' ÷ which he spelt out in some detail (Firth 1957: 181-182; Palmer 1968: 137-166) ÷ was necessary for descriptive purposes, too.   Coming from a different perspective, Boas   (Blount 1974: 12-31) reinforced this view of the language-society relationship by arguing that knowledge of a society's language was the key to understanding its structures and patterns of behaviour.

11.1.2   However, the 'context of culture' and the 'context of situation' are not static, but in a constant state of flux and change. A description of a community's language needs to take this into account, and to go ·beyond 'freeze-frame' vignettes such as that presented in chapter 2. Since society and language are inextricably intertwined, historically and existentially inseparable, social change and language change are necessarily bound up together. Shifts in language co-occur with changes in social behaviour and social structures.

11.1.3   Some indications of language change have already been

encountered. For instance, loan terms borrowed from other lang-
uages have cropped up in a number of examples: unrelated items
garo* 'car', **wedi*** 'wait' and **goti*** 'court' have appeared (cf 4.
10.3.4.), while more closely associated items such as **sarere***
'week' and **hanare*** 'hundred', have figured in the description
of new ways of counting (cf 7.6.6). The presence of these items,
and of the concepts they represent, shows that the language is
changing and adapting as the behaviour and structures of society
change.

11.1.4   Semantic shifts, such as **ege** 'moon' ---> 'month' and
mali 'dance' ---> 'year', indicate that adaptation and change
are not just a matter of lexical borrowing. The process is a
complex and an interesting one, and will be briefly described
within its socio-cultural context. This will assist in the
discussion of the texts that are presented in the next chapter,
many of which reflect the changing sociolinguistic scene that
this present chapter will describe.

11.1.5   Social and linguistic change are viewed in this
account as interwoven members of a change-continuum which, for
ease of description, will be considered as consisting of six
segments or phases. Sociolinguistic change will be described
in terms of the influence of Tok Pisin and English on Huli, and
concomitant changes in social structures and social behaviour.

11.1.6   Tok Pisin is the trade language introduced from the
New Guinea half of Papua New Guinea. It is patterned on the
Austronesian languages of the South-Western Pacific, being des-
cended from Bichelamar, or Beach-La-Mar, a 19 century English-
based lingua franca of the South Pacific that came from English-

Chinese Pidgin (cf Wurm 1973; Sankoff 1977).

11.1.7   English was introduced into the Huli area at the same time as Tok Pisin, but has taken longer to make an impact. It was used from the beginning as the medium of education in the school systems established by missionary and civil administrat- ions, the children acquiring the language in the classroom.

11.1.8   In this chapter, the Huli language will be designated as H, Tok Pisin as P, and English as E. L1 indicates first language (H), and L2 second or other language/s (P and/or E).

11.2   PHASE 1

11.2.1   The introduction of P followed the piecemeal explor- ation of the white Patrol Officers and their Papuan Assistants, who established themselves first in Gubari-Wabia (c 1950), then Goloba-Burani (c 1955) and Magarima (c 1960), and finally in Gumu (c 1965). (See the map on page 2.) However, this was not the only means by which P came into Huliland.

11.2.2   Another means by which it entered was the 'Highlands labour scheme', begun around 1950. In this scheme, strong young men from all parts of the Highlands were recruited by the civil administration to work on expatriate-owned plantations on the coast and the islands. They returned after a couple of years 'nambis' - the P term for 'shore' or 'shoreline', which became synonymous with 'plantation' for the Highlanders - and most of them had acquired some P, along with the shorts and singlets that were the signs of the experience they had undergone.   By 1968 over 18,000 were working under this scheme (Nelson 1974:

21), many of them Huli men absent at a time in their lives when they might have become **haroli** (cf 2.3.2.7) and received their most intensive training in Huli **mana** 'lore'.

11.2.3 Newly returned men were able to communicate with the whitemen and thus become intermediaries between them and their fellow Huli. This was the initial status that acquisition of P conferred, and the returned 'nambis boi' (P - 'coastal workers) shared it along with the young men who had acquired P by attaching themselves to civil administrators and missionaries, patrolling with them and working for them. Their ability to 'tainim tok' (P - 'interpret') made them especially important when the whitemen wanted to negotiate with subclans about acquiring land or enlisting workcrews for building projects or making roads.

11.2.4 The older men, who occupied positions of leadership within Huli society, at first used these younger men as buffers. They resented the forceful supression of traditional methods of redress and vengeance, and they also resented seeing large numbers of able bodied warriors being rounded up to clear the bush and to dig out roads and airstrips. They themselves did not qualify to participate in the 'Highlands labour scheme', and their status did not allow them to hang around missions and administration camps to pick up tidbits, including the new language.

11.3 PHASE 2

11.3.1 To the Huli people the most immediately obvious things about the interlopers were their physical appearance, their sup-

erior technology, and their strange social behaviour. Since many Huli are themselves light-skinned, they thought that the whitemen might be the dinini (cf 2.2.2) of returned ancestors, or perhaps incarnate dama (cf 2.2.1). They called the whitemen honabi 'ginger pig-like', a term that then began to shift its meaning until it has come to include all civil administration officers, irrespective of skin colour.

11.3.2 But whatever the origins of the honabi, it quickly became apparent that their medicine - seen as a form of gamu (cf 2.4.1) - and their steel artifacts could be beneficial, and even the older men began to seek these things. At the same time, taga (cf 2.5.4) was not infrequently induced in the Huli when they interacted with the honabi to obtain these favours, since the honabi lacked those strategies expected by the Huli in social interaction, and did not seem to be aware of the concept of taga. Such was also the experience of those who had worked on plantations, and they and others who acted as intermediaries had to find ways to cope with this.

11.3.3 Using accepted patterns of traditional social behaviour, they began to expect reciprocal favours for the benefits they procured for their fellows, and also for any taga that they had to endure in the process. Young men who worked their way into the position of 'tainimtok' (P - 'interpreter') with the missions or administration officers were thus able to enhance their standing in traditional society by increasing their wealth and gaining influence. Aside from the additional factor of taga, the basic process that was operative was that of using a secret or esoteric language as a means of obtaining social advancement (cf 2.7).

11.3.4   An interesting example of this is the case of Daguba, who was 'tainimtok' for the civil administration in Tari between the years 1953-1957 (cf Glasse 1968: 136-137, whose interpretation of this case differs somewhat from my own). As a young boy he had acquired P when he joined an administration patrol in 1939 and travelled about outside Huliland for ten years. On his return he took up the position of court 'tainimtok', and found that he could influence court decisions by the way he presented the evidence, and began to help his kinsmen in this way. Later he took to accepting, and then to demanding, bribes from people who were not his kindred, and was paid by them in pigs. Over a period of four years he became wealthy enough to acquire ten wives, and residences in many localities, establishing a network of social relationships and achieving the status of being acknowledged a **homogo** (cf 2.3.2.1). When he was finally dismissed even those he had cheated felt **dara** (cf 2.5.4) for him because of the public **taga** he suffered, and he was able to continue to fill the rôle of **homogo** in Huli society.

11.3.5 Daguba employed a traditional means (a secret language) to manipulate an alien social institution in order to gain status within the framework of traditional social structures. His knowledge of P enabled him to procure favours for his clients in much the same way that a **manaji** (cf 2.3.2.2), with his knowledge of the correct use of secret genres, was able to influence higher powers and obtain benefits for those who paid for his services. Daguba was judged by his fellows to be clever rather than dishonest, and in later disputes that arose between subclans in which he had an interest he acted as **dombagwa** (cf 2.3. 2.4) - a rôle that requires impartiality.

11.3.6   Of course, not all speakers of P were as successful as Daguba in their use of it, but its acquisition did bring with it the potential for social advancement. Naturally, those who did not acquire P could not further their interests in this way, and, during this phase, that included the older men already secure in their positon in society, and women - who could not change their status, anyway.

11.4   PHASE 3

11.4.1   As the institutions introduced by the **honabi** began to take root, the older men found themselves being left behind. For instance, when Local Government Councils began to be set up in the late 1960s, many of the councillors were men of little standing in traditional society, and very few of them spoke or understood P.   The traditional leaders by and large kept aloof from the Councils, which they saw as instruments of the **honabi**, and to which they nominated others whom they could influence.

11.4.2   P was the "official" language used by Councils, and 'tainimtok' were engaged to act as channels of comm0nciation between the members and the controlling Adviser, who was a **hon-abi**. The minutes of the meeting were recorded in P or E by the 'kuskus' (P - 'clerk/secretary'), who was a Papua New Guinean from another area.

11.4.3   The 'tainimtok' were untrained, and they frequently experienced difficulty in handling alien concepts. P borrowed freely from E, and the E loan words were simply translitered into H, producing utterances that were deficient in meaning. An example of this is "budget", which has passed through P into H

as follows:

```
E     budget
P  ↓  baset
H  ↓  mbasede
              (field data, Goloba 1973)
```

11.4.3   Other items were sometimes translated from E into P,
but the translation was not continued into H, as exemplifed by

```
E     estimates
P  ↓  em bai kostim haumas
H  ↓  gostimi agira
              (field data, Goloba 1973)
```

in which 'haumas' ('how much?') is translated, but 'kostim' was
beyond the resources of the 'tainimtok'.

11.4.4   Similarly, H often suffered from translation into P.
An example of this is a court case in which a witnesss said of
an accused malefactor

```
ibijida
come-3-SIMP PAST-MOD
(he) came-it seems certain/very probable
it seems he must have come
              (field data, Goloba 1979)
```

which the court 'tainimtok' translated into P as

        em i kam = that one he come/came = he came

This missed the important point that the witness was not claim-
ing more than a high degree of probability for his evidence.

11.4.5   Incidents such as this highlighted not only the com-
munication problem but also the position of 'tainimtok'. They
were becoming quasi-**dombagwa** in the new structures that were
emerging, as well as being in a position to gain status in the
traditional society.   Their salaries enabled them to purchase
clothes and other goods from trade stores run by the **honabi**, and
thus signal their association with the new order, while at the
same time adding to the wealth and power they needed to further

their standing in the old.

11.4.6   Also gaining wealth and prestige were the 'bosboi' (P-
'foremen') and 'kagoboi' (P - 'workmen'), employed by the miss-
ions and the civil administration.   Some Huli became domestic
servants - 'kukboi' (P - 'cook')   and 'hausboi' (P - 'general
domestic') - and began to acquire some E.   In every   case,   the
key to advancement was the ability to speak P.

11.4.7   This ability also opened up the way to greater commu-
nication with non-Huli Papua New Guineans who were part of the
entourage of the **honabi**. These were the policemen, 'kuskus' and
the non-Huli 'kukboi', who all traded with the Huli for garden
produce and pig meat.   This circle widened as more medical fac-
ilities were introduced, and as tractors and trucks were brought
into the area for use on the newly constructed roads.   Person-
nel to man and maintain these facilities were initially a mix-
ture of whitemen and non-Huli nationals, who formed a small soc-
ial group in which the languages used were E and P. ·

11.4.8   Some Huli who spoke P began to be given   training   in
the rudiments of mechanics, health care, and   new   agricultural
techniques, and a number were sent out of the area   to   receive
this training.   Others who had acquired P were able   to   obtain
positions in trade stores, while others were trained as sawyers
when sawmills were established by the missions.

11.4.9   Perhaps the most significant of the new institutions
was the school system, which gave access to the innermost lang-
uage of the **honabi**. This institution was   more   revolutionary
than anything else, being wholly geared to a Western way of life
and imported without change from the whiteman's   own   society.

That it was solely for children was something startling, since traditionally there was no formal education for boys and girls. That the **honabi** wanted to teach new ways to girls as well as to boys was something hard to understand, but the Huli let themselves be persuaded to send their children to schools, in the vague hope that eventually both children and parents would benefit somehow. Sometimes parents would hedge their bets, dividing their children among various local mission and administration schools, thus ensuring they would have access to the benefits given by whichever institution should in the end prove to be the most powerful (field data, Goloba 1976).

11.4.10   To start with, the teachers were white people, but they were soon joined by non-Huli nationals. By the time Self-Government was proclaimed in 1972 most teachers were nationals, and schools had been set up in many bush areas as well as in centres of civil and mission administration. The medium of communication between the national teachers and the local communities was P (cf Cheetham 1979: 93), and the schoolchildren also acquired this language.

11.5 PHASE 4

11.5.1 The fourth phase was entered as the Huli began to take over the new **honabi** institutions and to assume key positions in what were emerging L2 social structures - ie structures that depended on a knowledge of either P or E (or both) for their underpinning, and that involved new, non-traditional, behaviour patterns. Thus, Huli became mechanics, carpenters and builders, storeowners, nurses, schoolteachers, 'didiman' (P -'agricult-

ural officers'), and 'kuskus' in banks and administration offices. The distinction between white-collar and manual workers was determined by the extent of L2 acquisition, those who knew both P and E comprising the former, those who knew only P the latter. The P+E subdivision of the L2 group was formed almost exclusively from the products of the school system.

11.5.2 One of the results of this Western-based educational system was that it produced young men and women who had largely foregone the informal training that would equip them for life in traditional society. At the same time, there were not enough positions in the L2 structures to allow them to use what they had learnt at school. They had not acquired the self-sufficiency and acceptance of hard and tedious manual work that a gradual introduction to gardening skills, hunting, artifact making, **gamu** (cf 2.4.1), and traditional social intercourse would have supplied. They were reluctant to return completely to a system in which they were disadvantaged, and many of them drifted away to sponge off 'wantoks' (P - 'members of the same language group or region') who were 'nambis' (P - 'plantation/coast outside the Huli area), after exhausting the hospitality that kinship and subclan structures afforded them at home (cf Cheetham 1979: 92).

11.5.3 The older men were still the leaders and foci of power within these traditional social structures, controlling the land and maintaining to a large extent the essential patterns of behaviour. They were amenable to change in the area of technology (cf 2.4), and readily exchanged stone axes and wooden digging sticks for steel axes and iron spades. They experimented

with cattle and small cash crops - such as coffee -, but retained the pig as chief sign of wealth and means of barter. Thus the young L2 Huli group had to translate their cash salaries into pigs when they wanted to participate in traditional activities such as marrying or settling disputes.

11.5.4 As the **manaji** (cf 2.3.2.2) found that their **gamu** ceased to provided a source of income, and that younger men no longer came to purchase secret knowledge, they either passively let these skills die and ceased to exercise leadership (cf Cheetham 1979:90), or tried to use the assets connected with their skills to bolster their tenuous position. An example of this was the selling of sacred pine groves by **gebali** (2.3.2.8) and the owners of a **gebanda** near Burani (cf Goldman 1979). They were then able to use the considerable wealth they had acquired to maintain their influence within the structures of traditional society.

11.5.5 Older men such as these formed phatic groups in which H was the medium of communication, with little to zero borrowing from P or E. Women also belonged to this mono-code category, in which traditional H lexis and culture assumptions prevailed.

11.5.6 At the same time, there were other phatic groups in which P loan words were regular currency, although little used outside the groups except when communicating with non-Huli speakers. Such groups were typically mission adherents.

11.5.7 A third category of phatic groups was those whose members used P as the medium of communication. These groups were comprised of non-Huli nationals and those Huli who associated with them and were able to use P. Most members of these groups

were, in varying degrees, part of the L2 society.

11.5.8   Schoolteachers, schoolchildren, and parents who spoke some P formed a fourth category of groups. They used mainly P, but their speech included a mix of all three languages, especially when talking about school matters. Consider the following spoken by a non-Huli teacher in Burani in 1974:

```
mi bai   skelim ol  skulboi i    go long dagia.
I   will assess all pupils   they go to   form(s).
I'll assess the pupils and place them in appropriate classes.
```

The E 'schoolboy' has replaced 'sumatin' (P - 'pupil'), while the H **dagia** 'adzed plank' has shifted to mean 'form/class':

adzed sleeping board ---> desk/chair ---> form/grade/class

The term 'schoolboy/skulboi' denotes pupils of both sexes, and has passed into H as **tugulimboi***.

11.5.9   Non-Huli teachers would occasionally use P among themselves, but it was more usual for them to communicate in P outside the school situation. They used E when communicating with whitemen or other educated nationals, and their pupils followed this example.

11.6   PHASE 5

11.6.1   Difficulties began to arise as P and E became more prestigious within the Huli speech community and traditional leaders largely failed to acquire either of these laguages. This meant that a new method of rapidly advancing in wealth and influence was not open to them, while they became dependent upon younger men, and even women, as they negotiated their ways through the changes that were taking place. Medical attention, trade goods, transportation in motor vehicles and similar bene-

fits could all be more readily obtained, and sometimes only obtained, through the medium of L2, so that older people had to rely on younger ones - sometimes even schoolchildren - when they wanted or needed these things.

11.6.2 L2 became a currency that had more value than L1 (cf Cheetham 1980: 5), and its acquisition represented the possibility of new social structures and new patterns of behaviour, while L1 represented preservation of the old order. The younger people felt frustrated that they had this more prestigious currency and yet could not do as slightly older L2 users had done, namely buy prestige within traditional social structures.

11.6.3 An instance of this was a controversy that arose over the formation of a Youth Club at the Catholic Church in Gubari in 1972. Both sexes were allowed in the club, at which the main activity was Western-style dancing. This angered the older men, for any sort of physical contact between marriageable men and women was shameful and required compensation to be paid to the girl's kin. Since this behaviour was allowed by L2 social norms, they found themselves unable to sustain claims for compensation, and so demanded that the club be closed. A meeting was called, which younger people wanted to be conducted in L2 but which older folk insisted should be in L1. Use of L2 would have largely removed the dispute from a traditional setting, and handed the advantage to the younger disputants. Use of L1 would have sited the contention within traditional frameworks, with the older people as authority figures, in control because of their greater command of the language and because of the traditional roles that would have to be sustained. In the end, H, P and E were all used, with various participants acting as spon-

taneous 'tainimtok'. No compromise could be reached in this situation, and because H was the medium of communication of the Catholic Church, whose governing body was elected from among H speakers, the club was eventually closed.

11.6.4   Generation gap difficulties such as this were being further exacerbated as younger men and women began to use of an intermix of L1 and L2 in the communications with each other and with the older generation as well. They used L2 lexis associated with new, non-traditional, behaviours, thus establishing that they were privy to something important from which the older people were excluded and could not understand. Consider an example given previously (cf 4.10.3.4),

```
garo* wedi* hene
car    wait   have-EX DEF
car    wait   (I) had
I waited for a car
```

in which the loan word **garo*** would be understood by all, but the item **wedi*** connotes something beyond the experience of anyone who had not had to hang around a particular spot hoping for a ride on public or private transport. Similarly,

```
(bi) stretim* buwa    nupela* tigija* ngule       bira
talk straight do-CONS new      ticket  give-PURP make-3-SIMP PRES
talk straight making   new      ticket  to-give    he is making
after sorting things out he'll give you a new ticket
```

was inappropriate and confusing code-switching in advice given by a Huli 'kuskus' to an old man who was anxious because he had missed an air flight (field data, Gumu 1980).

11.6.5   Often, however, it seemed that the younger people were in the same case as some 'tainimtok' - unable to grasp fully or to translate adequately the L2 loan items. An instance of this was the reason given for a new road being routed past a coffee plantation rather than through centres of population above the

Tagali river:

```
hariga   bulene        financial resources nawi
road     make-OBLIG                          NEG-place-STM
road     need-to-make                        not-placed
there are no financial resources for building the road
                                        (field data, Gumu 1979)
```

This did not make a great deal of sense to those present at the meeting at which it was said.

11.6.6   One of the results of L2 being more widely used across phatic groups was that Ll began to borrow words more freely, especially from P.   Borrowed nominal items were mostly class 1:

E --⸵>	P --->	H
medicine	marasin	marasini
sickness	sik	tiki
syringe ⎫ nail ⎭	nil	mili
tyre	taia	taia
spanner	spana	sebana
barbed wire	waia	waia
coffee	kopi	kopi
sugar	suga	tuga

11.6.7   Processes were accomodated by placing L2 items in the A slots of APV constructions, as in:

E --->	P --->	H
take medicine	kisim marasin	marasini na
inject	givim nil	mili·(me) be
tighten	taitim	taitim bi
deflate	slekim	slek le
turn	tainim	tainim bi
complete	pinisim	pinisi le

11.6.8   In the above lists (11.6.6 & 11.6.7) the first two entries are from the expanded **gamu** register, the rest from the expanded **mana** register. The new **gamu** items came from new ideas and activites to do with health, while mechanics and agriculture were the sources of the **mana** items.

11.6.8.1   However, the older Huli men, who were largely in control of traditional activities such as agriculture, tended to expand the semantic domains of existing H lexis to accomodate new concepts rather than import borrowings. The list below gives examples of items borrowed from E by P (and used by 'didiman' to refer to new ideas) and the traditional H items expanded to incorporate these concepts by the older men.

E --->	P -//->	H
sugar	suga	du
cow	kao	nogo
garden	gaden	mabu
herd, look after	lukautim	haru he
tether, fasten	pasim	andiba he
till, turn soil	tainim	tombe

11.6.9   P continued to borrow from E (eg 'redio' = radio'; 'ripot' = report) and from H (eg, manda = Huli wig; tiabu = asparagus), while E borrowed some items from P (egs 'kai' = food; 'plan(t)im' = plant/bury).

11.7   PHASE 6

11.7.1   By the time this phase was reached the Huli were well entrenched in positons of importance within the structures of the civil administration and of the missions. The members of

the National Parliament returned by the Huli were by now all P speakers, and many of the Local Government councillors could at least understand some P. This gave them access to more inform- ation than was normally available to those who knew only H, and they made use of this by releasing the information at times that were politically opportune for themselves (Cheetham 1980: 19). They resented other pre-empting them, and viewed with mixed feelings the attempts of missionaries and others to make more information available through literacy materials and Freirean- type discussion groups (cf Cheetham 1980: 19).

11.7.2   As a policy, missionary bodies generally promoted the use of H, and since by the mid-1970s a good proportion of the Huli (perhaps as high as 80%) claimed to be affiliated to one or other of these missions, this promotion of H was a factor in the sociolinguistic change that was taking place. The white missionaries had set about acquiring H, and by 1970 most of them were running H literacy programmes, open to everyone.

11.7.3   Institutions such as the Catholic Church also intro- duced economic development programmes that were financed and run by the Huli communities - projects such as sawmills, cattle, chili crops, water buffalo enterprises, trade stores, and so on. This opened up to these communities the possibility of sharing in the new benefits associated with L2, but without L2 having to be acquired. Since the communities affiliated to the Cath- olic Church were in areas hardly touched by the civil administ- ration, as well as right in the midst of administration centres, the influence of these programmes was considerable.

11.7.4   An interesting outcome of the H language policy of

the missions was that workers who had intially gained their
positions because of their L2, and those who had been trained
through the medium of L2, resisted the increasing emphasis on
L1. They saw their importance as intermediaries diminishing,
and also felt **taga** at coming under the jurisdiction of governing
bodies composed of Huli who could speak only L1. This reflect-
ed the general assumption of most L2 speakers: to be able to
speak E or P conferred, or ought to confer, some sort of super-
iority.

11.7.5   Some H nominal items expanded their semantic fields.
The case of **honabi,**

     ginger pig-like ---> whiteman ---> civil administrator

has already been mentioned. Another such case is **dandaji** (cf 2.
3.2.3), which has come to mean 'policeman' - the original L2
armed warrior - although it retains its original L1 connota-
tion as well.   And just as APV constructions are exploited to
bridge old and new concepts of processes, some L1 - L2 nominal
collocations that bridge or link concepts have become current.
Examples of these are:

E	P	H
hospital	haus sik	tiki* anda
nurse	nes	nese* wandari/wali
office	opis	opisi* anda
typewriter		beba* bagane
driver	draiva(boi)	garo* jaga
shoe	su	ge su*

11.7.6   An unexpected borrowing is the adoption by L1 of the
P item 'kaukau' ('sweet potato') as **gaugau*** 'white potato', ra-
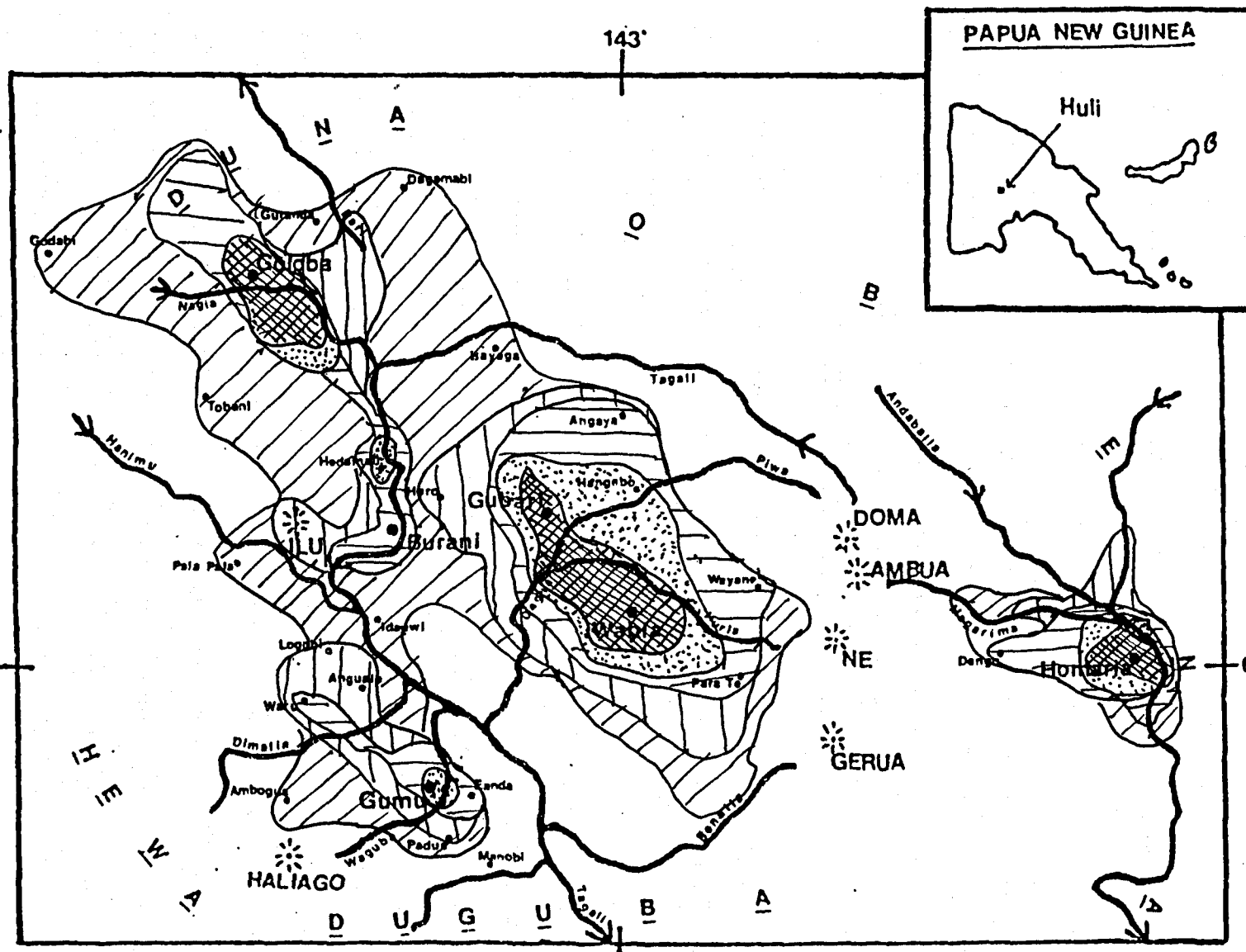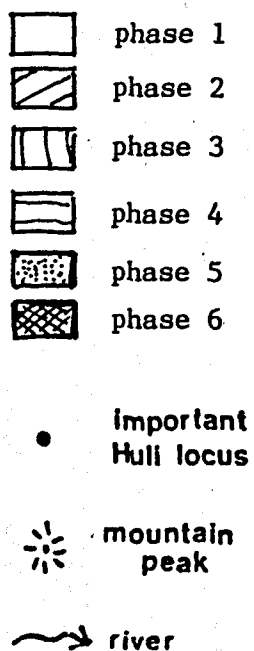ther than the P for white potato, which is 'hauspas', or the E

'potato'. Scott (1979: 101) has suggested that a non-Austro-
nesian language might be expected to borrow rather than to show
"internal linguisitic creativity", while showing creativity in
the shape of sematic shifts and the conflation of historically
distinct etyma. It seems to me that this observation is supp-
orted by the way H both expands the semantic compass of it lex-
is and borrows new lexis from P (and from E via P).

11.8   SUMMARY

11.8.1   The spread and influence of L2 continues to be uneven
in the Huli area, and what I have been describing is a continuum
of change rather than discrete steps or stages. Given this, the
present day situation can be illustrated by means of the map on
page 320. This shows how the change continuum is washing across
the area in waves, each wave being identified as one of the
phases outlined above and emanating from focal points of L1 and
L2 contact.

11.8.1.1   The situation can also be usefully summarised in
terms of social structures and social behaviour, using the model
set up in chapter 2. This will be done in the following sec-
tions, 11.8.2 and 11.8.3.

11.8.2   Social structures.   It is possible to discern three
groups or classes, each with its own internal networks, in pre-
sent day Huli society. This is set out in diagram form in fig-
ure 35, in which the social continuum is divided into blocks to
indicate the domains of the classes (C1, C2 and C3). The sizes
of the blocks are meant to indicate that the sizes of the three
classes differ, taking into account Cheetham's claim (1979: 93)

Figure 34 : Map of sociolinguistic change

KEY:

- phase 1
- phase 2
- phase 3
- phase 4
- phase 5
- phase 6

• Important Huli locus

mountain peak

river

that only 7% of the Huli count themselves competent in P, and Nelson's estimate (1974: 174) that less than 25% of the children in the Highlands go to school - the chief means of acquiring E.

Figure 35 : Social structures

The arrowed lines in the diagram represent the extent of structural overlapping, suggesting that classes 1 and 3 are fairly well defined, while class 2 is more fluid.

11.8.2.1   Class 1.   This label has been given to traditional society, which has undergone no changes in hereditary structures (cf 2.3.1), although non-hereditary structures (cf 2.3.1) have changed and continue to do so. Thus, **gebali** and **manaji** have weakened as positions of influence and leadership, while there is only one **haroli** group surviving, located between Gubari and Wabia. **homogo** are still the dominant leaders, and a number of these have gained their present status by non-traditional means. In general, this class is conservative, suspicious of the social behaviour of the other classes, and intent on preserving traditions, including the use of H.

11.8.2.2   Class 2. This is an admixture of L1 and L2 societies, and is dominated by male politicians. Members have built up wealth and influence in class 1, and have nominally a controlling share of power in class 3. The common and most used language within this class is P, members using H in interaction

with class 1 members, but usually having insufficient knowledge of E to use it with class 3 members.

11.8.2.3   Class 3.   This class is composed of those who are involved in administration, nursing, teaching and other clerical types of activity, and includes Huli and non-Huli alike. The most used means of communication is a mix of P and E, most members being competent in the E necessary for their work, but mixing this with P, as in these instances (Gubari 1981): ^(field data)

```
        it's time bilong dring              coffee
                   to/for drink/drinking
        it's coffee break

        the doctor said you mas  kembek     long apinun
                             must come back in   afternoon
        the doctor said you must come back this afternoon

        I'd like buy a bikpela      cabbage
                       big/large
        I'd like to buy a large cabbage
```

11.8.2.4   It is interesting that in the above three examples, the first signals the boundary between formal (ie E) and informal (P) settings (cf Hymes 1964) within class 3, while the second indicates a shift from formal (doctor-patient rôle set) to less formal (nurse-patient), and the third is within the context of a white person doing business in the market place. In each case the switch occurs after an E item that has been borrowed into P as a homophone:

```
        time        =       taim

        you         =       yu

        buy         =       bai(im)
```

11.8.3   Social behaviour.   Figure 36 diagrams the overlapping social behaviour of the three social classes. It suggests that social interaction is to some extent controlled by class

structures, and that a group of younger people from class 1 are interacting widely across all the classes in a structure that is peculiar to them alone.
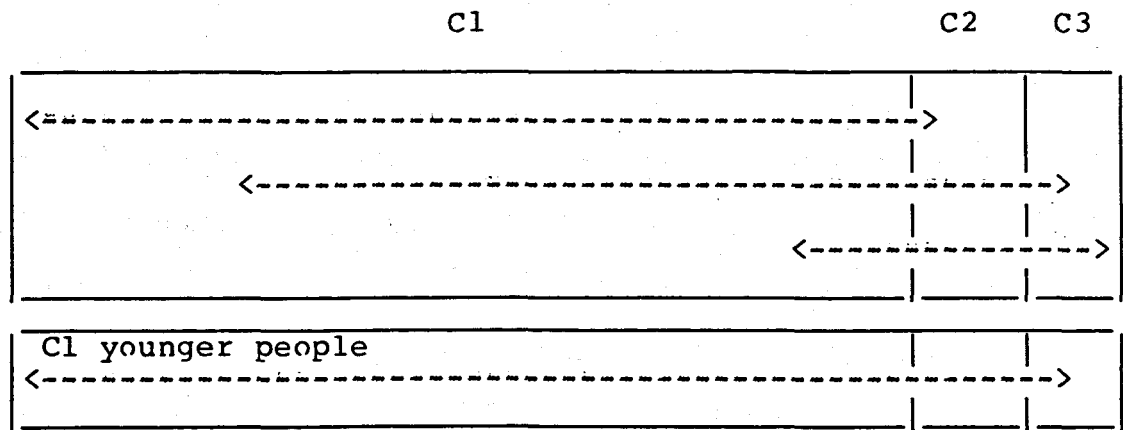
```
                    C1                            C2      C3
       _____
      |                                        |      |      |     |
      | <=-------------------------------------------->|      |     |
      |                                        |      |      |     |
      |         <------------------------------------------>|     |
      |                                        |      |      |     |
      |                        <----------------------------->     |
      |_____|_____|_____|____|
       _____
      |  C1 younger people                     |      |      |     |
      | <-------------------------------------------------------->  |
      |                                        |      |      |     |
      |_____|_____|_____|____|
```

<u>Figure 36 : Social behaviour</u>

11.8.3.1   Class 1.   Behaviour in this class is still largely traditional.   However, there is a lessening emphasis on traditional ideology, which has led to a change in attitude towards women, who keep boys in their charge longer than was previously the case.   Otherwise, the behavioural pattern of a woman's life has hardly changed within the structures of class 1. Some girls are sent to school, an institution more properly regarded as belonging to class 3.   From there they pass into class 2 or class 3,   or return with difficulty to class 1 structural and be- havioural patterns.

11.8.3.1.1   Boys, even those not sent to school, do not inter- est themselves in the use of gamu (cf 2.4.1), and are slower in acquiring basic gardening skills.   Those sent to schools follow a pattern of behaviour that largely prohibits the acquisition of basic social and technical skills, and many find themselves dislocated from social class structures when their school days come to an end.

-323-

11.8.3.1.2   The prospect of their becoming **haroli** (cf 2.3.2.7) is slim, and the members of the remaining group function in a compromised way, the members working as 'kagoboi' during the week and returning to the **daloali** 'leader' for instructions at weekends.

11.8.3.1.3   Members of this class who work on personal or community economic projects still maintain gardens and traditional life–styles. They persist with traditional ways of barter and negotiation, using pigs to exchange for brides, and to settle compensation claims. Within such settings, H is the only appropriate medium of communication, and even the traditional means of counting is the only one admitted. An example of this was seen at the settlement of a claim by Aidali people for compensation from the Halungi people (field data, Burani 1977). An Aidali man, Hedege, had slipped from a log and drowned in the Tagali while stealing a pig from Halungi to pay them back for a previous similar theft from his **hamigini** (cf 2.3.1.1). The Aidali claimed that the original theft was the cause of the man's death, and demanded - and were given - 750 pigs in compensation. The counting of the pigs, done several times over by different men, employed the traditional base of 15 (cf 7.6).

11.8.3.2   Class 2.   Members of this class are employed full-time or part-time in political or business activities, but, through their wives and kinsfolk, maintain a contact with traditional social behaviour, even to the extent where they have the standing of **homogo**. They also intermix to varying degrees with members of class 3. They have introduced or sanctioned Western-style dances and socials for political and business purposes, inviting a coming together of all three classes on these

occasions. This is a radical departure from the nearest trad-
itional parallel, the **dawe** 'mourning feast for the dead' (cf 2.
5.3), at which the social norm was that unmarried men and women
should not mix. Contentions arising from the public violation
of this norm have already been described in 11.6.3, in which
the adults from class 1 prevailed over the younger people. It
is interesting that members of class 2 can get away with organ-
izing gatherings in which these norms are broken - and, indeed,
have begun to open the way for the younger members of class 1
to initiate such social gatherings on their own.

11.8.3.3 Class 3. Members follow a lifestyle that is out-
side the behaviourial and social structures of class 1. They
are not dependent on gardens for sustenance, and have difficul-
ty in obtained landrights and other concessions because of their
lengthy absence from Huliland during training, or simply because
they are outsiders. Their social behaviour is more 'West-
ern' than that of the other classes, and their work patterns
are wholly Western, dictated by the system to which they be-
long. Their participation in traditional activities is minimal,
restricted by the free time they have and also by their lack of
traditional skills. A feature of this class is that women can
have a standing almost equal to that of men, and their social
behaviour is correspondingly different from that of class 1 wo-
men. An interesting example of this is the 'kuskus' of "Huli
Ira", a sawmill company owned and run by the Huli. The 'kuskus'
is a young woman, a product of the school system, who, because
of her literacy and numeracy skills in L2, occupies a position
that is in name one of serving the needs and wishes of the male
dominated Company. However, the reality is that she occupies a

position of power and responsibility, taking decisions and advising in an informed way on policies and practices.

11.8.3.4   Class 1 younger people   tend to question the values of their elders and to challenge them by their behaviour. Attributable in part to age differences, a compounding factor is that members of this group have had contact with the school system, either as students or as the peers of students, and have in one way or another been exposed to the bewildering and apparantly 'manual work-free' world of the whiteman.   Their knowledge of P and E contributes to their anomolous position in class 1, and equips them with real power when it comes to interactions with the other two classes. Older elements in the group are those who have learnt how to manage stores and motor vehicles, and who try to bring other, non-traditional values to bear on community concerns.

11.8.3.4.1   An example of this is the case of a Tani man who was killed in a motor accident in the coastal port of Lae (field data, Burani 1981). The driver of the vehicle was a man from Burani, Olea, and the Tani **hamigini** claimed compensation from the Burani **hamigini** over and above that paid through the class 3 institution of insurance, demanding an inordinate $20,000. The older men wanted to negotiate a settlement, but the younger men of the Tani group pushed for the full amount. There was much confusion as the older men used genres and registers of H that the younger ones could not understand. But the younger ones did not capitulate readily, and caused the protraction of the settlement over nearly a year. Agreement was finally reached in January 1981: 300 pigs plus $1,500 in cash. Note the diff-

erence in outcome between this case and that described in 11.8.
3.1.3. The former case was set in a wholly traditional, class
1 background, and the outcome was a traditional one; this case
was in circumstance if not in substance outside traditional ex-
perience, and those who espoused changing values and norms were
able to intervene and to have their views reflected in the out-
come - ie in the acceptance of money as compensation currency.
This necessarily involved the intrusion of P, at least at the
level of lexis such as 'dola' (P - 'dollar') and of concepts
such as 'tausen' (P - 'thousand') removing debate to some extent
from the traditional domain.

11.9 DIRECTIONS IN SOCIOLINGUISTIC CHANGE

11.9.1   Given that language and society are bound together and
somehow interact, it is legitimate to inquire into the direct-
ion of this relationship: which orders which?   If language is
the dependent variable, it will reflect the social order, sign-
alling its structures and behavioural patterns as they change
and evolve. If language is the determinant in the relationship,
then it becomes necessary to explain how it creates the social
order: is it consciously used to shape the speech community, or
does it determine the social order through some other process?

11.9.2   Halliday (1978: 190-191) suggests that the functional
organization of language meanings symbolizes the structure of
human interaction, representing both referentially and metapho-
rically the structure of society and of human behaviour. In its
turn, language also shapes society, since the social construct
can only be built through an exchange of meanings, so that "re-

ality becomes a metaphor of language". These observations seem
to be supported by the interaction that has taken place - and
is still taking place - between language and society in Huli-
land. It is possible to discern instances in which the language
has been dominant, and instances in which society has been dom-
inant. It is further possible to see society acting both cons-
ciously and unconsciously across these instances.

11.9.3   Language dominating society.   Non-hereditary power
structures in traditonal society revolved around the use of
language (cf 2.7), so that knowledge and correct use of genres
and registers was a _sine qua non_ for advancing in wealth and in-
fluence.   It was part of traditional behaviour for a man to use
language as a means of acquiring leadership status through
manipulation of the social structures.

11.9.3.1   Given this, it was quite natural for the Huli to
put L2 to this use. Thus we have the case of Daguba (11.3.4 -
11.3.6) and other early L2 acquirers.   In the Youth Club dis-
pute (cf 11.6.3) much the same thing was happening, each group
trying to manipulate the situation through the use of language.
The politicians, endeavouring to control the flow of informat-
ion made available through L2 (cf 11.7.1.), are another instance
of this.

11.9.3.2   These are instances of conscious attempts to
manipulate the structural and behavioural patterns of society
through the use of language, in particular through the use of
L2. Alongside this can be placed other instances showing how
language dominates and orders society without conscious inter-
vention.

11.9.3.3   Thus, L2 acquisition was largely responsible for the ordering of the phatic groups (cf 11.6) and for the formaion of the three social classes (cf 11.8), being a decisive factor in determining group and class membership. It was also a large factor in the shift of emphasis from older to younger people, and in providing the possibility of social change for women.

11.9.4   Society dominating language.   An instance of conscious manipulation of language is the formation of an esoteric mix by the younger people through the introduction of L2 lexical items (cf 11.6.4). Other probable examples of conscious manipulation of language were seen in 11.6.4, and in similar borrowings of L2 into L1. A further clear example is the change in the counting system to accomodate Western concepts of time and of numeracy (cf 7.6.6).

11.9.4.1   Probably classifiable as 'non-conscious' or 'non-intentional' are L1 shifts in semantic fields to accomodate new concepts, as in 11.1.4 and 11.3.1, and the introduction of zero terms to signal new notions, as in 11.4.2, 11.4.3 and 11.6.5.

11.9.5   These data support Halliday's suggestions concerning language-society interactions. They show that the Huli language represents Huli socio-cultural behaviour patterns and structures, while at the same time it acts upon them, ordering and controlling them to some degree.

11.9.5.1 Given that L2 represents a modification of world-dominant Western cultures, it seems that its influence will increase further in the years to come, with the growth of an L1 + L2 pidgin and the spread of an attenuated 'Western' class sys-

tem. The recent discovery of oil in and around the Huli area,
and the prospectors' decision to make Tari their base, will pro-
bably hasten and reinforce this process.

11.9.5.2 The following chapter presents texts of written and
spoken Huli, in which the sociolinguistic factors described in
this chapter are reflected.