CHAPTER 12

TEXTS

12.1   INTRODUCTION

12.1.1   The texts   that follow were collected in various lo-
calities in the Huli country.   They are samples of seven genres,
namely: 1) **te bame** 'casual report';   2) **bi bame** 'casual talk';
3) **bi mana** 'lore';   4) **bi galone** 'important talk';   5) o 'mourn-
ing chant';   6) ũ 'mens' chants'; and 7) **bi te** 'folk tales'.

12.1.1.1   Useful examples of other genres can be found in Pugh-
Kitigan 1975 and Peters 1975.   There are also texts to be found
in Goldman 1983 and 1986.

12.1.1.2   In the transcriptions, initial utterances by speakers
begin new lines, but, apart from that, line breaks are dictated
by page width and text layout. A single slash, /, indicates the
beginning   of an intonation contour, while double slashes indi-
cate that   this contour marks the beginning of   an   information
group.   Where . possible, intonation contours have been numbered
(shown above   the Huli text) in accordance with the interpreta-
tion given in 4.3.

12.1.1.3   In general, there are up to nine lines of gloss   and
interpretation, illustrating the polysemy of the language forms
and structures.   The key to the lines is as follows:

            a) grammatical parsing
            b) nominal and adverbial groups
            c) nominal and adverbial group complexes
            d) micro-verbal groups
            e) aspect
            f) macro-verbal groups

g) verbal group complexes
h) interlinear literal translation
i) equivalent translation

A plus sign after an item indicates that it belongs to a group in which the following item is also a member. Round brackets have been used sometimes to enclose related clauses, and angled brackets indicate embedding. When there are no items to enter into a line - eg no complexes for line c) - that line will be omitted from the multilevel glosses. In general, aspect, has not been explored because of the length of discussion that would be necessary to do it justice. In some texts, adjuncts (A) are indicated in line b), which shows nominal groups.

12.1.1.3 Other levels of interpretation (eg SR, socio-cultural markers) are picked up in the commentary rather than intruded into the body of the text.

12.1.1.4 The texts are examples of the language in use, and the commentaries indicate some of their more interesting features, and do not set out to explore them exhaustively.

12.2 TE BAME

12.2.1 Text 1 is from a report given by an older woman to a group of her peers who had gathered on a Friday to work on church-based projects (field data, Gumu 1982). The genre has been described in 10.5.3.14.

```
          2                 4
1   // ani bialu    / o  īni      andaga     piru.
   a)    thus do-SIM      oh 1S-DEF  house-DET  go-1S-SIM PAST
   b)    ADV              DC+       TH
   d)         EVN+FIN                          EVN+FIN
   e)         perfect                          punctiliar
   g)    CLS 1            CLS +2
   h)    thus doing/done er I-myself house-that went
   i)    After that, er, I went to my own house.
```

```
        2                    4
2 // ani   puwa    / o  Ini      hangu andaga     biralu
   a) thus  go-CONS    oh 1S-DEF  only  house-DET  sit down-SIM
   b) ADV              TH+        EP    TH
   d)     EVN+FIN                                  EVN+FIN
   e)     perfect                                  perfect
   g) CLS 1            CLS +2
   h) thus having gone oh I-myself only  house-that sitting down
   i) Having gone there, er, I was on my own at home,


        4
3  / o  wali     andaga       piru.
   a) oh woman's house-DET  go-1S-SIM PAST
   b)    DC+       TH
   d)                         EVN+FIN
   e)                         punctiliar
   g) CLS +3
   h) oh woman house-that went
   i) er, so I went to a woman's house.


        3
4 // o  Paga berearia,
   a) oh Paga sit down-3-EX PAST-LOC
   b)    TH
   d)           EVN+FIN+AUX
   e)           state
   g) CLS xβ
   h) oh Paga was sitting down-there/towards
   i) Er, where Paga lives,


        4
5 // o  Paga berearia                      piru.
   a) oh Paga sit down-3-EX PAST-LOC       go-1S-SIMP PAST
   b)    TH
   d)           EVN+FIN+AUX
   e)           state
   g) CLS xβ                               CLS α
   h) oh Paga was sitting down-there/towards went
   i) er, I went to where Paga lives.


        4                        4
6 // jawi       biabe bule.  // jawi       magadi* pole.
   a) tomorrow  work  do-PURP    tomorrow  market  go-PURP
   b) ADV       TH               ADV       TH
   d)                 EVN+FIN                       EVN+FIN
   e)                 progressive                   progressive
   f)          A+    PV
   h) tomorrow work do-in order to tomorrow market go-in order to
   i) Tomorrow I'll work.         Tomorrow I'll go to the market.


        2     4
7 // ẽ, / jawi       magadi* pole     bedo.
   a) yes, tomorrow  market  go-PURP  sit down-1S-EX PRES
   b)      ADV         TH
   d)                           EVN+FIN   EVN+FIN
   e)                           prog.     state
   g) CLS   xβ                  CLS α
   h) yes, tomorrow market  in-order-to-go sit down/am seated/am
   i) Yes, I'm waiting to go to the market tomorrow.
```

```
           3                    4
8 // aju    biabe daunangi  / o tuguli* buda.
  a) today  work  five-LOC     oh school  do-STM-MOD
  b) ADV    TH+   EP            TH
  d)                                       EVN+AUX
  e)                                       state
  h) today work  fifth-on oh school  do-it seems certain
  i) Today, Friday, er, is for church activities.


           4
9 // ĩ  biabe daunangi aju biabe ibirudagoni
  a) 1S work   five-LOC now work   come-1S-SIMP PAST-MOD-DET-LOC
  b) TH TH+    EP        ADV TH
  d)                               EVN+FIN+AUX+AUX+AUX
  e)                               perfect
  h) I work   fifth-on now work   came-evidently-there
  i) It's Friday, and you can see I've now come to work.


           1
10 //jawi      magadi* pole.
  a) tomorrow market  go-PURP
  b) ADV        TH
  d)                   EVN+FIN
  e)                   progressive
  h) tomorrow market  go-in order to
  i) Tomorrow I'll go to the market.
```

12.2.1.1   The text picks up after the **te bame** has been begun,
and the first intonation group forms a bridge with what has
gone previously.   This anaphoric bridging occurs again in line
2, while cataphoric linking is signalled on the false start
that is line 4, and also in line 8.

12.2.1.2   The suffixing of the DEF to the 1S in lines 1 and 2
is of interest in that the first is emphatic, the second reflex-
ive (cf 7.4.2).   It is also interesting to note the SIM medial
form signalling the perfect aspect in association with verbs of
motion in lines 1 and 2-3 (cf 5.2.10-11).

12.2.1.3   The form **buda,** line 8, is unusual in that it involves
suffixing the modal -da (cf 5.5.3, 7.10.7) directly to a verb
stem.   This might be an idiolectal variant.

12.2.1.4   The paucity of groups is noteworthy, and in particular

that there are few of more than one element and none with more than two elements. Similarly, the lack of group complexes below clause level is interesting.

12.2.1.5   The only macro-verbal group is the APV configuration in line 6, although its status is doubtful in the idiolect of this speaker, who is able to use the A, **biabe**, without its PV **bi** 'do/make' (second occurrence, line 9: its collocation with the numerative **daunangi** has been discussed in 7.6.6.3).

12.2.1.6   Tense is marked by finite temporal operators and also by time words (eg **aju** 'now' and **jawi** 'tomorrow'), while the use of SIM as an aspectual operator to signal perfect in lines 1 and 2 is bound up with its use with verbs of motion (see above).

12.2.1.7   Verbal group complexes, g), illustrate the use of clauses in parataxis (extension) and hypotaxis (enhancement). Note that line 4 is a false start, indicated by intonation 3, which points ahead.

12.2.1.8   Switch-referencing is apparent in line 5, but else-where verbal group complexes have the same grammatical and psychological subject.   The text is useful as an illustration of the way Huli 'medial' verb forms regularly appear in utterance-final position (cf 5.4.7.1 - 5.4.7.1.3): egs **bule** and **pole** in line 6.

12.2.1.9 Of interest, too, is the use of Huli-ized E/P lexis, which represent concepts and behaviours introduced into Huli culture from outside. Markets were not part of the traditional system of barter, while the notion of 'schooling' or instruct-ing large mixed groups, and the activities associated with it,

were new to a society in which empowering knowledge was trans-
mitted on a one-to-one basis (cf 2.5.2; 2.5.3; 11.4.9).

12.2.1.10 Textual cohesion is set up and maintained by the use
of a number of devices. At the level of intonation there is ana-
phoric bridging (lines 1 and 2) and cataphoric deixis (line 4);
lexically there are recurring items such as **andaga** (lines 1-3),
biabe (6, 8-9), **magadi*** (6-7) and the collocation **aju** and **jawi**.
There is a pattern of reporting first in past time, then in
future time, realis to irrealis, signalled initially on temporal
finite operators in the micro-verb complex, then on non-grammat-
ical items (time words).

12.2.1.11 The item **o** is interpreted throughout this text as a
pause-filler. Its other function is that of a stylistic device
that links utterances and allows the speaker to claim or retain
the floor (cf text 5). It is considered a sign of poor oratory
if intruded frequently into **bi te** 'folktales', **damba bi** 'media-
tor speech', and other such oratorical performances.

12.2.2 Text 2, obtained on the same occasion as the first,
is part of a report by a young schoolgirl, in year 5 or 6. It
is interesting in that it shows more L2 influence than text 1.

```
          4                                   2                   1
1 // Ĩ  tiki* anda  piru.          // siki* anda  pialu / dai
  a) 1S sick  house go-1S-SIMP PAST sick  house go-SIM  return
  b) TH CL+   TH                          CL+   TH              TH
  d)                EVN+FIN                      EVN+FIN
  e)                punctiliar                   perfect
  f)                                                            A+
  g)                                   CLS 1                    CLS +2
  h) I  sick  house went              sick  house going    return
  i) I went to the hospital.          Having gone to the hospital,

                          2                   1
2    biru.                // dai     bialu / ira  baru.
  a) do-1S-SIMP PAST         return do-SIM    wood hit-1S-SIMP PAST
  b)                         TH                TH
```

```
     d) EVN+FIN              EVN+FIN        EVN+FIN
     e) punctiliar           perfect        punctiliar
     f) PV              A+    PV
     g)                 CLS 1          CLS +2
     h) did             return doing   wood chopped
     i) I returned.     Having returned, I chopped some wood.


        2           1                    2
3 // ira   balu  / dai    biru.          // dai    howa
  a) wood hit-SIM return do-1S-SIMP PAST    return have-CONS
  b) TH             TH                       TH
  d)       EVN+FIN        EVN+FIN                    EVN+FIN
  e)       perfect        punctiliar                 perfect
  f)             A+    PV                      A+    PV
  g) CLS 1       CLS +2                        CLS 1
  h) wood hitting return did                   return having-done
  i) Having chopped some wood, I returned.  Having got back,


        4               2          1
4 // tomo dawaru.        // sindaun*   / naru.
  a) food cook-1S-SIMP PAST  sit down     ingest-1S-SIMP PAST
  b) TH
  d)       EVN+FIN           ?           EVN+FIN
  e)       punctiliar        perfect     punctiliar
  g) CLS +2                  CLS 1       CLS +2
  h) food cooked.            sitting down ate
  i) I cooked some food.     Sitting down, I ate it.


        2              4              3
5 // dawo      nalu    / paliru.              // da
  a) cook-STM ingest- SIM lie down-1S-SIMP PAST   descent
  d)                      EVN+FIN          b) TH
  e)        progressive punctiliar
  f) EVN+        EVN+FIN                       A+
  g) CLS 1                   CLS +2            CLS 1
  h) cook        eating      slept            descent
  i) Having cooked and eaten, I went to sleep.  Coming


                4
6    lialu     / ale   pada*  lotu*        ibiru.
  a) smooth-SIM first priest prayer service come-1S-SIMP PAST
  b)            ADV    DC+    TH
  d) EVN+FIN                              EVN+FIN
  e) perfect                              punctiliar
  f) PV
  g)            CLS +2
  h) smoothing  first priest  service       came
  i) down, as it were, I came to Father's Mass.


        3                             1
7 // lotu*   ibu       da        lialu    / wash* biru.
  a) service come-STM descent smooth-SIM  wash  do-1S-SIMP PAST
  b) TH                 TH                 TH
  d)                                       EVN+FIN
  e)        perfect/progressive           punctiliar
  f)        EVN+      AUX+     EVN+FIN     A+    PV
  g) CLS 1                                 CLS +2
  h) service come     descent smoothing   wash  did
  i) Descending and coming to mass, I washed.
```

12.2.2.1 The first line has an interesting phonological switch between $[\underset{\sim}{t}^h]$ and [s] in tiki and siki. The former is the more common usage in social class 1 (SC1) (cf 11.8.3.4); the latter is more closely associated with social class 2 (SC2).

12.2.2.2 The use of **he** 'have/stay/be' as the PV for **dai** 'return' in line 3 is unusual: one would have expected **dai bi.** Indeed, this is the only example I have of **dai he,** and it may be ill-formed.

12.2.2.3 The text is of uncomplicated construction, sharing with the previous one a lack of group complexes below clause level. At the level of macro-verbal groups there is an instance of verb serialization (cf 8.4.6) in line 5 (**dawo nalu**) and a split configuration (cf 8.4.7) in line 7 (**ibu da lialu**). Verbal group complexes consist of no more than two clauses, always in paratactic extension. The instance of hypotaxis in text 1 (line 5) was an occasion for SR, which does not occur in this present text (cf 9.4.2).

12.2.2.4 The appearance of the SIM in lines 2 and 7 as medial verb form with a final verb that is not a verb of motion is unusual and interesting. Both occurrences have been interpreted as perfect aspect, as has the occurrence in line 5, where the speaker is signalling **palu** 'lie down/sleep' as an act of change of posture, ie as movement.

12.2.2.5 An interesting sign of the influence of P is the unexpected use of 'sindaun' (line 4) instead of the appropriate form of **biru.** This is notable for two reasons: it is used as a verbal, not a nominal, item, and remains uninflected; and the item it replaces is associated with **beda,** the EV used for women

(cf 10.4.2.3-6). Possibly the girl who produced this report -
a younger person of SC1 - did not have full control of this
usage. The older woman who created text 1 exemplifies such con-
trol in the way she uses **beda** (lines 4, 5).

12.2.2.6 Other SC2 items from P are **pada*** and **lotu***, used
instead of the usual **aba** 'father' (H) and **tuguli** (cf P 'skul' -
instruction/prayer/church service'). Notice the older woman's
use of **tuguli** in text 1, line 8.

12.2.2.7 Interesting, too, is the appearance in line 7 of the
E 'wash', interpreted here as an A whose PV is **bi** 'make/do'. H
has borrowed the P nominal 'waswas' into as **wajawaja**: the P verb
is usually 'wasim', sometimes 'waswas'. Borrowing from E instead
of P could be intrepreted as SC1 ---> SC3 code switching (cf 11.
8.2.3; 11.8.3.4), and indicative of the range of social be-
haviour enjoyed by younger Huli people (cf 11.8.3).

12.2.2.8 Like the previous speaker, this girl adopts the nar-
rative pattern of presenting given information in a medial clau-
se, adding new information in a final clause, and then recycling
the last clause in medial form as the next piece of given in-
formation, to which new information is then joined by means of
a new final clause. The medial clause is given intonation 2 ,
which is that of the anaphoric bridge (4.10.2), while the final
clause is produced on intonation 1 or 4. It is interesting that
when the P 'sindaun' is selected instead of the H **biralu** in
line 4, the switch disrupts the usual H narrative style, out-
lined above: one might have expected

                    tomo dawalu biraru.
                    food cook-SIM sit down-1S-SIMP PAST
                    food cooking sat down/was
                    I sat while cooking the food.

to precede

          biralu   naru.
          sit down-SIM ingest-1S-SIMP PAST
          sitting down ate
          Sitting down, I ate.

which would have maintained the structure and the rythm of the

narrative.

12.2.3   Text 3   was obtained at about the same time, as the

previous two, and is a report given by a young man, aged about

20. It is interesting because of the high incidence of borrow-

ing. Some previous examples are from this text (cf 4.10.3.3).

```
       4                                                1
1 //   abe       ī  garo* wedi* lo         hene.       / Huli
  a) yesterday 1S car   wait  utter-STM have/be-EX DEF  Huli
  b) ADV        TH TH    TH                              TH
  e)                                        state
  f)                    (A+   PV) EVN+    EVN+FIN
  g)                                                    CLS 'β
  h) yesterday I  car   wait  decide    had             Huli
  i) Yesterday, I decided to wait for a car,           having


                           3          4
2     pole      lowa.       // Huli pole  / garo* wedi* hene.
  a) go-PURP utter-CONS        Huli go-PURP car   wait  have-EX DEF
  b)                            TH        TH    TH
  d) EVN+FIN  EVN+FIN              EVN+FIN              EVN+FIN
  e) prog.    perfect           progressive            state
  f)                                           A+   PV
  g)          CLSα             CLS x β        CLS α
  h) to-go    having decided Huli to-go    car    wait  had
  i) decided to go to Huli.  I waited for a car to go to Huli,


       1                        2          4
3  / goti* lo         pole. // Ani buwa,    / ai aju   o Huli
  a) court utter-STM go-PURP    thus do-CONS   ah today oh Huli
  b) TH                                        ADV        TH
  d)                            EVN+FIN
  e)          progressive       perfect
  f) (A+  PV) EVN+   EVN+FIN
  g) CLS x β                  CLS 1        CLS +2
  h) court say          to-go   thus having done ah today oh Huli
  i) in order to go to court.  Having done this, em, today, er,


              4
4     pole     daga.//garo* taja bialu bedogoni.
  a) go-PURP just    car    seek do-SIM sit-1S-EX PRES-LOC
  b)         ADV     TH              TH
  d) EVN+FIN                 EVN+FIN EVN+FIN+AUX+AUX
  e) progressive            prog.    state
  f)                            A+   PV
```

-340-

```
    g) CLS +3
    h) to-go   still  car   seek doing  sit-there/here
    i) I'm still going to Huli.  I'm here looking for a car.
```

12.2.3.1   This text demonstrates denser clause clustering than the previous two, with up to three clauses per complex. There are also more clauses in hypotaxis, but the 1S being held in subject postion throughout means that SR does not occur.

12.2.3.2   P borrowed 'wait' from E as 'wet', and it entered H as **wedi,** conforming to the (V)CV basic pattern of H lexis. The question of P 'waswas' being usually a nominal but possibly a verbal has been touched on in 12.2.3.5, which also describes how this item is borrowed into the H of SC1 as **wajawaja.** 'wet' is usually a verb in P, but it is borrowed by this SC2 speaker as an A whose PV is **he** 'have/be/stay' (line 2), and also as a verb (line 1). This latter is an instance of borrowing that seems to be more than mere lexical diffusion.

12.2.3.3   The text displays some of the information encoding devices exhibited in the first two texts (cf 12.2.2.5-3.6), but also relies on tags, produced on intonation 1 (cf 4.10.1-3), such as **Huli pole lowa** (lines 1-2) and **goti* lo pole** (line 3).

12.2.4   Text 4   uses the more conventional and traditional encoding strategies, but also incoporates a high degree of lexical borrowing. It records the report of a young man, and parts of it have appeared previously as examples (cf 4.10.3.2).

```
        2                 3              3
1 // ĩ  Ndet  howa / aba    Malakila   / biabe dauni  alendo
   a) 1S Det   from     father Malachy-COM  work   fifth   afternoon
   b) TH TH           TH                 TH    NM     ADV
   d)        (EVN+FIN?)
   g) (CL 1           CL +2)?
   h) I  Det  from    father Malachy-with work   fifth   afternoon
   i) I came from Det with Father Malachy on Friday
```

```
                    2           1                              2
2    ibini.    // ibalu, / Burani palene.            / Burani
  a) come-EX DEF  come-SIM Burani lie down-EX DEF       Burani
  b)              TH                          ,         TH
  d) EVN+FIN      EVN+FIN        EVN+FIN
  e) perfective   perfect        punctiliar/state
  g)              CLS 1    CLS +2                       (CLS 1
  h) came         coming   Burani lay down             Burani
  i) afternoon.   After arriving, I slept at Burani.   Having


                3
3    palialu,/ sarere*   emeneni      Tari pu      hewaria
  a) sleep-SIM Saturday  little-LOC   Tari go-STM  have-1S-EX PAST-LOC
  b)           TH        EP           TH
  d) EVN+FIN
  e) perfective                                    perfective
  f)                                               EVN+   EVN+FIN+AUX
  g)           CLS x2) CLS xβ
  h) sleeping  Saturday little-on   Tari go        had-when/while
  i) slept at Burani, on Saturday when I went to Tari,


     2              1                                    2
4 // o  Tari howa /pi-em-bi* mbira ibija.          // ogorani
  a) oh Tari from  P.M.V.    one   come-3-SIMP PAST that-LOC-LOC
  b)    TH         TH        DC                      DC
  d)         (EVN+FIN?)            EVN+FIN
  e)                              punctiliar
  g) (CLS 1        CLS +2) CLSα
  h) oh Tari from P.M.V.    a     came              that-at-in
  i) er, a Public Motor Vehicle came from Tari.     In that,


     4                         2              1
5 / o  Gumu ibiru.          // Gumu ibalu, / abe        sandeni*
  a) oh Gumu come-1S-SIMP PAST Gumu come-SIM yesterday Sunday-LOC
  b)  TH                       TH           ADV 1    ADV =2
  d)         EVN+FIN              EVN+FIN
  e)         punctiliar           perfect
  g)                            CLS 1
  h) oh Gumu came            Gumu coming    yesterday Sunday-on
  i) er, I came to Gumu.     Coming to Gumu yesterday on Sun-


        3
6 // o  o  hama      ga-gadolik* misin* lotu*     naibi
  a) oh oh clearing  Catholic    mission prayer   NEG-come-STM
  b)       TH        TH                  ?
  c)       NOM 1     NOM =2
  d)                                     ?        POL+EVN+FIN
  e)                                              state
  g) (CLS   xβ
  h) oh oh clearing Catholic   mission to pray not-come
  i) day, er, er, no service being held at the Catholic mission


      3                                   3
7 / Migili pu      hewaria,          / o  aba     Mbil
  a) Migili go-STM have-1S-EX PAST-LOC oh father Bill
  b) TH                                 TH
  e)             perfect
  f).            EVN+   EVN+FIN+AUX
  g) CLSα) CLS x2 (CLS  x γ              CLS  x β
```

```
      h) Migili go        had-when/while         oh father Bill
      i) ground, I went to Migili and, while there, when Father

                                      4
8        ibijagola              / Migili misa* handarima.
      a) come-3-SIMP PAST-LOC Migili Mass   see/sense-1P-SIMP PAST
      b)                        TH        TH
      d) EVN+FIN+AUX+AUX                     EVN+FIN
      e) punctiliar                          punctiliar
      g)                        CLS α ) CLS x3
      h) came-when              Migili Mass   (we) saw/experienced
      i) Bill came, we had Mass at Migili.


         2              4                              2
9 //  handalu,       / ibu       dai     birima.    // dai      bialu
      a) see/sense-SIM come-STEM return do-1P-SIMP PAST return do-SIM
      d) EVN+FIN                                                EVN+FIN
      e) perfect         perfect
      f)                 EVN+       AUX+    EVN+FIN        A+      PV
      g) CLS 1           CLS +2                           CLS 1
      h) seeing          come        return (we) made.    return making
      i) After Mass, we came back.                        Returning,


          3              1                     3
10 //  palialu      / aju    Burani pole. // aba      Mbiluma  ina
      a) lie down-SIM today Burani go-PURP  father Bill-COM  1P
      b)               ADV    TH              TH                TH
      c)                                      NOM 1             NOM +2
      d) EVN+FIN                    EVN+FIN
      e) perfect                    progressive
      g) CLS +2        CLS x3                   CLS 1
      h) sleeping      today Burani to-go    father Bill-with  we/us
      i) and having slept, today (we) return to Burani. With Father


         `                        1
11     haru         howa        / Gumu bedama.
      a) along with have-CONS     Gumu sit down-1P-EX PRES
      b)                          TH
      d)             EVN+FIN              EVN+FIN
      e)             perfect              state
      g)                          CLS x 2
      h) accompanying having had Gumu are seated
      i) Bill, all of us together are waiting at Gumu.
```

12.2.4.1 This text has a number of interesting features. There

are examples of nominal group complexes in lines 6 and 10, and

the latter line also contains an example of a medial verb form

(**pole**) in utterance-final position.   There is an example of a

split configuration (cf 8.4.7) in line 9, the last two elements

(**dai bi** 'return') then reoccurring in a medial form as an APV.

12.2.4.2 **howa** in line 1 illustrates the problems involved in

regarding it as an enclitic (cf 6.2.2). If it is seen as a verb in this instance, then it is part of the paratactic complex shown within brackets in line 1,g.

12.2.4.3 There are some elaborate clause complexes. In lines 2 to 4: **Burani palialu** and **sarere*...hewaria** are in paratactic enhancement; **sarere*...hewaria** and **pi-em-bi*...ibija** are in hypotactic extension (note the SR); and **o...howa** and **pi-em-bi* ...ibija** are in paratactic extension.

12.2.4.4 Lines 5 to 7 are equally interesting. **Gumu...ibalu** and **Migili...hewaria** are in paratactic enhancement; **abe...naibi** and **Migili...hewaria** in hypotactic elaboration (note the SR); o **aba..ibijagola** and **Migili...handarima** in hypotactic enhancement (with SR); and **Migili..hewaria** and **Migili...handarima** in hypotactic enhancement (SR present).

12.2.4.5 The speaker uses loan words that lack final vowels - egs **Ndet** (line 1), **gadolik** and **misin** (line 6) and **Mbil** (line 7). Selecting the COM suffix -ma for use with **Mbil** involved the insertion of a [+high] vowel (line 10), in accordance with vowel harmony principles (cf 4.11). The form **ogorani** (line 4) is a common elision for **ogoriani**.

12.2.4.6 The item **lotu*** (line 6) may be either a nominal or a verbal in P. Here it seems almost certainly to be functioning as a nominal, as it is in text 2 line 6.

12.2.4.7 Besides anaphoric bridging (lines 2, 3, 5 and 9-10), another device by which cohesion is achieved is lexical chaining - such as the scatter of place names throughout the text, and the set of hyponyms referring to days of the week at the begin-

ning of the text. Lexical cohesion is also apparant in the set
of items from the expanded **mana** register: **aba** (lines 1, 7, 10),
sandeni (line 5), **gadolik misin lotu** (line 6) and **misa** (line 8).

12.2.4.8 The speaker seems to be mixing SC1 and SC2 codes, us-
ing **aba** (SC1) for 'priest/father' instead of the P term 'pada'
(cf text 2, line 6), **pi-em-bi*** (SC2) instead of **garo*** (SC1),and
both **lotu*** (SC2) and **misa*** (SC1) for 'service/Mass'. He is also
careful to qualify **sarere*** with **emene** (line 3: cf 7.6.6.4),thus
selecting SC1 usage (SC2 usage would have left it as **sarere***),
while **sandeni*** (line 5: cf 7.6.6.6) is one of options available
in SC1, the SC2 being the P 'sande'.

12.3 BI BAME

12.3.1   Text 5   was recorded at Aidali in April 1984. It is
a segment of interactive dialogue between people gathered for a
meeting. A Church leader, J, acts as facilitator, keeping the
discussion going (eg 22J). There was considerable background
noise, and people out of range of the microphone sometimes in-
terjected. The transcription will dispense from indicating
groups, other than macro-verbal groups, with less than three
constituents, and will generally treat aspect in the commentary.
The text begins with a man's reaction to a poor quality sweet
potato.

```
           4
1A   // ogo   nanolija.
     a) this NEG-ingest-1S-PERM
     d)      POL+EVN+FIN
     h) this not-(I) may eat
     i) I won't eat this.


           4
2B      ai (( )) // ai nogo minu        bo           malījã.
     a) ah          ah pig  catch-STM hit/kill-STM go-1P-EXH-FUT
```

```
         f)                          EVN+        EVN+           EVN+FIN
         h) ah ... ... ah pig      catch       kill          let's go
         i) Let's go and catch a pig and kill it.


3C   ede                 (kamilo)=
     across over there      ?


4B  // =ededagwa                          nogo minu  (        )
     a)  LOC-MOD-MOD                        pig  catch-STM
     f)                                          EVN+
     h)  across over there-it seems-if pig   catch
     i)  If, across there, having caught


              2                    2                        2
5D   bo    // bo      buwa,    / nogo bo      buwa    / anda
     a) hit-STM hit-STM do-CONS    pig  hit-STM do-CONS      house
     f) EVN(+)   EVN+    EVN+FIN           EVN+    EVN+FIN
     g)         (CLS 1)              CLS 1                   (CLS
     h) hit      hit    having done pig  hit    having done house
     i) having done it to death, having done the pig to death,


              4
6    bu   / anda  bimĩjã.
     a) do-STM house do-1P-EXH FUT
     g) +2)    CLS +2
     h) do      house make-let us
     i) let's build a house.


                       2
7E   o (-)   anda // anda  buwa (-)
     a) oh      house   house do-CONS
     g) CLS 1
     h) oh      house   house having made
     i) Er, having built the house,


              4
8        / o   dai   bu      hamĩjã.
     a)     oh return do-STM have-1P-EXH FUT
     f)        (A+  PV)EVN+   EVN+FIN
     g)     CLS +2
     h)     oh return do      have-let us
     i)     er, let's / we'll return.


         4
9D  // o dai bu hamĩjã. //_ani  buwa=
     a)                      thus do-CONS
     g)                      CLS 1
     h)                      thus having done
                                               4
10E                       ma           // =o  mamage hamĩjã.
     a)                                   oh guard  have-1P-EXH FUT
     g)                                  (CLS +2)
     h)                                   oh guard   have-let us
     i)                                   er, we'll keep watch.


         4
11D // o mamage hamĩjã.
     g) CLS +2
```

```
                4
12F // ai dawamĩjã.
    a)   ah steam cook in the ground-1P-EXH FUT
    g)   (CLS +3)
    h)   ah steam cook in the ground-let us
    i)   Ah, we'll steam it.


        4               2               4
13D // o dawamĩjã. //ani  buwa  / o  dugwalu  namĩjã.
    a)                    thus do-CONS oh lift-SIM ingest-1P-EXH FUT
    g)   CLS +3           CLS 1              CLS +2  CLS +3
    h)                    thus having done oh lifting eat-let us
    i)                    After that, we'll take it out and eat it.


        4
14F // o dugwalu namĩjã.
    g)   (CLS +4)


            4
14G // _ duguwa        namĩjã.
    a)  |  lift-CONS       ingest-1P-EXH FUT
    g)  |  CLS 1           CLS +2
    h)  |  having lifted eat-let us
    i)  |  Having taken it out, we'll eat it.

H16     |─  ne                              ne    bambogini* (umbrau)
           food                            food pumpkin       ?


                                             3
17    laro                mbijore, // o  nogo nalu
    a) utter-1S-SIMP PRES one-very       oh pig  ingest-SIMP
    g) CLS ?                             CLS "2 (CLS "2 (CLS 1
    h) (I) say/am saying  truly one      oh pig  eating/haven eaten
    i) Say: He said, I reckon foodstuffs, pumpkin and ( ) are


        4                                    1
18  / dai     bule    laja,              / lalimu.
    a) return do-PURP utter-3-SIMP PAST utter-2P-IMP FUT
    f) A+      PV
    g) CLS +2)           CLS 1)              CLS 1
    h) return to-do    (he/they) said    say-you!
    i) all one kind; I'll come back after eating pig.


                        1
19     (laughter)    // bi    wa        ha.
    a)                  talk reject     have-2S-IMP PRES
    b)                  TH   TH(?)
    d)                  EVN+ (?)  EVN+FIN (conflated)
    f)                  A+        PV (?)
    h)                  talk reject have-you!
    i)                  Be quite, you!


            4
20A // mani   ina podole.
    a)   later 1P  cut up-PURP
    h)   later we  to-cut
    i)   Later, we'll cut it up.
```

```
           4
21I // mitini* aju be.
   a)  meeting now Q
   i)  Is the meeting now?


       3                                             1
22J // o  nogo handa      walijagwa        / aiwa    mule.
   a)  oh pig  sense-STM  show-MOD-MOD       who-ERG take-PURP
   f)            EVN+      EVN+AUX+AUX
   g)  CLS xβ                                   CLSα
   h)  oh pig  see        show-must have-should who      to-take
   i)  Er, who would take a pig if he came across one?


       3                                                    4
23E // ibu amuali                       bijagwa,          / o
   a)  3S  along across over there-NOM  do-STM-MOD-MOD
   d)                                   EVN+AUX+AUX
   g)  CLS xβ                                              CLSα
   h)  he  someone from over there      do-must have-should oh
   i)  If someone from across over there did it, er,


24     wai bimĩjã.          mba _( )
   a)  war do-1P-EXH FUT      |
   h)  war make-let us        |
   i)  we'll make war.        |
                              |   4
25K                        /̄/̄ iba   gana  misa lo
   a)                         water ditch Mass utter-STM
   b)                         CL+   TH+   QL
   f)                                          EVN+
   h)                         song        Mass utter
   i)                         Let's sing a Mass


26     hamĩjã.
   a)  have-1P-EXH FUT
   f)  EVN+FIN
   h)  have-let us
   i)  hymn.


       3                           3
27E // o  ibu     hondo lalu      / ibu nogo no          halu
   a)  oh 3S      to    utter-SIM  3S  pig  ingest-STM   have-SIM
   f)                                       EVN+         EVN+FIN
   g)  CLSα                        CLS "β (CLS x β (CLS ⊆₂
   h)  oh he/him to    saying      he  pig  eat          having
   i)  Er, telling him that if he should be shown to have eaten


                                   4
28     mowali     bijagwa      / o  waija   bimĩjã.
   a)  CAUS-show do-STM-MOD-MOD oh war-MOD do-1P-EXH FUT
   d)             EVN+AUX+AUX
   g)  CLS   ⊆₂)                 CLS  ⊆α
   h)  cause-show do-must-should/if oh war-must do-let us
   i)  the pig, er, then we'll wage war.


       4
29J // o  dindinaga    halu    ndo baramani.
   a)  oh ground-POSS have-SIM no  hit/kill-1P-SIM PRES-MOD
   d)                          EVN+FIN+AUX
```

```
       g)  CLS 1                          CLS x2
       h)  oh earth-for     having    no  fight (we) should
       i)  But we shouldn't fight over material possessions.


           4
30H // o  baralijani.
    a)  oh hit/kill-3-HAB-MOD-DEF
    d)      EVN+FIN+AUX+AUX
    h)  oh they-certainly usually fight
    i)  Oh, they inevitably fight.


        1     4
31L // a, / agi  lo          bare.
    a)  eh,  what utter-STM hit/kill-2S-SIMP PRES
    f)             EVN+       EVN+FIN
    h)  eh,  what say         fight (you)?
    i)  Hey, why would you fight?


        (           )


           3
32E // o  ĩ    dindi  mopijagoria
    a)  oh 1S   ground CAUS-go-3-SIMP PAST-DET-LOC
    f)                 PEV+EVN+FIN+AUX+AUX
    g)  CLS x β
    h)  on I/my ground cause self-went-that-when/where
    i)  Oh, when someone went onto my land,


           4
33  // o  nogo bo      malĩjã         ledago
    a)  oh pig  hit-STM go-1P-EXH FUT utter-3-EX PRES-DET
    b)  TH (                                               )
    f)             EVN+    EVN+FIN        (EVN+FIN+AUX)
    g)  (CLS "2                        CLS 1)?
    h)  oh pig hit      go-let us      said-that (one)
    i)  oh, one who'd said, "Let's go and kill a pig",


           4
34  // o  wai biruguni.
    a)  oh war do-1P-SIMP PAST-DET-DEF
    d)          EVN+FIN+AUX+AUX
    f)      A+  PV
    g)  CLS ∝
    h)  oh war (I) made-that-that
    i)  well, I made war.


           2                 1
35B // o  wai bialu / nogo bamĩjã.
    a)  oh war do-SIM    pig  hit/kill-1P-EXH FUT
    f)      A+  PV
    g)  CLS 1          CLS =2
    h)  oh war making    pigs kill-let us
    i)  Oh, we'll kill pigs while at war.


36C  anibi=
     thus-like
     Like this
```

```
              2                    3
37B  //  =anibigo        /  agali  baramidago (-)
   a)     thus-like-DET     man    hit/kill-2P-SIMP PAST-MOD-DET
   b)                       TH+    QL
   d)                              (EVN+FIN+AUX+AUX)
   h)     thus like-that men      (you) killed-it seems-that
   i)     That's the way: the man you apparantly killed ...


              4
38  //  ibu guruanda            ale    te          jaro.
   a)   3S  initiation house like   stand       hold-1S-SIMP PRES
   b)   DC  EP(TH+              ADN)+ TH
   h)   he  initiation house like stand (talk) (he) holds
   i)   I know his story - like an initiation house tale.


39C     ãlẽ.
        EXC
        Oh dear!
```

12.3.1.1 A number of speakers tried to claim the floor at this point, and the debate broke up in confusion. The previous pattern of turn-taking had been quite orderly, speakers self-slecting and successfully claiming turns by using the linking **o** form (cf 12.2.1.1) to introduce anaphoric references, achieving cohesion through repetition of all or part of the previous utterance. Thus 4B, 7E, 9D and F12, were able to gain the floor, while acceptance of such interjections, egs 9D, 11D and 13D, allowed the acceptor to retain or to regain control.

12.3.1.2 The pattern of anaphoric referencing used in reporting (cf 12.2.3.1) is seen here to be operative across exchanges in phatic discourse, where it assists in the ordering of participant rôles. It allows the person who holds the floor to make room for the contribution of others, at the same time providing all participants with a strategy for signalling interpersonal support and affirmation, as in 6-7E; 8-9D; 10E-11D; 12F-13D; 13D-14F and 15G.

12.3.1.3 In this way members of the group also signal to each other assent and mutual involvement in topic development. It is

interesting, too, that the signals of interpersonal support and continuation of topic seem to be uttered on intonation contours that are congruent and appropriate (as in the examples given in the previous sector), while interventions that fail are not. Thus, attempts to shift the focus by the use of other strategies are either ignored - eg 21I and 24K - or are not pursued - eg 16H-19.

12.3.1.4 The latter instance caused a momentary disorientation within the group. H had difficulty breaking in (15G-16H), and then contributed something that was seemingly poorly expressed and out of step with the discourse build up. There is some similarity between the text at this point and the Nebilyer **ung eke** 'bent speech' text in Rumsey (1986*b*) that native speakers found difficult to understand. In this present instance, the sense is hard to retrieve, and the reaction of those around was laughter. They seemingly went 'bald on record', without redress (cf Brown & Levinson 1987: 69), and the speaker adopted the same strategy in response. This is shown linguistically in the omission of the softner -**be** (cf 5.5.1.1), and in his seeming to regard the laughers as a single unit - more easily tackled than a series of individuals - to be addressed in the singular. There are no follow-up data that indicate whether the matter was pursued any further.

12.3.1.5 Two turns exemplify false starts (here placed between angled brackets):

    5D   <bo> bo buwa, nogo bo buwa, <anda bu> anda bimīja

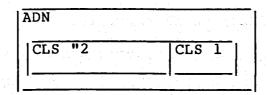   7E   o (-) <anda> anda buwa (-)

These are shown in round brackets at the clause level interpre-

tation.

12.3.1.6   The paucity of nominal groups and nominal group com-
plexes is notable, while verbal group complexes are more marked
than in previous, dialogic, texts. **ledago** (line 33) and **bara-
midago** (line 37B) are both intrepreted as derivational adnomin-
als (cf 7.9.3), as opposed to sub-dominant clauses (cf 9.4.6.2),
but the interlineal glosses indicate the possibility of an al-
ternative reading.

12.3.1.7 Line 33, with its projected locution o **nogo bo malĩjã**,
illustrates that derivational adnominals may project, and lend
themselves to interpretations such as

<p style="text-align:center">o nogo bo malĩjã ledago</p>

ADN	
CLS "2	CLS 1

which is the one that has been given in the transcription.

12.3.1.8 There are instances of verb serialization in lines
2B, 4B-5D, 8, 22J, 27E, 31L and 33.

12.3.1.9   An interesting H usage is illustrated by this text,
which shows participants persisting with the EXH FUT across a
number of exchanges (eg 1A-15G), rather than use forms such as
the PURP to signal future time. This may be partly due to the
EXH FUT regularly reoccurring as an element in the discourse
marking anaphoric bridges that speakers used. When the PURP
form finally appears (20A), it is only after coherence has been
disrupted by H16-19.

12.3.1.10 The EXH FUT in this text typically indicates punc-

tiliar aspect (eg line 9D), and the CONS perfect or, occasion-
ally, imperfective (eg bo buwa in 5D). The meaning signal of
mamage hamĩjã 'guard/be on the watch' (line 10E), indicates that
here the realization might be progressive.

12.3.1.11 The text is typical of those generated by members of
SC1, being sparse in its use of non-H lexis. The form **mitini***
'meeting' is borrowed from E and P, and is introduced into the
discourse by a young man (21I). The intervention is ignored.

12.3.1.12 Similarly ignored is the intervention of 25K-26, made
by an older woman, who seemed eager to turn the discussion away
from war towards what she probably thought was something more
wholesome. The only other intervention by a woman is to affirm
and support the one holding the floor (15G). She does no more
than this to further the discussion, perhaps because of the in-
tervention at 16H, or perhaps because she chose to leave her
part at that.

12.3.1.13 The item **guruanda** (line 38) is probably meant to re-
fer to the initiation ritual at which new **haroli** or **ibagija** (cf
2.3.2.7) are switched by older members of the cult as they run
the gauntlet down a row of burning coals.

12.3.1.14 Line 27E-28 are important as an instance of reported
speech (cf 9.4.7.2.1), something previously thought not to occur
in Huli (cf Rule 1977: 39-40). Also of interest in these lines
is the SR from **lalu** to **halu**, since SR on these medial forms is
contrary to normal usage (cf 10.3). The SR from **bijagwa** to **bi-
mĩjã** is regular.

12.3.1.14 The SR from **mopijagoria** (line 32E) to **biruguni** (34)

is regular and predictable.

12.3.2   Text 6   is the transcription of part of a discussion
held at Homaria in 1982. The participants are a group of men,
asked to discuss together some of their activities. This text
is an extract from what three of them had to say about the prac-
tice of killing pigs.

```
1A    nogo (-) _ o
      pig      |‾ oh
               |
               | 4
2B         // ‾Ina      laro
  a)           1S-ERG  utter-1S-SIMP PRES
  h)           I       speak/say/tell
  i)           Let me  speak.


      2
3A    ẽ
      Yes/Okay.


      4                              3
4B  // nogo nde baramali.        // malingibi,
   a)  pig  EXC hit/kill-1P-HAB     dance-LOC-COM
   h)  pig  yes (we) kill habitually dance-when-and
   i)  We kill pigs, at Christmas and


      3
5    / agali homarangibi
   a)  man    die-3-SIMP PRES-LOC-COM
   h)  man    dies-when-and
   i)  when a man dies.


      1
6C  // dai     bi   la.
   a)  return talk utter-2S-IMP PRES
   f)  A(A+    PV)  PV
   h)  return talk say
   i)  Reply to him.


7A    nogo (-)
      pig


      2       4
8B  // nogo / nogo bo        wa        haramani.
   a)  pig    pig  hit-STM  reject have-1P-SIMP PRES-LOC
   f)                EVN+    AUX+    EVN+FIN+AUX
   h)  pig    pig  hit      reject (we) have-when
   i)  Then we kill and get rid of pigs.


         4
9C  // Ina      hangu nalaribigobi
   a)  2S-ERG alone NEG-utter-2S-SIMP PAST-ADV-DET-COM
   d)              POL+EVN+FIN+AUX+AUX+AUX
```

```
    g)   CLS xβ
    h)   you      only  not-you-said-like-that-and
    i)   It's not just you that's said that, so


                           1
10      naruli              / lama=
    a)  utter-1S-HAB         utter-1P-EXH PRES
    g)  (CLS "2             CLS 1) CLSα
    h)  (I) eat-habitually  say-let us
    i)  let's all say how we feast.


                3                                      1
11A  =nogo//nogo balu    haramani,           / abale    kanagani*,
    a)  pig    pig  hit-SIM have-1P-SIMP PRES-LOC before kanaka-LOC
    c)                                       ADV 1   ADV =2
    g)  CLS 1 (CLS xβ
    h)  pig  pig  hitting (we) have-when        before kanaka-when
    i)  When we kill pigs - before, when we were kanakas -


            3          3
12   / abame (-) /o agali wai bialu  dawa        bu      balu,
    a)   father-ERG oh men   war do-SIM dawa feast do-STM hit-SIM
    f)                     A+  PV                 EVN+    EVN+FIN
    g)   CLSα (CLS 1                    CLS +2))
         priest/s   oh men  war making dawa feast do       hitting
         priest...er, when men are at war they kill at feasts for


            3                                          3
13  // horombe wali  agali homaragola           / damanaga
    a)   midday  woman man   die-3-SIMP PRES-DET-LOC spirit-POSS
    g)   CLS =2 (CLS x β                   CLSα (CLS 1
    h)   midday  people    die-that-with        spirit-of/for
    i)   the dead; in daylight, when someone dies, declaring that


                                    3
14      bara           lowa       / habane  bu      balu
    a)  hit-3-SIMP PRES utter-CONS  fat rite do-STM hit-SIM
    f)                             EVN+    EVN+FIN
    g)  (CLS "β        CLSα ) CLS 1 CLS +2
    h)  kill/s          having said fat rite do    hitting
    i)  they kill to the spirits, they kill at the fat rite,


15   / haĩ (-)              _ (   )
    a)   spread/smear/anoint
    g)   CLS +3
         smear


16C                              // o abale  baja hangu (-)
    a)                              oh before good only
    i)                              Well, in the past, only good


            3
17  // tigua  baja hangu mitiangi bu      barimi            be,
    a)   2P-ERG good only  thought do-STM hit-2P- SIMP PAST Q
    f)                           (A+     PV)EVN+ EVN+FIN
    g)   CLS 1
    h)   you    good only  thought do     hit              ?
    i)   ... did you have only good intentions when you killed,
```

```
                3                                          3
18  //  nogo bame      jarimi                be,/be aju balu      kama
    a)  pig  nothing hold-2P-SIMP PAST Q    Q   now hit-STM EV-1P
    g)  CLS =2                                CLS x3              CLS +4
    h)  pig  nothing hold-?                   or now killing we are
    i)  taking the pigs with nothing particular in mind, or is


                4
19  //  baja hangu barama.
    a)  good only  hit-1P-SIMP PAST
    g)  CLS x5
    h)  good only  we hit
    i)  it only nowadays that we kill them with good intent?


20B //_ ndo, aju bajale
     |  NEG   now good
     |  No,   now properly
     |
21A  |_ ndo aju mobajale           hangu=
    a)  NEG now CAUS-good           only
    h)  No  now cause to be-good only
    i)  No, only now do we make it good.


                4
22B // =aju bajale barama.              // abale,
    a)  now good    hit-1P-PRESS SIMP    |‾before
    h)  now good    we hit               | before
    i)  Now we kill with good intent.    | In the old days,
                                         |
23A                                      |_o kagwa
    a)                                     oh wrong(ly)
    i)                                     Oh, wrongly.


                3                    3
24B /  o  ko  labome,     / ko  aju bara              manga,
    a)  oh bad pair-ERG      bad now hit-3-SIMP PRES dislike
    g)  CLS 1               <CLS =2>
    h)  oh bad pair-by/with bad now (they) hit      dislike
    i)  er, by those two bad practices, which no-one wants to do


                4
25  /  ba        ko    haga        nean.
    a)  hit-STM bad   have-CUST   ingest-3-EX DEF
    f)  EVN+     AUX+  EVN+FIN (+) EVN+FIN
    h)  hit      bad   haver       ate
    i)  nowadays, they used wrongly to kill and eat pigs.


                4
26  /  o  mini kowi     hean.
    a)  oh mini bad-ADN have-3-EX DEF
    h)  oh mind bad-ish had
    i)  Oh, they had wicked minds.
```

12.3.2.1 The usual expression for 'reply/answer' is the split

configuration **la dai bi** 'utter return make', and the apparent

APV **dai bi la** 'return-talk utter' is either a dialectal variant

or an ill-formed utterance that reflects in part the P,

```
            bekim              tok
            return/give back talk/speech
```

In support of the latter possiblity is the factor of C, the

facilitator of the trio, having undergone extended training in

which P was the medium of communicaton.

12.3.2.2 There are dialectal variants in this text, such as

the deletion of final vowels in **neané** and **heané** (lines 25 & 26),

which site the interaction in the Magarima area (cf 2.6.2). The

occurrence in line 24B of

```
         ko    aju bara              manga
         wrong now  hit-3-SIMP PRES  dislike
```

either omits the usual modal (eg -ba) that co-occurs with **manga**,

or disrupts the SOV syntax to OVS, and places **manga** in clause-

final position. The latter interpretation seems unlikely, given

the non-ocurrence of final position S anywhere else in the data.

It can be noted that this latter interpretation would also in-

dicate punctiliar aspect, while a modal would indicate state -

more likely in view of the customary aspect of the paratactic

clause within which this one is embedded.

12.3.2.3 In line 25 there occurs another unusal syntactical

configuration,

```
         ba        ko     haga         nean
         hit-STM   wrong  have-CUST    ingest-3-EX DEF
         hit       wrong  haver/be-er  ate
```

This involves the split configuration **ba ko he** 'hit wrong/hit

badly/miss' and then a quasi-serialization of **he** and **ne** - 'kill

and eat'. The CUST can sometimes be interpreted as an A when it

co-occurs with **he** 'have/be' (cf text 12..4.1, line 2), but this

instance seems to suggest that its PV could also be **ne** 'eat'.

12.3.2.4   Another unexpected configuration occurs in line 9C, in which the adnominal derivational suffix -bi (cf 7.9.2.1) is employed twice as an AUX in a micro-verbal group. At the level of pragmatics, the utterance in which this form occurs (lines 9C≠10) is a bald-on-record face threatening act (FTA). It appears that C's position (church leader and facilitator) allowed him to use this strategy, and the response to it was immediate.

12.3.2.5 Lines 11A-15 contain an interesting verbal group complex, including a reported locution (cf 9.4.7.2.1). The complex can be set out thus:

```
nogo ... kanagani          1.(xβ
abame ... wai bialu           α.1
dawa bu balu                     +2)
horombe homaragola         =2.(xβ
damanaga bara                 α.("β
lowa                              α).1
habane bu balu                     +2
hãĩ  (hene)                        +3)
```

This interprets it as consisting of two complexes in paratactic elaboration, the first of which contains a clause in hypotactic enhancement with two paratactic clauses, the second of which is an extension of the first. The second group complex has an initial clause in hypotactic enhancement with three paratactic clauses. The first of the three, **lowa**, projects a hypotactic report, and the second and third extend the first.

12.3.2.6   Another verbal group complex, consisiting of five clauses in paratactic extension, occurs in lines 17-19. In this complex, **be aju balu** and **kama** (line 18) are considered as separate clauses on the basis of the interpretation of the status of medial and other forms given in 8.4.8.5-7. The SR that occurs on **balu** is interesting, and indicates that perhaps there

are two related complexes here, rather than one.

12.3.2.7 The SR in the large complex discussed in 12.3.2.5 is interesting, occurring across the instances of hypotaxis that do not involve projection.

12.3.2.8 Like the previous text, this one reflects the SC1 code, with little lexical borrowing (the anomaly of 6C has been noted in 12.3.2.1). The P term 'kanaka' is used in this code to refer to pre-whiteman beliefs and practices, whereas in SC2 code it is more likely to carry perjorative overtones. It is interesting that, like other nominals borrowed into H, it becomes subject to morphological rules of suffixation (cf text 4, line 5).

12.3.2.9 H items of interest are **mali** 'dance/year' (line 4B) and aba 'father/priest' (line 12). Christmas has become a time when traditional dances are performed, and **mali** (cf 7.6.6.5), suffixed with the temporal adessive locative -ngi, has come to mean 'Christmas'. Similarly, **aba** 'father' is now used of Catholic priests. This new generic connotation reclassifies it as a class 1 noun (cf 7.2), and it is given the ergative suffix -me. However, specific realizations of the generic term are usually considered to remain as class 2 nouns (cf 7.3.), and are given the ergative suffix -handa, as in the utterance:

```
aba              + handa mbuga* mongija
father/priest    ERG    book   CAUS-give-3-SIMP PAST
father-by/with          book   cause self-gave
Father took and gave me a book
                             = abahanda mbuga* mongija
```

12.3.2.5 The item **labome** in line 24B is an anaphoric reference to what A had said previously in lines 12-14, the referents being the night-time **dawa** 'feast for dead warriors' (cf 2.5.3)

and the day-time **habane** 'fat rite'. This latter is a sacrific-
ial rite during which a sacred stone, representing an important
dama (cf 2.2.1), is anointed with pig fat.

12.3.2.6   Participants tended to self-select for turns, claims
being registered by interjections (cf lines 2B, 8B, 6C, 16C and
23A). The interjection 9C-10 was not a claim for a turn but a
piece of meta-discourse by which C, the facilitator, selected A
for 11A. In general, however, participants claimed the floor
by interrupting the current speaker. The anaphoric bridging of
turns, present in previous texts, is in evidence here only once:
11A refers back to 8B, which was prior to the meta-discourse of
9C-10. Lack of supportive bridging reflects the level of inter-
action, which was not as smooth and harmonious in this group as
it was in the group that created text 5.

12.4 BI MANA

12.4.1   Text 7   was created by a man from Dindidugu, near
Goloba, in 1971, and is a piece of written discourse. His topic
is the tradition concerning what lies beneath the earth.   In the
transcription, line b) has been reintroduced, showing nominal
and adverbial groups of one or more constituents.

```
1 // bamba   dindi  ko   haragola,                          / Duguba
   a) before  ground bad  have/stay/be-3-SIMP PRES-DET-COM   Duguba
   b) ADV      TH+    EP                                     CL+
   g) CLS  xβ
   h) before  earth   bad  has-that-with                    Duguba
   i) Before, when the soil was poor, the

2      agalime  dindi  gamu  biaga           hene.
   a) men-ERG   ground rite  do-CUST         have/stay-3-EX DEF.
   b) TH        CL+    TH
   f)                        A+              PV
   g) CLS  α  (CLS 1                         CLS +2)
   h) men       earth  rite  do-customarily  had/stayed
   i) Duguba men used to perform the earth ritual.
```

```
3 // aju  iname  manda  nabi        kemagoni.                    ĩ   hale
  a) now  1P-ERG head   NEG-do-STM  EV-1P-DET-LOC                1S  ear
  b) ADV  TH     TH                                              TH  TH
  f)             (A+    PV)  EVN+    EVN+FIN+AUX+AUX                  A+
  g)                                                             CLS +β
  h) now  we     head   not-do     are-that-in                  I   ear
     Nowadays, we that are here don't understand it.     When I

4  harugula,                        / bamba  dindi  gewa peda,
  a) have-1S-SIMP PAST-DET-COM        before  ground cane go-3-EX PRES
  b)                                  ADV     CL+    TH
  f) PV
  g)                                  (CLS "1
  h) had                              before  earth  cane is going,
  i) heard of it they said,  'Long ago there's a cane running

5  laja.            // mende   ege  tõlẽ,  tebone puja
  a) utter-3-SIMP PAST  second  moon stone,  third  python
  b)                    NM+     TH 1 +2     NM+    TH
  c)                    NOM 1               NOM +2
  g) CLS 2) CLSα        CLS "1
  h) (he/they) said.    secondly rock stone thirdly python
  i) through the earth.'  'There's also a rock,' they said,

6  peda,      / laja.            // dindi  kemago    pini
  a) go-3-EX PRES utter-3-SIMP PAST  ground EV-1P-DET root
  b)                                 DC (TH+ QL)+    TH+
  g)               CLS 2             CLS "1 <CLS>
  h) is going       (they) said     earth  are-that  root
  i) 'and, thirdly, a python,'      'That's the root of the

7  ogoni, /laja.                    // ege  tõlẽ,/pujabi
  a) that     utter-3-SIMP PAST        moon stone python-COM
  b) DC                                TH 1 +2      TH
  c)                                   NOM 1      NOM +2
  g)                                   CLS "1
  h) that    (they) said               rock stone python-and
  i) earth on which we live,' they said. They continued: 'The

8  / gewabi  / palu    palu   bida,       / laja.
  a) cane-COM  lie-SIM lie-SIM do-3-EX PRES utter-3-SIMP PAST
  b) TH
  c) NOM +3
  f)           (EVN+FIN  EVN+FIN EVN+FIN)
  g)           (CLS 1    CLS+2   CLS+3)        CLS 2
  h) cane-and lying     lying   are doing     (they) said.
  i) rock, python and cane are runnning along side by side.

9 // gewabi / ege  tõlẽbi  / pujabi, / ogoni.      // dindi
  a) cane-COM moon stone-COM python-COM that         ground
  b) TH        TH 1 +2       TH       DC            TH
  c) NOM 1    NOM +2        NOM +3    NOM =4
  h) cane-and rock-and      python-and that         earth
  i) That's how the cane, the rock and the python are.  That's

10  ko   harangi                     / ogoni. //tongo lole
  a) bad have-stay/be-3-SIMP PRES-LOC that      snap  utter-PURP
  b) ADN                               DC       TH
```

```
       f)                                               A+(A+ PV)
       h) bad is-when                        that     snap to-say/be
       i) how it is when the soil is bad.             It's going to

11   bira,        / ogoni./mbirangi homa  pole   bira.
     a) do-3-SIMP PRES that    one-LOC  death go-PURP do-3-SIMP PRES
     b)                  DC      ADV      TH
     f)                                         A+      PV
     h) is doing      that    one-when death to-go    is doing
     i) snap, oh yes.         One day it will go to its death.'

12 // ai lajadagwa.                    // ĩ  hale henedagwa
     a)  ah utter-3-SIM PAST-MOD-MOD    1S ear  have-EX DEF-MOD-MOD
     b)                                 TH TH
     d)     EVN+FIN+AUX+AUX                     EVN+FIN+AUX+AUX
     f)                                 A+   PV
     g)                                 CLS "β
     h) ah (they) said-must-like       I  ear  had-must-like
     i) Ah, that's what they said.     I've told everything,

13 / lai haruguni.                         // agali wahe hangume
     a) utter-COMP have-1S-SIMP PAST-DET-LOC  men    old   only-ERG
     b)                                         TH+    EP+   DC
     f) A+  PV
     g) CLS ⊄
     h) say-completely had-that-at/in         men    old   only-by
     i) just as I heard it.                   Only the old men

14   lagane.         // igiri emene hale nahaga.
     a) utter-CUST-DEF    boy/s small ear  NEG-have-CUST
     b)                   TH+   EP    TH
     f)                             A+  PV
     h) say-customarily-that  boys  small ear  not-have-usually
     i) say these things.     Small boys don't usually hear them.

15 // wahe   ti   hangu laga.        // biango igiri emenela
     a) old     3P   alone utter-CUST     dog/s  boy/s small-COM
     b) EP      TH+  EP                    TH     TH+    EP
     c) NOM 1 NOM =2                       NOM 1  NOM +2
     g)                                    CLS "1
     h) old     they only  talk           dogs   boys   small-and
     i) Only the old ones talk about them. 'Don't tell speak of

16   bedaria       / te      nalabe,              / laga.
     a) sit-3-LOC       stand  NEG-utter-2S-IMP PRES-Q utter-CUST
     b)                 TH
     f)                 A+     PV
     g)                                            CLS 2
     h) sit-there/when tale  not-tell-?            say-customarily
     i) these things when dogs and small boys are about,' they say.

17 // ai dindi  pongo lai          haruguni.
     a) ah ground knot  utter-COMP   have-1S-SIMP PAST-DET-LOC
     b)    CL+     TH
     f)                  (A+          PV)
     h) ah earth  knot  say-completely have-that-at/in
     i) Well, I've finished talking about the earth's knot.
```

12.4.1.1   Evidence of A dialect (cf 2.6.1) is present in the fronting and raising of the first vowel in **kemagoni** (line 3) and **kemago** (line 6). Reduplications such as **palu palu** (line 8) are common devices in all dialectal varieties for signalling iteration or intensity = frequently non-progressive aspect.

12.4.1.2   Given this, the congifuraton as it is in this text could be interpreted as an APV construction, with **palu palu** the A and **bida** (from **bi** 'make/do') the PV. Or, given the more general principles set up in 8.4.6-9, the configuration can be seen as a clause complex, as shown in line 6g.

12.4.1.3   A surer candidate as an APV construction is found in line 2, **biaga hene**. The A is the CUST form, signalling customary aspect, and its collocation with the PV **he** 'have/be' has been noted before in 12.3.2.3.

12.4.1.4   The frequent occurrence of nominals, especially in groups and group complexes, sets this text apart from those previously considered. One nominal group, line 6, has an embedded clause as qualifier within a nominal group that is functioning as a deictic. Another, the frequently occurring **ege tõlē**, is interpreted as two elements in paratactic relationship.

12.4.1.5   SR occurs in most hyptotactic clause complexes, such as those in lines 1-2, 3-5 and 15-16. It does not occur across the projecting and projected reported locution in 12-13 - another piece of data concerning indirect discourse (cf 9.4.7.2).

12.4.1.6 The frequent occurrence of the DET -go is notable, in particular its appearance in utterance-final lexis (lines 3, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13 and 17). The final determiner is an interest-

ing cohesive device, and its semantic import -"that's it!"- is a common feature of instructional texts.

12.4.1.7   The use of the EX PRES in the quoted discourse is of interest, in that one might have predicted a past tense. It is a device for indicating that not only is this how things were, it is also how they still are: **peda** is functioning as an EV.

12.4.1.8   No P or E borrowings are present, which is perhaps not surprising, given the topic area. The collocation **biango igiri emenela** (line 15) and the EV cognate **beda** signals the irresponsible ways and minor status of these vis-à-vis **mana** 'lore'.

12.4.1.9 What marks this text as instructional rather than reporting is the lack of anaphoric bridging, clearly present in most of the previous texts. Cohesion is achieved by the utterance-final determiner, which refers back not only to the utterance in which it occurs, but also to the previous utterance and even to the whole of the forgoing text (egs lines 7, 9, 10, 11 13 and 14).

12.4.1.10 Cataphoric referencing is present in ī **hale harugula** (lines 3-4) and in items such as **mende** and **tebone** (line 5).

12.4.1.11 Cohesion is strengthened and reinforced by the text schema, which juxtaposes contrasting items, and achieves a sort of parallelism in places. Examples are:

aju ... manda nabi (line 3)	ī hale harugula (3-4)
ai lajadagwa (12)	ī hale henedagwa (12)
agali wahe (13)	igiri emene (14)
wahe ti	biango igiri emenela

12.4.1.12 The schema provides an overall frame in the link be-
tween **dindi ko** (line 1) and **dindi pongo** (line 17). Indeed, the
whole text is skillfully constructed, suited to instruction and
memorization.

12.5 BI GALONE

12.5.1   Text 8   is also instructional. It was created by a
a Church leader from Tigibi (near Para Te) in 1980, and is from
some in-service material that he produced.

```
1 // bi    ogo   hale howa      / haru        haga
  a) talk  this  ear  have-CONS  COM          have/stay-CUST
  b) TH+   DC    TH              TH           +
  f)             A+   PV         (A+          PV)
  g) CLS 1                       CLS +2
  h) talk this ear  having had along-with stay-customarily
  i) Having heard this, I put it down for the


2    ibuni    wini.        // ogonime /biabe biagago       maru
  a) 3S-DEF   place-EX DEF    that-ERG work   do-CUST-DET  some
  b) TH                       DC       TH     +            TH
  f)                                   (A+    PV)
  g)                          CLS 1
  h) himself placed           that-by work doer-that   something
  i) leader himself.          Through it, that workman can get


3    mojalu               pobehe.  (uru   ale  laro.)
  a) CAUS-hold-SIM        go-POSB   these like utter-1S-SIMP PRES
  b)                                DC+   EP
  g)                      CLS +2
  h) cause self-holding  go-can     these like (I) say
  i) something and take it away.   I say things like these:


4 // gi  pagidaru /ira  lamu*/jari       biagajagwabi
  a) arm bracelets fire lamp  decoration do-CUST-MOD-MOD-COM
  b) CL+ TH             TH 1 +2  TH+               QL
  c) NOM 1             NOM +2   NOM +3
  h) arm bracelets fire lamp  decoration doer-must have-like-and
  i) Bracelets, a lamp, and if there are ornaments,


5 // uruni ale  agali gime      wa  bini       damenego
  a) those like man   hand-ERG out do-EX DEF relation-DET
  b) DC+   EP   EP(CL)+                       TH
  c) NOM +4     NOM =5
  f)                          <A+  PV>
  h) those like man   hand-by  out did/done  relation-that
```

```
              those sorts of things and others of the same kind made by

6     mojulene                    nga.  // agali bi   lole         ngwai
   a) CAUS-hold-OBLIG             EV-3    man  talk utter-PURP group
   b)                                     TH+  QL (ADN <CLS x  CLS   >)
   f) A+                    PV             <A+  PV           (A+
   g)                                     CLS 1
   h) cause self-hold-should is/are  man     talk to-say        group
   i) hand should be brought along.  The man who's going to talk,


7     ho        bedaru              hondo/walia howa       lalu,
   a) have-STM sit-3-EX PRES-DET to    show  have-CONS  utter-SIM
   b)                              ADV   TH
   f) PV) EVN+ EVN+FIN+AUX              A+    PV
   g)                                              CLS +2(CLS 1
   h) have      seated-these        to    show  having had saying
   i) having shown them to the assembled people, asks, "What


8 // ogo   agileda,      / ogoni agwa wa  binida,      / lalu
   a) this what kind-MOD    that  how  out do-EX DEF-MOD utter-SIM
   b) DC                   DC
   f)                              A+   PV
   g) CLS "2)                                          CLS +3
   h) this what kind-seems that  how  out did-seems     saying
   i) sort of thing is this? How was that made?".  He must


9 // ti    hondo hale holene     nga.   // (ina manda
   a) 3P   to    ear  have-OBLIG EV-3      1P  head
   b) TH   ADV   TH   TH                   TH  TH
   f)            A(A+ PV)+       PV        A+
   g) CLS =4
   h) they to    ear  have-must is        we  head/knowledge
   i) listen to what they have to say.    (We know what this


10  bidamagoni.          // ogoni jamo   iraga hene       ndo.)
   a) do-1P-EX PRES-DET-LOC that  nothing lift  have-EX DEF no
   b)                        DC+   TH     TH
   f)                              A+     PV
   h) do-that-at/in         that  nothing lift  had         no
   i) is about: we didn't hold them up without a purpose.)


11 //kojale            uruni  / agi bule    wa  binida         be.
   a) bad-MOD-ADN      those    what do-PURP out do-EX DEF-MOD Q
   b) TH+              DC       ADV         TH
   f)                                      A+  PV
   g) CLS x β                              CLS ∝
   h) bad-seemed-ish those     what to-do   out did-seems/must-?
   i) How were those trifling things created?


12 //ti   urunime    agi biagada.         // tigwa  la
   a) 3P   those-ERG what do-CUST-MOD         3P-ERG utter-STM
   b) TH+  DC                                 TH+    QL
   c) NOM 1 NOM =2                            NOM 1
   h) they those-by what do-customarily-seems they  say/talk
   i) What do they usuallly do with them?    What they say


13  dai   biragome               / bi   tene   aju lole
   a) return do-3-SIMP PRES-DET-ERG talk source now utter-PURP
```

```
  b)                                        EP+  TH      QL <CLS>
  c)                                        NOM =2
  h) return do/are doing-that-by    talk source now to-say
  i) by way of reply will almost certainly uncover

14   beregonaga              / la       pani
  a) do-2S-SIMP PRES-DET-POSS utter-STM disclosure
  b)                                    TH
  f)                          EVN+      AUX+
  h) do-that-of/for          say       disclosure
  i) fundamental issues that you can then

15   buluba      bada.    // agalime mbirale mbira wa bule
  a) do-PURP-MOD MOD-MOD     man-ERG one-ADN one   out do-PURP
  b)            ADV ?       TH       TH+     DC    TH
  f)                                             A+   PV
  g)                       (CLS --> CLS "2
  h) to-do-probably probably man-by one-ish one    out to-do
  i) talk about.        A man, having decided to make something,

16 / lowa       // pigane, / ogo  ale  ore / galone              ogo
  a) utter-CONS    first      this like very  important thing this
  b)               ADV        DC+  EP 1 x2    TH+                 DC
  c)                          NOM 1           NOM =2
  g) --> 1) CLS 1 (CLS -->    CLS "2
  h) having said first       this like very  important thing this
  i) first determines just what it's going to be like and what

17   bule, / lowa          // minime   mitangi ala     buwa
  a) do-PURP utter-CONS       mind-ERG thought before do-CONS
  b)                          TH       TH      ADV
  f)                          A+       ?+      PV
  g)         --> 1) CLS +2    CLS +3
  h) to-do   having said mind-by  thought before having done
  i) the important things are that he should do. Then, having

18 //mani  wa   bule     manda bijago              // wa   bu
  a) later out do-PURP    head  do-3-SIMP PAST-DET out  do-STM
  b) ADV   TH             TH                        TH
  f)        A+  PV        A+    PV                   (A+ PV) EVN+
  g) (CLS x/β                                       CLS ) CLS +4
  h) later out to-do    head  did-that             out  do
  i) thought it through initially, his knowledge of how to do

19   la        tagi     haga.
  a) utter-STM outside  have-CUST
  b)           ADV
  f) EVN+      AUX+      EVN+FIN
  h) say       outside  has-customarily
  i) it expresses itself clearly later in the created object.
```

12.5.1.1 There are a number of interesting features in this

text. It has a high incidence of nominals and nominal groups,

and also, in comparision with the text so far studied, an unus-

ual degree of nominalization involving embedding.

12.5.1.2 In lines 1 and 2 there are examples of APVs nominal-
ized by use of the CUST aspect: **haru haga** and **biabe biagago** (cf
5.2.5, 7.5.1), the latter clearly signalled by the DET suffix.

12.5.1.3 The complex nominal group **agali ... damenego** in line
5 is taken as relating to all the previous groups in the utter-
ance, not just to the most previous, and hence is interpreted
as being in parataxis with them. This group exemplifies embed-
ding:

agali   gime   wa   bini   damenego

```
 _____      _____
| EP                                    |    | TH          |
|    _____|_   |             |
|   | CLS                               | |  |             |
|   |    _____    | |  |             |
|   |   | NOM                       |   | |  |             |
|   |   |  _____  __  ____    |   | |  |             |
|   |   | | EP/DC |TH | |  | TH |   |   | |  |             |
|   |   | |_____|___| |__|____|   |   | |  |             |
|   |   |_____|   | |  |             |
|   |                  _____      | |  |             |
|   |                 | A  | PV   |      | |  |             |
|   |                 |____|_____|      | |  |             |
|   |_____| |  |             |
|_____|    |_____|
```

12.5.1.4 Another instance of embedding can be found in **agali...**
bedaru (lines 6-7), in which the two clauses after **agali** are em-
bedded as constituents of the Qualifier. The structure of the
QL is further complicated by serialization:

```
              agali       bi  lole ngwai ho    bedaru
     b)       TH+    QL (  TH+ QL <ADN <CLS  X CLS> > )
     f)                   A+   PV   (A+    PV)
serialization --->                      EVN+ EVN+FIN+AUX
     g)                   CLS x/β  CLS α
```

12.5.1.5 Line 9 contains an example of embedding at the level
of APV macro-verbal groups (cf 8.4.9.2):

```
              hale   holene nga
              A  (A+ PV)  +  PV
```

12.5.1.6   There is an interesting nominal group in lines 12-13:

```
                    tigwa la    dai  biragome
                    TH <CLS>
                          EVN+ AUX+ EVN+FIN+AUX+(AUX?)
```

which features the split configuration **la dai bi** 'answer' as

part of a verbal group embedded in a TH. In the above notation,

the ergative suffix -me is interpreted as an AUX at micro-verbal

group level. Similarly, the POSS -naga can be read as an AUX

in the embedded clause that constitutes the qualifier of the

nominal group spread across lines 13 and 14:

```
            bi tene aju  lole       beregonaga
            EP TH    QL (ADN+ POSS                 )
                         EVN+FIN   EVN+FIN+AUX+(AUX ?)
                         CLS xβ    CLSα
```

Note that the POSS suffix can be glossed as 'for' (cf 7.10.5).

12.5.1.7 There are examples of nesting (cf 9.4.7.1) in lines

15 - 17, were the discontinued projecting clause. is indicated

by dotted lines, thus: (CLS --> XXX --> 1).

12.5.1.8 Split configurations are exemplified in lines 14-15

and 17. In the former instance, the final verb illustrates some

vowel harmony (**buluba** instead of **buleba**), while the creator of

the text recorded the duplication **bada** as a separate word, not

further suffixing.

12.5.1.9 The split configuration in line 17 shows the intrusion

of an adverbial between the A and PV. How far this is a true

split configuration is debatable, since it resembles in many

ways occurrences such as **bi hendore le** 'speak softly', in which

the intruded element could be interpreted as qualifying the PV,

and **biabe erekuibi bi** 'work hard', where the the intruded elem-

ent seems to qualify the A. **ala** is elsewhere adverbial, as is

hendore, while **erekuibi** is adnominal. Hence, intruded elements

in APV configurations may qualify either the A or the PV.

12.5.1.10   There is an interesting example of an APV and a split
configuration in serialization in lines 18 - 19:

wa	bu	la	tagi	haga
out/reject/produce	do/make-STM	utter-STM	ADV	have/be-CUST
(AUX)+	EVN+	EVN+	(AUX)+	EVN+FIN

(A+   PV)   +   (A+   PV)

12.5.1.11   The nominal group **haru haga** (line 1) is an extension
of the use of the comitative enclitic **haru** (cf 6.5.4). The nom-
inal group to which it is enclitic can usually be retrieved by
the context: in this case the congregation that the leader has
in his care, spelled out in lines 6-7. This extension of usage
and of semantic field is associated especially with the expan-
sion of the **gamu** and **mana** registers (cf 10.5.2.7).

12.5.1.12   The item **lamu*** is a borrowing of the E 'lamp' (cf
BSPNG 1983: 14, 142, 241, 262), and is also part of the current
gamu register, another common member being the OBLIG (lines 6
and 9). The collocation **biabe biagago** (line 2) belongs to this
register, indicating a church worker/leader.

12.5.1.13   This last mentioned item is interesting in that the
DET **-go** refers it back to **haru haga** (line 1). The use of det-
erminers as deictics in instructional texts was illustrated in
text 7 above, while the lack of anaphoric bridging was noted
(cf 12.4.7.6-7). This text also lacks anaphoric bridges, using
determiners instead to achieve cohesion. Determiners acting as
anaphoric deictics are **ogonime** (line 2), **uruni** (5, 11), **ogoni**
(10) and **urunime** (12), while cataphoric deictics are present in
 ogo (1) and **uru** (3). Exophoric deictics are present in **ogo** (8,
16) and in **ogoni** (8).

12.5.1.14 This text thus uses referential devices found in the last, but lacks its overall schematic construction, noticeably the appositional pairings discussed in 12.4.1.11.

   12.6 O

 12.6.1   Text 9   is a mourning song for a young boy, sung by his maternal aunt. It was collected at Jura, near Goloba, in 1971.

1   ama-o:::   2 amale-o:::   3 ãĩjali-o:::
     o mother!   o mother!   o mother!

4   amuli-o:::   5 ãĩjaliole-o:::   6 ama ãĩjali-o:::
     o mother!   o   mother!   mother, o mother

              7   ãĩjali-o:::   8 amale-o:::
                  o mother!   o mother!

9   lungi ale mã   ju   laja   be, ama-o:::
 a) cloud like neck   hold≠STM utter-3-SIMP PAST Q   mother-o
 b) TH   x   TH
 c) NOM 1   NOM +2
 h) cloud like neck hold   (he) said-?   o mother
 i) O mother, he peeped up like a little cloud!

10   bogo li   ale mã   ju   ale lole,   ãĩja-o:::
 a) cloud up   like neck   hold-STM like utter-PURP mother-o
 b) EP+   TH   x   TH
 c) NOM 1   NOM +2
 h) cloud above like neck hold   like to-say   o mother
 i) O mother, like the clouds above, he was going to peep out!

11   ija   wariabu   ale mani ibule   ndoda-o:::
 a) 1D   bridewealth like later come-PURP no-MOD-o
 b) TH   TH   x   ADV
 h) we two bridewealth like later to-come   no-must-o
 i) Alas, we won't be involved with things like the
                                bridewealth in later years!

12   dalia   lungi hondowa,   mã ju   lagwa-o:::
 a) high up   cloud sense-CONS   neck hold-STM utter-1S-FUT-o
 b) ADV   TH   TH
 g) CLS 1   CLS =2
 h) high above cloud having seen neck hold   (I) shall say-o
 i) Ah, when I see the clouds high above I'll think of how
                                         you peeped out.

13   ama,   egari   urububada,   larwa-o:::
 a) mother feather/s cape≠MOD-MOD utter-3-UNSN PRES

```
b) TH        TH        TH
c) NOM 1  NOM +2    NOM +3
h) mother feathers  cape-probably (he) says-(I hear)
i) Oh  mother, I hear him say the feathers are  like  a cape.
```

12.6.1.2   The triple colons (::::) indicate prolonged extension
of the vowel they follow.

12.6.1.3 This o is patterned on the recitation of synonyms for
'mother' succeeded by the small nominal groups and group com-
plexes, then a verbal group complex of two clauses in elaborat-
ing hypotaxis, and finally a clause with a nominal group complex
that has three constituents linked by paratactic extension.

12.6.1.4   The items in lines 1 to 8 are stylistic variants
of ãĩja 'mother'. However, amale and amuli are variants of ama,
a reciprocal term for 'maternal aunt'/'nephew' (cf 2.3.1.3),and
'nephew' could be a conceivable gloss for these items here.

12.6.1.5   Other lexis from the kãĩ register are lungi (in line
9) `and bogo (10), names for clouds. What sorts of clouds these
are is difficult to say, since different people have different
ideas about this. A number have identified lungi as cumulus and
bogo as nimbus.

12.6.1.6   The item urubu (line 13) is a kãĩ variant for aga
'rain cape', which is made out of pandanus leaves sewn together.
In the modern kãĩ register it can be used of any garment.

12.6.1.7 The text has a high level of lexical cohesion, achiev-
ed through the scattering of synonyms and the repetitive o at
the end of each line. This last element is also a device by
which social cohesion is expressed and achieved: the particip-
ants, by wailing simultaneously at this point, create a power-

ful communication of empathy and sympathy. In a sense, this is the logical extreme of the repetitive echoing = anaphoric bridging - that marked text 1.

12.6.1.8   This genre is fully explored and described in Pugh-Kitigan 1975; 51-63.

12.7 Ũ

12.7.1 Text 10. This example was collected at Burani in 1971.

```
1    urubalu   mindibi       mbira juaijagwa,
  a) cape      black pig-ADN one    hold-COMP-MOD-MOD
  b) TH+       EP+           DC
  g) CLS x β
  h) cape      black         a/one hold-completely-must-like
  i) If you've acquired a black shirt,

2         ija Nipa* anga      mbalo            lene-o::
  a)       1D  Nipa  pandanus go-1D-EXH FUT2 utter-EX DEF-EXC
  b)       TH  CL+   TH
  g)       (CLS "1                            CLS 1) CLS α
  h)       we  Nipa pandanus go-let's      said-o
  i)       let's go to get Nipa pandanus, she/he said.

3  ˙ urubalu mindibi mbira juaijagwa,

4         ija Nigiba anga mbalo lene-o::

5    urubalu mindi mbira juaijagwa,

6         ija Goajuba anga mbalo lene-o::

7    urubalu mindi mbira juaijagwa,

8         ija Goloba anga mbalo lene-o::

9   Wande nde.
  a) Wande yes/then
  i) Wande, too.

10  Eganda anga      mbalo           lene-o::          ae.
  a) Eganda pandanus go-1D-EXH FUT2 utter-EX DEF-EXC EXC
  b) CL+    TH
  h) Eganda pandanus go-let's        said-o            ah
  i) Let's go and get Eganda pandanus, she/he said, ah!
```

12.7.1.1   The lexis beginning with capital letters are all place names, and the first ones being Nipa at once highlights

two features of ū : each is a comment on a current, experienced situation, and each is traditionally a spontaneous creation. Nipa lies outside Huli country, and the leader of this ū was not long back from there. At the same time, the set of place names and the sequence in which they occurred were known to the group, so that once the pattern was set up by the opening line, all were able to join in.

12.7.1.2 It is noticeable that this example is constructed around 3 clauses, two in enhancing hypotaxis, one of which projects the third as a paratactic locution. There are two nominal groups involved, neither with more than three constituents.

12.7.1.3 There is usually some ambiguity, often double entendre, in ū. This is achieved by the use of verb forms that are not marked for person or number; by ellipsis; and by the use of lexis whose referents are symbols of covert, shared ideas. In this example, the agent in the process **lene** can only be retrieved by informed conjecture; the E gloss 'and get' is an attempt to identify an apparant ellipsis between **anga** and **mbalo** - conjectured as something like **mule** 'get', or the like; and the force of **urubalu mindibi** 'black shirt' is uncertain.

12.7.1.4 The final, lengthened **o** at the end of each verse is optional, each group evolving its own style. It is one of the cohesive devices in the text, others being the high incidence of lexical repetition and the simple and widely known schematic framework that characterizes this genre.

12.7.1.5 The ū is a significiant focus for male unity, and contributes to the socializing of SC1 and SC2 together. Its use as a form for commenting on current happenings has made it one

point at which traditonal art incorporates borrowed L2 items to reflect the new social mix: thus, the above ū was later repeated with the P term 'laplap' (cloth), Huli-ized as **labolabo**, substituting for **urubalu**. A similar possible intrusion of P into an ū is noted by Pugh-Kitigan (1975: 75-76).

12.7.2   Text 11.   This ū was composed by a man from Pinagia, near Gubari, in 1976. It is used in baptismal cermonies by the Catholic communities (cf 10.5.3.6), and can be found in Megea et al 1977: 122.

```
1    aju    lungi        budalu        da      luwa,
 a) today lungi-cloud break apart-SIM descent smooth-CONS
 b) ADV    TH                          TH
 g) CLS 1 (CLS +β                      CLS ⊰ )
 h) today cumulus       tearing open    having descended
 i) This day the Holy Spirit, having opened the cumulus

2    Ngode* Dinini  Iha     gamu          bira-o::
 a) God       Spirit 1S-LOC religious rite make/do-3-SIMP PRES
 b) TH 1   +2       TH      TH
 f)                        A+            PV
 g) CLS +2
 h) God the Spirit I/me-in religious rite makes/does
 i) clouds and come down, works wonders within me.

3    aju alungi budalu da luwa,

4        Ngode* Dinini Iha gamu bira-o::

5    aju jugai budalu da luwa,

6        Ngode* Dinini Iha gamu bira-o::

7    aju jagame budalu da luwa,

8        Ngode* Dinini Iha gamu bira-o::

9    bogo          nde.
 a) bogo-cloud yes/then
 i) nimbus clouds, too.

10   bagale          tangwialu        da         luwa,
 a) bagale-cloud paddle/churn-SIM descent  smooth-CONS
 b) TH                            TH
 g) CLS 1                         CLS +2
 h) cirrus (?)    churning up        having descended
 i) Stirring up the cirrus clouds and coming down,

11   Ngode* Dinini Iha      gamu          bira-o::               ae.
 a) God       Spirit 1S-LOC religious rite make/do-3-SIMP PRES EXC
```

h) God the Spirit me-in religious rite makes/does   ah
i) the Holy Spirit works wonder in me, ah!

12.7.2.1   This text is a departure from traditional ū in that it is written down and not spontaneously re-created each time it is used. It is also unusual in that it is sung by both men and women gathered together.

12.7.2.2 The text is similar to the last, each stanza built around three clauses, with a set of lexis known to singers and highly predictable – in this case, cloud names from the kāī register (cf 10.5.2.2). The nominal groups have only one constituent each. The last stanza breaks the clause pattern, introducing a third clause with the appropriate, SIM, medial form to precede a verb of motion. The composer is probably relying on singers to cope with this departure from the norm by reading the song as they sing it.

12.7.2.3 The insertion of the loan word **Ngode*** from the mana register is an example of what occurs throughout Megea et al, and illustrates how ū is amenable to the introduction of non-Huli items.   One genre that has remained largely impervious to this process is **bi te** 'folktale', and the text that follows is an example of this.

12.8 BI TE

12.8.1   The text given below   is the final segment of the folktale begun in 4.10.4.1 and continued in 9.4.8.1.   It is a text of an oral presentation recorded in writing by a man from Aidali in 1972. The points at which listeners were expected to

interject ẽ 'yes' (cf 10.5.3.8) are marked in the H text with |.

12.8.2   Text 12.   The story concerns a man who went on a journey to the Obene country (**Hela Obene** in the **mana** register). He climbed up the mountains and slept in a cave that, unknown to him, was the lair of a **dama**. The **dama** found him asleep, and called out to other **dama** to come and see, whereupon the man challenged them to a **dawe** dance. He out-danced the **dama**, and when they became tired, seized his chance to set about them with a club. They scattered, but not all of them got away.

```
1    ani  bijagola                    agali biagome  dugu      dama
  a) thus do-3-PAST SIMP-DET-COM       man   that-ERG swamp pine dama
  b) ADV                               TH+   DC       CL+       TH+
  g) CLS xβ                            CLS ∝
  h) thus did-when                     man   that-by  swamp pine dama
  i) When this happened, the man slew the dugu dama

2    biaru bo       ju        ngwai   haja. |            ani
  a) those kill-STM hold-STM  group   have-3-SIMP PAST
  b) DC                       TH
  f)       EVN+    EVN+       AUX+ (A+ PV) EVN+FIN
  g)                                                     CLS xβ
  h) those killed   held      group   had/made           thus
  i) and collected them into a heap.                    After

3    bijagola agali biagome o  bagoria  iri  hiraja. |
  a)                    oh that-LOC hair roast-3-SIMP PAST
  b)           TH+    DC                     TH
  g)           CLS∝
  h) did-when man     that-by oh there    hair singed
  i) this, he singed their hair.

4    ani bijagola o  bagoria bo       podo     paja     bija. |
  a)                    hit-STM cut-STM shoulder do-3-SIM
  b)                 DC                   TH                (PAST
  f)                    EVN+    EVN+    AUX+ (+A  PV) EVN+FIN
  g) CLS xβ        CLS∝
  h) oh there    hit      cut       shoulder did
  i) Then he butchered them on the spot.

5    ani bijagola herelibi o  hanajago                        dugu
  a)             salt      oh carry in bag-3-SIMP PAST-DET
  b)             TH+          QL                              CL+
  g) CLS xβ        CLS ∝
  h)                          oh carried-that
  i) Afterwards, the salt he'd brought,

6    dama podo     paja     bu       wijagoria
  a) dama cut-STM shoulder do-STM put-3-SIMP PAST-DET-LOC
  b) TH   QL <ADN  <CLS> >
```

-377-

```
   h) dama cut      shoulder do      put-that-there
   i) he sprinkled the salt he'd brought with him


7     herelibi o  hanajago lau        lape
   a)                      sprinkle utter-STM-(go)ADV
   b) TH+        QL         TH        ADV?
   f)                       A (A+     PV)+
   h)                       sprinkle say-go-like
   i) over the dugu dama that lay there


8   haja. |              ani bijagola agali biago ibu    nde
   a) have-3-SIMP PAST                man   that  he     yes/well
   b)                                 TH+   DC    TH
   c)                                 NOM 1       NOM =2
   f) PV
   g)                      CLS xβ      CLSα
   h) had                              man
   i) butchered.     Then the man, well, he


9     andaga      dai    bija. |              ani bijagola dama biaru
   a) house-LOC return do-3-SIMP PAST                      dama those
   b) ADV         TH                                       TH+  DC
   f)             A+     PV
   g)                                 CLS xβ.       CLSα
   h) home            return did
   i) went back home.                 At this, the dama


10  nde o bagoria ibu        ngwai     haja. |              ani
   a) yes oh that-LOC come-STM group    have-3-SIMP-PAST    thus
   b)        DC                         TH
   f)                 EVN+      AUX+ (A+ PV) EVN+FIN
   g)                                                       CLS 1
   h) well oh there      come         group     had
   i) returned and gathered round.                         While


11  bialu   hearia             dama biago mbira ibu nde  o  bago
   a) do-SIM have-EX PAST-LOC dama that   one   3S  yes oh that
   b)                          TH+  DC+   DC    DC       DC+
   c)                          NOM 1            NOM =2
   g)          CLS +2 (CLS xβ  CLS α )(CLS 1
   h) doing   had-while        dama that  one   he  well
   i) they were gathering, one of them


12  mbira budu        muwa          na          handaja. |
   a) one   tear off-STM take-CONS   ingest-STM sense-3-SIMP-
   b) DC
   f)       EVN+            EVN+FIN    EVN+        EVN+FIN
   g)                                 CLS +2)
   h) one   tore off      having taken eat       sensed    (PAST
   i) tore off a piece of one of the slain and tasted it.


13  na          handalu   hearia            dendebijane
   a) ingest-STM sense-SIM have-EX PAST-LOC sweetness-ADV-MOD-DEF
   b)                                        ADV
   f) EVN+       EVN+FIN
   g)          CLS 1      CLS +2 (CLS xβ  CLSα )
   h) ingest     sense      have            sweet-like-seemed-that
   i) When he tasted it, he found it to be
```

```
14   handaja. |            o  birajago                damenegome
 a)  sense=3=SIMP PAST  oh sit=3-SIMP-PAST-DET     relation/s=ERG
 b)                        TH                          TH
 h)  sensed               oh squatted-that          companions-by
 i)  delicious.           The companions of the dama that was


15   timbu o podo    paja       bu       wijago
 a)  big    oh cut-STM shoulder do-STM    place=3=SIMP PAST-DET
 b)  EP     QL <ADN   <CLS> >
 f)          EVN+    AUX+ (A+ PV) EVN+    EVN+FIN
 h)  big    oh cut       shoulder do      placed=that
 i)  squatting down then despatched large quantities of


16   mowa               haja. |          ani  bija. |
 a)  cause=reject     have=3-SIMP PAST thus do=3-SIMP PAST
 b)  TH
 f)  A+               PV
 h)  cause-to-be-rejected had
 i)  the butchered remains.                 That's what happened.


17   tini           bo            naga          naga
 a)  3P-DEF       kill/hit-STM ingest-ITER  ingest-ITER
 b)  TH                        TH            TH
 f)                EVN+        EVN+AUX+      EVN+AUX+
                               A (1          +2)+
 h)  they=themselves kill       eat           eat
 i)  They killed and ate themselves /


18   bija |           ani  tini          bo       nalu
 a)  do=3-SIMP=PAST  thus 3P=DEF       kill=STM ingest-SIM
 b)                       TH
 f)  EVN+FIN                            EVN+     EVN+FIN
     PV
 g)                  CLS "2 (CLS xl
 h)  did             thus they-themselves kill      eating
 i)  one another.    In this way, killing and eating each


19   togo lene,        laja. |           ai ogoni.
 a)  rot  utter=EX DEF utter-3-SIMP PAST ah that
 b)  TH                                     DC
 f)  A+    PV
 g)  CLS 2)            CLS 1
 h)  rot  said         said
 i)  other, they became extinct, it's said.   That's it!
```

12.8.2.1   The text retains the elision **bago** for **biago** in a
number of places (eg line 8, and suffixed as **bagoria** in line 3).
It reflects very closely the earlier phatic texts of reporting
in its use of anaphoric bridging, but, unlike them, lacks any
evidence of lexical borrowing.

12.8.2.2   An interesting feature is the repetition of the nom-

inal group **herelibi o hanajago** (lines 5 and 7). A false start such as this would detract from the aesthetic value of a performance.

12.8.2.3 Occurrences of anaphoric bridging are evident at the commencement of almost every utterance/sentence. Examples are **ani bijagola** (lines 1, 2-3, 4, 5, 8, 9) and its variants (10-11 and 16); **na handalu** (13) and **ani ... bo nalu** (18).

12.8.2.4 It was said in 10.3.6 that SR occurs when the DET and a LOC suffix are added to non-medial verb forms in utterance medial position. However, this rule is not always adhered to in the text, eg it is absent in lines 2-3 and 3-4, but present in lines 1-2 and 9-10. The initial occurrence of **bijagola**, line 1, occasions SR, since it is an anaphoric reference to the flight of the dama. The inconsistancy of SR usage with this form could be due to its functioning simply as a sequencing marker, outside SR norms. When **hearia** is selected to perform a similar function (lines 11 and 13), the same thing happens: SR occurs in 11, but not in 13.

12.8.2.5 On the occasions when SR does take place, the clauses involved are always related in hypotaxis. In general, the verbal group complexes are simple, none having more than three constituents. When a clause functions as an anaphoric bridge it is usually the subordinate member of a hypotactic complex.

12.8.2.6 The verbal groups themselves are sometimes quite complicated, and there are a number of serial constructions that involve APVs and also split configurations. Serial groups are found in lines 2, 6, 10, 12 (two here), 13, 17 and 18. The one

in line 17 includes a double duplication of the iterative adjunct (signalling non-progressive aspect), in which the suffix *-go* is interpreted not as a FIN but as an AUX, as it is when it functions as the DET suffix.

12.8.2.7 The nominals reflect the verbals: simple at group complex level, interesting and involved at group level. There are few groups with only one constituent, and two groups that have complex QLs. The first of these is:

            dugu dama   podo paja bu   wi +ja +go +ria

```
| CL   | TH    | QL                                         |
|_____|_____|                                            |
               | ADN                                       |
               |                                           |
               | EVN   AUX   EVN   EVN+FIN+AUX+AUX |        |
               |_____|       |
               |                                           |
               |_____|
```

And the second is:

                 timbu   o podo paja bu   wi +ja +go

```
| EP   | QL                                              |
|_____|                                                 |
       | ADN                                            |
       |                                                |
       | Ø EVN   AUX   EVN   EVN+FIN+AUX |               |
       |_____|               |
       |                                                |
       |_____|
```

It will be seen from these diagrams that both QLs are interpreted as adnominal derivations. A case could be made out for the first being adverbial, the LOC suffix supporting this reading.

12.8.2.8   o **birajago** in line 14 is not so obviously a cohesive marker to the non-Huli speaker. But the native speaker would retrieve from this the dama squatting down is the one who did the tasting, since one normally squats or sits to eat.

12.8.2.9   Coherence is further maintained by deictics such as

biago/me (lines 1, 3, 8, 11,), biaru (2, 9,), and the DET suf-
fix **-go** (5, 6, 7, 14, 15). The summative deictic **ogoni** (19)
points back to the whole story.

12.8.2.10 Other cohesive devices are present in the scatter of
lexical items such as **dama**, while **herelibi**, which figured at
the outset (cf 9.4.8.1), is reiterated in this final segment,
reinforcing the overall cohesiveness of the **bi te.**

12.8.2.11 A significiant sociolinguistic cohesive device is
the repetitive ẽ 'yes', which, like the **o** in mourning chants
(cf 12.6.1.5), draws the social group together as participants
in a shared speech activity.

12.8.2.12 The above text and those that preceded it have served
to illustrate and exemplify the language as it is used today,
and as it has been described in this thesis. The scope of this
work has meant that many interesting areas it has touched upon
have not been fully explored (cf Preamble). However, these texts
have shown interesting configurations or patternings.

12.9 TEXTUAL PATTERNING

12.9.1   **te bame**   is seen to borrow lexis from P and E, and
to conform to a pattern of recycling given information through
anaphoric bridging, usually employing an introductory clause
for this purpose. Nominal and verbal complexes are simple, and
there are few macro-verbal groups (and, consequently, little
verb serialization) present in utterances. However, there is a
marked difference between male and female utterances, as record-
ed in the texts. Male utterances include greater degress of

nominalization, more elaborate clause complexes, and tags.

12.9.2   **bi bame,** in group settings, show that text can be built through anaphoric bridging, which can also be a factor in ordering particpant rôles.   Utterances contain few nominal groups or group complexes, but do have a higher percentage of serialized forms than **te bame.** There are instances of intricate verbal group complexes (cf 12.3.2.5). Bald-on-record FTAs may occur in large groups and also in small ones. In the first case, an individual can mitigate the occasion by not challenging specific individuals, while in the latter it seems that a person with sufficient status or power can go bald-on-record without immediate consequences.

12.9.3   **bi mana** employs memorable schematic devices, and has some intricate nominal groups and group complexes. It does not borrow lexis from P or E, nor does it employ anaphoric briding extensively.   Rather, it uses cataphoric referencing to achieve cohesion, although it concludes with a summative anaphoric deixis.

12.9.4   **bi galone** is noteworthy for nominalization and embedding, having involved nominal groups and group complexes. It employs H lexis with expanded, specialized meanings, along with P and E lexical borrowings. Nesting occurs in verbal group complexes, while there are complex serializations involving both APVs and split configurations. There is no apparant schema, as there is in **bi mana,** and DETs, suffixes and other, are used as anaphoric deitics.

12.9.5   **ᴓ** is patterned on synonym repetition, with simple clause complexes, suggested by the data to be two clauses in

hypotaxis. It draws on the kãĩ register, not specificially employed by any of the genres discussed so far, and through this achieves a high level of lexical cohesion. Social cohesion is established through the communally intoned **Ó**.

12.9.6 **ũ** is male dominated, dependant on a special shared schema. It draws on the kãĩ register, employing a simple framework on which to deploy lexical sets, through which it achieves cohesion and a high degree of predicatabilty. It is flexible enough to accomodate new concepts, and new lexis from E and P. Its simplicity and manageability are enhanced by the lack of complication in group structures.

12.9.7 **bi te** is perhaps one of the more distinctive genres, involving complicated verbal groups and verbal group complexes, and equally convoluted nominal groups and nominal group complexes. It employs anaphoric bridging, and relies heavily on lexical referencing through the use of deitics. It utilizes intricate embedding and complicated serialization. SR is not predictable in this genre, which is essentially a monologic public recital that requires a minimum of public participation and response.

This concludes this brief introduction to the Huli language. It is to be hoped that the areas left unexplored or only partly explored will be given the attention they deserve by future researchers of the language, and that this partial description of it will be eventually expanded and filled out. No-one can know or describe more than a part of a language, even his or her own, and the vigour and pace of change of Huli will make it a fascinating area of study for years to come.

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