NOTES ON AGARABI GRAMMAR

JEAN GODDARD

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

abil	–	abilitative	neg	–	negative
adj	–	adjective	NP	–	noun phrase
app	–	appositional	nt	–	neutral
aux	–	auxiliary verb	pf	–	perfect
ax	–	axis	pl.	–	plural
bene	–	benefactive	poss	–	possessive
C	–	consonant	pro	–	pronoun
cl	–	clause	pst	–	past
com	–	comment	purp	–	purposive
cond	–	conditional	QW	–	question word
cont	–	continuative	R/A	–	Relator-Axis
desid	–	desiderative	re	–	relator slot
dir	–	directional	reas	–	reason
d.s.	–	different subject	sg.	–	singular
emph	–	emphasis	top	–	topicaliser
fin	–	final	vb	–	verb
fut	–	future	V	–	vowel
ger	–	gerundive	vbl	–	verbaliser
H	–	head (slot)	lp	–	first person
Impv	–	imperative	2p	–	second person
ind	–	indicative	3p	–	third person
int	–	interrogative	?	–	glottal stop
juss	–	jussive	ṽ	–	nasalised vowel
med	–	medial	>	–	becomes
mod	–	modifier	Ø	–	zero allomorph
narr	–	narrative			

35

(word) . (word) - indicates that two English words translate one
                      Agarabi word/morpheme
(word) - (word) - dashes separating words indicate separate words
                      or morphemes in Agarabi
(word) / (word) - portmanteau morpheme carrying two meanings

0. INTRODUCTION

0.1. *THE AGARABI LANGUAGE*[1]

The Agarabi language is typical of those in the highlands, having a
relatively simple phonetic inventory, but considerable complexity in
the grammar. The only 'exotic' sounds to an English-trained ear are
the glottal stops and tone. Even the latter is simple in Agarabi,
having two level tones in contrast and glides occurring only on long
vowels.

Grammatical complexity lies in the domain of verb and clause struc-
ture. Nominals and modifiers are relatively simple with little inflec-
tion. Verbs, however, are routinely inflected for voice, tense, aspect,
number, mood, person subject and emphasis. In medial position they
also carry suffixes which indicate whether the following verb will have
the same or a different subject. If it will be different, the medial
form indicates the person of its own subject as well as that of the
following verb.

In common with other languages of this type Agarabi strings seemingly
endless numbers of clauses together in a stream of speech. This pre-
sents the analyst with a problem in deciding what units there may be
larger than the clause and on what basis to divide these longer strings.

One of the traditional marks of a sentence has been something which
shows finality, such as falling intonation and pause. In Papua New
Guinea Highland languages the 'final' verb (a particular form which can
occur independently and usually in utterance-final clauses) is often
accompanied by falling intonation and followed by pause. Thus the final
verb has been interpreted as marking the end of a sentence by many
analysts. However, this can result in extremely long and complicated
sentences which may be difficult to describe or differentiate.

Some who have analysed Papua New Guinea languages have followed the
'traditional' interpretation; others, such as Healey[2], have posited
intermediate levels. A third analysis followed by Scott[3] is to postu-
late a seemingly lower level for sentences. In this case sentence
terminus is marked by the clause in a string which is marked to show
that it has a different subject from the one which follows it in the
string. The clause, then, which has the final verb, falling intonation

and is followed by pause, marks the end of a paragraph. I followed[4]
this analysis in my study of the higher levels of Agarabi grammar.

Though this paper does not include a discussion of the higher levels
(sentence through discourse) the type of analysis does have some bearing
on the clause level. It may be helpful to keep in mind that the final
verb marks the end of a paragraph, the different-subject verb, the end
of a sentence and the same-subject verbs are the true 'medial' verbs
which in some sense depend on other verbs or clauses. These medials
never occur independently and occur medially in strings of clauses.

This paper begins with a brief description of the phonemes of the
Agarabi language to aid understanding. Then it progresses from the
morpheme level through the word and phrase levels as far as the clause
level.[5] It treats many of the most common constructions at these
levels but is, by no means, exhaustive.

1. THE PHONEMES OF AGARABI

1.0. *PHONEME INVENTORY*

The following chart is presented for a quick view of Agarabi pho-
nology; a brief description follows.

CHART OF PHONEMES

Consonants

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Velar
Oral			
Voiceless	p	t	k
Voiced	w	y	
Nasal	m	n	

Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Low	e	a	o

Neutral

Glottal

h

Liquid

r

1.1. DESCRIPTION OF PHONEMES

Consonant phonemes divide into two contrastive classes: oral and
nasal. Oral consonants divide into voiceless and voiced. Voiceless
oral consonants contrast at bilabial, alveolar and velar points of
articulation. Allophones occur as follows: [pʰ], [tʰ], and [kʰ], occur
initially and following complex vowel-nasal or vowel-glottal nuclei;
fricative [ɸ], [s], [x], occur between oral vowels and may fluctuate
with stop allophones. (The alveolar stop and fricative allophones
fluctuate freely initially, the vilabials occasionally and velars
rarely, but an unaspirated velar allophone [k] may fluctuate with the
fricative between vowels.) An alveolar affricate allophone [ts] fluc-
tuates occasionally with the aspirated stop.

(1) initial: [pʰǫ] *'pig'*   [tʰúsɪ] *'pumpkin'* [kʰúrú] *'fence'*
     medial : [əpǫ] *'male'*   [ísənə] *'bow'*   [əxo]   *'his chest'*
               [əmpe] *'let go'*   [ə'tǫ] *'tip'*   [yənkə] *'stick'*

Voiced oral consonants and nasal consonants contrast only at bilabial
and alveolar points of articulation. Allophones of voiced oral conson-
ants ([w] and [y]) occur as follows. Voiced stop allophones [b] and
[d] occur initially and following complex syllable nuclei. These fluc-
tuate with labialised stop [bʷ], palatalised stop [dʸ] and semivowels
[w] and [y] respectively, with varying degrees of friction. A voiced
bilabial fricative [ƀ] with or without labialisation may fluctuate with
[w] between oral vowels. Nasal phonemes /m/ and /n/ occur without
allophonic variation.[6]

(2) initial: [bántś] *'man'*   [dənkə] *'stick'*
     medial : [úwé] *'arrow'*   [íyǵ]   *'cold'*

Vowels /i/, /e/, /u/, and /o/ tend to be open rather than close.
The central vowel /a/ is the close [ə] when it occurs singly and /aa/
the open, long [a:] when it occurs in sequence with itself.

(3) initial: [a:mo] *'melon'*   [əmo] *'stem'*
     medial : [-na:ɥ] *'inside'*   [ńəú] *'string'*

Front and back vowels contrast as to tongue height, and the higher
vowels [i] and [u] tend to be shorter than the lower [e] and [o].
Two neutral phonemes, the liquid /r/ and the glottal stop /h/,[7] vary
allophonically as follows. The liquid phoneme may be either an alveolar
flap [ɾ] or an alveolar trill [r̃]. These seem to fluctuate freely with
some speakers using the flap exclusively and others the trill more fre-
quently; still others fluctuate between the two. The glottal stop
phoneme may, in limited environments, occasionally vary to a glottal
fricative.

1.2. PROSODIC FEATURES

The two main prosodic features in Agarabi are tone and nasalisation. Stress is predictable.

There are two degrees of tone, high and low. These are primarily level tones though a slight glide on a phonetically short vowel may be perceived when there is a transition from one level to another in succeeding syllables. Otherwise, pitch glides occur only on phonetically long vowels and are interpreted as a sequence of low-high or high-low tones.[8]

Bee, Luff and Goddard (1973:416) suggested that treating nasalisation as a prosodic feature is the most satisfactory analysis:

> Since there are two nasal consonants and since vowel nasalisation is in complimentary distribution with them, it would seem most economical to assign nasalisation as an allophonic variation of one of these phonemes.... An alternative interpretation, considering vowel nasalisation as a prosodic or supersegmental feature which may be manifested in specific environments as one or another nasal consonant, simplifies the statement of syllable structure, consonant distribution, and morphophonemic change.

(4) [əme:] *'Give him'*,   [əmę:] *'his throat'*

(5) [əwi] *'poison'*,   [əwį] *'illness'*

(6) [əro] *'side'*,   [ərǫ] *'fin, tail of bird'*

This nasal-oral vocalic contrast is replaced by a sequence of oral vowel plus nasal consonant when affixation occurs and when a word with final nasal vowel occurs non-finally in a close-knit phrase. The specific nasal consonant which may occur depends upon the shape of the affix or word immediately following. Within a word, before stops, a homorganic nasal consonant occurs; before high and back vowels (i, u, o) within a word and before bilabial consonants across word boundaries a bilabial nasal occurs; before either central or low front vowels (a, e) within a word and elsewhere across word boundaries an alveolar nasal occurs.

(7) [unạ:] *'string bag'*
      plus [i?] vbl   [una:mí?] *'it is a string bag'*
      plus [e] indirect speech [una:ne] *'a string bag'*
      plus [pį] *'in'*   [una:mpį] *'in a string bag'*

(8) [oɛ́:] *'new'*
      plus [unạ:] *'string bag'* [oɛ́:n únậ:] *'a new string bag'*
      plus [pé:kú] *'leg band'* [oɛ́:m pé:kú] *'new leg band'*
      plus [tire:] *'corn'*   [oɛ́:n tíré:] *'new corn'*

In slow speech nasalisation may occur rather than the nasal consonant at morpheme junctures.

1.3. *DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMES*

Consonants are very limited in distribution. All except glottal
stop and liquid occur word initially, only glottal before pause. Only
nasal consonants and glottal stop precede another consonant; only
voiceless stops follow a nasal consonant within a word and such con-
sonant sequences occur only medially.

One or two vowels may occur as the nucleus of a single syllable and
two-syllable nuclei may occur in sequence with an intervening non-
vocoid. All vowels may occur word finally, but only /e/, /o/ and /aa/
occur finally in verb stems. All combinations have been observed
initially in stem morphemes though some are more frequent than others.

1.4. *MORPHOPHONEMIC CHANGES*

Agarabi morphemes end in either a nasal vowel, an oral vowel or
glottal stop. These condition the shape of the following morphemes.
An example of the three classes follows.

	'bank'	'beetle'	'root'
(9) stem	[əru]	[ərᵿ]	[ərúʔ]
(10) vbl [iʔ]	[əruíʔ]	[ərumíʔ]	[ərúʔiʔ]
(11) 'in' [pi̧]	[ərup̦]	[ərump̦]	[əruʔp̦]
(12) 'on' [rəʔ]	[ərurə́ʔ]	[əruntə́ʔ]	[əruʔkə́ʔ]
(13) indirect speech [e]	[ərue]	[ərune]	[ərúʔe]

The morpheme shape which follows the oral vowel may be considered
the basic form. The shapes which occur following nasal vowels and
glottal stops are described as combinatory features of nasalisation
and glottal, respectively, without having to postulate allomorphic
forms. For example, V + r → Vnt; Vʔ + r → Vhk.

There are also other morphophonemic changes, especially in verb
morphology. These will be discussed in the relevant sections (see
section 3.2.1.).

2. STEM FORMATION

2.0. *STEMS*

Morphemes which may occur in isolation as complete, well-formed
utterances are classed as **stems**. Verbal stems are those which also
optionally occur with mood, tense and person-subject suffixes. Nominal
stems are those which occur with a lesser range of mood suffixes and
only those derived from verbs occur with tense suffixes. In the for-
mation of a type of equational clause they may occur with person-subject

suffixes, (termed 'verbaliser' in this function). The nominal stems
may be sub-divided into nouns, pronouns, modifiers and specifiers
according to their syntactic function at the phrase and clause level.

Stems may be simple or complex with nominals exhibiting more com-
plexities than verbals. Simple stems are roots composed of only one
morpheme. Complex stems are composed of stem plus stem, stem plus
affix or a combination of both.

2.1. NOMINAL STEMS

Nominal stems may be simple or complex:

Simple - monomorphemic stems
(14) noun: aamo *'melon'*, wáántá *'man'*
(15) pronoun: téhi *'I'*, wéhi *'he, she, it'*
(16) modifier: káákan *'big'*, manaa *'one'*
(17) specifier: mái *'this'*

Complex or multimorphemic stems, are stem and affix combinations.

2.1.1. Stem Plus Stem

These seldom occur with the stems in the same form as they occur in
isolation. The stems may be shortened, there may be morphophonemic
changes or affixes added to one or another, presumably prior to this
stem formation.

Shortened stems:
(18) íyámporíntá *'children'* (íyámpon + áárintá)
                              boy   girl
(19) wáánaati *'people'* (wáántá + anaati)
                          man   woman

Stems with morphophonemic changes:
(20) yááenáá *'green'* (yáá + anáá)
                        tree   leaf

2.1.2. Stem Plus Affix

These are of several types; derivational affixes, personal-referent
affixes and likeness. The first changes the class of the word as from
verb to noun; the second occurs with kinship terms and body parts and
identifies the person to whom they refer, either the speaker or someone
else. The third, translated 'likeness' is most often used to form
colour words from nouns.

(a) Derivational affixes

(21) tááman *'preparation'* (táaraa + n)
                             prepare

(22) kuwin *'grown'* (kuwo + n)
                    grow

(b) Personal-referent prefixes

(23) anohé *'someone else's mother'* (a   + nohé)
                                      non-1p.ref mother

(24) tipohé *'my father'* (ti + pohé)
                           1p.ref father

(c) Likeness

(25) epantén *'white'* (epan   + tén)
                       cockatoo   like

(26) nááráréh *'red'* (nááré + réh)
                       blood   like

2.1.3. Stem Plus Stem Plus Affix

(27) ayókuwin *'grey-haired person'* (ayó   + kuwin)
                                      his.hair   grown

(28) káánúhmanaaúh *'three'* (kaán + úh + manaa + úh)
                             two   one

(29) yaamanaahpáh *'five'* (ayaan   + manaah + páh)
                           his.hand   one   at

2.1.4. Reduplicated Stems

These form words which are semantically related to the stem from
which they are derived. They may occur with or without morphophonemic
changes in formation:

(30) íneíne *'thought'* from íne *'hear'*

(31) éenaéena *'each, every'* from éena *'other'*

Note: there are quite a number of words which appear to be reduplicated
stems but for which no single stem has been found.

(32) karinkarin *'dazzle, glare'*

(33) károhkároh *'albino, red-skin'*

(34) kanihkanih *'pins and needles (sensation)'*

(35) awaanawaan *'conceited'* (from awaan o *'overflow'*)

(36) komenkaamen *'crooked'*

(37) iyanih aayanih *'very strong'*

2.2. *VERBAL STEMS*

Verbal stems occur unaffixed as the 2nd person singular imperative
and are divided into two morphological classes according to whether

the stems are reduced before certain suffixes. There are also some
irregular verbs.

2.2.1. Reduced Stems

   These stems drop the last syllable preceding the benefactive,
narrative, past and perfect suffixes. Such verb stems divide into
three subclasses according to morphophonemic changes that occur when
the benefactive suffix is added to the stem. Examples of these stems
follow.

   (a) Subclass (a) adds the suffixes directly to the reduced stem:
(38) apo   *'put on top of'*
(39) kaao   *'cut'*
(40) wáraa *'sleep'*
(41) wowo   *'mumu, bake'*
(42) yíwo   *'open'*

   (b) Subclass (b) with final syllable raa adds a nasal to the reduced
stem preceding the benefactive suffix:
(43) átéraa   *'fell (tree)'*
(44) kúráraa   *'stand (it) up'*
(45) úwáraa   *'make'*
(46) púntáraa *'straighten'*

   (c) Subclass (c) adds a glottal stop preceding the benefactive:
(47) íyáraa   *'block'*
(48) kúpéraa *'pour in'*
(49) peraa   *'smear, paint'*
(50) yápíte   *'look after'*

2.2.2. Non-Reduced Stems

   The majority of verbal stems do not reduce in any combination,
although there are some stem-final vowel changes preceding suffixes.
These will be discussed in the section of word formation. A sample
of the verbs are:

(51) ére   *'come'*
(52) naa   *'eat'*
(53) óro   *'go'*
(54) púhte   *'blow'*
(55) téteho *'wash'*
(56) pahkaa *'grab, hold'*

2.2.3. Other Verb Stems

A third class of verbal stems are those which occur obligatorily
with the personal referent prefix. When affixed to verbal stems these
prefixes refer to the goal of the action - object, direct or indirect,
occurring only with transitive verbs. As with the nominals, ti- refers
to first person and a- to all others.

Preceding stems with initial vowels the first person form is t- and
non-first coalesces with the initial vowel.

(57) tíro *'hit me'*   áro *'hit him/her/it/them'*
(58) time *'give me'*   ame *'give him/her/it/them'*

3. WORDS

3.0. *WORD FORMATION*

Some stems occur unaffixed as words, others seldom occur without
some type of affix, while others occur unaffixed in some contexts and
with affixes in others. Particles are examples of monomorphemic stems
which are also words, some of which never occur affixed. Nominal stems
can occur either with or without affixes; and verbals usually with
affixes. The second person imperative has been interpreted as the
stem for verbs because it occurs uninflected without further segmen-
tation. If we were to suggest that a portmanteau affix is present in
such cases then verbal stems could be said never to occur unaffixed.

3.1. *NOMINAL WORDS*

In the composition of words nominal stems divide into nouns, pronouns,
modifiers and specifiers on the basis of affixation patterns and their
potential occurrence in higher level constructions.

3.1.1. Nouns

Nouns occur as the head in noun phrases and function as subjects and
objects in clauses. They may be subdivided on the basis of their oc-
currence with the personal referent prefixes. Some, as mentioned in
2.1.2., are obligatorily prefixed by the personal referents. A few
optionally occur with them and others never.

(a) obligatorily prefixed:
(59) ahnon *'his head'*
(60) tinohé *'my mother'*

(b) optionally prefixed:
(61) maah *'house'* amaah *'his house'*
These are relatively few.

(c) obligatorily unaffixed by personal referents:

(62) ááríntá *'girl'*

(63) iyan   *'dog'*

(64) yáá   *'tree'*

All nouns may occur with locational, instrument, accompaniment,
object, reason, direction from, likeness and number suffixes. A few
of these are illustrated below.

(65) tohpe *'machete'* + póh *'instrument'* > tohpepóh *'with a machete'*

(66) waru *'village'* + pín *'in'* > warupín *'in the village'*

(67) yaahun *'sweet potato'* + námáh *'with'* > yaahunámáh *'with sweet*
potato'

(68) yunáán *'food'* + án *'reason'* > yunáánán *'for food'*

3.1.2. Pronouns

Pronouns are of three types, those that substitute for nouns and
function as the subject or object in clauses, those that occur as
modifiers in possessive phrases and interrogative pronouns which in-
troduce one type of interrogative clause.

3.1.2.1. *Personal Pronouns*

(a) those which function as subject:

(69) téhi *'I'*   téhti   *'we'*

(70) éhi *'you (sg.)'* tiréhtí *'you (pl.)'*

(71) wéhi *'he, she, it, they'*

(b) those which function as object:

(72) tén   *'me, us'*

(73) én   *'you (sg. and pl.)'*

(74) wén   *'him, her, it, them'*

3.1.2.2. *Possessive Pronouns*

(75) téti *'my'*   ténti *'our'*

(76) éni *'your (sg. and pl.)'*

(77) wéni *'his, hers, its, theirs'*

3.1.2.3. *Interrogative Pronouns*

(78) iye *'who?'*

(79) nahí *'what?'*

(80) intépátáh *'where?'*; intépáhkétáh *'from where?'*

Pronouns can seldom be modified, but do occasionally occur affixed.

3.1.3. Modifiers

Modifiers are represented by either adjectives or adverbs; adjectives function as modifiers of nouns in noun phrases, adverbs as modifers of verbs in verb phrases.

3.1.3.1. *Adjectives*

Adjectives occur in noun phrases, modifying nouns and may be affixed. They function as qualitatives or quantitatives:

(81) káákan *'large'*
(82) auyén *'new'*
(83) nááráréh *'red'*
(84) káán   *'two'*

3.1.3.2. *Adverbs*

Adverbs occur in verb phrases, modifying verbs. They do not normally occur with affixes.

(85) aíne *'quickly'*

3.1.4. Specifiers

Specifiers occur unaffixed as modifiers or pronouns. When affixed by -wan *'reason'* or -pah *'at'*, they function as links in Reason sentences. The most common one is:

(86) mái *'this'*

3.2. *VERBS*

Verbs function as the Head in verb phrases and as the obligatory element of the predicate in clauses and, as such, are normally the last item in the clause. Verbs are affixed for mood, tense, aspect and person-subject.

3.2.1. Morphophonemics

Agarabi verbs exhibit several types of morphophonemic vowel changes. Two such changes, which have a wide occurrence, will be dealt with here. Other more restricted changes will be described in the section dealing with other morphemes.

All morphemes which occur immediately preceding vowel-initial aspect and tense/aspect suffixes drop their final vowel.

(87)   naa[9] *eat* + iyaa cont + h ind + ú 1p.sg > niyaahú *I am eating.*

(88)   naa + e nt + h + ú > nehú *I eat/ate.*

(89)   naa + ra narr + e + h + ú > nárehú *I ate.*

All non-reduced stems exhibit the following changes of stem vowels:

(a)   stem-final -aa > -a; -e and -o > -i preceding -nte fut in 2nd and 3rd person forms; -Ø juss in 3rd person -nto purp and -ram desid in all forms:

(90)   naa + nte + m ind + ih 3p.sg > nántemíh *He will eat.*

(91)   ére + nto + m + ih > éríntomíh *He intends to come.*

(92)   óro + ram + m + ih > óriramíh *He wants to go.*

(93)   óro + no 2p.juss + no emph > órínoóno *You must go.*

The stem-final long vowel remains long preceding the future tense and jussive mood suffixes in 1st person forms.

(94)   naa + nte + h + ú > naántehú *I will eat.*

(95)   óro + *n 1p.juss + u > óroónu *Let me go.*

(b)   preceding -tinta/anta bene, -ke past, -kaa pf and -ra narr stem-final -aa > -a; -e > -i; C(onsonant) + o > Ci; V(owel) + o > Vu; Vho > Vhu:

(96)   púhte *blow* + anta > púhtíantaa *Blow for him!*

(97)   téteho *wash* + tinta > tétehútintaa *Wash for me!*

(98)   pahkaa *hold* + tinta > pahkátintaa *Hold for me!*

(99)   naa + ke + h + ú > nákehú *I ate.*

(100) óro + kaa + h + ú > óríkaahu *I have gone.*

(101) ére + ra + e + h + ú > érerehú *I came.*

(c)   The final -a of -tinta/-anta bene preceding the first person singular future suffix and the second person singular imperative be-comes -aa:

(102) púhte + anta + nte + h + ú > púhtíantaántehú *I will blow for her.*

(103) púhte + tinta   púhtítintaa *Blow for me.*

3.2.2. Affixation

Personal referent, tense, aspect, mood, voice, number and person-subject are expressed by affixation to the verb stem.

3.2.2.1. *Prefixation*

The Personal referent is the only order of prefixes which occurs with Agarabi verbs. This prefix occurs obligatorily with Class III verbal stems and optionally with some others. Other transitive verbs never occur with this prefix.

The forms of the prefix, as mentioned in 2.1.2., distinguish only between the speaker and non-speaker (person or thing spoken to or about) and remain the same for all tenses, aspects and numbers.

Speaker: t- ∿ ti- *'me, us'*
(104) ti + me *'give'* > <u>ti</u>me *'Give me.'*
(105) ti + aáraa *'call'* > <u>ta</u>áraa *'Call me.'*
t- occurs before verbs with an initial vowel, ti- elsewhere.

Non-speaker: a- ∿ ∅ *'you, him, her, it, them'*
(106) a + me   <u>a</u>me   *'Give him.'*
(107) ∅ + aáraa   aáraa   *'Call her.'*
∅ occurs with vowel-initial stems, a elsewhere.

3.2.2.2. *Suffixation*

There are nine orders of suffixes which have been observed with Agarabi verbs, final and medial. This does not count those which occur in auxiliary constructions nor a few which seem to occur with all classes of words, such as the conditional, -ma.

The nine orders are as follows, benefactive, durative, narrative, tense/aspect, number, desiderative, mood, person-subject and emphatic. The Jussive mood has only been observed in final forms to date. There are also a few others which seem to occur only with medial forms, the function of which may primarily be to relate clauses in higher level units (sentences and paragraphs).[10]

With the exception of the second person singular imperative form all verbs occur affixed for tense and for person-subject. If time is recent or not in focus the neutral tense suffix will occur or, if the action is continuing, the continuative aspect suffix may occur; but these two do not co-occur. The desiderative and jussive suffixes occur with the benefactive, person-subject and emphatic suffixes, but not with other tense or aspect suffixes. All the others which are not in the same order can, potentially, occur together.[11]

(a) Benefactive. The occurrence of the benefactive suffix is optional, restricted only by the semantic or cultural relevance of such a form. It expresses action done for or, in some cases, to another person. Like the personal referent prefixes, the benefactive suffix distinguishes only between the speaker, -tinta and non-speaker, -anta.

With reduced verbs:
(108) wuwo *'shave'* + tinta   wú<u>tinta</u>a   *'Shave for me.'*
(109) úwáraa *'make'* + anta   úwá<u>nanta</u>a *'Make for her.'*

(110) peraa *'paint'* + tinta   peéhtintaa *'Paint for me.'*

For the forms with non-reduced verbs see the section on Morpho-phonemics, 3.2.1., examples 96-98.

(b) Durative. The two members of this order of suffixes occur optionally indicating durative aspect.

Continuative: -iyaa ∿ -inaa

(111) naa + iyaa + h + ú > niyaahú *'I am eating.'*
(112) onaa + inaa + h + ú > oninaahú *'I am looking.'*

-inaa occurs optionally with verbs stems in which the consonant of the final CV is a nasal; -iyaa occurs elsewhere.

This suffix never occurs contiguous to -e nt nor in combination with -kaa pf. When it occurs with no tense/aspect suffix following it, it indicates present continuous.

Completive: -we

(113) óro + we + m + íh > óríwemíh *'He went completely.'*

This suffix is more common with medial verbs where it indicates that the action of the medial clause is completed before that of the following clause.

(c) Narrative. The single member of this order occurs optionally indicating narrative aspect, -ra. It occurs obligatorily with fourth order tense/aspect suffixes.

(114) naa + ra + e + h + ú > nárehú *'I ate/eat.'*
(115) naa + ra + ke pst + h + ú > nárákehú *'I ate.'*

(d) Tense/Aspect. Fourth order suffixes occur optionally indicating time and/or aspect. There are five members of this order.

Neutral: -e

(116) naa + e + h + ú > nehú *'I eat/ate.'*

This suffix occurs when neither specific time nor aspect is being stressed and may be translated as near past or present.

Future: -nte

(117) naa + nte + h + ú > naántehú *'I will eat.'*

Purposive (in future time): -nto

(118) naa + nto + m + ih > nantomíh *'He intends to eat.'*

Past: -ke ∿ -te

(119) naa + ke + h + ú > nákehú *'I ate.'*
(120) onaa + te + h + ú > oóntehú *'I saw.'*

-te occurs following a nasal, -ke elsewhere. The suffix refers to past time, either recent or mid-distance.

Perfect: -kaa ∿ -taa

(121) naa + kaa + h + u > nákaahú *'I have eaten.'*

(122) onaa + taa + m + ih > oóntaamíh *'He has seen.'*

-taa occurs following a nasal, -kaa elsewhere. Several verbs, i.e. wowo *'mumu'*; wuwo *'shave'*; peraa *'paint'*, add an /a/ preceding the past and perfect suffixes.

(123) wuwo + kaa + h + ú > wuákaahú *'I have shaved.'*

(e) Number. Fifth order suffixes occur optionally, although rarely, and indicate number of the subject. Singular is unmarked; dual is rare; plural is common for the first person, rare for second. No number marking has been observed for third person, duals and plurals being indicated by separate words where necessary.

Dual: First person: -nta

(124) naa + iyaa + nta + h + ú > niyaantaú *'We two are eating.'*

(The glottal stop of the indicative suffix is dropped following the dual suffix.)

Second person: -nt

(125) naa + iyaa + nt + ó 2p > niyaantó *'You two are eating.'*

Plural: First person: -hipe ∿ -hipaa

(126) naa + iyaa + hipe + h + ú > niyaahipehú *'We are eating.'*

-hipaa occurs before a nasal; -hipe elsewhere.

Second person: -r

(127) naa + iyaa + r + ó > niyaaró *'You all are eating.'*

(f) Desiderative: These suffixes are optional and indicate desiderative mood.

Simple desire: -ram

(128) naa + ram + u > naramú *'I want to eat.'*

This suffix has not been observed occurring with tense or aspect suffixes.

Immediate desire: -nowam

(129) naa + nowam + ú > naánowamú *'I want to eat right not.'*

Sometimes this suffix expresses the idea *'about to'*.

(130) ááh *'rain'* + yaa *'do'* + nowam + ih > ááh yaánowamíh *'It is about to rain.'*

In medial clauses the -wam may drop. In forming the interrogative with this suffix, the nasal is replaced by the unidentified morpheme -ra which is then followed by the interrogative suffix.

(131) naa + nowam + p + ó > naánowarapó *'Do you want to eat now?'*

(g) Mood: The suffixes which occur in this order express indicative, interrogative and jussive moods.

     (i) Indicative -
          First person - -h
(132) naa + e + h + ú > nehú 'I ate.'

          Second person - ∅
(133) naa + e + ∅ + ó > neó 'You ate.'

          Third person - -m
(134) naa + e + m + íh > nemíh 'He ate.'

     (ii) Interrogative:
          First person - -rap
(135) naa + nte + rap + ú > naánterapú 'Shall I eat?'

          Second person - -p
(136) naa + iyaa + p + ó > niyaapó 'Are you eating?'

          Third person - -nap
(137) naa + nte + nap + íh > nántenapí 'Will he eat?'

     (iii) Jussive: The jussive suffixes express exhortation or permission. In this latter sense they may often be translated by a polite question.

          First and second person - -'n
(138) naa + 'n + u > naánu 'May I eat?'
(139) naa + 'n + o > naáno 'You may eat.'

          Third person - '∅
(140) naa + '∅ > ná 'Let him eat.'
   In this third person form the subject marker -ih is lost.

(h) Person-subject: This order of suffixes occurs obligatorily in indicative and interrogative moods and also with first and second persons of the jussive. As noted above, it does not occur with the third person jussive nor with the imperative mood.

          First person - -ú
(141) naa + iyaa + h + ú > niyaahú 'I am eating.'

          Second person - -ó
(142) naa + iyaa + ó > niyaaó 'You are eating.'

          Third person - -íh
(143) naa + iyaa + m + íh > niyaamíh 'He is eating.'

(1) Emphatic. The final order of suffixes occurs optionally and
indicates degrees of emphasis.

Emphatic: -no ᴠ -nóo
(144) naa + e + h + ú + no > nehúno *I ate!*
(145) naa + noo   > naanóo *Eat!*

-nóo occurs with the second person emphatic imperative and third
person jussive; -nó elsewhere.

Certitive:
First and second persons: -mpo
(146) naa + e + h + ú + mpo > nehumpó *I certainly ate!*

Third person: -po
(147) naa + e + m + íh + po > nemipó *He certainly ate!*

The final glottal stop of the person-subject suffix is dropped
preceding -po.

3.3. *PARTICLES*

There is a small, closed class of monomorphemic words which are
neither nominals nor verbals and have a very limited occurrence with
affixes. I have termed these particles and they include the negative
íhyaa which also occurs in a shortened form as í, and pára *just* with
its short form pá. They have been observed to occur with the conditional
suffix -ma and the emphatic -wáh both of which can occur with almost all
classes of words.

Also included in this category are the directionals. The most com-
monly used of these are o *direction away* and e *direction toward*
which may have been derived from the verbs óro *go* and ére *come*.
Other directionals are orun *direction downward*; mun *direction up-
wards*; me *here* and mo *there*. Exclamations such as aaí *oh* may
also be included in this category.

4. NOUN PHRASES

4.0. *NOUN PHRASES*

Agarabi noun phrases are of several types: modified, co-ordinate,
possessive, appositional and relator-axis. All but the relator-axis
phrases occur in clauses functioning as Subject or Object. The relator-
axis phrases occur in lateral slots such as Location, Purpose, Reason
and Instrument.

4.1. MODIFIED NOUN PHRASES

Formula: $\pm Mod_1$: particle/adj_1 $\pm Mod_2$: adj_2/phrase/clause + Head: NP $\pm Mod_3$: adj_2/adj_3/article.

The Mod_1 slot is filled by a limited class of particles, pára 'just' and íhyaa 'no, not' or the demonstrative adjective mái 'this, these'. The Mod_2 slot is filled by the adj_2 class, an open class which includes quantifiers and qualifiers. Phrases and clauses also may occur in this slot. Mod_3 slot, following the Head, may be filled by adj_2 class especially if there is already a pre-Head modifier slot filled. Otherwise this post-Head slot is filled by adj_3 or an article. Adj_3 includes a few adjectives which never occur pre-head such as anáá 'only' and some numerals which occur in slightly different form in this slot from the one that occurs in the Mod_2 slot. The article is ano 'a, the'.

Noun phrases that may occur as Head include any noun which is potentially a phrase and other kinds of expanded phrases other than modified phrases.

(148) auyén káwé
       new   clay.pot

       'New clay pot'

(149) pára paaén yánááh
       just small thing

       'Just a small thing'

(150) tiyaamíhkán tirantamíhkán yanka
       my-hands-two my-feet-two   stick

       'Twenty sticks'

(151) anaati káyo anáá
       woman group only

       'Only the group of women'

(152) mái íráran iyaáhin wáántá
       this skirting being   man

       'This skirting man'

(153) káán wáántá
       two man

       'Two men'

(154) mái wáántá kánán
       this man   two

       'These two men'

(155) yunáán nan   wááyáá
       food   eating talk

       'Talk of eating food'

(156)   káákan átíhma   waain   wáántá
        big   nose-cond *staying man*

        'Man having a big nose'
        (big nose-having man)

(157)   anaati ano
        woman the

        'The woman'

(158)   máhtáhemá   eéhyanain yamúh
        master-cond *come up   day*

        'The day the Master comes up'

4.2. SERIAL NOUN PHRASES

   Serial noun phrases occur as Subject and Object in clauses and may
fill nuclear or lateral slots in phrases. They are divided into two
types, compound and alternate.

4.2.1. Compound

   Formula: + H_1: NP + H_2: NP ± H_3: NP^n

   There is no limitation on the number of Head slots nor on the nouns
which may occur as fillers. The noun phrases which may occur as fillers
are modified, possessor-item or relator-axis phrases.

(159)   ítana úwé
        bow   arrow

        'Bow and arrows'

(160)   tinaahu   tiraahó   tikeko
        my-grandfather my-grandmother my-great-grandfather

        tikaako
        my-great-grandmother

        'My ancestors'

(161)   manaa máhtáhe máhtáh Kétinámáh
        one   master master Casey-with

        'One white man and Mr Casey'

(162)   anaati káyo ááríntá káyo
        woman group girl   group

        'Women's group (and) girl's group'

(163)   tihkuru íyámpon anohé apohé
        school child   mother father

        'School children's mothers and fathers'

(164)   mínoh wáántá púmaaraa
        all   man   youth

        'All the men and youths'

When the Head is filled by single nouns one or both may optionally occur with suffixes, -wáh, -námáh *'with/and'*. When filled by phrases the nouns filling the Head slots in the phrase may take these optional suffixes.

(165)   ítana-wáh úwé-wáh
        bow-and   arrow-and

        'Bow and arrows'

(166)   manaa máhtáhe-wáh máhtáh Keti-námáh
        one   master-and   master Casey-with

        'One white man and Mr Casey'

There need not be the same suffix on each noun even when there is a long list (or, perhaps, especially when there is a long list). It does not seem to affect the meaning, with the possible exception of the context of a motion verb.

(167)   anaati wáántá óremíh
        woman man   go-nt-3p

        'Men and women went'

(168)   anaati wáántá-námáh óremíh
        woman men   -with go-nt-3p

        'The women went with the men'

4.2.2. Alternate

Formula: + H: int. com. sentence + H: int. com. sentence

These interrogative comment sentences occurring in clause level slots are normally minimal, consisting of one phonological word in each Head slot.

(169)   Ukarám - pát - apí Punaano - pát - apí
        Ukaran - at - int Punano - at - int

        'At Ukarumpa or at Punano?'

4.3. *POSSESSIVE NOUN PHRASES*

These may be just types of modified phrases; but are, at the moment, classes as a different type. There are several sub-types, possessor-alienable item, possessor-inalienable item and specifier-item phrases.

4.3.1. Possessor-alienable Item

Formula: +Poss: NP_1/Pro + H: NP_2/RAP

The nouns or pronouns occurring in Poss. slot are obligatorily suffixed by -i 'possessive'.

(170)   wé - i   waru - páh
        he-poss *village-at*

        'At his place/village'

(171)   wáántá - i   yoran
        man-poss   *work*

        'Men's work'

4.3.2.   Possessor-inalienable Item

Formula: + Poss: NP_1/Pro + H: NP_2

Nouns occurring in the Head slot are either those with an obligatory
personal referent prefix or the limited group which occur with these
prefixes in this construction only.

(172)   pon a - maah
        pig his-house

        'Pig's house'

(173)   té ti - waapu
        I my-husband

        'My husband'

(174)   pon a - yó
        pig his-hair

        'Pig's bristles'

(175)   Máhmúnínko a - nááyamun
        Matmuninko his - chin

        'Matmuninko's chin'

(176)   mai waanta a - wih
        this man   his - name

        'This man's name'

(177)   tihkuru íyámpon a   - nohé a - pohé
        school   child   his-mother his-father

        'School children's parents'

4.3.3.   Specifier-item

Formula: + Spec:NP + H: NP

Fillers of Specifier and Item slots may be single nouns or expansions.
No obligatory affixes occur but order is significant.

(178)   anaati kápínáá
        woman skirt

        'Woman's skirt'

(179)   uraa   ánú
        pitpit hill

        'Pitpit hill'

(180)   yoran wáántá
        work man

        'Workman'

(181)   Punaano ááríntá káyo
        Punano girl   group

        'Punano girl's group'

(182)   káákan mónoh   námún
        big   religion building

        'Big church'

    These phrases may be distinguished from serial noun phrases by
intonation and by permutation possibilities. Serial phrases may change
order without a corresponding change of meaning; possessive phrases
change meaning when their order is changed. Possessive phrases normally
have fewer nuclear items except in the more complicated kinship terms,
whereas serial phrases have been observed to have up to 14 nuclear
items.

(183)   yaahun   tire araná   aamo túti yááh   katapéh
        sweet potato corn cucumber melon squash sugarcane banana type

        ayaaraan   ampakuh   apúáán   mahyan yánááh   umánti
        banana type banana type banana type greens taro type taro type

        owa
        yam

        'Sweet potatoes, corn, cucumbers, melons, squash, sugarcane,
        banana types, greens, taro types and yams'

4.4. APPOSITIONAL NOUN PHRASE

    Formula: + App$_1$: NP/clause + App$_2$: NP/clause ± App$_3$:NP
    When a single noun occurs in App$_1$, App$_2$ is usually filled by a phrase.
Noun phrases which have been noted are the modified noun phrase, pos-
sessive, serial and Relator-Axis phrases.

(184)   ánú - páh, uraa   ánú - páh
        hill - at   pitpit hill - at

        'On the hill, Pitpit hill'

(185)   mínoh yánááh, yunáán
        all   thing   food

        'All things, food...'

(186)   wáántá íyámpon, káákan íyámpon, tíhtoh íyámpon
        man   boy   big   boy   small boy

        'Men (and) boys, big boys, small boys'

(187)   péepáh - ma érein mál kíyaahpe
        before-cond coming this kiap (government officer)

        '(The one) that came before, that officer'

Intonation, repetition of an item or the demonstrative, mái *'this/that'*, mark the occurrence of an appositional phrase. Occasionally the appositional phrase becomes quite complex.

(188) yunáán, yááh   tápo, pon, mái yánááh
       food   sugarcane greens pig   this thing

       'Food, sugarcane, greens, pork, those things'

The above is an example of double apposition. There is also the possibility of such a double apposition which refers back to yet another item.

(189) péépáh manaa wáántá amín   waárehin mái wáántá nampitipáh
       before one   man   giving staying this man   coast - at

       o   waáren érein mái wáántá ano
       dir stay   coming this man   the

       'Before they gave her to one man, staying this man (who) stayed at the coast and came, this man...'

4.5. RELATOR-AXIS PHRASE

Relator-Axis phrases in Agarabi are composed of a word, phrase or clause plus a clitic which relates to the whole phrase. They are more often composed of a single word plus clitic. The Time slot may be filled by a Relator-Axis phrase and Location, Instrument, Reason and Purpose slots are obligatorily filled by them.

4.5.1. Locational R/A Phrase

Formula: + Ax: NP/Pro/Clause/QW + Re: loc

These are the most common in occurrence and consist of an Axis slot filled by an included clause, noun phrase, noun or pronoun or question word and a Relator slot filled by a locative enclitic, -páh *'at/to/place'*, -táh *'on'*, -pín *'in'*, -téh *'from'*. Location Relator-Axis phrases obligatorily fill the Location slot in a clause.

(190) waru - páh
       village-at

       'At the village'

(191) nón   aru - páh
       water bank-at

       'At the river bank'

(192) tihtuaah woi waaih - páh
       store   boy staying - at

       'At the store clerk's place'

(193) inté - páh - két - áh
       where - at   from -int

       'From where?'

(194) ti - rúh   kaa - o - na - páh
       me   hurt - pf - 2p - ger - at

       'The place where you hurt me'

4.5.2. Temporal R/A Phrase

Formula: + Ax: NP/Pro/Spec + Re: loc

Temporal Relator-Axis phrases optionally fill the Time slot in clauses.

(195) manaa órená - ráh
       one   year - on

       'For one year'

(196) taréhaa téhtim - pín
       now   our   - in

       'Now in our time'

(197) Taararé - táh
       Saturday - on

       'On Saturday'

4.5.3. Instrument R/A Phrase

Formula: + Ax: NP + Re$_1$: ins ± Re$_2$: loc

Instrument R/A phrases obligatorily fill the Instrument slot in clauses.

(198) wítúkaa   - póh
       small.knife - with

       'With a small knife'

(199) ítana - póh - kéh
       bow   - with - from

       'With a bow'

4.5.4. Reason R/A Phrase

There are three types of Reason R/A Phrases which fill the Reason slot in Intransitive Clauses.

4.5.4.1. The first type occurs with verbs of emotion. Formula: + Ax: NP/Pro + Reas: -án. -án occurs following a nasal; -nán elsewhere.

(200) apaan   - án peéh ye   - n
       sorcerer - of fear do/nt - 3p

       'They are afraid of the sorcerer'

(201) a - nohe   - nán ípíh y - iyaa - m   - íh
       his - mother - for cry do - cont - ind - 3p

       'He is crying for his mother'

4.5.4.2.   The second type occurs with verbs of motion. Formula: + Ax:
NP/Pro + Reason: -ron. -ron occurs following vowels, -kon following
glottal stop and -ton following nasals.

(202)   wáá - rón ór - e - m   - íh
        man - for go - nt - ind - 3p
        'She went for a man'

(203)   írá - ih - kon ór - e   - ó
        fire - top - for go - int - 2p
        'Did you go for firewood?'

(204)   wéhi wén - tón ér - e - m - íh
        she him   for come - nt - ind - 3p
        'She came for him'

4.5.4.3.   The third type occurs with the verb yote 'search'. Formula:
+ Ax: NP/Pro + Reas: -wán

(205)   taréhaa Kómpa tohpe - wán yot - iyaa - m - íh
        today   Kompa machete - for search-cont - ind - 3p
        'Today Kompa is searching for the machete'

4.6. NUMERAL PHRASE

    Numbers higher than five are formed by phrases or clauses. The
interpretation of some items is uncertain.

(206)   apah - pah o káh ye - n
        ?   - at dir put do/nt - 3p
        'Six'

(207)   ti - yaam - íh - kán ti - rantam - íh - kán
        my - hand - top - two my - foot   - top - two
        'Twenty'

5. VERB PHRASES

5.0. VERB PHRASES

    Agarabi verb phrases are of two major types, modified and compound.
There are also some close-knit phrases of verb plus verb. Verb phrases
primarily fill the predicate slot in clauses, but may also occur as
embedded modifications in other structures.

5.1. MODIFIED VERB PHRASES

    Modified verb phrases consist of an obligatory Head slot filled by a
verb and optional lateral slots, Manner and Direction.

(208)   ...ware mo   a - me
             take there him - give

        '*...take and give to him there*'

(209)   yun   waa - p - ó
        up.here stay - int - 2p

        '*Are you up here?*'

(210)   aíne   óro
        quickly go/2p/impv

        '*Go quickly*'

(211)   tatoóre te   nóo
        slowly say - 2p/impv-emph

        '*Say it slowly!*'

(212)   aíne   o waraa
        quickly dir take/2p/impv

        '*Take it there quickly*'

5.2. COMPOUND VERB PHRASES

Compound verb phrases consist of a verb plus an auxiliary, both being
obligatory. There are several auxiliaries, which occur as main verbs
in other constructions, though the meaning there is different. In the
verb plus auxiliary sequence the meaning is carried by the main verb
and the auxiliary carries the suffixes. The auxiliaries are yaa *'do'*,
o *'be'*, also naa and paa of the unidentified meanings.

The four types of compound verb phrases which have been observed are
Simple auxiliary, Abilitative auxiliary, Habituative auxiliary and
Contrary-to-fact auxiliary.

5.2.1. Simple Auxiliary

Formula: + H: vb_1 + Aux: yaa
The nucleus is filled by a verb which consists of a stem with appro-
priate vowel changes, plus a final glottal stop. The auxiliary which
fills the Aux slot is the verb yaa *'do'*. The main verb carries most of
the lexical meaning, but no suffixes. The auxiliary carries the tense,
aspect and person-subject suffixes. There often seems to be no dif-
ference in meaning from other non-auxiliary forms of the main verb,
but this type of phrase is very common.

(213)   náh y - e - m - íh
        eat do - nt - ind - 3p

        '*He ate*'

5.2.2. Abilitative Auxiliary

Formula: + H: vb_2 + Aux: o

Any verb may fill the Head slot and the Aux. slot is filled by o
'be'. Here, too, the auxiliary is marked with tense, aspect and person-
subject suffixes. The main verb consists of a stem plus the abilitative
suffix, -ren, the whole phrase indicates the abilitative mood.

(214)   naa - rén e   - m - íh
        eat - abil *be*/nt - ind - 3p
        'He is able to eat'

5.2.3. Habituative Auxiliary

Formula: + H: vb_3 + Aux: o

The main verb fills the nuclear slot and consists of the verb in the
neutral tense plus glottal stop. The auxiliary, o *'be'*, fills the
lateral slot in the continuative aspect which replaces the stem-final
vowel - in this case, the whole stem. The form consists of -iyaa 'cont'
plus person-subject suffixes.

(215)   neh iyaa   - m - íh
        eat be/cont - ind - 3p
        'He eats habitually'

5.2.4. Contrary-to-Fact Auxiliary

Formula: + H: vb_4 + Aux: na

The main verb fills the Head slot and consists of stem plus glottal
stop with high tone on the final vowel. Na fills the Aux. slot and is
affixed for narrative and person-subject. This phrase indicates
contrary-to-fact mood.

(216)   úwárááh na - ré   - h...
        make   eat - narr - 1p
        'I would have made...'

5.3. CLOSE-KNIT PHRASE[12]

The close-knit phrase of verb plus verb also occurs commonly. In
contrast to the auxiliary phrase both verbs add some lexical meaning
in the close-knit phrase. One common phrase consists of ti, a form of
the verb te *'say'*, plus ame *'give'*. In combination the phrase means
'tell'.

(217)   éena - páh mo tí a - me   - m -íh
        other - at   there *say him* - *give*/nt-ind-3p
        'He told him at another place'

Another common close-knit phrase consists of waraa *'get, take'* plus either ére *'come'* or óro *'go'*. With this combination the first verb is marked for person-subject (with the medial forms). The motion verb also carries the suffixes for person-subject and any others which may be appropriate. The only word which has been observed to come between the two verbs is one of the directionals, most often e or o.

(218) ítana ware   - n ér - e - m - íh
       bow   get/nt - 3p *come* -nt- ind - 3p
       'He brought the bow'

(219) yunáán ware   - h ór - e - h - ú
       food   get/nt - lp *go* - nt - ind - lp
       'I took the food'

6. CLAUSES

6.0. *AGARABI CLAUSES*

An Agarabi clause is a grammatical unit, the predicate of which is the nucleus and the minimum manifestation. The three basic types are transitive, intransitive and equative, each of which may occur as medial or final clause in a sentence or embedded in other clause-level slots. The type is determined by the verbs which may occur in the predicate slot and by which of the lateral slots are obligatorily present or absent.

6.1. Regular Transitive Clause

Formula: $\pm$ T: temp. phr./temp. cl $\pm$ L: R/A$_{loc}$/cl $\pm$ S: NP/Pro/cl
$\pm$ I.O.: NP/Pro/cl + Ins: R/A$_{ins}$ $\pm$ O: NP/Pro/cl $\pm$ N: íhyaa + Pred: VP$_{trans}$

The regular transitive clause consists of an obligatory predicate slot filled by a verb phrase which has an obligatory transitive verb. All other slots are optional and may vary some in order though that of the formula is typical.

It is rare to find all slots filled in any one clause. Three or four is more common and a clause may consist of just the Predicate.

The Subject, Object and Indirect Object tagmemes can be filled by the same types of constructions except that the Object word may have a final nasal as a marker. The Indirect Object and Instrument do not co-occur. The Negative slot is filled by the particle íhyaa *'no, not'* or its shortened form, ih.

(220) péepáh wááráh wáántá yunáán a - mi - kaa - m - íh
       before Barapa man   food   them-give - pf - ind - 3p
       'Before the Barapa men gave them food'

(221) ánǎ - pín tápo kúh ya - n
       bamboo - in greens cook do -nt/d.s.-3p.med
       'She cooked greens in a bamboo...'

(222) tohpe - póh á - nkám - e - míh
       machete - with it - hit - nt - 3p
       'He hit it with a machete'

(223) manaa wuhku wen a   m - e - m - íh
       one   book him him - give - nt - ind - 3p
       'She gave him one book'

6.1.2. Quotation Clause

This type of transitive clause is much more restricted. The Object slot is filled by the quote which may be any level from the word through discourse. The Predicate slot is filled by the verb te *'say'* or some similar verb.

(224) Téhi oén waah - ná tatoóreh waraá - nte - h - ú - no
       I   new stay - ger *later*   get   - fut - ind - 1p - emph
       Éhi waraa - nóo te   - h - ú
       You get/impv - emph *say*/nt - ind - 1p
       '"I, being young, will get (it) later. You get (it) now!" I said'

6.2. INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES

Intransitive clauses have an obligatory Predicate slot filled by a verb phrase with an intransitive verb as Head. Some of the same tagmemes occur as in Transitive clauses and have the same types of constructions as fillers. It should be noted, however, that the Object tagmeme is obligatorily absent from Intransitive clauses and the Reason tagmeme does not occur in Transitive clauses.

6.2.1. Type 1

Formula: ± T: temp. phr/temp. cl ± L: R/A_{loc}/cl ± S: NP/Pro/cl
± Reas: R/A_{reas} ± Neg: ihyaa + Pred: VP_{intr}
    (See section 5.5.4. for fillers of the Reason slot).

(225) taréhaa kamani   ér - e - i   - n
       now   government come -nt - 3d.s. - 3p.med
       'Now the government came...'

(226) ááríntá káyo írá - ih - kon ór - iyaa m - íh
       girl   group fire - top - for go - cont - ind - 3p
       'The girl's group is going for firewood'

(227) i óh - e - m - íh
       not go.up - nt - ind - 3p
       'He didn't go up'

6.2.2. Type 2

The Reason slot does not occur in this construction. Formula:
± T: temp. phr/ temp cl. ± L: R/A$_{loc}$/cl ± S: NP/Pro/cl ± Neg: ihyaa
+ Pred: VP$_{intr}^2$

(228) mái - ráh kumáne
       this - on sit/2p.impv

       'Sit down here'

(229) maah - naaum - pín waá - ke - n
       house - inside - in stay - pst - 3p

       'It was in the house'

(230) wáántá kókon waá - re - m - íh
       man   many stay - narr - ind - 3p

       'Many men stayed'

6.3. *EQUATIONAL CLAUSES*

Equational clauses are of two types.[13] One has an obligatory
predicate filled by the verb o *'be'*; the other, a minimal clause, has
a noun, pronoun or modifier occurring with the verbaliser suffix -ih,
except where the word ends in ih.

6.3.1. Type 1

Formula: ± S: NP/Pro/cl + Com: NP/Pro/Mod + Pred: o

(231) wáántá - ih   e   - m - íh
       man   - vbl *be*/nt - ind - 3p

       'He is a man'

(232) t - íh   iyaa   - h - ú - no
       my-sickness be/cont - ind - 1p - emph

       'I am sick!'

(233) káákan - íh e   - m - íh
       big   - vbl *be*/nt - ind - 3p

       'It is big'

(234) wéni pon káákan - íh e   - m - íh
       his pig big   - vbl *be*/nt - ind - 3p

       'His pig is big'

(235) tétih - ná   ih e   - m - íh
       my - *thing* - vbl *be*/nt - ind - 3p

       'It is mine'

6.3.2. Type 2

Formula: + H: NP/Pro/Mod + vbl: -ih

Though the verbaliser -íh is the most common, first and second person
forms, -ú and -ó, also occur.

(236)   wáántá - ih
         man   - vbl

         'He is a man'

(237)   káákan - íh
         big   - vbl

         'It is big'

(238)   wéih - ná   - ih
         her - thing - vbl

         'It is hers'

(239)   téhi - ú   - no
         I   - vbl - emph

         'It is I'

6.4. *MOOD*

Another dimension to be considered is that of mood. All three types of clauses may be marked for mood, but only those which occur finally in a string. Medial clauses whether the same or different subject do not normally occur with mood suffixes. Thus, in the present analysis, mood is marked only paragraph finally. Indicative mood is unmarked.

6.4.1. Imperative Mood

As mentioned earlier (see section 3.0.) the minimal form of the verb expresses imperative mood. An imperative clause usually occurs with fewer tagmemes than an indicative and may be either transitive or intransitive. It could, potentially, occur with the equational, as the verb o occurs as an imperative in auxiliary verb phrases; but I have not observed any.

   (a) Transitive:
(240)   wuku ti - me
         book me - give/impv

         'Give me the book'

(241)   iyan pahkaa
         dog hold/impv

         'Hold the dog'

   (b) Intransitive
(242)   waru   páh óro   nóo
         village - at go/impv - emph

         'Go to the village!'

(243)   táhkóh - káh kumáne
         bench - on sit/impv

         'Sit on the bench'

6.4.2. Interrogative Mood

Interrogative mood is signalled by the suffixes described in section 3.2.2.2. (g) and occurs on all clause types. There are three types of questions: the first expects yes/no answers; the second either yes/no or expansion; the third expects information. The first two require only interrogative suffixes, the third occurs with question words, too.

6.4.2.1. *Yes/No Questions*

(a) Transitive:

(244) yunáán ná - nte - p   - ó
       food   eat fut   int - 2p

       '*Will you eat food?*'

(245) yohki tétehoó - nte - rap - ú
       dish wash   - fut - int - 1p

       '*Shall I wash the dishes?*'

(b) Intransitive:

(246) wáántá káyo ór - e - nap - í
       man   group go - nt - int - 1p

       '*Did the men go?*'

(c) Equational. This mood often occurs with Type 2 in which the interrogative suffix occurs on the nominal word in the form of -p ∿ -ap. -p occurs following vowel-final words; -ap elsewhere. First and second person forms have not been observed.

(247) wáántá - p   - í
       man   - int - vbl

       '*Is it a man?*'

(248) káákan - ap - í
       big   - int - vbl

       '*Is it big?*'

6.4.2.2. *Alternation*

Alternation questions express alternatives and require two clauses, each occurring with interrogative suffixes. The second clause may have a full predicate or just the negative plus interrogative suffix.

(249) órí - nte - p - ó pá wá   nte p ó
       go - fut - int - 2p *just stay* - fut - int - 2p

       '*Will you go? or will you just stay?*'

(250) ór - e - nap - i i - p - í
       go - nt - int - 3p *not* - int - 3p

       '*Did he go? or not?*'

6.4.2.3. *Information Question*

In this type of clause there is an obligatory question word as well as the interrogative suffixes.

(251)   inté - pah - két - ah ér - e - nap - í
        where - at - from- int *come* - nt - int - 3p

        'Where did he come from?'

(252)   iye ór - iyaa - nap - í
        who go - cont - int - 3p

        'Who is going?'

(253)   nahí - táh iyaa - p - ó
        what - int cont - int - 2p

        'What are you doing?'

In idiomatic speech a shortened form often occurs which omits the verb where óro *'go'* is understood.

(254)   intéh - iyaa - p - ó
        where - cont - int - 2p

        'Where are you going?'

6.5.   *CO-ORDINATING CLAUSES*

There are several types of co-ordinating clauses. Some express a time difference with the following clause; others express different kinds of dependence of one clause upon the other, such as condition or purpose.

All medial clauses express relationships between the subject of the medial clause and the one that follows it. This is indicated by the affixation of the verb in the first clause. The affixation differs depending on whether the subject of the two clauses is the same or different.

6.5.1.   Relationship of Subjects

If the subjects are the same only one person-subject suffix occurs on the medial verb. These suffixes are a shortened form of those which occur on final clause verbs.

    First person: -h (glottal stop)
    Second person: # (unmarked)
    Third person: -n

(255)   téhi ér - e - h te   - h - ú
        I come - nt - Ĩp *say*/nt - ind - 1p

        'I came and spoke'

(256) éhi ér   - e _ te   - ó
       you come-nt - 3p *say/nt* - 2p

       'You came and spoke'

(257) wéhi ér - e - n te   m - íh
       he   come - nt - 3p *say/nt* - ind - 3p

       'He came and spoke'

If the subjects of the two clauses are different the medial clause
has a verb which occurs with two person-subject suffixes, the first of
which indicates the subject of that clause. The second suffix indicates
the subject of the following clause. The following are those which
occur with the neutral and future tenses.[14]

First person: -ké

Second person: -tí

Third person: -í

(258) téhi ér   - e   ké éhi te   - ó
       I   come - nt - 1p *you say/nt* - 2p

       'I came and you talked'

(259) éhi ér   - e - tí - n wéhi te   - m   - íh
       you come - nt - 2p-3p *he say/nt* - ind - 3p

       'You came and he talked'

(260) wéhi érí - nt - í - h teé - nte - h - ú
       he come - fut - 3p - 1p *say* - fut - ind - 1p

       'He will come and I will talk'

6.5.2. Time Relationships

These are indicated by the tense suffixes which occur with the verb
in the medial clause. If neutral tense suffix occurs with the medial
verb, it takes its tense from the following clause.

6.5.2.1. Close-knit seuqences in which one action follows closely
after another or are seen as a unit.

(261) kur - e - n ná - nte - m   - íh
       cook - nt - 3p *eat* - fut - ind - 3p

       'He will cook and eat'

(262) kur - e - tí - h naá - nte - h - ú
       cook - nt - 2p - 1p *eat* - fut - ind - 1p

       'You cook, I will eat'

6.5.2.2. When two or more clauses are in loose-knit sequence, the
actions occurring with a separation in time or unrelated, the medial
verb will occur with some type of tense or aspect suffixes.

(a) Successive actions are indicated by the narrative suffix, -re.

(263) waá - re - h ínt - e - h ér - e - h - ú
      stay - narr - 1p *finish* - nt - 1p *come* - nt - ind - 1p

      'I stayed, finished and came'

(b) Actions separated in time.

    (i) The action expressed in the first clause takes place first indicated by the past suffix -ke on the verb of the first clause.

(264) órí - ke - n úwáh yá - ke - n ...
      go - past - 3p *make do* - past - 3p

      'They went, made...'

    (ii) The first action is completed before the second takes place. The verb of the first clause is marked with the suffix -we ∿ -wi.

(265) kíyaahpe - má órí - wí - nt - í - h tí - rúwoó - nte -
      kiap - *if go* - comp - fut - 3p - 1p *us* - *fight* - fut -

      h - ú
      ind - 1p

      'If the kiap goes, we will fight'

(c) Simultaneous actions. Simultaneous actions are indicated by the suffixes -áne and -áke, the first occurring when the following verb is a verb of motion, -áke with others.

(266) wano   áátíyaan íní - áne -n éréín...
      Jew's harp sounding hear-while-3p *coming*

      '...while he was hearing the sound of the Jew's harp he was coming...'

(267) ér - iyaa - áke - n te - m -íh
      come-cont- *while*- 3p *say*-ind-3p

      '...as he was coming he said...'

6.5.3. Purpose Clauses

The purpose of an action may be indicated by a medial clause in which the verb occurs with the purpose suffix, -nto.

(268) wé   ánkáán óri - nto - n úhtaa - iyaa - m - íh
      they - all   go - purp - 3p *prepare* - cont - ind - 3p

      'They are all preparing to go'

6.5.4. Conditional Clauses

Conditional clauses occur medially and are marked by the suffix, -ma. This suffix occurs at least on the first word, but may be repeated on other words as well.

(269) ááh - ma yá - nt - í - h i óroó - nte - h - ú
      rain - if do - fut - 3p - 1p neg *go* - fut - ind - 1p

      'If it rains, I will not go'

(Note also example 265 for a conditional clause.)

6.5.5. Paradigma

The following is just a sample of the combinations of co-ordinating clauses.

Neutral tense in medial clause, future or jussive in the final.

(a) Same subjects:

    1-1 kureh naántehú *'I cooked and I will eat'*

    2-2 kure náno *'You cooked and you may eat'*

    3-3 kuren nántemíh *'He cooked and he will eat'*

(b) Different subjects:

    1-2 kureké náno *'I cooked, you may eat'*

    1-3 kurekén nántemíh *'I cooked, he will eat'*

    2-1 kuretíh naántehú *'You cooked, I will eat'*

    2-3 kuretín nántemíh *'You cooked, he will eat'*

    3-1 kuríh naántehú *'He cooked, I will eat'*

    3-2 kurí náno *'He cooked, you may eat'*

    3-3 kurín nántemíh *'He cooked and he will eat'*

Future in medial, future and permissive in final.

(a) Same subjects:

    1-1 kuroónteh naántehú *'I will cook and eat'*

    2-2 kuríntí náno *'You will cook and you may eat'*

    3-3 kuríntín nántemíh *'He will cook and eat'*

(b) Different subjects:

    1-2 kuroónteké náno *'I will cook, you may eat'*

    1-3 kuroóntekén nántemíh *'I will cook, he will eat'*

    2-1 kuríntetíh naántehú *'You will cook, I will eat'*

    2-3 kuríntetín nántemíh *'You will cook, he will eat'*

    3-1 kuríntíh naántehú *'He will cook, I will eat'*

    3-2 kuríntí náno *'He will cook, you may eat'*

    3-3 kuríntín nántemíh *'He will cook, he (another) will eat'*

Neutral in both clauses.

(a) Same subjects:

    1-1 kureh nehú *'I cooked and ate'*

    2-2 kure neó *'You cooked and ate'*

    3-3 kuren nemíh *'He cooked and ate'*

(b) Different subjects:

    1-2 kureké neó *'I cooked, you ate'*

    1-3 kurekén nemíh *'I cooked, he ate'*

2-1   kureh nehú   *'You cooked, I ate'*

2-3   kuren nemíh   *'You cooked, he ate'*

3-1   kuríh nehú   *'He cooked, I ate'*

3-2   kurí nepó   *'He cooked, did you eat?'*

3-3   kurín nemíh   *'He cooked, and he ate'*

N O T E S

1. The Agarabi language is spoken by about 15,000 people living in the area of the town of Kainantu in the Eastern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea. It belongs to a group of languages in that area, including Tairora, Gadsup, Auyana and Awa, which form the Eastern Family of the East New Guinea Highland Stock. See Wurm 1961, Wurm 1975:467ff.

The material for this paper was gathered during the years 1960-1974. This was done primarily in the village of Punano which is located some six miles from Kainantu. I am especially indebted to Kómpa who worked faithfully as my language helper all that time.

This is a revision of a paper done as part of a study program at the University of Texas at Arlington. It was done under the supervision of Dr Karl Franklin to whom I also express my thanks. Miss Lorna Luff who worked with me during much of the time and contributed to the analysis has made many of the suggestions that went into this revision.

2. See Healey 1966.

3. See Scott 1973.

4. See Goddard 1976.

5. A phonemic analysis was done by Lorna Luff and is currently being revised. The grammatical analysis has been done by myself. We have had the help of colleagues of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, including Dr Darlene Bee, Dr Alan Healey, Dr Kenneth L. Pike and a few other consultants at workshops.

6. Other phonetic occurrences of nasal phonemes are analysed as
features of the prosody of nasalisation to be discussed later.

7. The orthography in use will be used for examples throughout. Thus
/h/ represents glottal stop; /n/ following vowels represents nasalised
vowels; /w/ represents the voiced bilabial stop and /y/ the alveolar.
Aspiration is not marked; other symbols are similar to those used in
English.

8. Perturbation which occurs across word boundaries is marked only
between phonetic brackets. Where it occurs within a word it is marked.
Otherwise only the basic tones are marked.

9. Since /aa/ represents one segment both orthographical symbols are
dropped before -iyaa.

10. The suffix, -waa 'repetitive', for example, occurs on medial forms
plus a few unclassified ones. Perhaps the conditional, -ma, should be
included here as well. Reduplication also occurs as a feature of
intensification.

11. Verbs do not, however, normally occur with more than three or four
suffixes. The examples presented are typical.

12. See Longacre 1972:4,27,39,48. Longacre refers to some similar
constructions in other Papua New Guinea languages as 'stripped down
verbs', but I do not believe that is what is happening here.

13. These two clauses could be combined if the predicate were to be
interpreted as optional. However, it may be that the type which has
the verb has more possibilities for expansion.

14. There seem to be other suffixes which may be portmanteau morphemes
expressing relationships between clauses and subject of the first clause
as well. More investigation needs to be done in this area.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BEE, Darlene, Lorna LUFF and Jean GODDARD
    1973   'Notes on Agarabi Phonology'. In Howard McKaughan, ed.
             The Languages of the Eastern Family of the East New Guinea
             Highlands Stock, 414-423. Seattle and London: University
             of Washington Press.

GODDARD, Jean
    1976   'Higher Levels of Agarabi Grammar'. *WPNGL (Higher Level*
             Studies of Two Papua New Guinea Related Highland Languages),
             5-72. Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea: Summer Institute of
             Linguistics.

HEALEY, Phyllis M.
    1966   *Levels and Chaining in Telefol Sentences.* (Ph.D. thesis,
             Australian National University, Canberra), *PL*, B-5.

LONGACRE, Robert E.
    1972   *Hierarchy and Universality of Discourse Constituents in New*
             Guinea Languages, Vol. 1: Discussion. Washington, D.C.:
             Georgetown University Press.

SCOTT, Graham
    1973   *Higher Levels of Fore Grammar. PL*, B-23.

WURM, S.A.
    1961   'The Linguistic Situation in the Highlands Districts of
             Papua New Guinea'. *Australian Territories* 1/2:14-23.

1975   'Eastern Central Trans-New Guinea Phylum Languages'.   In
          S.A. Wurm, ed. *Papuan Languages and the New Guinea Linguistic*
          Scene.   PL, C-38.