HALIA VERB MORPHOLOGY:

from morpheme to discourse

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PREFACE

Halia is an Austronesian language spoken or understood by some 13,000 inhabitants of the North and East coasts of Buka Island, the North coast of Bougainville Island and the Cartaret Atoll, all areas included within the North Solomons Province of Papua New Guinea.

The data used in this paper are the result of research in Halia carried out by the author and his wife from 1964 to 1977. Field work has been done primarily in the central Hanahan (East Buka) dialect. Other dialects of Halia are: Tuloun (Cartarets Atoll), Hangan (South Buka), Hakᵬ (North Buka), and Selau (North Bougainville). All research has been conducted under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

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Many Austronesian (AN) languages of Melanesia pre-
sent problems to linguists because they do not readily
lend themselves to a neat subclassification of AN. Fea-
tures considered atypical for AN as a whole are often found
in AN languages of Melanesia. Halia is one of these lang-
uages.

While there are many characteristics of Halia that
are undoubtedly AN, the verb morphology presents patterns
that are very unusual for AN languages. For example, the
Subject is marked by morphemes both preceding and following
the verb. The verb phrase has six orders of preverb units,
three orders of prefixes, the potential cooccurrence of
four postverb adverbs, and eleven orders of postclitics.
This complex agglutinative structure of the Halia verb
contrasts with AN languages which have an analytical struc-

ture and are assumed thereby to be more typical of AN.

Mode, aspect and other functions within the verb phrase are marked by both particles and affixes. But the postclitics indicate relationships on the clause, sentence and discourse levels. Postclitics mark clause level case relations such as Subject, Object, Referent and Associative in both independent and dependent clauses, but dependent clauses exhibit more complex patterns of postclitics than the more normative independent clauses. Postclitics which mark case in the clause also mark propositional relations between clauses, such as cause, purpose, condition and quotation.

Though relations within the verb phrase are generally explicit, the marking of relations beyond the verb phrase must be interpreted in the light of the larger linguistic context. This indicates that clause, sentence and discourse must be analyzed to fully account for relations which are marked in the verb morphology.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Halia language is a member of the Buka Subfamily
of Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) languages (Dyen 1965:
43) and a member of the Petats family[1] (Allen/Hurd 1965:
20). In order to give a clear picture of the linguistic con-
text to which Halia is related, this chapter will deal first
with the Austronesian languages as a group, then with the
Austronesian languages of Melanesia and New Guinea, and
finally with the Petats family and Dyen's Buka Subfamily.

Halia is one of many languages in Melanesia[2] which
are known as Austronesian (AN), the related family of lang-
uages which stretches halfway around the world, from Easter
Island to Madagascar and from Formosa to New Zealand. This
geographically dispersed area encompasses the main sub-
groups of AN: Indonesian (IN) including the Philippines,
Micronesian (MC), Melanesian (MN, questionable) and Poly-
nesian (PN). The AN family is also represented on mainland
Southeast Asia by Malay and the Chamic languages of Vietnam
and Cambodia. Papuan languages are spoken in Halmahera,
Timor and Alor (three islands in east Indonesia), New Guinea
Island (mostly Papuan), New Britain Island, and some of the
Solomon Islands (Dyen 1971:5). The remainder of this Pacific
area, excluding Australia and intrusive languages such as
Chinese, English, French and Dutch, is the domain of the
AN language family, totalling about 500 languages.[3]

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Based on a comparison of common lexical cognates, Otto Dempwolff (1934-38) established AN as a genetically related family of languages. Dempwolff's historical reconstruction of Proto-Austronesian (PAN) exemplifies this genetic relationship (Voegelin 1964:19). There is very wide distribution of obvious cognates such as the words for eye, milk, five and bird. Structural similarities are also widespread, and some of the more common typological features among AN languages,[4] though not claimed to be universal in the AN family, are listed here along with a comment on Halia typology for each point.

1) Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) order is the most common pattern (Capell 1976:6). The predominant pattern in Halia is SVO. However, the order VSO is predominant in Polynesian and Philippine languages.[5] Clark (1973:561) suggests that PAN SVO is the basic ordering and that other orders evolved from it.

2. Word morphology is generally uncomplicated. Many languages have little or no affixation. Halia noun phrases have minimal affixation, but the verb morphology is very complex, in contrast to the assumed AN pattern.

3) The phrase rather than the word is the principal unit of morpheme distribution. That is, grammatical functions are marked more by particles than by affixes. This is true also of Halia phrases.

4) Nouns are classified according to categories of possession. In many languages there is also numeral classi-

fication of nouns. Halia has both.

5) Pronouns are commonly cognate throughout AN.
Halia subject markers (-gu "I", -na "he/she/it", -miu "you
pl.") are cognate with the three corresponding PAN pronouns
(*aku, *na, *kamu). And in addition, the inclusive/exclu-
sive distinction in the first person plural is very wide-
spread, and is utilized also in Halia.

6) Focal arrangement or marking of cases is common.
This is also referred to as topic or voice, and is related
to a long-standing controversy over a postulated passive
in AN languages.[6] The preverbal position of the noun phrase
in Halia is the focal position.

7) There is a general dichotomy between verbal and
nonverbal clauses, the latter being exemplified by stative
or equative clauses which have no existential verb "to be".
The Halia nonverbal clause consists of the juxtaposition
of two noun phrases.

8) Verbs usually occur in their root form and are
subject to few alternations (Capell 1976:21). Morphophonemic
stem alternations are due to affixation and are the only
cause for phonological variants in the Halia verb root.

9) Reduplication of stems is common and fills various
grammatical functions. Reduplication has a class-changing
function in Halia and also indicates continuous action.

10) A decimal system of numbering is in many AN
languages, including Halia, with widespread cognates in
numbers one to ten.

Melanesian has been tentatively classified as a sub-
group of AN languages based, for example, on the criterion
of possession (Izui 1965). That is, according to Izui,
possession is marked in IN by a noun suffix regardless of
the nature of the meaning. In MN possession is of two
types: inalienable, marked by affix, and alienable, marked
by a separate pronoun. And in PN, all possessive pronouns
are separate from the noun, in Izui's view. Though such
evidence suggests separate typological deviants from a
supposedly uniform PAN system of marking possession, this
single contrastive areal feature is hardly sufficient to
establish Melanesian as a separate subgroup of languages
from Indonesian and Polynesian.

Melanesia presents a rather mixed picture of what
are considered typical AN features. For example, the
languages of other AN subgroups generally are of the
analytical type (morphemes as separate words, Anttila
1972:311) and display a relatively simple morphology with
minimal affixation, whereas many languages in Melanesia
have a more complex agglutinative morphology, which is a
common Papuan feature. This, for one, raises suspicions
that some AN languages of Melanesia may have been influenced
by neighboring Papuan languages. However, it is still
difficult to say precisely what an AN (and conversely
a Papuan) language is supposed to look like.

Consequently, the languages of Melanesia do not lend

themselves to a neat sub-classification within AN languages.
There has been a tendency over the years for those with a
nonscientific approach to associate the dark skinned
Melanesians with a supposed linguistic uniqueness. This
is understandable, not only because of common racial fea-
tures, but also because of the geographical proximity of
the languages. When the AN languages of Melanesia were
found to be related to the Malayo-Polynesian (Austronesian)
family of languages but were neither Malayan nor Polynesian,
they were naturally assumed to comprise a third linguistic
grouping (Grace 1971:344). Linguistic evidence for separate
sub-classification is taken largely from selected languages
(Fijian is traditionally represented as the classical MN
language), while other AN languages in the MN area are still
unanalyzed or poorly documented. Therefore linguistic
evidence is meager at best.

As far as the racial argument is concerned, there are
racial contrasts in the Bougainville area, for example,
that are greater than the linguistic contrasts with which
they were thought to coincide. For instance, Nahoa (Allen/
Hurd 1965) is a Polynesian language spoken by very light
skinned Polynesians, and yet it is linguistically related
to the AN languages of Bougainville Island (spoken by the
darkest skinned people in the south Pacific). The lowest
cognate percentage between Nahoa and AN of Bougainville
is 13%, and the overall average is 17.5%. However, the
highest cognate relation between AN and Papuan languages

of Bougainville spoken by blacks is only 11%, and the over-
all average, 4.7%. How such linguistic contrasts and affini-
ties can be greater than the racial contrasts and affinities
still remains a mystery. It at least indicates that there
can be no substitute for purely linguistic evidence for
purposes of grouping together the AN languages of Melanesia
into a separate AN subgroup. And such evidence is weak. Ne-
vertheless, Melanesia does have some claim to uniqueness, if
only the fact that among its ranks are languages that have
a complex morphology that is considered atypical for AN
languages.

According to Dyen (1965) and to a lesser degree,
Grace (1964), the wide linguistic diversity of relatively
contiguous languages within Melanesia suggests a time depth
of separation that is not apparent in any other AN sub-
groups except possibly Formosa. This in turn suggests that
Melanesia may be the homeland of the AN speaking people,
though such a far reaching claim is weak until supported
by other historical disciplines such as archeology. Suf-
fice it to say that Melanesia should be a fruitful area
of research for those interested in historical origins.
And it is hoped that at least the data, if not the con-
clusions, of this paper will aid in further research among
the languages of Melanesia.

Capell (1976:6) divides the New Guinea AN languages
(NGAN) into two groups.[7] One group has the syntactic
order SVO and prepositions in the relator-axis phrase,

and is labelled the AN_1 group. The other group commonly
(but not universally) displays the Papuan order SOV and
postpositions in the relator-axis phrase, and is labelled
AN_2. Capell's mapping of the NGAN languages according to
these criteria results in an interspersing of AN_1 and
AN_2 groups along the coasts and among the outlying islands.
The farthest east of these islands are Bougainville and
Buka, where, according to Capell, there are two AN_2 lan-
guages (Uruava and Torau, on the east coast of Bougainville).
In the remainder of the Bougainville Province there are
approximately 12 languages of the AN_1 type (including
Halia) and 8 Papuan languages (Allen/Hurd 1965:21).

The Petats family of languages (AN_1), located on or
near Buka Island, are structurally similar, though extensive
comparative grammatical data are not available at the
writing of this paper. It consists of 4 languages: Petats,
Halia, Solos and Saposa. The lowest lexicostatistical
percentage is 30% (between Solos and Saposa) and the highest
is 65% (between Solos and Petats).[8]

Dyen (1965) lists the Buka Subfamily as one of many
languages or small groups of languages in the Melanesian
area which share less than 15% of cognates with all other
languages in his comparison. The highest percentage
between the Buka Subfamily and other languages which Dyen
gives is 13.5%. According to Pawley (1973a:177), Dyen does
not include these (less than 15%) languages in an Oceanic

group. By "an" Oceanic group, implying more than one,
Pawley refers to the slightly different mappings of Dempwolff
(1934-38), Grace (1955) and Milke (1958). But the term
"Oceanic" normally covers all but a few border languages
of Melanesia and Micronesia and all of Polynesia.

Though certain small groupings of AN languages have
been reasonably well established and larger subgroups have
been posited, the general classification of AN languages
is still by no means clear. This is indicated in a comment
by Anceaux (1965:310):

> It is clear that one of the most important objectives
> of comparative Austronesian linguistics must be a com-
> plete and overall picture of all the Austronesian
> languages, showing their mutual similarities and dif-
> ferences, their interrelationships, both structurally
> and historically. For the realization of this object
> a broad approach is necessary. Probably all the scholars
> working in this field will agree that the time is not
> yet ripe for this.

And thirteen years later, linguists for the most part still
agree that the time is not yet ripe for such an ambitious
project (despite the admirable work of Dempwolff and Dyen,
early and late twentieth century respectively, not to mention
others), primarily because of the many AN languages about
which little or nothing is known. Admittedly a considerable
amount of comparative AN research has been done on phono-
logical and lexical reconstruction, which has allowed a
better picture of the phonological structure of Proto-
Austronesian and AN languages in general. But much more
research needs to be done in comparing the morphology and
syntax of AN languages before a dependable overall typology

of AN (as a unified group of languages) can be presented
and agreed upon. In the meantime, students of AN languages
are encouraged to focus on the comparison of languages within
the subgroups (intra) rather than between subgroups (inter)
as a necessary intermediate step toward a more accurate
understanding of the broader AN picture. Some now working
in this direction are Pawley and Biggs (Polynesia), Bender
and Elbert (Micronesia), Capell and Tryon (Melanesia),
Uhlenbeck (Indonesia) and Reid (Philippines).

The discussion above will hopefully provide a helpful
context for the description of Halia which follows. Since
a description of the entire Halia grammar would be well
outside of the scope of this paper, I have chosen to describe
the Halia verb morphology[9] as it relates to other parts of
the grammar. Capell (1971:276) states that the Buka sub-
group has languages (including Halia) whose "verbs exhibit
a method of conjugation which is unique in MN as a whole,
not only in NGAN." For this reason, a description of the
Halia verb can shed considerable light as to how these
Buka languages may fit into or contrast with the AN picture.

The plan of this thesis, then, is to describe the
structure of the verb phrase and the verb morphology,
and to show how these features interrelate various levels
of the grammar with implications that include the discourse
level. Chapter 2 briefly outlines the phonology and morpho-
phonemic alternations resulting from the juxtaposition of mor-
phemes. Chapter 3 describes the verb phrase (VP) from a

structural point of view as a basis for the following chapters. Tense and subject markers are key factors in the VP patterning and are thus given a separate chapter (4). Interrelations within the VP are discussed in Chapter 5, within the clause in Chapter 6, and above the clause level in Chapter 7. Throughout, observations are made as to typological similarities between Halia and AN languages in general.

CHAPTER 2

PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOPHONOLOGY

2.1. PHONOLOGY

As affixation in the verb phrase (VP) involves a
considerable amount of morphophonemic (MP) alternation,
especially in the form of loss or assimilation of seg-
ments, it is necessary to preface a description of the
VP with a brief explanation of these sounds and alternations.

The AN palatals as posited by Dahl (1976:101) and
Dempwolff (VL 1, pp. 64, 109 as per Dahl 1976 bibliography)
in their PAN phonologies (eg. t', d', n') are not in Halia.
Neither are there prenasalized stops (called PAN nasal
clusters by Dempwolff), though Dahl (1976:99) says that
"prenasalization seems to exist more or less in all subgroups
of AN". That is to say, this feature would be present in
at least one of the languages in each AN subgroup. There
is no /d/ in Halia, which leaves the pattern of stops
asymmetrical. Voiced fricatives are allophonic variants
of the voiced stops.

The vowel system in Halia is considerably more complex
than Dahl's and Dempwolff's PAN vowels (*i, *ə, *a, *u) in
that it has both diphthongs and long vowels. However,
Grace (1959:70) posits the following PAN vowels: *a, *o,
*u, *i, *aw, *ew, *iw, *ay, *ey, *uy. There are five con-
trasts in vowel height in Halia as compared to three in
the PAN vowels. There are a total of 15 consonant phonemes
and 14 vowel phonemes in Halia.

CHART A: PHONEMES[10]

Consonants   Vowels

p   t   k   i   u

b   g   ι   ∪

     s   t̬š̌   e^i o^

m   n   ŋ   o^u

     l   ε   ε^i ǒ   ǒ·

     r̃   a   a·   a^u

w   y   h

In this paper the consonants are represented as in Chart A,
except for t̬š̌ which is symbolized as c, and r̃ which is
symbolized as r. The representation of the vowels is
as follows: i (for both i and ι), ei (e^i, ε^i), e (ε),
a (a, a·), au (a^u), o (ǒ, ǒ·), ou (o^u), ʊ (o^) and u (∪, u).

Vowel length is indicated by ·. There are allophonic
long vowel variants of all four diphthongs. The high vowels
vary considerably (i.e. /i/~/ι/ and /u/~/∪/),[11] so these
are written respectively in this paper as /i/ and /u/.
the diphthong /ε^i/ is quite rare, and is written simply as
/ei/. for convenience, all diphthongs are written on line
level as /ei/, /au/ and /ou/.

2.2. MORPHOPHONOLOGY

Halia word roots have alternating forms only by the
process of affixation. A verb stem which ends with -tV

followed by a vowel initial postclitic[12] drops the stem
final vowel and the -t becomes c. These processes can be
expressed in two simple rules:[13]

(A) V --> $\emptyset$ / C_+V   (B) t --> $\left[\text{+palatal}\right]$ / _+$\left[\begin{array}{c}V\\-back\end{array}\right]$

Vowel loss of type (A) is very common and is often accom-
panied by palatalization (B). Rule (A) is illustrated in
example (1) and both rules in example (2).

(1) la-na + -en --> la-n-en

(2) raŋata + -e --> raŋac-e

       There are variations between dialects and idiolects,
however, which provide exceptions to rule (A) and which
are not classifiable either morpho-syntactically or lexi-
cally. For example, in verb suffixation (i.e. affixation
of postclitics)

(3) gono + -e --> gon-e ~ gono-e

And in noun prefixation

(4) ni- + omi --> n-omi ~ ni-omi ~ nin-omi

Only two types of consonant alternation have been noted, and
both are the result of suffixation. One has been explained
above in (B) and the other has to do with near past tense
forms (Ch. 4.2). The consonants of the 3rd sing., 3rd pl.
and 1st incl. pl. subject marker postclitics (hereafter cal-
led clitics) become l when they are followed by the direc-
tional clitic -la. The directional is the only clitic
which has an assimilative influence on preceding consonants

of the same point of articulation. For example,

(5) la-ri + -la --> la-li-la

la-na + -la --> la-la-la

The great majority of alternations in Halia involve vowels which are part of the suffixation process. Three clitic changes word finally are:

(C) o --> ou / __#

(D) e --> ei / __# [non-transitive]

(E) e --> i / __# [transitive]

These rules apply only to clitic final vowels and not to stem final vowels. The transitive clitic -e is involved in (E) but not in (D). Vowel combinations involving stem + clitic or clitic + clitic result in one or more of the following type processes (each followed by an example):

(F) vowel loss   i + o --> i

(G) juxtaposition   a + i --> ai

(H) assimilatory fronting   o + i --> ei

(I) addition of juncture vowel   e + e --> eie

Only one vowel /ei/ has no variant forms when followed by the same vowel.

(J) ei + i --> ei

(K) ei + e --> eie

(L) ei + o --> eio

The remaining vowels, when combined with a following vowel, especially with i or e, tend to have at least two variant

forms, and thus cannot be predicted phonologically. Eg.:

(M) o + i --> o~oi~i~ei

No regular rules can be set up either on the basis of
morpho-syntactic or lexical categories. Since there is now
(in the last 2 or 3 generations) constant communication
between several dialects of Halia, there is an increasing
bilingualism that gives alternate choices to speakers
of Halia. This socially conditioned variation provides a
context which encourages morphophonemic alternation.
This may also be an explanation for the patterns of variation
that are found on different grammatical levels in Halia,
although to be substantiated it must be checked out by
further research.

 I will mention one other type of alternation at this
point, and that is transitional vowels that occur between
consonants. This is the most regular type of vowel change.
When consonants come together because of suffixation, they
tend to be separated by vowel epenthesis (underlined be-
low), especially when the second consonant is word final.
Word medial consonant clusters may or may not be separated
by vowel epenthesis, and there are no consonant clusters
word initially across morpheme boundaries (i.e. when a
word is prefixed).

(6) gum + -m --> gum-u-m (9) lel + -m --> lel-i-m

(7) bout + -na --> bout-u-na (10) his + -na --> his-i-na

(8) gum + -bi --> gum-bi (11) kap + -la --> kap-la

The inserted vowel tends to be a front vowel ($\underline{i}$) when the preceding vowel is a front vowel, and a back vowel ($\underline{u}$) when the preceding vowel is a back vowel. A general rule could be stated to this effect:

(N) $\emptyset \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} V \\ \alpha\,back \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} V \\ \alpha\,back \end{bmatrix} C\_\_+C\#$

The $\begin{bmatrix} \alpha\,back \end{bmatrix}$ feature means that the two vowels are positionally the same or similar, i.e. either $\begin{bmatrix} +back \end{bmatrix}$ or $\begin{bmatrix} -back \end{bmatrix}$. The inserted vowel following the central vowel ($\underline{a}$) may be either front or back, but tends to be influenced by a following suffix vowel if there is one.

(12) kap + -m --> kap-$\underline{u}$-m   (14) has + -n --> has-$\underline{i}$-n

(13) kap + -to --> kap-$\underline{u}$-to   (15) sil + -ri --> sil-$\underline{i}$-ri

Transitional vowels such as in (12) which follow the vowel $\underline{a}$ and which separate word final consonant clusters tend to reflect the clitic vowel (see Chapter 3, Chart F) even though the clitic vowel is dropped. For example, in (12) the clitic -$\underline{m}$ is the word final variant of the basic form of the 2nd singular subject marker -$\underline{mu}$, and is preceded by the back vowel $\underline{u}$. And the clitic -$\underline{n}$ is a word final variant of the singular referent -$\underline{ne}$, and is preceded by the front vowel $\underline{i}$.

The above discussion shows that there are a few general rules upon which MP alternations can be based. For further information on the allomorphic forms of the verb affixes, consult Chart F in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 3

THE STRUCTURE OF THE VERB PHRASE

The verb, with its potential of seemingly limitless combinations of morphemes, is clearly the most complex feature of the Halia language. The modified verb carries a heavy grammatical load, as it indicates among other things person and number of the subject, the object and/or indirect object, tense, aspect, mode, negation, and various case relations including transitivity. These functions will be described in the course of the paper.

The verb phrase (VP) is a unit within the clause which is bounded on one end by the verb phrase pronoun (verbalizer) and on the other by the final clitic or by the unaffixed final adverb. The VP consists of preverb particles and modifiers, followed by verbal prefixes, the verb as nucleus, postverb modifiers which may be called adverbs, and clitics. The clitics may be suffixed to the verb stem or may be separated from the verb by one or more adverbs. The structure is further complicated by the multiplicity of orders within the VP. There are six orders of preverb units, three orders of prefixes, the possibility of four adverbs occurring simultaneously, as well as eleven orders of clitics. These features give evidence of grammatical patterns that are unusual among the AN languages.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the structure

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of the VP, which is the basic structural unit. In later
chapters the internal relations within the VP will be
discussed, along with the ways in which the VP relates
to other units within the clause, the sentence and the
discourse. Since particular attention will be given to
verbal affixes in the course of the paper, it will be
helpful to refer to Chart F at the end of this chapter,
which gives the basic form and allomorphic variants of each
affix. Reference to affixes in the text and in charts in
this paper will generally be restricted to the basic form
unless otherwise stated.

3.1. THE VERB NUCLEUS

Almost any word root can function as the nucleus of
the verb, which shows the highly flexible nature of Halia
words. Two very general categories may be posited:
1) roots which can function as verbs, and 2) roots which
cannot function as verbs. The first category constitutes
the bulk of the semantic content of the language, consist-
ing of roots that normally (or most frequently) function
as nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and even pronouns, numerals
and negatives.

(1) A katun e <u>tagala</u>-na.   "The man is strong."
     c man v strong-he

(2) Nonei e <u>huol</u>-u-na.   "It is (appears) double."
     it   v two--t-it

(3) E   ma <u>lia</u> -n -ei.   "It isn't me."

v neg   me-it-neg

The second category, roots which cannot function as
verbs, includes relators, descriptives, demonstratives,
conjunctions, articles, and most preverb units (Section 2).

Therefore, a verb root is identified as such by its
distribution and/or affixation, and not necessarily by
its meaning. A particular root becomes a verb when it
occurs in the position of a verb, or when it is in-
flected with a verbal affix.

The verb nucleus or stem may be simple (a single
root), reduplicated, or derived (roots combined with one
another and/or with affixes). All of these stem types
may in turn be inflected. Complete or partial reduplica-
tion[14] of the root and sometimes an affix also is involved
in a large number of stems and usually indicates habitual,
continuous or repeated action.

(4) ku   "to call"   kuku   "to call repeatedly"

(5) kwi   "to work"   kukwi   "to work habitually"

(6) ta- "self-acting" + pose "to break" -->
     tap-ta-pose "to break up"[15]

One type of derived stem may be formed by a combination
of free roots or a free and a bound root. Example (7)
is also an idiom.

(7)   mata "eye" + roropic "to wrinkle" -->

      mata-roropic "to frown"

(8)   sina- (meaning uncertain) + soho "to sleep" -->

      sina-soho "to dream"

Another type of derived stem may involve a class changing
prefix.

(9)   ha- "causative" + cunono "chief" -->

      ha-cunono "to make chief (exalt, worship)"

Note that some stems are derived from roots that normally
function as nouns, as in (7) and (9).

      A verb nucleus may consist of more than one word.
Example (11) illustrates how a noun, itself inflected, can
function as the nucleus of an inflected verb.

(10)   tama- mulø   "your father"

       father-your

(11)   Nonei e ma tama -mulø -n -ei.

       he   v neg father-your-he-neg

       "He isn't your father."

Examples of this type are restricted to the negative form
of the verb. But the noun phrase within the VP nucleus
may be expanded.

(12)   Nonei e ma katun pan koru -n -ei.

       he   v neg man big very-he-neg

       "He is not a very big man."

3.2. PREVERB UNITS

There are six possible orders of words or particles
which may precede the verb. They are described in Chart B
below according to their relative positioning before the
verb (see examples below). Particles are uninflected
free forms, whereas words (infinitives and verbalizers)
may be inflected. The verbalizers may be prefixed by
t- in certain grammatical constructions (Ch. 7.2). When
a verb root is suffixed by -n and preposed to the main
verb, it functions as an infinitive auxiliary (14). These
are the only two affixes involved with the pre-verb units.
The individual units on chart B are discussed in the follow-
ing chapters. The chart contains a complete inventory of
preverb units except for order two, which includes only
representative types.

CHART B: PREVERB   UNITS

6	5	4	3	2	1	
Verbalizer (generally agrees with person of subj. in past tense)	Irrealis (generally agrees with person of subj.)	Nega-tive	Direc-tional	Infini-tive aux.	Man-ner	VERB
t- { e̲ all persons non-past; 3rd sing. past	g̲i̲ 1st incl. pl.;3rd pl.	m̲a̲	n̲a̲ go	ŋili-n̲ want to	m̲a̲r̲	
u̲ past only: 1st & 2nd sing.; 1st excl. pl.; 2nd pl.	g̲o̲ all per. except 1st incl. pl. & 3rd pl.		m̲i̲ come	Non-infin. aux.		
i̲ past only: 1st incl. pl.; 3rd pl.; optional (past only): all persons except 3rd sing.	g̲a̲ 3rd sing. (optional between ga and go̲)			t̲a̲t̲e̲i̲ able (can)		

Examples:

(13)   Alö g̲o̲ n̲a̲ kwi.   "You go (and) work." (cf. Ch. 4.3)
       you ir go work

(14)   Nonei e̲ m̲a̲ ŋili -n̲ nou -n -ei. "He doesn't want to
         he v neg want-inf eat-he-neg   eat."

(15)   Ime t̲-̲e̲ la -n -en?   "Where is he going?"
        where d-v go-he-3p

(16)   Nori e̲ g̲i̲ m̲i̲ soho. "They should come (and) sleep."
         they v ir come sleep

3.3.   ADVERBS

Adverbs follow the verb and not only modify the verb
in various ways, but also may be followed by clitics that
would otherwise be bound to the verb.

As many as four different adverbs may occur simultaneous-
ly in the same VP:

(17)   E na   nas ha-mŏsa ha -kapa   hamanasa tala-na.

v go cook ca-done ca-finish right-now now-he

"(He) goes (and) finishes cooking right now."

Note that the causative prefix ha- may inflect the
adverb as well as the verb. This class changing prefix
can change verbs into adverbs as well as nouns into verbs.
When two contiguous adverbs are prefixed by ha-, the first
tends to denote the manner of modification and the second
tends to denote the degree of modification (17). Also, when
there are two or more adverbs, the latter adverb tends to
modify the adverb that precedes it.

(18)   E   kwi ha-niga koru-na.   "(He) works very well."

v work ca-good very-he

Since meaning determines the order in which most adverbs
occur in relation to one another, a chart of adverb order-
ing would not be useful. However, there are four general
categories of adverbs, and it will be helpful to list these.

CHART C: ADVERB CATEGORIES

1. Open		2. Open	
ha-kapa	"restrictive"	momous	"secretly"
ha-niga	"well"	boroboro	"quickly"
ha-para	"many"	puta	"down"
3. Closed			
kap	"restrictive"	koru	"very"
sil	"purpose"	lel	"more, again"
hamanasa	"right now"	pouc	"back, again"
moto	"afterwards"	was	"in turn"
noa	"still, yet"	tun	"merely"
bala	"very"	puku	"only"
cipon	"anyway"	talasi	"only"
4. Closed		nitoa	"always, completely, very"
pon	"again"		
tala	"now"		
has	"also"		

Groups 1 and 2 are open classes; that is, there is a poten-
tial of a very large number of words in these categories.
Only representative adverbs are listed here. Group 1 includes
only adverbs formed by the causative prefix ha-. Group 2
includes all other open class adverbs, many of which are in
reduplicated form. Groups 3 and 4 are closed classes; that is,
they have a limited number of adverbs. Group 3 includes most
of the closed class adverbs. Group 4 includes only the three

adverbs listed. This is a separate category from Group 3
in that Group 4 adverbs tend to be positionally static in their
relation to Groups 1, 2, and 3, and Group 4 always occurs
last in the VP; i.e. no other adverbs follow them. The
other adverbs tend to be more flexible in their relative
orderings.

The semantic content of the verb determines the choice
and meaning of some adverbs. For example, sil means "for"
in (19) and "against" in (20).

(19) Nonei e ŋö sil -e-na e Jon.
       he   v call for-tr-he c John
      "He is calling for John."

(20) Nonei e raŋa sil   -e-na e Jon.
       he   v talk against-tr-he c John
      "He is speaking against John."

Adverbs also tend to group into three functional cate-
gories: 1) those which function also as verbs (eg. ha-
kapa "finish", momous "hide"); 2) those which function
also in noun phrases (eg. koru "very", has "also"); and
3) those which function only as postverb adverbs (eg.
kap "restrictive", sil "purpose").

3.4. AFFIXES

The verb stem may be uninflected, but more commonly
it is inflected in some way, as is the case in all Oceanic
languages according to Capell (1976:245). The stem is almost

always either prefixed, suffixed, or followed by a clitic.
Clitics are labelled as such because they relate to the
entire phrase (and beyond) and not just to the stem to which
they are attached (cf. -na "he", example (17)). The VP affixes
(except for t- and -n given on Chart B) are illustrated in
the following charts. The affixes with their various gram-
matical functions are discussed and illustrated in the fol-
lowing chapters, so only their structural features are set
forth here.

There are three orders of verb prefixes, relative to
their positioning before the verb stem. Prefixes which occur
together in the same word follow the ordering in Chart D
(eg. hia-hihi-tɵl "to exchange siblings in marriage";
hi-ha-nou "to host a feast"; tɵl means "to marry" and nou
means "to eat".) Prefixes in the same order (column) are of
the same class and are thus mutually exclusive.

CHART D: VERB PREFIXES

3	2	1	
hia- reciprocal	hi- /hihi- multiple action	ha- causative (transitive) ta- non-causa- tive (intrans.)	VERB STEM

For details on order 1 prefixes, see Ch. 6.6. Orders
2 and 3 are discussed in Ch. 5.1.

There are 11 orders of clitics, relative to their

positioning after the verb or adverb stem, as the case may be.

CHART E: POSTVERB CLITICS

	1	2	3	4	5
VERB OR AD- VERB STEM	-si emphasis	-be applica- tive -bu prior action	-me associa- tive/ transi- tive -wa direc- tional/ intran- sitive	-e singular object (transi- tive) -ne singular referent -re pl. obj./ referent	Subject Markers: -gu 1st sing. -mu 2nd sing. -na 3rd sing. -ra 1st pl. incl. -mu 1st pl. excl. -miu 2nd pl. -ri 3rd pl.

6	7	8	9	10	11
direc- tionals: -ma come -la go future: -ou	-ya locative (time/ space)	-to past action	-o 1st/2nd person object	-i negative -i ditranstive	-en 3rd person

Clitics, as with prefixes, are ordered according to their relative ordering in the same word (eg. lu-me-na-g-i "(how) I get" (manner, trans.), lu meaning "to get"). Clitics in the same order are either of the same class (eg. the subject markers) and are thus mutually exclusive, or they do not occur together in the same word either in natural or elicited text (eg. -be and -bu). The third person clitic

-en (order 11) is the only postverb pronoun that is bound
(sing./pl. distinction is made by other morphemes in the
VP). It patterns grammatically in the same way as the
other postverb pronouns (lia, lö, ra, lam, limiu) except
that it is first order in relation to the other pronouns.

As many as six or seven clitics may occur simultaneously
on the verb (or adverb) stem, as these elicited examples
(21, 22) show, although the more frequent constructions (inde-
pendent indicative) average about three or four clitics.

(21)   Nori e mar talasa-me-na -li -l-ei-en teka.
       they v man carve -as-rf-they-go-dt-3p this
       "They carved it like this."

(22)   Nonei e na hol-la-be-re-la -l-o -i lam alö.
        he   v go buy-go-ap-pl-he-go-o-dt us you
       "He went (and) bought us (excl.) for you." (said
       two girls to their new husband)

All clitics obligatorily attach to the adverb stem
rather than to the verb when an adverb is used. Two excep-
tions are -la "go" and -be "applicative" (Ch. 6.1), which may
at times remain suffixed to the verb stem preceding an adverb.

(23)   Alö go na sahana-be-la tala-na -i lia ta tahol.
       you ir go buy -ap-go now -rf-dt me c woman
       "You go buy a wife for me now."

In order to more easily identify allomorphic forms of
clitics and prefixes, they are included in the following
Chart F for ready reference.

CHART F: ALLOMORPHIC FORMS OF VERBAL AFFIXES

Basic Form	Word Final Form	Other Variant Forms
PREFIXES		
hia-		
hi-		hihi-
ha-		
ta-		
CLITICS		
-si	-si	
-be	-be	-bo
-bu	-bi	
-me	-mei	
-wa	-u	-wa
-ne	-n	-na
-re	-r	-ra
-gu	-gu/-g	
-mu	-m	
-na	-na	
-ra	-ra	-ri
-mu	-m	
-miu	-miu	-yam/ -mi
-ri	-r	
-ma	-ma	
-la	-la	
-ya	-ya	
-to	-to	-ta
-en	-en	

The word final form involves either retention or loss of the final clitic vowel. The "other variant forms" column displays variations that are not phonologically defined. The remaining clitics (not on the chart), which consist of vowels only, have variant forms as explained in Ch. 2.2.

Note that the basic form of most clitics is CV. The
basic form of all clitics on Chart F except for -miu is the
same as the word medial preconsonantal form. Second person
pl. subject -miu becomes -mu word medially before a consonant.

All clitic vowels (except -be which remains unchanged)
are dropped word medially before vowels, as per rule 2:A.
The prefixes hia- and ha- drop the a to become hi- and h-
respectively before vowels. The prefix ta- remains unchanged
in this environment, and hi- has a reduplicated variant
hihi- which acts as intensifier.

The word final forms have a number of variants which
should be noted. Second singular imperative and obligative
constructions (Ch. 4.3) have the clitic -bum as a word
final variant of -bu, but this is probably an exceptional
combination of -bu with the second singular ending -m. The
clitic -mei follows rule 2:D. The clitic -ne has the word
final variants -en, -in, and -ein which generally are derived
by the rules in Ch. 2. The plural -re has a medial variant
-ri which may be a combination of -r "plural" and -i "di-
transitive" (Ch. 6.4). First sing. -gu may occur as -gu or
-g word finally, and the latter allomorph often be-
comes voiceless. Variant forms of -na, -ra, and -ri (-la,
-li, and -li respectively) are illustrated as MP changes in
Ch. 2.2. And finally, -ya has an occasional variant -a
which generally follows a vowel.

Most of the nonphonological variants (3rd column) tend
to be unpredictable as to when they occur. However, -bo,

-ra, and -ri occur only word medially, -na either medially
or finally, and the others finally only. The clitic -wa
is rare word finally. Second plural -miu takes the form
-yam word finally in constructions other than the nonpast
tense, and in such cases may become -am when following a
vowel. When followed by its pronoun counterpart (limiu),
-miu takes the form -mi.

CHAPTER 4

TENSE AND SUBJECT MARKERS

Capell (1971:276) suggests that languages of the Buka
Subgroup are unique in MN in that "a particle both precedes
and follows the verb to mark person and tense."[16] Capell
implies that these "particles", which do pattern(in Halia)
according to person and tense, are not found in other MN
languages, at least in the same patterns. The fact that
these units mark both person and tense is evidence of the
fact that there are no units in the VP that uniquely mark
tense (except future -ou, see below). Tense is marked by the
presence, absence or form of certain VP units, all of which
have a separate function not related to tense.

A necessary preliminary to the discussion of tense
and person (subject) markers is a description of the verbali-
zer, because it is (in its three forms) fundamental both
to the VP structure and to the tense system.

4.1. THE VERBALIZER

The introducer of the VP is represented by the verbal-
izer (Chart B, Ch. 3), a pronoun of sorts which has a cross
reference to the person of the subject and also relates to
the tense of the action (Section 2). The verbalizer (v) is
normally obligatory in all verb phrases except those involving
the imperative mode (v is obligatorily absent) and the
obligative mode (v is optional) (Section 3). It has three
possible forms, e, u and i.

(1) Alö e la -m.   "You are going." (indicative)

     you v go-you

(2) Alö (e) go la.   "You should go." (obligative)

     you v ir go

(3) La!   "Go!" (imperative)

In his discussion of the Proto-Eastern Oceanic (PEO)
VP, Capell (1976:245) refers to the verbalizer as a verbal
pronoun or a verb marker. In the same article Capell quotes
Pawley as referring to the verbalizer as a subjective
pronoun. Capell has only two VP elements which are obliga-
tory in PEO: the verb stem or base and the verb marker.
The same obtains for Halia. I use the term "verbalizer"
because it classifies the units following it as elements
within a VP. It marks the VP as a unit, and not just the verb.

The verbalizer is also normally an obligatory VP
marker (i) in Melanesian Pidgin, which reflects the influence
of Melanesian languages in its grammatical composition. One
example:

(4) Man i go we?   "Where did the man go?"
     man v go where

The Halia verbalizer is discussed in the following
section on tense.

4.2. TENSE AND SUBJECT MARKERS

There are two basic tenses in Halia: the past tense
and the nonpast tense. The past includes all actions having

taken place in relatively remote time, but generally meaning
yesterday or before. The nonpast includes all actions taking
place in relatively immediate time or in the future, gener-
ally since yesterday.

The nonpast is marked by two features: the verbali-
zer in the form e (for all persons of the subject) and the
obligatory subject marker clitic. The past is marked by the
verbalizer in all 3 forms (e, u, i), generally agreeing with
the person and number of the subject, and by the obligatory
absence of the subject marker clitic (except for second
person plural).

Nonpast tense:

(5) alia e la-gu   "I am going"

     I   v go-I

(6) alö e la-m   "You are going"

(7)nonei e la-na   "He (she/it) is going"

(8) ara e la-ra   "We (incl.) are going"

(9) alam e la-m   "We (excl.) are going"

(10)alimiu e la-miu   "You (pl.) are going"

(11) nori e la-r   "They are going"

Past tense:[17]

(12) alia u la   "I went"

(13) alö u la   "You went"

(14)nonei e la   "He (she/it) went"

(15)   ara i la   "We (incl.) went"

(16)   alam u la   "We (excl.) went"

(17)   alimiu u la-yam   "You (pl.) went"

(18)   nori i la   "They went"

The second person plural has an obligatory subject
marker in the past tense, apparently to distinguish it from the
second person singular when there is no explicit subject.
The v form i may be used in the past tense for all persons
except third singular, which occurs only with v form e.

Lincoln (in Wurm ed. 1976:432) says that this subject
marking in the nonpast tense suggests a shared innovation
with the Uruava language of S. E. Bougainville that seems
to be unique to these two languages. But the same feature is
found also in the Petats language of Buka Island.

There are three minor tense/aspect divisions within
the nonpast: near past (or completive), present (or progres-
sive), and future (or intended or expected action).

The present is marked as in examples (5-11) by zero
(i.e. the simple form of the nonpast) and is the most
common form of the nonpast.

The future may be indicated by the clitic -ou, or
by various units outside the VP combined with the present
tense form of the verb.

(19)   Alia e la-g-ou.   "I will go."
       I   v go-I-f

(20) Alia e la-gu -ma <u>romana</u>. "I will come (sometime)."

     I   v go-I-come   indef.

(21) Alia e la-gu -ma <u>i mahö</u>. "I will come tomorrow."

     I   v go-I-come r tomorrow

The future is also commonly marked by the preverb direc-
tional <u>na</u> "go" (Ch. 5.1). Implicit within the semantic
content of this directional, when it is used in the present
indicative or imperative, is the temporal direction of future.
The directional <u>na</u> occurs optionally with -<u>ou</u>.

(22) Alia e <u>na</u> loto-gu. "I will go/am going fishing."

     I   v go fish-I

     Both temporal and spatial relationships are commonly
marked by the same morphemes in Halia (eg. the relator <u>i</u>
in such phrases as <u>i mahö</u> "tomorrow" and <u>i luma</u> "in the
house"). The clitics -<u>la</u> and -<u>ma</u> (Ch. 5.1) also have a
dual function as "near past" markers as well as directionals.
These polysemous morphemes provide the only means of marking
the near past (action completed earlier the same day).

(23) Nonei e la-la-<u>la</u>.   "He went."

     he   v go-he-go

(24) Nonei e la-na -<u>ma</u>.   "He came."

     he   v go-he-come

There is a certain amount of ambiguity at this point, as
the form <u>lanama</u> can also mean "He is coming". But such
ambiguity is usually dispelled by the addition of other

temporal or spatial indicators in the sentence if the tense
is not clear from the context.

Other words in the VP indicate time: hamanasa/tala
"now", toan/hagou "just now, recently", solon "long ago".
The latter three terms suggest past action relative to the
context, and not a fixed temporal dimension. For example,
solon could mean either "many years ago" or "an hour ago",
depending on the temporal range of the preceding context.

4.3. THE IRREALIS

It is necessary, before concluding this chapter, to
point out the distinction between realis and irrealis con-
structions. In examples (2) and (3) the obligative and
imperative constructions have been illustrated. These are
examples of clauses which are tenseless. The action is
only hypothetical, not actual -- thus the name irrealis.
The obligative is marked by the obligatory presence of the
preverb irrealis particle (Ch. 3, Chart B), and the verbal-
izer is optional. The imperative is marked by the obliga-
tory absence of subject, verbalizer and irrealis particle.
The subject marker clitic is obligatorily absent in both
constructions.[18] The irrealis particle is used also in
conditional and negative focus sentences (Ch. 7.1 and 7.2).

In contrast to this, constructions which have tense
are realis constructions -- that is, they manifest actions
which are either actual or potential. They are marked by
the obligatory presence of the verbalizer, as stated in

Section 4.2.   Though there is a slight distinction between
"hypothetical" and "potential", the contrast between some
realis and irrealis clauses is more structural than semantic.

CHAPTER 5

FUNCTIONS WITHIN THE VERB PHRASE

Having given a structural outline of the VP and
a brief description of tense and subject markers,
I will now describe other functions of the VP elements.
This chapter focuses on the functions that are normally
marked and relate within the VP. The verb is of course
the nucleus of the VP and is thus structurally the
central unit. The word "function" is a cover term
which includes aspects and relations in the VP that
generally are not given clause level status, as con-
trasted with case, transitivity, etc. The latter
categories are covered in Chapter 6, which deals with
clause level phenomena to the extent that they are
interrelated by means of the VP. Chapter 7 illustrates
how the VP relates to other clauses or units within the
same sentence and to other sentences and discourse
phenomena in general.

5.1. FUNCTIONS MARKED BY AFFIXES AND/OR PARTICLES

Directional

The directional indicates either a change in the
location of an action, or the direction of an action
which is in progress. Both categories are relative to
the location of the speaker. The preverb particles na
and mi mark the first category.

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(1) N̲a̲ kwi tala.   (2) M̲i̲ nou tala.

go work now   come eat now

"Go (and) work now."   "Come (and) eat now."

The second category refers to whether the action is
executed or oriented away from or toward the speaker.
This is marked by the verbal clitics -m̲a̲, -l̲a̲, and
-w̲a̲.

(3) Nonei e roro-l̲a̲-na tara man han.

    he   v visit-go-he r   pl village

    "He is visiting (going among) the villages."

(4) Nonei e la-na -m̲a̲ i Buka.

    he   v go-he-come r

    "He is coming from Buka."

(5) Nonei e la-w̲a̲-na -m̲a̲ i Buka.

    he   v go-dr-he-come r

    "He is coming to Buka."

Note that -w̲a̲ indicates that the action is directed
toward a location which is specified by a word or phrase
in the same clause (Ch. 6.1). An intended action may
also be marked for direction. For example, in (6)
an intervening action, that of climbing up, is clearly
implied. This is typically spoken in a context where
a man asks a boy to climb a tree for him and bring him
some fruit.

(6) Sei -ma.   "Climb up." (with the intent to

     climb-come   come back down)

The clitic -ma is related in both form and function

to other AN languages. Capell (1976:247) has stated

that "the feature of direction marking is also common

in PEO: mai shows movement towards the speaker..."

The clitic -la may occur at times in positions

preceding order 6 (Chart E, Ch. 3.4), and thus tends

to be a free floating clitic in respect to order. But

its directional meaning "go" remains essentially unchanged.

Note its double occurrence in Ch. 3:22.

Reciprocal

The verbal prefix hia- is the most common marker

of the reciprocal (contrast the variant hi- "multiple

action" + tøl "marry" --> hitøl "to marry one another"),

and is accompanied by either a complete or a partial

reduplication of the verb stem. It refers to the inter-

action of two or more actors.

(7) ŋil "to like" --> hia-ŋilŋil "to like one another"

Multiple action

The prefix hi-, which may be reduplicated to

hihi-, indicates customary, habitual or repeated action,

or action involving more than one activity or partici-

pant. It occasionally marks the reciprocal (Sec. 2),

and may also function as a nominalizer.

(8) hol "to buy" --> <u>hi</u>-hol "to trade"

(9) A muki teka e <u>hihi</u>-koto-na. "This dog bites."

    c dog this v ml -bite-it

(10) toka "to prick" --> <u>hihi</u>-toka "thorn" (i.e.

    that which characteristically pricks)

Customary, habitual or repeated action may also be
marked by a reduplication of the verb stem, and by
various preverb units and adverbs. This function of
the reduplication process is common among AN languages
of Melanesia (Taylor, 1970:1235).

(11) posa "to give birth" --> <u>posaposa</u> "to bear

    many children"

(12) E Josep e <u>roro</u> -n soho -me-na a lan.

    c   v always-inf sleep-as-he c day

    "Joseph customarily sleeps during the day."

(13) Nonei e la <u>hiton</u>-na i luma i tamulö.

    he   v go often-he r house r your

    "He often goes to your house."

(14) E pieta <u>lel</u> <u>pon</u> -na -ma.

    v run more again-he-come

    "(He) comes running again."

Negative

There are several constructions which involve
negative markers: the simple answer to a yes/no question,
<u>E moa</u> "No"; the negative focus sentence (Ch. 7.2); the

regular verbal negative and others which are discussed here.
In all verb phrases except the VP in negative focus sentences,
the regular negative is marked by two mutually obligatory
morphemes: the preverb particle ma and the clitic -i.
They must always occur in the same utterance, and since they
are separated by the verb stem and often by other vP units
as well, they could be referred to as a complex discontinuous
negative marker.

(15) Nori i ma hakac   sil -i a toukwi.

      they v neg think about-neg c work

      "They didn't think about work."

(16) Ma   matout -i.

      neg fear-neg

      "Don't be afraid."

(17) Alimiu go ma ŋala -m -i.

      you-pl ir neg cry-you-neg

      "You mustn't cry."

Negation may also be indicated by one of several preverb
units. The word namala (18) displaces the particle ma
but is still followed by the negative marker -i, whereas
tabuna (19) and namos (20) displace both ma and -i.

(18) Alimiu e namala hatei -m -i lia.

      you-pl v never   tell-you-neg me

      "You never tell me."

(19) A kiou e tabuna pan noa-na.   "The hole is not yet
      c hole v not-yet big yet-it   big (enough)."

(20) Nori e namos cia -r.

They v must-not fall-they

"They must not fall (they must beware of falling)."

Emphasis

The first order clitic -si suggests intensity or ur-
gency, giving emphasis to the action. This morpheme is used
almost exclusively by the older people and is consequently
becoming obsolete.

(21) Ne cina -ren e kato-si-wa, "...

and mother-their v do -em-dr

"And their mother said emphatically (like this), "...

5.2. FUNCTIONS MARKED BY AUXILIARIES

The preverb auxiliaries (order 2, Chart B, Ch. 3.2)
comprise two open classes (classes with an indefinite num-
ber of members). They are the infinitive auxiliaries,
which are verbs suffixed by -n "infinitive", and the nonin-
finitive auxiliaries, which are verb modifiers never suffixed
by -n. Various representative functions of these auxiliaries
are illustrated below.

Desiderative

(22) Alia e ŋil-i -n la-gu.   "I want to go."

I v want-t-inf go-I

Contradesiderative

(23) Alia e <u>rama -n</u> la-gu.   "I don't want to go."

     I   v dislike-inf go-I

Inceptive

(24) Nori e <u>tania -n</u> kwi -li -la.

they v begin-inf work-they -dr

"They started working."

Abilitive

(25) Alŏ e <u>atei -n</u> koloto -m.

you v know-inf write-you

"You know how to write."

(26) Alŏ e <u>tatei</u> ape -m.

you v can swim-you

"You can swim."

Partial modification

(27) A apena e <u>gamo -n</u> tapa lel-i-na.

c bird v lie -inf fly more-t-it

"The bird flies a little farther."

The verb <u>gamo</u> "to lie/deceive" (27) is commonly suffixed by the infinitive which creates a type of idiom which suggests an abbreviated action or a limited extension of the action. This meaning would remain essentially intact without the adverb <u>lel</u> "more". Many verbs are potential infinitives.

(28) U wosono e <u>molo</u> niga-na.

c taro v ---- good-it

"The taro is pretty good (not the best and not the worst)."

<u>Pseudo-factual</u>. This covers various notions such as mockery, pretense, and "going through the motions". The context and the selection of words determine whether <u>hohou</u> suggests simulation or dissimulation.

(29) Nonei e <u>hohou</u> ŋala -na.

she v pretend cry-she

"She is pretending to cry."

<u>Frustrative.</u> The auxiliary <u>lagi</u> "in vain" (30) is always accompanied by a reduplication of the verb stem which implies repeated or continued action. Frustration is also marked by the auxiliaries <u>mastei</u> and <u>tapusun</u> (both noninfinitives), which are not accompanied by verb reduplication.

(30) Ba Pinari e <u>lagi</u> sakesake -na.

and spirit v in-vain look-look-it

"And the Pinari spirit searches to no avail."

5.3. FUNCTIONS MARKED BY ADVERBS

The structure of the adverbial system has been described in Ch. 3.3. Here the various functions marked by adverbs are illustrated.

<u>Completive</u>. Note the causative <u>ha-</u> prefixed to the root <u>kapa</u> "to finish" (31), changing what is normally a

verb into an adverb. The word <u>mate</u> "to die" can also mean
"to be unconscious". So the addition of the adverb here
makes the meaning "die" explicit; that is, the process of
dying is completed.

(31) E Pio e mate <u>ha- kapa</u>.

       c   v die   ca-finish

       "Pio died."

Adverbs having the prefix <u>ha-</u> are derivational adverbs, in
contrast to the other adverbs which are nonderivational.
(cf. Ch. 3:17; Ch. 6.5).

    <u>Continuative</u>. This aspect is marked by reduplication
(Ch. 3.1) and also by the adverbs <u>noa</u> "yet, still" and
<u>nitoa</u> "always, all the way". The adverb <u>nitoa</u> has the
idea of completeness or perfectness spatially ("They went
<u>all the way</u> to the moon"), temporally (33) and logically.
Logically, (31) could read also <u>E Pio e mate nitoa</u> "Pio died
completely" and still have essentially the same meaning.

(32) A pien e soho <u>noa</u>-na.

      c child v sleep yet-it

      "The child is still sleeping."

(33) A con e kwi <u>nitoa</u>-na.

      c man v work always-he

      "The man works all the time."

      <u>Distributive</u>

(34) U katun e la <u>kalakala</u> -r.

    c person v go   each-they

    "The people scatter/go to different places."

<u>Intensity</u>. The adverbs <u>koru</u> and <u>bala</u> suggest intensi-
fied action. In contexts where two or more things are being
evaluated, the use of <u>bala</u> implies a comparison, eg. "better
than". However, the comparative remains implicit in Halia,
as there are no forms which explicitly mark the comparative
as does the suffix -<u>er</u> in English.

(35) A pitala e hiski <u>koru</u>-na.

    c sun v hot very-it

    "The sun is very hot."

(36) A luma i tamulʊ e niga <u>bala</u>-na.

    c house r your v good very-it

    "Your house is very good." or "Your house is better

    (than the house just mentioned)."

<u>Contrary to expectation</u>. This VP function implies that
an expected or desired action or result did not eventuate,
or that what did happen was contrary to what was expected
or desired. It is marked by the auxiliary <u>mala</u> combined
with the irrealis preverb particle (cf. Ch. 3.2, Chart B
and Ch. 4.3), or by the adverb <u>ciponi</u> (38) (cf. Ch. 7.3).
These words elude a concise definition, but they relate to
both sentence and discourse levels as they imply that a con-
text larger than the clause is understood.

(37) Alø go <u>mala</u> la -ma i nolaha.

you ir ---- go-come r yesterday

"Yo u should have come yesterday."

(38) Nori e la <u>ciponi</u> -r i latu.

they v go ------they r bush

"They are going to the jungle anyway (in spite of

something)."

<u>Reflexive</u>. This mode involves the actor acting upon

himself, and is marked by <u>peisa</u> "self", sometimes combined

with the adverb <u>pouc</u> "back".

(39) A pien e ŋac pouc -e-na a peisa-nen.

c child v cut back-tr-he c self-his

"The child is cutting himself."

CHAPTER 6

CASE, TRANSITIVITY AND FOCUS

The relationship between the verb phrase (VP) and
the noun phrases (NP) as constituents of the clause is marked
in three ways: by order, by relator particle, and/or by an
affix in the verb phrase. The dominant order of constituents
is Subject-Verb-Object, though this may change, for example,
to OVS when the undergoer of the action is in focus (Sec. 3),
or to VS or VO when the action is in focus. A preposed
relator particle indicates a nonspecific relation between
the NP and the VP (see examples 6a, 6b and 7a below). This
chapter, however, focuses on case relations as they are
marked by verbal affixes.

6.1. PRIMARY CASES

It is necessary here to distinguish between the terms
"case" and "role". "Role" refers to the underlying syn-
tactic-semantic relationship between VP and NP, whereas
"case" refers to the normative expression of these roles in
the surface grammar.[19] By this definition there are seven
primary cases in Halia, manifest by noun phrases or relator
axis phrases (RAP) and marked by clitics in the VP. They
are: Subject, Object, Referent, Associative, Applicative,
Directional and Locative. The three secondary cases, Purpose,
Restrictive and Manner, are discussed in Sec. 2, along with
the meaning of the terms "primary" and "secondary". The

Subject is normally in preverbal position, and the remaining cases are normally postverbal. "Normally" refers to the predominant order of clause level units found in independent indicative clauses in which the actor is in focus. This is the most common type of construction.

The following Chart G outlines these cases. (Refer to Charts E and F in Ch. 3 for details on clitics.) The normative forms and functions for simple transitive or intransitive clauses are given in Chart G. The normative role does not preclude other roles from being marked by a particular marker (cf. Sec. 4). The clitics (VP markers) presuppose (are mutually obligatory with) a NP or RAP or pronoun, or at the least imply their presence. The numbered examples below correlate with the numbers in Chart G and illustrate the cases.

(1a)   S   V
        A poum e nou-<u>na</u>.   "The pig is eating."
        c pig v eat-it

(1b)   S   V
        Nori e soho -<u>r</u>.   "They are sleeping."
        they v sleep-they

(2a)   S   V   O
        E Latu e ŋʊ -<u>e</u> -n-<u>o</u> lia.   "Latu is calling me."
        c   v call-tr-he-o me

(2b)   S   V   O
        E Latu e ŋʊ -<u>ra</u> -n-en.   "Latu is calling them."
        c   v call-pl -he-3p

CHART G: PRIMARY CASES

Grammatical Function (Label)	Normative role	VP Markers	Grammatical Form
1. Subject S	The actor or initiator of the action. The S agrees with the S markers in the VP, when they occur, both in person and number.	Subject marker clitics (Ch. 3, Chart E)	NP
2. Object O	That upon which the verb acts directly, or to which the verb has a direct relation.	-<u>e</u> sing. obj. (-<u>re</u> pl. obj.) -<u>o</u> 1/2 per. obj.	NP
3. Referent R	That to which the action has indirect reference.	-<u>ne</u> sing. ref. (-<u>re</u> pl. ref.)	NP
4. Associative AS	That which is associated with the subject.	-<u>me</u> associative	NP
5. Applicative AP	That on which the action has a secondary effect, commonly benefactive.	-<u>be</u> applicative	NP
6. Directional D	The destination or direction toward which the action is oriented.	-<u>wa</u> directional	RAP
7. Locative L	The spatial or temporal setting of the action.	-<u>ya</u> locative	RAP

(3a)   S   V   R
Alia e hakac ha-para-<u>na</u>-g-en.   "I am thinking a lot

  I   v think ca-much-rf-I-3p   about it."

(3b)   S   V   R
Alia e hakac ha-para-<u>ra</u>-g-en.   "I am thinking a lot

  I   v think ca-much-pl-I-3p   about them."

(4a)   S   V   AS
Nonei e gala   gono -<u>me</u> -na a pien.

  he   v descend together-as-he c child

"He is going down (to the beach) with the child."

(4b)   S   V   AS
Nonei e gala   gono -<u>me</u> -<u>re</u> -na a gala pien.

  he   v descend together-as-pl -he c pl child

"He is going down (to the beach) with the children."

(5)   S   V   -<u>be</u> -m -o lia.   AP
Alimiu go mi   sua -<u>be</u> -m -o lia.

  you-pl ir come paddle-ap-you-o me

"You come paddle for me."

(6a)   S   V   D
A pien e la-<u>wa</u>-na turu skul.

  c child v go-dr-he r   school

"The child is going to school."

(6b)   S   V   D
A pien e la-<u>wa</u>-na i tanen.[20]

  c child v go-dr-he r his

"The child is going to (toward) him."

(7a)   S   V   L
E Jon e ka-<u>ya</u> i luma.   "John was in the house."

  c   v be-lc r house

(7b)   L   V   S
Poata te mŭsa-ya a piono, ...

       time   v done-lc c pumpkin

       "When the pumpkin was cooked, ..."

The clitic -re "plural" is mutually exclusive
with -e "sing. obj." and with -ne "sing. ref." as the
plural marker for both Object and Referent (2b) (3b).
But -re may follow -me "associative" in the same word
(4b) and also -be "applicative" as the plural marker for
these cases. Thus the cases may be categorized according
to how they are marked for plural: Subject has special
markers for plural persons not including -re; for Object and
Referent, -re displaces the singular case markers; for
Associative and Applicative, -re is coexistent with the case
markers; for Directional and Locative, there is no plural
form marked as such in the VP.

Note in the examples for Chart G that case is
marked only in the VP, not in the NP or RAP.

The minimal form of a NP is a pronoun. In the 3rd
person postverbal form the pronoun is a clitic (2b).

The Directional and Locative cases are exemplified
by the RAP in independent indicative and imperative construc-
tions. The RAP manifests the setting or some indirect relation
between the VP and the NP.

The transitive, a construction having either an actual
or an implied Object, is normally marked by one of the Object
clitic markers (2a) (2b). This is a common feature among

Oceanic languages, in which, according to Capell (1976:245)
and Pawley (1973a:114), the presence of an Object is marked
by a transitive verb suffix.

Case markers are distinguished from other VP affixes
in that they normally are mutually obligatory with the phrase
which they mark. The phrase is usually in explicit form,
but sometimes may be implied by the VP marker (Sec. 3).

Objects may be imbedded within the VP. In such in-
stances the clause is in the intransitive form and requires
no case marker for Object. Example (8) is a variant form of
the sentence "He went and speared squid". The reduplicated
form of su "to spear" implies repeated activity.

(8) Nonei e na susu lout-la-la. "He went squid spearing."

     he   v go spear squid-he-go

6.2. SECONDARY CASES

A secondary case requires an extra marker in addition
to one of the markers for the primary cases. A primary
case, on the other hand, requires only the clitic or clitic
set which marks the normative use of that case. This feature
distinguishes primary and secondary cases. For example,
though the Purpose case is marked by the adverb sil "pur-
pose", it has no verbal clitic that is unique to Purpose.
Instead, sil must occur with the Objective set of clitics
which already mark the Object case (9). The Object case (2a),
however, does not "borrow" the clitic of (for example) the

Referent case (3a), as each has primary claim to its own marker, and thus these are called primary cases. The other two secondary cases are marked in a similar manner. The three secondary cases are Purpose, Restrictive and Manner.

CHART H: SECONDARY CASES

Grammatical Function	Normative Role	VP Markers	Gram. Form
9. Purpose P	The purpose for which the action is undertaken.	<u>sil</u> purpose + obj. markers	NP
10. Restrictive RV	That which the action circumvents, restricts or controls.	<u>kap</u> restrict. + ref. markers	NP
11. Manner M	The manner in which the action is done.	<u>mar</u> manner + -<u>wa</u> direct.	NP

(9)　　　S　　　V　　　　　　　　　P/O
　　　A pien e ŋala <u>sil-e</u>-na a　sus.

　　　c child v cry pp-tr-it c breast

　　　"The baby is crying for the (mother's) breast."

　　　(i.e. for the purpose of getting milk)

(10)　　　S　　　V　　　　RV/R
　　　E Nohu e la <u>kap-na</u> -n-en.

　　　c　　　v go rv -rf-he-it

　　　"Nohu is heading it (the pig) off."

(11)　　　S　　　　　V　　　　M/D
　　　Nonei e <u>mar</u>　kwi-<u>wa</u>-na teka.

　　　he　　v man work-dr-he this

　　　"He works like this (in this way)."

In (9) it could be said that the breast was both the object
of and the purpose for the crying, so that both the object
and purpose could be involved. This is a possible rationale
for the fact that -e (or pl. -re) is normally obligatory
when sil occurs. Thus the double label for Purpose/Object.
Similarly, in (10), Nohu's going both restricts the action
of the pig and is done in reference to the pig. The adverb
kap "restrictive" always requires the presence of the clitic
-ne "referent". In (11), a sense of direction ("in this
way") is associated with the manner in which something is
done. This also could be reflected in the fact that -wa
is obligatory with mar. The Manner case is more restricted
than the others in that it is generally limited to the de-
monstrative teka "this" or to a clause such as "He works
like his father works". The transitive Manner case is dis-
cussed in Sec. 5.

In summary, the constructions in examples (1-7) out-
line basic forms presented for the purpose of clearly illus-
trating the normative forms and functions of case in Halia.
Examples (9-11) illustrate combinations of markers that
leave the cases less distinctly or uniquely marked.

Sections 4 and 5 present further ways in which case
markers combine or pattern in various constructions and
semantic contexts, after a brief discussion of focus in
Section 3.

6.3. FOCUS

Though focus is indicated by order in Halia and not
by specific morphemes as in Philippine languages (McKaughan
1971:158), it is necessary to briefly describe focus here
because of its importance in the understanding of clause
structure. The term "focus" in this paper essentially
means that the initial unit (NP, VP) in the clause repre-
sents the topic or theme of the speaker. Since SVO is the
predominant order, the Subject is normally focal. This is
called actor focus. However, Object, Referent and other
nonactors may be clause initial and therefore in focus, and
Subject is consequently defocused by being in a postverb
position or simply implied. This is referred to as nonactor
focus. Similarly in verb focus clauses all noun phrases
follow the verb. Question focus clauses begin with a ques-
tion word (such as who, what, where, etc.), which is fol-
lowed by a verbalizer prefixed by t- (cf. Ch. 7.2) not ob-
ligatory in other focus clauses.

Actor focus

(12)   S   V   O
       Nonei e kato-e-na u mona.   "He is making a mona canoe."

       he v make-tr-he c canoe

Nonactor focus

(13)   R   V
       A mate e na kaho tala-ne-r. | "The dead man will be

       c dead v go dig   now-rf-they| buried now." (Lit.: "The

       dead they go dig concerning now.")

(14)   O   V

A kiou e na kaho tal-e-r.   "A hole will be dug now."

c hole v go dig now-tr-they (Lit.: "A hole they go dig now.")

Verb focus

(15)   V   S

E ŋil-e-gu lia.   "I like (her)."

v like-tr-I I

(16)   V   L

Karabus tala-ra -r i luma.

   lock now-pl-they r house

"(They) are locked now in the house."

(The agent here is singular - one woman.)

Question focus

(17)   S   V   O

Esi t-e na lu -e-na-ma a il? "Who will go get the hook?"

who d-v go get-tr-he-come c hook

(18)   O   V   S

Aha t-e kato-e-mu lö?   "What are you doing?"

what d-v do-tr-you you

(19)   L   V   O   S

Ime t-e sabe-ra -mu -m -en lö?

where d-v find-pl-you-come-3p you

"Where did you find them?"

The object (nonactor) focus is similar in meaning to, but different grammatically from, the English passive, as Halia verb morphology does not change (except in allomorphic form) when the focus changes. Thus it is order, not morphology, that marks focus.

The context for example (16) is the story of a woman

who tricked some men into going into a house and then she
locked them in. Note that both subject and object are out
of focus in (16). The use of the 3rd pl. subject marker
is common in verb focus clauses where the actor is implicit.
In this construction the marker simply indicates that an
actor is involved without implying person or number.

6.4. THE DITRANSITIVE

When there are two or more participants in the clause
that are nonactor and nonsetting (incl. directional) in
nature, their presence is marked or implied by the clitic
-i "ditransitive". This includes the normative roles for
Object, Referent, Associative, Applicative, and includes
also Purpose and Restrictive.

```
(20)        S            V                         AP
       A barebana i gonogono-be tal -e -i a tsi kihau

       c  people  v  gather -ap now-tr-dt c dim fowl

            O
       a tuhas.      "The people heaped the trash on the

       c trash       little bush fowl."
```

```
(21)     S              V          AS      (R)
       Alia e  kacin  raŋa-me-g -i  lỡ  e tamamulỡ.

        I   v  want-to talk-as-I-dt you c father-your

       "I want to talk with you (about) your father."
```

```
(22)   V                    (G)       O
       Hal -e   -m   -ei   lia ta  wele.  "Give me some

       give-tr-come  -dt   me  c coconut    coconut."
```

(23)   S   V   O   (I)
       Nonei e ŋac -e -n-ei u wele   a nikö.

       he   v cut-tr-he-dt c coconut c axe

       "He is cutting the coconut tree (with) an axe."

The ditransitive clause normally includes an Object
(20, 22, 23), although the presence of an Object is not
always required (21). In (20) the ditransitive refers to
neither AP nor O individually, but indicates that two cases
besides S are present in the clause. It is much more common,
however, for the ditransitive to replace a case marker,
as in (21) where the explicit -ne "referent" is apparently
replaced by the less explicit -i "ditransitive". Notice
also that the NP in each case has no case marker in the
phrase itself, which means further ambiguity on the grammati-
cal level. Order is a factor that sometimes helps to iden-
tify case, but order also is frequently unpredictable.

       Examples (22) and (23) exhibit noun phrases that do
not fit into any grammatical case discussed above. There is
no marker that is contrastive with the other cases. If these
noun phrases cannot be identified either by order or by
grammatical markers, then apparently the semantic content
of the words must be utilized to give identification. In
(22), "me" is semantically the goal of the action. But since
this is a semantic and not a grammatical distinction, the
case label (G) is placed in brackets. The same principle
applies to (23) where "with an axe" is obviously instrumental.
But there is no case marker for either goal or instrument

in the surface grammatical forms. These are marked here

only by the ditransitive.[21]

This illustrates very briefly the problem of sepa-

rating role (semantic relations) and case (grammatical

units). For example, the instrumental role may be realized

in the surface grammar as either AS or R, or simply be

marked by the ditransitive as in (23).

(24)   S   V   (O)   AS
          Nonei e lu-me-la -l-ei-en u roei.

          he   v get-as-he-go-dt-3p c wood

          "He got it with a stick."

(25)   S   22   R
          ... ba lia te sei -na-g-en.

             and I   v climb-rf-I-3p

          "...and I climb with it." (i.e. climb a tree by means

          of a footrope)

Proper identification of participants as they relate to

the predication requires a knowledge of the semantic as

well as the grammatical context of the clause. This topic

is discussed further in Chapter 7.

6.5.   TRANSITIVE DEPENDENT, MANNER AND DIRECTIONAL CLAUSES

Subordinate or dependent clauses display a different

patterning of case markers than independent clauses, as

well as a change in the order of the Subject (i.e. all noun

phrases are postverbal) and the obligatory presence of the

verbalizer prefix t-, which marks a dependent relationship.

(26)
```
        V        S
T-e  ŋil  -r  -en, ...    "(If) they want to, (they can
d-v  want-they -3p          go fishing)."
```

(27)
```
           V      S       L
... t-e kora -u e Bikinatun i yapu.
    d-v chew-dr c           r bench
```
"(He saw that) Bikinatun was chewing betelnut on the
bench." or "(He found) B. chewing betelnut on the
bench."

(28)
```
            V      S
... t-e go  maka -u lia.  "(I will drink a coconut)
    d-v ir thirst-dr I    (if) I am thirsty."
```

The relations "if" (26, 28) and "because" (29) often are
implied by the vernacular construction, thus they are
enclosed in separate brackets to distinguish them from
the gloss of the independent clause.

There are no verb affixes in dependent clauses that
are not also in independent clauses. The principal dif-
ference is in the allomorphic forms and patterning of the
affixes. In the independent clause, -wa/-u "directional"
marks direction and manner. In verb focus dependent clauses[23]
that are not sentence initial (27,28), it also marks the
intransitive.

In nominal focus dependent clauses,[24] the transitive
is marked essentially the same as in independent clauses.
However, in verb focus dependent clauses, the Object is
marked by an obligatory concurrence of the clitics -me
"associative", -ne "referent" (or -re "pl. ref.") and -i

"ditransitive". These clitics of course have allomorphic
variations (Ch. 3, Chart F).

(29)   V   ( )   ( )
     ... t-i heroko hoboto-me -n -i-en u tau.
         d-v charm   all -as-rf-dt-3p c shaman

     "(The taro was plentiful again) (because) the shamans
     together had charmed it."

The problem of labelling the grammatical units -en and
u tau is obvious, as the associative and referent markers
do not correlate meaningfully with them, at least from the
point of view of surface grammar. A transform of this
dependent clause would read simply "The shamen (S) together
had charmed it (O)" and would be marked with the normal
clitics for these clause level units as given in Chart G.
But in (29) there seems to be no logical reason why -me
and -n should be the markers. The presence of the ditransi-
tive may indicate that a second nonactor participant is
present (in this case in the form of the independent clause),
being the result of the charming. Even if these things were
clear, there is no grammatical clue as to which NP or pro-
noun should be indicated by which clitic. There is no prob-
lem here in interpreting who is doing what, as the semantic
context of the clause makes it clear that the shamen are
the actors and the taro is that which is acted upon. This
type of construction is very common in Halia.

     Compare the intransitive Manner clause (11) with the
following independent transitive manner clause (30) and

the directional clause in the intransitive (31) and transitive (32) forms.

(30) S   V   ( ) ( )
    Nori e mar talasa-me-na -r -i u mona teka.

    they v man carve -as- rf-they-dt c canoe this

    "They carve a canoe like this."

(31) S   V   D
    Alia e koloto-wa-gu i tamulö.[20] "I am writing to you."

    I v write-dr-I r your

(32) S   V   ( )   ( )
    Alia e koloto-me-na-g -i a kalanloun i tamulö.

    I v write-as-rf-I-dt c letter r your

    "I am writing a letter to you."

I do not offer an explanation for this kind of patterning here except for two comments. In the dependent, manner and directional clauses, -wa "directional" marks the intransitive, and it is consistently replaced in the transitive by the sequence -me, -ne/-re, -i, allowing for -i following discontinuously at times. The transitive pattern distinguishes between "I am writing a letter to you" (32) and "I am writing your letter". The latter would be marked simply by the transitive -e.

It is obvious that in at least some constructions in Halia the patterning as such must be presented without an adequate explanation as to why it is so. Also, distinct grammatical categories cannot be set up for all case forms in all constructions. Even if this were possible,

I question the value of forcing grammatical labels onto units when there is no grammatical justification for doing so. The analysis of case in Halia obviously requires the use of both grammatical and semantic information.

6.6. CAUSATIVE AND NON-CAUSATIVE

To conclude this chapter on the interrelationships between verb morphology and clause level functions, a note on the causative and the non-causative prefixes would be of interest.

The causative ha- is apparently derived from PAN *pa (Dahl 1976:119; Capell 1976:244). This prefix may combine with certain words in an intransitive construction such as ha-niga "to allow, approve" (Lit. "make-good") (cf. Ch. 5.3). But far more frequently it indicates an instigator of the action which is separate from the actor. Thus ha- tends to transitivize the verb.

(33)
```
       S      V
A  pien  e  opu-na.          "The child is lying down."
c  child  v  lie-it
```

(34)
```
       S           V              O
A  tahol  e  h-  opu  -e  -na  a  pien.   "The woman is laying
c  woman  v  ca-lie-tr-she  c  child      the child down."
```

Conversely, the prefix ta- "non-causative, self-act-ing", which is mutually exclusive with ha-, changes transitive verbs to intransitive. This prefix is a derivative of PEO *ta- which Capell (1976:244) calls "a state self-caused".

I have been corrected many times for making statements
such as *U roei e peko-na "The wood is breaking". The
correct form for the intransitive is with ta- (36).

(35)   S   V   O
      E Maria e   peko -e -na   u roei.   "Mary is breaking

      c   v break-tr-she c wood   the wood."

(36)   S   V
      U roei e ta- peko-na.   "The wood is breaking/ broken."
      c wood v sf-break-it

The gloss in (36) reflects the fact that ta- marks state/
process verbs (cf. Longacre 1976: Ch. 2). That is, the
predication is a state ("is broken") or a process ("is
breaking") that has no explicit external cause. Other
examples, all intransitive and with ta-: "The house fell
to pieces (ta-rura)", "The door was/came open (ta-kalata)",
and "The child awoke (ta-gule)". Contrast these with the
same verb roots which, without the prefix ta-, are action
verbs which require an agent or actor: "He opened (kalata)
the door", "They took apart (rura) the house", and "He woke
(gule) the child".

CHAPTER 7

SENTENCE AND DISCOURSE LEVEL RELATIONSHIPS

Propositional relationships within the sentence and
other relations above sentence level are closely tied to
the verb morphology. This chapter, especially section 1,
focuses on grammatical markers indicating semantic rela-
tionships above the clause level. Though conclusions are
tentative pending further analysis, there is apparently a
relation between case on the clause level and propositions
on the sentence level which is reflected in the use of
case marker clitics to indicate semantic interclausal rela-
tionships.

7.1. CASE MARKER FUNCTIONS BETWEEN CLAUSES

Cases and their markers have been discussed in Chapter
6 as they are manifest on the clause level. Though Ch. 6.5
briefly refers to relations between dependent and indepen-
dent clauses, this chapter goes farther in illustrating how
case markers interrelate clauses as constituents of complex
sentences. The focus here is on the function of the VP
markers in indicating propositional rather than predicate
relationships. The latter involves case grammar on the
clause level; the former involves propositions on the sen-
tence level (cf. Longacre 1976:98) including such notions
as cause, purpose, condition and time.

In this chapter the use of clitics to indicate

interclausal relations implies the absence of a sentence
level conjunction unless otherwise stated. The examples in
this chapter are not to suggest that the patterns they
illustrate are either all inclusive or necessarily normative.
There are also other ways of marking these relations that do
not involve case markers.

The most common relationship between clauses marked
by clitics is the cause relationship. Cause is commonly
marked by the conjunction taraha "because" preposed to the
clause which gives the reason for the action in the preced-
ing clause (1). But this same relationship may also be
marked, according to context, by clitics -me "associa-
tive" (2), -e "transitive" + sil "purpose" (3), -ne "refer-
ent" (4), -be "applicative" (5), and -i "ditransitive" (6).

(1) Alia e ramanegen taraha e omina.[25]

    I   v   dislike-it because v bad

    "I don't want it because it is bad."

(2) A han e skimena a barebana e galalila i tasi.

    c vil- v deserted c people v go-down r sea
      lage

    "The village is deserted (because) the people went

    down to the sea."

(3) A   han e ski silena te galawalila a barebana.

    c village v deserted   v go-down   c people

    "The village is deserted (because) the people went

    down to the beach."

(4) Alia e lanegula   te raharahawana e cinar.

     I   v   go   v   angry   c mother

    "I went (because) my mother is angry."

(5) Nonei e hahatoŋobeiena e lama turu skul.

     he   v   smart   v go   r

    "He is smart (because) he has been to school."

(6) Hanoueroi lʊ te sabe poucmeramulei lʊ a tohaliou.

      feed   you v find   back   you c girls

    "(They) will feed you (because) you found the girls."

The use of -me in (2) and sil-e in (3) is apparently
interchangeable. The initial (result) clause in (2) is
followed by an independent (cause) clause, whereas in
(3) the initial result clause is followed by a dependent
cause clause. But -me as a cause marker also patterns
the same as in (3), i.e. the initial clause marked for cause
by -me may also be followed by a dependent clause. Example
(2) could be read as "The village is deserted in association
with the fact that the people went down to the sea." How-
ever, (3) cannot be read as *"The village is deserted for the
purpose that the people went down to the beach." The tense
is crucial here in that in both (2) and (3) the first
clause is present tense and the second clause is near past
tense. Therefore in a "purpose" relationship, the second
action in the sentence cannot temporally precede the first
action.

    In examples (4) and (5), -ne "referent" and -be

"applicative" respectively correlate with cause. And in
(6) there is only the ditransitive -i to suggest a cause
relationship. The gloss "because" is in brackets to indicate
that the clitics, unlike the conjunction taraha, are not
primary markers for cause.

This variety of markers for cause further emphasizes
the importance of the grammatical and the semantic contexts.
The choice of markers of this type on the sentence level is
undoubtedly influenced at least to some degree by a system
of verb selection[26] which is unclear to the author at the
present stage of analysis.

Purpose is most commonly marked by the adverb sil
"purpose" coupled with the transitive -e (7). But it may
also be marked by -ne "referent" (8). In both examples, the
main clause is followed by an irrealis clause in the sur-
face structure.

(7) E kato silena te ga lau i Kieta.
     v do purpose v ir go r
     "(He) is trying (wants) to go to Kieta." (i.e. he
     purposes to go to Kieta)

(8) ...ba te haseseinena ge gi pan boroboro.
     and v   hurry   cj ir big quickly
     "...and she hurries (them) up so they will grow
     up quickly."

Example (8) could also be translated "She hurries (them)
that they should grow up quickly."

Condition is commonly indicated by the juxtaposition
of a dependent and an independent clause without a VP
marker indicating this relationship (26). In (9) however,
two independent clauses are used and the initial clause
requires the clitic -ne "referent" to mark the conditional
relationship. In (10) the irrealis particle go follows the
prefixed verbalizer t-e (cf. Sec. 2). In this order the
clauses are joined by the conjunction ba.

(9) Alŏ e nou noa hasnamou alŏ e na suri sabe noa
     you v eat only will you v go dig find only

     hasbemou u kapu.
       will   c shell
     "You will only eat (if/in reference to the fact that)
     you first will dig and find the kapu shell."

(10.) Te go lau lŏ turu skul ba lŏ te luem a niatei   pan.
      v ir go you r   cj you v   get c knowledge big
      "If you go to school, you learn a lot."

     Cognitive relations, called awareness attribution
by Longacre (1976:148), are marked by the referent (11) and
purpose (12) markers in the following examples.

(11) Na lia u heŋo hasin e tamar   e Butou e kana i
      and I v hear also c father-my c   v is r

      haus sik.   "And I heard also (that) my father,
      house sick   Butou, is in the hospital."

(12)   Alimiu e atei <u>silemiu</u> alia u la banema a han i manasa

     you   v know   I   v go   away   c vil- r before
                                                                          lage

koru. "You (pl) know (<u>that</u>) I left the village long

very   ago."

Example (13) illustrates a merged sentence (Pike 1977:273) as marked by the transitive -<u>e</u>, which is the surface structure sentence form for what could be called <u>complement</u>; that is, the second clause completes the verbal idea of the first clause. Example (14), marked by <u>kap</u> "restrictive" followed by -<u>ne</u> "referent", could be described as either purpose or complement.

(13)   Alia e ŋil koru<u>e</u>gu alimiu go taguhem a katun teka.

     I   v want   very   you-pl ir help   c man   this

     "I really want you to help this man."

(14)   E pepeito kapi<u>n</u> te ga lawama a tahol.

     v watch   v   ir   come   c woman

     "(He) watched (to see if) the woman would come."

     or "(He) watched out for the coming of the woman."

Words such as <u>raŋa</u> "talk" and <u>hakac</u> "think" may be followed by the referent -<u>ne</u> and a second clause to indicate a <u>referential</u> relationship. This is also an indirect quotation (cf. the following discussion on quotations for examples (20-22).

(15)   I romana e raŋa<u>ne</u>na e na katoena a ari.

     r today v talk   v go make   c pole

"Today he is talking <u>about</u> going and making a ridge
pole." or "Today he is saying <u>that</u> he will go and
make a ridge pole."

The <u>means</u> by which an event is brought about is
sometimes marked by the adverb <u>sila</u> "through/by means of"
followed by -<u>ne</u> "referent".

(16) Tara poata tara   bes   lasi ti sabe <u>sila</u>nien a han

    r   time   r   hungry   only   v find through   c place

    i Tuloun.   "It was only during a famine <u>through which</u>

    r   they found the island of Tuloun."

The relationship of <u>comparison</u> is often indicated by
the preverb <u>mar</u> "manner" coupled always with the directional
clitic -<u>wa</u>. Note that this patterning is in both clauses
in (17).

(17) Ara e <u>mar</u> kato<u>wa</u>ra ti <u>mar</u> kato<u>w</u>en i manasa.

    we v man   do   v man   do   r before

    "We are doing (customarily) <u>like</u> they did in the

    past."

The temporal setting or <u>time</u> of the event is often
marked by the associative clitic -<u>me</u>.

(18) ...ba nori te la tala<u>mer</u> te cirukuwana a pitala.

    and they v go   now   v go-down   c sun

    "...and they go <u>when</u> the sun sets." (or, "they go

    <u>with</u> the setting of the sun.")

The spatial setting or <u>location</u> may be marked inter-
clausally by the locative clitic -<u>ya</u> in relative clauses,
where -<u>ya</u> is in the dependent clause and refers to a nominal
element in the independent clause.

(19) Nonei a ka te gum-ri-<u>ya</u>.

     that c thing v sit-they-lc

     "That (is) a thing for sitting <u>on</u>/ (which) they sit

     <u>on</u>."

The last interclausal relation which will be dis-
cussed in this section is <u>quotation</u>. Longacre (1976:146)
refers to quotation as speech attribution, including both
direct and indirect quotation. Without going into the dif-
ferent types of direct and indirect quotations in Halia, I
will simply give a basic contrast between the two. Direct
quotes are commonly but not always preceded by a quotative
clause including either the transitive clitic (-<u>ie</u> in 20)
or the directional -<u>wa</u> following <u>kato</u> "to do/make" (21).
Indirect quotes are frequently marked by the referent -<u>ne</u>
(22). There is no structural difference between the indirect
quote (22) and the cognitive (11).

(20) Bu barebana e raŋar me po<u>ie</u>r "..."

     and people v talk and say

     "And the people talk and say "..."

(21) Na lam u kato tala<u>u</u> "..." "And then we said (<u>like</u>

     and we v do now <u>this</u>) "..."

(22) Alia e masaka hateinegu alam e holem u poum.

    I   v speak   tell   we   v   buy   c pig

    "I am telling (that) we are buying pigs."

In summary, it is obvious that propositional rela-
tions may be marked in a variety of ways by different
clitics in the verb phrase. In fact, all case marking
clitics (except Subject markers) which indicate case relations
within the clause also mark propositions between clauses.
A brief list is given below to illustrate the correlations
thus far noted between case markers (on the left) and pro-
positions (on the right). Though the case label is listed
for convenient reference (eg. O for Object), the clitics
are focal here as sentence level, not clause level, markers.
As stated in Ch. 6.1, plural -re may displace the singular
object and referent markers.

(O)	-e	direct quotation, complement
(R)	-ne	cause, purpose, conditional, cogni-tive, referent, means, indirect quotation
(AS)	-me	cause, time
(AP)	-be	cause
(D)	-wa	direct quotation
(L)	-ya	location
(P)	sil + -e	cause, purpose, cognitive
(RV)	kap + -ne	complement
(M)	mar + -wa	comparison

7.2. OTHER RELATIONS BETWEEN CLAUSES

Though case markers play a vital part in marking interclausal relations, there are other VP markers that also function at this level.

The preclitic t- (Ch. 3, Chart B), which is prefixed to the verbalizer, is the initial morpheme in dependent clauses and generally marks a dependent relationship between clauses. In (23), t-e kwinou "(who) will work" is the dependent relative clause which modifies a katun "the man". Example (24) shows a contracted independent clause functioning as emphasis by using the relative clause. Compare (24) with (25), a simple indicative clause.

(23) Nonei a katun t-e kwinou.   "That (is) the man (who)
      that c man   d-v work-will   will work."

(24) E Raci t-e kwinou.

      c   d-v work-will

      "Raci (is the one who) will work." or "(It is) Raci
      (who) will work."

(25) E Raci e kwinou.   "Raci will work."

      c   v work-will

The preclitic t- also marks dependent clauses which are juxtaposed to independent clauses. These dependent clauses may manifest reason (3), purpose (7), complement (14), means (16), comparison (17), time (18), location (19) and

potentially any other propositional relation. The dependent clause may precede as well as follow the independent clause.

(26) Ṯ-e ŋilin lanen e tatei lana. "(If) he wants to go,
      d-v want-to go-he v can   go   he can go."

Temporal dependent clauses are marked by ṯ- following a temporal word, usually po̱a̱ta̱ "when".

(27) Poata ṯ-e palakanen e hiakana.   "When it is dry, it
       time d-v   dry-it v white   is white."

A neǵative focus sentence is formed by a negative independent clause followed by a dependent clause marked by the preclitic ṯ- and the irrealis particle. The usual negative markers ma̱ and -i̱ (Ch. 5.1) are obligatorily absent in this construction.

(28) E moa ṯ-e go la-u lia.
      v not d-v ir go-dr I
      "I'm not going/didn't go (Lit.: I not to go)."

The preclitic ṯ- also occurs in a close linkage with the conjunction ba̱ "and/then". Though this pattern is commonly found in independent sequential clauses, these function as dependent clauses in the sense that they manifest actions in a sequence which usually have the same actor.[27] They are closely tied to the preceding events.

(29) Sua kapusin a skuna i sal, ba ṯ-e sei hamanasawar
       paddle rv   c ship r reef and d-v climb   now

```
        i   hana    tolala, ba t-e na roro hamanasar i   hana
        r inside    ship    and d-v go walk     now       r inside

        tolala.     "(They) paddle heading off the ship just
          ship        outside the reef, and climb up into the ship,
                    and walk around inside the ship."
```

(30) Ba t-e kato talasina ba t-e kato talasina.

   and d-v do   only   and d-v do   only

"And it kept happening (like this) and it kept hap-

pening (like this) (again and again)".

The clitic -to "past action" is restricted to

past tense clauses and is mutually obligatory with the

conjunction ba "and/then". Ba links temporally sequential

events and occurs in past tense only when followed by -to.

When temporal sequence is indicated in the past tense, then

the pattern ba ... -to is used.

(31) Me hanahanenen ba losomaltohu e kapa-to.

   and   shoot   and   arrows   v finish-pa

"And (he) kept shooting (at) him and the arrows fi-

nished (were used up)."

The clitic -to relates to the previous clause through

the conjunction ba in the sense that the ba ... -to pat-

tern marks an action in sequence that would not otherwise

be marked in the past tense.

One example of an imbedded clause is worth noting

here. By use of the causative prefix ha- and the transi-

tive clitic -e, one clause may be included within

another.

(32)   Nori e siŋata hakuer a muki.

      they v hit ca-yelp-tr-they c dog

      "They hit the dog making it yelp."

7.3.   RELATIONS BETWEEN SENTENCES

There are some instances where VP units signal rela-
tionships between one sentence and another.   In Ch. 5:38,
the adverb ciponi suggests frustrated expectation (Longacre
1976:149).   The sentence could also be translated as "They
are going to the bush even though (someone was expecting or
hoping that they would not go)".   This clearly implies that
the hearer or reader has understood from the preceding con-
text that someone had not wanted them to go to the bush.

The clitic -bu "prior action" indicates that
before a particular action is accomplished, another is
being done prior to it.   The sentence in (33) typically
answers a question such as "Where did Thomas go?"   The
implication is that when he has accomplished his purpose in
the village, he will then do something else.

(33)   E labulala   i han.   "(He) went first to the

      v go-pr-he-go r village   village."

The applicative -be may indicate a reason-result
relationship with the previous sentence or series of sen-
tences.   For example, the story is told of two similar

processes through which mankind has gone, resulting in the
white race and the black race. At the end of this series
of events the speaker sums up by saying, "That's why we are
black now." (34). This reason-result relationship is
indicated in the final sentence by -be.

(34) Te ruruhanabe talemu lam.

    d-v black-ap now-tr-we we

    "(That's why) we are black-skinned now."

The above illustrations show that Halia, like most
languages, has various ways of saying essentially the same
thing. Yet, fine distinctions are undoubtedly reflected
in the use of the different markers. In any case, it is
apparent that the Halia verb morphology has a wide ranging
function throughout the grammatical hierarchy, from morpheme
level to discourse level.

NOTES

1. The terms "family" and "subfamily" are relative
concepts, often depending upon the orientation of the lin-
guist using them. The term "family" is therefore used to
refer to all Austronesian languages, indicating a genetic
relationship, but more specifically it can refer to a small
group of languages with a common shared vocabulary of
at least 28% (Swadesh, 1955).

2. Dempwoff (1934-38), Grace (1955), Milke (1958),
Haudricourt (1965) and Dahl (1976) include Melanesian
(usually along with Polynesian and Micronesian) as part of
a larger subgrouping of AN called Oceanic or East AN. This
excludes West AN (IN) almost by definition. Voegelin
(1964:22) makes the following comment:

> There is divided opinion as to whether or not
> comparative method evidence will justify Melanesia as
> a genetic subbranch of the Oceanic branch. According
> to Milner (1963), Schmidt, Dempwolff, Fox, Haudricourt,
> Dyen, Grace and Milke expect that it will, while Ray,
> Capell, Wurm, and Cowan expect that it will not...If not,
> "Melanesian" languages will remain typologically distinct
> but not genetically distinct from other Malayo-Poly-
> nesian groups.

3. The total number of AN languages has been estimated
at anywhere from 300-500 (Dyen, 1971:5) to 800 (Pawley,
(1973a:176), depending on the definition of "language".

4. I have gleaned these features from various sources,
including manuscripts of AN language data and feedback from

students studying AN languages. A few of the more helpful sources I have used are: Wurm (ed. 1975:179-88), Capell (1971 and 1976), Biggs (1971:469-70), Bendor (1971), Smythe (1970) and Dahl (1976).

5. This statement is based on observation of published data in articles and monographs by various authors. To name a few: Pawley (1973a), Morey (1964), Naylor (1975), Milner (1973) and Hohepa (1966).

6. There is disagreement as to whether there is a genuine passive in some AN languages. For example, Milner (1973) suggests that there is no active/passive voice distinction in Samoan, but rather actor focus vs. goal focus. But Dardjowidjojo (1974) gives evidence that Indonesian has a true passive because of a contrast in the verb morphology between passive and active. For a description of Halia Focus, see Ch. 6.3.

7. Hooley (1971:93) questions whether Capell's criterion is a sufficient basis for dividing New Guinea AN languages into two groups. However, even though some of Capell's typological work has not had wide acceptance, the AN_1 and AN_2 distinction does suggest possible subgroupings.

8. In comparisons with AN languages of Bougainville that are outside the Petats family, Halia has its lowest cognate percentage with Torau (AN_2) at 19% and with Banoni (AN_1) also at 19% (Allen/Hurd 1965:21). This equivalence however does not necessarily mean that similar cognate

percentages should imply a corresponding similarity of typo-
logical features.

9. For the purposes of this paper, the term "verb
morphology" refers to all morphemes in the verb phrase, and
not just to affixes.

10. The following Halia orthography has been estab-
lished: p b t k g s ts h m n ng(ŋ) l r i e a o u ʊ(oˆ) ei
au ou. The consonants /y/ and /w/ are represented as i and
u respectively in the orthography.

11. This variation is essentially a noncontrastive
use of /i/ and /ɩ/, and of /u/ and /ʊ/, except in several
minimally contrastive word pairs which clearly establish
these as four separate phonemes.

12. Cf. Ch. 3.4.

13. Rules are labelled A, B, C, etc. in contrast to
examples, which are numbered 1, 2, 3, etc. The symbols of
rule A and other following rules are interpreted as follows:

-->   becomes, takes on the characteristics of

∅   zero, the loss of a unit

/   in the environment of; i.e. the context which
    causes alternations

_   designates the location of the unit to the left
    of the arrow which is being described

C   consonant

V   Vowel

14. Reduplication of most verb stems follows a con-
sistent pattern. For example, kukwi is the reduplicated
form of kwi "to work". But some verbs exhibit more than
one reduplicated form that have no apparent contrast in
meaning. Eg. atuŋ "to hit/fight" --> hiatuŋ/hitatuŋ/
hiatatuŋ "to fight with one another".

15. Compare examples (6) and (9) (Ch. 3) with Chart D
(Ch. 3) and Ch. 6.6.

16. Kwara'ae (E. Solomons) and Motu (PNG) are examp-
les of languages that mark subject with a particle. In
Roviana (W. Solomons) the object, as in Halia, is marked
by a verb suffix (Pawley 1973a:115). But in Halia, the
person of Subject is indicated by both a preverb unit (verbal
pronoun) and a postverbal clitic, as well as the Subject
itself, manifest by a NP or a pronoun (cf. Ch. 4:17).

17. Two interesting observations. The vowel of the
word medial form of the subject marker clitics (-gu, -mu,
-na, -ri, -mu, -mu, -ri) agrees with the past tense verbali-
zer vowel in all persons except 3rd singular. Also, these
medial clitics are essentially in the same form as the
initial part of the bound possessive pronoun (except for
first singular). The pronoun itself is a combination of the
subject marker form and the pronoun root. There is no
gender distinction; i.e. his/her/its has the same form.
The older and less frequently used form of the first sing.
possessive is hulu-gu-lia "my hair".

Possessive pronouns:

hulu-r	"My hair"
hulu-mu-lʉ	"Your hair"
hulu-n -en	"His hair"
hulu-ra-ra	"Our (incl.) hair"
hulu-mu-lam	"Our (excl.) hair"
hulu-mi-limiu	"Your (pl.) hair"
hulu-r -en	"Their hair"

18. As in the past tense form (Sec. 2), the irrealis also requires the subject marker clitic in the 2nd plural. Note the contrast:

Alʉ go la. "You should go."
you ir go

Alimiu go la-yam. "You (pl.) should go."
you pl.ir go-you

19. The terminology and definitions in Chapter 6 are patterned somewhat after Grimes (1975).

20. The construction i tanen is basically a possessive, as in a luma i tanen (c house r his = his house). But the possessive pronoun phrase in all 7 persons is commonly used on the clause level as a pronominal relator axis phrase (cf. Ch. 6:31, 32).

21. Capell (1976:244) posits the prefix *i- (PEO) as a very common marker for instrument in Eastern Oceanic languages. According to Stephen Wallace (personal cor-

respondence), the "instrumental passive" of verbs in many Philippine languages also has a prefix i-.

22.   The verbalizer te in independent clauses is discussed in Ch. 7.2.

23.   In verb focus dependent clauses the clause as a whole relates to the independent clause, as in Ch. 6:27,28. This is in contrast to a nominal focus dependent clause (cf. note 24 below).

24.   Nominal focus refers to the relation between a dependent clause and a nominal element in the independent clause. For example, in "I saw the man who won", "the man" is in a sense the actor of the dependent clause "who won" as well as the object of the independent clause "I saw the man".

25.   For the sake of brevity, the morpheme by morpheme gloss for the examples in this chapter is abbreviated so that morphemes irrelevant to the focus of the chapter are not defined. The words or affixes focused upon are underlined.

26.   The selection of a verb depends of course on what meaning is intended. But the use of certain verbs on the clause level requires certain case markers. For example, E tup-e-na a hatu "He pushes the stone"; E lapo-ne-na a hatu "He throws the stone". The transitive -e is used with tupa "to push", but the referent -ne is required when

there is an undergoer or patient role (eg. "the stone")
in a clause with the verb lapo "to throw". The construction
*E_lapo-e-na_a_hatu is ungrammatical.

The selection of different case markers for construc-
tions with similar meanings depends on the relation between
VP and NP. Contrast 6:13 and 6:14.

27. Some linguists have recently claimed, according
to Stephen Wallace (personal correspondence), that depen-
dent clauses often show archaic patterns. The obligatory
ordering of all noun phrases after the verb phrase in
dependent clauses could be an example of this.

This also reflects the fact that the Question Focus
clause could be reanalyzed as an equative clause, i.e. a
question word followed by a dependent relative clause. Thus
example (17) in Chapter 6 could be reanalyzed as "Who (is
it) that will go get the hook?" A similar construction is
in Malay, a western AN language, illustrated by the follow-
ing two examples (supplied by Stephen Wallace).

siapa   yang   datang?   "Who came?" (Lit. Who (is the
who that-which come   one) who came?)

apa   yang   kamu lihat? "What did you see?" (Lit.
what that-which you   see   What (is it) that you saw?)

APPENDIX

The Story of Hugen

This text, with interlinear and free translation,
displays the verb morphology in its full context. Sen-
tences are numbered for convenient reference.

1. E Hugen mere   cinanen   ne   tubunen   i
   c Hugen with mother-his and g-parent-his   v

kete   tara   bonbon   me   na osul   ramunu-r.   2. Ba
go-up   r   morning and go fill   water-they   and

tei kolᵬ   i   ha-koul-e-ma-ta   a mul,   ba mul
sky-people   v ca-go-down-tr-come-pa c vine   and vine

e na kutekute-ta i ramun.   3. Ba nonei a ci   pien e
v go hang-up-pa r water.   and this c dim child c

Hugen e tar-e-t-en   me   na   lu-e-na   a   mul me na
Hugen v see-tr-pa-3p and go get-tr-he c vine and go

kukuni-na.   4. Me   na kukuni-na   be   cinanen   te osul
swing-he   and go swing-he   and mother-his v fill-up

hasi-na, ba   pien te la   susul   hasi-na i yasa.
too-she   and child v go gradually too-he r up

5. La hamanasa-na i yasa   ba nonei e poi-e-to,   "Pua,
     go   now-he   r up and he   v say-tr-pa   Oh!

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alia e naha-gu? 6. Alia e la   susul tala-gu i yasa.
 I   v what-I   I v go gradually now-I r up

7. Lia e kukunaro hamanasa tala-gu i puta." 8. Ba nori
    I v   short   now   now-I r below   and they

e la   ha-taya-me-r-en i yasa. 9. La tala-me-r a
v go ca-lost-as-they-3p r up   go now-as-pl c

tei kolʊ,   me na ka tala-na i kolʊ. 10. Ba barebana
sky-people and go be now-he r sky   and   people

i poe tal-e-ta   nori gi tatala tala turu apena hoboto.
v say now-tr-pa they ir walk   now   r   bird   all

11. "Esi te na lu pouc tal-e-n-ou romana e Hugen?
      who v go get back now-tr-he-f indef c Hugen

12. Alia e   kat-e-g-ou a kannou reka. 13. Limiu   e
      I   v make-tr-I-f c feast here   you-pl v

gono-mu-ma   ba te mi ka hoboto-m-ia reka, ba
gather-you-come and v come be all-you-lc here and

limiu   te toltolaha-miu romana i kolʊ. 14. Esi te na
you-pl v   try-you   indef r sky   who v go

lu-e-n-ou romana e Hugen?"
get-tr-he-f indef c Hugen

15. Nu   apena i gono-si-ma   na e mi nou
    and   bird v gather-em-come and v come eat

tal-ei a kannou reka,   me   nou-r   me   nou-r   me
now-tr c feast this   and eat-they and eat-they and

nou-r,   na barebana i gonogono-be tal-ei a ci kihau
eat-they and people   v gather-ap now-tr c dim fowl

a tuhas.   16. K'opokopo tal-i-en   a ci kihau mia ci
c trash   cover   now-tr-3p c dim fowl and dim

keruru has.   17. Na barebana i toltolaha-si nonei i kolŏ.
bird also   and people   v   try-em   that r sky

18. Manu te mammam   ba ŋuŋu.   19. Manu e mam   tala
    eagle v go-first and hornbill   eagle v first now

me la-na me la-na me la-na me na kopisi-na-ma.
and go-he and go-he and go-he and go return-he-come

20. Kopisi-na-ma   me   mi tuku poucu-na. 21. "Pua,
    return-he-come and come arrive back-he   Oh!

lia e kukunaro-gu. 22. Lia e ma antuna-g-i   i kolŏ."
 I v   short-I   I v neg enough-i-neg r sky

The Story of Hugen (free translation)

1. One morning Hugen went with his mother and grandmother to fill their coconut shells with water. 2. And the sky people let down a vine, and it hung near the water hole. 3. This little child Hugen saw it and went and took hold of the vine and started swinging. 4. He swang while his mother was filling coconut shells with water, and the child gradually started rising. 5-7. He started going up and he said, "Oh! What's happening to me? I am going up! I'm not able to reach the ground!" 8. And they disappeared with him in the sky. 9. He went with the sky people and stayed in the sky.

10. And the people (on earth) said they must send a message to all the birds. 11-14. (The message, from Hugen's mother:) "Who will go and bring Hugen back? I will make a feast here. You all come gather together here, and you try and reach the sky. Who will go and get Hugen?"

15. So the birds gathered together and ate this feast, and they ate and ate and ate, and the people (birds) heaped the trash (garbage) on the little bush fowl. 16. They covered the little bush fowl and also the little keruru bird with it. 17. And the people (big birds) tried to get (up) there to the sky (village).

18. The eagle went first, then the hornbill. 19. The eagle went first, and went and went and went and came back. 20. He returned and arrived back. 21-22. (And he said) "Oh! I can't make it. I am not able to reach the sky."

(In the original text the story continues, with several other big birds trying and failing. Then the little birds try and succeed, and become the heroes by bringing Hugen back.)

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AFFIX AND PARTICLE LABELS

ap	applicative	ml	multiple action
as	associative	neg	negative
c	classifier (prenoun)	o	object (1st/2nd person)
ca	causative	pa	past action -to
cj	conjunction	pl	plural object/refe-rent/nonactor
d	dependent prefix t-		
dim	diminuitive	pp	purpose
dr	directional	pr	prior action
dt	ditransitive	r	relator
em	emphasis	rc	reciprocal
excl	excluding hearers	rf	referent (sing.)
f	future	rv	restrictive action
incl	including hearers	sf	self-acting
inf	infinitive -n	t	transitional phoneme
ir	irrealis	tr	transitive (sing.)
lc	locative/temporal	v	verbalizer (verbal pronoun)
man	manner	3p	third person pronoun -en

SYMBOLS

(Ch. 7.2)	Cross reference to Chapter and Section numbers respectively.
(Ch. 7:23)	Cross reference to Chapter and example numbers respectively.
(Sec. 2)	Cross reference to a Section number within the same Chapter.
(23)	Cross reference (in text) to an example within the same Chapter.
Rule 2:A	Cross reference to Chapter 2 rule A
...	Indicates a noninitial or nonfinal position in the sentence.
+	Morpheme boundary in Rules.
-	Morpheme boundary in text and examples.
#	Word boundary in Rules.
*	Hypothetical linguistic forms

JOURNAL ABBREVIATIONS

AA	American Anthropologist
AL	Anthropological Linguistics
CA	Current Anthropology
CTL	Current Trends in Linguistics
IJAL	International Journal of American Linguistics
PL	Pacific Linguistics
OL	Oceanic Linguistics