CHAPTER 5

VERBS

5.1 GENERAL

5.1.1 Verb classes and suffix groups

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

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

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

5.1.1.3 Wurm (1982: 62) has noted that languages of the Trans-New Guinea phylum commonly distinguish between realis and irrealis in their verb morphology, and it is interesting to observe that group B suffixes are generally concerned with the former, group C suffixes with the latter. Group A suffixes contain a
Figure 4: Group A verb suffixing system
Figure 5: Group B verb suffixing system

Figure 6: Group C verb suffixing system
mixture of both.

5.1.2 Stem-final vowel rules

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb class</th>
<th>basic stem</th>
<th>stem-final vowels with suffix groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>(X)Ce</td>
<td>A a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ci</td>
<td>B i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CVC(V)i</td>
<td>C o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ci</td>
<td>A i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CVC(V)i</td>
<td>B i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ci</td>
<td>C u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14: Stem-final vowels

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

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

\[(L1) \quad i \rightarrow e / CVC(V) \_ \_ \_ + [ STM \ SUFX A \]

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

\[(L2) \quad e \rightarrow a / (X)C(V) \_ \_ \_ + [ STM \ SUFX A \]

which says that stem-final e is lowered to a on the addition of a group A suffix. This rule also applies to class 1
verbs. Class 2 monosyllabic verbs are not affected by the lowering rules, although it is worth recalling that vowel harmony rules lower the final vowel of class 2 basic stems in certain instances (cf 4. 4.3.6, 4.4.3.7). Note that class 2 verbs whose stems terminate in the sequence CV are subject to these rules. Examples of the lowering rules in operation are given below, with the rule that is being applied indicated in brackets. (L1 and L2 here and in 5.1.2.2 stand for "lowering rule 1" and "lowering rule 2' respectively.)

hiri- to hira- in:

mbirini hiri + rama (L1) ---+ mbirini hire + rama
meat roast-STM 1P-SIMP PRES

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

dugwi- to dugwa- in:

panga dugwi + ribi (L1) ---+ panga dugwe + ribi
door lift up-STM 2D-SIMP PAST

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

le- to la- in:

bi mbira le + ro (L2) ---+ bi mbira la + ro
word one utter-STM 1S-SIMP PRES

= bi mbira laro
word one I say
I say something

he- to ha- in:

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

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

5.1.2.3 The second set of rules induces rounding. The first of these says that basic stem-final vowels i and e become the corresponding back vowels in association with group C suffixes:
Examples of the application of R1 are:

* ne- to no- in:

`hina ne + lija ngi`

sweet potato ingest=STM 1S-PERM give

`---> hina no + lija ngi`

sweet potato eat I might (you) give (me)

`= hina nolija ngi`

give me some sweet potato to eat

*dabe-* to *dabo-* in:

`aju dabe + wa ira dibaja`

axe choose=STM CONS tree cut down=3-SIMP PAST

`---> aju dabo + wa ira dibaja`

axe choosing tree (he) cut down

`= aju dabowa ira dibaja`

having chosen an axe, he felled the tree

*hiri-* to *hiru-* in:

`anga hiri + le bero`

pandanus nut/s roast=STM PURP do-1S-SIMP PRES

`---> anga hiru + le bero`

pandanus nuts roast might I am doing / do

`= anga hirule bero`

I'm going to roast some pandanus nuts

5.1.2.4 The second rule, R2, in this set,

```
(STM) V
[-low] ---> [+round] / (X)C(V) [+round] + [+low]
```

applies to class 1 disyllabics, and says that there is regressive spreading of the feature [+round] to the mid-stem vowel if that vowel carries the feature [-low]. Examples of this are:
hende- to hondo- in:

```
ira hende + wa mogo laja
```

wood see-STM CONS surprise utter-3-PAST

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

(R2) ---+ ira hondo + wa mogo laja
= ira hondowa mogo laja
seeing the trees he expressed surprise

5.1.2.5 There is a rule that deletes the feature [round] from the final consonant of class 2 disyllabic stems when they receive polysyllabic suffixes. It can be stated thus:

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C</th>
<th>STM</th>
<th>SUPX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[+round]</td>
<td>[−round]</td>
<td>/ CV [+[high] [+[round] ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CVCVX</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

Examples of this rule in operation after the application of R1 are:

- `[tug^wi-]` to `[tugu-]` in:
  
  `[ma:] [tug^wi] + [Iuma] (R1) ---+ [ma: tug^wu +Iuma]`
  
  taro pull up-STM 1P-FUT

  (del) ---+ [ma: tug +Iuma] = ma duguluma
  we'll pull up some taro

- `[hug^wi-]` to `[hugu-]` in:
  
  `[h^hiabu] [h^hug^wi] + [I^I] [p^I^Ija]
  asparagus pick-STM PURP go-3-PAST

  (R1) ---+ [h^hiabu h^hug^wu +I^I p^I^Ija]
  asparagus pick might (he) went

  (del) ---+ [h^hiabu h^hugu +I^I p^I^Ija]
  = tiabu tugule pija
  he went to pick some asparagus

5.1.3 Suffix rules

5.1.3.1 There are three vowel change rules that apply to suffixes. The first two are the the vowel harmony rules given
in 4.4.3.3 - 4.4.3.5, concerning the suffixes -go and -ne.

5.1.3.2 The third is a deletion rule,

\[
\text{STM SUXF} \quad \text{a} \rightarrow 0 / (X)Ca + [\_\_\_] (X)
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{utter-STM} & \quad \text{2S-IMP PRES} \\
\text{tomo na + ai haja} & \quad \text{food ingest-STM} \quad \text{COMP have-3-SIMP PAST} \\
\rightarrow \text{tomo na +0i haja} & \quad \text{food eat completely (he) had} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{he ate all the food / he finished eating} \\
\text{ha} & \quad \text{hira + abe} \rightarrow \text{hai hira +0be} \\
\text{banana roast-STM} & \quad \text{2S-IMP FUT} \quad \text{banana roast (later)} \\
\rightarrow \text{hai hirabe} & \quad \text{roast the banana later}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{abale ibu + a} \rightarrow \text{abale ibu +0} \\
\text{quickly come-STM} & \quad \text{2S-IMP PRES} \quad \text{quickly come} \\
\rightarrow \text{abale ibu} & \quad \text{come quickly} \\
\text{biabe buli pu + a} \rightarrow \text{biabe buli pu +0} \\
\text{work do-PURP go-STM} & \quad \text{2S-IMP PRES} \quad \text{work to do go} \\
\rightarrow \text{biabe buli pu} & \quad \text{go and do some / your work}
\end{align*}
\]

5.1.3.4 It needs to be noted that the verb ji 'hold' is exceptional in that it behaves as if its configuration were CVCi, not Ci.
5.1.3.5 Phonological motivation is discernible for suffix rules, but is not apparent in verb stem rules - except for those instances considered under vowel harmony (cf 4.4.3.3-7), the rounding rule of 5.1.2.4, and the deletion rule of 5.1.3.2. There are no features or conditions common to each suffix group, or present in each verb class, that can account for the changes that occur in stem-final vowels. The only commonalities are the semantico-cultural ones referred to in 5.1.1.3, and discussed more fully in 5.1.5 and 10.4. This apparent lack of phonological motivation in stem vowel changes persists in some of the irregular verbs, too.

5.1.4 Irregular verbs

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

5.1.4.2 Suffixation from group A changes

ibu- to ibi- in:

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

ibu- to iba- in:

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

ibu- unchanged in:

jawi ibu + le ---> jawi ibu +le
tomorrow come-STM PURP tomorrow come might/will
= jawi ibule
    I'll (he'll, etc) come tomorrow

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Table 15: Examples of class 3 verb stems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>basic stem</th>
<th>stem-final vowels with suffix groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibu</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biru</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palu</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15: Examples of class 3 verb stems

biru- to bira- in:

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

= dagiani birariba
  we sat on the plank

palu- to pala- in:

aju palu + ro ---> aju pala + ro
now lie down-STM 1S-SIMP PRES now I lie down

= aju palaro
  I lie down now

palu- to pali- in:

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

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

= abe ti palirimi
  you slept yesterday

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

5.1.4.2.2 Further examples of suffixation from group A are:

**pu- to po- in:**

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

= bajwa pobe
go carefully

**pu- to pi- in:**

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

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

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

**pu- unchanged in:**

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

= libu pudaba
you go

5.1.4.3 Suffixation from group B changes

**ibu- to ibi- in:**

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

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

= agali ibilo hondo ha
wait for the man to come

**biru- to bere- in:**

wandari andagani biru + ne
girl house-LOC-LOC sit-STM EX DEF
The exceptional nature of this example can be seen in that the stem-final vowel assimilates regressively to the suffix vowel, rather than the suffix vowel assimilating to the stem vowel, as might have been predicted (cf 4.4.3.4). It then undergoes regressive spreading of the feature [-high], following the rule given in 4.4.3.7.

Further examples of suffixation from group B are:

**palu- to pale- in:**

\[
\text{dagiani palu} + \text{lo} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{dagiani pale} + \text{lo}
\]

plank-LOC lie down 3-PERM plank-on lie let him

= dagiani palelo

let him lie/sleep on the plank

**pu- to pe- in:**

\[
\text{iba pu} + \text{da} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{iba pe} + \text{da}
\]

water go-STM 3-EX PRES water goes

= iba peda

the river flows

**Suffixation from group C leaves**

**ibu- unchanged in:**

\[
\text{nogo tamuha ibu} + \text{ligo pabe} \text{bibbe}
\]

pig within-LOC come-STM PREC FUT fence make-2S IMP FUT

= nogo tamuha ibuligo pabe bibbe

pig/s inside lest it/they come fence make

make a fence to stop the pigs coming in

**biru- unchanged in:**

\[
\text{I biru} + \text{lija henge} \text{ngi}
\]

1S sit-STM 1S-PERM space give-2S IMP PRES

I sit might space give

= I birulija henge ngi
give me room to sit down

give me room to sit down

palu- unchanged in:

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

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

pu- changing to po- in:

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

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

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

pu- unchanged in:

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

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

5.1.5 Realis-Irrealis.

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

5.1.5.2 Discounting forms that are adjuncts in adjunct + pro-verb (APV) configurations (cf 5.1.8), the vast majority of group B verbal suffixes (15 out of 16: cf figures 4-6) signal realis,
while 13 out of 14 of group C suffixes signal irrealis. Group A suffixes are a mixture of both, 10 of them signalling realis and 26 irrealis. The systems are shown conflated in figure 7, which uses stem-final vowels and suffix-initial graphemes to display the pattern. The data do not include the small set of class 3 verbs, nor the existential verbs (EVs — cf 5.1.7).

5.1.5.3 The figure shows that, except for the CONS, represented by the grapheme ‘W’, realis is signalled by the EX and SIMP forms, and irrealis by the others. Group B suffixes cover realis, group C suffixes irrealis. Conversely, unchanged verb stems are associated with realis, changed stems with irrealis. Group A suffixes are mostly irrealis, and class 1 verbs change their final vowels to receive them.
5.1.5.4 The first reference mentioned above in 5.1.5.1 cited Wurm's comments (1982: 62) about this distinction being reflected in the verb morphology of Trans-New Guinea phylum languages, while the second arose in the context of seeking motivation for stem-final vowel changes in verb stems. While the data set out in figure 6 do not suggest motivation for the vowel changes, Wurm's comments are certainly supported by them. This is shown even more clearly when the two systems, realis and irrealis, are dissociated and set out separately, as in figures 8 and 9 below.

\textbf{Figure 8: Realis system}

\textbf{Figure 9: Irrealis system}

5.1.5.5 In each of the above figures, superscript I stands for 'if', and superscript T stands for 'then'. Thus in figure
8, if the stem o-/u-/ is selected, then the initial grapheme of the suffix will be w; in figure 9, if the stem e-/i-/ or the stem o-/ e-/ is selected, then the initial grapheme of the suffix has to be t. Note that selection of the stem a-/i-/ does not impose the same restriction.

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

**REALIS:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REALIS:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abe andaga pi= + ru</td>
<td>go=STM 1S=SIMP PAST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yesterday home</td>
<td>(I) went</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ani pu= + wa hina</td>
<td>dawi= + ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go=STM CONS</td>
<td>cook=STM 1S=SIMP PAST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thus having gone sweet potato</td>
<td>cooked some sweet potato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>having gone there, he cooked</td>
<td>ani puwa hina dawaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= ani puwa hina dawaru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bame be= + dama</td>
<td>sit=STM 1P=EX PRES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nothing (we) sit/are sitting</td>
<td>bame bedama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tigwa bi henene ore la= + ja,</td>
<td>le- + ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>say=STM 3=SIMP PAST</td>
<td>say=STM EX DEF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they talk true very said, (he)</td>
<td>he said they told the truth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= tigwa bi henene ore laja, lene</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**IRREALIS:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IRREALIS:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ibugwa le- + lo henge mi= + mĩjā</td>
<td>say=STM 3-PERM give=STM 1P-EXH FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he to= speak</td>
<td>space give=let-us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>let's give him a chance to speak</td>
<td>= ibugwa lelo henge mimĩjā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biabe bu= + le bira</td>
<td>do/make=STM PURP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work to= do</td>
<td>(he) is doing/making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he's going to do some work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jawi I dindi ibu= + luma</td>
<td>come=STM 1P-FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomorrow your ground (we) will come</td>
<td>we'll come to your place tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= jawi I dindi ibuluma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi hendore hendore la= + limu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.1.6 Comments on suffix groups

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

5.1.6.2 Suffixes are frequently portmanteaux morphemes.

5.1.6.3 3 suffixes never differentiate for number.

5.1.6.4 $b$ always signals dual number, except in $+be(X)$. $m$ always signals plural number. Exceptions are the suffixes $+ma##$ and $+me##$. Franklin (1971: 112) has identified $b$ and $m$ as functioning in a similar way in Kewa verb morphology, while it is possible to identify $mb$ as signalling dual and $m$ plural in Enga (cf Lang 1975: 37).

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

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

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

5.1.6.9 The presence of $r$ in a suffix always signals realis.
5.1.6.10 Realis suffixes of group A have the configuration CV(CV): if the compulsory V is a mid vowel it indicates PRES, whereas if it is a high vowel it indicates PAST.

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

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

5.1.7 Existential verbs

5.1.7.1 The appearance of items such as

wandari andagani berene hamaga polene nga
the girl was at home (we) should go to the clearing

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

5.1.7.2 EVs have stems whose configuration pattern is \((CV)C\), and to these stems the inflections given in figure 10 are affixed. It will be noticed that this system replicates to a large extent the EX PRES forms of group B suffixes (cf figure 5).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EV</th>
<th>KINDS OF REFERENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ka</td>
<td>rising from the ground, rooted in it or free moving; independent; strong, or potentially harmful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beda</td>
<td>low or squat on the ground; arboreal; dependent; non-threatening; weak or timid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nga</td>
<td>placed on or living flat on the ground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pada</td>
<td>subterranean; cave dwelling; within other things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da</td>
<td>protruding or emanating from another thing; hanging or growing on, or adhering to another thing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16: EVs and their referents

Figure 10: EV suffixing system

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

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

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

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

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

idiomatic verbal expressions in which verbs, nouns, adverbs and other parts of speech are used with the auxiliary verbs. (quoted in Lang 1975: 200)
This description indicates that As in Kuman are not restricted to a single word class, and the same holds true for As in Huli.

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

İna bi laro
A PV
1S-ENG word utter-1S-SIMP PRES
I speak/talk/say (a word/words)

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

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

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

ibu keba haja
A PV
3S anger have/be/stay-3-SIMP PAST
he was angry

ina taga harama
A PV
1P shame have/be/stay-1P-SIMP PRES
we're ashamed

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

lai harima
A PV
utter-COMP have/be/stay-1P-SIMP PAST
completed utterance we have
we've finished talking

lairi halu pija
A PV
utter-CESS have-SIM1 go-3-SIMP PAST
utterance-interrupted having he went
breaking off what he was saying, he left

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

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

5.1.8.6 The last example shows an EV acting as as a PV, some-
thing which can occur if the A is derived from a verb, while,
along with the previous example, it suggests that embedding can
occur within APV configurations. These notions are further explored in 8.4.9 and 10.4.

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

5.2 GROUP A SUFFIXES

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

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

5.2.2 Simple Present. This form is chiefly concerned with present realis, and focuses on a process (action or state) to which the speaker is witness. It does not comment on aspect, and may be glossed in English by the present simple tense or the present continuous. It has a marked usage in the 1 person, when it may function as a directive: "I want to /let me...".

The verb stem + suffix system is set out in figure 1f.
Regular verbs follow the rules (including vowel harmony rules) already given. Irregular verb stem changes are: ibu as in 4.11.3.6-7; pu goes to po; palu becomes pala. Examples are:

\[
\begin{align*}
nogo & \text{ kangome } ba + ro = \text{nogo kangome baro}.
pig & \text{ stick-ERG hit-STM 1S} 
pig & \text{ with-stick I hit/am hitting} 
\end{align*}
\]

I'm hitting the pig with a stick

\[
\begin{align*}
aga & \text{ le bi } + re = \text{aga le bere}.
cloak & \text{ sew do-STM 2S} 
cloak & \text{ sew you do/are doing} 
\end{align*}
\]
you repair the cloak

\[
\begin{align*}
in a & \text{ ira dibi } + rama = \text{ina ira dibarama} 
1P & \text{ tree chop-STM 1P} 
we & \text{ tree chop down/are chopping down} 
\end{align*}
\]
we're chopping down a tree

\[
\begin{align*}
I & \text{ garoni* bira } + ro = \text{I garoni* biraro} 
1S & \text{ car-LOC sit-STM 1S} 
I & \text{ car-in sit/want to sit} 
\end{align*}
\]
I want a ride/let me have a ride

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

\[
\begin{align*}
tandaga & \text{ timbuni } na + ribi = \text{tandaga timbuni naribi} 
pain & \text{ great ingest-STM 2D} 
pain & \text{ great ate (you two)} 
\end{align*}
\]
Figure 12: Simple past

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\{i\} + - \quad \text{i} 3 \\
\text{ja} 3 \\
\text{m} 1 \\
\text{i} 2 \\
\text{a} 1D \\
\text{b} - 1 \\
\text{a} 1P \\
\text{u} 1S \\
\text{Ø} 2S \\
\end{array}
\]

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

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

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

= mbiraga andagani paliru

\[\text{dindi tu wi} + \text{ja} = \text{dindi tu wija}\]
land boundary place-STM 3
land boundary he/they placed
he marked the boundary of the land

\[\text{ma guja} + \text{rima} = \text{ma gujarima}\]
ma gujarima

\[\text{taro bake-STM} \quad \text{lp}\]
taro we baked
we baked taro

\[\text{hai ungwa} + \text{ri} = \text{hai ungwarai}\]
banana pick-STM 1P
banana you picked
you picked a banana

\[\text{mbiraga andagani pali} + \text{ru}\]
night house-LOC-LOC lie down-STM 1S
night at home I lay down
(that/at) night I slept at home

= mbiraga andagani paliru

\[\text{ibugwa nogo ba} + \text{go bija}\]
3S-ERG pig hit-STM ITER do-3-SIMP PAST
he pig hit-&-hit did
he hit the pig again and again

= ibugwa nogo baga bija

\[\text{agali ti dindini pali} + \text{go bija}\]
men 3P ground-LOC lie down-STM ITER do-3-SIMP PAST
men they on the ground lie down-&-lie down did
one by one the men stretched out on the ground

= agali ti dindini paligi bija
iname anga hira + go birama
1P-ERG pandanus roast-STM ITER do-1P-SIMP PRES
we pandanus nuts roast-&-roast do
we're roasting pandanus nuts one after another
= iname anga hiraga birama

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

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

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

ina mamali nogo ba + ga heane
1P ancestors pig kill-STM CUST have/stay/be-EX-PAST
we/our ancestors pig customarily kill had
our ancestors used to kill pigs
= ina mamali nogo baga heane

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

-Obene pu + aabo hole bero
  Obene go-STM CONT have/be-PURP do/make-LS-SIMP PRES
  Obene continually go in-order-to-have/be I do/am doing/making
I'm making to keep on going to Obene
I'm going to go all the way to the Obene country

= obene puaabo hole bero

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

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

\[
\text{muni* mi } + \text{ ai haru} = \text{muni* miai haru}
\]
money give/take-STM COMP have/be-1S-SIMP PAST
money completely give/take I have
I've given/taken all the money

\[
\text{panga paja } + \text{ ai harimi} = \text{panga pajai harimi}
\]
door close-STM COMP have/be-2P-SIMP PAST
doors completely close you have
you've closed the door completely/you've closed all the doors

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

= wali agali birai hole bira

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

\[
\text{bi mende lole pigane la } + \text{ airi haja}
\]
talk second utter-PURP first utter-STM CESS have-3-SIMP PAST
talk second might-say first cease-saying he had
he interrupted what he was saying to say something else

= bi mende lole pigane lairi haja
biabe bi + airi hole bira
work do-STM CESS have/be-PURP do-3-SIMP PRES
work cease-doing might-have he does/is doing
he's making to cease the work he's doing
he's going to break off work = biabe biairi hole bira

hina guja + airi harima
sweet potato bake-STM CESS have-1P-SIMP PAST
sweet potato cease-baking we had
we left off baking the sweet potatoes = hina gujairi harima

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

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

ko bi + alu taga harama
bad do-STM SIM1 shame have-1P-SIMP PRES
wrong doing shame we have
we're doing wrong and we're ashamed = ko bialu taga harama

bira + alu bi lole bira
sit-STM SIM1 talk utter-PURP do/make-3-SIMP PRES
sitting down talk might-utter they make/are making
sitting down they are making to talk
they'll be talking while they're getting seated
= biralu bi lole bira

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

\[
\text{tomo dawalu andaga pija} \quad \text{food cook-SIM1 house-LOC go-3-SIMP PAST} \\
\text{food cooking to-home he went} \\
\text{cooking some food, he went home}
\]

\[= \text{tomo dawalu andaga pija}\]

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

\[
\text{mabu biabe bialu tani balu hina dugwalu} \\
\text{garden work do-SIM1 weeds hit-SIM1 sweet potato lift-SIM1} \\
\text{garden work doing weeds hitting sweet potato lifting}
\]

\[
\text{ma tambe nalu nogo hinalu andaga dai birima} \\
\text{taro cold ingest-SIM1 pig feed-SIM1 house-LOC return do-1P-PST} \\
\text{taro cold eating pig/s feeding to-home return we did}
\]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ibunaga bi la + a haro = ibunaga bi la haro
3S-POSS talk utter-STM BENE have/be-1S-SIMP PRES
his talk say-for I have
I'm speaking for him/on his behalf
5.2.14 Imperative Present. This is the first irrealis form to be described in detail. Class 3 verb stem changes are: ibu changes to ibi for D and P; biru becomes bira; palu changes to pali. The suffixing system and regular verb stems are set out below in figure 13.

![Diagram](image)

Figure 13: Imperative present

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

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{i} & \quad + \quad \{a\} \\
\text{be} & \quad 2S \\
\text{libu} & \quad 2D \\
\text{limu} & \quad 2P
\end{align*}
\]

**Figure 14**: Imperative future

Examples:

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

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

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

5.2.17 Exhortative Present. This form could also be in-
terpreted as being the 1 of the IMP PRES, its force being to ex-
hort ego and another/others to perform an action together now
almost immediately. It can be glossed as "let's ... now".

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

\[ \text{Figure 15 : Exhortative present} \]

Examples are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aju bi} & \text{ la} + \text{ ma} \quad = \text{aju bi lama} \\
\text{now talk utter-STM} & \text{ 1P-EXH PRES} \quad \text{let's talk now} \\
\text{now talk utter} & \text{ let-us-many} \\
\text{ija gini bi} & \text{ + ba} \quad = \text{ija gini biba} \\
\text{1D play do/make-STM} & \text{ 1D-EXH PRES} \quad \text{let's play} \\
\text{we two play do} & \text{ let-us-two} \\
\text{paboro tugwa} & \text{ + ba} \quad = \text{paboro tugwaba} \\
\text{bean pick-STM} & \text{ 1D-EXH PRES} \quad \text{let's pick beans} \\
\text{beans pick} & \text{ let-us-two} \\
\text{andaga ma} & \quad = \text{andaga ma} \\
\text{house-LOC go-1P-EXH PRES} & \quad \text{let's go home} \\
\text{house-to go-let-us-many} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

5.2.18 Exhortative Future 1. This is used to exhort ego
and another/others to perform an action together in the future,
the time span encompassed being the same as that for the IMP
FUT (cf 5.2.16). Before suffixing, class 3 verbs change as
follows: ibu to ibi; biru to bira; and palu to pali. As with
the EXH PRES, pu has special forms: mbaliya and māliya, the
first being 1D, the second 1P. Fig. 16 shows the regular system.
5.2.19 Exhortative Future 2. The semantic field of this construction is the same as that of the EXH FUT1. The form is derived from the EXH PRES (5.2.17) by adding the secondary suffix -lo to its inflections. In the case of the LP, the feature [+nasal] spreads regressively from the segment [m] to the vowels of the suffix. The exceptional forms for pu 'go', mbalo and malo, are similarly affected. Examples:

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

awe ira wima + lo = awe ira wimalo
later wood place-1P EXH PRES 1P-EXH FUT2
later wood place-let us many (later)
let's put the wood down later

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

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

\[ \text{STM} \quad \text{SUFX 1} \quad \text{SUFX 2} \]

\[ \begin{array}{c}
V \\
\left[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{[+high]} \\
\text{[-low]}
\end{array} \right] \\
\end{array} \quad \rightarrow \quad \left. \begin{array}{c}
\text{[+high]} \\
\text{[+high]} \\
\text{[-low]}
\end{array} \right. \]

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

- bibahendengi Goloba poro + li
  all-LOC (temp.) Goloba go-1S-SIMP PRES HAB
  all-the-time Goloba I go (habitually)
  I go to Goloba every day
  \( \rightarrow \) bibahendengi Goloba poru +li
  \( \rightarrow \) bibahendengi Goloba piru +li
  \( = \) bibahendengi Goloba piruli
- namame dindi tombarama + li
  digging stick-ERG earth till-1P-SIMP PRES HAB
  digging sticks-by earth we till (habitually)
  we till the earth with digging sticks
  \( = \) namame dindi tombaramali
- lai lara + li
  swear words utter-3-SIMP PRES HAB
  swear words (he) utters (habitually)
  he swears
- mundu nare + li
  tobacco ingest-2S-SIMP PRES HAB
  tobacco you smoke (habitually)
  you smoke
  \( = \) mundu narili

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bi te } & \text{ la + wai } \text{ haja} \\
\text{word/s cluster/tuft utter-STM DID have-3-SIMP PAST} \\
\text{folktale } & \text{ utter teaching (he) had} \\
\text{he taught a folktale } & \text{ = bi te lawai haja}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mabu biabe bi + wai } & \text{ hole bira} \\
\text{garden work do-STM DID have-PURP do-3-SIMP PRES} \\
\text{garden work do teaching might-have he does/is making} \\
\text{he's going to teach gardening } & \text{ = mabu biabe biwai hole bira}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hina } & \text{ hanga + wai habe} \\
\text{sweet potato plant-STM DID have-2S-IMP FUT} \\
\text{sweet potato plant teaching you have} \\
\text{teach (me) how to plant sweet potatoes } & \text{ = hina hangawai habe}
\end{align*}
\]

5.3 GROUP B SUFFIXES

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

5.3.2 Existential tenses. The EVs have been described in section 5.1.7, while sections 10.4.2.2-7 explain how, in tenses outside the present, verbs in semantic overlap with EVs can substitute for them. Some of these verbs have their own present tense forms, the grammatical equivalents of the EVs, but these forms occur only rarely.
5.3.2.1 All, or nearly all, other verbs in the language also have these present tense and past tense forms. They are used to speak about situations that endure either because they are the result of a previous action and will continue until another action alters them, or because they are maintained by a repeated or continuous action and can only alter if that action is withdrawn or modified. Examples are:

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

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

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

hā le + do = hā ledo
gasp utter-STM 1S-EX PRES
gasp utter enduring/existing
I gasp/am gasping for breath

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

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

5.3.3 Existential Present. This form is used to speak of present enduring situations. In some instances it is best glossed by the English present continuous, in others by the present perfect. Verb stem changes, for this and for all the existential forms, are as given in tables 14 (5.1.2.1) and 15.
(5.1.4.1). The suffixing system is set out in figure 17.

\[
\begin{align*}
{\{i\}} + d \rightarrow & - a 1S \\
& - b \rightarrow - i 2D \\
& - m \rightarrow - a 1P \\
& - e 2S
\end{align*}
\]

**Figure 17: Existential present**

Examples are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tomo ne} + \text{do} & = \text{tomo nedo} \\
\text{food ingest-STM 1S} & = \text{I'm eating some food} \\
\text{food eat I-exist} & \\
\text{ani manda bi} + \text{dama} & = \text{ani manda bidama} \\
\text{thus head do/make-STM 1P} & = \text{we know this} \\
\text{thus know/understand we-exist} & \\
\text{guni* anga hiri} + \text{da} & = \text{guni* anga hirida} \\
\text{corn pandanus roast-STM 3} & = \text{he exists} \\
\text{corn cob/s roast he-exists} & \\
\text{he has some corn cobs roasted} & \\
\text{hina dugwi} + \text{de} & = \text{hina dugwide} \\
\text{sweet potato lift up-STM 2S} & = \text{you exist} \\
\text{sweet potato dig up you-exist} & \\
\text{you have some sweet potato dug up} &
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
{\{i\}} + d \rightarrow & - a 1S \\
& - b \rightarrow - i 2D \\
& - m \rightarrow - a 1P \\
& - e 2S \\
& - \emptyset 3
\end{align*}
\]

**Figure 18: Existential past**

5.3.4.1 A minor phonological rule,
deletes suffix-initial e when the stem-final vowel is e.

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

I igiri emene he + wa + ria
1S boy small have/be/stay-STM 1S LOC
I boy small be enduring while/when
When I was / while I was still a little boy,

honabi ibija
ginger pig-COMP come-3-SIMP PAST
ginger pig-like came
ginger pig-like (people) came
the whiteman came

= I igiri emene hewaria honabi ibija

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

= timu dewa harigani wia

ibu agali bajale he + a + ne
3S man good be/stay-STM 3 DEF
he man good be existing thus/just so/etc.
he was a good man

= ibu agali bajale heane

5.3.5 Existential definitive. This form is generated by adding the definitive suffix, -ne, to the verb stem, the vowel harmony rules given in 4.4.3.4 being operative. The form signals past, completed actions, and is used in particular in reporting events in which the speaker did not participate. It may also function as post-head modifier in a nominal group (cf 7.4.2; 7.6.2). Examples are:

abe ibu Tari pe + ne = abe ibu Tari pene
yesterday 3S Tari go-STM DEF
yesterday he Tari go (completed)
he completed a journey to / went to Tari yesterday

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damame u le + ne = damame u lene
malign spirit-ERG shout utter-STM DEF
malign spirit shout utter completed
the malign spirit uttered a shout

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

hole ibi + ne
have/be/stay-PURP come-STM DEF
in-order-to-stay come completely
a long time ago
= bamba ibu oali haga hole ibini

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hina</th>
<th>gujini</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sweet potato</td>
<td>baked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baked sweet potato</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Such an interpretation is supported by data such as:

hina gujini ngija
sweet potato bake-EX DEF give-3-SIMP PAST
sweet potato baked (they) gave (me)
H Q
ey they gave me baked sweet potato

nogo mbirini dawene ngo
pig meat cook-EX DEF is-EV-1S
pig meat cooked I've got
CL H Q<CL= Classifier>

I've got some cooked pig meat

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ibugwa anda gene he lene</td>
<td>3S-ERG</td>
<td>house post stay/have-STM/EV utter-EX DEF</td>
<td>he left the house post standing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he house post stay/stand uttered</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he left the house post standing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wandari bere lalu andaga pija</td>
<td>girl sit-STM/EV utter-SIMl home-LOC go-3-SIMP PAST</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girl seated/sitting uttered home-to (she) went</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she went home, leaving the girl there</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ira de lole hibu naribe</td>
<td>wood light/flame-STM/EV utter-PURP ingest/do-2S-SIMP PRES-Q</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wood flaming/flaring to-utter make (you) ?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>are you going to light a fire?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.4 GROUP C SUFFIXES

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\{i\} + & \ - \text{agwa} \ S \\
\{u\} + & \ - \text{IV} - \\
- & \ ba \ D \\
- & \ ma \ P
\end{align*}
\]

Figure 19: Future
5.4.2.1 The vowel in the syllable -1V-, above, is specified according to the progressive assimilation rule,

\[
V \begin{array}{c}
\text{[+back]} \\
\begin{array}{c}
\beta \\
\text{low}
\end{array}
\end{array} \quad \text{STM} \begin{array}{c}
\begin{array}{c}
\beta \\
\text{high}
\end{array}
\end{array} \quad \text{SUFX C} \begin{array}{c}
\begin{array}{c}
\beta \\
\text{low}
\end{array}
\end{array} \quad (X)C \begin{array}{c}
\begin{array}{c}
\beta \\
\text{high}
\end{array}
\end{array} \quad L \quad X
\end{array}
\]

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

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

- Alendo pabe bu + lVba = alendo pabe buluba
afternoon fence do/make-STM LD
afternoon fence make we-two-shall
we'll make a fence this afternoon

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

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

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

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

\[
\text{= timu bonge loa haja}
\]
abi bu + a ke = abi bua ke
wergild do/make-STM DES EV-2S
wergild make-want you are
you want to pay wergild

panga payu + a harama = panga payua harama
door close-STM DES have-1P-SIMP PRES
door close-want we have
we want to shut the door

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

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

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

ani bu + wa ma dugwarima = ani buwa ma dugwarima
thus do-STM CONS taro lift/dig up-1P-SIMP PAST
thus do (having) taro we dug up
having done this, we dug up some taro

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

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

= andaga puwa bi baywa lowa tomo nowa muni* ngija

5.4.4.1 One, two, or three CONS, with their suffixes deleted, can occur in strings prior to the final verb. The force of
such strings is to signal some overlap in the actions described.

Examples are such as:

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

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

tia bo dawo harima
possum kill-STM cook-STM have-1P-SIMP PAST
possum kill cook we had
we've killed and cooked a possum

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

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

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

tabage mu + le bira
drum take/give-STM PURP do/make3-SIMP PRES
drum in-order-to-take he makes/is making
he's going to take a drum = tabage mule bira A PV

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

\[
\begin{align*}
tomo no & \quad pu\\
food & \quad ingest-STM \quad go-2S-IMP \quad PRES\\
go & \quad (to) \quad eat \quad go\\
go & \quad and \quad eat \quad your \quad food\\
ira & \quad bo \quad pijia\\
tree/wood & \quad hit-STM \quad go-3-SIMP \quad PAST\\
wood & \quad (to) \quad cut \quad (he) \quad went\\
he & \quad went \quad to \quad cut \quad wood\\
bapalo* & \quad hondo \quad ibidaba\\
buffalo & \quad see-STM \quad come-2D/P-IMP \quad PRES\\
buffalo & \quad (to) \quad see \quad come \quad = \quad come \quad and \quad see \quad the \quad buffalo
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2S</th>
<th>fall</th>
<th>utter-STM</th>
<th>SIMPLE PREC</th>
<th>FUTURE DET</th>
<th>slowly</th>
<th>go-1S</th>
<th>IMP</th>
<th>FUTURE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T pi</td>
<td>lo + li + go</td>
<td>hendore</td>
<td>pobe</td>
<td>you fall utter-lest-might-that</td>
<td>slowly</td>
<td>go (later)</td>
<td>go slowly, lest you fall</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=</td>
<td>Ti pi</td>
<td>loligo</td>
<td>hendore</td>
<td>pobe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1P</th>
<th>wrong</th>
<th>do-STM</th>
<th>SIMPLE PREC</th>
<th>SR</th>
<th>DEF</th>
<th>book</th>
<th>one</th>
<th>give-3-SIMPLE</th>
<th>PAST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ina</td>
<td>kagwa</td>
<td>bu + li + lo + no</td>
<td>mbuga</td>
<td>mbira ngija</td>
<td>we gave us a book so we wouldn't go wrong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=</td>
<td>ina</td>
<td>kagwa</td>
<td>bulilono</td>
<td>mbuga</td>
<td>mbira</td>
<td>ngija</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3S-ERG</th>
<th>pandanus</th>
<th>nut/s</th>
<th>roast-STM</th>
<th>SIMPLE PREC</th>
<th>DET</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ibugwa</td>
<td>anga</td>
<td>hiru + li + go</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>pandanus</td>
<td>nuts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| lest he should roast the pandanus nuts

I hanalu | poro
1S put-in-string-bag-SIMPL go-1S | SIMPLE | PRES |
I putting-in-string bag go/am going I'm taking them away in my string bag |

= ibugwa anga hiruligo | I hanalu | poro |

5.4.7 Precautionary Future. These are forms for the 2 per-
son, consisting of special secondary suffixes being added to the SR morpheme, as in figure 20 below. Once again, the only irregular verb to change its basic stem is pu, which becomes po.

\[
\text{STM} \quad \text{SR} \quad \text{PREC FUT}
\]

\[
{\{^u_0\} + 1o + {-\text{ani 2S}}} \quad {-\text{bini 2D}} \quad {-\text{mini 2P}}
\]

**Figure 20: Precautionary future**

5.4.7.1 In the northwest Huli country, particularly in the Mogorapuga area (dialect A1), the PREC FUT functions as the NEG IMP FUT (5.5.2). This raises the question of the status of medial verb forms: clearly, in some instances they can stand alone as utterances, so in what sense are they 'medial'? 

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

5.4.7.1.2 In the case of Huli, it is possible for every medial form to occur in utterance-final position, while non-medial or "final" forms cannot occur in medial position without further suffixing. If we take an utterance to be the spoken medium's correspondent to the written medium's sentence (Brown & Yule 1983: 19), it is possible to say that Huli medial verbs may occur in either medial or final position in a sentence. In careful speech, such as that produced by informants, medial forms rarely appear in final position, but in ordinary speech such occurren-
ces are quite normal.

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

5.4.7.2 Examples of the PREC FUT are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kagwa bu} & + \text{lo} + \text{mini} & \text{hale halimu} \\
\text{wrong do-STM SR 2P-PREC FUT ear have-2P-IMP FUT} \\
\text{wrong do-least you (many) should ear/s have} \\
\text{wrong lest you should do listen/pay heed} \\
\text{pay heed, lest you should err} & = \text{kagwa bulomini hale halimu} \\
\text{jawi hamaga po} & + \text{lo} + \text{bini} \\
\text{tomorrow clearing-LOC go-STM SR 2D-PREC FUT} \\
\text{tomorrow clearing-to go-lest you (two) should} \\
\text{rather than go to the clearing tomorrow,} \\
\text{andaga halibu} \\
\text{house-LOC have/stay-2D-IMP FUT} \\
\text{stay at home} & = \text{jawi hamaga polobini andaga halibu} \\
\text{hamaga po} & + \text{lo} + \text{bini} & = \text{hamaga polobini} \\
\text{clearing-LOC go-STM SR 2D-PREC FUT} \\
\text{clearing-to go-lest you two should} \\
\text{don't go to the clearing} & \quad \text{(dialect Al)} \\
\text{pungunu ho} & + \text{lo} + \text{ani} \\
\text{poverty have/be-STM SR 2S-PREC FUT} \\
\text{poverty have-lest you should} \\
\text{lest you should become poor} \\
\text{he's going to teach you how to plant coffee} & = \text{pungunu holoani kopi* hangawai hole bira}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\{^{(u)}_{o}\} + & \quad \text{lo} \quad \text{be} \quad \text{bu} \quad \text{mu} \quad \text{ja} \\
\{^{(i)}_{a}\} + & \quad \text{lo} \quad \text{be} \\
\{^{(i)}_{e}\} + & \quad \text{lo} \\
\end{align*}
\]

For the three groups, as is shown in figure 21.

\section{5.4.8.1}

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

\section{5.4.8.2}

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

\begin{itemize}
  \item \text{Îna bi la} + \text{be} + \text{lo} la larama
    \text{2S talk say-STM 2S-PERM SR speak-2S-IMP PRES say-1P-SIMP PRES}
    \text{you talk say-that you may speak we say}
    \text{you talk may say speak we say}
    \text{so that you may speak, we say, speak!}
    \text{we ask you / give you permission to speak}
    \text{= Îna bi labelo la larama}
  
  \item \text{ira egene anda he} + \text{lo} bajwa hangamîjâ
    \text{tree shoot house have-STM 3-PERM/SR well plant-1P-EXH FUT1}
    \text{sapling place have it may well let us plant}
    \text{sapling it place may have carefully let us plant (it)}
    \text{let's plant the sapling carefully, so that it may grow}
    \text{= ira egene anda helo bajwa hangamîjâ}
  
  \item \text{jawi ira pini dugu} + \text{lo} + \text{baja}
    \text{tomorrow tree root pull up-STM SR 1D-PERM}
    \text{tomorrow tree roots pull up we two may}
    \text{he's said we can/may pull up the tree roots}
    \text{(he's given us permission to pull up the}
    \text{ani bilibu laja}
    \text{thus do-2D-IMP FUT utter-3-SIMP PAST}
    \text{thus you two do (he) said}
    \text{tomorrow}
    \text{tree roots tomorrow}
    \text{= jawi ira pini dugulobaja ani bilibu laja}
\end{itemize}
tomo no + lo + maja ibidaba
food ingest-STM SR 1P-PERM come-2D/P-IMP PRES
food eat we many may you two/many come
come, so that we can all eat the food
= tomo nolomaja ibidaba

wena jolo bi + limu + lo muni* henedo
fish price make/do-STM 2P-PERM SR money carry-1S-EX PRES
fish price make you many may money I am carrying
I've got money so that you can buy fish
= wena jolo bilimulo muni* henedo

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

ibugwa biabe bu + le + ne nga
3S-ERG work do-STM PURP DEF 3-EV
he work do in-order-to (obligation) is
he is obliged to work/there's work for him to do
= ibugwa biabe bulene nga

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

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

wule bira
place-PURP do/make-3-SIMP PRES
in-order-to-place makes/is making
he is making to place (down)
= bi lolene wule bira

nogo jalu po + le + ne nga
pig hold/carry-SIMl go-STM PURP DEF 3-EV
pig carrying go in-order-to (obligation) is
pig carrying oughting-to-go is
it's necessary to carry the pig/the pig needs to be carried
= nogo jalu polene nga
5.5 OTHER AFFIXES AND PARTICLES

There are a number of other, non-inflectional, affixes and particles that are associated with both verbal and non-verbal items, introducing varying degrees of meaning change. Figure 21 gives an overview of the systems, which include the interrogative enclitic; modality and modulation; and some locative suffixes. I shall begin with the interrogative enclitic.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Form</th>
<th>Nominal Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mulungu ibija be</td>
<td>agali ka be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulungu come-­3-SIMP</td>
<td>man 3-EV Q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulungu came-Q</td>
<td>man is-Q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>did Mulungu come?</td>
<td>is there a man present?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- = Mulungu ibija be

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Form</th>
<th>Nominal Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dugu bere be</td>
<td>ma nole be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cry do-2S-SIMP PRES</td>
<td>taro ingest-PURP Q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cry you do/are doing-</td>
<td>taro purpose to eat-Q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>are you crying?</td>
<td>are (you) going to eat taro?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= dugu bere be</td>
<td>= ma nole be</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Form</th>
<th>Nominal Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>du hame ledemi be</td>
<td>waru pene be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sugar like utter-2P</td>
<td>Waru go-EX DEF Q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sugar like-you-Q</td>
<td>Waru been-Q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do you like sugar?</td>
<td>have (you) been to Waru?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= du hame ledemi be</td>
<td>= waru pene be</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Form</th>
<th>Nominal Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pole be be napole</td>
<td>keba harimi be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go-PURP Q Q NEG-go-PURP</td>
<td>anger have-2P-SIMP PAST Q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>might-go Q Q might not-go</td>
<td>anger you had-Q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>will you go or won't you?</td>
<td>were you angry?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= pole be be napole</td>
<td>= keba harimi be</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Form</th>
<th>Nominal Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ibi wini be nawini</td>
<td>iba noa be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salt place-EX DEF Q</td>
<td>water ingest-DES Q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salt placed-Q not-placed</td>
<td>water (I) want to drink-Q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is there salt or isn't there?</td>
<td>alright if I have a drink?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= ibi wini be nawini</td>
<td>= iba noa be</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.5.1.1 This enclitic, (-)be , functions socio-culturally as a softener: it ameliorates forms such as the NEG IMP PRES (Cf 5.6.1.1) and the 2S IMP PRES (cf 5.2.14), changing the latter into
(-) be interrogative

- ngo LOC: adessive
- tagi LOC: inessive
- tambu LOC: adessive

- ri LOC: inessive
- go DET
- la LOC: adessive
- ni LOC: adessive

- ha LOC: inessive

- e DET

- ja - ø modality: external evidence

- gwa modulation

- da - ø modality: in-/external evidence
- ba - ø modality: internal evidence
- le modulation
- lo modulation

- na - negative prefix
- mo - causative prefix

(-) ore modality/ intensifier

Figure 22: Other affixing systems

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

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

5.5.2.1 Consider the utterances:

1. agali ibija
   man come-3-SIMP PAST
2. agali ibija + go
   man come-3-SIMP PAST DET
   the man came
   that man came
   = agali ibijago

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

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

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

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

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

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

- ngi temporal: adessive
- tagi temporal: inessive
- tambu temporal: adessive

- ria spatio-temporal: inessive
- go (ru)
- la temporal: adessive
- ni spatio-temporal: adessive

- ha spatio-temporal: inessive

Figure 23: Locative suffixes

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

5.5.4.1 -ngi and -tambu are secondary suffixes of non-medial verb forms, and their presence allows these forms to occupy med­ial positions in utterances in which switch referencing occurs, and their grammatical subjects differ from the grammatical subjects of the utterance-final verbs. -ngi usually occurs with verbs that are in SIMP PRES or SIMP PAST forms, while the suffix -tambu is usually added to EX PRES or EX PAST forms, and is of infrequent occurrence. Examples of these suffixes are:

agali ibija + ngi nogo abi mirima
man come-3-SIMP PAST LOC pig wergild gave-1P-SIMP PAST
men came when pig wergild we gave (them)
when the men came we paid them wergild in pigs

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

\[
gununu\ imbira --\ gola\ de\ hondole\ malija\ \textit{with the plane coming}\ \\
\text{ie when the plane comes}
\]

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

\[
gununu\ imbira -- gola\ de\ hondole\ malija\ \textit{with the plane coming}\ \\
\text{ie when the plane comes}
\]

\[
tomo\ dawarima -- gola\ wali\ agali\ ngwai\ haja\ \textit{when people gathered when we cooked some food}\ \\
=\ \text{tomo\ dawarimagola\ wali\ agali\ ngwai\ haja}
\]

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

-154-
ition in switch reference occurs. Examples are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nogo baja} & + \text{tagi gereba manda manda biriba} \\
\text{pig hit/kill-3-SIMP PAST LOC greens head head do-1D-SIMP PAST} \\
\text{pigs (they) killed when greens prepare we did} \\
\text{when they killed the pigs we prepared the greens} \\
& = \text{nogo bajatagi gereba manda manda biriba}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{iba ibira} & + \text{tagi du hangamIjä} \\
\text{water come-3-SIMP PRES LOC sugar cane plant-1P-EXH FUT1} \\
\text{rain comes while sugar cane let us plant} \\
\text{let's plant the sugar cane while it's raining} \\
& = \text{iba ibiratagi du hangamIjä}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{garo* ibira} & + \text{goni} = \text{garo* ibiragoni} \\
\text{car come-3-SIMP PRES LOC} \\
\text{car comes there} \\
\text{a car's coming there} \\
\text{abe bi langiru} & + \text{goni} \\
\text{yesterday talk utter-give-1S-SIMP PAST LOC} \\
\text{yesterday talk I said-gave (to you) then} \\
\text{(what) I told you then yesterday} \\
& = \text{abe bi langirugoni}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{agali o ka} & + \text{goni} \\
\text{man here 3-EV LOC} \\
\text{man here is at/on} \\
\text{there's a man right here} \\
& = \text{agali o kagoni}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wali beda} & + \text{goni} \\
\text{woman 3-EV LOC} \\
\text{woman is there} \\
\text{there's a woman there} \\
& = \text{wali bedagoni}
\end{align*}
\]

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

5.5.7.1 The suffixes -ria and -goria signal 'at', the spatial sense being 'in the area/towards', and the temporal sense 'when/while/during'. -ria is usually suffixed directly to EX PAST,
EV, and, though rarely, EX PRES and 3-SIMP PAST forms; -goria may be suffixed to any SIMP, EX PRES or EV form. -ria is usually used to signal location in time, -goria location in space. Examples are:

\begin{verbatim}
agali homaja + goria ngwai harima
man  die-3-SIMP PAST LOC  group have-1P-SIMP PAST
man died   at  gather we had
we gathered where the man died

= agali homajagoria ngwai harima

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

ibu mabu berea + ria dalu ibija
3S garden 3-EV LOC  rain come-3-SIMP PAST
she garden was        while rain came
while she was in the garden it rained
= ibu mabu berearia dalu ibija

dama ibija + ria nogo barima
spirit come-3-SIMP PAST LOC  pig hit/kill-1P-SIMP PAST
spirits came          when pigs we killed
we killed pigs when the spirits came
= dama ibijaria nogo barima
\end{verbatim}

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

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

aija beda + goha wanigini hole bira
mother 3-EV LOC  child have/stay-PURP make-3-SIMP PRES
mother is where children to-stay make/are making
where the mother is the children will be
= aija bedagoha wanigini hole bira
\end{verbatim}
5.5.8 Modals. Huli has an extensive system of modality and modulation, encoded partly in the morphology of the language through suffixes added to verbal and nominal items. These modal suffixes relate utterances to the sort of evidence on which they are based, direct or indirect, past or present, allowing the speaker to decline from direct assertion and to imply degrees of probability or necessity. Figure 24 sets out this system of suffixes.

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- ja -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- ba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

Figure 24: Modal suffixes

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

aju bi lara + ne = aju bi larane
now talk utter-3-SIMP PRES DEF
5.5.10 The suffix -jane. -ne can be added to the modal suffix -ja to produce the compound form -jane. This signals positive modality, an assertion of certainty based on evidence that the speaker has seen or experienced. The compound is suffixed to SIMP forms in the PURP APV construction (5.4.4). Examples are:

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

- keba hole bere + jane
  anger have-PURP make/do-2S-SIMP PRES MOD
  anger to-have you are making previous-certain-evidence
  you are making to have anger, as previously
  you're going to be angry for certain/as usual
  = keba hole berejane

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

- nogo homaja + da = nogo homajada
  pig die-3-SIMP PAST MOD
  pig died it seems certain/probable
  the pig must have died
5.5.12 The suffix -gwa. This may be added to -da and -ja, and it may also be directly suffixed to a non-medial verb form: whichever the case, the verb then occurs in medial position in an utterance that has optional switch referencing. It is possible for -jagwa to be suffixed to some derivational forms, such as the A of the PURP APV construction, the resulting compound occurring in utterance-medial position. -gwa indicates modulation, oblique or hypothetical, of ability, and can be glossed as 'like/how/should/if', as the context may suggest. When combined with -da or -ja it carries the additional overtone, signalled by these morphemes, that the certitude of the utterance rests on indirect evidence. Examples are such as:

ibu pora + da + gwa ina ma
3S go-3-SIMP PRES MOD MOD 1P go-1P-EXH PRES
he goes is-evident-must like we go-let-us
he goes-must-like let us go
let us go as he goes / let's follow him

= ibu poradagwa ina ma

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

libu abale bulle bira
3D quickly do/make-PURP do/make-3-SIMP PAST
they quickly in-order-to-do make/are making
they quickly to-do are making
they are quickly going to do
= ina laridagwa libu abale bulle bira

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

= dalu ibijagwa napole berama

biabe biru + ja + gwa
work do-1S-SIMP PAST MOD MOD
work I did was-evident-must like/should/since
work I did-like/since
since I worked

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

= biabe birujagwa ti nde biabe bilumu

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

= biabe birujagwa ti nde biabe bilumu

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

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

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

5.5.13.1 -da can be added to -ba, signalling mixed evidential sources - external and internal - and conveying the notion of probability. The compound is suffixed to SIMP and EX forms, as in the examples,
5.5.14 The suffix -le. Like -gwa, this suffix signals modulation, oblique or hypothetical, of ability. It is 'the nominalizing suffix from le 'utter', already met in the PURP (5.4.5), which forms derivational adjectives, and which can be usefully glossed as '-ish/like/should/if'. When suffixed to EX PRES forms, as in

\[ \text{Ngibe ibida} \ + \ le \ + \ aju \ ka \ + \ le \]
\[ \text{Ngibe come-3-EX PRES MOD} \ + \ now \ 3-EV MOD \]
\[ \text{Ngibe come} \ + \ like/should/etc \ now \ is \ -ish/if/etc \]
\[ \text{Ngibe come-ish/if} \ (he) \ now \ is-ish/should \]

it conveys the sense of a hypothetical proposition, such as

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

Other examples are:

\[ \text{biabe biai hedama} \ + \ le \ + \ bajale kama + le \]
\[ \text{work do-COMP have-1P-EX PRES MOD} \ + \ good \ 1P-EV MOD \]
\[ \text{work finish have} \ if/-ish \ good \ are \ would/-ish \]
\[ \text{work finish have-ish/if} \ good \ are-ish/if/would \]
\[ \text{if we had the work completed we'd be fine} \]
\[ = \text{biabe biai hedamale bajale kama} \]

\[ \text{ko nabidabi + le turu kabi + le} \]
\[ \text{bad NEG-do-2D-EX PRES MOD happiness 2D-EV MOD} \]
\[ \text{bad not-do/done} \ -ish/if \ happiness \ are \ -ish/would \]
\[ \text{bad not-done-ish/if} \ happiness \ are-ish/would \]
\[ \text{if you two hadn't done wrong you'd be happy} \]
\[ = \text{ko nabidabile turu kabile} \]
ma dugwido + le nabelo ngido + le
taro lift-1S-EX PRES MOD ingest-2S-PERM give-1S-EX PRES MOD
taro lifted-have -ish (you)-to-eat (I)-given-have -ish
taro I lifted-have-ish/if you might eat I given have-ish/would
if I had taro dug up I'd give you some to eat
= ma dugwidole nabelo ngidole

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

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

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

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

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

jawi biabe bule berama ore
tomorrow work make/do-PURP make/do-1P-SIMP PRES ENCL
tomorrow work to-do (we) are making truly
we are indeed going to work tomorrow
OR: tomorrow we're really going to work

5.6 PREFIXES

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

5.6.1.1 Negative IMP PRES are interesting, since in the Al dialect special forms are selected for negative imperatives (cf 5.4.7.1), while other dialects use the softening particle (-)be (cf 5.5.2.1). Examples of negatives are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Al</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na- po (not) go (please)</td>
<td>andaga na- pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG go-STM Q</td>
<td>house-LOC NEG go-STM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(eh?)</td>
<td>house-to (did) not-go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(I,you,etc) didn't go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>= nāpobe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biabe na- bilimu</td>
<td>bi na- laja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work NEG do-2P-IMP FUT</td>
<td>talk NEG utter-3-SIMP PAST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work not do</td>
<td>talk not (he) said</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don't work</td>
<td>he didn't speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= biabe nabilimu</td>
<td>= bi nalaja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oba na- hadaba (not) have</td>
<td>bi na- ladaba (not) be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smile NEG 2/3-IMP PRES Q</td>
<td>talk NEG say-2/3-IMP PRES Q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smile not have (now)</td>
<td>talk not say (now)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don't laugh/smile</td>
<td>don't talk/speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= oba nahadababe</td>
<td>= bi naladababe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ega na- beda</td>
<td>tomo na- ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird NEG 3-EV</td>
<td>food NEG ingest-STM 1P-EV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird not is</td>
<td>food not eaten (we) are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there isn't a bird</td>
<td>we haven't eaten anything</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= ega nabeda</td>
<td>= tomo nane kama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nogo na- dawamījā</td>
<td>na- pole bira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pig NEG cook-1P-EXH FUT1</td>
<td>NEG go-PURP make-3-SIMP PRES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pig not cook-let's</td>
<td>not to-go (he) is making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>let's not cook pig</td>
<td>he's not going to go /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= nogo nadawamīyā</td>
<td>he won't go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>= napole bira</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

hariga mo- tiga bula berama
road CAUS right do/make-PURP make-lP-SIMP PRES
road cause (other to) right to-do (we) are making
we're going to cause to right the road = hariga motiga bule berama

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

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

ibugwa gali mo- palia hole bira
3S-ERG baby CAUS lie down-BENE have-PURP make/do-3-SIMP PRES
she baby cause sleep to-have is making
she's going to put the baby to bed = ibugWa gali mopalia hole bira

I wanigini mo- heja habe
2S daughter-son CAUS stand up-BENE have-2S-IMP PRES
you/your child cause stand up have
stand your child up = I wanigini moheja habe

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