PACIFIC LINGUISTICS is published by the Linguistic Circle of Canberra and consists of four series:

SERIES A - OCCASIONAL PAPERS
SERIES B - MONOGRAPHS
SERIES C - BOOKS
SERIES D - SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS.

EDITOR: S.A. Wurm. ASSOCIATE EDITORS: D.C. Laycock, C.L. Voorhoeve.

ALL CORRESPONDENCE concerning PACIFIC LINGUISTICS, including orders and subscriptions, should be addressed to:

The Secretary,
PACIFIC LINGUISTICS,
Department of Linguistics,
School of Pacific Studies,
The Australian National University,
Canberra, A.C.T. 2600.
Australia.

Copyright © The Authors.
First published 1967.
Reprinted 1971.

The editors are indebted to the Australian National University for help in the production of this series.

This publication was made possible by an initial grant from the Hunter Douglas Fund.

National Library of Australia Card number and ISBN 0 85883 018 3
# Table of Contents

**Agarabi Narratives and Commentary**, by Jean Goddard  
1. Introduction  
2. Texts, Translation and Cultural Commentary  
3. Commentary on Syntax  
   2.1. Clause Structure  
   2.2. Sentence Structure  
      2.21. Simple Sentences  
      2.22. Multi-clause Sentences  
      2.23. Idioms  
4. Commentary on Morphology  
   3.1. Verbal Affixes  
   3.2. Non-verbal Affixes  
   3.3. Affixes Common to both Verbs and Nouns  

**Notes**

**Kewa Sentence Structure**, by Karl J. Franklin  
1. Introduction  
2. Sentence types  
   1.1. Referential markers  
      1.1.1. Sentences with goal referent -da  
      1.1.2. Sentences with subject referent {-me}  
      1.1.3. Sentences with causal referent -pulu  
      1.1.4. Sentences with result referent {-le}  
      1.1.5. Sentences with general referent <go>  
      1.1.6. Sentences with pronominal referent <ipu>  
   1.2. Sequential relationships  
      1.2.1. Sentences with temporal sequences  
      1.2.2. Sentences with chained sequences  
      1.2.3. Sentences with logical sequences  
   1.3. External referential markers
1.4. Independent sentences
   1.4.1. Independent sentences with verbal predicate
   1.4.2. Independent sentences with nominal predicate
   1.4.3. Independent sentences with responses

2. Sentence constituents
   2.1. Combinations of principal clauses
   2.2. Co-ordinate principal clauses
      2.2.1. Principal clauses with apposition
      2.2.2. Principal clauses with uncertainty
   2.3. Subordinate clauses
      2.3.1. Subordinate clauses with time-related actions
      2.3.2. Subordinate clauses with negative purpose
      2.3.3. Subordinate clauses with condition
      2.3.4. More than one internal marker
      2.3.5. Time-related actions which are subordinate clauses

3. Sentence analysis of a text
   3.1. Aditya vs. Kolanyu
   3.2. Analysis of new formulaic representations

Notes

References

Editor's Note – Additions to Bibliography
AGARABI NARRATIVES AND COMMENTARY

JEAN GODDARD

0. Introduction.
1. Texts, Translation and Cultural Commentary.
2. Commentary on Syntax.
3. Commentary on Morphology.

0. INTRODUCTION

The narratives presented here have been selected from material gathered in the Agarabi village of Punano in the Kainantu Sub-District of the Eastern Highlands of New Guinea. The materials were recorded during the period from July 1960 to November 1965. The choice of subject matter was generally left to the informants and includes folk-lore, tribal history, customs, everyday events and village "news".

The texts chosen for presentation here represent a cross-section of the types given. Narratives I, II and III relate trips made by a young man to and from his work on an island plantation (two deal with the same trip to show the differences in the two versions of the same story). Narratives IV and V describe some of the changes in tribal life due to the coming of Europeans. Narratives VI and VII relate local events; VIII is a related conversation between a woman and her mother. Narratives IX and X both deal with the effects of the very prevalent fear of sorcery. Narrative XI relates a tribal custom, and XII is a myth common in this part of New Guinea.

In general the grammar description arising out of these texts is centred on the relationships between dependent and independent constructions and on the affixation of nouns and verbs.
I. TEXTS, TRANSLATION AND CULTURAL COMMENTARY

1. Travel to the Island - A

As I was going I spent one week there at Rabaul; Monday I waited, Tuesday I waited, Wednesday I waited, Thursday I just waited, and Friday morning the ship coming took me and I was going over the sea. In the afternoon it put me on an island and I remained working; when I was finished I came from there.

II. Travel to the Island - B

As I was going I was put down at Rabaul where I spent one week; Monday just waited, Tuesday I just waited, Wednesday I just waited and Thursday I just waited, on Friday a ship took me and was going over the sea. Set (me) down on an island where I stayed working and (when) I finished I came. That is all.
III. Travel from the Island

1 Íntárekún₁ máhtáhe₂ ten.₃ 2 Ínka₁ éi₂ yei₃ intemino;₄ intemipó.₅ 3 manteh₁ pá₂ waa.₃ tuneh₄ pá₅ waa.₆ tarinteh₇ yámuh₈ tíhip₉ ano₁₀ é₪₁₁ avirántemino.₁₂ tíkah;₁₃ waáreh₁₄ ekén₁₅ tarinteh₁₆ yámuh₁₇ tíhip₁₈ ano₁₉ ó₂₀ tiwirah;₂₁ 4 érerunh₁₁ yáwaaúroh₂ merah₃ waáreh₄ manaa₅ tááraréh₆ árurehkún;₇ manteh₈ pá₉ waa₁₀ tuneh₁₁ pá₁₂ waa.₁₃ tarinteh₁₄ warutin₁₅ ano₁₆ ó₁₇ tiwirah;₁₈ 5 érerunh₁₁ kéwiaani₂ e₃ kúmanén₄ pénitini₅ e₆ wárah,₇ mairahkeh₈ érehn₉ wewaake₇ e₁₁ kúmanén₁₂ 6 mairahkeh manten₂ éren₃ mantamah₄ mai₅ warutin₆ ano₇ mé₈ kaaúh₉ yen₁₀ ten;₁₁ 7 téh₁₁ yúnh₂ e₃ weranhe₄ yaai₅h₆ órerúnọ₆ 8 tirehti₁ marah₂ waáh₃ wááricht₄ ekén₅ kórókhah₆ ohintin₇ kórókhahkéh₈ yorun₉ aviránō.;₁₀ tíkan₁₁ kórókhahkéh₁₂ áraweín₁₃ örún₁₄ tiwirah₁₅ kórókhah₁₆ óhehú₁₇ 9 ún₁ waa₃ kaan₃ tááraréh₄ intarekén₅ mairah₆ kaari₇ ano₈ tiwiren₉ kainantumpah₁₀ moruh₁₁ yah₁₂ érehú.₁₃ 10 ínkaíh₁

1 When I finished₁ the European² spoke.₃ 2 "Finally₁ your² days³ are finished;₄ completely over!₅ 3 Monday₁ just² wait,₃ Tuesday₄ just₅ wait,₆ Wednesday₇,₈ a₁₀ ship₉ will take you!"₁₂ he said and₁₃ I waited.₁₄,₁₅ On Wednesday₁₆,₁₇ a₁₉ ship₁₈ took me.₂₁ 4 While I was coming₁ I was set down₃ at Rabaul₂ where I stayed and₄ spent₇ one₅ week;₆ Monday₈ (I) just₉ waited,₁₀ Tuesday₁₁ (I) just₁₂ waited,₁₃ Wednesday₁₄ a₁₆ plane₁₅ took me.₁₈ 5 As I came₁ it landed₄ at Kavieng₂ and got⁷ fuel;₅ then₈ as I came₉ it landed₁₂ at Wewak.₁₀ 6 Then₁ it took off,₂ came₃ and this₅ plane₆,₇ put down₉,₁₀ at Madang₄ and (the pilot) spoke;₁₁ 7 "It is dark₁,₃ and I am returning₄,₆ to Lae.₅ 8 You all₁ stay₉ here₂ I have sent a tele­gram,₄,₅ which will go up₇ to Goroka₆ (so that they will come) down₉ from Goroka₈ and get you."₁₀ he said₁₁ and they came down₁₃ from Goroka₁₂ and got us₁₅ and we went up₁₇ to
Goroka. I stayed up there and completed two weeks; then a car got me and put me down at Kainantu and I came. That is all.

IV. No Rest-days

1. Long ago our grandparents and our grandmothers did not say "it is a holiday" and rest. They just went on having thoughts, only of work. Going on, if there were a child when the child was born, then they prepared food and ate. "It is a holiday" they said and just stayed around. Now in our time, the government came and has spoken, "On Saturday work half (day), on Sunday rest!" it said; now, in our time, it said thus and we are resting.

5. Before our grandparents and our grandmothers, that group were not thinking of rest. They just went on having thoughts of work. They went on having thoughts of fighting. Now, in our time, we rest. That is all.

V. Possessions

1. Weepah tinaahu tiraahompi3 íhyaa oóná waamih.
Long ago in our grandparents' time, there were no possessions. There was one bark and there was grease. There were bows and arrows, only that kind of thing when they were pursued by an enemy they took up these two possessions only. They made a little house in the undergrowth, in the bush and were sleeping in those. They were like this but now the government has come and brought all plates, spoons, machetes, knives, forks, and axes, this kind of thing. They stored them in houses and these things have become possessions.

Before there were no goods of this kind. Now since the government came and established stores here, it has taken everything and stored in them. These things have become possessions.

That is all.

VI. Sickness

Ihyamúh pára waáreñ inúrán aráh órikan tih iyahúno, tíren. tikan wé anohé arún máhen káa órein weveti nehene mó tin érein, awire yohtaampah moruh yetíh waáno, tikan érein
Two days ago she was well and at night she had diarrhoea; she spoke and her mother was sorry; at dawn she went and told Bevesi and others to come. "Take her and put her at the doctor's so we may stay." she said and they came and took her going down they put her at the doctor's they gave her medicine (but) her mouth was tight and she spat out the medicine and died. They brought her, put her and she stayed in her house; Bebati's house was partitioned and they took them down and threw them out and they brought her and I put her there to stay. They built another house, brought her and put her in it and she stayed. While she stayed in there from everywhere they remained the night grieving.

The girl concerned was about eight years old and died very suddenly. She was brought back from the aid-post and put into her uncle's house, which being small, could not hold all the folks who came to mourn. This was a fairly large number since she was young and her death unexpected. There would not have been as many for an old woman who was expected to die. The partitions were removed from the house so more people could get in and then a larger temporary structure was put up that would accommodate more. She was put there and the mourning went on for about three days and then she was buried. The mourning period was longer in the days before European government.
VII. Bampeya

1 aapeihpah₁ anaat₁ pahkmih₃ ma₄ áárínt₅ awih₆ waam-
peyaa₇ 2 pahkaakukan₁ anaat₂ óno₃ tíren₄ yuná₅
upiyanant₆ oriyááreh₇ iká₈ áárínt₉ aon₁₅ temih₁₁
3 peyan₁ waánt₄ tipón₃ keín₄ ayen₅ waánt₆ wàraántehú₇
tíren₈ me₉ ipaahen₁₀ kainantump₁₁ tíhtu₫ah₁₂ woin₁₃
waaihpá₁₄ e₁₅ wàkááhin₁₆ wé₁₇ ayop₁₈ ére₁₉ e₂₀ awiráh-
kan₂₁ tipón₂₂ kah²³ érehu₂⁴ tiká₂⁵ ipaahen₃₀ óremih₃₁
4 ó₁ wakáaren₂
waánt₃ káyo₄ ó₅ awirën₆ éreën₇ me₈ kó₉ tíkan₁₀ mahtáh₁₁
temih₁₂ 5 peyan₁ waánt₂ ipaahonó₃ ayen₄ waánt₅
ipaahonó₆ éen₇ waánt₇ waraanó₉ tíkan₁₅ éeyo₁₁ tíren₁₂
óren₁₃ 6 óreën pára waamih₃ 7 áárínt₁ wara-
múnó₂ temih₃.

1 At Afeipal they took hold of₃ a woman,₂ this girl's₅
name₆ (is) Bampeya.₇ 2 They held her₁ and said,₄ "You
are₃ a married woman!"₂ While they were going₇,₈ to dig
out₆ food,₅ the₁₀ girl₉ spoke.₁₁ 3 "I don't want₃,₄ an
old₁ man;₂ I will get₇ a young₅ man!"₆ she said and₈ left₁₀
here₉ and slept₁₆ in Kainantu₁₈ at the store-man's₁₂,₁₃
place₁₄ Her₁₇ brother₁₈ came₁₉ and took her;₂₁ "I don't
want to₂₂,₂₃ I₂₄ came₂₈ because I want to get₂₇ this₂₅
man!"₂₆ she said₂₉ so he gave up₃₀ and went.₃₁ 4 He
spent the night and₂ brought₆,₇ a group₄ of men₃ and held
court₉,₁₀ here.₈ The European₁₁ spoke.₁₂ 5 "Forget₃
the old₁ man;₂ forget₆ the young₄ man;₅ get₉ another₇
man!"₈ he said₁₀ and she agreed₁₁,₁₂ and went.₁₃ 6 She
went₁ and she just₇ "I want to remain₂
single."₁ she said₃.

In theory a girl is free to choose her husband; but, in
practice, she is expected to marry the one arranged by her
family. The man who offered for Bampeya was approved by her
family but was not one who pleased her. Most girls are
persuaded to accept their family's arrangements, but
occasionally, the girl rebels and runs away or refuses to associate with the chosen bridegroom. This can cause a lot of trouble for her family, especially if she is to be given in exchange for a bride for her brother, as sometimes happens. This was not so in this case, so she pressed her preference until her family took the matter to the patrol officer who tried to find a middle ground by telling them that she should marry someone else altogether. Actually, she eventually married the man she had chosen.

VIII. A Short Conversation

1 purin₁ atihkáh₂ eompó₃ aíne₄ waraanóo₅ teké₆ waremíh₇ 2 téhi₁ oén₂ waahná₃ tatóreh₄ waraántehúno₅ 3 éhi₁ purin₂ atihkáh₃ eóno₄ éhi₅ waraanóo₆ tehú₇

1 "You are shorty₂ to die!₁ Take it₅ soon."₄ I said₆ and she took it₇ 2 "I₁ am still₂ young,₂ I will take it₅ later."₄ 3 "You₁ are₄ shorty₃ to die.₂ You₅ take it!"₆ I said₇

This conversation took place between a young married woman and her elderly mother. Several people were planning to be baptised and the speaker was urging her mother to get baptised, usually spoken of as 'getting water', because she was old and might die soon. The younger woman felt she could wait until later since she was still young. In spite of the implications here, it is not just the older folk who get baptised.

IX. Fear of Sorcery

1 waánt₆₇ púmaaraa₂ míño₃ anó₄ kaako₅ were₆ óríwi₇ unáántumpa₈ anaat₉ káy₁₀ aná₁₁ iyúken₁₂ ápaánán₁₃ péh₁₄ yen₁₅ wákan₁₆ téhi₁₇ ériyah¹₈ taréh₉₁₉ ónehkún₂₀ mahan₂₁ ten₂₂ ápaánán₂₃ péh₂₄ yen₂₅ prá₂₆ waruráh₂₇ iyúken₂₈ waamíh₂₉ 2 ínkaíh₁

1 All₃ the₄ men₁ and youths₂ went₇ carrying₅ cargo₆, only₁₁ the group₁₀ of women₉ gathered₁₂ at Unantu₈. They stayed₁₆ (together) because they feared₁₄,₁₅ sorcery.₁₃ I₁₇ was
coming and saw that like this they just gathered in the village because they fear sorcery. That is all.

Fear of sorcery is quite common. In this case all the men had left the village, which is quite unusual; there are ordinarily a few around. The women were afraid that there might be men hiding in the bush at the outskirts of the village waiting to cast spells on them. So they decided to stay together in the village and wait for the return of their menfolk. When these returned they would check to see if there were any other men lurking about. When it was clear that it was safe the women would be free to go to the garden.

X. False Alarm

The men and youths were at Afeipa playing cards, all stayed there. Mamake was coming up by himself when sickness took (him) up there on the road and he went down; "I got evil on the road as I came!" Here take me, put me up there; I am about to die!" he said. They took him, put him up there and he stayed, "A spell has been cast on us!" they said and tested the sorcery (but) a spell was not cast on him.

It was just little thing that hurt him. It hurt him and he is lying down.
Every sudden, unexpected sickness or accident must be explained. If there is no visible cause for it, sorcery administered by an enemy is the immediate assumption. Most people work and travel in groups for mutual protection; since Mamake was alone, he was vulnerable. Therefore, when he felt sick on his way home his reaction was that someone had cast a spell on him. Every attack of sorcery poses a threat to the whole group so the other men felt themselves also affected by the spell cast on Mamake. They tested to see if it was really sorcery by looking for puncture marks in the man's skin. They believe that sorcery may enter a person's system via nails, bamboo slivers or something similar which are pushed into the skin.

XI. Love Potion

1 éenapáhma₁ ááríntá₂ wáárehín₃ púmaara₄ ano₅ ó₆ oháren₇
2 o₁ onáma₂ awúru₃ ááríntáma₄ wááreh₅ ihkan₆ ó₇ weren₈ ó₉
oháren₁₀ éremin₁₁ 3 éreín₁ atápé₂ me₃ úwáreh₄ iyaamih₅
4 atápé₁₁ úáken₂ puhaapín₃ káaíyaamih₄ 5 puhaapín₁
káaúh₂ yen₃ waren₄ mó₅ amiyamih₆ 6 waren₁ mó₂ amihken₃
puhtrīn₄ 7 puhtrīramái en₂ ma₃ irāran₄ ó₅ wáreh₆
iyaamih₇ ááríntánámih₈ 8 ó₁ wákkaáren₂ mah₃ yaah₄
ören₉ 9 mah₁ yaah₂ òrem₃ en₄ káánuhmánaaut₅ káámi-
káámit₆ ma₇ ó₈ waren₉ éhin₁₀ waráántehún₁₁ mó₁₂ teh₁₃
iyaamih₁₄ 10 mó₁ tíkan₂ ínom₃ tentin₄ íno₅ en₆ waráán-
tehún₀₇ ten₈ mó₉ akonaain₁₀ wááyá₁₁ teh₁₂ iyaamih₁₃
11 wááyá₁ tikámái₂ ma₃ en₄ atápé₅ anó₆ arahpímpah₇ ó₈ peran₉
wéni₁₀ íneíne₁₁ iyaamih₁₂ 12 wéni₁ íneíne₂ ikám₃ en₄ ó₅
wären₆ éren₇ iyáán₈ iyáá₉ iyáá₉ éken₁₁ éenapákéh₁₂ ó₁₃
wären₁₄ éreh₁₅ iyaamih₁₆ éena₁₇ warupákhéh₁₈ 1₃ éena₁
warupákhéh₂ ó₃ wären₅ yu₅ ya-ren₇ înkai₈ tiyaáken₉ me₁₀
ireh₁₁ iyaamih₁₂ 1₄ mí₁ ímakén₂ ma₃ íman₄ wáánta₅ ameh₆
iyaamih₇ 1₅ ma₁ iráran₂ iyááhen₃ wáánta₄ wáánta₅ amin₆
ma₇ amáhken₈ yen₉ wáah₁₀ iyaamih₁₁ 1₆ yen₁ wákken₁
iyámpom₃ káaen₄ óriyamam₅ en₆ kókon₇ iyámpom₈ mó₉ káau₈
yen₁₁ máirah₁₂ pon₁₃ káákan₁₄ pon₁₅ awih₁₆ yan₁₇ máhen₁₈
aatóte₁₉ tíren₂₀ áruah₂₁ yan₂₂ óriyamih₂₃ 1₇ é₁ weren₂
If there is a girl from another place the youth looks there. If he sees that she is an excellent girl he returns looks there and comes.

Coming he makes a love potion here. Having made he puts it in a cigarette. Having put it in a cigarette he takes it and gives it to her. Having taken it and given it to her he puffs on it. When she puffs on it then he sleeps with the girl, desiring to marry.

Having slept he goes several times. When he has gone several times and has slept three or four times he says, "I will marry you!" Having said this if she says, "No!", he says "No! I will marry you!" this firm talk he says.

When he has said that the love potion goes into her bowels and she thinks his way. When she has thought his way he sleeps, coming again and again from another place he takes (her) and comes, from another village.

He takes (her) from another village and puts her here; "All right", he says and they get married. When married they give her to the bridegroom. This bridegroom when they give her to the man he takes her and they stay.

Having stayed if she keeps bearing children when she has borne many children then they get a pig, a big pig, and
(others) take it. They say "It is a settlement", and, after they have killed it they go. They return and say to her brothers and her mother "You may eat." Having gone to kill it if her brothers are there they eat. Finally, if there is one, they kill a pig, a big pig, then they put down money, twenty sticks. At the end if there is one like this he puts fifteen that much. They get (it) this way. This is the story of a girl.

When a young man finds a girl who suits his fancy he goes to her village to begin courting. He shreds some combination of leaves or plants with tobacco and makes it into a cigarette which he then presents to the girl. If she accepts it and smoke: it she is agreeing to accept his courtship and the potion is supposed to guarantee that she will also desire him.

When this result has been obtained a marriage is arranged. The girl is given her married woman's skirts in her village and is escorted to her in-laws' home.

Later, when a child is born, the wife or her father-in-law provides a pig or some money to be given to her family. In return her family gets together trade goods or money of equivalent value to give to her.

**XII. Two Brothers**

1 péepáh wé2 anohé3 wé4 apohé5 puhiwikan6 wé7 awahé8 akepo9 ukáámhí.10 2 wé1 apáh2 waáremíh.3 3 waárená1 wéká-nán2 temíh.3 4 iyeh1 tiwinítenapíno.2 tírenan3 íneíne4 emíh.5 5 éhi1 inteh2 intepóno3 tíkan4 wé5 apah6 ano7 temíh.8 6 téhi1 éena2 warupáh3 óroóntéhúno.4 éhi5 inteh6 intepóno7 tíkan8 wé9 awahé10 temíh.11 7 téhi1 máräh2 waántéhúno.3 miha4 tíren5 wé6 apah7 ano8 éena9 wárá-ráh10 ôren11 poníh12 ó13 emíh.14 8 wé1 awahé2 ano3 kotíh4 emíh.5 9 úkááreh1 íkan2 wé3 awahé4 ano5 óreí6 tipah7 interátah8 ó9 waanapíno10 míha11 tíren12 yoten13 óri-yaan14 ó15 nohwiwikan16 poníh17 üwen18 wé19 awahen20 úntáre-
Long ago their mother and father died and the elder brother became idle. The younger brother remained (as he was). As they stayed they both spoke. "Who will nurture us?" they said to themselves. "Where will you go?" he said and the younger brother spoke. "I will go to another place. Where will you go?" he said, and his elder brother spoke. "I will stay here." He said and the younger brother went to another place and became a pig. The elder brother became a bean tuber. Having become this, the elder brother went; "Where is my younger brother living?" he said and went to search. When he got there, being a pig he (the younger brother) bit his elder brother. He bit him then slept and in the morning he dug out food. He killed a pig. Having killed it he prepared an earth oven in a cooking pot and gave what was prepared to his elder brother; he (the elder brother) ate and returned to his home. This myth also has a cultural significance. The bean tuber and pig are two important items in the lives of these people; pigs figuring in sacrifices and an annual feast being held when the tuber is harvested. This tale accounts for their origin and a moral is also drawn from it. If you are lazy you will only be a small person and have a small family as the bean tuber is small. If you are industrious you will be important and have a large family as the pig is a large and important animal.
2. COMMENTARY ON SYNTAX

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations will be used in examples which are taken, as much as possible, from the text material.

- con: continuative aspect
- de: desiderative
- dir: directional
- emp: emphatic mood
- fm: final marker
- fu: future tense
- ge: gerundive
- imp: imperative
- int: interrogative
- nt: neutral tense
- pt: past tense
- pf: perfect tense
- na: narrative aspect
- pr: personal referent
- vbl: verbaliser
- 1p, 2p, 3p: 1st, 2nd, 3rd person subject suffix
- 1f, 2f, 3f: 1st, 2nd, 3rd person final suffix
- ds: subject of dependent verb
- pvs: preview subject marker (indicates subject of succeeding verb)

Texts will be referred to by Roman numerals, sentences or major clauses by Arabic numerals on the line, and words by subscripts.

In this section clause structure will be mentioned briefly. Sentences will be dealt with in more detail under two headings: simple sentences and multi-clause sentences.

2.1. Clause Structure

In their minimal form Agarabi clauses consist of an obligatory predicate tagmememe; they may be expanded by the occurrence of several optional tagmemes. They divide into two major classes, independent and dependent. Independent clauses are potentially complete sentences; dependent clauses normally occur as part of a larger unit. The major clause types and some of the sub-types will be illustrated in the section on sentences.
There are several optional items which can occur with the predicate in a clause. The normal order, if all occurred, would be: Time, Location, Subject, Indirect Object/Instrument, Object/Reason/Purpose, Directional and Predicate. To date there are no examples in which all of these occur. Examples of one to four, always including the Predicate, have been noted. There is some freedom of position; for example, the Location may follow the Subject. Some items have a relatively fixed position, such as the Predicate which closes the construction except when there is an afterthought or an item especially emphasised.

2.2. Sentence Structure

Agarabi sentences may also be divided into two classes as independent or dependent. Independent sentences consist of one or more clauses occurring as complete utterances. Dependent sentences may consist of dependent clauses or non-clause constructions as in some responses or exclamations.

2.21. Simple Sentences

Simple sentences are those which consist of one clause or short non-clause utterance. Such an utterance may consist of a single word or may be expanded. The following examples illustrate sentences composed of imperative, interrogative, response and conclusion clause sub-types. The one non-clause sentence which occurs in these texts is illustrated under Responses.

1. Indicative
   Minimal: ór-e-m-īh 'He went.' 
go-nt-3p-3f
   Expanded: aapeih-pāh anaati pahl-e-m-īh 
   Afei-at woman hold-nt-3p-3f 
   'They caught a woman at Afeipa.' VII 11-3

2. Imperative
   Minimal: óro 'Go.'
   Expanded: kauhte anam-pīn kāao 
lime holder-in put 
   'Put it in the lime-holder.'

3. Interrogative
   Minimal: waa-p-o 'Are you there?'
   stay-int-2f
4. Response
   a. Clause type
      Minimal: waa-h-ú 'I am here.'
               stay-1p-1f
      Expanded: áá úwít-iyya-p-o
               road spread-con-int-2f
               'Are you working on the road?'
      b. Non-clause type
         éeyo 'Yes.'

5. Conclusion
   Minimal: ínka-ih'4 'That is all.' IV 91
               finish-vbl
   Expanded: mái ááriíntá anaati anaatih-ma i-n aaná-íh
             this girl woman when be-3p story-vbl
             'This is the story of girls and women when they marry.' XI 21l-6

2.22. Multi-clause Sentences

   Multi-clause sentences are much more common in narratives than are simple sentences. The most common are composed of one or more dependent clauses followed by an independent clause.
   puhkka-á-m káaúh y-e-n war-e-n mó am-iyya-m-íh
   cigarette-in put do-nt-3p take-nt-3p there give-con-3p-3f
   'Having put it in a cigarette he takes it and gives it to her.' XI 5l-6

   It is possible to have only one independent clause in an entire text. For example, the short text on the trip to the island, 1, has but one, the last.

   A number of minimal clauses (i.e. single verbs) with varying affixes may succeed each other without any intervening words.
   ...karuhyá-re-n purí-ka-n a-ir-e-n
   throw-out-na.nt-3pvs die-nt.3ds-3pvs pr-take along-nt-3pvs
   éhy-e-in múh y-a-n
   come up-nt-ge put do-3ds-3pvs
'She spat it out and died. They took her and, coming, put her...' VI 235-34

In some instances identical clauses are repeated, especially those whose predicates are filled by verbs in the continuative aspect. These indicate a longer duration of time than would be expressed by one. Cf. I 124,25 -
ór-iyaa-h ór-iyaa-h
go-con-lpvs go-con-lpvs
'I went and went...'

A less common multi-verb sentence is the dependent sentence composed only of dependent clauses. Such a sentence anticipates the one which follows. The final clause of the dependent sentence and the initial clause of the succeeding one each occur with the same verb stem but each is affixed differently.

war-e-n mó a-mih-ke-n puhtí-ra-n
take-nt-3pvs there pr-give-pt-3pvs puff-na.3ds-3pvs
puhtí-a-má...
puff-na-3ds-when
'Having taken it and given it to her, he puffs on it. When she has puffed on it, then...' XI 61-71

A sentence may also occur with included clauses. One quite common occurrence of this is the direct quote. The actual quoted words may form independent clauses which, however, are not sentences in the narrative, but the objects of the verb te 'say'. Thus we have a clause within a clause, with the possibility of more clauses following before the sentence is completed.

1. áárintá wa-ram-ú-no t-e-m-íh
girl stay-de-1f-emp say-nt-3p-3f
''I want to remain single'', she said.' VII 71-3

2. téhi má-ráh waá-n-te-h-ú-no miha tí-re-n
I here-on stay-fu-1p-1f-emp thus say-na.nt-3pvs
wé a-pah ... pon-íh ó e-m-íh
his pr-yo.bro pig-vbl dir be.nt-3p-3f
''I will stay here'', thus he said and the younger brother... became a pig.' XII 71-7,12-14

This is, however, not always the case, as the following example illustrates.

... a-wiráh-ka-n; ti-pón
pr-take along-pt.3ds-3pvs pr.-body part
2.23. Idioms

There are several examples of idioms in these texts. The translation is not the literal equivalent of the Agarabi words, but of the underlying meaning. The last example of the previous section is one illustration.

... ti-pón k-a-h...
pr-body part burn-3ds-3pvs
'... "I don't want (to do something)"...' VII 321-23

a-ráh óri-ká-n
pr-intestines go-pt.3ds-3pvs
'she had diarrhoea...' VI 15,6

íneíne anáá e-n ór-iyaa-m-íh
thought only was-3pvs go-con-3p-3f
'they went on having thoughts only of...' IV 23-6

The meaning of the foregoing must be derived from context. If it had followed the mention of sickness it would have indicated that the person was still sick. In other contexts the phrase frequently means that the person is just staying around doing nothing, as in IV 315-16.

Another commonly used idiom is illustrated in narrative VII. Bampeya is reported to say:

... wáántá waraá-nte-h-ú-no...
man get-fu-1p-1f-emp
""... I will get a (young) man."...' VII 36,7

This saying is equivalent to 'I will get married'. It can be said in jest when there are no immediate plans for marriage or in earnest when it is definite. It is just a statement and does not refer to any particular ceremony.

When reference is made to the actual wedding day, it is called her 'skirt putting on day'. The single girl's
divided skirt is exchanged for a married woman's full skirt. The bridegroom is referred to as the 'putting on man' or the 'putting on giving man', though it is his relatives who actually tie the skirts on the bride and he need not be present.

There is also in this same story what might be termed a 'cultural idiom'. At the beginning we are told that the people of Afeipa took hold of a woman. Actually it is an unmarried girl that is so caught. Prior to this a suitable man has offered for her and her family has agreed to the match. This grabbing of the girl is a kind of public announcement of the impending marriage and she is measured for her skirts which will be made by some of the women. This takes place very close to the day planned for the marriage and usually means that there is now no time for the girl to refuse.

3. COMMENTARY ON MORPHOLOGY

3.1. Verbal Affixes

There are many verb constructions in these texts. Agarabí verbs not only express action; but, by means of suffixes they indicate the subject and something about the kind and/or time of the action. In addition all verb stems may be affixed to function as either independent or dependent verbs. These functions are determined by distinctive sets of subject suffixes that occur with them and by the possible presence of relational suffixes on dependent forms.

Independent verbs occur as predicate fillers in independent clauses. Dependent verbs occur in the predicates of dependent clauses.

The aspect suffixes illustrated in these texts are -iyaa, continuative and -ra, narrative. The tense suffixes are -e, neutral which replaces the vowel of the preceding morpheme; -nte, simple future; -ke, simple past (which alters to -ka in dependent forms which have a different subject from the following clause); and -kaa, perfect. The mood suffixes are -ram, desiderative; -nowan, immediate desiderative; (-p), interrogative; -no, emphatic and -po, assertive. Indicative mood is unmarked; the simple imperative mood occurs as the minimal form of the verb.

continuative δr-iyaa-h 'I (was) going' 1 l₂₄ the context supplies the tense
narrative (plus neutral)  
future  
waá-re-n  
'I stayed and'  
VI 13
past  
waraá-nte-h-ú-no  
'I will get!'  
VII 37
perfect  
n-iyaá-ke-n  
'they were eating'  
IV 311
desiderative  
u-káá-m-Íh  
'he became'  
XII 110
immediate desiderative  
waraá-nowan  
'I want to get now'  
VII 327
interrogative  
inte-p-oó-no  
'... will you go?'  
XII 53
emphatic  
é-r-e-h-ú-no  
'I came!'  
VII 328
assertive  
inte-m-i-pó  
'it is surely finished!'  
III 25

Independent verbs are always marked for person-subject and, occasionally, for number. The plural affix, however, does not occur at all in these texts - the context is expected to supply this information. Independent verbs occur with final markers following the person-subject suffixes.

er-e-h-ú  
'I came.'  
II 134
come-nt-I-fm  

You are!'  
VIII 34
e-#-ó-no  
be.nt-you-fm-emp  

t-e-m-íh  
'... she said.'  
VIII 73
say-nt-she-fm

Dependent verbs are not marked for person-subject in the same way as independent verbs and do not occur with final markers. They always occur with a preview subject marker, the same set of suffixes that occur with independent verbs; but, in this case, they indicate the subject of the following verb. If both the dependent and succeeding verb have the same subject only the preview subject is marked. However, when the subject of the first clause is different from that of the succeeding clause, there is some indication in the verb of the first clause to show both its subject and that of the following clause.
tí-ka-n we a-nohé...
say-pt.3ds-3pvs her pr-mother
'she said (this) and her mother...'
VI 21-3

-ke, past tense, becomes -ka to show that the third person subject of 'say' is a different person from the subject of the next verb.

waá-reh e-ké-n ... tihpi ano
stay-nan nt be.nt-1ds-3pvs ship a
'I waited and... the ship...' I11 314, 15, 18, 19

-ké is the first person subject marker of the first verb with a third person subject of the succeeding verb.

There are several different sets of suffixes to indicate the subject of the first verb. These vary according to the type of temporal or logical relationship between the clauses.

One set of affixes indicates both that the subjects of two verbs are different and also identifies the subject of the verbs, as follows. (This is the neutral tense of te 'say'.)

1p of dependent verb predicting 2p of next t-e-ké-
1p of dependent verb predicting 3p of next t-e-ké-
2p of dependent verb predicting 1p of next t-e-tí-
2p of dependent verb predicting 3p of next t-e-tí-
3p of dependent verb predicting 1p of next t-i-
3p of dependent verb predicting 2p of next t-i-
3p of dependent verb predicting other 3p of next t-i-

In the foregoing paradigm, the third person subject of the dependent verb is indicated by the change of vowel of neutral tense suffix, -e to -i. In the same circumstances, past tense suffix -ke is changed to -ka, as mentioned above.

3.2. Non-verbal Affixes

Agarabi nouns, pronouns and adjectives may occur un-affixed. When affixed, they may all occur with the same sets of affixes. Those that are illustrated by the accompanying texts include the locatives (of time and space): -pín, in; {-táh}, on; -naún, inside; -páh, place at; and {-kéh}, from. Others are likeness: {-ten}, like; verbalizer: òh, it is, and number: -kanan, two.

locatives: in toru waraá-pín
'in the salt water' I122, 23
3.3. Affixes Common to both Verbs and Nouns

The only prefixes in Agarabi occur with both nouns and verbs. These are the personal referent prefixes: **ti-**, first person - singular or plural; and **a-**, non-first person - singular or plural. The context must supply the distinctions for number and second or third persons. These prefixes occur obligatorily with some nouns and verbs and optionally with others.

When they occur with verbs they function as object, direct or indirect, depending on the meaning of the verb.

- **a-mí-ka-n** 'gave to her' VI 229
- **a-wir-e-n** 'took her' VI 223
- **ti-wir-e-n** 'took me' II 124

When the personal referents occur with nouns they
indicate possession. They are obligatory to all body parts, kinship terms and a few others such as sickness, fear, yawn and shadow. They occur optionally with a few others.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Verb Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ti-naahu</td>
<td>'my/our grandfather'</td>
<td>V 12 supported by st-naah 'my/our grandfather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-nohé</td>
<td>'her mother'</td>
<td>VI 23 supported by nyr-woh 'her mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-wih</td>
<td>'her name'</td>
<td>VII 16 supported by nyr-wih 'her name'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-rún</td>
<td>'her diaphragm'</td>
<td>VI 24 supported by nyr-rún 'her diaphragm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-maah</td>
<td>'his house'</td>
<td>VI 39 supported by sa-maah 'his house'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is also one suffix which may occur with both nouns and verbs. This is the conditional: -ma, if/when, which occurs with dependent forms of the verb, with nouns in dependent clauses and with other classes of words as well.

**Verbal:**

- puhtí-ra-má e-n blow-na-when be-nt-3pvs
  'when she puffs on it...' XI 71-2

**Non-verbal:**

- wé a-yopi-má wa-ín ano her pr-bro-if stay-ge the 'if her brothers are there...' XI 1712-15
- námuró ano-má wákúh y-a-n enemy the-when pursue do-3ds-3pvs 'when an enemy pursued them...' V 38-11
1. **Key to the Orthography:**

   - p, t, k represent voiceless stops initially and following consonants, and voiceless fricatives [p], [s], [x] between vowels.
   - w initially and following consonants varies from a voiced bilabial stop [b] to either the labialised stop [bw] or the semi-vowel [w]. Between vowels it is either the semi-vowel or a voiced bilabial fricative [b].
   - y initially and following consonants varies from a voiced alveolar stop [d] to either the palatalised stop [dv] or the semi-vowel [y]. Between vowels it is the semi-vowel and may occur with or without friction.
   - h represents a glottal stop
   - r represents an alveolar flap
   - m, n are bilabial and alveolar nasals respectively
   - a represents [a]
   - aa represents [a.]
   - e represents [e.]
   - i represents [i]
   - o represents [o.]
   - u represents [u]

   Periods are used where a sentence terminal is marked by final markers on the verb or where there is repetition of the verb which indicates a dependent sentence. Commas set off parenthetical expressions and after-thoughts as well as series of nouns or clauses. Parentheses in the English translations enclose words which do not occur in the Agarabi text but which are needed in the English for clarity. Exclamation marks are used where Agarabi has emphatic markers and forceful intonation. Most of the numbered words which have no equivalent number in the English are directionals which are either awkward or redundant when translated.

2. The slash here indicates that these clause level slots are mutually exclusive.

3. The directional often occurs as a part of the predicate.
4. This may be considered a type of equational which also occurs with the verb 'be' following.

inka-íh e-m-íh 'That is all.'

finish-vbl be nt-3p-3f

The analysis of equational sentences is not yet complete.

6. The symbol ( ) indicates that this suffix stands for all the forms of the suffix which has several morphophonemic variants.
KEWA SENTENCE STRUCTURE

KARL J. FRANKLIN

0. Introduction.
1. Sentence types.
2. Sentence constituents.
3. Sentence analysis of a text.

0. Although much has been written about New Guinea languages in general, there has been little published dealing specifically with syntax.¹ This study deals with the sentence structure of Kewa² both in reference to internal construction (the constituents making up the sentences) and external ties (the sentence and its relation to other sentences or clauses). Following this a text is analysed according to (a) the relationship between clauses within sentences, and (b) the sequential and referential ties between the sentences of the text. Sequential ties between sentences tend to unite them into a string of sentences about a certain theme. Referential ties between sentences help identify the reasons for actions and persons involved in a series of actions.

1. Kewa sentences are divided into two main groups, dependent and independent. The formal markers which occur with these sentences mark the sequence or reference ties as external, i.e., outside the sentence, or internal, i.e., within the sentence. The external and internal markers are of two types: referential or sequential. External referential markers may be further subdivided into goal, subject, cause, result, general, or pronominal types. (The latter two frequently combine with other relaters.) External sequential markers on the other hand subdivide according to what marks the sequence ties between the sentences. Sentences may have both sequential and referential markers (external or internal). In such cases the presence of any one
external marker signals the sentence as dependent. This overrides the presence of other internal markers. On the other hand any sentence with only internal markers or without any markers is an independent sentence.

Independent sentences are complete; that is, they do not have markers which signal formal ties with other sentences. Independent sentences may, however, have their own internal clause constituent reference and sequence relationships. Such relationships are signalled by many of the same formal markers which signal external relationships (as well as others), but are between clauses which are the constituents of the same sentence.

Each group of sentences is distinguished from the others by the sentence constituents involved, by the formal markers that are appropriate to it and, in some cases, by intonation. 3

1.1. Several types of referential markers occur in sentences. The examples of sentences which follow have markers which signal inter-sentence relationships. 4 Depending on whether the item is outside the sentence to which reference is made, referential markers may occur suffixed to or (in the case of referential particles which belong to the same class as the suffixes) adjacent to words of almost any class. The following sentences illustrate the types of referential markers observed. All examples are declarative. 5

1.1.1. Sentences with goal referent -da

The goal referent -da may be suffixed to verbs or nonverbs. When suffixed to a transitive verb it means that the object of that verb is something that is stated elsewhere. With intransitive verbs it means the goal of the verb is something that is stated elsewhere. When suffixed to a noun, -da marks that noun as the object of the verb in the clause. Frequently it marks an object or goal which is not stated within the same sentence. Such sentences are dependent because the external referential relationship is with another sentence or clause.

(1) rotome meda go natyaloda⁶ (43)⁷
stick-Agent another that Neg-hit-I am-Gref
'I am not hitting (her) with a stick'

(2) nagiada kose madi pe (55)
Neg-give-she did-Gref court carrying make-I do
'She didn't give it (to me) and I am making accusation'
Often the object or goal referred to occurs within the same sentence. Such sentences are independent because the relationship marked is internal referential between co-
ordinate principal clauses. 8 (See clauses in 2.1.-2.)

Other examples of the marker -da (both as an external and internal marker) occur in the following sentences of the text: (1,2,3,18,19,24,42-4,53,68,77).

1.1.2. Sentences with subject referent {me}

The subject referent {me} may be suffixed to verbs or non-verbs. When suffixed to a verb it means that the subject of that verb is stated elsewhere – whether in another clause in the same sentence or in a previous sentence. It obligatorily follows the first person singular future tense allomorph. In such cases the subject is no longer first person but can only be known by looking elsewhere within the sentence or a previous sentence. When suffixed to other words its meaning is not constant, i.e. it may mark them as subject, agent, or topic. It marks the clause or sentence constituent as subject when there is cross-reference between the subject and the inflectional affix of the verb. If there is not cross-reference the constituent
marked is the agent. Word order tends to clarify any am­
biguity. Examples which follow are of external reference
(7) and (8) and internal reference (9).

(7) repona ru muluame
   tree fruit get-Int-Sref
   'He intends to get the fruit'

(8) mena yotoame
   pig pull-Int-Sref
   'We intend to pull the pig'

(9) ni yalipu napaluame (51)
   I Ialibu Neg-go-Int-Sref
   'I don't intend to go to Ialibu'

Examples of the use of this marker with forms other than
verbs occur frequently in the text and are not listed here.

1.1.3. Sentences with causal referent -pulu

The causal referent -pulu occurs only with verbs. It
shows that the reason for the action named or the fact that
the action occurs is found elsewhere in the same sentence or
in some other sentence. The first three examples are of
external reference, the last two of internal reference.

(10) nana mena malue adi peapuapulu
   my pig Malue fasten make-I did-Cref

   ginya gu pie (13)
   give-and/d-s similar being-which

   'Because I made fast my pig Malue for her (somebody
   already mentioned) she would give one which would be
   like it'

(11) rekere menare wara rubialiapulu sogome
    shell pig-# really throw-she will-Cref that-Agent

    gilia (35)
    give-she will

    'Because she will really throw away the pig and shell
    (i.e. because of the pig previously mentioned) she
    will give me that' 11

(12) mogo mogo pulapulu (41)
    there there go-she is-Cref

    'She is going there, therefore (because of what I
    said)'
(13) ipuna ni gipia loma pulapulu (15) her I dislike say-and/same-Subj go-she is-Cref 'Because she said she doesn't like me therefore she is going'

(14) winyame ni ora giala pulapulu (49) woman-Subj me really dislike-Pur go-she is-Cref 'The woman is going because she really dislikes me'

Other examples of -pulu 'Cref' in the text are: (32,34, 40,45, and 47).

1.1.4. Sentences with result referent {-le}

The result referent {-le} may be suffixed to verbs or non-verbs. It shows that the result of the action or word marked is stated elsewhere. The first two examples are of external reference and the last two are of internal reference.

(15) ipu miliale he get-he will-Rref 'He will get it so (it can be seen)'

(16) ni pululi I go-I am-Rref 'I am going so (you can do something)'

(17) nana lalole a doe (37) my talk-I am-Rref wait-Comm 'Since I am talking, just wait'

(18) nana eda ni ne gialole warua my food I you give-I am-Rref prepare-Comm12 'Since I am giving you my food, prepare it'

Other examples of {-le} 'Rref' in the text are: (6,7,18, 28-9,71,74, and 76).

1.1.5. Sentences with general referent 'go'

The most frequent type of referent is the class of general referents 'go'. The general referents occur adjacent to or substitute for the constituent the speaker wishes to draw attention to or emphasise. References of this type may be of a linguistic nature (such as general referent preceding subject, preceding object, etc.) or they may be of a non-linguistic nature (such as general referent coupled with pointing). The most common general referents occurring are: go 'that (near)'; mo 'that (far)'; so 'that (up)'; no 'that (down)'; o 'that (more specific)'; and apo
'that (more general)'. Combinations of these also occur. In the following examples the first is an external referent where gopara substitutes for the name of the place being pointed to. The second example is an internal referent where the markers no and go occur next to the actual constituents.

\[(19)\text{wirepe ni gopara palua}
\text{later I Genref-Loc go-I will}
\text{'Later I will go over that way (pointing)'}
\]

\[(20)\text{no akape lapo go wakia sanya}
\text{Genref teeth two Genref buck put-Cont}
\text{'Those two teeth down there are jutting out'}
\]

1.1.6. Sentences with pronominal referent <ipu>

A similar type of referent marker to general referents is the free pronoun forms. When the subject, object, etc. have been stated in a previous sentence they may thereafter be referred to as he, it, them, or by some other free pronoun form substituting for the previously stated constitute. This class of referents frequently co-occur within sentences with other referents.\(^\text{14}\)

\[(21)\text{go nogo ipu rada piada kodo}
\text{that girl Pref he pain being-Genref sorry}
\text{komoma go pia}
\text{die-and/s-s that being}
\text{'He (the boy already mentioned) pains and that girl is sorry and is there'}
\]

For other examples consult the text. Notice the use of ipu to refer to the woman (his wife) in: (15,22,25-6,31,40, etc.).

1.2. Special markers are also used in sentences to mark external or internal sequential relationships. The referential markers of sentences are typically verbal suffixes, although free pronouns or particles also occur as referential markers. On the other hand, the sequential markers in sentences are usually temporal clauses embedded within clauses or sentences, chained action clauses,\(^\text{15}\) or particles. Each of these occur most frequently in the sentence introducer position and are usually suffixed by the optional pause marker {--re}.\(^\text{16}\)
1.2.1. Sentences with temporal sequences

The sequential marker rabo rabu 'time' occurs marking an embedded temporal clause which occurs in the introductory position of the sentence. This type of sequential introducer is used with practically every new sentence in a narrative sequence.

(22) go epa warisipi rabore awasipi
that come work-they2 did time-# wait-they2 did
'Having come and made it, they waited'

(23) go pisa rabore...
that do-it did time-#
'This having happened...'

1.2.2. Sentences with chained sequences

When a series of related actions take place they are linked together into a sequence. This sequence is marked by an embedded subordinate clause in the sentence introducer position. Although there are also internal sequences marked in sentences, such sequences are in relation to inter-clause actions. For this reason internal sequence markers are outlined under sentence constituents (2.3).

(24) palumare aname modo gia
sleep-and/s-s-# mother-Subj potato give-she did
'After I slept, mother gave me sweet potato'

(25) giomare wala puawa
give-and/s-s-# again go-I did
'After giving them, I went again'

1.2.3. Sentences with logical sequences

Several particles may occur separately in the sentence initial sequence introducer position. These tend to act like conjunctions and string the sentences together.

(26) guma yawi ada sabaya
so then palm tree look put-Incom-he is
'So then he stands looking at the palm tree'

(27) meda ipuna kago kama sapiri
another he-Poss chest just holds
'And another is just being held on his chest'

1.3. It is not uncommon for external referential markers to occur with embedded clauses in the sentence introducer sequential position. These mark any dependent sentence for both reference and sequence.
1.4. Independent sentences are of three main subtypes: (a) those which are independent clauses (see 2.) or end with independent clauses (see 1.4.1., example (30), where although three verbs occur only the final verb has suffixes which mark it as independent and show it to be the nucleus of a principal clause); (b) a single equational clause; (c) responses which are not clauses.

1.4.1. Independent sentences with verbal predicate

Verbal predicates of clauses which are independent sentences must have independent verbal suffixes. A string of subordinate clauses may refer to several actions that are linked together logically within an independent sentence, but none of these are marked grammatically to show an external reference or sequence.

(29) alimi naki tya
man-Subj boy hit-he did
'The man hit the boy'

(30) alimi naki luma marekoma wala
man-Subj boy hit-and/s-s Caus-stand-and/s-s again

alimi

'tya

hit-he did

'The man hit the boy, stood him up and hit him again'

1.4.2. Independent sentences with nominal predicate

(31) repona pitya
tree root
'It is a tree root'

(32) ipu ali
he man
'He is a man'

(33) ya
bird
'It is a bird'

1.4.3. Independent sentences with responses

(34) e 'yes'; abi 'now'; aya maya 'oh my!'; amenayo 'wow!'.

(28) go pisapulu puawa
that make-he did-Cref go-I did
'This having happened (as a result) I went'
2. The constituents of sentences are clauses. Clauses are either principal or subordinate. Principal clauses are the nuclear obligatory constituents of all independent sentences except response types. Subordinate clauses (except when they occur alone) are dependent upon principal clauses in their distribution within sentences.

There may be two or more principal clauses in a sentence if they are related to each other by internal reference markers or linked to each other by particles. These are co-ordinate principal clauses.

Subordinate clauses may stand alone but are incomplete because they presuppose a relationship with other clauses or sentences. In such cases no tense is indicated but the overall inflectional meaning seems to be subjunctive, e.g.:

pono

\text{go-I/and... (change of subject)}

which would be translated 'I should go'.

Following the discussion on clause types the various principal and subordinate clauses will be outlined according to their sentence distribution.

In Kewa four main clause types occur as sentence constituents. These can be summarised as follows:

(a) Intransitive: \( \pm \text{Subject} \pm \text{Intransitive Predicate} \)

(b) Transitive: \( \pm \text{Subject} \pm \text{Object} \pm \text{Transitive Predicate} \)

(c) Equative\textsubscript{1}: \( \pm \text{Clause (any type, including equative)} \pm \text{Equative Predicate} \)

Equative\textsubscript{2}: \( \pm \text{Nominal Predicate} \)

(d) Quotative: \( \pm \text{Clause (or Sentence or Sentence string)} \pm \text{Quotative Predicate} \)

In each of the above the predicate is the obligatory nucleus (see examples (35-9) for illustrations).

Transitive and intransitive clauses\textsuperscript{19} are distinguished from each other by: (a) the optional occurrence of an object in transitive clauses; (b) the obligatory absence of a subject marker with intransitive clauses and an optional presence of the same with transitive clauses; (c) separate filler lists (for the most part) occurring in the predicate positions.

Equative\textsubscript{1} clauses are distinguished by: (a) three unique verbs which occur optionally in the predicate or post-predicate position stating existence; (b) typical occurrence of embedded clauses and sentences in the pre-nuclear position. Equative\textsubscript{2} clauses are distinguished by: (a) nouns occurring in the predicate position.
Quotative clauses are distinguished by: (a) one specific verb la 'to talk' occurring in the nuclear position; (b) the obligatory occurrence of any grammatical construction (including equative clauses) occurring in the pre-nuclear position.

The above four clause types can occur as either principal or subordinate sentence constituents.

2.1. Several combinations of principal clauses are possible to form sentences. If the initial clause is equative the clause sequence is co-ordinate:

(35) ya yalo eda adapu nanea
bird so food plenty Neg-eat-it
EqCl2 +coordinate link +TrCl
'It is a bird so it does not eat much'

(36) ya yapare ni nalua ta
bird but I eat-I will say-he is
(EqCl2 +coordinate link +TrCl) +QuotCl
'It is a bird but I will eat it', he says

(37) ose mena yada ni naratyalo pia
horse pig because I Neg-ride-I am being
(EqCl2 +coordinate link +TrCl) +EqCl1
'Because it is a horse I am not riding it'

(38) mopara yapulu ni abi napalua
there therefore I now Neg-go-I will
EqCl2 +coordinate link +IntrCl
'It is a long way so I won't go now'

(39) gore kope yapalo e
that-# rcpe uncertain yes
EqCl2 +coordinate link +CompleteSent
'That is a vine or (what) - yes (a vine)'

2.2. Other co-ordinate principal clauses also occur with non-equative clauses initially:

2.2.1. Principal clauses with apposition

(40) ora lale pare napalua
true say-you are but Neg-go-I will
'That is true, but I will not go'
2.2.2. Principal clauses with uncertainty

(41) yai epalia palo naepalia palo
rain come-it will or Neg-come-it will or
marea
unknown-it is
'Whether it will rain or not, I do not know'

For other examples of co-ordinate links in the text see: (65,69,74,77).

2.3. Subordinate clauses occur in a relationship with principal clauses. The relationship of time, coupled with the same or different actors participating in an action, produce the following varieties of inter-clause markers: 23

2.3.1. Subordinate clauses with time-related actions

The subordinate clause may show that the action to follow has the same subject or actor (s-s) or a different subject or actor (d-s).

2.3.1.1. Sentence internal sequence actions (action A, then action B)

(42) ni puma pitua
I go-and then/s-s sit-I will
'I will go and sit down'

(43) ni adano peame
I look-I/and then/d-s make-they did
'I looked and they did it'

2.3.1.2. Simultaneous actions (actions A and B together)

(44) ni piri pealo
I sit-while/s-s make-I am
'While sitting I am making it'

2.3.1.3. Prolonged simultaneous actions (action A continues while B as a background action is finished)

(45) ni adaloara peawa
I look-Dur-while/s-s made-I did
'I did it while I kept on looking'

(46) ni piraloano peame
I sit-Dur-I/and/s-s make-they did
'They did it while I was sitting down'
For numerous examples of time related actions in the text see: (1-2, 8-9, 12-13, 15, 17, 20, 25-9, 31, 34, 38-40, 44-5, 56, 58, 63-4, 74, 76, 78, 83-4)

2.3.2. **Subordinate clauses with negative purpose**

The marker -pana 'negative purpose' indicates that an action is to be done in order that another action might not be done. No other inflectional affixes co-occur with this marker.

(47) robapana pawa pope break-Neg Pur slowly go-Comm 'Lest it break, carry it slowly'

2.3.3. **Subordinate clauses with condition**

The marker {-re} occurs showing that the first clause is the condition for the action in the second clause. In some languages of New Guinea24 further markers show contrary to fact relationship and contrary to fact with future implication relationship. In Kewa all these distinctions are signalled by the one conditional marker.

(48) epaliare toa come-he will-if say-I will 'If he comes I will tell you'

2.3.4. More than one internal sequential or internal sequential and referential marker may co-occur. This is analogous to a sentence having two different external referential markers or referential and sequential external markers. In all of the examples observed one of the internal sequential markers must be for time related actions.

(49) pumare wala epalua go-and/s-s-if again come-I will 'After I go I will come back again'

(50) ponore ipu epalia go-I/and/d-s-if he come-he will 'If I go he will come'

(51) menale pala pia get-he/and/d-s-Ref(Int) afraid being 'He gets it and (as a result) I am afraid'

2.3.5. Time-related actions which are subordinate clauses and occur alone are incomplete sentences. They are dependent upon the action which is implied to follow.
meda gienny
another give-you-and-ds
'Give me one (and then I'll also have one)'

3. The following text is a dialogue court case between a husband and his wife. It illustrates especially well the use of inter-sentence referents and inter-clause sequences. Almost all of the foregoing markers are represented in the sentences which follow.

Within the text subscript numbers parallel equivalent translations between Kewa and English. If an actual word or morpheme does not occur in the Kewa but is inserted in English for ease of translation this is indicated by the subscript 0 (zero).

Immediately following the translation of the text is a sentence-by-sentence analysis of sentence relationships and constituents.

3.1. Aditya vs. Kolanyu

(1) gore1 repoa2 wai3 sop4 le5 ne ada6-7 go8 winya9 nala-

miara10-12 (2) abala1 lamum2-3 yareyalo4-5 repoa6 sop7

le8 ne ada9-10 (3) muli1 yamo2 go3 le4 nalada5-7 (4) abala1

lamuawa2-3 winya4 dia5 (5) kalo1 gora2 abasenya3 lam-

muga4-5 (6) winyakoisimili1-4 (7) ne1 ora2 gipia3
tale4-5 (8) ipuna1 ni2 gioma3-4 pulas5-6 ratore7 aipulua8-10

(9) nana1 mena2 malue3 pameda4 guluga5-7 kama8 ginya9-10

(10) nana1 rekere2 na3 mabi4 kawapo5 pameda6 kama7 (11)

pa1 kid2-3 nayola4-5 mug6-7 (12) pa1 elenuri2-3 ruku-
linya4-5 (13) nana1 mena2 malue3 adi4 peaguapul5-7

ginya8-9 gui10 pie11-12

(1) All right1 while11 I0 was not10 married11 to that8

woman9 the tree2 seedling3 has grown up4-6 (2) Before1

I0 married2 and3 decided to5 plant4 that tree6 put there7

with knots8-9 (3) The tree7 mili1 yamo2 is growing4-6

there3 (4) When I5 married4 her0 she0 was not5 a

woman4 (5) Karl1 I married4 really2 a long time ago3

(6) So4 she3 is quite2 and old woman1 (7) Since5 she
is saying "I really dislike you," (8) When she doesn't like me and goes what shall I do? (9) The one pig of mine which I gave to you just give it to me (10) Just my pear shell my one mabi kawapo (11) I have not just got and pulled her hand (12) All the other things you should break (and keep) (13) Due to her I fastened my pig malue which she should give another like it (14) go_mena_yano_oral_muela (15) ipuna ni gipia loma pulapulu (16) na rekere mabi kawapo ora muela (17) pa kaluga elenuri rukulinya (18) neme (go winya) ne gipiale pulalo leada goto ru guti ay (19) rekere mabi kawapo na mena malue ora muela (20) ipu lamu sabara epa yareyawa reps go leneada (21) kalo nogo naki lapo ya yapa apola peada (22) ipu lamu sabara yareyawa (23) aya kini ralawa (24) paga eta abiri pena koneda nasawa (14) I will really get (back) a duplicate pig (15) Because she said she dislikes me and is going (16) I will really get my pear shell mabi kawapo (17) All the goods which I just gave them they can break off (and keep) (18) You (that woman) since you dislike me and have said you want to go that before mentioned you will break off and leave (19) The shell mabi kawapo and my pig malue those two I will really get (20) While still marrying her I came and planted the seedling that is now old (21) Karl the boy and girl are free to do like the birds and animals (22) While still
married to her I planted it. The bunch of pandanus fruit which is hanging now still have not thought about.

(25) gore epuna ora epe ali paluai tag rabore
kalo neme pu piri aipe lanoyal
pena wara penaya peawa rapa go winya lea
menare agale lea rekre re agale mogole gili-
airy agalere ipuna aipe luma komano
(26) ipu
(27) penaya peawa rapa go winya lea
(28) menare agale lea rekre re agale mogole gili-
airy agalere ipuna aipe luma komano
(29) (mogole giliagala tag rabo)
(30) gila l menare go lina kalawana 
(31) gila l werepema ora ipuna werepea pu palu tagabore nana mena maluepara nana nabi kawa
(32) ni ipu lapo lapo lapo napulapapulu wail-
simi
(33) pu
lawada a rekerenu rukulada napilia
(34) abi kalawa aq a luma pirenya wapeme pua
meai 1.1-13 tyapulu 14.16 (35) rekere 1 menare 2 wara 3 rubiali-
apulu 4.6 sogome 7 gilia 8.9 (36) ab 1 wape 2 kalawai 3.5 go 6
maduba 7.8 pie 9.10 (37) is 1 ali 2 gore 3 nana 4 lalo 5.7
adoe 8.9 is 10 gore 11 (38) wapeme 1 ginya 2.3 abala 4
kaluga 5.6 men 7 maluepara 8.9 nabi 10 kawapo 11 lapo 12 ora 13
ginya 14.15 (39) (kolanyu): nanai 1.2 lano 3.4 abi 5 la 6 so 7
pagoma 8.9 abi 10 tepena 11.12

(32) She 2 and I 1 the two of us 3.4 are not 5.6 going 6 because 8
the recorder 9.10 can go 12 up there 11 and 14 say 13 what 15 I
am 17 saying 16 (33) I 3 said 2 go 1 to break off 9.10 those 5
pigs 6.8 and shells 7.8 and 11 she 14 won't 12 do it 13 (34)
Now 1 I 3 gave 2 (the pig 4 ) and she 8 killed 5 and 6 put 7 the
pig ago 4 because 16 of that which 13 wape 9 went 10.11 to
get 12 and hit it 14.15 (35) Because 6 she will 5 really 3
throw away 4 the pig 2 and shell 1 she will 9 give me 8 that 7
(36) That which 5 I 4 now 1 gave 3.4 to wape 2 is being car-
ried 7.8 and is here 9.10 (37) (Hey 1 men 2 all right 3
since 7 it is mine 4 to tell 5.6 just wait 8.9 all right 11 )
(38) Wape 1 should give 2.3 what I 6 gave 5 before 4 to him 5
the pig 7 malue 8 and mabi kawapo 10.11 he should 15 really 13
give 14 (39) (kolanyu): That which 2 I 1 should say 3 let me
say 6 it now 5 and 4 that 7 will hear 8 and 9 we two should
talk 11.12 now 10

(40) (aditya): ipu 1 nana 2 winya 3 lalo 4.5 pirano 6.7 mogo 8
pulapulu 9.11 (41) mogo 1 mogo 1 pulapulu 2.4 (42) kalo 1
neme 2 rai 3 re 4 go 5 mape 6 lodo 7.9 (43) rotome 1 meda 2 go 3
natyaloda 4.7 (44) go 1 winya 2 pu 3 loma 4.5 rai 6 meda 7 go 8
napoaloda 12 roto 13 meda 14 (ada 15 ) roto 16 meda 17 go 18
nai 19.20 pu 21 pulada 22.24 (45) kalo 1 ora 2 ipuna 3 were-
pema 4.5 pa 6 ali 7 meda 8 paluame 9.11 tapulu 12.13 (46) abal 1
ali 2 lapo 3 pe 4 winya 5 neme 6 repo 7 peau 8.9 lamuawa 10.11
(47) ab 1 ki 2 peau 3.4 pa 5 ali 6 meda 7 polalo 8.10 tapulu 11.12
(48) nana₃ mena₂ maluepara₃₋₄ mena₅ ibi₆ malue₇ nana₈ rekere₉ nabi kawapo₁₀ lapo₁₁ kama₁₂ yako₁₃ mulua₁₄₋₁₅

(40) *(aditya)*: She₁ my wife₂₋₃ I₇ am sitting₆ to talk₄₋₅ about because₁₁ she₁₀ is going₉ there₈ (41) Because₄ she₃ is going₂ there₁ (42) Karl₁ I₂₋₈ am not₆ hitting₇ her₀ with an axe₃ about that₉ (43) I₆ am not₄ hitting₅ her₀ with a₂ stick₁ about₇ that₃ (44) That₁ woman₂ says₄₋₅ she is going₃ and I₁₁ am not₉ hitting₁₀ her₀ with an₆ axe₇ or a₁₄ stick₁₃ (look₁₅) or a₁₇ stick₁₆ of mine₁₉₋₂₀ and₂₄ she₂₃ is going₂₁ (45) Karl₁ because₁₃ her₃ real₂ strongness₄ she is saying₁₂ "I₁₁ will₁₀ go₉ to just₆ another₈ man₇" (46) She₅ is a twice₃ married₁₄ woman₅ and I am₆ the third₇ to do it₈₋₉ (47) Now₁ it will be made₃₋₄ a fourth₂ because₁₂ she is saying₁₁ "I₀ want₉₋₁₀ to go₈ to some₅ other₇ man₆" (48) My₁ pig₂ malue₃ the pig's₅ name₆ is malue₇ and my₈ shell₉ nabi kawapo₁₀ just₁₂ two₁₁ the same₁₃ I will₁₅ get back₁₄

(49) winyami₁ ni₂ ora₃ giala₄₋₅ pulapulu₆₋₈ (50) abiri₁ wailisi₂ neme₃ so₄ pus₅ lanyaya₆₋₈ lalo₉₋₁₀ (51) ni₁ yalipu₂ napaluame₃₋₆ (52) abi₁ ne₂ la₃ (53) *(kolanyu)*: neme₁ abi₂ kose₃ laori₄₋₅ rekere₆ mena₇ koseleda₈₋₁₀ (54) go₁ alimi₂ rekere₃ mena₄ gi₅ (mogo₆ rekere₇ gi₈ mogo₉ mena₁₀ gi₁₁) kone₁₂ saba₁₃₋₁₄ pi₁₅ rabu₁₆ (55) nagïada₁₋₃ kose₄ madi₅ pe₆ (56) kose₁ pakama₂ namadi₃₋₄ pe₅ (57) go₁ rabo₂ go₃ ele₄ nagia₅₋₆ (58) abiri₁ go₂ ele₃ ginyalo₄₋₆ o₇ mononu₈₋₉ polisapoi anu¹₀₋₁₁ epale₁₂₋₁₃ rabu₁₄ kala₁₅ loma₁₆₋₁₇ mea₁₈ gemi₁₉₋₂₀

(49) Because₈ the woman₁ really₃ dislikes₄ me₂ and is going₆₋₇ (50) Now₁ recorder₂ you₃ go₅ up there₄ and tell₆₋₇ what₈ I₁₀ am saying₉ (51) I₁ do not₃₋₅ intend₆ to go₄ to Ialibu₂ (52) Now₁ you₂ talk₃ (53) *(kolanyu)*: I₁ am₅ saying₄ accusation₃ now₂ - about₉₋₁₀ the pig₇
and pearl shell (54) When I started thinking about it, one man was giving the shells and pigs (giving that six shell giving that nine pig) (55) He didn't give and I am making accusation about nothing (57) At that time he did not give those goods (58) And now he wants to give those goods since the time when the police boys and the constable came and said give them to her and they got them and gave them to me.

(59) They gave them, but "Why have you done this?" they said and gave them to me (60) The sweet potatoes are done well (61) The pigs are well cared for (62) The people are entertained (63) "Give it to her," they said and got and gave them to me - all the people did (64) This having happened I thought I would say court and just get some more for it (65) I do sweet potatoes well but "your sweet potato manner is bad" he says (66) His people (clan) will do it for him (67) "Who will get it?" he says - all the
shells, pigs

"You have not done good and people have been entertained by you in a bad manner," he says.

"Suppose I didn't have a mother then what would I have done?"

"Since you haven't given it to me."

"You don't entertain people."

Here in my liver there are bad thoughts (the second word for liver is the tabooed form). Here since that I have bad thoughts I have done well but I think of his saying and I have these thoughts - in the liver. This happened and I think since I will just get it because of it he can do it (i.e. give her something) and I will stay. But because I'm not a little girl and now there are four children I am going Now I went and got my pig and my shell with the sweet potato I got them. When I put the shell which Roto gave he says to Riabo's mother "Let's go and get it."

"Since you haven't been there."

"You don't entertain people,"

Here since that I have bad thoughts this happened and I think since I will stay but because I'm not a little girl and now there are four children I am going. Now I went and got my pig and my shell with the sweet potato I got them. When I put the shell which Roto gave he says to Riabo's mother "Let's go and get it."

pua, matya, banya, moda, meawa, rekereme, mea, aipa, ruma, pa, matya, epawai
Let's go 3-4 to carry it 1-2 (81) I got 3-4 this 1 sweet potato 2 - the shell 5 got it 6 (82) It got the pig 1 and bundle 3 of salt 2 which I carried 5-6 - the two of them 9 (83) His cousin said 13-16 "The pig 1 was bought 2-3 and 4 is it yours 5?" (the one 12 that they gave to me 10-11 for nothing 9) (84) "Another pig 0 has been gotten 10 to be killed 8-9 was carried 6-7 down to 4 Paipa 3 - a female 16 pig 15 to 13 Paipa 14 and they say 25-26 "come 19 and get it 20 we are 23-24 keeping it 21-22" (85) Another 1 down there 2 was got 3 killed 4 and portioned out 5-7 (86) This 1 continues 2-3 and 3 I am 7 really 4 clearing out 5-6 (87) Before 1 plenty of them 2-4 (pigs) have died 6 there 5 (88) All those others 1-3 before 4 have died 10 when dirty 5 talk continued 6-8

3.2. In the analysis which follows new formulaic representations are as follows: sentence = everything following the number in parentheses; [ ] = clause borders; ( ) = embedding of constructions within what follows in the notation; / = which includes; comma = followed by; colon = consisting of. The first example would then read: An independent sentence which has as its constituents (i.e. consisting of) a principal transitive clause marked by an internal goal referent followed by a subordinate transitive clause marked for simultaneous action by the same subject.

(1) \textbf{IndepS: [PrinTr Cl/IntGref, SubTr Cl/s-s Simul]}

(2) \textbf{IndepS: [SubTr Cl/s-s Seq, PrinTr Cl/IntGref]}
(3) IndepS: [PrinTr CI/IntGref]
(4) IndepS: [PrinTr CI, PrinEq2 CI]
(5) IndepS: [PrinTr CI]
(6) DepS/Sref,Rref: [PrinEq2 CI/Ext Sref, Int/Ext Rref]
(7) DepS/Rref: [PrinQuot CI/Ext Rref]
(8) IndepS: [(SubTr CI/s-s Seq, PrinIntr CI) PrinTr CI]
(9) IndepS: [SubTr CI/d-s Seq]
(10) IndepS: [PrinEq2 CI]
(11) DepS/Gref: [PrinTr CI/Ext Gref]
(12) IndepS: [SubTr CI/d-s Seq]
(13) DepS/Cref: [PrinTr CI/Ext Cref, SubTr CI/d-s Seq, PrinEq1 CI]
(14) IndepS: [PrinTr CI]
(15) IndepS: [(PrinEq1 CI) SubQuot CI/s-s Seq, PrinIntr CI/IntCref]
(16) IndepS: [PrinTr CI]
(17) DepS/Seq: [(PrinTr CI/Seq#), SubTr CI/d-s Seq]
(18) IndepS: [PrinTr CI/IntCref, PrinTr CI/IntGref, PrinEq1 CI]
(19) IndepS: [PrinTr CI]
(20) IndepS: [SubTr CI/s-s Simul, PrinTr CI/IntGref]
(21) IndepS: [PrinTr CI/IntGref]
(22) IndepS: [SubTr CI/s-s Simul, PrinTr CI]
(23) IndepS: [PrinTr CI]
(24) DepS/Seq: [(PrinTr CI/Seq#) PrinTr CI/IntGref]
(25) DepS/Seq: [(PrinIntr CI) (PrinQuot CI/Seq#), PrinIntr CI, SubTr CI/d-s Seq]
(26) IndepS: [SubIntr CI/d-s Seq]
(27) IndepS: [SubIntr CI/d-s Seq, PrinTr CI, PrinQuot CI]
(28) Deps/Seq: [(PrinTr CI/Seq#) SubTr CI/s-s Seq, SubIntr CI/d-s Seq]
(29) Deps/seq: [(PrinTr CI/Seq#) SubTr CI/d-s Seq, PrinQuot CI, SubTr CI/d-s Seq, PrinTr CI]
(30) IndepS: [PrinQuot CI, PrinTr CI]
(31) Deps/Seq: [((SubTr CL/s-s Seq, PrinIntr CL) PrinQuot CI])/Seq#, PrinTr CI]
(32) \text{IndepS: \{PrinTr Cl/IntCref, SubTr Cl/d-s Seq + IntGref, PrinIntr Cl\}}

(33) \text{IndepS: \{PrinTr Cl/IntGref, PrinTr Cl/IntGref, PrinTr Cl\}}

(34) \text{DepS/Cref: \{(PrinTr Cl, SubTr Cl/s-s Seq, SubIntr Cl/d-s Seq, PrinTr Cl) PrinTr Cl/ExtCref\}}

(35) \text{DepS/Genref: \{PrinTr Cl/IntCref, PrinTr Cl/Ext Genref\}}

(36) \text{IndepS: \{(PrinTr Cl) PrinEq\ C1\}}

(37) \text{IndepS: \{PrinTr Cl/Int Rref, PrinIntr Cl\}}

(38) \text{IndepS: \{(SubTr Cl/d-s Seq, PrinTr Cl) SubTr Cl/d-s Seq\}}

(39) \text{IndepS: \{SubTr Cl/d-s Seq, PrinTr Cl, SubTr Cl/s-s Seq, SubTr Cl/d-s Seq\}}

(40) \text{IndepS: \{SubIntr Cl/d-s Seq, PrinIntr Cl/IntCref\}}

(41) \text{DepS/Cref: \{PrinIntr Cl/ExtCref\}}

(42) \text{IndepS: \{PrinTr Cl/IntGref\}}

(43) \text{DepS/Genref: \{PrinTr Cl/ExtGenref\}}

(44) \text{IndepS: \{SubQuot Cl/s-s Seq, PrinTr Cl/IntGref, PrinIntr Cl/IntTref\}}

(45) \text{IndepS: \{(SubIntr Cl/s-s Seq, PrinIntr Cl/IntSref) PrinQuot Cl/IntCref\}}

(46) \text{IndepS: \{PrinTr Cl\}}

(47) \text{IndepS: \{(PrinTr Cl) PrinIntr Cl\) Prin Quot Cl/IntCref\}}

(48) \text{IndepS: \{PrinTr Cl\}}

(49) \text{IndepS: \{PrinIntr Cl/IntCref\}}

(50) \text{IndepS: \{SubTr Cl/d-s Seq, PrinTr Cl\}}

(51) \text{IndepS: \{PrinIntr Cl/IntSref\}}

(52) \text{IndepS: \{PrinTr Cl\}}

(53) \text{IndepS: \{PrinTr Cl/Int Rref, Gref\}}

(54) \text{IndepS: \{PrinTr Cl, PrEq\ C1\}}

(55) \text{DepS/Genref: \{PrinTr Cl/ExtGenref, PrinTr Cl\}}

(56) \text{IndepS: \{PrinTr Cl\}}

(57) \text{IndepS: \{PrinTr Cl\}}

(58) \text{IndepS: \{SubTr Cl/d-s Seq (PrinIntr Cl/Int Rref), SubQuot Cl/s-s Seq, PrinTr Cl\}}

(59) \text{IndepS: \{(PrinTr Cl, PrinTr Cl) SubQuot Cl, PrinTr Cl\}}

(60) \text{IndepS: \{PrinEq\ C1\}}
(61) IndepS: [PrinTr Cl]
(62) IndepS: [PrinEq_1 Cl]
(63) IndepS: [(PrinTr Cl) SubQuot Cl, PrinTr Cl]
(64) DepS/Seq: [(PrinTr Cl/Seq#), SubTr Cl/s-s Seq, (PrinTr Cl) Prin Eq_1 Cl]
(65) IndepS: [(PrinTr Cl + Coord + PrinTr Cl) PrinQuot Cl]
(66) IndepS: [PrinTr Cl]
(67) IndepS: [(PrinTr Cl) PrinQuot Cl]
(68) IndepS: [(PrinTr Cl/IntCref, PrinIntr Cl) PrinQuot Cl]
(69) IndepS: [(PrinEq_2 Cl + Coord + PrinTr Cl + Coord) PrinQuot Cl]
(70) IndepS: [(PrinTr Cl/Int Rref) PrinQuot Cl]
(71) IndepS: [(PrinEq_1 Cl/Int Rref) PrinQuot Cl]
(72) IndepS: [(PrinTr Cl) PrinQuot Cl]
(73) IndepS: [PrinEq_1 Cl]
(74) IndepS: [PrinEq_1 Cl/Int Rref]
(75) IndepS: [PrinEq_1 Cl + Coord + (PrinTr Cl), SubTr Cl/s-s Seq, PrinEq_1 Cl]
(76) DepS/Rref: [SubIntr Cl/s-s Seq, PrinTr Cl/Ext Rref, SubTr Cl/d-s Seq, (PrinIntr Cl) PrinEq_1 Cl]
(77) IndepS: [Coord + PrinEq_2 Cl/IntGref + Coord + PrinEq_2 Cl, PrinIntr Cl]
(78) IndepS: [SubIntr Cl/s-s Seq, PrinTr Cl]
(79) IndepS: [(PrinTr Cl) PrinTr Cl, (PrinIntr Cl) PrinQuot Cl]
(80) IndepS: [(PrinTr Cl) SubIntr Cl/d-s Seq]
(81) IndepS: [(PrinTr Cl) PrinTr Cl]
(82) IndepS: [(SubTr Cl/s-s Seq, PrinTr Cl) PrinTr Cl]
(83) IndepS: [(SubTr Cl/s-s Seq, SubTr Cl/d-s Seq, PrinTr Cl + Coord) SubQuot Cl]
(84) IndepS: [(SubTr Cl/s-s Seq, PrinTr Cl/IntGref, PrinEq_1 Cl) PrinQuot Cl]
(85) IndepS: [PrinTr Cl]
(86) IndepS: [SubTr Cl/d-s Seq, PrinIntr Cl]
(87) IndepS: [PrinTr Cl]
(88) IndepS: [SubTr Cl/d-s Seq, PrinIntr Cl]
NOTES

1. H.R. Klieneberger, *Bibliography of Oceanic Linguistics*, 1957, lists 612 languages relating to Oceania in general. About 154 of these, called Papuan languages, relate to the Territory of New Guinea (excluding the main islands). The term *Papuan* as used by Klieneberger is obscure in that it is not used in the sense of non-Melanesian. On the one hand it relates to political boundaries (Western and Eastern Papua with 115 languages) and on the other hand it relates to a geographical area (Territory of New Guinea: The Mainland, with 39 Papuan languages). This leads to difficulty, e.g. Motu (a Melanesian language spoken near Port Moresby, Papua) is called Papuan while Medipa (a Highland language in the Western Highlands) is said to have Melanesian influence, whereas as a matter of fact it is as appropriately classified as Papuan as is Motu.

S.A. Wurm (1960) and Wurm and D.C. Laycock (1961) have classified most of the languages of the Highlands and some of the Sepik district. Wurm has classified the Highland languages into an East New Guinea Highlands stock of some 731,000 speakers, comprising five separate language families. Of the some 48 languages postulated by Wurm for the stock he (elsewhere) cites grammatical materials for some 23 of them. The only syntactic materials published for any of these to date are Vincent and Vincent (1962) and McCarthy (in press).

2. The Kewa language is located in the Southern Highlands of Papua. There are at least 25,000 speakers divided into three dialects. The material in this paper represents the dialect as spoken in Muli, a hamlet near the Iaro River, halfway between the Ialibu and Kagua Patrol Posts. Kewa (also called Kewa-pi by Wurm, 1960) is a member of the Enga-Huli-Pole-Wiru language family and of the Mendi-Pole sub-family. Materials were gathered in a series of field trips between 1958 and 1962. The paper was prepared at the Summer Institute of Linguistics Workshop held at the University of Oklahoma in 1963, where I received many helpful suggestions from Joseph E. Grimes and Darlene Bee.
3. Although the intonational analysis is incomplete, the contrastive patterns of the sentence nuclei seem to be as follows: Final statement intonations generally end on pitch 1 (low). Non-statement final intonations generally end on pitch 2 (mid). There are, of course, many other varieties within sentences expressing question, emphasis, surprise, command, and the like. The overall characteristics of Kewa intonation have been presented by J. Franklin in "Kewa II: Higher Level Phonology" (to appear). The pitch notation used here follows C.F. Hockett, A Course in Modern Linguistics, pp.33-47, 1958.

4. The suffixes (or clitics) which mark external reference ties to surrounding sentences or clauses (which either have already been uttered or are implied as following) are sometimes the same as sentence internal reference markers between clauses. This is analogous to sentence sequence markers in English such as but signalling inter-clause or phrase relationships. See Viola Waterhouse, "Independent and Dependent Sentences", IJAL 29:47 (footnote 8), 1963.

5. Declarative sentence types are considered kernel types because of the relatively simple transformations by which other types can be derived from the declarative. For the purposes of this paper only declarative sentences are discussed in any detail. Interrogative sentences are of two types: (a) kernel sentence with interrogative intonation (implies yes-no answer) or (b) kernel sentence with interrogative particle adjacent to, prefixed to (if a noun), or substituting for the constituent of the sentence about which the question is being asked, e.g.:

(a) abala alimi naki yana adapara kala
yesterday man-Sub boy dog house-in give-he did
'Yesterday the man gave the dog to the boy in the house.'

(b) arobo abala aali apinya naki aipu
Ques-time yesterday Ques-man whose boy how many
yananu alena adapara kala ?
dog-\textsc{coll} Ques-Loc house-in give-he did
'When yesterday did what man give how many dogs to whose boy at what house?'

Interrogative particles may substitute for parts of the above, e.g. \textsc{api} 'who' for 'what man', etc. but the core of the sentence is declarative in form.
6. Orthographic symbols in this paper represent the following phonemes: t [apico-interdental]; ty [fronted lamino-alveolar]; g [voiced dorso-velar]; b [mb]; d [nd]; p [bilabial voiceless spirant]; s [apico-interdental grooved spirant]; k [voiceless dorso-velar stop]; m [ml]; n [n]; ny [fronted lamino-alveolar nasal]; w [w]; y [non-syllabic dental vocoid]; l and r [flapped non-nasal sonorants]; high vowels i, u; mid-low vowels e, a, o. Simple stops are fortis and tend to be lengthened medially. The dorso-velar is occasionally voiceless, and is backed before /a/, /o/ and /u/. The complex stops (bilabial, apico-alveolar) are pre-nasalised; /d/ is also retroflexed in certain environments. The spirants (bilabial, apico-interdental, dorso-velar) are occasionally voiced in fast speech; /p/ and /k/ are affricates utterance initially. Nasals occur at bilabial, apico-alveolar, and lamino-alveolar points of articulation. Non-nasal sonorants (bilabial, apico-alveolar, lamino-alveolar) include two semi-vowels and two flaps. The flap /l/ is retroflexed before back vowels; /r/ has four allophones: [t̚r̚] (retroflexed) and [t̚r̚] occur utterance medially; [d] and [r̚] occur utterance medially. The vowels /i/, /o/ and /u/ each have only one allophone. The front vowel /e/ has an open allophone which occurs before complex stops and a close allophone which occurs elsewhere. The central vowel /a/ has three allophones: [ä] before palatal consonants; [a] following the velar stop, and in some other positions; and [a] elsewhere. The exact distribution of [a] and [ä] is still obscure although the former seems to occur foot initial and foot final as geminate cluster or in fluctuation, and stressed. Although tone is phonemic (two levels) it is not pertinent to sentence structure and is not written in this paper. For a more complete description of Kewa phonology see Karl and Joice Franklin, "Kewa I: Phonological Asymmetry", Anthropological Linguistics 4:7:29-37, 1962, and Joice Franklin, "Kewa II: Higher Level Phonology" (to appear).

7. Other notations used in citation forms and in translations are as follows: a number in parentheses following the example is a cross-reference to its textual occurrence; abbreviations used are: Agen = agent; Caus = causative; Coll = collective; Comm = command; Cont = continuative; Dim = diminutive; d-s = different subject; Dur = durative; Incom = incomplete; Int = intensive; Loc = location; Neg = negative; Poss = possessive; Pur = purpose; s-s = same subject; Subj = subject; # = pause.
8. In such cases the same-subject, different-subject markers of subordinate clauses are not used. Instead the regular tense and person suffixes plus -da show the clauses to be co-ordinate principal.

9. Although the verb form is in the singular two nouns occur but are treated idiomatically as one.

10. See Note 17 where two different constituents are marked by {-me} as subject and agent.

11. Where that refers to and substitutes for the constituent which describes the skull of a pig that one of the witnesses was carrying.

12. The varieties of command forms are as follows: singular command, plural command (participant benefactive or non-participant benefactive, see Note 17); definite command; polite command.

13. In the text which follows (3.1.) the general referent occurs in 28 out of 88 sentences. It is difficult to know exactly the items for which the general referents are sometimes substituting. Because of this no attempt has been made in the text to classify the sentences as having external or internal general referents.

14. When referents occur with non-verbs it is possible to have more than one in a linear order, e.g. winyakoi simili (winyakoi 'old woman', -si 'diminuative', {-mi} 'Sref', {-li} 'Rref'). Only one referent marker may occur with any one verb although other referents may occur simultaneously elsewhere in the same sentence.

15. This name is taken from Joy McCarthy, "Clause Chaining in Kanite" (to appear).

16. The marker -re ~ -ri reveals interesting points of grammatical closure. When occurring on the word level it marks actual or potential pause, on the phrase level it marks the limit of constitutes, on the clause level the conditional dependency of the initial clause, and on the sentence level it helps to mark sequences. At any of these grammatical closure points pause may also occur. For convenience in the description this marker is abbreviated as #.
17. See Karl J. Franklin, "Kewa Verb Morphology", to appear in the Linguistic Series of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, for a complete list of dependent and independent verbal suffixes.

In summary, there are two main morphological divisions of verbs: (a) active stems and (b) stative stems.

Active stems divide into four classes on the basis of patterns of suffixation and stem final vowel changes. Affixes with these four classes indicate benefaction (for the subject of the action - termed participant in KV - or for someone or something other than the subject - termed non-participant in KV). Stative stems occur only with affixation showing benefaction for someone other than the participant.

Verbs are dependent and independent according to syntactic setting. Verbs as the minimum form of the clause are within principal or subordinate clauses. Verbs in principal clauses take a series of suffixes showing them to be independent, while verbs in subordinate clauses take a series of suffixes showing them to be dependent.


19. Passive clauses are transforms of transitive (or intransitive) clauses as follows:

(a) \( N_1 -mi + N_2 + V_{tr} \rightarrow N_2 + N_1 -mi + V_{tr} \)

\( \text{alimi yana ty}a \rightarrow \text{yana alimi ty}a \)

\( \text{man-Subj dog hit-he did dog man-Agen hit-he did} \)

'The man hit the dog' 'The dog was hit by the man'

This example, it can be argued, is merely alternate word order. However, in example 78 of the text where the subject and agent are different persons (i.e. the subject indicated by the verb suffix is 1st person but the agent marked by \(-me\) is the sweet potato) the validity of this type of transform is further shown. Two constituents may both occur marked by \(-me\). Word order (-Subject -Agent) always shows which constituent is subject and which is agent.

Other minor clause types in Kewa occur as subtypes of the four major clause types outlined and are distinguished by the verb nucleus or verb phrase nucleus position. Other optional constituents in the pre-nuclear clause positions are:
Time, Subject, Indirect Object, Object, Location (Predicate).

Nuclear verbs occur in two main verb phrase types:
(a) particle modified (loose-knit) and (b) verb modified (close-knit). In reference to clause types it is the latter that are of concern here because the particles which occur with the former modify other constituents as well. The nucleus and the marginal positions included in the verb phrase are as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 \\
\text{habitual, auxiliary, purpose, desiderative, nucleus, state of being (Eq1), quotative.}
\end{array}
\]

Combinations of these may occur: (a) any combination may be quoted; (b) any combination other than something plus 7 may be in the state of being; (c) \(1 + 2 + 3 + 5\); (d) \(1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5\); (e) \(1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5\); (f) \(2 + 3 + 4 + 5\); (g) \(3 + 4 + 5\), etc. with minimal occurrences any pre-nuclear verb except 2 or 3.

The verb nucleus may also express command, negation, aspect, mood, and benefaction. See Franklin, "Kewa Verbs".

20. The grammatical construction of course is usually in the first person. Ambiguities occur when this does not happen, e.g. 47 in the text, where the translation can also be an indirect quotation.

21. See example 69 in the text for this same co-ordinate link plus (-re) 'conditional'.

22. The co-ordinate links of examples 35-9 are also internal referent ties. (See 2.1.2.)

23. Here, and below with other subordinate clauses, the complete range of time-related actions are not given, but again, see Franklin, "Kewa Verbs" for this.


25. This text was recorded by the author in February, 1961. Although the text is spontaneous the tape recorder was observed and aroused suspicion, hence the textual references to it and myself.
REFERENCES

Elson, Benjamin and Pickett, Velma

Franklin, Karl and Joice

Franklin, Joice
"Kewa II: Higher Level Phonology". Forthcoming.

Franklin, Karl J.

Hockett, Charles F.

Klieneberger, H.R.

McCarthy, Joy
"Clause Chaining in Kanite". Forthcoming.

Vincent, Alex and Lois
1962  "Introductory Notes on Tairora Verb Morphology and Syntax", Studies in New Guinea Linguistics by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, New Guinea Branch. Oceania Linguistic Monographs No.6; Sydney; University of Sydney, 4-27.
Waterhouse, Viola

Wurm, S. A.

Wurm, S. A. and Laycock, D. C.

* * *

**Editor's Note - Additions to Bibliography**

Since the compilation of this article, a number of publications have appeared in which syntactic features of New Guinea Highland languages are discussed. The following is a list. Acknowledgment is here given for assistance rendered by Mr K. McElhanon in the compilation of this list.

Deibler, Ellis Jr.

Franklin, Karl J.
1964 "Kewa Verb Morphology", in *Verb Studies in Five New Guinea Languages*, Norman, Oklahoma: Summer Institute of Linguistics of the University of Oklahoma, pp.100-130.

Frantz, Chester I.

Frantz, Chester and McKaughan, Howard
1964 "Gadsup Independent Verb Affixes", in *Verb Studies*
In Five New Guinea Languages, pp.84-99.

Healey, Phyllis M.

Loeweke, Eunice and Jean May

Loving, Richard and Aretta

Loving, Richard and McKaughan, Howard

Loving, Aretta and McKaughan, Howard
1964 "Awa Verbs Part II: The Internal Structure of Dependent Verbs", in Verb Studies in Five New Guinea Languages, pp.31-44.

McCarthy, Joy

McKaughan, Howard P.
Pawley, Andrew Kenneth

Pike, Kenneth L.

Strange, Gladys Neeley

Vincent, Alex and Lois
1962  "Introductory Notes on Tairora verb morphology and Syntax", in *Oceanica Linguistic Monographs* No.6, pp.4-27.

Voegelin, C.F. and F.M.

Wurm, S.A.
1964  "Australian New Guinea Highlands Languages and the Distribution of their Typological Features", in *American Anthropologist*, vol.66, No.4, part 2, pp.77-97.

Young, Robert A.

Young, Robert and Rosemary