5. Sung Tales in Héla Húli

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Sociocultural context

The Húli people live in the central mountains of the Papua New Guinea mainland, and number some 250,000 (Haley 2007:155). Across the language community there are minor dialectal variations associated with areas of migration (Lomas 1988:27–30), but these do not significantly affect communication. However, as regards the neighbouring Duna, Dugaba, and Obena peoples, language does affect communication—despite a Húli claim that they share a common ancestor called Héla—since each group speaks a language largely unknown to the others.

In Héla Húli, the tradition of chanting tales around the fire at night is found everywhere and has been a feature of Húli society from time out of mind. These tales, lasting for anything from a few minutes to several hours,[1] are called *bì té*,[2] or 'talk clump/cluster/stand'.[3] Women chant *bì té* sitting with groups of women, men with groups of men, and while the primary purpose of these tales is to provide diversions, they treat social relationships and experiential knowledge that reflect many of the sociocultural values of the Húli community. Thus, they also teach ideational and behavioural norms, and, indeed, women have traditionally used *bì té* as a form of "infotainment" for their daughters and other girls, while boys and young men are always among those who listen to and are influenced by the tales sung by men.

Nowadays, although Húli society is changing, and schools, politics, money, local businesses, and the creeping spread of AIDS are causing ever increasing concerns and taking up more and more community attention, *bì té* performances continue to be esteemed and respected.

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1 Pugh-Kitingan (1981:332, and also this volume) says "a few seconds to several minutes or hours." I have not heard any very short *bì té*, nor any very lengthy ones. The longest I remember lasted about twenty minutes.
2 In this chapter, the usual linguistic conventions are followed as far as possible in transcribing Húli. However, the programs used to produce the present publication in its various e-book forms have trouble in displaying letters with both a tilde (˜)—indicating nasalization—and an accent. Because of this, it has been decided to represent nasalization with an underlining (_),which then allows the nasalized item to display an accent, too, if necessary. The other diacritics used are: a grave accent (`) to indicate words uttered on a falling tone; an acute accent (´) to show words with rising tones; and a macron (¯) for level tones. Since tone is perturbed in the singing of *bì té*, Húli transcriptions of *bì té* texts and any quotations taken from them do not carry diacritics. Note that post-consonantal *w* signals consonantal labialization, and dots within Húli words indicate morpheme boundaries.
3 The word *té* occurs in the collocation *īra té* 'stand/cluster/clump of trees', where *īra* means 'tree(s)'. It is also possible that the *té* in *bì té* could be a derivative of *téne* 'root'.

Bards have a wealth of traditional tales to draw upon, with generally two or more human characters in each tale. Sometimes a tale may carry a romantic interest, and there is nearly always some sort of supernatural element involved, such as a non-human spirit or a paranormal event. Very often, members of the *hāroli* 'bachelor cult' figure in the tales, although their status as *hāroli* is usually implied rather than stated.[4] Frequently, one of the human characters goes off on a journey, often into a high mountainous rain-forest where *dāma* 'spirits' dwell. These spirits may be ogre-type beings that eat human flesh, cannibals that devour each other, or slippery tricksters likened to the *íba tīri* 'eels' that inhabit the waterways.

The setting for each tale comprises the general and specific features of the Húli countryside: swamps, rivers, high ominous mountains with their deep forests and dark caves, cultivated garden plots and their produce, coloured clays, and the artefacts and adornments associated with them, along with the flora and fauna of the landscape and traditional Húli rituals. Such are the referents in *bì té*.

Each story occurs within the constructs of Húli cosmology and is held to embody "truth," although there is a general reluctance for people to claim that the events of any particular *bì té* actually occurred, and bards may use modulation to distance themselves from asserting the reality or otherwise of the tales they sing.[5]

There is no special term in Húli for 'bard', such a person being called simply a *bì té lāga* 'story-utterer/teller'. In the same way, people who perform on musical instruments that enable the articulation of words, such the *gàwa̱* 'mouth bow' and *hìri júle* 'jaw's harp', are simply *lāgaru* 'utterers'—occasionally *bāgaru* 'strikers/strummers'—of these instruments. Such skills are acquired mainly by watching and imitating others. From childhood onwards, Húli are exposed to *bì té*, and snatches of the genre sometimes surface in everyday activities.[6]

Bards become proficient[7] by paying attention to storytellers, remembering their stories and any special language used, imitating and practising chanting techniques, and making the stories their own. An individual bard will usually know a few tales well, although accomplished performers will have larger repertoires.

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4   There might be a nexus here between *bì té* and their Duna equivalent, *bi gono* 'true talk', which are mostly tales woven round the activities of Duna *nane* 'bachelors' (see Kendoli; Gillespie and San Roque; and Sollis, all this volume.)

5   Modulation is typically expressed in English as "ought," "would," "should," etc. The grammatical form used to express such meanings is a modal suffix (see Lomas 1988:157–63). I am grateful to Lila San Roque, whose questions (pers. comms.) about Húli "evidentials" prompted me to investigate this *bì té* characteristic.

6   Goldman (1998:111) records a couple of well-known *bì té* lines being recycled by children at play.

7   It would be a mistake to think of a Húli bard as a Homeric figure, a sort of wandering entertainer. A better comparison is that of the self-taught mouth-organ player in Western society, who acquires the ability to play a variety of tunes by listening to them, observing other players, and then trying things out.

Tales are sung unaccompanied by musical instruments, and each performance is a new creation in that it is tailored by the bard to suit the audience present. Indeed, there is a sense in which *bì té* are joint constructions, shaped by the interaction of singer and listeners, the latter being expected to signal their involvement by interjecting *è* 'yes' periodically throughout the narrative. This participatory feedback also helps to keep the listeners awake, since bards often maintain rhythm by swaying or shifting slightly from side to side as they chant, and listeners tend to sway in unison with them in the smoke and drowsy warmth of the fire.[8]

The sound-wave printout in figure 1 is a fragment from a film soundtrack in which a *bì té* is performed around a fire at night.[9] *È̠* 'yes' is interjected initially to encourage the bard when he first pauses for breath and is then repeated intermittently, often triggered by formulaic markers that end in the vocable, *-o* [o:]. Notice how the audience sometimes intrudes on the bard's performance and can obscure it. The printout also displays the turn-taking conventions of the *bì té* genre,[10] illustrated in a transcription of the rest of the opening segment of *Húli īgiri mbīra* (text 1):[11]
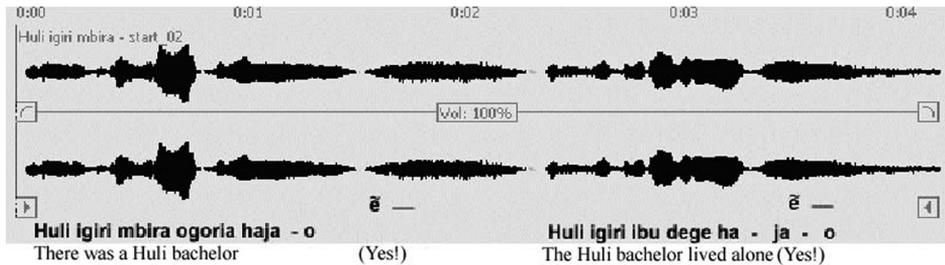

Figure 1. Beginning of *Húli īgiri mbīra.*

The sociocultural situations in which *bì té* are sung are reflected in their storylines and in the characters involved. Bards attempt to convey this through the texture of the language they use, and I propose here to examine that language in an attempt to display the linguistic functions that cause the audience to be moved by and to identify with the characters and events in the tales. But first, it is necessary to say something about the functional model of language that will be used in this discussion and about the Húli language itself, bearing in mind that "the basis of Huli music is language" (Pugh-Kitingan, this volume): a useful insight in regard to the Húli descendants of Héla.

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8   Listeners are often warned at the outset to pay attention and to keep saying *è* 'yes', lest the bard's mother or their own mothers should die.

9   To be found in *Amongst the Huli*, an Australian Broadcasting Corporation television film from 1976.

10   Other Húli dialogic genres have their own turn-taking rules—cf. Lomas (1988:347–63).

11   There are more examples of *bì té* audience participation in Pugh-Kitingan (1981:739–52). The English glosses of *bì té* transcriptions are arranged to line up with the corresponding Húli as far as possible. This makes them a little uneven at times.

Text 1. Further transcription of *Húli īgiri mbīra* (the column between the Húli text and its translation shows the audience response).

Húli	aud. resp.	gloss
2. Ogoria-o.		Right here.
3. Bi mbira-o.		There's something to be said.
4. Ega mbira homole barija,		It seems you killed a bird,
5. larama abijani-o.	ẽ	we say it was like that.
6. O ega hole, laja-o.	ẽ	Oh, there'll be a bird, he said.
7. Bi hole, laja-o		There'll be talk, he said.
8. Hega wai dege laja-o.	ẽ	Only a fighting axe, he said.
9. Biabe bia laja-o.		Do some work, he said.
10. Tisa wali dege, laja-o.	ẽ	Only a woman teacher! he said.
11. Geraila.		Run!
12. Goti-o.		There's a dispute.
13. Agali-o.		Man.
14. Agama bia wi …		Put a cape down …
15. dai bia-o ….	ẽ	go back …

Functional linguistic perspective

Húli encodes experiential happenings—actions, events, and existential states—as semantic configurations called PROCESSES.[12] Grammatical subjects and objects that figure in these processes are called PARTICIPANTS, either signalled explicitly or implied by devices such as verbal suffixes. Other elements involved are CIRCUMSTANCES, which generally indicate manner and location in time and space. All these items, taken together, comprise semantic categories that explain in a general way how Húli linguistic structures encode the phenomena of the natural world. Typically, processes are realized by verbal groups,[13] participants by nominal groups, and circumstances by adverbial groups and suffixes.

Underlying all this is a system embedded in the language that covertly classifies the Húli cultural perception of these phenomena, the dual pivots of this system being existential verbs (EV) and adjunct and pro-verb (APV) constructions.[14] Existential verbs (EVs) categorize the participants to which they refer according to the postures that these referents habitually assume, while adjunct and pro-verb constructions (APVs) covertly classify different processes, grouping them roughly into the categories AFFECTIVE, EFFECTIVE, ARTIFACTIVE, and LOCATIONAL. This classificatory system plays a role in tracking and predicting the referents in *bì té*, and the conventions it invokes assist those following the story (figure 2).

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12   The labels PROCESS, PARTICIPANT, and CIRCUMSTANCE are taken from Halliday (1994:308–39).
13   The term "group" here refers to grammatical units intermediate between a word and a clause.
14   All abbreviations used are listed in a table at the end of this chapter.

EV	REFERENTS
ká	rising from the ground, rooted in it or free moving; independent; strong or potentially harmful (e.g., men)
béda	low or squat on the ground; arboreal; dependent; non-threatening; weak or timid (e.g., birds)
ngā	placed on or living flat on the ground (e.g., snakes)
páda	subterranean; cave dwelling; within other things or areas (e.g., clans)
dá	protruding or emanating from another thing; hanging or growing on or adhering to another thing (e.g., fruit)

Figure 2. Existential verbs and their referents.

In figure 2, the existential verbs are shown in their lexicon forms, each having the basic gloss 'is/exists'. These forms are grammatically third-person (3), simple present tense (SmpPres)—that is, 3 SmpPres—although all persons and numbers occur in the SmpPres paradigm of EVs. If the referent's normal posture is altered, the EV can also change—for example, *īra ká* 'there's a tree/wood' is used of an upright tree, *īra ngā* 'there's a tree/wood' of a tree that has been chopped up; *wāli béda* 'there's a woman' refers to a woman being present, but *wāli ká* 'there's a woman' draws attention to her posture or her position.

The 3 SmpPres forms in which the EVs appear do not differentiate for number. Thus, *ká* is a portmanteau morpheme for all third persons, singular, dual, and plural. As we shall see, when the *dāma* 'spirit' in the story *Àe ndē* 'ah yes' goes outside the cave and howls across the hills, the EV *ka* could refer to a single entity, or to two entities, or to three or more.

126.	Ambwa **ka** ai be, laja,	"Who's there on Ambwa?" it yelled,
128.	Ne **ka** ai be, laja,	"Who's there on Ne?" it shouted,
130.	Geloba **ka** ai be, laja,	"Who's there on Geloba?" it called,

We can predict that *ka* has as referent(s) an entity or entities that is/are powerful and potentially harmful and, given the setting, that these expected referent(s) is/are thus probably other *dāma*. But it is only when the reply comes back, that we can predict that *ka* in lines 127, 129, and 131 more than likely refers to a single entity on each occasion, and that three other *dāma* have probably now entered the story.

135.	O biarume la dai bija.	Those (spirits) shouted back.
136.	I na hende, i na hende, laja,	"I saw nothing!" "I saw nothing!" (each) said,

That the referents are indeed *dāma* becomes apparent as the *bì té* unfolds.

Another feature of existential verbs is that although they have only SmpPres forms, each EV is semantically linked to a verb that can be affixed for tense and

aspect, and can thus function as an EV in situations outside the SmpPres.[15] Thus *ká* is associated with *hé* 'be, stand, have'; *béda* with *bíru* 'sit, squat'; *ngā* with *wí* 'place, put, lay'; *páda* with *pálu* 'lie down/sleep'; and *dá* with *dē* 'extrude, emanate, radiate'. It needs to be noted that the stem-final vowels shown here change according to the suffixes they receive (see Lomas 1988:98–101). An example of this feature of the existential verbs (EV) function is found in the second line of *Àe ndē* 'ah yes':

2. Agali mbira ogoria ha.ja.   *   There was a man living there.

In this example, *haja* (*he.ja*) is the third-person simple past (3 SmpPst) of *hé* 'be/stand/have' (with the *-ja* affixed to the Event *he-*), functioning in this context as the past of *ká* 'is/exists'. Like all third-person affixes, *-ja* does not discriminate for number, so that in *āgali hàlirali* 'eight men' (cited later in this chapter) we get:

1. Agali halirali ogoria ha.ja.   There were eight men living here.

The second pivotal form of the Húli classificatory system impacting on *bì té* , and indeed on all Húli utterances, is the adjunct and pro-verb (APV) construction. This consists of an adjunct—a nominal item, such as *bì* 'talk, speech'—used with a dummy verb, such as *lē* 'utter'. Each dummy verb can be used by itself, but its co-occurrence with an adjunct restricts it to a specific semantic signal, determined by the meaning of the adjunct. Thus, while the nominal *bì* means 'cry, talk, speech', and the dummy verb *lē* means 'utter', *bì lē* means 'to talk' or 'to speak'; the nominal *manda* 'head' in collocation with *bī* 'make, do' means 'head do/think'. Similarly, *gāmu* 'spell, sorcery' in conjunction with *bī* 'make, do' means 'to make sorcery, cast a spell', while *ábi* 'compensation, wergild' and *bī* 'make, do' yield 'pay indemnities'.

In this way, APVs covertly group processes into three classes. Class 1 processes are focussed for the most part on affective, auto-benefactive processes that have their origins with or within the participant that is the grammatical actor; they have dummy verbs that carry the final stem-vowel "e." Class 2 processes have dummy verbs whose final stem vowels are "i," their semantic domain being happenings external to but generated by the main participant. Class 3 processes, ending in stem-final "u," are mainly used of the participant's movements and posture. While these classes are largely ordered by the morphophonemics of the language, they reflect also the boundaries of the semantic domains outlined above, with the overlapping indicated in figure 3. For the (verb) stems in figure 3, *C* stands for consonant; *X* is an unspecified number of syllables; *V* stands for verb; *( )* means "optional"; *ʷ* indicates labialization; and, *e, i,* and *u* are the stem-final vowels.

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15   See the discussion of EVs in Lomas (1988:282–85).
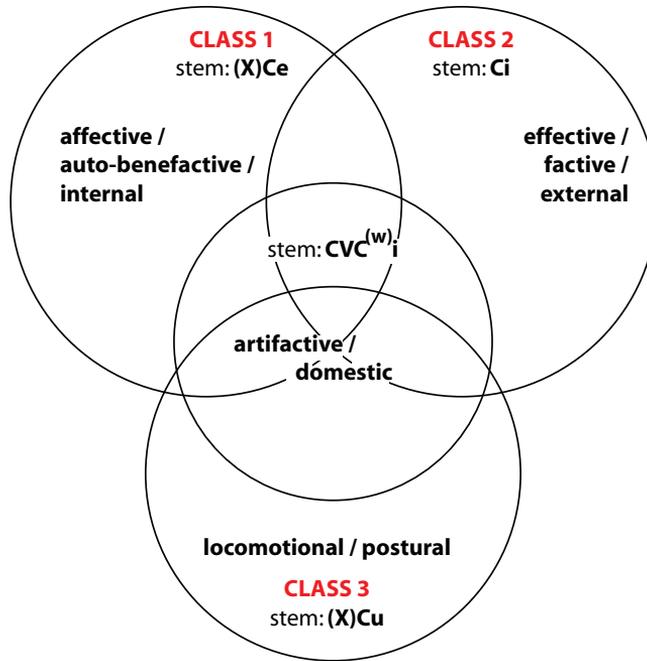
Figure 3. Húli processes.

The stem of a verb is the core of the process and has the functional label Event (EVN). This core, the Event, can attract suffixes and affixes. The primary affix has the function of relating the process to the location of the speaker in time or in space, and is called the Finite (FIN). Finites can signal time, aspect, modulation, or modality, or they can conflate these operations.[16] Subsequent affixes function as Auxiliaries (AUX), lending further modality, modulation, or locational specification to the process.

Húli is a verb-final language, and it might be useful to note that the unmarked pattern of grammatical constituents in an utterance or sentence is (X)(S)(O)V. In this formula, brackets again denote "optional," *X* is an unspecified number of occurrences of the sequence SOv; *S* is the grammatical subject, *O* the grammatical object, *v* a medial verb (form), and *V* a non-medial verb (form). In careful (citation) speech aimed at achieving clear communication, a medial verb form always signals that an utterance is incomplete. But *bì té* is not citation speech, and does not hold consistently to this canonical word order, as we shall see. Nevertheless, the APV system generally confines the bard to the use of certain predictable language functions when describing happenings, and this can help in following *bì té* storylines—as is illustrated in the use of processes in *Àe ndē* 'ah yes'.[17]

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16 My analysis of these points of Húli grammar is considerably influenced by the insights of Foley and Van Valin (1984).

17 See the section "Further Points" at the end of the *bì té*.

Textual features of *bì té*

The textuality of *bì té* is made up of structural components and cohesive components. These bind and link the text together to keep it unified and at the same time contribute to its unfolding and development.

Among the structural components is the Topic-Comment (TC) sequence, which operates within clauses but can also be active across clause complexes. The Topic is the participant about which something is being said, while the Comment is what is being said about it. At clause level, the Topic can be indicated by an ergative (ERG) affix or a definitive (DEF) affix, marking the participant to be talked about. Thus, for example, line 24 of *Àe ndē* 'ah yes' has the following in which the DEF affix *-ni* clarifies that it is the bright red pandanus that is being talked about here as being carried in the stringbag.

> 23. biago.ni hana manda bija-o.   he prepared to carry that in his stringbag.

A further structural component creating textuality is information giving, which in many cases shadows the TC pattern by following information that is already known (Given) with fresh (New) data. In sung discourse, the Given-New (GN) structure tends to operate mainly with the internal constituents of a clause, but can also be at work across clause complexes.

Cohesive components that contribute to textuality are reference, ellipsis-substitution, conjunction, and lexical cohesion.[18] Of these, *reference* is a relationship between participant or circumstantial elements functioning as a semantic link within or beyond the text. Such relationships are signalled by Deitics (DCs)—linguistic pointing devices, typically pronouns, determiners, and possessives. Examples of referential items are *a*, *that*, and *he* in "There was *a* man living here. Well, one day *that* man, *he* …" (lines 2–4 of *Àe ndē* 'ah yes' below).

Ellipsis-substitution sets up lexico-grammatical relationships, rather than semantic ones, and can occur in environments such as polar or "yes/no" exchanges, for example,

> *íbu mīni Maga bè* 'is his name Maga?'
>
> *ndò* 'no' ("his name isn't Maga" is in ellipsis, substituted for *Maga, ndò*).

Not infrequently, the adjunct of an APV constructions is omitted during exchanges, as in:

> *íbugwa bì lāja bè* 'did he talk-utter' (i.e., 'did he speak')
>
> *nāle* 'not utter' (*nāle* substitutes for "he didn't speak," which is in ellipsis).

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18   Here the analysis relies on Halliday (1994:308–39), where an explanation of these terms occurs.

Conjunction typically involves semantic relationships between contiguous elements of the same rank, such as between clauses or between nominal items. One of these relationships is elaboration (shown in analysis by =), which is the expansion of one element by another through exposition, exemplification or clarification.

Another relationship is extension (shown by +), in which one element attenuates the semantic content of the other by adding to it, or by stating exceptions or alternatives. A third relationship is enhancement (ˣ), in which one element qualifies the other as regards location, cause, or manner.

A fourth is locution ("), which is the projection of a process encoding speech, thoughts, or emotions.

Lexical cohesion concerns the relationship between lexical elements, often involving them in two or more cohesive ties. It is typically realized by repetition, the use of semantically linked words such as synonyms and collocations, and by lexical scatter—in particular the scattering throughout a text of key words. The function of this device is to hold the text together as it unfolds, and it does so with cumulative effect.

As we explore *bì té* texts later in this chapter, instances of some of these types of cohesion will be illustrated.

Bì té and spoken discourse

While every *bì té* follows to a large extent a subject-object-verb (SOV) sequence in clauses, medial verb forms sometimes occur in utterance-final position, while in the case of locutions (see Lomas 1988:258–60), the final projecting verb is sometimes deleted. These are characteristics that *bì té* share with spoken discourse, in which utterances are frequently left unfinished, and new topics are launched whose connection with the one that is being abandoned might only be apparent to those who share the assumptions and expectations of whoever is constructing the text.

Other spoken discourse features in *bì té* are lexical elisions, irregular grammatical forms, self-correcting tags, and grammatically intricate clause complexes. Nominal groups can involve embedded verbal groups (for details, see Lomas 1988:381 (sect. 12.8.2.7)), which is another indication that *bì té* are spoken texts being sung. Indeed, although *bì té* necessarily lack many of the prosodic features of spoken discourse, Pugh-Kitingan (1981:332, 335–36, and also this volume) has shown that the tonal system of spoken Húli impacts on its melodic structure.

In careful or citation speech, switch-reference—which involves a change in the grammatical subject being referred to—is signalled on verbs in utterance-medial position, but, because *bì té* are freshly created oral texts—akin to spoken discourse and containing hesitations and re-wordings, and omitting medial verb forms—this referential system does not always work. Thus it is that we can get in *bì té* such as *Àe ndē* 'ah yes':

5.	Hela Obena pole, **lo.wa**,	having declared, I'll go off to Hela Obena,
6.	manda **manda bi.ja**-o.	(he) got everything ready.

Here, *lo.wa* 'having said' is a medial verb form and leads to the expectation that the main verb will retain the same grammatical subject—and it does, 3 simple past tense. But further along we find this convention ignored: the affix -*alu* of the medial verb form *anda pi.alu* 'going inside' predicts that the same grammatical subject will continue in the next part of the clause—but it does not. At this point, it appears that the referential system has broken down.

50.	**anda pi.alu, alendo ha.ja,**	(he) going inside, it was afternoon,

This *bì té* is set within the landscape of the high mountains, and it predictably draws upon appropriate vocabulary. The three registers—or specialized vocabulary sets—that figure most prominently in *bì té* are *kài* 'poetry', *mána* 'lore', and *tājanda* 'high bush' (Lomas 1988:291–301), all of which include sets of mnemonic, culture-specific, nominal items.[19] These items sometimes manipulate the vowel harmony system of the language (Lomas 1988:86–97) and, together with other phonological variations introduced by a bard, can give the impression that assonance is a marked feature of *bì té* performances. However, the incidence of sound correspondence between syllables does not constitute a marked feature of the genre, while, similarly, alliteration—the occurrence of words in close proximity that begin with the same or a similar sound—occurs in many Húli genres and is not an identifying characteristic of *bì té*.[20]

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19   Nominal groups or elements that make them up.

20   It can be seen from a cursory examination of lines 1–11 of *Àe ndē* 'ah yes', that sound correspondences occur initially, medially, and finally in words, thus:

1	ae	ae	…le	la…	
2	Aga…	ogo…	…ria	…ria	
3–6	aga…	…ago…	…la	…le	lo…
	manda	manda			
7–11	aga…	…ago…	…wa	…we	…wa
	…we	…le	…le	…le	…le	lo…

If we look at a text of *té bāme* 'desultory speech' that is similar in size, we get similar results. The sound correspondences are shown in bold, thus:

*Ani **bi**alu, o **ì**ni **and**aga **pi**ru. Ani **pu**wa, o **ì**ni **h**angu **and**aga **bi**ralu, o wa**li and**aga **pi**ru. O **Pa**ga **b**er**ea**ria, o **Pa**ga **b**er**ea**ria **pi**ru. **Ja**wi **bi**abe **bu**le. **Ja**wi **ma**gadi pole. *E **ja**wi **ma**gadi po**le b**edo.*

Both texts show evidence of sounds being echoed across groups two or three times. In the *bì té* there are at least six groups in which a sound is echoed once and four in which a sound is echoed twice. In the *té bāme*, the corresponding numbers are something like nine groups with one echo and three groups with two echoes. While not conclusive, this random comparison suggests that assonance is not a marked feature of *bì té*.

It must be noted that some bards follow the conventions of phatic discourse genres[21] (Lomas 1988:334–63) and use simple past (SmpPst) tense affixes, rather than formulaic markers, to elicit the required audience participation, *è* 'yes'. This is one of the consequences of *bì té* being on a continuum between melodic chanting and recitative declamation.

Àe ndē 'ah yes'

Each *bì té* is an episodic speech event, comprised of utterance units that are typically realized as nominal and verbal groups. Bards naturally facilitate the physical delivery of their *bì té* through pauses for breath, which in turn divide the utterance units into clusters. These clusters may or may not be logically grouped, the function of thus ordering them being performed by formulaic markers that usually append the *-o* vocable.

The texts presented in this section of the chapter are arranged to display utterance units, usually one per line, and are grouped in logical clusters that I shall call meaning units. This has sometimes meant overriding the groups dictated by the formulaic markers. I shall focus on one tale, *Àe ndē* 'ah yes',[22] in which the marker most frequently used is *lārima, ábijani-o* 'we said, that's how it was'. However, examples from other tales will also be discussed.[23]

Àe ndē 'ah yes' uses the traditional theme of a man deciding to go off into the high northwestern mountains and participate in a *dàwe* ceremony—a dance and pig-kill (often for dead warriors), with the possibility of a courting session at night and the opportunity to acquire another wife. His destination is Héla Óbena, where he will be a stranger to the language and customs of the inhabitants, and where he will have to brave the unknown, relying on the dubious claim of once having shared a common ancestor with them.

The particular version of the tale sung here briefly outlines the man's preparation for the journey, his onerous climb to a place in the high bush where he is accosted by *dāma* 'malevolent spirit(s)', his dance with and attack on the *dāma*, and his

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21 For example, small talk and other kinds of desultory social exchanges.
22 These tales seldom have names, but I have called this one *Àe ndē* 'ah yes' because the bard frequently uses this phrase as a filler to help him compose his next line. I shall also give names to the other *bì té* that are cited, such as *Húli īgiri mbīra* 'a Húli youth', used above.
23 Contamination of data is a constant problem when recording performances of sung tales. The Húli community's *è* 'yes' frequently intrudes on the recitation and blots it out—as can be seen from its second occurrence in figure 1—while other background clamour may render segments of a *bì té* recording unintelligible. There are no audience *è* 'yes' responses on the track *Àe ndē* 'ah yes'. Situations like this, even when the clear delivery of the text of the *bì té* is of central importance, contaminate the data. Indeed, any attempt to record a *bì té* performance, by film, audio-recorder, or simply note-taking, is an intrusion into the authentic situation and introduces variables that the fieldworker has to reckon with.

return. When the bard got to this last section of the tale, his rate of delivery had slowed a little, and he seemed to cut the narrative short, briefly recapitulating the story and then simply stating that the man went home.[24]

Introductory section: Lines 1–26

Figure 4 is a sound-wave printout of the first twenty-six lines of *Àe ndē* 'ah yes'. The bard received no positive feedback after his first or second breathing pauses. Lack of audience participation might have had an influence on the pattern of subsequent pauses, and was possibly a factor in the precipitous ending he gave to the tale (lines 209–20). That being said, there is still evidence of the bard endeavouring to construe the tale along with the audience by pausing from time to time, often after using the -*o* vocable that invites hearers to respond.
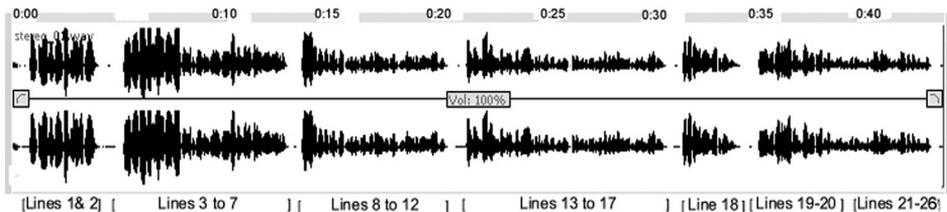

Figure 4. Sound-wave printout of lines 1 to 26 of *Àe ndē*.

Figure 4 shows the pace adopted by the bard, and the intervals between pauses. The story is framed between an introductory section (lines 1–26) and a brief summary at the end (lines 211–20). Lines 1–26 tell of the man's decision to travel, his preparation of artefacts and food, and then his departure. This introductory section, displayed in text 2, does two important things: it sets the scene for the rest of the tale, and it establishes some of the devices that will be used to carry it forward.

Introductory section: Analysis of structural components

Topic-Comment structure

The opening clause in line 1 is a formulaic filler that allows the bard to decide how to begin his recitation. The Topic of the next clause, line 2, is the participant *agali mbira* 'a man'. This Topic is then qualified by the Comment *ogoria haja*

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24   Other variants of this tale omit or telescope some episodes—such as the hero's preparation—but expand other parts of it. Thus, one has the hero roasting a *dāma* and sprinkling it with salt before going back home. The other *dāma* slowly return and reveal that they have a cannibal streak when they taste the cooked meat, find it delicious, and set about killing each other to obtain more; see Lomas (1988:380–85).

'was living here' and becomes marked in line 4 by acquiring the ergative (ERG) affix *-me* at *agali biago.me* 'that man'; it is then similarly foregrounded in line 9. In this way, *agali mbira* 'a man' is set up as the main Topic of the *bì té*.

Text 2. Introductory section of *Àe ndē* 'ah yes' (* = pause for breath). An audio file of this example can be found in online item 8.

1.	Ae … ae ale be, laja-o.		"Ah, what then?" he said.
2.	Agali mbira ogoria haja-o.	*	There was a man living here.
3.	Mbiru nde,		Well, one day,
4.	agali biagome, ibu		that man, he
5.	Hela Obena pole, lowa,		declared, I'll go off to Hela Obena,
6.	manda manda bija-o.		and got everything ready.
7.	Ani buwa,		Having done that,
8.	ae nde,		ah yes,
9.	agali biagome howa,		this man of himself,
10.	dawe hole pole, lowa		deciding, "I'll go to a *dawe* celebration"
11.	—Hela Obena—	*	—in Hela Obena—
12.	dawe hagane jaribu manda bija.		he prepared some *dawe* accessories.
13.	Hiri lajabi manda bija.		He got a prize drum ready.
14.	Ege nubi manda bija.		He prepared a stout stringbag.
15.	Ae nde, manda bu		Ah yes, all equipped,
16.	Hela Obena pole haja-o.	*	he was set to leave for Hela Obena.
17.	Ae nde,		Ah yes,
18.	ibugwa alabubabi manda bija.		he readied some choice greens.
19.	Hiwa degebi manda bija,		He prepared a portion of sago,
20.	larima, abijani-o.		we said, that's how it was.
21.	Goloba angamabi manda bija-o.		He got ready some bright red pandanus.
22.	Ae nde,		Ah yes,
23.	biagoni hana manda bija-o		he prepared to carry this in his stringbag.
24.	Ani bijagola howa-o, ae nde,	*	Having done all this, ah yes,
25.	Hela Obena pole, lowa,		he said, "I'm going to Hela Obena,"
26.	pija, larima-o.	*	and off he went, we said.

Lines 5–6 are probably best regarded as a single Comment, with Topic-Comment (TC) structures embedded in each of the clauses. Lines 10–12 can be similarly analysed.

Lines 13 and 14 display Topic switches, *hiri lajabi* 'fine drum' and *ege nubi* 'stout stringbag'[25] being the new Topics, each followed by the Comment *manda bija* 'prepared'. Both clauses are equal, neither dependent on the other, a relationship which is labelled paratactic. They are elaborations of *agali biagome … dawe hagane manda bija* 'that man … prepared some *dawe* accessories' (lines 9–10),

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25   Or: 'a stringbag for ceremonial stones'. However, there is no reference to the use of such stones in this *bì té*.

and this elaboration continues through lines 18, 19, and 21. The clauses in these lines display Topic switches and set up *manda bija* 'prepared' as the Comment in each case.

Line 23 makes a marked return to the main Topic of the *bì té*, affixing the definitive (DEF) *-ni* to the determiner (DET) *biago* 'that (man)', then adding the Comment *manda bija* 'prepared'. This is a prelude to rounding off the whole of the introduction by foregrounding *Hela Obena* as the Topic of the medial projecting clause in line 25 (*lowa* 'he said'), then adding the simple Comment *pija* 'he went'.

This segment contains an example of "non-canonical" grammar, since careful citation speech would demand that the medial form of *-le* 'utter' should have the affix *-lu* 'saying' when the concluding verb is a verb of motion; but here, *pija* 'he went' follows the medial form, *lowa* 'having said', which has the affix *-wa* (see Lomas 1988:126–28).

Given-New structure

The Given-New (GN) structure of line 2 delivers New information in the collocation *agali mbira* 'a man' and recycles this as Given in lines 4 and 9. New information conflates with the Comments *ogoria haja* 'was living here' (line 2), *Hela Obena pole, lowa* 'declaring, I'll go to *Hela Obena*' (line 5) and *manda manda bija-o* 'got ready' (line 6).

Line 10, *dawe hole* 'to hold a *dawe*', can be seen as New, although the semantic link between *Hela Obena* and *dawe* could mean that it is socioculturally a Given. Less marginal is *dawe hagane jaribu* '*dawe* accessories', which is a good candidate for being New information. And in this it sets the pattern for the clauses in lines 12, 18, 19, and 21, in which New conflates with Topic—each being an exemplification of the New information, *dawe hagane jaribu* '*dawe* accessories' of the clause in line 10.

The clause in lines 22–23 returns the participant *biagoni* 'that (man)' as Given and adds *hana manda bija-o* 'prepared to carry in his stringbag' as New. There is a similar GN:TC conflation in lines 24–26.

Structural components: Summary

The function of structural components in creating text is to set up elements within clauses and clause chains as items that must be noted and about which things can be said. Known data generally come towards the beginning of a clause, to be followed by data that have not already been presented. This is the anticipated and

unmarked way in which a text is construed and makes for its communicability. However, occasional departures from these customary patterns can produce a salient texture, the unusualness of which can assist in information-giving.

These introductory lines of *Àe ndē* 'ah yes' indicate how the structural components TC and GN contribute to its textuality. They foreground the main participant, the man, and then hold up for consideration his decision to go on a journey and also the items he prepared for that purpose. Having first the journey, then the artefacts and foodstuffs, construed as Topical and New, foregrounds them and ensures they are communicated as being significant.

Referential cohesion

Mbira 'one/a' in line 2 is a numeral functioning as a non-specific Deitic, referring to the nominal item that immediately precedes it, *agali* 'man'. *Mbiru* 'one day/once/once upon a time' in line 3 is also a numeral functioning as Deitic, its reference being homophoric—that is, pointing inwards to itself, the particular time of the story. In line 4, *biagome* 'that' refers back to its immediate predecessor, *agali* 'man', while *agali biagome* 'that man' is a collocation that refers anaphorically—pointing back—to the collocation *agali mbira* 'a man' (line 2) and cataphorically—pointing ahead—to its own reoccurrence in line 9. The determiner *biagoni* 'that one' in line 23 is an anaphoric reference to the other determiners mentioned and possibly reaches back to *agali mbira* 'a man' in line 2, since the adessive affix *-ni* adds a greater spatio-temporal reach to the determiner *biago* 'that'.

Some of the cohesive ties are exophoric, referring to things outside the text of the *bì té*, such as *Hela Obena*, line 5, which demands sociocultural knowledge that is not given. Other such exophoric referents are the *dawe* and the associated artefacts and foodstuff that the man gets ready. This helps to link the tale to the realia of the Húli cosmos.

Thus, these links of semantic cohesion reach forward, beyond this introductory section and into the main body of the *bì té* itself.

Ellipsis-substitution cohesion

Line 1 is formulaic (see above), but can also be taken as a direct quotation:

Ae	ae	ale	be,	laja.
Ah	ah	what-like	?	(he) said.

The class 1 Affective-internal Process *lē* 'utter/say' with which it ends, follows the projected locution *ae ... ae ale be*,[26] in which the process is in ellipsis. The omitted process could be reconstructed as one of the existential verbs in figure 2.

There is a kind of continuous covert elliptical referencing in Húli: the portmanteau morphemes (which simultaneously indicate more than one person or grammatical category) that are the Finites (FIN) and Auxiliaries (AUX) of the affixing system also carry semantic signals for person and number. For example, throughout this *bì té*, the FIN is frequently *-ja*, the third-person simple past tense (3 SmpPst) affix that we have met previously and which plays a significant part in tracking the main referents. There are, however, some problems, since *-ja* and other 3 SmpPst affixes do not discriminate for number and this can cause ambiguities. Some other FINs, such as the purposive (PURP) modal affix *-le* 'in order to' in lines 5, 10, 16, and 25, go further and signal neither person nor number.

Ani 'thus' in line 7 is a substitution for the adjunct *manda manda* 'preparation' of the previous line, here in ellipsis. Lexico-grammatical cohesive ties are set up through ellipsis of the reiterative *manda* from the APV *manda manda bija-o* 'preparation make/do' ('prepare') in lines 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 21, and 23. *Mànda bī*—literally, 'head make/do'—carries the semantic signal 'thought/ knowledge make/do' ('think/know'), so listeners have to ignore this and retrieve the meaning 'prepare' from the APV after line 6.

Conjunctive cohesion: Nominal groups

The nominal group in line 2 comprises a nominal qualified by a number word that functions as a Deitic, thus:

Agali	*mbira*
NOM	DC
A man	

Here, the Deitic (DC) elaborates the nominal (NOM) *agali* 'man' and serves to narrow down its identity. This pattern is repeated in the next nominal group that we meet, which is *agali biagome* 'that man' in line 4, repeated in line 9.

Hela Obena is a nominal group complex, consisting of two separate nominals in sequence. It is a collocation, which supplies the listener with a familiar and widely understood concept.

Line 12 has the nominal group complex *dawe hagane jaribu* '*dawe*-making artefacts', which can be analysed as two nominals in elaborating—that is, restating or exemplifying—parataxis, the first of which is an embedded nominal group consisting of two further nominals in the same kind of relationship.

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26 *Bè* is an interrogative marker, the equivalent of "eh?" in spoken English and of the sign "?" in written discourse.

dawe	*hagane*	*jaribu*
NOM 1	NOM +2	
NOM 1		NOM +2

The second of the embedded nominals, *hagane* 'making', is derived from the customary aspect of the verb *ha.ga* (see Lomas 1988:123), of the affective auto-benefactive process *hē* 'stay/have/be/act' nominalized by the definitive affix *-ne*, thus:

ha	*-ga*	*-ne*
STM.stay/have/be/act	CUST	DEF

This derived nominal functions in the embedded group as a Classifier (CL), signifying what kind or type of *jaribu* 'artefacts' are being referred to.

Then, in lines 13 and 14 the content of the concept *jaribu* is displayed by two non-contiguous nominal groups, each of which contains two items. The first comprises an Epithet (EP) that elaborates on the item that is head of the group, *laja.bi* 'drum'—which carries the functional label Thing (TH). The second group is made up of two nominals, the first functioning as Classifier of the second. These groups can be shown thus:

Hiri	*laja. bi*
fine/special	drum. like
EP	TH
A prize drum	

Ege	*nu. bi*
stout/strong	stringbag. like
CL	TH
A stout stringbag	

In these groups, it is the strength of the stringbag that is being referred to, likewise the perceived special quality of the drum, both Classifier (CL) and Epithet (EP) embodying the affective attitude of the bard. Similarly, the nominal groups in lines 19 and 21 have EPs that are attitudinal: *Hiwa dege* 'a (*whole*) portion of sago' and *Goloba angama* 'vermillion (not simply *red*) pandanus'.[27] The bard wished to tell his listeners what kind of artefacts and (in his opinion) splendid foodstuffs the man prepared.

Conjunctive cohesion: Verbs, verbal groups, and group complexes

Of the verbs used in lines 1–26, eight are class 1 (affect/auto-beneficial/internal), eleven are class 2 (effective/artifactive/external), and four are class 3 (locomotive/ postural). Not surprisingly, the class 1 verbs chiefly appear when the bard sings of the man deciding to go away; class 2 verbs (in this case, every one is *bī* 'make/ do') when he is getting ready; and class 3 verbs (here mostly *pù* 'go') when his departure is being sung about.

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27 *Gòloba* is the Húli name for vermillion clay. The Húli for red pandanus is *ábare*.

The initial formulaic clause, line 1, functions to focus the bard's audience on the purpose of the gathering, as well as providing him with a lead-in to his performance.

The clause complex that occurs in lines 4–6 contains a locution, *Hela Obena pole* (shown by " in the analysis) nested within its projecting clause (CLS), *ibu … lowa*, the whole being embedded within a clause that it enhances through a paratactic relationship (indicated by roman numerals in the analysis). This allows the bard to foreground *manda manda bija* (he can later dispense with one of its adjuncts and still maintain coherence), while continuing the account of the man's decision making.

agali biagome,	*ibu,*	*Hela Obena pole*		*lowa*	*manda manda bija-o*
man this	he	Hela Obena in-order-to-go		having said	head head did/made
			CLS "3		
			CLS ˣ2		
			CLS 1		
This man, having decided to go to Hela Obena, made ready.					

Then, lines 7–12 provide us with a complex of six or seven clauses, depending on how they are analysed.

Ani buwa	*agali biagome howa*	*dawe hole*	*pole*	*lowa*	*dawe hagane jaribu manda bija*
thus did	man this being	dawe to have	to go	said	*dawe* making artefacts head did
			CLS ˣβ	CLS α	
CLS 1	CLS ˣ2	CLS "4		CLS ⁺3	CLS ˣ5
Having done that, this man, being there, having said, I'll go to have a *dawe*, prepared artefacts for it.					

The relationship between the clauses embedded in the locution is one of hypotaxis, one clause subordinate to the other (indicated here by Greek letters), CLS β enhancing CLS α while the relationship between the non-embedded clauses is paratactic, CLS 2 enhancing CLS 1, and CLS 4 being the locution of CLS 3, which extends CLS 2 and is enhanced by CLS 5.

But *howa* is one of the *íba tīri* 'slippery eels' of the Húli language (Lomas 1988:170–71) and can often be glossed as 'from', which would conflate clauses (CLS) 2–3 and bring the projecting process *lowa* into CLS 2. This would produce a complex of just six clauses, with CLS 2 projecting and nesting CLS 3, thus:

Ani buwa	*agali biagome howa*	*dawe hole*	*pole*	*lowa*	*dawe hagane jaribu manda bija*
thus did	man this from	*dawe* to have	to go	said	*dawe* making artefacts head did
			CLS ˣβ	CLS α	
CLS 1	CLS ˣ2		CLS "3		CLS ˣ4
Having done that, this man, being there, having said, I'll go to have a *dawe*, prepared artefacts for it.					

Lines 13 and 14 are both single clauses, but they elaborate on the previous clause in line 15, exemplifying the *jaribu* 'artefacts' readied by the man. To do this, they use the repetitive elision *manda bija* 'readied' and fill the participant slot with a nominal group. This configuration is formulaic, recurring in lines 18, 19, and 21, and being picked up again later in the *bì té* (lines 154, 156, and 158) to create further cohesive ties.

The clause complex in lines 15 and 16 is unusual, in that *bu* is the stem form (i.e., Event (EVN)) of *bī* 'make/do', and in the form in which it appears here can receive a realis affix (the consecutive aspect *-wa* (Lomas 1988:142–43)) as its Finite (FIN) or any one of six irrealis affixes. Or it could be the first EVN in a serial two-verb chain, *po* 'go' with its modal FIN *-le* 'in order to' being the other. However, the EVN *bu* 'make/do' does not readily collocate with the EVN *po* 'go', and the chain would be interrupted by the paired nominal *Hela Obena*. These factors make serialization an unlikely option.

manda bu	*Hela Obena po. le*	*ha. ja-o*
A PV	EVN. FIN (mod.)	EVN. FIN (tense)
head done	Hela Obena in-order-to-go	(he) was/had
CLS 1	CLS +2	CLS +3
He was ready to go to Hela Obena.		

A further clue is the use of *hē* 'is/has' as the non-medial verb in final position, to give the sense of the man being in a state of readiness: recall that *hē* is an associate of the EV—existential verb—*ká* 'be/exist'. In that case, *pole* and *haja* enhance *bu*, and this complex is seen to be three clauses in paratactic enhancement.

However, the clause in line 23 does contain a serial verb string:

biagoni	*hana*	*manda bi. ja-o*
NOM	EVN	A EVN.FIN(tense)
this one	carry	head did
Participant		Process
(He) prepared to carry that in his string bag.		

The bard uses this type of configuration later on in the tale, notably in lines 29–32. Such verbal collocations can become quasi-idiomatic and are apparent in chunks of memorable formulaic text commonly found in *bì té*.

In the clause complex present in lines 24–26, the projecting clause *lowa* is an extension of CLS 1, with CLS 4 an extension of CLS 2, of which CLS 3 is a projection. The relationship between each of these clauses is one of parataxis:

Ani bijagola howa,	*Hela Obena pole*	*lowa,*	*pija*
thus did-when from there	Hela Obena in-order-to-go	(he) having said	(he) went
CLS 1	CLS "3	CLS +2	CLS +4
Having done that of his own accord, and having decided to go to Hela Obena, he set off.			

The Mood of the formulaic clause that begins the opening section of *Àe ndē* 'ah yes' is interrogative, and is used to focus attention on the audience and its intent. This Mood is then switched to declarative, which is maintained until the end of the section, with some modality used to signal the irrealis of activities not yet completed.

There is a total of twelve clauses in this first section, including four group complexes of three or more. Five of the single clauses are formulaic, elaborating previous clauses by participant substitution and adjunct elision, thus setting up cohesive anaphoric links. The clauses in groups are related mainly in parataxis, the relationships being largely enhancing and extending, with three of the four groups including locutions. These relational ties establish conjunctive cohesion within the verbal groups and verbal group complexes, assisting the logic of the text and thus lending to its coherence.

Conjunctive cohesion: Lexical cohesion

I shall consider chiefly repetition and lexical scatter, which are in overlap.

Repeated on a fairly regular basis throughout *Àe ndē* 'ah yes' is the formulaic vocable *-o* at the end of each meaning unit (recall that a meaning unit is a logical cluster of utterance units). When it occurs, it is appended to the final word in the unit, thus:

1.	*laja-o*	said
2.	*haja-o*	lived
6.	*manda manda bija-o*	prepared
16.	*haja-o*	was
20.	*larima, abijani-o*	we said, that's how it was
21.	*manda bija-o*	readied
23.	*hana manda bija-o*	prepared to carry
26.	*larima-o*	we said

Of the above, 20 and 26 are formulaic and not part of the narrative. Indeed *larima abijani-o* quickly becomes the dominant extra-narrative formulaic expression, occurring another forty-two times after this opening section. Variants, such as *larima* (and even *abijani*) without the appended *-o* also occur. Another extra-narrative formula, *ae nde* 'ah yes', occurs nine times, and its variants *ae* and *nde* are repeated randomly across the text. Devices such as the repetition and scattering of formulaic lexical items throughout the text function to maintain its cohesion.

Thus, the word *agali* 'man' occurs in line 2 and is anaphorically referenced in lines 4 and 9, and a further five times later in the tale. Such lexical referencing continues with *mbira* 'one/a' of line 2 being echoed by *mbiru* 'one day' in line 3. Then *biago(me)* 'that' of line 4 is repeated in line 9 and again, as *biago(ni)* 'that one', in line 23. There are a further nine such anaphoric links to this referent in the rest of the text.

The key collocation *Hela Obena* appears in line 5 and then reappears in lines 11, 16, and 25, forming a cohesive chain that is reactivated again right at the end of the tale in line 214. Its use at line 11 shows the bard consciously breaking the rhythm and sequence of the narration to foreground it as a key lexical item, although it is not clear whether this is done for affective purposes or whether he is using it as a filler to buy himself time.

The item *pole* 'in order to go' occurs in line 5, and is then repeated in lines 10, 16, and 25, and twice more later in the text.

The multiple occurrences of *mànda* 'head' have been noted. As a lexical item, it first appears in line 6 and is repeated nine times across the introductory twenty-six lines, and four more times later in the text. Indeed, the APV *(mànda) mànda bī* 'prepare' is akin to a redundant echo utterance that allows the participants in the process to become salient.

Similarly, *dawe*, introduced in line 10, is repeated in line 12, again near the middle of the tale (lines 162 and 166) and then four lines from the end (line 217).

The items the man prepared for the journey—artefacts in lines 13–14, foodstuffs in lines 18, 19, and 21—are all linked together by the conjunctive morpheme *-bi* 'and'. This device is repeated later in the text when the man eats (lines 73–77) and prepares to dance (lines 152–59).

Cohesive components: Summary

Cohesion is aided by anaphoric, cataphoric, and exophoric deixis that link up past and upcoming portions of the text and also tie the text itself into the Húli sociocultural cosmos, and the assumptions and expectations that go with it.

At the same time, conjunctive adjuncts, the omission of adjuncts in APV constructions and the nebulous nature of portmanteau verbal affixes aid cohesion by engaging the listener and forcing her/him to reconstruct the text as it is created by the bard, retrieving meanings from previous portions of it or simply applying acquired inherent knowledge of how the language works.

The bard marshals nominals into groups and group complexes, which adhere through the logical ordering of their linguistic constituents and the semantic ties that are generated. These ties are mostly paratactic, elaborating the qualities of the nominal items with which they are conjoined. Some nominals are derived from verbals and display complex structures, while some nominal groups contain further groups embedded in them. All these various forms are woven together to link up into the texture of the *bì té*.

Verbs of the three grammatico-semantic classes are used predictably and set up a pattern that discloses their underlying semantic fields. Thus, although class 2

verbs are well represented in those chunks of text that treat the man's activities prior to leaving, they occur only another fifteen times in the next 196 lines, which are focussed mainly on the affective activities of the *bì té* characters.

Verbal groups cohere through semantic ties of elaboration, extension, and enhancement, and are mostly in paratactic conjunction. In this way, they hold the tale together and carry its message forward. But these groups require prediction skills on the part of listeners, since the bard sometimes employs elements such as the nebulous *howa* 'from/having been there' or produces quasi-serial constructions. They assume attentive referential tracking in that they employ a number of portmanteau morphemes that carry no signal for number and sometimes none for person. In later portions of this *bì té*, there are instances of verbs and verbal groups generating confusion because of lack of concord or because of non-grammatical switching between Topics.

Introductory section: How it works

This introductory section of *Àe ndē* shows how the bard uses the language functions at his disposal. There is a cline of consciousness in the choice of these functions, from those over which he has little or no control, to those where control is more conscious and even deliberate. At one end of the cline are functions such as the covert classificatory system that dictates which process types are to be selected and also the portmanteau affixing system that obscures important information about who is involved in the situation or performing the action.[28] At the other end of the cline are functions more under the bard's conscious control, such as utterance-initial anaphoric bridges, deitic referencing, self-correcting tags, and the use of the formulaic *-o* vocable and repetitive echo utterances.

The bard invites his listeners to assent to the message he is delivering and indicates to them when that assent is appropriate. He adds New to previously Given information as he goes along, thus developing the tale as a unit, and chooses when to make Topic changes salient. He configures processes in such a way that they build the story cogently. He imparts his own reactions to the listeners by his choice of wording and through devices such as attitudinal Epithets. He uses a scatter of associated words throughout his text to help its cohesiveness and to maintain its coherence.

There are some functional devices pertaining to the *bì té* genre that are not displayed in these introductory lines of *Àe ndē*, and some that do not occur in the rest of this particular tale, either. The remainder of the story is given as text 3 and is accompanied by brief comments in the following section. In the course of these, I shall deal with *bì té* characteristics that do not appear in *Àe ndē*.

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28   This is perhaps not so critical for native speakers of the language.

Text 3. *Àe ndē* **'ah yes', lines 27–220—*beginning*. An audio file of this example can be found in online item 8.**

27. Pialu hearia nde,	Well, while he was travelling,
28. ali gaea mbaria bijagoria-o.	the weather was very fine there.
29. O iba na doma,	Oh, he quaffed and forded water,
30. ghangulu iba na doma bija.	swallowed and crossed fresh water.
31. Iba liba na doma,	He quaffed and forded deep water,
32. hundu ale iba na doma bija-o. *	swallowed and crossed shallow water.
33. Diribiw<u>abe</u> godabe,	Pluck some bamboo shoots,
34. lajani.	he would have said.
35. Golomabu halimbu jajija,	He would have had a staff of strong bamboo,
36. larima, abijani-o. *	we said, that's how it was.
37. Ae nde,	Ah yes,
38. ibu pija,	he travelled along,
39. larima, abijani-o.	we said, that's how it was.
40. Ibu hajagola,	While he was going,
41. lola winiru	strewn across the way
42. gili gele henge daja.	were sparkling leaves, on which he trod.
43. Ae, lola winiru	Yes, there covering the path,
44. ndibu ndabu langa daja,	glinting leaves, through which he crunched,
45. larima, abijani-o. *	we said, that's how it was.
46. Pu gimbu pu gimbu pija,	He hurried along, on and on,
47. larima, abijani-o.	we said, that's how it was.
48. Ibu pialu hearia,	As he was travelling,
49. anda haubaneni howa;	he entered the deep, dark bush;
50. anda pialu, alendo haja,	going inside, it was afternoon,
51. larima, abijani-o. *	we said, that's how it was.
52. Alendo hajagola, ae nde,	Since it was afternoon, ah yes,
53. anda haubaneni ho bule,	he wanted to rest in the deep bush,
54. palija-o.	and he lay down.
55. Ani bijagola howa,	After he decided that,
56. anda ho bama leda,	going in, he keeps quiet,
57. larima, abijani-o. *	we said, that's how it was.
58. Anda anda mbira naibi hearia handaja	He saw there wasn't a single house there.
59. O biagoria howa	There, where he was,
60. aberu leberu	someone, yesterday or a couple of days ago
61. mbira baiheru pupu dege wija,	left bits of a spirit offering lying around,
62. handaja-o. *	that's what he saw.
63. O bagoria ubu handaja.	He looked around where he was.
64. Ubu anda handa hearia,	While he peered into the bush,
65. (larima, abijane)	(we said, that's how it was)
66. abe lebe bairu bija—	the remains were left one or two days ago—
67. nde, damame uru nalu pijija,	"ah, spirits have eaten something and gone,"
68. laja-o. *	he said.

69. Ani pijagola howa,		Since they had departed,
70. o biagoni na laja dagwa hondowa		this man, seeing how they had feasted,
71. ira de laja,		lit a fire,
72. larima, abijani-o.	*	we said, that's how it was.
73. Ani buwa,		Having done that,
74. alebubabi naja,		he ate some choice greens,
75. larima, abijani-o.		we said, that's how it was.
76. Hiwa degebi naja,		He ate the portion of sago,
77. larima, abijani-o.		we said, that's how it was.
78. No hajaria howa,		Having finished eating,
79. ogoria ira de lowa,		and having made a fire here,
80. palija-o.	*	he lay down.
81. Palearia,		While he was sleeping,
82. mbiraga palene hearia,		darkness fell over his sleeping form,
83. larima, abijani-o.	*	we said, that's how it was.
84. Dugu dama mbira ela nahe ibuwa		A dreadful, sickening spirit approached,
85. andaga bere laja.		crept inside, and squatted itself down.
86. Gogoraliru au nubi		It's matted hair was like a stringbag,
87. larema abijani-o		we said, that's how it was
88. —emenja-o.	*	—it would have been small.
89. Ede beni handade bere laja-o.		It sat itself down and stared across.
90. De lene manda bu hearia,	*	It readied a lighted brand when there,
91. ani bijagola,		and when it did that,
92. o biago ibugwa,		he himself,
93. nde, manda bijagola,		well, when it readied it,
94. o mbira pendole, lowa;		thought, "I feel there's a presence here";
95. agali biago ema nabi palu wija		but this man lay motionless,
96. larima, abijani-o.	*	we said, that's how it was.
97. Palearia, o biagome,		While he lay there, this spirit,
98. u pada hajagola howa—		when the man lay asleep—
99. ae nde, igiri howa—		ah yes, the bachelor lying there—
100. dehabi handaja,		it stared into his eyes,
101. larima, abijani-o.		we said, that's how it was.
102. Nguihabi handaja,		It scrutinised his nose,
103. larima, abijani-o.		we said, that's how it was.
104. Halehabi handaja,		It examined his ears,
105. larima abijani-o.	*	we said, that's how it was.
106. De irihabi ga haja,		It sniffed his eyebrows,
107. larima, abijani-o.		we said, that's how it was.
108. Ga halu hearia-o,		While it was sniffing,
109. o bagoni mbira ema nabi wija		this man didn't move at all,

111. Ani bijagola howa,
112.   dugu dama biagome nu padaja,
113.   —emene biagome.   *

When it had done that,
this dreadful spirit rattled the stringbag,
—this little one.

114. Irani deago dugu mijagola,
115.   ge gibanibi hedaja,
116.   larima, abijani-o.

Taking up a firebrand,
it burnt the man's toenails and fingernails,
we said, that's how it was.

117. Agali biagome ema nabi wija,
118.   larima, abijani-o.

This man lay motionless,
we said, that's how it was.

119. Ge gibanibi hedaja
120.   larima, abijani-o.   *

It scorched his toenails and fingernails,
we said, that's how it was.

121. Agali biagome ema nabi wija
122.   larima, abijani-o.   *

The man lay without moving,
we said, that's how it was.

123. Ani bijagola howa
124.   ibu tagira pijagola
125.   (larima, abijani-o)
126.   Ambwa ka ai be, laja,
127.   larima, abijani-o.   *

After doing this,
when it went outside,
(we said, that's how it was)
"Who's there on Ambwa?" it yelled,
we said, that's how it was.

128. Ne ka ai be, laja,
129.   larima, abijani-o.

"Who's there on Ne?" it shouted,
we said, that's how it was.

130. Geloba ka ai be, laja,
131.   larima, abijani-o.   *

"Who's there on Geloba?" it called,
we said, that's how it was.

132. Ogoria mbira wialu pijidago
133.   ainaga be, laja,
134.   larima, abijani-o.   *

"Someone's gone and left something here—
whose is it?" it yelled,
we said, that's how it was.

135. O biarume la dai bija.
136.   I na hende, i na hende, laja,
137.   larima, abijani-o.   *

These spirits shouted back.
"I saw nothing!" "I saw nothing!" each said,
we said, that's how it was.

138. Ndo, emene biagome howa,
139.   Ibu ngwai handadaba!
140.   Ogoria mbira wialu pijidago
141.   handamija, laja
142.   larima, abijani-o.   *

But this little one itself,
"All of you come and look!
Someone's left something here;
let's see what it is," it shouted,
we said, that's how it was.

143. Ani lajagola howa,
144.   o biarume, dama biarume,
145.   ngwai haja,
146.   larima, abijani-o.   *

After it had said that,
these, these spirits,
gathered together,
we said, that's how it was.

147. Agali biagome berega da hinajagola,
148.   (larima, abijani-o)
149.   dama biago tagira puwa
150.   uju biagoria o lalu hearia tambu
151.   larima, abijani-o.   *

The man started up and twisted round,
(we said, that's how it was)
the spirit, having gone outside,
was calling out up there at the same time,
we said, that's how it was.

152.	Ibugwa nde,		Yes, he himself,
153.	(larima, abijani-o)		(we said, that's how it was)
154.	ege nubi manda bija,		prepared a stout stringbag,
155.	larima, abijani-o.		we said, that's how it was.

156. Baru w<u>ai</u>bi manda bija,   He set up a mirror,
157.   larima, abijani-o.   *   we said, that's how it was.

158. Hurwa hulugumabi manda bija,   He prepared a ceremonial reed skirt,
159.   larima, abijani-o.   we said, that's how it was.

160. Ani bijagola,   When he did that,
161.   (larima, abijani-o)   *   (we said, that's how it was)
162.   mali dawe uju biagoria   up towards the *dawe* dance
163.   tagira pijagola;   he then went outside;
164.   langulu laja,   he beat the *dawe* rhythm,
165.   larima, abijani-o.   *   we said, that's how it was.

166. Mali dawe langulu lajagola,   When he beat the *dawe* dance rhythm,
167.   (larima, abijane)   (we said, that's how it was)
168.   dugu dama mo ngwai howa,   having gathered the dreadful spirits,
169.   gi ga, gi ga, laja,   he laughed and jeered,
170.   larima, abijani.   *   we said, that's how it was.

171. Gi ga, lowa bija handala,   As he jeered,
172.   mbiru wiaria,   at that time lying there,
173.   (larima, abijane)   (we said, that's how it was)
174.   ira deagome maru laja,   the wood burnt through at its centre,
175.   larima, abijani.   we said, that's how it was.

176. Do kangu lajagola howa.   *   When the fire had died down,
177.   o biagoria imu lu pila haja,   those around it fell into a deep sleep,
178.   larima, abijani-o.   *   we said, that's how it was.

179. Imu lu paji paji bijagola howa,   When they lay around, sound asleep,
180.   agali biagome howa   *   the man himself—
181.   nama nai tiga wijago   a digging stick was left in the ground there
182.   ja mijagola howa,   —he, having grabbed it,
183.   (larima, abijani-o)   *   (we said, that's how it was)
184.   o biago nga, lajagola,   cried out, "Here it is!"
185.   dama biago damanego,   and, this spirit's kin,
186.   li ba, nai ba, uju ba,   he struck out at them left, right and centre,
187.   amu ba bija,   all over the place,
188.   larima, abijani-o.   *   we said, that's how it was.

189. Baja handala   While he was hitting out,
190.   dugu dama emene biarume   those nasty little spirits
191.   (larima, abijani-o)   (we said, that's how it was)
192.   dindi h<u>au</u>habi anda pija.   jumped into piles of loose soil.
193.   Dandu wiaruhabi anda pija.   They fled into cracks around about.
194.   Ege kaba wiaru anda pija,   They rushed into nearby caves,
195.   larima.   we said.
196.   Dindi uli wiaruhabi anda pija,   They slipped into holes in the ground,
197.   larima abijani-o.   *   we said, that's how it was.

198. O biago piai hajagola howa,	*	When they had completely scattered,
199. ega bi laja,		a bird twittered,
200. larima, abijani-o.	*	we said, that's how it was.
201. Ega bi lajagola		With the coming of dawn,
202. agali biagome, hondo habe,		this man, "Hold on!"
203. lajagola howa-o,	*	having said,
204. ibugwa nu wijaru		his stringbag and things lying about,
205. dugu mu hanajagola;		he gathered them up,
206. jari wiaru hanajagola;		put the decorations in his stringbag,
207. baru wairubi hanajagola howa,	*	then, having put in his mirror,
208. pole wijagoria, pija,		he went off, since it was time to leave,
209. larima, abijani-o.	*	we said, that's how it was.
210. Ibu pu gimbu pija.		Quickly he'd journeyed there and back.
211. Pialu …		Going along …
212. anda pialu howa-o;	*	when he got close to home:
213. ae, ibu pole wijagoria bamba;		ah, he'd long decided to travel there;
214. Hela Obena pialu howa,		having been to Hela Obena,
215. anda pialu howa,		and now, close to home,
216. oba ala halu—		he laughed aloud—
217. mali daweru ngulu lalu;		"A *dawe* dance and beating the drum;
218. o bagoria halu;		making it there;
219. ani bialu,		and after that,
220. nde, dai bini, laja.		ah, he'd made it back," he said.

Further points

The setting for a journey such as this is often a short period of drought (line 28), allowing the bard to use the widely known idiomatic expression found in lines 29–32, the selection of a staff (lines 33–36), jingles associated with crunching through a carpet of dry leaves (lines 40–45), and an idiom for travelling swiftly and tirelessly (line 46). The narrator has tapped into a source of familiar formulaic structures that occur in many *bì té*.

The covert classificatory system of the language can be seen in that class 3 processes figure largely in sections to do with movement (lines 27–46, 188–96, 209–13) and in sections to do with the deportment of the spirit and the man within the house (lines 84–89, 97–101). Class 1 predominates when the bard is singing of processes that centre on the actor, as in lines 28–36, 58–79, 98–108, 141–51, 166–87, and 198–208, while class 2 processes are scarcely represented after line 26, the focus after that point turning to how the characters are affected, rather what they effect.

Lines 33–35 show two instances of the bard modifying his claims about the sureness of his text. The AUX *-ni* affixed to *laja* 'said' functions as a modal[29] and modulates the force of the assertion to *laja.ni* 'would have said'. Similarly, the modal AUX *-ja* affixed to *jaja* to produce *jaji.ja* 'grasped/held/carried' modulates it to 'probably held/carried' or 'would have held/carried'. Besides softening on his own assertions, the bard also uses modulation when describing the man's assessment (line 67) of what had taken place: he affixes the AUX *-ja* to the verbal *pija* 'went/left' to come up with *nalu pijija* 'it seems spirits have eaten here and left'. This attenuates the strength of the man's claim and signals that, based on the external evidence of what had happened, the man conjectures that the spirit must have moved on. Lines 67–68 are analysed thus:

nde	*dama.me*	*uru*	*na. lu*	*pi. ji.*	*ja*	*la.*	*ja-o*
conjunction	spirit. ERG	these	eat.SIM1	go.3 SmpPst.	MOD	utter.3 SmpPst	
Ah, the spirit ate these and probably left, he decided.							

The determiner (DET) *uru* is functioning as an anaphoric Deitic (DC), pointing back to the bits of spirit offering in lines 61 and 66.

Further modulation is used when recording the *dama*'s cry that someone must have intruded into its domain: *wialu pija.da.go* 'someone's gone and left something' (lines 132 and 140). In these instances, the modal Auxilliary (AUX) *-da* (plus the determiner AUX *-go* 'that one') is affixed to *pija* 'went/left', indicating that the *dama* is trying to account for what it currently sees, basing its conjectures on the present evidence before it.

Other *bì té* also contain examples of bards having recourse to modulation to signal the detachment of themselves or their story characters from the verity of the incidents they relate. Take, for example, these lines from the story *Wāndari kìrali* 'two girls' in text 4:[30]

Text 4. Extract from *Wāndari kìrali* 'two girls'.

5. Nogoru libuni hangu biago.ni.ja balu   They themselves were alone killing pigs
6. oali naga.ne.ja, laja-o.   they used to eat here, he said.

The Deitic *biago* 'that' is suffixed with the definitive AUX *-ni* to indicate that it refers to the proximate pronoun *libuni* 'the two themselves', while the modulating AUX *-ja* signals that there was indirect visible evidence for this at the time referred to. Similarly, the nominalized item *naga.ne* 'eating' in line 6, which is analysed in the same way as the nominal *haga.ne* 'having' in line 12 above, carries the same modulating affix, *-ja*.

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29   An array of such affixes is available for a bard to modulate from the perspectives of story character and also of performer; see Lomas (1988:124 (sect. 5.2.6), 157, 158–60, 218).
30   This excerpt comes from a recording made in Burani, January 1969. The transcription is by Joseba Pungwa, Maga Magaja, and myself, 1969.

In the course of *Àe ndē* 'ah yes', the formulaic *ábijani-o* occurs frequently. This formula comprises the adverbial *ábi* 'how/like what' with the modal AUX *-ja* and the definitive AUX *-ne*.[31] The final vowel of the definitive AUX assimilates regressively to the [+high] feature of the appended vowel [o:], although in lines 170 and 175 the [o:] was not realized. These affixes together signal that the past indirect visible evidence on which the speaker relies is strong.[32] Such modulating and distancing of self from claiming actuality for the narrated events occurs in many *bì té*, and *ábijani-o* frequently functions to assist this.

The item *emenja-o* 'little' in line 88 is an instance of a self-correcting tag—as are *Hela Obena* in line 11 and *emene biagome* 'that little one' in line 113.[33] This is a point of affinity between *bì té* and spoken discourse, both sharing this device.

Lines 90–95 contain a piece of text that illustrates how difficult referential tracking can be. The grammatical actor in lines 90 and 91 is the *dāma* 'spirit'. Switch-referencing is signalled on the AUX *-gola* of line 91, and the Deictic *biago* 'this' refers anaphorically not to the spirit but to the man, elliptically encoded in the portmanteau verbal affixes of lines 80–82. Line 93, with *-gola* affixed to *bija* 'made/did', leads to the expectation of a switch back to *dāma* as actor of *lowa* 'having said'. But the man is clearly the referent in lines 94–95, which leaves line 93 to be read as a kind of correction or after thought, establishing that the man became aware of the *dāma* as it prepared the lighted brand. Such problems of referent tracking are not uncommon in *bì té*.

The resolution of another tracking problem, across lines 96–101, is assisted by the exophoric reference *igiri* 'unmarried man' (line 99) to *íbagija* 'bachelor initiate', in view of the items he prepared for the *dàwe*, his rapid and untiring trekking, and his unflinching toughness when tortuously examined—all consistent with the behaviour expected of a member of the *hāroli* 'bachelor cult'.[34]

Lines 126–30 name *Ámbwa, Nè,* and *Géloba*, well-known mountains to the north of Tari. This brings into focus a feature of *bì té* tales: almost every one of them proposes an identifiable landscape in which the tale was enacted. Here it is the high bush up around the Tari Gap, the bard inviting his listeners to enter a region known to be dangerous, with all the fears and tensions that this evokes.

But in other tales, it is lists of known domesticated *hāma* 'open areas' in the bush or clan grounds that function to establish the landscape. Thus the story *Wāndari tèbira* 'three girls'[35] includes a list of places close to the area in which it was performed (text 5):

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31 See Lomas (1988:158). Another analysis would see *ábijani* spelt *ā bījani* 'how/thus it would have been done'.

32 Compare, e.g., Pugh-Kitingan (1981:740–48 (*bì té* by Bebalu)).

33 *Emenjã* 'little' is probably an elision of *emene* 'little' and the modulating affix *-ja*, to indicate the degree of certainty with which this is stated—i.e., 'it would have been small'.

34 Indeed, David Handabe wanted the text "corrected" to *ibagija howa* 'the bachelor himself' (Dominic McGuinness, pers. comm.).

35 This excerpt comes from a recording made by Maga Magaja in Burani, January 1969; transcription by Joseba Pungwa, Maga Magaja, and myself, 1969.

Text 5. Extract from *Wāndari tèbira* 'three girls'.

Labumabu dagwa pijagola	They went to a place like Labumabu
Iba Togo dagwa pijagola	They went to a place like Iba Togo
Hambuali andaga dagwa pijagola	They went to a clan-ground like Hambuali
Labumabu andaga dagwa pijagola	They went to a clan-ground like Labumabu
Ibagija andaga dagwa pijagola	They went to a clan-ground like Ibagija

Set formulaic patterns and lists such as this are a feature of *bì té*, and we have already seen something of them in lines 13–14, 18–21, 152–59, 192–96, and 204–7 of *Ae ndē* 'ah, yes'. Nominal items can include lists of clan names, coloured clays, bird species, reptiles, types of pig, artefacts, bodily organs, clouds, and so forth. These are part of the affective content of the tale, functioning to evoke emotional states, adding to the tale's effect. More poetically performed parts of a *bì té* import lists of associated vocabulary from the *kài* 'poetry' register to do this, drawing on inventories such as:

clouds	bodily organs	clays
lúngi	*jāma*	*díndi*
hálungi	*jàmali*	*dígili*
jùgai	*hígili*	*ámbwari*
jàgame	*hágai*	*ámbwago*
bōgo	*lèmbo*	*méle*
bógale	*lèwale*	*mèjale*

These lexical associates are used extensively in other genres that draw on the *kài* register, notably *ō hé* 'keening chant', *gàwa* 'mouth bow', *ū* 'courting chant', and *íba gána* 'song' (Lomas 1988:292). The "clouds" listed above function to evoke the notion of wistful beauty; the "bodily organs" to signify affective states and emotions; and "clays" are used to symbolize coloured adornments or significant happenings.

Besides using these linguistic devices to engage the listeners and in a sense to transport them into the realm in which the *bì té* takes place, there is another device a bard can use. This involves switching from third-person affixes to second-person affixes, thus seeming to be engaging the story-characters directly as if they were present,[36] or perhaps addressing the listeners as if they had become part of the saga. Consider the text in text 6:[37]

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36   Cheetham has claimed that third-person singular forms are used for dual and plural, while non-pronominal third-person subjects can attract second-person dual and plural forms in *bì té* (Cheetham 1978:16–27). Pugh-Kitingan (1981:348) called attention to this phenomenon of person-switching in *bì té*. She considered the possibility that the performer might be talking to the story-characters, but decided that it was "a stylistic device." I thank Laurence Goldman for reminding me of this possible interpretation (pers. comm.).

37   From a recording made by Joseba Pungwa in Burani, January 1969; transcription by Joseba Pungwa, Maga Magaja, and myself, 1969.

Text 6. Extract from _Āgali hàlirali_ 'eight men'.

1.	Agali halirali ogoria haja.	There were eight men.
2.	Agali halirali ti Nduna jago ogoria haja.	The eight men were from Duna side.
3.	Howa, ae	Then, ah,
4.	hina hiri bo, lowa,	saying, let's dig up and bake kumara,
5.	irabu timbuni, Ilu li nga ale,	a big forest, like Ilu up there,
6.	ha pirimija-o.	into it you all seemingly went.
7.	Ilu li nga ale puwa,	Having gone up to the place like Ilu,
8.	hina hirialu	baking kumara,
9.	harimija-o.	you seemingly remained.
10.	Ae ore, mbiru hai harimi.	Ah, truly, you stayed a whole day.

The eight men—whose activities quickly reveal them to be _hāroli_ 'bachelors'—are put in the setting of Mt. Ilu, which is near to where the story was performed. Initially, the text displays grammatical concord, with agreement between the third-person plural subject (the eight men) and the verb form _haja_ 'was', the Finite (FIN) being the portmanteau morpheme _-ja_, the third-person simple past tense (3 SmpPst) affix. But in the next utterance cluster this becomes second-person plural SmpPst, modulated by the modal AUX _-ja_ (line 7). This signal continues in line 9, but the modulation is dropped in line 10. The significant thing has been the switch from third to second person. This means that the bard could have been addressing the eight men as if they were there, or he could have been addressing the listeners themselves.

Similar Person-switching occurs in _Wāndari kìrali_ 'two girls' (text 7):

Text 7. Extract from _Wāndari kìrali_ 'two girls'.

1.	Wandari kirali ogoria howi haja-o.	There were once two girls
2.	Wandari kirali biago libu ogoria howa	These two girls, from here,
3.	ae libu hangu biragonijago,	well, the two living all by themselves,
4.	biru ore ogoria biru wiribi.	you two did well, here together.

At this point it appears that the bard switches to talking to the two girls directly, moving from third-person simple past tense in line 2, to second-person dual SmpPst in line 4, as shown in the analysis:

_wi._	_ribi_
STM.	2 Dl SmpPst
you two placed/stayed	

The two girls go off on a journey and split up, and the narrator immediately returns to using 3 singular (Sg) verb forms.[38] However, one of the girls meets a young man (*hāroli*) in the bush, and the bard says:

39.	Igiri taga baba harimi	You (many) were embarrassed, with the boy

This is the first occurrence of the 2 Pl (plural) form, and the bard now seems to be addressing his listeners, perhaps inviting them to identify with the characters in the tale.

An explanation of some instances of third- to second-person switching might be that the second person could have a generic function in Húli—much as it has in modern English.[39] Number, no longer signalled grammatically in most varieties of English, is formally realized in Húli by the pronominal and suffixing systems. This would account for third-person dual becoming second-person dual, and third-person plural becoming second-person plural.

However, person-switching does not occur in every *bì té*, and it is just one of the devices available to bards for use in constructing linguistic texture. Other devices include the choice of appropriate processes and nominal items, the interrelating of groups and group complexes through a variety of semantic and structural ties, the maintenance of cohesive links throughout the narrative by intricate (and generally successful) referential systems, and exophoric links to the shared sociocultural cosmos to provide a setting for the tale. Other linguistic features have been noted in this chapter, but our knowledge will doubtless be further enhanced when trained Húli linguists begin to turn their attention to *bì té*. Hopefully, they will shed further light on how the Húli language functions to create such highly esteemed tales, and how it coaxes audiences into identifying with the human characters in them.

Acknowledgements

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38   Sydney Gould, who worked among the Húli for twenty years or more, and Laurence Goldman reckon that in spoken discourse people use second-person dual / second-person plural also as third-person dual / third-person plural to indicate "continuity" of action—that there is more information to come. If the action is final, then people would use a third-person form (Goldman, pers. comm.).

39   As in the song title, "*You've* Got to Have Heart!" A more extensive example is: "*The three men* travelled from Sydney to Alice Springs overland. *They* carried their camping equipment with them in a four-wheel drive vehicle. *You*'ve got to have a sturdy truck for a journey like that. And *you* can't afford to forget anything essential. Yet, incredibly, *they* ran short of fuel on the second day."

Abbreviations used

function symbol	*meaning*	*explanation*
=	Elaboration	a relationship between two elements in which one is explained in more detail by the other
x	Enhancement	a relationship between two elements whereby one displays further the value of the other
+	Extension	a relationship between two elements in which one indicates the scope of the other
"	Projection	a relationship between two clauses, one indicating that the other is spoken
2	2nd Person	pronoun or verbal affix
3	3rd Person	pronoun or verbal affix
A	Adjunct	nominal item
APV	Adjunct+Pro-Verb	nominal item + dummy verb form
AUX	Auxiliary	affix of verb affixing system
C	Consonant	grammatical item
CL	Classifier	nominal: type indicator
CLS	Clause	process
CUST	Customary	verbal aspect; habitual behaviour
DC	Deitic	indicator; "pointing" word
DEF	Definitive	nominal item or affix
DET	Determiner	nominal affix
Dl	Dual	pronoun/verb signifying number two
EP	Epithet	nominal item
ERG	Ergative	nominal affix
EV	Existential Verb	denotes simple existence
EVN	Event	core of a verb
FIN	Finite	a verbal affix
GN	Given-New	a cohesive textual system
MOD	Modal	verbal aspect/affix
NOM	Nominal	usually realised by nouns/adjectives
O	Object	grammatical item
Pl	Plural	three or more
PURP	Purposive	modal verbal affix
PV	Pro-Verb	verbal item
Sg	Singular	one; single person
S	Subject	grammatical item
SIM1	1st Simultaneous	verbal aspect
SmpPres	Simple Present	verbal tense
SmpPst	Simple Past	verbal tense
STM	Stem	unaffixed/undeclined item
TC	Topic-Comment	a cohesive textual system
TH	Thing	functional head of nominal group
V	Verb / Final Verb	complete forms in an utterance
v	Medial Verb	incomplete forms in an utterance
X	Unspecified number	constituents (of sentence/verb stem)

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