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TABLE OF CONTENTS

AGARABI NARRATIVES AND COMMENTARY

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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.

1

1. TEXTS, TRANSLATION AND CULTURAL COMMENTARY[1]

I. Travel to the Island - A

1 óreruhná$_1$yáwaaúroh$_2$ mó$_3$ manaa$_4$ táárareh$_5$ árúrehkún$_6$ manteh$_7$ waah$_8$ tunteh$_9$ waah$_{10}$ tarinteh$_{11}$ waah$_{12}$ ponteh$_{13}$ pá$_{14}$ waah$_{15}$ paraanteh$_{16}$ áákúráh$_{17}$ tíhpi$_{18}$ ereín$_{19}$ é$_{20}$ tiwirah$_{21}$ toru$_{22}$ waraapin$_{23}$ óriyaah$_{24}$ óriyaah$_{25}$ inuhpáh$_{26}$ aíraanipín,$_{27}$ mutohkáh,$_{28}$ mó$_{29}$ kaaíh$_{30}$ yoriyaah$_{31}$ waah$_{32}$ maipahkeh$_{33}$ ínteh$_{34}$ érehú.$_{35}$

1 As I was going$_1$ I spent$_6$ one$_4$ week$_5$ there$_3$ at Rabaul;$_2$ Monday$_7$ I waited,$_8$ Tuesday$_9$ I waited,$_{10}$ Wednesday$_{11}$ I waited,$_{12}$ Thursday$_{13}$ I just$_{14}$ waited;$_{15}$ and Friday$_{16}$ morning$_{17}$ the ship$_{18}$ coming$_{19}$ took me$_{21}$ and I was going$_{24}$ and going$_{25}$ over the sea.$_{22,23}$ In the afternoon$_{26}$ it put me$_{30}$ there$_{29}$ on an island$_{27,28}$ and I remained$_{32}$ working;$_{31}$ when I was finished$_{34}$ I came$_{35}$ from there.$_{33}$

II. Travel to the Island - B

1 óreruhná$_1$ yáwaaúroh$_2$ móráh$_3$ manaa$_4$ táárareh$_5$ árúrehkún$_6$ manteh$_7$ pá$_8$ waah$_9$ tunteh$_{10}$ pá$_{11}$ waah$_{12}$ tarinteh$_{13}$ pá$_{14}$ waáreh$_{15}$ ponteh$_{16}$ pá$_{17}$ waah$_{18}$ ekén$_{19}$ paraanteh$_{20}$ tíhpi$_{21}$ ano$_{22}$ é$_{23}$ tiwiren$_{24}$ toru$_{25}$ waraapin$_{26}$ óriyaan$_{27}$ óriyaan$_{28}$ mutohkáh$_{29}$ móráh$_{30}$ yoriyaah$_{31}$ waáreh$_{32}$ ínteh$_{33}$ érehú.$_{34}$
2 ínkaíh.$_1$

1 As I was going$_1$ I was put down$_3$ at Rabaul$_2$ where I spent$_6$ one$_4$ week;$_5$ Monday$_7$ I just$_8$ waited,$_9$ Tuesday$_{10}$ I just$_{11}$ waited,$_{12}$ Wednesday$_{13}$ I just$_{14}$ waited and$_{15}$ Thursday$_{16}$ I just$_{17}$ waited,$_{18,19}$ on Friday$_{20}$ a$_{22}$ ship$_{21}$ took me$_{24}$ and was going$_{27}$ and going$_{28}$ over the sea$_{25,26}$ set (me) down$_{30}$ on an island$_{29}$ where I stayed$_{32}$ working$_{31}$ and (when) I finished$_{33}$ I came.$_{34}$ **2** That is all.$_1$

III. Travel from the Island

1 íntárekún[1] máhtáhe[2] ten.[3] 2 ínka[1] éi[2] yei[3] íntemíno;[4] íntemipó.[5] 3 manteh[1] pá[2] waa,[3] tunteh[4] pá[5] waa,[6] tarinteh[7] yamúh[8] tíhpi[9] ano[10] é[11] awirántemíno.[12] tíkah;[13] waáreh[14] ekén[15] tarinteh[16] yamúh[17] tíhpi[18] ano[19] ó[20] tiwirah[21] 4 éreruhná[1] yáwaaúroh[2] mérah[3] waáreh[4] manaa[5] tááraréh[6] árúrehkún;[7] manteh[8] pá[9] waa,[10] tunteh[11] pá[12] waa,[13] tarinteh[14] warutin[15] ano[16] ó[17] tiwirah;[18] 5 éreruhná[1] kéwiaani[2] e[3] kúmánén[4] pénitini[5] e[6] wárah,[7] mairahkeh[8] érehná[9] wewaake[10] e[11] kúmánen[12] 6 mairahkeh manten[2] éren[3] mantampah[4] mai[5] warutin[6] ano[7] mé[8] kaaúh[9] yen[10] ten;[11] 7 téhí[1] yúnih[2] e[3] werahneh[4] yaaipáh[5] órerúno.[6] 8 tirehti[1] marah[2] waatíh[3] wááriti[4] ekén[5] kóróhkaah[6] ohintin[7] kóróhkaahkéh[8] yorun[9] awiranóo.[10] tíkan[11] kóróhkaahkéh[12] áraweín[13] órún[14] tiwirah[15] kóróhkaah[16] óhehú.[17] 9 ún[1] waah[2] kaan[3] tááraréh[4] intarekén[5] mairah[6] kaari[7] ano[8] tiwiren[9] kainantumpah[10] moruh[11] yah[12] érehú.[13] 10 ínkaíh.[1]

1 When I finished[1] the European[2] spoke.[3] 2 "Finally[1] your[2] days[3] are finished;[4] completely over![5] 3 Monday[1] just[2] wait,[3] Tuesday[4] just[5] wait,[6] Wednesday[7,8] a[10] ship[9] will take you!"[12] he said and[13] I waited.[14,15] On Wednesday[16,17] a[19] ship[18] took me.[21] 4 While I was coming[1] I was set down[3] at Rabaul[2] where I stayed and[4] spent[7] one[5] week;[6] Monday[8] (I) just[9] waited,[10] Tuesday[11] (I) just[12] waited,[13] Wednesday[14] a[16] plane[15] took me.[18] 5 As I came[1] it landed[4] at Kavieng[2] and got[7] fuel;[5] then[8] as I came[9] it landed[12] at Wewak.[10] 6 Then[1] it took off,[2] came[3] and this[5] plane[6,7] put down[9,10] at Madang[4] and (the pilot) spoke;[11] 7 "It is dark[1,3] and I am returning[4,6] to Lae.[5] 8 You all[1] stay[3] here[2] I have sent a telegram,[4,5] which will go up[7] to Goroka[6] (so that they will come)down[9] from Goroka[8] and get you."[10] he said[11] and they came down[13] from Goroka[12] and got us[15] and we went up[17] to

Goroka.$_{16}$ **9** I stayed$_2$ up there$_1$ and completed$_5$ two$_3$ weeks;$_4$ then$_6$ a$_8$ car$_7$ got me$_9$ and put me down$_{11}$,$_{12}$ at Kainantu$_{10}$ and I came.$_{13}$ **10** That is all.$_1$

IV. No Rest-days

1 péepah$_1$ tinaahu$_2$ tiraahó$_3$ íhyaa$_4$ oyaa$_5$ en$_6$ tiren$_7$ awiki-yaamíh.$_8$ **2** pára$_1$ yoran$_2$ íneíne$_3$ anáá$_4$ en$_5$ óriyaamíh.$_6$
3 óriyaahín$_1$ ínáámuníh$_2$ emá$_3$ iyámpon$_4$ káa$_5$ íkamá$_6$ en$_7$ mairah$_8$ yunáán$_9$ tááhen$_{10}$ niyaáken$_{11}$ oyaa$_{12}$ en$_{13}$ tíren$_{14}$ pá$_{15}$ waamíh.$_{16}$ **4** taréhaa$_1$ téhtimpín$_2$ kamani$_3$ éren$_4$ ten,$_5$ táárarétáh$_6$ yohan$_7$ aahpih$_8$ e$_9$ taanteh$_{10}$ awikaanóo.$_{11}$ tíkah,$_1$ taréhaa$_{13}$ téhtimpín$_{14}$ mahaa$_{15}$ tíkah$_{16}$ téhti$_{17}$ tiwikiyaáhú.$_{18}$
5 péepáh$_1$ tinaahu$_2$ tiraahó,$_3$ mai$_4$ káyo$_5$ ano,$_6$ íhyaa$_7$ awikanán$_8$ íniyaamíh.$_9$ **6** pára$_1$ yoran$_2$ íneíne$_3$ anáá$_4$ en$_5$ óriyaamíh.$_6$ **7** árúwin$_1$ íneíne$_2$ anáá$_3$ en$_4$ óriyaamíh.$_5$
8 taréhaa$_1$ téhtimpín$_2$ taanteh$_3$ tiwikeh$_4$ iyaahú.$_5$ **9** ínkaíh.$_1$

1 Long ago$_1$ our grandfathers$_2$ and our grandmothers$_3$ did not$_4$ say$_7$ "it is$_6$ a holiday"$_5$ and rest.$_8$ **2** They just$_1$ went on$_6$ having thoughts$_{3,5}$ only$_4$ of work.$_2$ **3** Going on,$_1$ if there were$_3$ a child,$_2$ when the child$_4$ was born$_{5-7}$ then$_8$ they prepared$_{10}$ food$_9$ and ate.$_{11}$ "It is$_{13}$ a holiday"$_{12}$ they said and$_{14}$ just$_{15}$ stayed around.$_{16}$ **4** Now$_1$ in our time,$_2$ the government$_3$ came$_4$ and has spoken,$_5$ "On Saturday$_6$ work$_7$ half$_8$ (day), on Sunday$_{10}$ rest!"$_{11}$ it said;$_{12}$ now,$_{13}$ in our time,$_{14}$ it said$_{16}$ thus$_{15}$ and we$_{17}$ are resting.$_{18}$ **5** Before$_1$ our grandfathers$_2$ and our grandmothers,$_3$ that$_4$ group,$_{5,6}$ were not$_7$ thinking$_9$ of rest.$_8$
6 They just$_1$ went on$_6$ having thoughts$_{3,5}$ only$_4$ of work.$_2$
7 They went on$_5$ having thoughts$_{2,4}$ only$_3$ of fighting.$_1$
8 Now,$_1$ in our time,$_2$ on Sunday$_3$ we rest.$_{4,5}$ **9** That is all.$_1$

V. Possessions

1 péepáh$_1$ tinaahu$_2$ tiraahompín$_3$ íhyaa$_4$ oóná$_5$ waamíh.$_6$

2 manaa[1] wahyó[2] wán[3] matámen[4] waamíh.[5]   3 úwé[1] ítana[2] maihaa[3] yánááh[4] anáá[5] waah[6] íkan[7] námúró[8] anomá[9] wákúh[10] yan[11] maikánán[12] oóná[13] anáá[14] ámáren[15] uhpimpah[16] káráámpïn[17] tïhtoh[18] maah[19] úwámaháken[20] maipin[21] o[22] wáriyaámih.[23]
4 mahai[1] iyaáhín[2] taréhaa[3] kamani[4] érïhkan[5] mïnoh[6] perehti[7] taatoh[8] tohpe[9] wïtúkaa[10] taarah[11] taantún[12] mai[13] yánáátïntá[14] aman[15] maahnaún[16] káain[17] wákan[18] mai[19] ano[20] oónáíh[21] úkan[22] waamíh.[23]   5 péepáh[1] íhyaa[2] máhanten[3] oóná[4] waamíh.[5]   6 taréhaa[1] kamani[2] érein[3] me[4] tihtuhaah[5] káaïkan[6] wákan[7] maipinteh[8] mïnoh[9] yánááh[10] aman[11] káain[12] wákan[13] mai[14] ano[15] oónáíh[16] úkan[17] waamíh.[18]   7 ínkaíh.[1]

1 Long ago[1] in our grandparents' time[2, 3] there were[6] no[4] possessions.[5]   2 There was[3] one[1] bark[2] and there was[5] grease.[4]   3 There were[6, 7] bows[2] and arrows,[1] only[5] that kind[3] of thing;[4] when they were pursued[10, 11] by an[9] enemy[8] they took up[15] these two[12] possessions[13] only.[14]   They made[20] a little[18] house[19] in the undergrowth,[17] in the bush[16] and were sleeping[23] in those.[21]   4 They were[2] like this[1] (but) now[3] the government[4] has come[5] and brought[15] all[6] plates,[7] spoons,[8] machetes,[9] knives,[10] forks,[11] and axes,[12] this[13] kind of thing.[14] They stored them[17, 18] in houses[16] and these things[19, 20] have[23] become[22] possessions.[21]   5 Before[1] there were[5] no[2] goods[4] of this kind.[3]   6 Now[1] since the government[2] came[3] and established[6, 7] stores[5] here,[4] it has taken[11] everything[9, 10] and stored[12, 13] in them.[8] These things[14, 15] have[18] become[17] possessions.[16]   7 That is all.[1]

VI. Sickness

1 íhyamúh[1] pára[2] waáren[3] ínúrán[4] aráh[5] órikan[6] tíh[7] iyaahúno,[8] tíren.[9]   2 tíkan[1] wé[2] anohé[3] arún[4] máhen[5] káá[6] kan[7] óreïn[8] weweti[9] nehne[10] móo[11] tin[12] érein,[13] e[14] awire[15] yohtaampah[16] moruh[17] yetíh[18] waáno,[19] tíkan[20] ereïn[21]

e_{22} awiren$_{23}$ araweín$_{24}$ yohtaampah$_{25}$ moruh$_{26}$ yan$_{27}$ waratin$_{28}$
amikan$_{29}$ oó$_{30}$ ákónáá$_{31}$.ín$_{32}$ waratín$_{33}$ wihan$_{34}$ karuhyáren$_{35}$
purikan$_{36}$ **3** awiren$_1$ éhyeín$_2$ múh$_3$ yan$_4$ wé$_5$ amaah$_6$ wákan$_7$
wehwaahtín$_8$ amaah$_9$ kárápantaáhín$_{10}$ yo$_{11}$ úán$_{12}$ karuhyáren$_{13}$
maipin$_{14}$ e$_{15}$ awíhah$_{16}$ kaaekén$_{17}$ wákan$_{18}$ **4** éena$_1$ námún$_2$
úwáh$_3$ yen$_4$ maipin$_5$ e$_6$ awihan$_7$ kaaín$_8$ wákan$_9$ mínóhpímpáhkéh$_{10}$
maipin$_{11}$ e$_{12}$ wán$_{13}$ arún$_{14}$ yanaah$_{15}$ waren$_{16}$ inúran$_{17}$
waamíh.$_{18}$

1 Two days ago$_1$ she was well$_{2,3}$ and at night$_4$ she had diarrhoea;$_5$,   **2** She spoke$_1$ and her$_2$ mother$_3$ was sorry;$_{4,5}$ at dawn$_{6,7}$ she went$_8$ and told$_{12}$ Bevesi$_9$ and others$_{10}$ to come.$_{13}$ "Take her$_{15}$ and put her$_{17,18}$ at the doctor's$_{16}$ so we may stay."$_{19}$ she said$_{20}$ and they came$_{21}$ and took her$_{23}$ going down$_{24}$ they put her$_{26,27}$ at the doctor's$_{25}$ they gave her$_{29}$ medicine$_{28}$ (but) her mouth$_{30}$ was tight$_{31,32}$ and she spat out$_{34,35}$ the medicine$_{33}$ and died.$_{36}$ **3** They brought her$_{1,2}$ put her$_{3,4}$ and she stayed$_7$ in her$_5$ house;$_6$ Bepbati's$_8$ house$_9$ was partitioned$_{10}$ and they took them down$_{11,12}$ and threw them out and$_{13}$ they brought her$_{16}$ and I put her$_{17}$ there$_{14}$ to stay.$_{18}$ **4** They built$_{3,4}$ another$_1$ house,$_2$ brought her$_7$ and put her$_8$ in it$_5$ and she stayed.$_9$ While she stayed$_{13}$ in there$_{11}$ from everywhere$_{10}$ they remained$_{18}$ the night$_{17}$ grieving.$_{14-16}$

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 aapeihpah$_1$ anaati$_2$ pahkemíh,$_3$ mai$_4$ áárintá$_5$ awih$_6$ waam-peyaa.$_7$ **2** pahkaáken$_1$ anaati$_2$ óno$_3$ tíren;$_4$ yunáán$_5$ upiyaante$_6$ óriyaáreh$_7$ íkah$_8$ áárintá$_9$ ano$_{10}$ temíh.$_{11}$
3 peyan$_1$ wáántá$_2$ tipón$_3$ keín,$_4$ auyén$_5$ wáántá$_6$ waraántehúno.$_7$ tíren$_8$ me$_9$ ipaahen$_{10}$ kaínantumpáh$_{11}$ tíhtúaah$_{12}$ woin$_{13}$ waaihpáh$_{14}$ e$_{15}$ wákááhin$_{16}$ wé$_{17}$ ayopi$_{18}$ ereín$_{19}$ e$_{20}$ awiráh-kan;$_{21}$ tipón$_{22}$ kah,
érehúno.$_{28}$ tíkan$_{29}$ ipaahen$_{30}$ óremíh.$_{31}$ **4** ó$_1$ wakáaren$_2$ wáántá$_3$ káyo$_4$ ó$_5$ awiren$_6$ ereín$_7$ me$_8$ koh$_9$ tíkan$_{10}$ mahtáhe$_{11}$ temíh.$_{12}$ **5** peyan$_1$ wáántá$_2$ ipaahonóo,$_3$ auyén$_4$ wáántá$_5$ ipaahonóo,$_6$ éena$_7$ wáántá$_8$ waraanóo.$_9$ tíkan$_{10}$ éeyo,$_{11}$ tíren$_{12}$ óren.$_{13}$ **6** óreín pára waamíh.$_3$ **7** áárintá$_1$ wara-múno$_2$ temíh.$_3$

1 At Afeipa$_1$ they took hold of$_3$ a woman,$_2$ this girl's$_5$ name$_6$ (is) Bampeya.$_7$ **2** They held her$_1$ and said,$_4$ "You are$_3$ a married woman!"$_2$ While they were going$_{7,8}$ to dig out$_6$ food,$_5$ the$_{10}$ girl$_9$ spoke.$_{11}$ **3** "I don't want$_{3,4}$ an old$_1$ man;$_2$ I will get$_7$ a young$_5$ man!"$_6$ she said and$_8$ left$_{10}$ here$_9$ and slept$_{16}$ in Kainantu$_{11}$ at the store-man's$_{12,13}$ place.$_{14}$ Her$_{17}$ brother$_{18}$ came$_{19}$ and took her;$_{21}$ "I don't want to$_{22,23}$ I$_{24}$ came$_{28}$ because I want to get$_{27}$ this$_{25}$ man!"$_{26}$ she said$_{29}$ so he gave up$_{30}$ and went.$_{31}$ **4** He spent the night and$_2$ brought$_{6,7}$ a group$_4$ of men$_3$ and held court$_{9,10}$ here.$_8$ The European$_{11}$ spoke.$_{12}$ **5** "Forget$_3$ the old$_1$ man;$_2$ forget$_6$ the young$_4$ man;$_5$ get$_9$ another$_7$ man!"$_8$ he said$_{10}$ and she agreed$_{11,12}$ and went.$_{13}$ **6** She went$_1$ and she just.   **7** "I want to remain$_2$ single."$_1$ she said.$_3$

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 purin_1 atihkááh_2 eompó._3 aíne_4 waraanóo._5 tekén_6 waremíh._7 **2** téhi_1 oén_2 waahná,_3 tatóreh_4 waraántehúno._5 **3** éhi_1 purin_2 atihkááh_3 eóno._4 éhi_5 waraanóo._6 tehú._7

1 "You are$_3$ shortly$_2$ to die!$_1$ Take it$_5$ soon."$_4$ I said$_6$ and she took it.$_7$ **2** "I$_1$ am still$_3$ young,$_2$ I will take it$_5$ later."$_4$ **3** "You$_1$ are$_4$ shortly$_3$ to die.$_2$ You$_5$ take it!"$_6$ I said.$_7$

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 wáántá_1 púmaaraa_2 mínóh_3 áno_4 kaako_5 waren_6 óríwin_7 unáántumpáh_8 anaati_9 káyo_{10} anáá_{11} íyúken_{12} ápáánán_{13} péh_{14} yen_{15} wákan_{16} téhi_{17} ériyaah_{18} taréhaa_{19} ónehkún_{20} mahan_{21} ten_{22} ápáánán_{23} péh_{24} yen_{25} pára_{26} waruráh_{27} íyúken_{28} waamíh._{29} **2** ínkaíh._1

1 All$_3$ the$_4$ men$_1$ and youths$_2$ went$_7$ carrying$_6$ cargo,$_5$ only$_{11}$ the group$_{10}$ of women$_9$ gathered$_{12}$ at Unantu.$_8$ They stayed$_{16}$ (together) because they feared$_{14,15}$ sorcery.$_{13}$ I$_{17}$ was

coming[18] now[19] and saw[20] that like this[21, 22] they just[26] wait[29] gathered[28] in the village[27] because they fear[24, 25] sorcery.[23]   **2** That is all.[1]

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

1 wáántá[1] púmaaraa[2] kaahtiráh[3] aapeihpáh[4] iuh[5] tiyaan[6] waáren[7] mínoh[8] wáántá[9] púmaaraa[10] pára[11] wákan[12] wéyáákah[13] maamaake[14] éhiyaan[15] aíh[16] yánááh[17] áátáhkéh[18] yún[19] waren[20] arawein,[21] téhi[22] áátáhkéh[23] aú[24] wareh[25] érerumpó.[26] é[27] tiwire[28] múh[29] yah[30] téhi[31] intááno[32] tíkan[33]   **2** awiren[1] múh[2] yan[3] wákan[4] ápáán[5] tíreminó[6] tíren[7] ápááh[8] námán[9] árúren[10] onáhkan[11] íhyaa[12] ápáán[13] áremíh.[14]   **3** pára[1] paaén[2] yánááh[3] ano[4] áremíh.[5]   **4** árúran[1] wáken[2] waamíh.[3] **5** ínkaíh.[1]

1 The men[1] and youths[2] were[7] at Afeipa[4] playing[5, 6] cards,[3] all[8] the men[9] and youths[10] just[11] stayed there.[12] Mamake[14] was coming up[15] by himself[13] when sickness[16, 17] took (him)[20] up there[19] on the road[18] and he went down;[21] "I[22] got[25] evil[24] on the road[23] as I came!"[26] Here[27] take me,[28] put me[30] up there;[29] I[31] am about to die!"[32] he said.[33] **2** They took him,[1] put him[3] up there[2] and he stayed,[4] "A spell[5] has been cast on us!"[6] they said[7] and tested the sorcery[8-11] (but) a spell[13] was not[12] cast on him.[14] **3** It was just[1] a[4] little[2] thing[3] that hurt him.[5]   **4** It hurt him and he is lying down.[2, 3]   **5** That is all.[1]

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 éenapáhma$_1$ ááríntá$_2$ wáárehín$_3$ púmaaraa$_4$ ano$_5$ ó$_6$ oháren$_7$
2 o$_1$ onáma$_2$ awúruh$_3$ ááríntáma$_4$ wááreh$_5$ íhkan$_6$ ó$_7$ weren$_8$ ó$_9$ oháren$_{10}$ éremíh.$_{11}$ **3** éreín$_1$ atapé$_2$ me$_3$ úwáreh$_4$ iyaamíh.$_5$
4 atapéih$_1$ úáken$_2$ puhkaapín$_3$ káaiyaamíh.$_4$ **5** puhkaapín$_1$ káaúh$_2$ yen$_3$ waren$_4$ mó$_5$ amiyaamíh.$_6$ **6** waren$_1$ mó$_2$ amíhken$_3$ puhtiran.$_4$ **7** puhtíramá$_1$ en$_2$ mai$_3$ íráran$_4$ o$_5$ wáreh$_6$ iyaamíh,$_7$ ááríntánámáh.$_8$ **8** ó$_1$ wáhkaáren$_2$ mah$_3$ yaah$_4$ óren.$_5$ **9** mah$_1$ yaah$_2$ óremá$_3$ en$_4$ káánuhmánaaútápi$_5$ káámikáámitápi$_6$ ma$_7$ ó$_8$ wáren$_9$ éhín$_{10}$ waráántehúno$_{11}$ mó$_{12}$ teh$_{13}$ iyaamíh.$_{14}$ **10** mó$_1$ tíkan$_2$ ínomá$_3$ tentin$_4$ íno$_5$ en$_6$ waráántehúno$_7$ ten,$_8$ mó$_9$ akonaain$_{10}$ wááyáá$_{11}$ teh$_{12}$ iyaamíh.$_{13}$
11 wááyáá$_1$ tíkamái$_2$ ma$_3$ en$_4$ atapé$_5$ ano$_6$ arahpímpáh$_7$ ó$_8$ perang$_9$ wéni$_{10}$ íneíne$_{11}$ iyaamíh.$_{12}$ **12** wéni$_1$ íneíne$_2$ íkamá$_3$ en$_4$ ó$_5$ wáren$_6$ éren$_7$ iyáán$_8$ iyáán$_9$ iyáámá$_{10}$ éken$_{11}$ éenapáhkéh$_{12}$ ó$_{13}$ waren$_{14}$ éreh$_{15}$ iyaamíh,$_{16}$ éena$_{17}$ warupáhkéh.$_{18}$ **13** éena$_1$ warupáhkéh$_2$ ó$_3$ waren$_4$ me$_5$ yúh$_6$ yáren$_7$ ínkaipó$_8$ tiyaáken$_9$ me$_{10}$ íreh$_{11}$ iyaamíh.$_{12}$ **14** mé$_1$ ímaken$_2$ mai$_3$ íman$_4$ wáántá$_5$ ameh$_6$ iyaamíh.$_7$ **15** mai$_1$ iráran$_2$ iyááhen$_3$ wáántá$_4$ wáántá$_5$ amín$_6$ mai$_7$ amáhken$_8$ yen$_9$ waah$_{10}$ iyaamíh.$_{11}$ **16** yen$_1$ waáken$_2$ iyámpomá$_3$ káaen$_4$ óriyaamá$_5$ en$_6$ kókon$_7$ íyámpomá$_8$ mó$_9$ káauh$_{10}$ yen$_{11}$ máiráh$_{12}$ pon,$_{13}$ káákan$_{14}$ pon,$_{15}$ awih$_{16}$ yan$_{17}$ máhen$_{18}$ aahtóte$_{19}$ tíren$_{20}$ árúah$_{21}$ yan$_{22}$ óriyaamíh.$_{23}$ **17** é$_1$ weren$_2$

wé$_3$ ayopi,$_4$ wé$_5$ anohé$_6$ nanóo$_7$ tíran$_8$ árúah$_9$ yan$_{10}$ órin$_{11}$
wé$_{12}$ ayopimá$_{13}$ waaín$_{14}$ ano$_{15}$ neh$_{16}$ iyaamíh.$_{17}$ **18** ínkah$_1$
manaamá$_2$ en$_3$ pon,$_4$ káákan$_5$ pon,$_6$ árúran$_7$ mairah$_8$ moanih$_9$
tiyaamíhkán$_{10}$ tirantamíhkán$_{11}$ yanka$_{12}$ káaeh$_{13}$ iyaamíh.$_{14}$
19 ínkah$_1$ manaamá$_2$ en$_3$ tiyaamíhkán$_4$ tirantan$_5$ yaamanááhpáh$_6$
maíhaa$_7$ káaeh$_8$ iyaamíh.$_9$ **20** mahan$_1$ túran$_2$ wareh$_3$
iyaamíh.$_4$ **21** mái$_1$ ááríntá$_2$ anaati$_3$ anaatihmá$_4$ in$_5$
aanáih.$_6$

1 If$_1$ there is$_3$ a girl$_2$ from another place$_1$ the$_5$ youth$_4$
looks$_7$ there.$_6$ **2** If he sees$_2$ there$_1$ that she is$_{5,6}$ an
excellent$_3$ girl$_4$ he returns$_{7,8}$ looks$_{10}$ there$_9$ and comes.$_{11}$
3 Coming$_1$ he makes$_{4,5}$ a love potion$_2$ here.$_3$ **4** Having
made$_2$ the love potion$_1$ he puts it$_4$ in a cigarette.$_3$
5 Having put it$_{2,3}$ in a cigarette$_1$ he takes it$_4$ and gives
it to her$_6$ there.$_5$ **6** Having taken it$_1$ and given it to
her$_3$ he puffs on it.$_4$ **7** When she puffs on it$_1$ then$_3$ he
sleeps$_{6,7}$ there$_5$ with the girl,$_8$ desiring to marry.$_4$
8 Having slept$_2$ there$_1$ he goes$_5$ several times.$_{3,4}$ **9** When
he has gone$_3$ several times$_{1,2}$ and has slept$_9$ there$_8$ three$_5$
or four times he says,$_{13,14}$ "I will marry you!"$_{10}$
10 Having said this$_2$ if she says,$_4$ "No!",$_3$ he says "No!$_5$
I will marry$_7$ you!"$_6$ this firm$_{10}$ talk$_{11}$ he says.$_{12,13}$
11 When he has said that$_{1-4}$ the$_6$ love potion$_5$ goes into$_{8,9}$
her bowels$_7$ and she thinks$_{11,12}$ his way.$_{10}$ **12** When she
has thought$_{2,3}$ his way$_1$ he sleeps,$_6$ coming$_7$ again and
again$_{8-11}$ from another place$_{12}$ he takes (her)$_{14}$ and
comes,$_{15,16}$ from another$_{17}$ village.$_{18}$ **13** He takes
(her)$_4$ from another$_1$ village$_2$ and puts her$_{6,7}$ here;$_5$ "All
right",$_8$ he says$_9$ and they get married.$_{11,12}$ **14** When
married$_2$ they give her$_{6,7}$ to the bridegroom.$_{3-5}$ **15** This$_1$
bridegroom$_{2-4}$ when they give her$_6$ to the man$_5$ he takes
her$_{7,8}$ and they stay.$_{10,11}$ **16** Having stayed$_{1,2}$ if she
keeps$_5$ bearing$_4$ children$_3$ when she has borne$_{10,11}$ many$_7$
children$_8$ then$_{12}$ they get$_{16,17}$ a pig,$_{13}$ a big$_{14}$ pig,$_{15}$ and

12

(others) take it.[18] They say[20] "It is a settlement",[19] and, after they have killed it[21],[22] they go.[23] **17** They return[1],[2] and say[8] to her[3] brothers[4] and her[5] mother[6] "You may eat."[7] Having gone[11] to kill it[9],[10] if her[12] brothers[13] are there[14] they eat.[16],[17] **18** Finally,[1] if there is one,[2],[3] they kill[7] a pig,[4] a big[5] pig,[6] then[8] they put down[13],[14] money,[9] twenty[10],[11] sticks.[12] **19** At the end[1] if there is one[2],[3] like this[7] he puts[8],[9] fifteen,[4-6] that much.[7] **20** They get[3],[4] (it) this way.[1],[2] **21** This[1] is the story[6] of 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 smokes 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[1] wé[2] anohé[3] wé[4] apohé[5] puhwĭkan[6] wé[7] awaahé[8] akepo[9] ukáámĭh.[10] **2** wé[1] apáh[2] waáremĭh.[3] **3** waárená[1] wékánán[2] temĭh.[3] **4** iyeh[1] tiwinĭntenapĭno.[2] tĭrenan[3] ĭneïne[4] emĭh.[5] **5** éhi[1] ɪnteh[2] intepoóno[3] tĭkan,[4] wé[5] apah[6] ano[7] temĭh.[8] **6** téhi[1] éena[2] warupáh[3] óroóntehúno.[4] éhi[5] ɪnteh[6] intepóno[7] tĭkan,[8] wé[9] awaahé[10] temĭh.[11] **7** téhi[1] márah[2] waántehúno.[3] miha[4] tĭren[5] wé[6] apah[7] ano[8] éena[9] wáráráh[10] óren[11] ponĭh[12] ó[13] emĭh.[14] **8** wé[1] awaahé[2] ano[3] kotĭh[4] emĭh.[5] **9** úkááreh[1] ĭkan[2] wé[3] awaahé[4] ano[5] óreín[6] tɪpah[7] interátah[8] ó[9] waanapĭno[10] mĭha[11] tĭren[12] yoten[13] óriyaan[14] ó[15] nohwĭkan[16] ponĭh[17] úwen[18] wé[19] awaahen[20] úntáre-

míh.$_{21}$ **10** úntáh$_1$ yen$_2$ máiráh$_3$ wákaáren$_4$ áákúráh$_5$ yunáán$_6$ únápemíh.$_7$ **11** pon$_1$ áremíh.$_2$ **12** árurah$_1$ yúh$_2$ yen$_3$ yanon$_4$ tááh$_5$ yen$_6$ káwé$_7$ íyóh$_8$ úren$_9$ wé$_{10}$ awaahén$_{11}$ tááman$_{12}$ amín$_{13}$ náren$_{14}$ meéren$_{15}$ wéi$_{16}$ warupáh$_{17}$ éremíh.$_{18}$
13 éreín$_1$ kotíh$_2$ é$_3$ emíh.$_4$

1 Long ago$_1$ their$_{2,4}$ mother$_3$ and father$_5$ died$_6$ and the elder brother$_{7,8}$ became$_{10}$ idle.$_9$ **2** The younger brother$_{1,2}$ remained (as he was).$_3$ **3** As they stayed$_1$ they both$_2$ spoke.$_3$ **4** "Who$_1$ will nurture us?"$_2$ they said to themselves.$_{3-5}$ **5** "Wherever$_2$ will you$_1$ go?"$_3$ he said$_4$ and the$_7$ younger brother$_{5,6}$ spoke.$_8$ **6** "I$_1$ will go$_4$ to another$_2$ place.$_3$ Where$_6$ will you$_5$ go?"$_7$ he said,$_8$ and his$_9$ elder brother$_{10}$ spoke.$_{11}$ **7** "I will stay$_3$ here."$_2$ this$_4$ he said and$_5$ the$_8$ younger brother$_{6,7}$ went$_{11}$ to another$_9$ place$_{10}$ and became$_{14}$ a pig.$_{12}$ **8** The$_3$ elder brother$_{1,2}$ became$_5$ a bean tuber.$_4$ **9** Having become this$_{1,2}$ the$_5$ elder brother$_{3,4}$ went;$_6$ "Where$_8$ is my younger brother$_7$ living?"$_{10}$ he said$_{12}$ this$_{11}$ and went$_{14}$ to search,$_{13}$ when he got there,$_{15,16}$ being$_{18}$ a pig$_{17}$ he (the younger brother) bit$_{21}$ his$_{19}$ elder brother.$_{20}$ **10** He bit him$_{1,2}$ then$_3$ slept$_4$ and in the morning$_5$ he dug out$_7$ food.$_6$ **11** He killed$_2$ a pig.$_1$ **12** Having killed it$_1$ and put it,$_{2,3}$ he prepared$_{5,6}$ an earth oven,$_4$ roasted$_{8,9}$ in a cooking pot,$_7$ and gave$_{13}$ what was prepared$_{12}$ to his$_{10}$ elder brother;$_{11}$ he (the elder brother) ate and$_{14}$ returned$_{15,18}$ to his$_{16}$ home.$_{17}$ **13** He came$_1$ and the bean tuber$_2$ is$_4$ here.$_3$

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 tagmeme; 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,[2] Object/Reason/Purpose, Directional[3] 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-íh 'He went.'
go-**nt-3p-3f**

Expanded: aapeih-páh anaati pahk-e-m-íh
Afei-at   woman hold-**nt-3p-3f**
'They caught a woman at Afeipa.' **VII 1**[1-3]

2. *Imperative*

Minimal: óro 'Go.'

Expanded: kauhte anam-pín káao
lime   holder-in put
'Put it in the lime-holder.'

3. *Interrogative*

Minimal: waa-p-o 'Are you there?'
stay-**int-2f**

Expanded: áá úwít–iyaa–p–o
            road spread-**con**-**int**-**2f**
            'Are you working on the road?'

4. *Response*

  a. *Clause type*

  Minimal: waa–h–u 'I am here.'
              stay-**1p**-**1f**

  Expanded: áá :úwít–iyaa–h–ú
              road spread-**con**-**1p**-**1f**
              'I am working on the road.'

  b. *Non-clause type*

              éeyo 'Yes.'

5. *Conclusion*

  Minimal: .ínka–íh[4] 'That is all.' **IV 9**$_1$
              finish-**vbl**

  Expanded: mái ááríntá anaati anaatih–ma i–n aaná–íh
              this girl   woman   woman-when be-**3p** story-**vbl**
              'This is the story of girls and women when they
                marry.' **XI 21**$_{1-6}$

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.

puhkaa–pín káaúh y–e–n   war–e–n   mó   am–iyaa–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 5**$_{1-6}$

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

A number of minimal clauses (i.e. single verbs) with
varying affixes may succeed each other without any inter-
vening words.

...karuhya–re–n   purí–ka–n   a–wir–e–n
throw-out-**na.nt**-**3pvs** die-**pt.3ds**-**3pvs** **pr**-take along-**nt**-**3pvs**

éhy–e–ín   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 2**$_{35}$**-3**$_4$

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 1**$_{24,25}$ -

ór-iyaa-h ór-iyaa-h
go-**con-1pvs** go-**con-1pvs**
'I went and went...'

A less common multi-verb sentence is the dependent sen-
tence 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-míh-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 6**$_1$**-7**$_1$

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, how-
ever, 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. ááríntá 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 7**$_{1-3}$

2. téhi má-ráh waá-nte-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 7**$_{1-7,12-14}$

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

```
k-a-h
burn-3ds-1pvs
```
'... and took her; "I don't want..."' VII 3_{21-23}

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 $3_{22,23}$

```
a-ráh          óri-ká-n
pr-intestines  go-pt.3ds-3pvs
```
'she had diarrhoea...' VI $1_{5,6}$

```
íneíne   anáá  e-n       ór-iyaa-m-íh
thought  only  was-3pvs  go-con-3p-3f
```
'they went on having thoughts only of...' IV 2_{3-6}

The verb 'go' normally refers to motion, but following the verb 'be' in this case it indicates extensive or repeated action.

```
pára  waá-re-n...
just  stay-na.nt-3pvs
```
'she was well...' VI $1_{2,3}$

The meaning of the foregoing must be derived from context. If it had follosed 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 $3_{15,16}$.

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

```
... wáántá  waraá-nte-h-ú-no...
    man     get-fu-lp-lf-emp
```
'"... I will get a (young) man."...' VII $3_{6,7}$

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. Agarabi
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 independ-
ent 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},[6]
interrogative; —nó, emphatic and —po, assertive. Indicative
mood is unmarked; the simple imperative mood occurs as the
minimal form of the verb.

continuative   ór-iyaa-h   'I (was) going' **I** 1[24]
                                  the context supplies
                                      the tense

narrative *(plus neutral)*	waá–<u>re</u>–n	'she stayed and' **VI 1**$_3$
future	waraá–<u>nte</u>–h–ú–no	'I will get!' **VII 3**$_7$
past	n–iyaá–<u>ke</u>–n	'they were eating' **IV 3**$_{11}$
perfect	u–<u>káá</u>–m–ĭh	'he became' **XII 1**$_{10}$
desiderative	wa–<u>ram</u>–ú–no	'I want to stay!' **VII 7**$_2$
immediate *desiderative*	waraá–<u>nowan</u>	'I want to get now' **VII 3**$_{27}$
interrogative	inte–p–oó–no	'... will you go?' **XII 5**$_3$
emphatic	ér–e–h–ú–<u>no</u>	'I came!' **VII 3**$_{28}$
assertive	ĭnte–m–i–<u>pó</u>	'it is surely finished!' **III 2**$_5$

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 ex-
pected to supply this information. Independent verbs occur
with final markers following the person-subject suffixes.

.ér–e–h–ú   'I came.' **II 1**$_{34}$
come-**nt**-I-**fm**

e–#–ó–no   'You are!' **VIII 3**$_4$
be.**nt**-you-**fm**-**emp**

t–e–m–ĭh   '... she said.' **VIII 7**$_3$
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          wé   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-na.nt  be.nt-1ds-3pvs         ship   a
'I waited and... the ship...'  III 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-n
2p of dependent verb predicting 1p of next t-e-tí-h
2p of dependent verb predicting 3p of next t-e-tí-n
3p of dependent verb predicting 1p of next t-í-h
3p of dependent verb predicting 2p of next t-í-#
3p of dependent verb predicting other 3p of next t-í-n.

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 -í. 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; verbal-izer: íh, it is, and number: -kanan, two.

```
locatives:  in   toru waraa-pín
                 'in the salt water'  I 1₂₂,₂₃
```

téhtim-pín
'in our time' IV 4_{14}

on táárareh-táh
'on Saturday' IV 4_6

mutoh-káh
'on the island' I 1_{28}

inside maah-naún
'inside the house' V 4_{16}

place/at aapeih-páh
'at Afeipa' VII 1_1

from kóróhkaah-kéh
'from Goroka' III 8_8

likeness: máhan-ten
'like this' V 5_3

number: mai-kánán
'these two' V 3_{12}

combinations: mǐnóh-pím-páh-kéh
'from everywhere' VI 4_{10}

mai-páh-kéh
'from this place' I 2_{33}

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 2_{29}
a-wir-e-n 'took her' VI 2_{23}
ti-wir-e-n 'took me' II 1_{24}

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.

t̲i̲—naahu	'my/our grandfather'	**V 1**$_2$
a̲—nohé	'her mother'	**VI 2**$_3$
a̲—wih	'her name'	**VII 1**$_6$
a̲—rún	'her diaphragm' (used in an idiom which means 'to be sorry')	**VI 2**$_4$
a̲—maah (optional)	'his house'	**VI 3**$_9$

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: puht̆i̲—ra—má   e—n
               blow-**na**-when **be.nt-3pvs**
               'when she puffs on it...' **XI 7**$_{1,2}$

non-verbal: wé a—yopi—má wa—ín   ano
               her **pr-bro**-if stay-**ge** the
               'if her brothers are there...' **XI 17**$_{12-15}$

               námúró ano—má   wákúh   y—a—n
               enemy   the-when pursue do-**3ds-3pvs**
               'when an enemy pursued them...' **V 3**$_{8-11}$

NOTES

1. *Key to the Orthography:*

p, **t**, **k** represent voiceless stops initially and following consonants, and voiceless fricatives [ɸ], [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 [ƀ].

y initially and following consonants varies from a voiced alveolar stop [d] to either the palatalised stop [dʸ] 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 [ʌ]

aa represents [a·]

e represents [ɛ·]

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.

24

4.   This may be considered a type of equational which also occurs with the verb 'be' following.

ĭnka—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 Kewa[2] 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

27

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 non-verbs. 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   natyaloda[6] (43)[7]
       stick-**Agen** another that **Neg**-hit-I am-**Gref**
       'I am not hitting (<u>her</u>) with a stick'

(2) nagiada   kose madi   pe (55)
       Neg-give-she did-**Gref** court carrying make-I do
       'She didn't give it (<u>to me</u>) and I am making accusation'

(3) ki   adalusipara pua rala meanada
     hand long-**Dim**-in go   pick get-**Cont**-**Gref**
     'He is picking (<u>it</u> - <u>the</u> <u>fruit</u>) in his hand'

   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.**)

(4) pu lawada   apo mena rekerenu   rukulada
     go say-I did-**Gref** that pig   shell-**Coll** break-**Gref**

     napilia   (33)
     Neg-make-she will

     'I told her to go and break off the pigs and shells and
     she won't do it'

(5) kalo nogo naki lapo ya   yapa   apola
     karl girl boy   two   bird marsupial like

     peada[9]   (21)
     make-he-**Gref**

     'Karl, the two children are free to do like the animals'

(6) pa   kida   nayola   muga   (11)
     just hand-**Gref** **Neg**-pull-**Pur** get-I did
     'I haven't just pulled her hand' (that is, brought her
     along for no reason)

   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 an--
other 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, 1.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 ambiguity.[10] Examples which follow are of external reference *(7)* and *(8)* and internal reference *(9)*.

(7) repona ru   muluame
       tree   fruit get-**Int-Sref**
       '(<u>He</u>) intends to get the fruit'

(8) mena yotoame
       pig   pull-**Int-Sref**
       '(<u>We</u>) 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-**Agen**

        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 refer-
ence.

(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   adoe (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-**Comm**[12]
     '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[13] type of referent is the class of
general referents <go>. The general referents occur ad-
jacent 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) wirepe ni gopara   palua
     later I **Genref-Loc** go-I will
     'Later I will go over that way (pointing)'

(20) no   akape lapo go   wakia sanya
     Genref teeth two   **Genref** buck put-**Cont**
     '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.[14]

(21) go   nogo ipu   rada piada   kodo
     that girl **Pref** he pain being-**Gref** sorry

     komoma   go   pia
     die-and/**s-s** that being

     '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,[15] or particles. Each of these occur most frequently in the sentence introducer position and are usually suffixed by the optional pause marker {-re}.[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   amame   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.

(28) go   pisapulu   puawa
      that   make-he did-**Cref** go-I did
      'This having happened (as a result) I went'

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 al-
though three verbs occur only the final verb has suffixes
which mark it as independent[17] and show it to be the nucleus
of a principal clause); (b) a single equational clause;[18]
(c) responses which are not clauses.

1.4.1. Independent sentences with verbal predicate

   Verbal predicates of clauses which are independent sen-
tences 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 ex-
ternal 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

      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!'.

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
> 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: ±Subject + Intransitive Predicate

(b) Transitive: ±Subject ±Object + Transitive Predicate

(c) Equative$_1$: ±Clause (any type, including equative) + Equative Predicate

Equative$_2$: +Nominal Predicate

(d) Quotative: +Clause (or Sentence or Sentence string) + Quotative Predicate

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

Transitive and intransitive clauses[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$_1$ 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$_2$ 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 [20]

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[21] eda   adapu   nanea
     bird so   food plenty Neg-eat-it

     EqCl$_2$ +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

     (EqCl$_2$ +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

     (EqCl$_2$ +coordinate link[22] +TrCl) +EqCl$_1$

     'Because it is a horse I am not riding it'

(38) mopara yapulu   ni abi napalua
     there therefore I   now Neg-go-I will

     EqCl$_2$ +coordinate link +IntrCl

     'It is a long way so I won't go now'

(39) gore   kope yapalo   e
     that-# rope uncertain   yes

     EqCl$_2$ +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 Guinea[24] 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-Rref(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.

(52)   meda   gienya
       another   give-you-and-**d-s**
       '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) $gore_1$ $repona_2$ wai_3 $sopo_4$ le_5 $neada_{6-7}$ go_8 $winya_9$ $nala$-
$miara_{10-12}$ (2) $abala_1$ $lamuma_{2-3}$ $yareyalo_{4-5}$ $repona_6$ $sopo_7$
le_8 $neada_{9-10}$ (3) $muli_1$ $yamo_2$ go_3 le_4 $nalada_{5-7}$ (4) aba-
la_1 $lamuawa_{2-3}$ $winya_4$ dia_5 (5) $kalo_1$ $gora_2$ $abasenya_3$ la-
$muga_{4-5}$ (6) $winyakoisimili_{1-4}$ (7) ne_1 ora_2 $gipia_3$
$tale_{4-5}$ (8) $ipuna_1$ ni_2 $gioma_{3-4}$ $pula_{5-6}$ $rabore_7$ $aipulua_{8-10}$
(9) $nana_1$ $mena_2$ $malue_3$ $pameda_4$ $gulugai_{5-7}$ $kama_8$ $ginya_{9-10}$
(10) $nana_1$ $rekere_2$ na_3 $mabi_4$ $kawapo_5$ $pameda_6$ $kama_7$ (11)
pa_1 $kida_{2-3}$ $nayola_{4-5}$ $muga_{6-7}$ (12) pa_1 $elenuri_{2-3}$ $ruku$-
$linya_{4-5}$ (13) $nana_1$ $mena_2$ $malue_3$ adi_4 $peaguapulu_{5-7}$
$ginya_{8-9}$ gu_{10} pie_{11-12}

(1)   All $right_1$ $while_{11}$ I_0 was not_{10} $married_{11}$ to $that_8$
$woman_9$ the $tree_2$ $seedling_3$ has grown up_{4-6} (2) $Before_1$
I_0 $married_2$ and_3 decided to_5 $plant_4$ that $tree_6$ pu $there_7$
with $knots_{8-9}$ (3)   The $tree_7$ $mili_1$ $yamo_2$ is $growing_{4-6}$
$there_3$ (4)   When I_5 $married_4$ her_0 she_0 was not_5 a
$woman_4$ (5) $Karl_1$ I $married_4$ $really_2$ a long time ago_3
(6) So_4 she_3 is $quite_2$ and old $woman_1$ (7) $Since_5$ she

is saying$_4$ "I$_0$ really$_2$ dislike$_3$ you$_1$," (8) When$_7$ she$_1$ doesn't like$_3$ me$_2$ and$_4$ goes$_{5-6}$ what$_8$ shall I do?$_{9-10}$ (9) The one$_4$ pig$_2$ of mine$_1$ malue$_3$ which I$_{6-7}$ gave to you$_5$ just$_8$ give it$_9$ to me$_{10}$ (10) Just$_7$ my$_1$ pear shell$_2$ my$_3$ one$_6$ mabi kawapo$_{4-5}$ (11) I$_6$ have not$_3$ just$_1$ got$_5$ and pulled$_3$ her$_3$ hand$_2$ (12) All$_3$ the other$_1$ things$_2$ you$_5$ should break$_4$ (and keep) (13) Due to her$_{5,7}$ I$_6$ fastened$_4$ my$_1$ pig$_2$ malue$_3$ which$_{12}$ she$_9$ should give$_8$ another$_0$ like it$_{10}$

(14) go$_1$ mena$_2$ yano$_3$ ora$_4$ mulua$_{5-6}$ (15) ipuna$_1$ ni$_2$ gipia$_3$ loma$_{4-5}$ pulapulu$_{6-8}$ (16) na$_1$ rekere$_2$ mabi kawapo$_{3-4}$ ora$_5$ mulua$_{6-7}$ (17) pa$_1$ kaluga$_{2-3}$ elenuri$_{4-5}$ rukulinya$_{6-7}$ (18) neme$_1$ (go$_2$ winya$_3$) ne$_4$ gipiale$_{5-6}$ pulalo$_{7-8}$ leada$_{9-10}$ goi$_{11}$ rukuti$_{12-13}$ aya$_{14}$ (19) rekere$_1$ mabi kawapo$_{2-3}$ na$_4$ mena$_5$ malue$_6$ ora$_7$ mulua$_{10-11}$ (20) ipu$_1$ lamu$_2$ sabara$_{4-6}$ epa$_7$ yareyawa$_{8-9}$ repona$_{10}$ waimi$_{11}$ go$_{12}$ leneada$_{13-15}$ (21) kalo$_1$ nogo$_2$ naki$_3$ lapo$_4$ ya$_5$ yapa$_6$ apola$_7$ peada$_{8-9}$ (22) ipu$_1$ lami$_2$ sabara$_{3-5}$ yareyawa$_{6-7}$ (23) aga$_1$ kini$_2$ ralawa$_{3-4}$ (24) pagu$_1$ eta$_2$ abiri$_3$ pena$_4$ koneda$_{5-6}$ nasawa$_{7-9}$

(14) I will$_6$ really$_4$ get$_5$ (back) a duplicate$_3$ pig$_2$ (15) Because$_8$ she said$_4$ she$_1$ dislikes$_3$ me$_2$ and$_5$ is going$_{6-7}$ (16) I will$_7$ really$_5$ get$_6$ my$_1$ pear shell$_2$ mabi kawapo$_{3-4}$ (17) All$_5$ the goods$_4$ which I$_3$ just$_1$ gave them$_2$ they$_7$ can break off$_6$ (and keep) (18) You$_1$ (that$_2$ woman$_3$) since$_6$ you$_4$ dislike$_5$ me$_0$ and have said$_{9-10}$ you$_0$ want to$_8$ go$_7$ that before mentioned$_{11}$ you will$_{13}$ break off$_{12}$ and leave$_{14}$ (19) The shell$_1$ mabi kawapo$_{2-3}$ and my$_4$ pig$_5$ malue$_6$ those$_7$ two$_8$ I will$_{11}$ really$_9$ get$_{10}$ (20) While$_6$ still$_5$ marrying$_2$ her$_1$ I$_9$ came$_7$ and planted$_8$ the seedling$_{11}$ that is$_{12}$ now old$_{13-15}$ (21) Karl$_1$ the boy$_3$ and girl$_2$ are free to do$_{8-9}$ like$_7$ the birds$_5$ and animals$_6$ (22) While$_2$ still$_4$

married$_2$ to her$_1$ I$_7$ planted it$_6$ (23) I$_4$ picked$_3$ pandanus$_1$ fruit$_2$ (24) The bunch of pandanus fruit$_1$ which$_3$ is hanging$_2$ now$_3$ I$_9$ still$_4$ have not$_{7-8}$ thought about$_{5-6}$

(25)   gore$_1$ epuna$_2$ ora$_3$ epe$_4$ ali$_5$ paluai$_{6-8}$ ta$_9$ rabore$_{10}$ kalo$_{11}$ neme$_{12}$ pu$_{13}$ piri$_{14}$ aipea$_{15-16}$ lanoya$_{17-19}$ (26)   ipu$_1$ pena$_{2-3}$ wara   (27)   penaya$_{1-2}$ peawa$_{3-4}$ rapa$_5$ go$_6$ winya$_7$ lea$_8$ (28)   menare$_1$ agale$_2$ lea$_3$ rekerere$_4$ agale$_5$ mogole$_{6-7}$ gili-airi$_{8-10}$ agalere$_{11}$ ipuna$_{12}$ aipea$_{13-14}$ luma$_{15-16}$ komano$_{17-18}$ (29)   (mogole$_{1-2}$ giliairi$_{3-5}$ agalera$_{6-7}$ ipuna$_8$) abi$_9$ tyano$_{10-11}$ gi$_{12}$ la$_{13}$ menare$_{14}$ go$_{15}$ linya$_{16-17}$ kalawana$_{18-20}$ yera$_{21}$ (30)   gi$_1$ la$_2$ rekerere$_3$ go$_4$ kalawana$_{5-7}$ yera$_{8-9}$ (31)   werepema$_{1-2}$ ora$_3$ ipuna$_4$ werepea$_{5-6}$ puo$_7$ palua$_{8-9}$ ta$_{10}$ rabore$_{11}$ nana$_{12}$ mena$_{13}$ maluepara$_{14-15}$ nana$_{16}$ nabi$_{17}$ kawapo$_{17}$ lapo$_{18}$ kama$_{19}$ mulua$_{20-21}$

(25)   All right$_1$ then when$_{10}$ she$_2$ says$_9$ "I will$_7$ go$_6$ to a man$_5$ who$_8$ is really$_3$ good$_4$" Karl$_{11}$ why$_{15}$ should$_{16}$ I$_{18}$ say$_{17}$ you$_{12}$ go$_{13}$ stay$_{14}$ (27)   Suppose$_2$ she goes$_{1-2}$ and$_2$ this$_6$ woman$_7$ says$_8$ I$_4$ made$_3$ her$_0$ leave$_5$ (28) Since$_7$ she$_3$ talks$_{2-3}$ about pigs and shells$_{1,4}$ talks$_5$ about what$_{10}$ she$_9$ will give$_8$ how$_{13}$ can$_{14}$ I$_{18}$ hit$_{15}$ and$_{16}$ kill$_{17}$ her talk$_{11}$ (29)   (Since$_2$ that$_1$ which$_5$ she will$_4$ give$_3$ talk$_{6-7}$) "now$_9$ I will$_{11}$ hit$_{10}$ and$_{11}$ you give$_{12}$" she said$_{13}$ so she$_{17}$ has hit$_{16}$ the pig$_{14}$ and$_{17}$ I$_{19}$ gave$_{18}$ it to her$_{18}$ - How's that$_{21}$ (30)   She said$_2$ "give"$_1$ about the shell$_3$ so$_8$ I gave$_{5-6}$ it to her$_5$ (31) When$_{11}$ she changes$_1$ and really$_3$ changes$_1$ as usual$_7$ and says$_{10}$ "I will$_9$ go$_8$" then$_{11}$ I will$_{21}$ get$_{20}$ just$_{19}$ my$_{12}$ pig$_{13}$ malue$_{14}$ and$_{15}$ my mabi kawapo$_{16-17}$

(32)   ni$_1$ ipu$_2$ lapo$_3$ lapo$_3$ lapo$_4$ napulapapulu$_{5-8}$ waila-simi$_{9-10}$ so$_{11}$ pua$_{12}$ lenayada$_{13-15}$ lalo$_{16-17}$ (33)   pu$_1$ lawada$_{2-4}$ apo$_5$ mena$_6$ rekerenu$_{7-8}$ rukulada$_{9-11}$ napilia$_{12-14}$ (34)   abi$_1$ kalawa$_{2-3}$ aga$_4$ luma$_{5-6}$ pirenya$_{7-8}$ wapeme$_9$ pua$_{10}$

meai$_{11-13}$ tyapulu$_{14-16}$ (35) rekere$_1$ menare$_2$ wara$_3$ rubiali-apulu$_{4-6}$ sogome$_7$ gilia$_{8-9}$ (36) abi$_1$ wape$_2$ kalawai$_{3-5}$ go$_6$ maduba$_{7-8}$ pie$_{9-10}$ (37) (is$_1$ ali$_2$ gore$_3$ nana$_4$ lalole$_{5-7}$ adoe$_{8-9}$ is$_{10}$ gore$_{11}$) (38) wapeme$_1$ ginya$_{2-3}$ abala$_4$ kaluga$_{5-6}$ mena$_7$ maluepara$_{8-9}$ nabi$_{10}$ kawapo$_{11}$ lapo$_{12}$ ora$_{13}$ ginya$_{14-15}$ (39) (<u>kolanyu</u>): 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$_5$ 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 aga$_4$ because of$_{16}$ 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 carried$_{7-8}$ 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) (<u>kolanyu</u>): 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) (<u>aditya</u>): 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$_3$ reda$_4$ go$_5$ napoaloda$_{6-9}$ (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$_{9-12}$ 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$_3$ werepema$_{4-5}$ pa$_6$ ali$_7$ meda$_8$ paluame$_{9-11}$ tapulu$_{12-13}$ (46) abala$_1$ ali$_2$ lapo$_3$ pe$_4$ winya$_5$ neme$_6$ repo$_7$ peau$_{8-9}$ lamuawa$_{10-11}$ (47) abi$_1$ ki$_2$ peau$_{3-4}$ pa$_5$ ali$_6$ meda$_7$ polalo$_{8-10}$ tapulu$_{11-12}$

(48) nana$_1$ mena$_2$ maluepara$_{3-4}$ mena$_5$ ibi$_6$ malue$_7$ nana$_8$ rekere$_9$ nabi kawapo$_{10}$ lapo$_{11}$ kama$_{12}$ yako$_{13}$ mulua$_{14-15}$

(40) (<u>aditya</u>): She$_1$ my wife$_{2-3}$ I$_7$ am sitting$_6$ to talk$_{4-5}$ about because$_{11}$ she$_{10}$ is going$_9$ there$_8$ (41) Because$_4$ she$_3$ is going$_2$ there$_1$ (42) Karl$_1$, I$_{2,8}$ am not$_6$ hitting$_7$ her$_0$ with an axe$_3$ about that$_9$ (43) I$_6$ am not$_4$ hitting$_5$ her$_0$ with a$_2$ stick$_1$ about$_7$ that$_3$ (44) That$_1$ woman$_2$ says$_{4-5}$ she is going$_3$ and I$_{11}$ am not$_9$ hitting$_{10}$ her$_0$ with an$_6$ axe$_7$ or a$_{14}$ stick$_{13}$ (look$_{15}$) or a$_{17}$ stick$_{16}$ of mine$_{19-20}$ and$_{24}$ she$_{23}$ is going$_{21}$ (45) Karl$_1$ because of$_{13}$ her$_3$ real$_2$ strongness$_4$ she is saying$_{12}$ "I$_{11}$ will$_{10}$ go$_9$ to just$_6$ another$_8$ man$_7$" (46) She$_5$ is a twice$_3$ married$_{1,4}$ woman$_5$ and I am$_6$ the third$_7$ to do it$_{8-9}$ (47) Now$_1$ it will be made$_{3-4}$ a fourth$_2$ because$_{12}$ she is saying$_{11}$ "I$_0$ want$_{9-10}$ to go$_8$ to some$_5$ other$_7$ man$_6$" (48) My$_1$ pig$_2$ malue$_3$ the pig's$_5$ name$_6$ is malue$_7$ and my$_8$ shell$_9$ nabi kawapo$_{10}$ just$_{12}$ two$_{11}$ the same$_{13}$ I will$_{15}$ get back$_{14}$

(49) winyami$_1$ ni$_2$ ora$_3$ giala$_{4-5}$ pulapulu$_{6-8}$ (50) abiri$_1$ wailisi$_2$ neme$_3$ so$_4$ pus$_5$ lanyaya$_{6-8}$ lalo$_{9-10}$ (51) ni$_1$ yalipu$_2$ napaluame$_{3-6}$ (52) abi$_1$ ne$_2$ la$_3$ (53) (<u>kolanyu</u>): neme$_1$ abi$_2$ kose$_3$ lalori$_{4-5}$ rekere$_6$ mena$_7$ koseleda$_{8-10}$
(54) go$_1$ alimi$_2$ rekere$_3$ mena$_4$ gi$_5$ (mogo$_6$ rekere$_7$ gi$_8$ mogo$_9$ mena$_{10}$ gi$_{11}$) kone$_{12}$ saba$_{13-14}$ pi$_{15}$ rabu$_{16}$ (55) nagiada$_{1-3}$ kose$_4$ madi$_5$ pe$_6$ (56) kose$_1$ pakama$_2$ namadi$_{3-4}$ pe$_5$
(57) go$_1$ rabo$_2$ go$_3$ ele$_4$ nagia$_{5-6}$ (58) abiri$_1$ go$_2$ ele$_3$ ginyalo$_{4-6}$ o$_7$ manonu$_{8-9}$ polisapoianu$_{10-11}$ epale$_{12-13}$ rabu$_{14}$ kala$_{15}$ loma$_{16-17}$ mea$_{18}$ geme$_{19-20}$

(49) Because$_8$ the woman$_1$ really$_3$ dislikes$_4$ me$_2$ and is going$_{6-7}$ (50) Now$_1$ recorder$_2$ you$_3$ go$_5$ up there$_4$ and tell$_{6-7}$ what$_8$ I$_{10}$ am saying$_9$ (51) I$_1$ do not$_{3-5}$ intend$_6$ to go$_4$ to Ialibu$_2$ (52) Now$_1$ you$_2$ talk$_3$ (53) (<u>kolanyu</u>): I$_1$ am$_5$ saying$_4$ accusation$_3$ now$_2$ - about$_{9-10}$ the pig$_7$

and pearl shell$_{16}$ (54) When$_{16}$ I started$_{13-15}$ thinking$_{12}$ about it$_0$ that$_1$ man$_2$ was giving$_5$ the shell$_3$ and pig$_2$ (giving$_8$ that$_6$ shell$_7$ giving$_{11}$ that$_9$ pig$_{10}$ (55) He$_2$ didn't$_1$ give$_2$ and$_3$ I am$_6$ making$_6$ accusation$_{4-5}$ (56) I am$_5$ not$_3$ making$_5$ accusation$_{1,3}$ about nothing$_2$ (57) At that time$_{1-2}$ he$_6$ did not$_5$ give$_6$ those$_3$ goods$_4$ (58) And now$_1$ he$_5$ wants to$_6$ give$_4$ those$_2$ goods$_3$ since$_{13}$ the time when$_{14}$ the police boys$_{10-11}$ and mano$_8$ (the constable) came$_{12}$ and$_{17}$ said$_{16}$ give them$_{15}$ to her$_{15}$ and they got them$_{18}$ and gave them to me$_{19-20}$

(59) kala$_1$ pere$_2$ aipea$_{3-4}$ pilipa$_{5-7}$ loma$_{8-9}$ (mea$_{10}$ geme$_{11-12}$) (60) modo$_1$ waru$_2$ pia$_3$ (61) mena$_1$ waru$_2$ punyala$_{3-4}$ (62) winyali$_1$ wamo$_2$ waru$_3$ pia$_4$ (63) kala$_1$ loma$_{2-3}$ mea$_4$ geme$_{5-6}$ winyalimi$_7$ (64) go$_1$ pea$_2$ rabu$_3$ kose$_4$ loma$_{5-6}$ kama$_7$ mualuayana$_{8-11}$ kone$_{12}$ wi$_{13}$ (65) modo$_1$ waru$_2$ pe$_3$ pare$_4$ modo$_5$ pu$_6$ koyate$_{7-8}$ lea$_9$ (66) ipuna$_1$ winyalinumi$_{2-4}$ peateme$_{5-7}$ (67) aimi$_{1-2}$ mealo$_{3-4}$ lea$_5$ rekere$_6$ menanu$_{7-8}$ (68) epeada$_{1-2}$ napeate$_{3-5}$ winyali$_6$ wamo$_7$ meme$_8$ pu$_9$ koyate$_{10-11}$ lea$_{12}$ (69) na$_1$ ama$_2$ dia$_3$ yalore$_{4-5}$ aipula$_{6-8}$ peawa$_{9-10}$ palo$_{11}$ lea$_{12}$ (70) neme$_1$ nagiale$_{2-4}$ lea$_5$

(59) They gave them$_1$ but$_2$ "Why have$_{3-4}$ you two$_{6-7}$ done this$_5$?" they said$_8$ and$_9$ gave them to me$_{10-12}$ (60) The sweet potatoes$_1$ are done$_3$ well$_2$ (61) The pigs$_1$ are well$_2$ cared for$_{3-4}$ (62) The people$_1$ are well$_3$ entertained$_{2,4}$ (63) "Give it to her$_1$" they said$_2$ and$_3$ got$_4$ and gave them to me$_{5-6}$ - all the people$_7$ did$_0$ (64) This having happened$_{1-3}$ I$_{13}$ thought$_{12-13}$ I would say$_5$ court$_4$ and$_6$ just$_7$ get$_8$ some more for it$_{9-11}$ (65) I do$_3$ sweet potatoes$_1$ well$_2$ but$_4$ "your$_8$ sweet potato$_5$ manner$_{6-7}$ is bad$_7$" he says$_9$ (66) His$_1$ people$_{2-4}$ (clan) will do it for him$_{5-7}$ (67) "Who$_{1-2}$ will get it$_{3-4}$?" he says$_5$ - all the

shells$_{6,8}$ and pigs$_{7-8}$ (68) "You$_5$ have not$_3$ done good$_{1,4}$ and$_2$ people$_6$ have been entertained$_7$ by you$_8$ in a bad manner$_{9-11}$" he says$_{12}$ (69) "Suppose$_{4-5}$ I$_1$ didn't have$_3$ a mother$_2$ then$_0$ what$_6$ would$_{11}$ I have done$_{9-10}$" he says$_{12}$ (70) "Since$_4$ you$_1$ haven't$_2$ given it to me$_3$" he says$_5$

(71) napiale$_{1-3}$ lea$_4$ (72) winyali$_1$ wamo$_2$ napili$_{3-4}$ lea$_5$ (73) golena$_{1-2}$ nabali$_{4-5}$ (pupara$_{6-7}$) koi$_8$ kone$_9$ wia$_{10}$ (74) gopara$_{1-2}$ koi$_3$ kone$_4$ wia$_5$ gole$_{6-7}$ (75) waru$_1$ pi$_2$ pare$_3$ ta$_4$ kone$_5$ suma$_{6-7}$ go$_8$ kone$_9$ wi$_{10}$ pu$_{11}$ (76) gu$_1$ puma$_2$ kama$_3$ mualuale$_{4-6}$ pinya$_{7-8}$ pa$_9$ pitua$_{10-11}$ kone$_{12}$ wi$_{13}$ (77) pare$_1$ ni$_2$ nogosida$_{3-5}$ dia$_6$ yapulu$_{7-8}$ nogo$_9$ naki$_{10}$ ki$_{11}$ abinane$_{12}$ pulu$_{13-14}$ (78) o$_1$ abi$_2$ ma$_3$ mena$_4$ mea$_5$ puma$_{6-7}$ mo$_8$ na$_9$ rekere$_{10}$ modome$_{11}$ meawa$_{12-13}$ (79) rekere$_1$ rotome$_2$ giai$_{3-4}$ sawa$_{5-6}$ rabu$_7$ rabogipara$_{8-10}$ pua$_{11}$ mea$_{12}$ bana$_{13-14}$ pea$_{15}$ laya$_{16-17}$ paipanane$_{18-19}$

(71) "Since$_3$ you haven't$_1$ been there$_2$" he says$_4$ (72) "You$_4$ don't$_3$ entertain$_{2,4}$ people$_1$" he says$_5$ (73) Here$_{1-2}$ in$_7$ my$_4$ liver$_{5,6}$ there are$_{10}$ bad$_8$ thoughts$_9$ (the second word for liver is the tabooed form)   (74) Here$_{1-2}$ since that$_{6-7}$ I have$_5$ bad$_3$ thoughts$_4$ (75) I have done$_2$ well$_1$ but$_3$ I think $_{9-10}$ of his saying$_4$ and$_7$ I have$_6$ these$_8$ thoughts$_5$ - in the liver$_{11}$ (76) This$_1$ happened$_2$ and$_2$ I think$_{12-13}$ since$_6$ I will$_5$ just$_3$ get it because of it$_{4-5}$ he can do it$_{7-8}$ (i.e. give her something) and$_8$ I$_{11}$ will stay$_{10}$ (77) But$_1$ because$_8$ I'm$_2$ not$_6$ a little girl$_{3-4}$ and$_{5,14}$ now$_{12}$ there are four$_{11}$ children$_{9-10}$ I am$_{14}$ going$_{13}$ (78) Now$_2$ I went$_6$ and$_7$ got$_5$ my$_3$ pig$_4$ and my$_9$ shell$_{10}$ with the sweet potato$_{11}$ I got them$_{12-13}$ (79) When$_7$ I put$_{5-6}$ the shell$_1$ which$_4$ Roto$_2$ gave$_3$ he says$_{16-17}$ to$_{10}$ Riabo's$_8$ mother$_9$ "Let's go$_{13-14}$ and get it$_{11-12}$" - at Paipa$_{18-19}$

(80) pua$_1$ matya$_2$ banya$_{3-4}$ (81) o$_1$ modo$_2$ meawa$_{3-4}$ rekereme$_5$ mea$_6$ (82) mena$_1$ aipa$_2$ ruma$_3$ pa$_4$ matya$_5$ epawai$_{6-8}$

lapome$_9$ mea$_{10}$ (83)   mena$_1$ mea$_2$ kiruma$_{3-4}$ nenaya$_{5-7}$ nana$_8$
pa$_9$ giame$_{10-11}$ yape$_{12}$ loma$_{13-14}$ ipuna$_{15}$ awame$_{16}$ (84)   meda$_1$
no$_2$ paipanane$_{3-4}$ mone$_5$ matyala$_{6-7}$ tyala$_{8-9}$ muma$_{10-11}$ mo$_{12}$
papipnane$_{13-14}$ mena$_{15}$ kebo$_{16}$ peda$_{17-18}$ epa$_{19}$ mea$_{20}$ saba$_{21-22}$
pimi$_{23-24}$ tame$_{25-26}$ (85)   meda$_1$ no$_2$ mea$_3$ lu$_4$ rawana$_{5-7}$
(86)   go$_1$ peanya$_{2-3}$ ora$_4$ pane$_5$ pulu$_{6-7}$ (87)   abala$_1$
painu$_{2-4}$ mogo$_5$ komea$_6$ (88)   mogonuri$_{1-3}$ abala$_4$ keke$_5$
loyana$_{6-8}$ mogo$_9$ komea$_{10}$

(80)   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$_{10}$ the
pig$_1$ and bundle$_3$ of salt$_2$ which$_8$ 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$_1$ pig$_0$ has been gotten$_{10}$ to be
killed$_{8-9}$ was carried$_{6-7}$ down$_2$ 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$_1$ con-
tinues$_{2-3}$ and$_3$ I am$_7$ really$_4$ clearing out$_{5-6}$ (87)   Be-
fore$_1$ 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 represen-
tations are as follows: sentence = everything following the
number in parentheses; [ ] = clause borders; ( ) = em-
bedding of constructions within what follows in the nota-
tion; / = which includes; comma = followed by; colon = con-
sisting of. The first example would then read: An independ-
ent 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)   **IndepS: [PrinTr Cl/IntGref, SubTr Cl/s-s Simul]**
(2)   **IndepS: [SubTr Cl/s-s Seq, PrinTr Cl/IntGref]**

(3)   IndepS: [PrinTr Cl/IntGref]

(4)   IndepS: [PrinTr Cl, PrinEq$_2$ Cl]

(5)   IndepS: [PrinTr Cl]

(6)   DepS/Sref,Rref: [PrinEq$_2$ Cl/Ext Sref, Int/Ext Rref]

(7)   DepS/Rref: [PrinQuot Cl/Ext Rref]

(8)   IndepS: [(SubTr Cl/s-s Seq, PrinIntr Cl) PrinTr Cl]

(9)   IndepS: [SubTr Cl/d-s Seq]

(10) IndepS: [PrinEq$_2$ Cl]

(11) DepS/Gref: [PrinTr Cl/Ext Gref]

(12) IndepS: [SubTr Cl/d-s Seq]

(13) DepS/Cref: [PrinTr Cl/Ext Cref, SubTrCl/d-s Seq,
        PrinEq$_1$ Cl]

(14) IndepS: [PrinTr Cl]

(15) IndepS: [(PrinEq$_1$ Cl) SubQuot Cl/s-s Seq,
        PrinIntr Cl/IntCref]

(16) IndepS: [PrinTr Cl]

(17) DepS/Seq: [(PrinTr Cl/Seq#), SubTr Cl/d-s Seq]

(18) IndepS: [PrinTr Cl/IntCref, PrinTr Cl/IntGref,
        PrinEq$_1$ Cl]

(19) IndepS: [PrinTr Cl]

(20) IndepS: [SubTr Cl/s-s Simul, PrinTr Cl/IntGref]

(21) IndepS: [PrinTr Cl/IntGref]

(22) IndepS: [SubTr Cl/s-s Simul, PrinTr Cl]

(23) IndepS: [PrinTr Cl]

(24) DepS/Seq: [(PrinTr Cl/Seq#) PrinTr Cl/IntGref]

(25) DepS/Seq: [(PrinIntr Cl) (PrinQuot Cl/Seq#),
        PrinIntr Cl, SubTr Cl/d-s Seq]

(26) IndepS: [SubIntr Cl/d-s Seq]

(27) IndepS: [SubIntrCl/d-s Seq, PrinTr Cl, PrinQuot Cl]

(28) DepS/Seq: [(PrinTr Cl/Seq#) SubTr Cl/s-s Seq,
        SubIntr Cl/d-s Seq]

(29) DepS/seq [(PrinTr Cl/Seq#) SubTr Cl/d-s Seq,
        PrinQuot Cl, SubTr Cl/d-s Seq, PrinTr Cl]

(30) IndepS: [PrinQuot Cl, PrinTr Cl]

(31) DepS/Seq: [((SubTr Cl/s-s Seq, PrinIntr Cl)
        PrinQuot Cl))/Seq#, PrinTr Cl]

(32)   IndepS: [PrinTr Cl/IntCref, SubTr Cl/d-s Seq + IntGref, PrinIntr Cl]

(33)   IndepS: [PrinTr Cl/IntGref, PrinTr Cl/IntGref, PrinTr Cl]

(34)   DepS/Cref: [(PrinTr Cl, SubTr Cl/s-s Seq, SubIntr Cl/ d-s Seq, PrinTr Cl) PrinTr Cl/ExtCref]

(35)   DepS/Genref: [PrinTr Cl/IntCref, PrinTr Cl/Ext Genref]

(36)   IndepS: [(PrinTr Cl) PrinEq$_1$ Cl]

(37)   IndepS: [PrinTr Cl/Int Rref, PrinIntr Cl]

(38)   IndepS: [(SubTr Cl/d-s Seq, PrinTr Cl) SubTr Cl/d-s Seq]

(39)   IndepS: [SubTr Cl/d-s Seq, PrinTr Cl, SubTr Cl/s-s Seq, SubTr Cl/d-s Seq]

(40)   IndepS: [SubIntr Cl/d-s Seq, PrinIntr Cl/IntCref]

(41)   DepS/Cref: [PrinIntr Cl/ExtCref]

(42)   IndepS: [PrinTr Cl/IntGref]

(43)   DepS/Gref: [PrinTr Cl/ExtGref]

(44)   IndepS: [SubQuot Cl/s-s Seq, PrinTr Cl/IntGref, PrinIntr Cl/IntGref]

(45)   IndepS: [(SubIntr Cl/s-s Seq, PrinIntr Cl/IntSref) PrinQuot Cl/IntCref]

(46)   IndepS: [PrinTr Cl]

(47)   IndepS: [((PrinTr Cl) PrinIntr Cl)) Prin Quot Cl/IntCref]

(48)   IndepS: [PrinTr Cl]

(49)   IndepS: [PrinIntr Cl/IntCref]

(50)   IndepS: [SubTr Cl/d-s Seq, PrinTr Cl]

(51)   IndepS: [PrinIntr Cl/IntSref]

(52)   IndepS: [PrinTr Cl]

(53)   IndepS: [PrinTr Cl/Int Rref, Gref]

(54)   IndepS: (PrinTr Cl, PrEq$_1$ Cl)

(55)   DepS/Gref: [PrinTr Cl/ExtGref, PrinTr Cl]

(56)   IndepS: [PrinTr Cl]

(57)   IndepS: [PrinTr Cl]

(58)   IndepS: [SubTr Cl/d-s Seq (PrinIntr Cl/Int Rref), SubQuot Cl/s-s Seq, PrinTr Cl]

(59)   IndepS: [(PrinTr Cl, PrinTr Cl) SubQuot Cl, PrinTr Cl]

(60)   IndepS: [PrinEq$_1$ Cl]

(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 Medlpa (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 some-
times 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 dis-
cussed in any detail.   Interrogative sentences are of two
types: (a) kernel sentence with interrogative intonation
(implies yes-no answer) or (b) kernel sentence with inter-
rogative 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-**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. 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** [m]; **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 prenasalised; /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: [tř] (retroflexed) and [tř] occur utterance medially; [ď] and [ř] 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: [aⁱ] before palatal consonants; [ʌ] following the velar stop, and in some other positions; and [a] elsewhere. The exact distribution of [a] and [ʌ] 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** = intentive; **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. **winyakoisimili** (**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.

18. The use of the term equational clause (predicate manifested by a noun) follows B. Elson and V. Pickett, *An Introduction to Morphology and Syntax*, Santa Ana, 1962, p.112.

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

(a) N_1 −mi + N_2 + **Vtr** −−−> N_2 + N_1 −mi + **Vtr**

    alimi   yana tya −−−> yana   alimi   tya

    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 (Pre-
dicate).

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:

habitual[1], auxiliary[2], purpose[3], desiderative[4], nucleus[5],
state of being[6] (Eq_1Cl), quotative[7].

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 + 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 intern-
al 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.

24. Vincent and Vincent, *Tairora Verbs*, 1962.

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

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* * *

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 herewith given for assistance rendered by Mr K. McElhanon in the compilation of this list.

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