CHAPTER 12

TEXTS

12.1 INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

a) grammatical parsing
b) nominal and adverbial groups
c) nominal and adverbial group complexes
d) micro-verbal groups
e) aspect
f) macro-verbal groups
g) verbal group complexes  
h) interlinear literal translation  
i) equivalent translation

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

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

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

12.2 TE BAME

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

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

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

4 // o wali andaga piru.

a) oh woman's house-DET go-1S-SIM PAST
b) DC+ TH

d) EVN+FIN

e) punctiliar
f) CLS +3
g) oh woman house-that went
h) er, so I went to a woman's house.

3 // o Paga berearia,

a) oh Paga sit down-3-EX PAST-LOC
b) TH

d) EVN+FIN+ AUX

e) state
f) CLS xβ

h) oh Paga was sitting down-there/towards
i) Er, where Paga lives,

4 // o Paga berearia

a) oh Paga sit down-3-EX PAST-LOC
b) TH

d) EVN+FIN+ AUX

e) state
g) CLS xβ CLS xβ

h) oh Paga was sitting down-there/towards went
i) er, I went to where Paga lives.

4 // jawi biabe bule. // jawi magadi* pole.

a) tomorrow work do-PURP tomorrow market go-PURP
b) ADV TH ADV TH EVN+FIN

d) EVN+FIN

e) progressive
f) A+ PV

h) tomorrow work do-in order to tomorrow market go-in order to
tomorrow I'll work. Tomorrow I'll go to the market.
i) tomorrow I'll work. Tomorrow I'll go to the market.

2 // e, / jawi magadi* pole bedo.

a) yes, tomorrow market go-PURP sit down-1S-EX PRES
b) ADV TH

d) EVN+FIN EVN+FIN

e) prog. state
f) CLS xβ CLS xβ

h) yes, tomorrow market in-order-to-go sit down/am seated/am
i) Yes, I'm waiting to go to the market tomorrow.
12.2.1.1 The text picks up after the te bame has been begun, and the first intonation group forms a bridge with what has gone previously. This anaphoric bridging occurs again in line 2, while cataphoric linking is signalled on the false start that is line 4, and also in line 8.

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

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

12.2.1.4 The paucity of groups is noteworthy, and in particular
that there are few of more than one element and none with more than two elements. Similarly, the lack of group complexes below clause level is interesting.

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

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

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

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

12.2.1.9 Of interest, too, is the use of Huli-ized E/P lexis, which represent concepts and behaviours introduced into Huli culture from outside. Markets were not part of the traditional system of barter, while the notion of 'schooling' or instructing large mixed groups, and the activities associated with it,
were new to a society in which empowering knowledge was transmitted on a one-to-one basis (cf 2.5.2; 2.5.3; 11.4.9).

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

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

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

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

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

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Having returned, I chopped some wood.

Having cooked and eaten, I went to sleep.

Descending and coming to mass, I washed.
12.2.2.1 The first line has an interesting phonological switch between \[^h_t\] and \[^s\] in tiki and siki. The former is the more common usage in social class 1 (SCI) (cf 11.8.3.4); the latter is more closely associated with social class 2 (SC2).

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

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

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

12.2.2.5 An interesting sign of the influence of P is the unexpected use of 'sindaun' (line 4) instead of the appropriate form of biru. This is notable for two reasons: it is used as a verbal, not a nominal, item, and remains uninflected; and the item it replaces is associated with beda, the EV used for women.
Possibly the girl who produced this report—a younger person of SCI—did not have full control of this usage. The older woman who created text 1 exemplifies such control in the way she uses beda (lines 4, 5).

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

12.2.2.7 Interesting, too, is the appearance in line 7 of the E 'wash', interpreted here as an A whose PV is bi 'make/do'. H has borrowed the P nominal 'waswas' into as wajawaja: the P verb is usually 'wasim', sometimes 'waswas'. Borrowing from E instead of P could be interpreted as SCI --> SC3 code switching (cf 11.8.2.3; 11.8.3.4), and indicative of the range of social behaviour enjoyed by younger Huli people (cf 11.8.3).

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

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

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

which would have maintained the structure and the rhythm of the narrative.

12.2.3 Text 3 was obtained at about the same time, as the previous two, and is a report given by a young man, aged about 20. It is interesting because of the high incidence of borrowing. Some previous examples are from this text (cf 4.10.3.3).

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

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

3 goti* lo pole. // Ani buwa, / ai aju o Huli
a) court utter-STM go-PURP thus do-CONS ah today oh Huli
b) TH

e) EVN+FIN
f) (A+ PV) EVN+ EVN+FIN
g) CLS x/CLS 1
h) court say to-go thus having done ah today oh Huli
i) in order to go to court. Having done this, em, today, er,

4 pole daga./garo* taja bialu bedogoni.
a) go-PURP just car seek do-SIM sit-lS-EX PRES-LOC
b) ADV TH TH
d) EVN+FIN
f) A+ PV

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

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

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

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

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

```
I Ndet howa / aba Malakila / biabe dauni alendo

a) LS Det from father Malachy-COM work fifth afternoon
b) TH TH TH NM ADV
d) (EVN+FIN?)
g) (CL 1 CL +2)?
h) I Det from father Malachy-with work fifth afternoon
i) I came from Det with Father Malachy on Friday
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ibini. // ibalu, / Burani palene. / Burani
a) come-EX DEF come-SIM Burani lie down-EX DEF Burani
b) TH, TH
d) EVN+FIN EVN+FIN EVN+FIN
e) perfective perfect punctiliar/state
g) CLS 1 CLS +2 (CLS 1
h) came coming Burani lay down Burani
i) afternoon. After arriving, I slept at Burani. Having

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

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

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

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

// Migili pu hewaria, / o aba Mbil
a) Migili go-STM have-lS-EX PAST-LOC oh father Bill
b) TH
TH
e) perfect
f) EVN+ EVN+FIN+AUX
g) CLS χ) CLS x2 (CLS y) CLS xβ
h) Migili go had-when/while oh father Bill
i) ground, I went to Migili and, while there, when Father

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

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

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

11 haru howa / Gymu bedama.
a) along with have-CONS Gymu sit down-1P-EX PRES
b) TH
d) EVN+FIN EVN+FIN
e) perfect state
g) CLS x2
h) accompanying having had Gumu are seated
i) Bill, all of us together are waiting at Gymu.

12.2.4.1 This text has a number of interesting features. There are examples of nominal group complexes in lines 6 and 10, and the latter line also contains an example of a medial verb form (pole) in utterance-final position. There is an example of a split configuration (cf 8.4.7) in line 9, the last two elements (dai bi 'return') then reoccurring in a medial form as an APV.

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

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

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

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

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

12.2.4.7 Besides anaphoric bridging (lines 2, 3, 5 and 9-10), another device by which cohesion is achieved is lexical chaining - such as the scatter of place names throughout the text, and the set of hyponyms referring to days of the week at the begin-
ning of the text. Lexical cohesion is also apparent in the set of items from the expanded mana register: aba (lines 1, 7, 10), sandeni (line 5), gadolik misin lotu (line 6) and misa (line 8).

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

12.3 BI BAME

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

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

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

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

3C ede (kamilo)=
across over there

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

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

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

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

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

9D // o dai bu hamījā. // ani buwa=
[thus do-CONS
a) thus having done
g) CLS 1
h) thus having done
4

10E // o mage hamījā.
a) oh guard have-1P-EXH FUT
b) (CLS +2)
h) oh guard have-let us
i) er, we'll keep watch.

11D // o mage hamījā.
g) CLS +2
12F // ai dawamījā.
a) ah steam cook in the ground-1P-EXH FUT
g) (CLS +3)
h) ah steam cook in the ground-let us
i) Ah, we'll steam it.

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

14F // o dugwalu namījā.
g) (CLS +4)

14G //
da) lift-CONS ingest-1P-EXH FUT
f) CLS 1
h) having lifted eat-let us
i) Having taken it out, we'll eat it.

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

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

18 / dai bule laja, / lalimu.
a) return do-PURP utter-3-SIMP PAST utter-2P-IMP FUT
f) A+ PV
g) CLS +2)

h) return to-do (he/they) said say-you!
i) all one kind; I'll come back after eating pig.

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

20A // mani ina podole.
a) later 1P cut up-PURP
h) later we to-cut
i) Later, we'll cut it up.
211 // mitini* aju be.
a) meeting now Q
i) Is the meeting now?

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

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

24 wai bimǐjā. mba ( )
a) war do-1P-EXH FUT
h) war make-let us
i) we'll make war.

25K // iba gana misa lо
a) water ditch Mass utter-STM
b) CL+ TH+ QL EVN+
h) song Mass utter
i) Let's sing a Mass

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

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

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

29J // o dindinaga halu ndo baramani.
a) oh ground-POSS have-SIM no hit/kill-1P-SIM PRES-MOD
d) EVN+FIN+AUX
g) CLS 1
h) oh earth— for having no fight (we) should
i) But we shouldn't fight over material possessions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

36C anibi=
thus— like
Like this
A number of speakers tried to claim the floor at this point, and the debate broke up in confusion. The previous pattern of turn-taking had been quite orderly, speakers self-selecting and successfully claiming turns by using the linking 0 form (cf. 12.2.1.1) to introduce anaphoric references, achieving cohesion through repetition of all or part of the previous utterance. Thus 4B, 7E, 9D and 1F12, were able to gain the floor, while acceptance of such interjections, e.g. 9D, 11D and 13D, allowed the acceptor to retain or to regain control.

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

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

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

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

5D <bo> bo buwa, nogo bo buwa, <anda bu> anda bimįjā
7E o (-) <anda> anda buwa (-)

These are shown in round brackets at the clause level interpre-
12.3.1.6 The paucity of nominal groups and nominal group complexes is notable, while verbal group complexes are more marked than in previous, dialogic, texts. **ledago** (line 33) and **bara-midago** (line 37B) are both interpreted as derivational adnominals (cf 7.9.3), as opposed to sub-dominant clauses (cf 9.4.6.2), but the interlineal glosses indicate the possibility of an alternative reading.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

12.3.1.14 The SR from mopijagoria (line 32E) to biruguni (34)
is regular and predictable.

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

1A nogo (-) o
pig
           oh

2B // Ina laro
a) 1S-ERG utter-1S-SIMP PRES
h) I speak/say/tell
i) Let me speak.

2

3A ē
Yes/Okay.

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

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

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

7A nogo (-)
pig

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

9C // Ina hanqu nalaribigobi
a) 2S-ERG alone NEG-utter-2S-SIMP PAST-ADV-DET-COM
d) POL+EVN+FIN+_AUX+AUX+AUX
10 naruli / lama=
   a) utter-1S-HAB utter-1P-EXH PRES
   g) (CLS "2 CLS 1) CLSω
   h) (I) eat-habitually say-let us
   i) let's all say how we feast.

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

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

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

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

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

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

17 // tigua baja hangu mitiangi bu barimi be,
   a) 2P-ERG good only thought do-STM hit-2P- SIMP PAST Q
   g) CLS 1
   h) you good only thought do hit
   i) ... did you have only good intentions when you killed,
The usual expression for 'reply/answer' is the split configuration la dai bi 'utter return make', and the apparent
APV dai bi la 'return-talk utter' is either a dialectal variant or an ill-formed utterance that reflects in part the P, 

\[
\text{bekim tok} \\
\text{return/give back talk/speech}
\]

In support of the latter possibility is the factor of C, the facilitator of the trio, having undergone extended training in which P was the medium of communication.

12.3.2.2 There are dialectal variants in this text, such as the deletion of final vowels in neané and heanjé (lines 25 & 26), which site the interaction in the Magarima area (cf 2.6.2). The occurrence in line 24B of

\[
\text{ko aju bara manga} \\
\text{wrong now hit-3-SIMP PRES dislike}
\]

either omits the usual modal (eg -ba) that co-occurs with manga, or disrupts the SOV syntax to OVS, and places manga in clause-final position. The latter interpretation seems unlikely, given the non-occurrence of final position S anywhere else in the data. It can be noted that this latter interpretation would also indicate punctiliar aspect, while a modal would indicate state - more likely in view of the customary aspect of the paratactic clause within which this one is embedded.

12.3.2.3 In line 25 there occurs another unusual syntactical configuration,

\[
\text{ba ko haga nean} \\
\text{hit-STM wrong have-CUST ingest-3-EX DEF} \\
\text{hit wrong haver/be-er ate}
\]

This involves the split configuration ba ko he 'hit wrong/hit badly/miss' and then a quasi-serialization of he and ne - 'kill and eat'. The CUST can sometimes be interpreted as an A when it co-occurs with he 'have/be' (cf text 12..4.1, line 2), but this instance seems to suggest that its PV could also be ne 'eat'.
12.3.2.4 Another unexpected configuration occurs in line 9C, in which the adnominal derivational suffix -bi (cf 7.9.2.1) is employed twice as an AUX in a micro-verbal group. At the level of pragmatics, the utterance in which this form occurs (lines 9C-10) is a bald-on-record face threatening act (FTA). It appears that C's position (church leader and facilitator) allowed him to use this strategy, and the response to it was immediate.

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

\[\text{nogo ... kanagani} \quad \text{1.}(x_\beta \quad \text{abame} \quad \text{wai bialu} \quad \text{2}.1 \\
\text{dawa bu balu} \quad \text{+2}) \\
\text{horombe homaragola} \quad \text{=2.}(x_\beta \quad \text{damanaga bara} \quad \text{2}.("\beta") \cdot 1 \\
\text{lowa} \\
\text{habane bu balu} \quad \text{+2} \\
\text{hāI (hene)} \quad \text{+3})\]

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

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

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

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

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

\[
\text{aba} + \text{handa mbuga* mongija}
\]

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

12.3.2.5 The item labome in line 24B is an anaphoric reference to what A had said previously in lines 12-14, the referents being the night-time dawa 'feast for dead warriors' (cf 2.5.3)
and the day-time habane 'fat rite'. This latter is a sacrificial rite during which a sacred stone, representing an important dama (cf 2.2.1), is anointed with pig fat.

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

12.4 BI MANA

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

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

2 agalime dindi gamu biaga hene. / Duguba
a) men-ERG ground rite do-CUST have/stay-3-EX DEF.
b) TH CL+ TH
f) A+ PV
g) CLS d (CLS 1 CLS +2)
h) men earth rite do-customarily had/stayed
i) Duguba men used to perform the earth ritual.
Nowadays, we that are here don't understand it. When I
heard of it they said, 'Long ago there's a cane running
through the earth.' 'There's also a rock,' they said,
rock, python and cane are running along side by side.
bad is-when that snap to-say/be
i) how it is when the soil is bad. It's going to

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

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

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

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

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

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

// ai dindi pongo lai haruguni.
a) ah ground knot utter-COMP have-1S-SIMP PAST-DET-LOC
b) CL+ TH
f) (A+ PV)
h) ah earth knot say-completely have-that-at/in
i) Well, I've finished talking about the earth's knot.
12.4.1.1 Evidence of A dialect (cf 2.6.1) is present in the fronting and raising of the first vowel in kemagoni (line 3) and kemago (line 6). Reduplications such as palu palu (line 8) are common devices in all dialectal varieties for signalling iteration or intensity — frequently non-progressive aspect.

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

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

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

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

12.4.1.6 The frequent occurrence of the DET -go is notable, in particular its appearance in utterance-final lexis (lines 3, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13 and 17). The final determiner is an interest-
ing cohesive device, and its semantic import -"that's it!"- is a common feature of instructional texts.

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

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

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

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

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

aju ... manda nabi (line 3)  \[\text{I hale harugula (3-4)}\]
ai lajadagwa (12) \[\text{I hale henedagwa (12)}\]
agali wahe (13) \[\text{igiri emene (14)}\]
wahle ti \[\text{biango igiri emenela}\]
12.4.1.12 The schema provides an overall frame in the link between dindi ko (line 1) and dindi pongo (line 17). Indeed, the whole text is skillfully constructed, suited to instruction and memorization.

12.5 BI GALONE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7 ho bedaru hondo/walia howa lalu,

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

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

10 bidamagoni. // ogoni jamo iraga hene ndo.)

11 //kojale uruni / agi bule wa binida be.

12 //ti urunime agi biagada. // tigwa la

13 dai biragome / bi tene aju lole
a) return do-3-SIMP PRES-DET-ERG talk source now utter-PURP
b) EP+ TH QL <CLS>
   NOM =2
h) return do/are doing-that-by talk source now to-say
i) by way of reply will almost certainly uncover

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

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

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

17 bule, / Iowa // minime mitangi ala buwa
   a) do-PURP utter-CONS mind-ERG thought before do-CONS
   b) TH TH ADV
   f) A+ PV A+ PV A+ PV
   g) (CLS x/3, CLS^ ) CLS +4
h) later out to-do head did-that out do
i) thought it through initially, his knowledge of how to do

18 //mani wa bulu manda bijago // wa bu
   a) later out do-PURP head do-3-SIMP PAST-DET out do-STM
   b) ADV TH TH TH
   f) A+ PV A+ PV (A+ PV) EVN+
   g) (CLS x/3) CLS +4
h) later out to-do head did-that out do
i) it expresses itself clearly later in the created object.

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

12.5.1.1 There are a number of interesting features in this
text. It has a high incidence of nominals and nominal groups,
and also, in comparison with the text so far studied, an unusu­
ual degree of nominalization involving embedding.

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

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

```
agali gime wa bini damenego
```

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

```
agali bi lole ngwai ho bedaru
b) TH+ QL ( TH+ QL <ADN <CLS X CLS> > )
f) A+ PV (A+ PV)
serialization --->
g) CLS xA CLSx
```

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

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

12.5.1.6 There is an interesting nominal group in lines 12-13:
which features the split configuration la dai bi 'answer' as part of a verbal group embedded in a TH. In the above notation, the ergative suffix -me is interpreted as an AUX at micro-verbal group level. Similarly, the POSS -naga can be read as an AUX in the embedded clause that constitutes the qualifier of the nominal group spread across lines 13 and 14:

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

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

12.5.1.7 There are examples of nesting (cf 9.4.7.1) in lines 15 - 17, were the discontinued projecting clause is indicated by dotted lines, thus: (CLS --> XXX --> 1).

12.5.1.8 Split configurations are exemplified in lines 14-15 and 17. In the former instance, the final verb illustrates some vowel harmony (buluba instead of buleba), while the creator of the text recorded the duplication bada as a separate word, not further suffixing.

12.5.1.9 The split configuration in line 17 shows the intrusion of an adverbial between the A and PV. How far this is a true split configuration is debatable, since it resembles in many ways occurrences such as bi hendore le 'speak softly', in which the intruded element could be interpreted as qualifying the PV, and biabe erekuibi bi 'work hard', where the the intruded element seems to qualify the A. ala is elsewhere adverbial, as is hendore, while erekuibi is adnominal. Hence, intruded elements in APV configurations may qualify either the A or the PV.
12.5.1.10 There is an interesting example of an APV and a split configuration in serialization in lines 18 - 19:

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

(A+ PV) + (A+ PV)

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

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

12.5.1.13 This last mentioned item is interesting in that the DET »qo refers it back to haru haga (line 1). The use of determiners as deictics in instructional texts was illustrated in text 7 above, while the lack of anaphoric bridging was noted (cf 12.4.7.6-7). This text also lacks anaphoric bridges, using determiners instead to achieve cohesion. Determiners acting as anaphoric deictics are ogonime (line 2), uruni (5, 11), ogoni (10) and urunime (12), while cataphoric deictics are present in ogo (1) and uru (3). Exophoric deictics are present in ogo (8, 16) and in ogoni (8).
12.5.1.14 This text thus uses referential devices found in the last, but lacks its overall schematic construction, noticeably the appositional pairings discussed in 12.4.1.11.

12.6 0

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

\[
\begin{align*}
1 & \text{ama-o:::} & 2 & \text{amale-o:::} & 3 & \text{āi̍jali-o:::} \\
& \text{o mother!} & & \text{o mother!} & & \text{o mother!}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
4 & \text{amuli-o:::} & 5 & \text{āi̍jaliiole-o:::} & 6 & \text{ama āi̍jali-o:::} \\
& \text{o mother!} & & \text{o mother!} & & \text{mother, o mother}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
7 & \text{āi̍jali-o:::} & 8 & \text{amale-o:::} \\
& \text{o mother!} & & \text{o mother!}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
9 & \text{lungi ale mā ju laja be, ama-o:::} \\
& \text{a) cloud like neck hold=STM utter-3-SIMP PAST Q mother-o} \\
& \text{b) TH x TH} \\
& \text{c) NOM 1 NOM +2} \\
& \text{h) cloud like neck hold (he) said-? o mother} \\
& \text{i) O mother, he peeped up like a little cloud!}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
10 & \text{bogo li ale mā ju ale lole, āi̍ja-o:::} \\
& \text{a) cloud up like neck hold=STM like utter-PURP mother-o} \\
& \text{b) EP+ TH x TH} \\
& \text{c) NOM 1 NOM +2} \\
& \text{h) cloud above like neck hold like to-say o mother} \\
& \text{i) O mother, like the clouds above, he was going to peep out!}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
11 & \text{ija wariabu ale mani ibule ndoda-o:::} \\
& \text{a) ID bridewealth like later come-PURP no-MOD-o} \\
& \text{b) TH TH x ADV} \\
& \text{h) we two bridewealth like later to-come no-must-o} \\
& \text{i) Alas, we won't be involved with things like the bridewealth in later years!}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
13 & \text{ama, egari urububada, larwa-o:::} \\
& \text{a) mother feather/s cape-MOD-MOD utter-3-UNSN PRES}
\end{align*}
\]
b) TH TH TH  
c) NOM 1 NOM +2 NOM +3  
h) mother feathers cape—probably (he) says—(I hear)  
i) Oh mother, I hear him say the feathers are like a cape.  

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

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

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

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

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

12.6.1.7 The text has a high level of lexical cohesion, achieved through the scattering of synonyms and the repetitive o at the end of each line. This last element is also a device by which social cohesion is expressed and achieved: the participants, by wailing simultaneously at this point, create a power-
ful communication of empathy and sympathy. In a sense, this is the logical extreme of the repetitive echoing = anaphoric bridging = that marked text 1.

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

12.7

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

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

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

3 urubalu mindibi mbira juaijagwa,
4       ija Nigiba anga mbalo lene-oːː:
5 urubalu mindi mbira juaijagwa,
6       ija Goajuba anga mbalo lene-oːː:
7 urubalu mindi mbira juaijagwa,
8       ija Goloba anga mbalo lene-oːː:

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

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

12.7.1.1 The lexis beginning with capital letters are all place names, and the first ones being Nipa at once highlights
two features of ŭ: each is a comment on a current, experienced situation, and each is traditionally a spontaneous creation. Nipa lies outside Huli country, and the leader of this ŭ was not long back from there. At the same time, the set of place names and the sequence in which they occurred were known to the group, so that once the pattern was set up by the opening line, all were able to join in.

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

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

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

12.7.1.5 The ŭ is a significant focus for male unity, and contributes to the socializing of SC1 and SC2 together. Its use as a form for commenting on current happenings has made it one
point at which traditional art incorporates borrowed L2 items to reflect the new social mix: thus, the above ū was later repeated with the P term 'laplap' (cloth), Huli-ized as labolabo, substituting for urubalu. A similar possible intrusion of P into an ū is noted by Pugh-Kitigan (1975: 75-76).

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

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

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

3 aju alungi budalu da luwa,

4 Ngode* Dinini Iha gamu bira-o::

5 aju jugai budalu da luwa,

6 Ngode* Dinini Iha gamu bira-o::

7 aju jagame budalu da luwa,

8 Ngode* Dinini Iha gamu bira-o::

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

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

11 Ngode* Dinini Iha gamu bira-o:: ae.
   a) God Spirit 1S-LOC religious rite make/do-3-SIMP PRES EXC
h) God the Spirit makes me in religious rite does/does ah
i) the Holy Spirit works wonder in me, ah!

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

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

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

12.8 BI TE

12.8.1 The text given below is the final segment of the folktale begun in 4.10.4.1 and continued in 9.4.8.1. It is a text of an oral presentation recorded in writing by a man from Aidali in 1972. The points at which listeners were expected to
interject "yes" (cf 10.5.3.8) are marked in the H text with |.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

13 na handalu hearia dendebijane
   a) ingest-STM sense=SIM have-EX PAST-LOC sweetness-ADV-MOD-DEF
   b) ADV
   f) EVN+ EVN+FIN
   g) CLS 1 CLS +2 (CLS xβ CLSα )
   h) ingest sense have sweet-like-seemed-that
   i) When he tasted it, he found it to be
14 handaja. | o birajago damenegome
a) sense=3-SIMP PAST oh sit=3-SIMP-PAST-DET relation/s-ERG
b) TH TH
h) sensed oh squatted-that companions-by
i) delicious. The companions of the dama that was

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

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

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

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

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

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

12.8.2.2 An interesting feature is the repetition of the nom-
inal group herelibi o hanajago (lines 5 and 7). A false start such as this would detract from the aesthetic value of a performance.

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

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

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

12.8.2.6 The verbal groups themselves are sometimes quite complicated, and there are a number of serial constructions that involve APVs and also split configurations. Serial groups are found in lines 2, 6, 10, 12 (two here), 13, 17 and 18. The one
in line 17 includes a double duplication of the iterative adjunct (signalling non-progressive aspect), in which the suffix -go is interpreted not as a FIN but as an AUX, as it is when it functions as the DET suffix.

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

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

And the second is:

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| timbu | o   | podo | paja | bu   | wi   | +ja | +go |
```

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

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

12.8.2.9 Coherence is further maintained by deictics such as
biago/me (lines 1, 3, 8, 11), biaru (2, 9), and the DET suffix -go (5, 6, 7, 14, 15). The summative deictic ogoni (19) points back to the whole story.

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

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

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

12.9 TEXTUAL PATTERNING

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

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

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

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

12.9.5 0 is patterned on synonym repetition, with simple clause complexes, suggested by the data to be two clauses in
hypotaxis. It draws on the kāi register, not specifically employed by any of the genres discussed so far, and through this achieves a high level of lexical cohesion. Social cohesion is established through the communally intoned 6.

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

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

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