CHAPTER 6

ADVERBIALS

6.1 HULI WORD CLASSES

At this stage it is useful to locate what are interpreted as adverbials within the Huli word class system, diagrammed below. Section 5.5 has indicated that the system of secondary suffixes intersects with the semantic area covered by free location morphemes. It is these free morphemes that are interpreted here as adverbials, and figure 25 shows that the major subdivision of this word class are i) location and ii) manner.

6.2 LOCATIVE ADVERBIALS

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

- UP —
  - up there li
  - up over the hills at the top (u uju udu

- LEVEL —
  - here o
  - along across over there amu
  - oppositive across over there ede
  - nearby over there nai

- DOWN —
  - down over there at the bottom (unu
  - down across there nunu
  - down there ni

Figure 26: Spatial locatives

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

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

6.2.1.3 Examples of spatial locatives are:

ega li jaga lara
bird up-there flight utter-3-SIMP PRES
(the) bird up-there flies/is flying
the bird is flying up there
uju Dagamabi poro
up-over-the-hills-at-the-top Dagamabi go-1S-SIMP PRES
up-over-the-hills-at-the-top (to) Dagamabi (I) go/am going
I'm going right up to Dagamabi at the top of the hills

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

          andaga beda
          house-DET/LOC 3-EV
          house-at (she) is
          she's at home
6.2.1.5 Other free spatial locatives, such as tamu 'inside' and tagi/tagira 'outside', frequently occur with spatio-temporal suffixes (cf 5.5.3, 5.5.6 and 5.5.7). The suffixes that can be selected are -ni (adessive) and -ha (inessive), suffixes which can also be used with nominal items to signal location. Examples are such as:

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

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

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

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

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ani lajagola} & \quad \text{howa} \\
\text{thus utter-3-SIMP PAST-DET-LOC have/stay/be-CONS} \\
\text{thus he uttered-when/at} & \quad \text{having stayed/after staying} \\
\text{thus when he uttered} & \quad \text{afterwards} \\
\text{after he'd said that,} & \\
\text{ibugwa abare} & \quad \text{jolo bija} \\
\text{3S-ERG red pandanus price make/do-3-SIMP PAST} \\
\text{he} & \quad \text{red pandanus price made/did} \\
\text{he made (the) price (for the/some) red pandanus} & \quad \text{he bought some red pandanus}
\end{align*}
\]

in which it could be said to be acting as a temporal locative.

Its use as a spatial locative can be similarly analysed:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{howa} & \quad \text{have/stay/be-CONS} \\
\text{having stayed/after staying} & \quad \text{afterwards}
\end{align*}
\]

Examples of howa used of spatial location are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Det howa ibiri} & \quad \text{be} \\
\text{Det LOC come-2S-SIMP PAST Q} \\
\text{Det from came -(you)?} & \quad \text{did you come from Det?} \\
\text{ndo, Gubari howa ibiru} & \\
\text{no Gubari LOC come-1S-SIMP PAST} & \quad \text{no Gubari from (I) came} \\
\text{no, I came from Gubari} &
\end{align*}
\]

6.2.2.2 While (-)howa may be spatial or temporal, (-)hondo is only used of space - 'to' a person -, but in a special sense: it signals giving something to someone temporarily, for that
person to pass on to another, or because what is given - eg speech, food - cannot be kept permanently. A tentative reconstruction of hondo would suggest that the PURP suffix -le has been deleted, and the negative then fused with the stem:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hole} & \quad \text{ndo} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ho ndo} = \text{hondo} \\
\text{have/stay/be-PURP} & \quad \text{no} \\
\text{in-order-to-have/stay/be} & \quad \text{no} \\
\text{to-stay} & \quad \text{no}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\begin{itemize}
  \item \[\text{ibu hondo bi lamia} \]
  \[3S \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{talk/words utter-give-2S-IMP PRES} \]
  \[\text{he/him to words utter-and-give say something to him/tell him} \]
  \[\text{igiri hondo hai miru} \]
  \[\text{boy LOC banana give-1S-SIMP PAST} \]
  \[\text{(the) boy to (a) banana (I) gave} \]
  \[\text{I gave a banana to the boy/ I gave the boy a banana} \]
  \[\text{Dewali hondo nogo mbira miribe} \]
  \[\text{Dewali LOC pig one give-2-SIMP PAST-Q} \]
  \[\text{Dewali to pig a gave (you)?} \]
  \[\text{did you give a pig to Dewali?} \]
\end{itemize}

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

\begin{itemize}
  \item \[\text{bibahende - ngi} \]
  \[\text{all/every LOC} \]
  \[\text{= bibahendengi} \]
  \[\text{always/every day/each day} \]
  \item \[\text{bibahende - ni} \]
  \[\text{all/every LOC} \]
  \[\text{= bibahendeni} \]
  \[\text{always/every day/each day} \]
  \item \[\text{pigane - ngi} \]
  \[\text{first LOC} \]
  \[\text{= piganengi} \]
  \[\text{at first/at the start} \]
  \item \[\text{mbira - ngi} \]
  \[\text{one LOC} \]
  \[\text{= mbirangi} \]
  \[\text{at/on the first} \]
\end{itemize}
6.2.3.1 Among time words are those used for referring to days ahead and days past. The way Huli culture deals with time is represented, in part, by this system, which shows that the need to count backward or forward beyond a few days, or to organize days into groups (e.g., months and years), used not to be important. It is only since the white people came that Huli society has had to accommodate this way of viewing time, and it has adapted mainly by borrowing terms as well as concepts from the dominant culture (cf. 7.7.6). The traditional Huli system of adverbial/nominal time words is given below in Table 17.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>past</th>
<th>days</th>
<th>future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abe</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>jawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lebe</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>luma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lebene</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>lumani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>golebene</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>golumani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ogolebene</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>ogolumani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ogogolebene</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>ogogolumani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 days ago</td>
<td></td>
<td>6 days hence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17: Day time words

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

\[
V \rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{high} \\ \beta \text{back} \end{array} \right] / C + \left[ \begin{array}{c} C \\ \text{low} \end{array} \right] / \beta \text{back}
\]
which says that it copies its specification for [back] from the stem vowel, while its specification for [high] is the same as the stem vowel's specification for [low]. This yields the forms lebe '2 days ago' and luma '2 days hence'.

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

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{PRFX} & \text{STM} & \text{SUFIX} \\
[\text{[back]}] & \Rightarrow & \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{[high]} \\ \text{[low]} \end{array} \right] / C \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{[high]} \\ \text{[low]} \end{array} \right] \quad + \quad C \\
\end{array}
\]

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

6.2.3.1.3 However, some dialect Al speakers consistently use the suffix =ni for all forms, which suggests that the morpheme being employed is the spatio-temporal adessive =ni described in 5.5.6. The same speakers tend to use ba rather than be as the stem for signalling 3 or more days past.
6.2.3.2 Beyond the naming of days, the general time continuum is divided into broad areas that do not concern themselves with locating points of time with precision: traditional Huli culture had no need of that. The overlapping areas of time as perceived by the Huli, measured according to the position in time of the speaker, are given in table 18.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>direction</th>
<th>location</th>
<th>Huli</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>past</td>
<td>bamba</td>
<td>long time ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ala</td>
<td>long ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>abale</td>
<td>previously</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>present</td>
<td>ajure</td>
<td>just now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>aju</td>
<td>now/today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wene</td>
<td>shortly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>future</td>
<td>mani</td>
<td>later</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>awe</td>
<td>a long way ahead</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18: General time continuum

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

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

A second form, mani, is the future-time morpheme ma (6.2.3.1.1) plus the adessive suffix -ni (5.5.6). ma can often be glossed as 'after', and frequently signals time subsequent to that encoded
in the process word. It may also accept the inessive suffix -\textit{ha},
the compound being usefully glossed as 'afterwards'.

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

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

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

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

horo day horombe middle of day
muna dawn alendo afternoon
egerebaci morning ne lanini dusk

mbiraga night

6.3 INTERROGATIVES

6.3.1 A= forms. The interrogative adverbials all begin with the
segment a=, which cannot stand on its own, but is the stem to
which suffixes are added, as set out in figure 27. The utterance-
final Q particle (cf 5.5.1) is optional with A- questions.
abi and agwa may both be glossed 'how?', but the former occurs in contexts such as enquiring after a person's well-being, the latter in asking the way in which something is done. The suffix -bi is derivational, from the verb bi 'make/do', and gives the interrogative the sense of 'how-ish/how-like/like-what?' (Derivational suffixes are treated more fully in 7.9.) Examples are such as:

I abi kebe
2S INT EV-2S-Q you how are
how are you?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

nogo ogoni agini o biagoni hombene
pig that INT EXC that twelfth
pig that what/which number oh that twelfth
what number pig is that? oh, that's the twelfth
6.3.4.1 agi may also take the suffix -ma, a commitative (cf 6.5), to yield a form that rarely occurs in A- questions, and that has the sense of 'what-about/around-what?'. Its usual occurrence is in utterances such as

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.3.4.3 abago, which can often be glossed as 'what's his name', can be interpreted as a special interrogative used as a
filler when the speaker fails to recollect something. The suf-
fix -bago is probably an elision of biago, a nominal anaphoric
dectic (cf 7.4). The form abago occurs in utterances such as:

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.3.6 ani, ani howa and ara. The forms ani and ara, mean-
ing 'where/where to?' are used mainly with pu 'go'; ani howa
occurs with ibu 'come', and means 'where from?'. -ni is the ad-
essive locative described in 5.5.6, and (-)howa has been discus-
sed above in 6.2.2. Examples are such as:
6.3.7 *ai.* This A- form can frequently be glossed by 'who/whom?'. The examples given below illustrate that the use of traditional category labels may not be apt for describing Huli: the English gloss 'what?' suggests that ai is an interrogative pronoun/adverb; the gloss 'who?' (second example) suggests simply an interrogative pronoun. The examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Huli</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is your name</td>
<td>I mini ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who is in the shelter?</td>
<td>andira ai kabe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who is shelter who is?</td>
<td>lean-to/shelter INT EV-3-Q</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Huli</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Who are you going to place it?</td>
<td>angi wule bere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When did he die?</td>
<td>angi homene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When did they (they) go?</td>
<td>angi pija</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where did you come from?</td>
<td>angi ibirimibe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When did you come?</td>
<td>INT come-2P-SIM-PAST-Q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When did you come (you)?</td>
<td>when came (you)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When did they (they) go?</td>
<td>when did they go?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.4 QUALITATIVES

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

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
1 & \quad \text{I one} + \text{la jawi ibalibu} & \quad \text{I onela jawi ibalimu} \\
2S & \quad 2S \quad \text{wife ADV tomorrow come-2D-IMP FUT} & \quad \text{come with your wife tomorrow} \\
\text{you} & \quad \text{you/your wife-with tomorrow (you two) come} & \\
\text{come} & \quad \text{come with your wife tomorrow} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e} & \quad \text{I ibu + la ibuluba} \\
\text{yes} & \quad 1S \quad 3S \quad \text{ADV come-1D-FUT} \\
\text{yes} & \quad \text{she-with (we two) shall come} \\
\text{yes, we'll} & \quad \text{come} & \quad \text{= e I ibula ibluba} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

-181-
The suffixes -bi and -ru. Both of these are multi-functional, but can often be glossed as 'and'. -ru is an optional plural suffix that can be glossed as 'and/with/along with' when suffixed to a string of nominal items that together comprise the grammatical subject, while -bi functions in the same way. There are clear reason why these two suffixes should be regarded as conjunctives, but they also need to be mentioned here since they can function as comitatives in the same way as the previously described suffixes. Examples are:

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

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

6.5.4 (-)heba, (-)haru and (-)baba. These lean back on a nominal group that follows the grammatical subject of the utterance. They are used interchangably, but (-)heba and (-)haru are usually selected when the verb is one of motion, (-)haru signifying semantically that the nominal group to which it is enclitic is being controlled by what-/whoever is the grammatical subject of the utterance. The form (-)baba is favoured when the verb signals some kind of mutual interaction between the participants. Examples are:
I Wariabe heba pole berebe
2S Wariabe ADV go-PURP make/do-2S-SIM PRES-Q
you Wariabe along-with to-go (you) are making?
are you going to go with Wariabe?

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

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

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

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

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

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

This concludes the description of Huli adverbials.
CHAPTER 7

NOMINALS

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

```
- class 1 (common )
- class 2 (proper)
- class 3 (pro-nouns)
- class 4 (derivational)

- nouns -
- numeratives
- determiners
- adnominals -

- non-derivational
- derivational
```

Figure 28: Nominal system

7.1 NOUNS

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

7.1.2 Ergativity is signalled by suffixation. Agents are optionally marked for ergativity, while instruments must always be so marked. Thus, in the Huli system it is possible to have two participants in the same utterance marked for ergativity.
7.1.3. Class 1 nouns, which form the biggest and most general class, take only the ergative suffix -me. Class 2 nouns take only -handa, while class 3 nouns take the suffixes -na, -me and -gwa. Class 4 nouns, like those of class 1, also take only the suffix -me, but they are formally distinct from class 1 nouns in that they are all derivational.

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

7.2 CLASS 1 NOUNS

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nogo</th>
<th>ira</th>
<th>keba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pig</td>
<td>tree</td>
<td>digging stick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beraliba</td>
<td>biango</td>
<td>iba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloud</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wali</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>hari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>string bag</td>
<td>mountain/sky</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.2.2 Lexical sets of class 1 nouns may occur in semantic groupings, each member a hyponym of a superordinate item. Thus, nogo 'pig' is superordinate to a set of hyponyms typed on colour, viz: mindi 'black-pig', hone 'ginger-pig' and pagwa 'pie-bald pig'; haro 'oak', dugu 'swamp pine' and baua 'casuarina'
are hyponyms of ira 'tree'. Increasing levels of delicacy eventually result in subordinates that are either realized as proper names or specified by deictics.

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

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

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

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

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

\[ \text{V} \text{[-high]} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{X} \text{[-back]} \# \text{V} \text{[-back]} \]

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

wane + igini = wanigini  
daughter son child/children

manda + iri = mandiri  
head hair

hame + igini = hamigini  
brother son clan member
The second elision rule states that a high vowel is deleted when it follows an internal word boundary that is preceded by a CV syllable whose segments have the specification [+back], thus:

\[ \text{V} [+\text{high}] \rightarrow \emptyset \ /
\text{C} \quad \text{V} [+\text{back}] [+\text{back}] \# \_\_\_\_X \]

Examples are:

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

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

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

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

A number of common collocations whose adjacent vowels are non-harmonious are not considered to be compounds, on the
basis that no elision occurs in their articulation. Examples:

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

7.3 CLASS 2 NOUNS

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Juwi</th>
<th>Dewali</th>
<th>Darali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>man's name</td>
<td>woman's name</td>
<td>man's name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mogome</td>
<td>Ango</td>
<td>Wariabe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman's name</td>
<td>man's name</td>
<td>man's name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godabi</td>
<td>Pajaba</td>
<td>Bebego</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place name</td>
<td>place name</td>
<td>place name</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

7.3.2 The ergative suffix -handa only occurs with class 2 nouns. It cannot occur with class 2 nouns that are place names, nor with proper names that are not the names of humans -
thus the names of spirits, such as Hejolabe and Hiwagamabi, are class 1 nouns, taking the ergative suffix -me. -handa occurs as the ergative marker of certain terms denoting close kinship, such as aba 'father', aïjä 'mother' and ama 'maternal aunt', which belong to this class of nouns. Examples of -handa are:

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

I aba + handa anda ogoni bini
I/my father (by) house that made
my father built that house = I abahanda anda ogoni bini

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

7.4 CLASS 3 NOUNS

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

\[
\begin{align*}
1 & \quad S \swarrow I \\
& \quad D \swarrow ija \\
& \quad P \swarrow ina \\
2 & \quad S \swarrow I \\
& \quad D \swarrow libu \\
& \quad P \swarrow ti \\
3 & \quad S \searrow ibu \\
& \quad D \searrow libu \\
& \quad P \searrow ti
\end{align*}
\]

Figure 29: Personal pro-nouns
tained between 1S and 2S, 2D and 3D, and 2P and 3P (cf table A1).

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

7.4.2.1 The reflection signalled may be emphatic, as in:

\[ibu + ne \ iira \ mopene = ibuni \ iira \ mopene\]

\hspace{1cm}3S DEF wood CAUS-go-EX DEF

\hspace{1cm}he (self) wood cause-went

\hspace{1cm}he himself went to fetch wood

\[gоро* \ ina + ne \ hondole \ berama\]

\hspace{1cm}car 1P DEF sense/see-PURP make/do-1P-SIMP PRES

\hspace{1cm}car we (selves) to-see make/are making

\hspace{1cm}we ourselves are going to see the car

\[= \ hаро* \ inane \ hondole \ berama\]

\[I + ne \ i hangu \ birabe = \Ini \ hangu \ birabe\]

\hspace{1cm}2S DEF only/alone sit down-2S-IMP FUT

\hspace{1cm}you (self) alone sit down

\hspace{1cm}you sit down by yourself / you alone sit down

it may be reflexive, as in:

\[ibu + ne \ mojari \ bulе \ bira\]

\hspace{1cm}3S DEF CAUS -decoration make/do-PURP make/do-3-SIMP PRES

\hspace{1cm}he (self) cause decoration to-make is making/makes

\hspace{1cm}he is going to cause himself to be decorated

\hspace{1cm}he's going to decorate himself \[= \ ibuni \ mojari \ bulе \ bira\]

\[ina + ne \ ani \ manda \ bidama\]

\hspace{1cm}1P DEF thus head make/do-1P-EX PRES

\hspace{1cm}we (selves) thus head make/are making

\hspace{1cm}we ourselves know this

or it may be reciprocal, as in:

\[aгalirume \ tи + ne \ baga \ baga \ bijа\]

\hspace{1cm}man-COM-ERG 3P DEF hit-ITER hit-ITER do-3-SIMP PAST

\hspace{1cm}men (by) they/them (selves) hit hit did

\hspace{1cm}the men hit themselves over and over again

\[= \ aгalirume \ tини \ baga \ baga \ bijа\]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

wena ai + wa page bija ai + wa lajabe
fish who ERG steal make/do who ERG utter-3-SIM PAST-Q
fish who (by) steal did who (by) said/spoke-?
who stole the fish? who said / who spoke?
7.5 CLASS 4 NOUNS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{turu hole} + \text{ne} & \quad \text{well being have/stay/is-PURP DEF} \\
\text{well being in-order-to-have/stay/be} & \quad \text{that} \\
\text{well being having} / \text{well being} / \text{happiness} & = \text{turu holene}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{biabe bule} + \text{ne} & \quad \text{work do/make-PURP DEF} \\
\text{work in-order-to-do/make} & \quad \text{that} \\
\text{work / working} & = \text{biabe bulene}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bi lolole} + \text{ne} & \quad \text{talk/word/s utter-PURP DEF} \\
\text{talk in-order-to-utter/say that} & \quad \text{talk-saying / saying / speaking/talking} \\
& = \text{bi lolene}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{turu holene} + \text{me ibu moturu haja} & \quad \text{well being having ERG 3S CAUS-well being have/stay-3-SIMP PAST} \\
\text{happiness having (by) he cause-happiness had} & \quad \text{happiness made him happy} \\
& = \text{turu holene me ibu moturu haja}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nege wiagane} + \text{me aju nege wia} & \quad \text{sharp edge placer ERG axe sharp edge place-2S-IMP PRES} \\
\text{sharp edge placer-by axe sharp edge place} & \quad \text{sharpen the axe with the sharpener} \\
& = \text{nege wiaganeme aju nege wia}
\end{align*}
\]

7.6 NUMERATIVES

7.6.1 The Huli counting system is an integrated one, and is best described as a whole rather than treated piecemeal under separate category labels such as adverbials / adnominals / etc. It has a base of 15, some of the names given to the units or numbers being parts of the body. Indeed, the system is taught
by counting first the fingers and thumb of one hand, and then proceeding up the arm, across to the chest, and then on to the head, the final unit counted being the nose, ngwi - which is the name given to 15. This and the previous three units are clearly identifiable as body parts, although the other numerals are not.

7.6.1.2 The use of a transformational-generative descriptive framework, such as that proposed for English by Hurford (1975: 20), would be interesting. However, such a framework would incorporate a basic assumption that universal number concepts exist, and that an account of the Huli language should include a description of how it associates arbitrary phonological sequences (words) with these universal concepts. (Hurford 1975: 2)

More appealing, and perhaps less tied into European cultural perspectives, is Yallop's proposal to dispense with the assumption that numbers are universal concepts and to see numeral systems as part of linguistic and cultural elaboration ... (Yallop 1987: 738)

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

7.6.1.1 The fifteen units of the system are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Huli</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Huli</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Huli</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mbi</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>tebo</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma</td>
<td>four</td>
<td>dau</td>
<td>five</td>
<td>waraga</td>
<td>six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka</td>
<td>seven</td>
<td>hali</td>
<td>eight</td>
<td>di</td>
<td>nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi</td>
<td>ten</td>
<td>bea</td>
<td>eleven</td>
<td>hombe</td>
<td>twelve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hale</td>
<td>thirteen</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>fourteen</td>
<td>ngwi</td>
<td>fifteen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ear)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(eye)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(nose)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.6.2 The definitive suffix, -ne. This is added to the stem count unit to yield a form that can usefully be glossed by an ordinal number in English. The vowel harmony rules given in chapter 4 (cf 4.11.3.3) apply, as in the examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tebo} + \text{ne} & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{pi} + \text{ne} \\
\text{STM DEF} & \quad \text{STM DEF} \\
\text{three (that)} & \quad \text{ten (that)} \\
\text{third} & \quad = \quad \text{tebone} \\
\text{tenth} & \quad = \quad \text{pini}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{di} + \text{ne} & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{di} + \text{ni} \\
\text{STM DEF} & \quad \text{STM DEF} \\
\text{nine (that)} & \quad \text{twelve (that)} \\
\text{ninth} & \quad = \quad \text{dini} \\
\text{twelth} & \quad = \quad \text{hombene}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mbi} + \text{ra} & \quad = \quad \text{mbira} \\
\text{STM NUM} & \quad \text{(STM+NUM?)} \\
\text{one at/towards} & \quad \text{second} \\
\text{one-at} & \quad \text{?}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ogoni labo gununu labo halu ibija} \\
\text{DET NUM aeroplane NUM (time) come-3-SIMP PAST} \\
\text{these two the aeroplane came twice}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{STM} \\
\text{SUPFX}
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
V \\
\rightarrow \emptyset / C_{\text{high}} \end{array} + \begin{array}{c}
C^{\text{high}}_{\text{V}}
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{STM} \\
\text{SUPFX}
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
V \\
\rightarrow C_{\text{high}} / C_{\text{-back}} \end{array} + \begin{array}{c}
C^{\text{high}}_{\text{V}}
\end{array}
\]

Examples of these rules in operation are:

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

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

7.6.4.1 e is employed in counting things that are regarded as composed of individual parts that are similar or even identical. It appears to be restricted to fruit that grows in clusters - eg bananas - or syncarps - eg pandanus nuts. Examples are:
hai e mbira jalu • pija
banana (hand) one carry-SIM go-3-SIMP PAST
bananas hand one carrying (he) went
he carried away a hand of bananas

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.6.4.4 halu counts occasions, or times: it can be glossed as 'time/s', and occasionally as 'often'. Speakers of Al dialect sometimes substitute lu for halu. The collocation of halu and labo has been described in 7.6.2.2. Examples are:
gununu halu ki ibija
aeroplane (time) two come-3-SIMP PAST
aeroplane times two came
the aeroplane came twice

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

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

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

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

STM + NUM + LOC  ##  STM + NUM

in which STM is the numerative stem (referred to above as the
'count unit'), the first suffix is the number suffix -ra, and
the second the locative suffix of the adessive -ni (cf 5.5.6).

Numerative groups patterned on this formula are such as:

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

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

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

7.6.5.1 Subsequent fifteens have the formula

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

Examples of such numerative groups are:

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

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

\[
\text{pi } + \text{ ra } + \text{ ni } ## \text{ mbi } + \text{ ra } = \text{ pirani mbira}
\]

10 \text{ (number) (there/at) 1 (number) }

\[
\text{pi } + \text{ ra } + \text{ ni } ## \text{ dau } + \text{ ra } = \text{ pirani duria}
\]

10 \text{ (number) (there) 5 (number) }

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

\[
\text{STM+NUM ## STM+NUM (## STM+DEF+DET+POSS ## STM+NUM)}
\]

Examples of numerative groups with this formula are:

\[
\text{pi } + \text{ ra } ## \text{ ki } + \text{ ra } = \text{ pira kira}
\]

10 \text{ (number) 2 (number) }

\[
\text{pi } + \text{ ra } ## \text{ tebo } + \text{ ra } = \text{ pira tebira}
\]

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

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

hanare* ## di + ra ## pi + ni + go + naga ##
hundred STM NUM STM DEF DET POSS
100 9 (towards) 10 (that) (that) of
pi +ra ## dau + ra + ni ## ma + ra
STM NUM STM NUM LOC STM NUM
l0 (number) 5 (number) (there) 4 (number)
= hanare* dira pinigonaga pira durani maria
nine hundreds and five tens and four of the tenth
nine hundred and fifty-four

7.6.6.3 A further major change in the counting system has been brought about by the new need to count weeks, months and years. White colonizers presented the Huli with a week made up
of 5 days on which work was done and 2 on which it wasn't, and the earliest incorporation of this into Huli culture is expressed in the way in which days were named. Each workday was signalled by the formula

\[ X \equiv STM + DEF \]

in which \( X = \) biabe 'work'. This covers numerative groups like:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>biabe</th>
<th>tebo + ne</th>
<th>biabe</th>
<th>dau + ne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>work</td>
<td>STM</td>
<td>work</td>
<td>STM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work 3</td>
<td>(that)</td>
<td>work 5</td>
<td>(that)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work third</td>
<td></td>
<td>work five</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
  
  = biabe tebone
  
  Wednesday

  = biabe dauni
  
  Friday

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sarere*</th>
<th>emene</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>little</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sarere*</th>
<th>timbuni</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>big</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

7.6.6.6 As English has become more dominant, lexical borrow-
ing has increased, and Sunday and Monday have passed into Huli, accruing along the way the locational suffixes -ngi (5.5.4.1) and -ni (5.5.6), which occur in free variation, thus:

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

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

7.6.6.8 The formulae

\[
X \# \# \text{LOC+DET+LOC}
\]

\[
X \# \# \text{LOC} \# \# \text{V-PAST+DET}
\]

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

\[
\text{pi} + \text{ja} = \text{pija}
\]

\[
\text{go-STM 3-SIMP PAST} \quad \text{went/gone}
\]

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

- sarere \# \# ede + go + ria
- X \text{LOC} + \text{DET} + \text{LOC}
- saturday across/over there (that) at
- at that saturday across across there = sarere edegoria
- last/next week
It will be noticed from this last example that, when the first formula is used, the context determines whether it applies to past or future time.

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

\[ X \#\# \text{LOC+DET+POSS } \#\# S \#\# \text{STM+DEF+LOC} \]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mali } & \#\# \text{ede } \#\# \text{pi } + \text{ja } + \text{go} \\
& \text{dance across/over there go-STM } 3-\text{SIMP PAST that} \\
& \text{at that dance gone over there } = \text{ mali ede piyago last year} \\
\text{ege ede } & + \text{go } + \text{ria ibagwa} \\
& \text{moon across there that at I shall come} \\
& \text{at that moon across there I shall come } = \text{ ege edegoria ibagwa} \\
& \text{I'll come next month}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mali } & \#\# \text{ede } \#\# \text{go } + \text{naga } \#\# \text{ege } \#\# \text{bea } + \text{ngi} \\
& \text{dance across there that of moon } 11 \text{ at/when} \\
& \text{at the eleventh moon of that dance across there} \\
& \text{in the eleventh month of last/next year } = \text{ mali edegonaga ege beangi} \\
& \text{in November of last/next year} \\
\text{sarere } & \#\# \text{ede } \#\# \text{go } + \text{naga } \#\# \text{biabe } \#\# \text{mane } + \text{ni} \\
& \text{saturday across there that of work } 4 \text{ at/on} \\
& \text{at/on the fourth workday of that saturday across there} \\
& \text{on the fourth day of last/next week } = \text{ sarere edegonaga biabe maneni} \\
& \text{last/next Thursday}
\end{align*}
\]

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

X##STM+NUM##(##X)##STM+DEF+DET+POSS##S##STM+DEF+LOC

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.7 DETERMINERS

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

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

7.7.3 The covert classificatory system of the language (cf 5.1.6 et seq) is operative here, in that the referents of the stems hea, berea and wia are those associated with ka, beda and nga respectively (cf table 16).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STEM</th>
<th>-go/-ru</th>
<th>-go/-ru + -ni</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>most proximate: here</td>
<td>less proximate: this / these</td>
<td>least proximate: that / those</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>ogo</td>
<td>ogoni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>uru</td>
<td>uruni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hea</td>
<td>heago</td>
<td>heagoni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hearu</td>
<td>hearuni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berea</td>
<td>bereago</td>
<td>bereagoni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>berearu</td>
<td>berearuni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wia</td>
<td>wiago</td>
<td>wiagoni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wiaru</td>
<td>wiaruni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bia</td>
<td>biago</td>
<td>biagoni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>biaru</td>
<td>biaruni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ebere</td>
<td>eberego</td>
<td>eberegoni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 19: Determiners

7.7.3.1 The stems can be glossed as:
- o 'here/this place where I the speaker am'
- hea 'this ('ka class') person/thing here in this place'
- berea 'this ('beda class') person/thing here in this place'
- wia 'this ('nga class') thing here in this place'
- bia 'this person/thing already referred to here where I am'
- ebere 'this one of those two here in this place where I am'

7.7.3.2 Since these referential items are speaker-centred in orientation, "proximate" in table 19 indicates proximity to the speaker, and does not necessarily locate the referent in respect to the hearer.
7.7.3.3 It should be noted that the clitic labo (cf 7.6.2.2) may follow the singular form of a determiner to signal duality.

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

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

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

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

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

7.7.4.2 Examples of determiners in use are:

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

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

nogo ogoni timbuni ndo emene
pig that big no small/little
that pig isn't big, it's small

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.8 NON-DERIVATIONAL ADNOMINALS

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>timbu</th>
<th>ko</th>
<th>debene</th>
<th>gahenge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>large</td>
<td>bad</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>new</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiga</td>
<td>bare</td>
<td>tumagi</td>
<td>lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>straight</td>
<td>steep</td>
<td>short</td>
<td>long</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.8.2 The intensifier (-)ore. This enclitic may follow an adnominal to signal intensity, which can be usefully glossed in English by 'very' (cf 6.4.2). Examples are such as:

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

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

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

7.9 DERIVATIONAL ADNOMINALS

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

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

- bi from bi 'make/do'
- le from le 'utter'
- he from he 'have/stay/be'
I will briefly illustrate how adnominals are formed by means of these.

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

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

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

garo* darama + bi
nu goloba + bi
car blood ADN
string bag vermilion clay ADN
car blood-like
string bag vermilion clay-like
a red car
  = garo* daramabi
  = nu golobabi
```

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

Examples are:

```
labolabo* aju jo + bi I biabe ere kwi + bi bero
garment now dryness ADN 1S work back bone ADN do-1S-PRES
garment now dryness-ish I work back bone-ish am doing
the garment's dry now I'm doing some hard work
  = labolabo* aju jobi
  = I biabe ere kwibi bero
```

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

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

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

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

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

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

aga karu + le kami
cloak wrapping ADN EV-1P
cloak wrapping-like we are
we're wrapped in cloaks
= aga karule kami

tomo aju libu + le
tomato now tepidness ADN
food now tepidness-ish
the food's gone cold now
= tomo aju libule

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

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

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

It may also be added to nominals which co-occur with it either as
As that it classifies or as its grammatical subject. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yoruba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>garo* ogo hongo + he</td>
<td>ira kimbi + he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>car this strength ADN</td>
<td>wood roughness ADN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>car this strength-is-ish</td>
<td>wood roughness-is-ish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this car's powerful</td>
<td>rough wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= garo* ogo hongohe</td>
<td>= ira kimbihe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>libu agali wa + he</td>
<td>I wali hale pai + he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2D man rejection ADN</td>
<td>1S woman ear block ADN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you man rejection-is-ish</td>
<td>I woman ears block-is-ish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you are old man</td>
<td>I'm a deaf woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= libu agali wahe</td>
<td>= I wali hale paihe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.9.2.4 Examples of similarly derived adnominals are:

- pe from pu 'go':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yoruba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>agali embone + pe</td>
<td>dindi mbala + pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man skull ADN</td>
<td>ground flatness ADN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man skull-gone-ish</td>
<td>ground flatness-gone-ish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a bald man</td>
<td>level ground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= agali embonepe</td>
<td>= dindi mbalape</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- wi from wi 'place':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yoruba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I igiri mini + wi</td>
<td>ti agali muni* dewa + wi kami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S boy mind ADN</td>
<td>2P man money much ADN EV-2P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you boy mind-put-ish</td>
<td>you men money much-put-ish are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you're a sensible boy</td>
<td>you're rich men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= I igiri miniwi</td>
<td>= ti agali muni* dewawi kami</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yoruba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>haribi dindibi wa</td>
<td>biaga ibu halu + he ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sky-COM earth-COM production make-CUST 3S have/be-SIM1 ADN EV-3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sky-and earth-and production maker he being-ish is the maker of heaven and earth is eternal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= haribi dindibi wa biaga ibu haluhe ka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>libugwa biabe bialu + bi</td>
<td>dindi tu wialu + wi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2D-ERG work make/do-SIM1 ADN</td>
<td>land boundary place-SIM1 ADN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you work doing-ish</td>
<td>land boundary placing-ish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you're working all the time</td>
<td>the boundary stays forever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= libugwa biabe bialubi</td>
<td>= dindi tu wialuwi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

7.10 OVERVIEW OF SUFFIXES & ENCLITICS

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

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

aju + be    danda + be    hai + be  
axe Q   bow Q   banana Q  
(is it) an axe? a bow? a banana?  
= ajube = dandabe = haibe

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

- (-) hondo LOC : adessive
- (-) howa LOC : abessive
- ha LOC : inessive
- ni LOC : adessive
- naga POSS
- me ERG
- handa ERG
- gwaw ERG
- waw ERG
- go DET : singular
- ru DET / COM
- bi COM
- la COM
- ma COM
- ja MOD : external evidence
- da MOD : external evidence
- lo MOD : external evidence
- (-) ore MOD: intensifier

Figure 30: Suffixes and enclitics co-occurring with nominals

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

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

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

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

7.10.4 The locative suffixes -ha and -ni have been described in 5.5.6 and 5.5.7.2. Examples of them affixed to nomi-
The possessive. Possession can be signalled by adding the suffix *-naga* to the nominal item that is the possessor. This is illustrated by the examples:

*ogoni wanigini + naga tamunguru*
that children of/for sleeping mat
that's the children's sleeping mat

* nogo + naga hende ngo
pig of/for rope (I)-have-placed
I've got the pig's rope

*wali + naga gamu birima*
woman of/for ritual/spell (we) made/worked
we worked a woman's spell

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

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

*ogoni wanigini tamunguru*  
nogo hende ngo

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

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

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

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

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

samples:

agali  +  go
man  DET
man  that
that  man  =  agaligo

igiri  +  ru
boy  DET
boys  those
those  boys  =  igiriru

wali  +  go
woman  DET
woman  that
that  woman  =  waligo

nogo  +  ru
pigs  DET
those  pigs  =  nogoru

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

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

7.10.6.2  In  the  same  way,  ergative  suffixes  have  been  adequately
described and exemplified previously, in 7.1 - 7.5.2.2.

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nogo} + \text{ja} &= \text{nogoja} \\
\text{pig MOD} &\quad \text{pig it seemed certain/probable} \\
&\quad \text{it must have been a pig} \\
\text{nogo} + \text{da} &= \text{nogoda} \\
\text{pig MOD} &\quad \text{pig it seems certain/probable} \\
&\quad \text{it must be a pig} \\
\text{hariga lu} + \text{ja} &= \text{hariga luja} \\
\text{track long MOD} &\quad \text{track long it seemed certain/probable} \\
&\quad \text{the track must have been long} \\
\text{danda} + \text{lo} &= \text{dandalo} \\
\text{bow MOD} &\quad \text{hina} + \text{lo} \\
\text{bow certainly} &\quad \text{sweet potato MOD} \\
\text{that's some bow!} &\quad \text{that's some sweet potato!} \\
&\quad = \text{hinalo}
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

\[ \text{ADV1} \ \text{NOM1} \ \text{NOM2} \ \text{NOM3} \ \text{ADV2} \ \text{V} \]

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

\[ \text{V} = \text{verb} \]
\[ \text{ADV1} = \text{utterance modifier} \]
\[ \text{NOM1} = \text{grammatical subject} \]
\[ \text{ADV2} = \text{location/manner} \]
\[ \text{NOM2} = \text{indirect object} \]
\[ \text{NOM3} = \text{direct object} \]

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

aju I dama hondo nogo abale
\text{ADV1} \ \text{NOM1} \ \text{NOM2} \ \text{NOM3} \ \text{ADV2} \ \text{V}
today LS spirit to pig quickly
today I spirit to pig quickly
today I'll quickly sacrifice

\[ \text{bo} \ \text{mule} \ \text{bero} \]
\[ \text{V} \]
\[ \text{kill-STM} \ \text{give-PURP} \ \text{make-LS-SIMP} \ \text{PRES} \]
\[ \text{kill} \ \text{to-give} \ \text{make/am making} \]
\[ \text{a pig to the spirit} \]

8.1.1.1 Other frequently realized formulae are:

NOM2 \text{ADV1} \text{NOM3} \text{ADV2} \text{V} \quad \text{NOM3} \text{NOM1} \text{ADV2} \text{V}
\text{NOM3} \text{NOM2} \text{I} \text{V} \quad \text{ADV2} \text{NOM3} \text{V}

Examples are:

Wanali jawi ega habane mule bero
\text{NOM2} \text{ADV1} \text{NOM3} \text{V}
Wanali tomorrow bird fat/egg give-PURP do/make-LS-SIMP PRES
I'll give Wanali an egg tomorrow

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

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

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

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

8.2 NOMINAL GROUPS

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

1) ibu
TH
= he/she/it
3S

2) ira timbuni
TH
EP
= a big tree

3) ira haro
TH
CL
= an oak tree

4) wali dalo dewa berearume
TH
EP
NM
DC
= those many widows

5) agali ko gibi ore
TH
EP
= a terribly wicked man

6) agali biago
TH
DC
= that man

7) mundu naga wali
CL
TH
= a smoker-woman /
a woman who smokes
The functions and realizations of the constituents can be set out as follows:

- **TH**: Thing: the semantic core of the nominal group (Halliday 1985c: 167), may be any of the classes of nouns described in 7.1 - 7.5. Usually realized by class 1 nouns.

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

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

- **DC**: Deictic: signals the degree of specificity the speaker intends to assign to the TH. Specific DCs are realized by determiners (cf 7.7; 7.9.9), as in examples 4 and 6; possessives (cf 7.10.5); and A- forms (cf 6.3.3; 6.3.5) such as au 'what?' and ago 'which?'. Non-specific DCs are real-
IZED by adnominals such as maru 'some', bibahende 'all', and the NM mbira when it signals 'a/n, one'.

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

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

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
| CL | TH | EP | NM | QL |
\hline
Nduna agali wahe tebira ibijarume bi la ngule bira
Duna men old three came-3-DET-ERG will tell (you)
\hline
\end{array}
\]

= those three old Duna men who came will tell you

8.2.1.3 Further embedding is illustrated by the example,

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
| DC | TH | DC | EP | QL |
\hline
Nduna agali ko mbiranaga one mbira wahe ore ibijagome
Duna man bad one-POSS wife one old very came-DET-EG
\hline
\end{array}
\]

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

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

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

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

Wali dalo dewa berearume

Women widowed many those-DET-ERG

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TH</th>
<th>EP</th>
<th>NM</th>
<th>DC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\alpha$</td>
<td>$\beta$</td>
<td>$\gamma$</td>
<td>$\delta$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

= those many widows

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

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

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ira} & \text{haro} & \text{timbuni} & \text{gibi} \\
\text{tree} & \text{oak} & \text{big} & \text{frightful} \\
\hline
\text{TH} & \text{CL} & \text{EP} & \text{DC} \\
\alpha & \beta & \gamma & \delta
\end{array}
\]

= that frightfully big oak tree

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

wahe biago andaga pija tomo dawaga bajale naibi
old that home went food cook-CUST good is not come

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{EP} \\
\alpha
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{c}
\text{DC} \\
\beta
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{c}
\text{CL} \\
\alpha
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{c}
\text{EP} \\
\beta
\end{array}
\]

= that old (one) went home = the good cook(er) isn't here

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

wahe bajale miniwi ore biago
old good sensible very that

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{EP} & \text{EP} & \text{EP} & \text{DC} \\
\alpha & \beta & \gamma & \delta
\end{array}
\]

= that good, very sensible, old (one)

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

biagome muni* mija ogoni hangu laro
that money took that alone (I) say

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{DC} \\
\alpha
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{c}
\text{DC} \\
\alpha
\end{array}
\]

= that (one) took money = that's all I'm saying

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

hai e mbira
banana cluster one

anga dau e
pandanus five clusters

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

gurubu bajale ma pu
gurubu beads good four pairs

hai ngubi e mende
banana stinking hands two
8.2.3.4 EPs with intensifiers can be analysed as having a univariate structure, thus:

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{ira} & \text{haro} & \text{timbuni} & \text{gibi} \\
\text{frightful} & \text{big} & \text{very} & \text{that one}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{TH} & \text{CL} & \text{EP} & \text{DC} \\
\gamma & \beta & \beta & \gamma \\
\end{array}
\]

= that frightfully big oak tree

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

8.2.4 The sequence of elements in the multivariate nom-

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{agali} & \text{wahe} & \text{bajale} & \text{mini} \\
\text{good} & \text{wise} & \text{very} & \text{that}
\end{array}
\]
inal group is predictable to some extent. Any element, apart from a QL, may appear as the sole member of a group. With the same exception, any element may be the logical head of a group. Higher (ie verbal) or equal (ie nominal) groups may appear embedded in any function slot. Table 20 below shows the possible sequential occurrences of elements in groups of two or more.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>element</th>
<th>can occur before</th>
<th>can occur after</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ø CL DC EP NM QL TH</td>
<td>Ø CL DC EP NM QL TH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>- - - + - - +</td>
<td>+ - - - - - +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC</td>
<td>+ - - - - +</td>
<td>+ - - + - - +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EP</td>
<td>+ - + + + -</td>
<td>+ + + - - +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NM</td>
<td>- - + + + -</td>
<td>+ - - + + +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QL</td>
<td>+ - - - - -</td>
<td>- + + + - +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TH</td>
<td>+ + + + + -</td>
<td>+ + + - - -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20: Occurrences of nominal group elements

8.2.4.1 This table shows, for example, that a CL is restricted in occurrence to preceding an EP or a TH or to following a null element - ie being the first element in the group - or a TH. A QL, on the other hand, can occur after a DC, EP, NM or TH, but can precede only a null element - ie if it occurs at all, it must occupy final position in the group. The last entry, TH, can occur before any element except another TH, and follow a Ø, CL or DC. (The word classes that realize these functions have been given in 8.2.1.)
Adnominal groups have also figured in this description of nominal groups. Thus, example 5 of 8.2.1 has an adnominal group functioning as EP, whose univariate structure can be represented thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{agali ko gibi ore}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\alpha \\
\beta \\
\gamma \\
\end{array}
\]

= a truly frightfully bad man

Examples in 8.2.2.1 and 8.2.3, viz:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ira haro timbuni gibi ore ogoni}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\alpha \\
\beta \\
\gamma \\
\end{array}
\]

= that truly frightfully big oak tree

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wahe bajale mini gigabiwi ore biago}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\alpha \\
\beta \\
\gamma \\
\end{array}
\]

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

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

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

aju la ngija
today utter (he) gave
daliwa o lene
strongly call (he) uttered

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ADV} \\
\text{= he told me today}
\end{array}
\]

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

abale ore pija
quickly very (he) went
dalimu ndo o lene
forcefully no call (he) uttered

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ADV} \\
\text{= he went very quickly}
\end{array}
\]

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

8.4 VERBAL GROUPS

8.4.1 General. Adjunct + pro-verb (APV) constructions and serialized verb strings are two candidates for discussion under this heading. APVs were described at length in 5.1.8, and this description has been expanded on the frequent subsequent occasions that they have been encountered. Serialized verbs have been briefly described in 5.4.3.1 and 5.4.4.1, and will be further considered now. However, before discussing these more obvious verbal clusters, I would like to explore the notion that,
in Huli, it is the verb stem and its affixes that constitute the basic verbal cluster or group, whose elements are separated not by word boundaries (as is the case with English), but by morpheme boundaries.

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

![Diagram](image)

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

8.4.2.2 FINs may be temporal operators, such as those forms in figures 3-5 labelled PAST, PRES and FUT. They may be aspectual, such as CUST (cf 5.2.5) and HAB (cf 5.2.20). They may be
modal operators, like the PERM (cf 5.4.8). They may conflate operations, as in the case of the PREC (cf 5.4.6-7), which has forms for signalling tense. Some operators conflate tense and aspect (cf 10.2.3.3-4). Examples of some of these FINs are:

a) temporal operators:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{pi} + \text{agwa} & \text{pe} + \text{ne} & \text{po} + \text{ro} \\
\text{go-STM} & \text{EX DEF} & \text{LS-PRES} \\
\text{EVN} & \text{FIN} & \\
I'll \text{go} & = \text{pene} & \text{I'm going} \\
\text{(I've been)} & \\
\end{array}
\]

b) aspectual operators:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
iname \text{ dama hondo nogo ba} + \text{alu} \\
1P=\text{ERG spirit/s to pig/s hit/kill-STM SIM1} \\
\text{EVN} & \text{FIN} \\
\text{we \ spirits to pigs killing} \\
\text{we \ (were/are) killing pigs to the spirits} \\
\text{alendo beba* hondo} + \text{wa} \\
\text{afternoon/s paper sense-STM CONT} \\
\text{EVN} & \text{FIN} \\
\text{in the afternoon paper (I) sensed/saw} \\
\text{I read/saw (a letter/book) in the afternoon} \\
\end{array}
\]

c) modal operators:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{andaga pe} + \text{lo} & \text{irabu po} + \text{lija} \\
\text{house-LOC go-STM 3-PERM} & \text{bush go-STM 1S-PERM} \\
\text{EVN} & \text{FIN} \\
\text{he may go home} \\
\text{EVN} & \text{FIN} \\
\text{I may go to the bush} \\
\end{array}
\]

d) conflated operators:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{ko bu} + \text{lilono} & \text{ko bu} + \text{lomini} \\
\text{wrong do-STM PREC PAST} & \text{wrong do-STM PREC FUT-2P} \\
\text{EVN} & \text{FIN} \\
\text{ko bulilono} \\
\text{wrong lest-(you, etc)-did} \\
\text{llest you did wrong} \\
\text{EVN} & \text{FIN} \\
\text{ko bulomini} \\
\text{wrong lest-you-do} \\
\text{llest you do wrong} \\
\end{array}
\]
8.4.3 Secondary suffixes, set out in figure 22 and detailed under 5.5, are also part of the verbal morpheme group. Their function is to lend further modal or locational (spatial/temporal) specification. They may thus be interpreted as assisting the FIN and having an auxiliary function in the group. In the examples given below they are labelled AUX, but without the implication that they are morphemes of what are traditionally called "auxiliary verbs".

| agali ibi + ja + ngi abi mirima | man come-STM 3-SIMP PAST LOC wergild we-gave |
| EVN | FIN | AUX |
| = agali ibijangi abi mirima |
| when the man came we paid the wergild |

| wali homa + ja + go + ria ngwai harima | woman die-STM 3-SIMP PAST LOC LOC group we-had |
| EVN | FIN | AUX | AUX |
| = wali homajagoria ngwai harima |
| we gathered where the woman died |

| nogo home + ne + ja | ibu ka + lo manda bido |
| pig die-STM EX DEF MOD | he EV-3 MOD head I-do |
| EVN | FIN | AUX |
| = nogo homeneja |
| the pig must have been dead |
| EVN | AUX | +FIN |
| = ibu kalö manda bido |
| I know he's there |

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

8.4.3.2 It is possible to have up to three AUXs:

| agali homa + ja + da + go + ni |
| man die-STM 3-SIMP PAST MOD LOC LOC |
| EVN | FIN | AUX | AUX | AUX |
| = agali homajadagoni |
| the man there must have died |
8.4.3.3 It is interesting that the intrusion of a LOC element into a morpheme verbal group has been recorded for other Papuan languages — egs the elevationals/directionals of Yimas, Dani, Kewa, Yessan-Mayo, Alamblak, Kemtuk, Anggor and Sentani cited by Foley 1986 (148-152).

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

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{na-} & \text{po} & + & \text{be} \\
\text{NEG} & \text{go-STM} & 2\text{-S-IMP} & \text{FUT}
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{bi} & \text{na-} & \text{la} & + & \text{ja} \\
\text{POL} & \text{EVN} & 3\text{-SIMP} & \text{PAST}
\end{array}
\]

\[
= \begin{array}{c}
\text{napobe} \\
\text{don't go (later)}
\end{array}
\quad
= \begin{array}{c}
\text{bi nalaja} \\
(\text{he}) \text{ didn't speak}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ira} & \text{mo-} & \text{wi} & + & \text{ja} \\
\text{wood} & \text{CAUS} & \text{place-STM} & 3\text{-SIMP} & \text{PAST}
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{PEV} & \text{EVN} & \text{FIN}
\end{array}
\]

\[
= \begin{array}{c}
\text{ira mowija} \\
(\text{he}) \text{ took and put some wood in place}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{hali} & \text{mo-} & \text{mi} & + & \text{ru} \\
\text{needle} & \text{CAUS} & \text{giv-STM} & 1\text{-S-IMP} & \text{PAST}
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{PEV} & \text{EVN} & \text{FIN}
\end{array}
\]

\[
= \begin{array}{c}
\text{hali momiru} \\
\text{I took and gave (him) a needle}
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{bi} & \text{na-} & \text{le} & + & \text{go} \\
\text{talk NEG} & \text{utter-STM} & \text{LOC}
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{mo-} & \text{mi} & + & \text{ni} & + & \text{ja} & + & \text{go} \\
\text{CAUS} & \text{give-STM} & \text{EX} & \text{DEF} & \text{MOD} & \text{LOC}
\end{array}
\]

\[
= \begin{array}{c}
\text{bi nalego} \\
\text{nothing was said}
\end{array}
\quad
= \begin{array}{c}
\text{mominijago} \\
\text{that must have been given}
\end{array}
\]

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

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

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

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

8.4.5.3 Hence, AUXs that follow the FIN modify it by specifying temporal location within the tense it signals, or by intro-
ducing modality to compound with its tense. Examples are:

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EVN</th>
<th>FIN</th>
<th>AUX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>temp: past</td>
<td>temp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= ani lajagola</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
when he spoke/said that

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EVN</th>
<th>FIN</th>
<th>AUX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>temp: past</td>
<td>temp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= ibiramangi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
when we come/arrive

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

ibi + ni + da
come-STM EX DEF MOD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EVN</th>
<th>FIN</th>
<th>AUX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>temp: past</td>
<td>mod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= ani lajaja</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
thus he-seemed-to-say

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EVN</th>
<th>FIN</th>
<th>AUX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>temp: past</td>
<td>mod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= ibinida</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
he-seems-to-have-come

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

ibi + ja
come-STM 3-SIMP PAST

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EVN</th>
<th>FIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>temp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= ibijaja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
he came

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EVN</th>
<th>FIN</th>
<th>AUX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>temp</td>
<td>mod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= ibijangi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
when he came

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EVN</th>
<th>FIN</th>
<th>AUX</th>
<th>AUX</th>
<th>AUX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>temp</td>
<td>mod</td>
<td>spat</td>
<td>temp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= homajadagoni</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the one there must have died

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EVN</th>
<th>FIN</th>
<th>AUX</th>
<th>AUX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>temp</td>
<td>neg</td>
<td>EVN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= nape</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
not-gone

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POL</th>
<th>EVN</th>
<th>FIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>neg</td>
<td></td>
<td>temp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= nalaja</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PEV</th>
<th>EVN</th>
<th>FIN</th>
<th>AUX</th>
<th>AUX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>caus</td>
<td></td>
<td>temp</td>
<td>mod</td>
<td>spat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= mominijago</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
he didn't speak he seemed to have taken and given (it to him)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ma wo porama} \\
taro dig up-STM go-1P-SIMP PRES \\
taro dig up we-are-going
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{EVN} \\
\text{EVN + FIN}
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\alpha \\
\beta
\end{array}
\rightleftharpoons
\begin{array}{c}
\text{we're going to dig up some taro}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
nogo bo dawo narima \\
pig kill-STM cook-STM ingest-1P-SIMP PAST
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{EVN} \\
\text{EVN} \\
\text{EVN + FIN}
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\alpha \\
\beta \\
\gamma
\end{array}
\rightleftharpoons
\begin{array}{c}
\text{we've killed, cooked and eaten the pig}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
hina wo kedo guju bedama \\
sweet potato dig up-STM peel-STM bake-STM EV-1P \\
sweet potato dig up peel bake we are
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{EVN} \\
\text{EVN} \\
\text{EVN} \\
\text{EVN + FIN}
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\alpha \\
\beta \\
\gamma \\
\delta
\end{array}
\rightleftharpoons
\begin{array}{c}
\text{we're digging up, peeling and baking sweet potato}
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{c}
ibu agali he lalu pija \\
3S man be/stand-STM utter-SIM1 go-3-SIM PAST \\
he man be/stand saying went
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{EVN} \\
\text{EVN + FIN}
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\alpha \\
\beta
\end{array}
\rightleftharpoons
\begin{array}{c}
\text{he went, leaving the man (standing there)}
\end{array}
\]
aju ogoriani nge laru
axe here-LOC-LOC be/lie flat utter-1S-SIMP PAST
axe at-this-place be/lie flat (I) said

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

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

= light the fire quickly

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

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

8.4.7 Split configurations. These have the structure

V-STM ## LOC ## V

in which V-STM is a form that co-occurs with A suffixes (cf tables 14 and 15), and V is usually he 'have/be' or bi 'make/do' with the appropriate affixes. It is interesting that this mac-
ro-verbal group has what can be analysed as a 'non-verbal' element intruded into it, in much the same way as 'non-verbal' elements are present in the Huli micro-verbal (morpheme) group. The LOCs in split configurations are non-specific place words that are either nominal items or adverbials. Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bira</th>
<th>tagi</th>
<th>habe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>be/sit-STM ADV</td>
<td>be/have/stay-2S-IMP FUT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit down outside stay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\text{EVN} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{EVN + FIN}
\]

= sit down outside

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pu</th>
<th>uju</th>
<th>harima</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>go-STM ADV</td>
<td>be/have/stay-lP-SIMP PAST</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go up-over-the-top we have</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\text{EVN} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{EVN + FIN}
\]

= we went up over there

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nogo</th>
<th>wara</th>
<th>anda</th>
<th>haramali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pig herd-STM NOM</td>
<td>be/stay/have-lP-HAB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pig herd house we-do-habitually</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\text{EVN} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{EVN + FIN}
\]

= we usually herd the pigs into the house

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>igiri</th>
<th>emene pu mabu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>boy</td>
<td>small go-STM NOM make/do-EX DEF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boy</td>
<td>small go garden made</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\text{EVN} \quad \text{AUX} \quad \text{EVN + FIN}
\]

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

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

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

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

Split configurations:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bira} & \quad \text{tagi} & \quad \text{habe} \\
\text{A} & \quad \text{PV} \\
\mid & \\
\text{be/sit-STM ADV} & \quad \text{be/have/stay-2S-IMP FUT} \\
\text{sit down} & \quad \text{outside stay} \\
\text{sit down} & \quad \text{outside} \\
\text{pu} & \quad \text{uju} & \quad \text{harima} \\
\text{A} & \quad \text{PV} \\
\mid & \\
\text{go-STM ADV} & \quad \text{be/have/stay-1P-SIMP PAST} \\
\text{go up-over-the-top we have} \\
\text{we went up over there}
\end{align*}
\]

Adjunct + Pro-Verb configurations:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{biabe} \quad \text{abale} & \quad \text{bija} \\
\text{A} & \quad \text{PV} \\
\mid & \\
\text{work ADV} & \quad \text{make/do-3-SIMP PAST} \\
\text{work quickly (he) did} \\
\text{he did the work quickly} \\
\text{oba timbuni} & \quad \text{hari be} \\
\text{A} & \quad \text{PV} \\
\mid & \\
\text{laughter big be/stay/have-2S-SIMP PAST Q} \\
\text{laughter big you had-?} \\
\text{did you laugh a lot?}
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

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

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

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

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

.... sequences of events which are commonly associated culturally or for which there is a culturally based or pragmatic reason for their close association.

(Bruce 1986: 27)

8.4.9 Analysis of the APV construction. The dummy verb of this construction can be analysed on the morpheme group level, as above, but the construction needs to be treated as a whole, and its structural elements described as a unity rather than as discrete entities, as already intimated.
8.4.9.1 APVs can be analysed as having a semantico-logical structure in which the A is head and the PV is subordinate to it. Examples are such as:

aga jo bija hari timbuni de handaribe
garment dryness made mountain large eye (you) sense?

\[ A \rightarrow PV \]

= the garment was dry

aha bule bero
house make-PURP (I) make

\[ A \rightarrow PV \]

= did you see the huge mountain?

anda bule bero
house make-PURP (I) make

\[ A \rightarrow PV \]

= I'm building a house

Huli lawai haja
Huli utter-DID (he) had

\[ A \rightarrow PV \]

= he taught Huli

8.4.9.2 Some realizations of this construction comprise As derived from verb forms (cf 5.7.1.4), and can form complexes that involve embedding, realized as right-branching dependencies, as in the examples:

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

\[ A \rightarrow PV \]

= he's going to say what has to be said
biabe bule bira
work do-PURP do-3-SIMP PRES
work to-do he is making

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

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

8.4.10.1 Having described the individual groups, it is useful now to consider briefly group complexes and to explore the texture of the utterance at that level.
CHAPTER 9

GROUP COMPLEXES

9.1 OUTLINE

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

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

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

9.1.3 The interdependency of groups in Huli group complexes can be explored using the categories of taxis already employed (ie hypotaxis and parataxis). Halliday introduces greater levels of delicacy with the categories 'expansion' and 'projec-
tion' (cf Halliday 1985a: 195-196), and still further levels of delicacy within each of these.

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

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

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

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

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

9.2 NOMINAL GROUP COMPLEXES

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>agali</th>
<th>mbira</th>
<th>mini Galo</th>
<th>biango ogo</th>
<th>I biango</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>a/one</td>
<td>name Galo</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>this</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>=1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>=2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-245-
9.2.1.1 It is apparent in these two examples that relational processes can be signalled through the juxtaposing of nominal groups, verbs not being necessary for this purpose. The function of EVs - categorizing existential modes of posture - makes it unlikely that they are underlying copulas, deleted at surface level.

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

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

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

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

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

maru duru hairu anda hene

taro-COM sugar cane-COM banana-COM house stay/have-EX DEF

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

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

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

= boy-must have been-like-and girl-must have been-like-and
either a boy or a girl
dandajagwabi nogojagwabi
bow-MOD-MOD-COM pig-MOD-MOD-COM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=</td>
<td>bow-must have been-like-and pig-must have been-like-and bows or pigs or</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>+3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=</td>
<td>spear-must have been-like-and wergild-must have been-like-and spears or wergild</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>+β</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=</td>
<td>I say hardy men, not old men</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

ina nogo haru eberema
LP pig COM come=1P=SIMP PRES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>x2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=</td>
<td>we pig with come/are coming</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
we're coming with a pig

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tigwa Gambali baba wai binija</th>
<th>Nom 1</th>
<th>Nom x2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3P Gambali COM war make/do-EX DEF-MOD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I Wariabe heba pole berebe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2S Wariabe COM go=PURP make/do-2S-SIMP PRES=Q</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T I onela ijame mabu bule beraba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ls ls wife-COM 2D-ERG garden make-PURP make-1D-SIMP PRES</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tigi Manga Bogaja Angoma tini hangu hole</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tigi Manga Bogaja Ango-COM 3P-DEF only/alone have/be-PURP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mogome Ajagala libugwa gali mini Jali haru ibini</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mogome Ajaga-COM 3D-ERG baby name Jali COM come-3-EX DEF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

9.3 ADVERBIAL GROUP COMPLEXES

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

ibu dege 
3S just

hangu 
only

= just him alone

ogoha howa amuguha 
this-LOC from over there-LOC

pija 
3-went

= he went from here over to there

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

= he went from here over to there

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

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

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

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{hendore} & \text{hendore} \\
\text{carefully} & \text{carefully} \\
\text{go-2S-IMP FUT} & \\
\end{array}
\]

= go very carefully

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{dalimu}, \text{nde} & \text{dalimu ore}, \text{o} \\
\text{loudly} & \text{POZ} \\
\text{shout utter-2S-IMP FUT} & \\
\end{array}
\]

= loudly yes loudly very shout utter

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

9.4 VERBAL GROUP COMPLEXES

9.4.1 Verbal groups were seen in chapter 8 to present interesting problems of interpretation and description. Micro-level (morpheme) groups are at one end of the continuum, and APV groups at the other, while somewhere in between come serial and split configurations. The precise boundaries separating these groups are hard to locate, and perhaps even non-existent, but when it comes to describing group complexes, demarkation is less problematic, since micro-level groups do not occur in complexes.
9.4.2 A useful general rule is that groups across which switch-referencing occurs are in hypotactic relation with each other, while those that share the same grammatical subject are linked in parataxis. This holds true for both medial and non-medial forms (cf 5.4.6.1), as is shown in the examples:

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

= he pig eye sensing surprise said/had
seeing the pig, he was startled

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

= pig (he) caught-that-then group/gathering we had
when he caught the pig, we gathered

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

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

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

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

9.4.2.2 In the second example, on the other hand, the first clause is dependent in the traditional sense: it cannot stand on its own, and states a secondary, background, circumstance, which expands the meaning of the independent clause.
9.4.3 Elaboration occurs only in complexes whose clauses are related in parataxis, and when the core EVNs of the clause-final verbs are semantic equivalents. Examples are given below, the verb in the first clause of the first example being the iterative form of le 'utter', an APV construction (cf 5.2.4).

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

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{CLS} & 1 & \text{CLS} \\
\hline
= & \text{he} & \text{pigs kill-again doing with-a-stick killed}
\end{array}
\]

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

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

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{CLS} & 1 & \text{CLS} \\
\hline
= & \text{talk well saying true very (you) said-seems}
\end{array}
\]

speaking well, you clearly told the truth

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

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

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{CLS} & 1 & \text{CLS} \\
\hline
= & \text{food having eaten plank-on (he) lay down}
\end{array}
\]

he ate and lay down on the plank

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

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{CLS} & 1 & \text{CLS} \\
\hline
= & \text{anger having house-to (I) went}
\end{array}
\]

being angry, I went home

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

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{CLS} & \alpha & \text{CLS} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{CLS} & +2 & \text{CLS} \\
\hline
= & \text{house-to (we) went-when}
\end{array}
\]

Kajuwi he alone did-not-go when we went home, only Kajuwi didn't go

9.4.5 Enhancement occurs in paratactic and hypotactic group complexes. Examples of enhancing paractic complexes, in
which switch-referencing does not occur, are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hari} & \quad \text{iraga halu} & \quad \text{tajanda} & \quad \text{abale pene} \\
\text{mountain} & \quad \text{climb} & \quad \text{have/stay-SIM} & \quad \text{high forest} & \quad \text{quickly go-EX DEF}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CLS} & \quad 1 & \quad \text{CLS} & \quad x2
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hendore} & \quad \text{hendore} & \quad \text{pialu} & \quad \text{maha ore ibija} \\
\text{carefully} & \quad \text{carefully} & \quad \text{go-SIM} & \quad \text{later very come-3-SIMP PAST}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CLS} & \quad 1 & \quad \text{CLS} & \quad x2
\end{align*}
\]

= carefully carefully going later very (he) came/arrived proceeding with great care, he arrived much later

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ibu dai} & \quad \text{bijagola} & \quad \text{tia bo} & \quad \text{piriba} \\
3S & \quad \text{return} & \quad \text{do-3-SIMP PAST=LOC} & \quad \text{possum kill-STM go=2D-SIMP PAST}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CLS} & \quad x/\beta & \quad \text{CLS} & \quad \alpha
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ira kagoria} & \quad \text{ibida pene} \\
\text{tree} & \quad \text{EV-3-LOC run} & \quad \text{go-EX DEF}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CLS} & \quad x/\beta & \quad \text{CLS} & \quad \alpha
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bi} & \quad \text{lolomaja} & \quad \text{henge ngi} \\
\text{talk} & \quad \text{utter-1P-PERM space give-2S-IMP PRES}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CLS} & \quad x/\beta & \quad \text{CLS} & \quad \alpha
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{biabe bulija} & \quad \text{aju ngerene} \\
\text{work} & \quad \text{make/do=1S-PERM axe give-2S-SIMP PRES-DEF}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CLS} & \quad x/\beta & \quad \text{CLS} & \quad \alpha
\end{align*}
\]

= work do-(I)-might axe (you) give=that/must you must give me an axe so I can work
9.4.6 Exceptions. This last example raises the question of exceptions to the general rule given in 9.4.2, since PREC forms can occur in complexes without switch-referencing. In such cases, the PREC clause is still subordinate, in hypotaxis with the main clause. Examples are:

\[ \text{pu ereba holoani henedore pobe} \]
\[ \text{go-STM loss have/stay-2S-PREC FUT carefully go-2S-IMP FUT} \]

\[ \text{CLS} \quad x\beta \quad \text{CLS} \quad \lambda \]

\[ = \text{go loss have-(you)-lest/should carefully go} \]
\[ \text{go carefully, so that you don't get lost} \]

\[ \text{I piloligo ge su* wa haro} \]
\[ \text{1S fall-PREC FUT leg shoe reject-STM have/stay-1S-SIMP PRES} \]

\[ \text{CLS} \quad x\beta \quad \text{CLS} \quad \lambda \]

\[ = \text{I falllest leg-shoe take off have/am-having} \]
\[ \text{I'm taking off my shoes in case I slip} \]

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

\[ \text{jawi te lole manda manda bu ko} \]
\[ \text{tomorrow story utter-PURP head head do/make-STM EV-3} \]

\[ \text{CLS} \quad x\beta \quad \text{CLS} \quad \lambda \]

\[ = \text{tomorrow story to-utter head head make(d) (I) am} \]
\[ \text{I've got ready to tell my story tomorrow} \]

\[ \text{nambisi* pole nogo baru} \]
\[ \text{nambis go-PURP pig kill-1S-SIMP PAST} \]

\[ \text{CLS} \quad x\beta \quad \text{CLS} \quad \lambda \]

\[ = \text{coast to-go pig (I) killed} \]
\[ \text{I killed a pig in order to go to the coast} \]
9.4.6.2 A non-medial verb form may accept the DET suffix -go and function not as a derivational adnominal (7.9.3) but as the process word of a clause in a hypotactic clause complex. In these instances, switch-referencing is not obligatory. Examples are:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{nogo gabwa ibijago} & \text{ira iraga harima} \\
\text{pig wild come-3-SIMP PAST-DET} & \text{tree climb have-1P-SIMP PAST} \\
\end{array}
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLS</th>
<th>x</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>CLS</th>
<th>λ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pig wild</td>
<td>came-that</td>
<td>tree climb</td>
<td>(we) had</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a wild pig came along; we climbed a tree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{mundu narogo} & \text{setoa* anda poro} \\
\text{tobacco ingest-1S-SIMP PRES-DET} & \text{store house go-1S-SIMP PRES} \\
\end{array}
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLS</th>
<th>x</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>CLS</th>
<th>λ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tobacco (I) smoke-that</td>
<td>trade store (I) go/am going</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I (want to) smoke; I'm going to the trade store</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

\[
\begin{array}{c}
koolbidale & \text{nakale} \\
\text{wrong do/make-3-EX PRES-MOD} & \text{NEG-EV-3-MOD} \\
\end{array}
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLS</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>CLS</th>
<th>x2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wrong do/doing-if/-ish</td>
<td>not-is-if/-ish</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>if he's done wrong, he won't be here</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\begin{array}{c}
garo* ibidale & \text{ina aju Mendi pu kamale} \\
\text{car come-3-EX PRES-MOD 1P now Mendi go-STM EV-1P-MOD} \\
\end{array}
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLS</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>CLS</th>
<th>x2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>car is come-if/-ish</td>
<td>we now Mendi go are-if/-ish</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>if the car had come, we would have arrived in Mendi now</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9.4.7 Projection occurs most frequently in verbal group complexes, i.e., clause complexes, that are linked in parataxis. This is because locutions and ideas are usually quoted, seldom reported. Examples are:

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

\[ \text{CLS } "2 \quad \text{CLS } 1 \]

\[ = \text{home to-go (he) said } "I'm going home", \text{ he said} \]

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

\[ \text{CLS } "2 \quad \text{CLS } 1 \]

\[ = \text{he, I happiness have am, said } \text{he said, } "I'm happy" \]

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

\[ \text{CLS } "2 \quad \text{CLS } 1 \]

\[ = \text{return to-do (he) does-certainly head (I) do/am doing I know that he'll certainly come back} \]

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

\[ \text{CLS } "2 \quad \text{CLS } 1 \]

\[ = \text{did you think that was all?} \]

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

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

\[ \text{CLS } 1 \quad \text{CLS } "2 \quad \text{CLS } 1 \]

\[ = \text{he saying tomorrow (I) will come said he said, } "I'll come tomorrow" \]
9.4.7.1.1 In the above example, the locution and the projecting clause are interpreted as together forming a clause complex that is an elaboration of the first projecting clause. It is possible, however, to consider the second projecting clause to be an elaboration of the complex formed by the projection first clause. A third possibility would be to consider the projection as somehow embedded or nesting between a complex formed by the two projecting clauses. I favour the first interpretation as being more in accord with the general pattern of paratactic projection in Huli.

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLS</th>
<th>α</th>
<th>CLS</th>
<th>β</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
= he/him to saying he pig eat having saying to him he having eaten

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

| CLS | β | CLS | α |

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

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

```
CLS 1
CLS "2
```

```
= he/him to saying you pig eat having
saying to him, "You having eaten, ..."
```

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

```
(agali) ... damanaga barama Iowa
(men) spirit-POSS kill-lP-SIMP PRES utter-CONS
```

```
CLS "2
CLS 1
```

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

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

Some exemplification of nominal, and verbal group complexes can be gained by exploring a slightly longer stretch of text than those we have looked at so far. I will set out
the text and gloss first, and then briefly discuss it in the light of this and the preceding chapter. The text is a continuation of the bi te 'folktale' sample given in 4.3.5.1.

9.4.8.1 The text:

dawe hole, lowa, hurwa uru,
dawe have-PURP utter-CONS skirt these
dawe dance to-have having-said/saying skirts these
dawe bi lagu hagane wijago
dawe talk utter-CUST have-CUST-DEF place-3-SIMP PAST-DET
dawe talk cust.-say cust.-have-that placed-that
damene, mojai haja.
relative CAUS-hold-COMP have-3-SIMP PAST
related thing cause (self to) hold completely had
ai nde. Hela Obene pole wirwa, laja.
EXCL POST Hela Obene go-PURP place-UNSN PRES utter-3-SIMP PAST
ah yes Hela Obene to-go places (unseen) (he) said
agali biagome ibalu pu gimbu pija.
man that-ERG come-SIM go-STM joint/joining go-3-SIMP PAST
man that coming go joining went
herelibi hubane mbira winijago nu
salt bundle a/one place-EX DEF-MOD-DET string bag
salt bundle a placed-seemed-that string bag
hanaja.
ai ibalu pu gimbu pija.
carry-3-SIMP PAST EXCL come-SIM go-STM joint go-3-SIMP PAST
carried ah coming go joining went
udu Hela Obene iraga haja.
up over the hills at the top Hela Obene climb have-3-SIMP PAST
up over the top of the hills Hela Obene climb (he) had

9.4.8.2 Translation:

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

9.4.8.3 The first three lines of the text form one utterance, with two clauses in paratactic extension, the first of these projecting an idea. This is indicated in the notation,
which shows that dawe hole is an idea, linked to Iowa, which projects it and which is also linked in paratactic extension to the clause hurwa ... haja.

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

hurwa uru, dawe bi lagu hagane wijago damene,

9.4.8.5 Note that in the second nominal group, lagu is a stylistic variant of laga (cf 5.2.5; 7.5.1), while hagane is the full derivational nominal (cf 7.5.1) of he 'have/stay/be', and can be glossed as 'haver', 'stayer', etc. In collocation with the form laga/lagu, it yields the sense '(talk) customarily said-and-staying'. wijago is a derivational adnominal, with the function described in 8.1.1.2, being QL of an embedded nominal group acting as a DC. The interpretation that this group is a deictic is based on its indicating ago 'which?' damene the speaker is concerned with, while there is reason for thinking that the relationship between this DC and TH is one of inalienable possession - things necessarily bound up with the perform-
ance of dawe -, thus making the POSS suffix -naga optional (cf 7.10.5).

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

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

Hela Obene pole wirwa, laja.

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

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

agali biagome ibalu pu gimbu pija

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

9.4.8.10 Line 6 is an utterance, completed on line 7, that is a single clause, containing three nominal groups, two of which form a complex, thus:
9.4.8.11 The last line contains an utterance that is composed of a clause complex that can be interpreted in the same way as that set out in 9.4.8.8 above.

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