NOTES ON AGARABI GRAMMAR

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0. Introduction

The Agarabi language is spoken by 12,000 people in the Kainantu
Sub-district of the Eastern Highlands of Papua New Guinea. The data
upon which this paper is based was supplied primarily by Kómpa of
Punano village, and was collected between 1960 and 1968. The nature
of the analysis in this paper is tentative.

Key to abbreviations

abil.	abilitative mood	ref	referent ('for')
acq.	acquisitive suffix	sm	small
c. pot	clay pot	voc	vocative
cert.	certitive mood		
comp.	completive aspect		
cond.	conditional aspect		
cont.	continuative aspect		
dir.	directional		
emph.	emphatic mood		
fin.	final suffix		
fut.	future tense		
ger.	gerundive		
g.fa	grandfather		
g.mo	grandmother		
gr.g.fa	great-grandfather		
gr.g.mo	great-grandmother		
imp.	imperative mood		
int.	interrogative mood		
narr.	narrative aspect		
nt.	neutral tense		
p	person subject occurs with numerals 1,2,3 to indicate first, second and third person subjects		
pf.	perfect tense		
poss.	possessive		
p.r.	personal referent		
pred.	predicative		
pst	past tense		
pur	purposive		
pv.s	preview subject		
qu	question suffix		

1. <u>Discourse</u> Certain features have been observed in Agarabi discourse, especially in narrative texts.

Titles may be given when a person deliberately sets out to tell a story.

<u>Waampeya</u>   "Bampeya" (a girl's name)

<u>Káwé Úwáran Wááyáá</u>   "Talk about making clay pots"
C.-pot making talk

<u>Yunin Wááyáá</u>   "Talk about darkness"
darkness talk

More often the narrator just begins his story. There are certain conventions for starting a story which may vary according to the speaker and, possibly, according to the subject matter. Some special fillers of the Time slot have been noted.

Some myths begin with the following clause.

<u>Peé tí - re - n</u>   "They said before and ..."
early say-narr-3p

Narratives concerning events in the distant past may begin with the following openers.

<u>Peé - páh</u>   "Before"
early- at

<u>Peé - páh ti - naahu ti - raaho - mpíŋ</u>
early- at   my- g. fa. my - g. mo. - in

"In my grandparents' time ..."

If special emphasis is to be given to the fact that it took place a very long time ago the first syllable of peepah is drawn out and the tone change over the vowels is longer and higher than normal.

In the narrative entitled Yunin Wááyáá the short opening sentence is:

    Yun e - m - íh   "It was dark."
    dark be-3p-3fin

This type of summary may be used as an introduction.

Medial clauses often used to introduce narratives may refer to previous events not included in the actual text.

    Ínta - re - kú - n   "And when I finished he .."
    finish-narra- 1p-3pv.s

    Ór - e - rúh - na   "While going I ..."
    go-nt-while/1p-ger

Some texts have exhibited no special features of introduction.

A common feature of any discourse is the use of verbs as connectives. Many sentences begin with a medial form of the verb with which the previous sentence closed.

    ...ór - iyaa - m - íh, Ór - iyaa - í - n ....
       go-cont-3p-   3fin   go- cont - 3p - 3 pv.s.

    " ...they were going. They were going (and) he ..."

Less frequently used connectives are time words such as tatoóre "later", or máiráh/máiráhkéh "then, next".

Another common feature of discourse is long sentences composed of numerous clauses. Repetition is also common in all types of discourse.

Other types of discourse also have special features. Court cases often are introduced with the statement:

    Wááyáá waa - m - íh   "There is talk."
    talk   stay-3p-3fin

Court cases and narratives are often terminated by the word:

> Ínka - íh   "It is finished."
> finish-pred.

or the phrase:

> Mái wááyáá - ih   "It is that talk."
> that talk - pred.

Conversations are often initiated by one arriving on the scene with the following sentences.

> Waa - p - ó.   "Are you there?"
> stay-int-2p

> Nahi iyaa - p - ó.   "What are you doing?"
> what cont-int- 2p

There are also certain sentence types which are more commonly found in narrative discourse than in conversation. Dependent sentences which end in medial verbs and followed by a sentence which begins with another form of the same verb are common.

Another type which is hard to classify as a different sentence type will be put under the discourse heading. Such sentences can be called alternative sentences expressing comparison. They are structurally like other sentences but when taken in pairs have a different meaning.

> Wehi   ayaah   e - m - ih.   Téhi   tihtoh   e - h - ú.
> He   tall   be-3p-3fin   I   small   be - 1p-1fin
>   "He is taller than I."

2. <u>Sentences</u> A sentence in Agarabi is a construction which may stand alone as a complete utterance. Sentences come above the clause level and below the paragraph (or discourse) level. Sentences are usually characterised by falling intonation on the final verb and by pause. Questions are not formally signalled; exclamations and vocatives are

characterised by rising intonation and pause. Sentences may range in length from a single word (as in exclamation, responses or vocatives) to a lengthy structure containing several clauses.

Sentences in Agarabi may be independent, dependent or interdependent. Independent sentences are those which may be uttered in isolation with complete understanding, i.e. are not dependent on any kind of defining context. Dependent sentences occur only in relation to either linguistic or situational context and often show this dependence in their structure. Interdependent sentences are a sequence, usually of two, which depend on each other. Structurally they may be both independent (as in the previously mentioned alternate sentences) or one independent and one dependent.

2.1   Independent sentences are simple or compound.

2.1.1 Simple sentences consist of one or more optional medial clauses and terminate with an obligatory final clause. These are probably the most common amd may vary greatly in length.

$$\frac{\acute{O}r - e - m - \acute{i}h.}{go-nt. -3p - 3fin}$$ "He went."

Oreruhna Yawaauroh morah manaa taarareh arurehkun Manteh pa waah Tunteh pa waah Tirinteh pa waareh Ponteh pa waah eken Paraanteh tihpi ano e tiwiren toru waraapin oriyaa oriyaa Mutohkah morah yoriyaah waareh inteh erehu.   (See Agarabi Narratives and Commentary, Pacific Linguistics A 13:1-25 for the breakdown and translation. Tones were not recorded for this text.)

2.1.2 Compound sentences consist of one or more optional medial clauses plus an obligatory medial clause and terminating in an obligatory final clause. They may be coordinate, conditional or contrary-to-fact.

2.1.2.1 Coordinate sentences are those in which the verbs of the two obligatory clauses are closely knit structurally and semantically (often translated as one verb in English). Few, if any, items can occur between the two verbs.

> War – e   ére.   "Bring it."
> get-nt   come

> Tohpe war – e – n ór – e – m – íh.
> machete get-nt-3pv.s go-nt-3p-3fin

> "He took the machete."

2.1.2.2 Conditional sentences consist of an obligatory medial clause in which the conditional suffix -ma occurs one or more times and an obligatory final clause (usually in the future tense) closes the construction.

> Kiyaahpe – ma óri – wí – nt – i – h ti – ruwoó – nte –
> Kiap   -if/when go-comp-fut-3p-1pv.s. 1p.r.-fight-fut–

h – ú.
1p-1fin.   "If the kiap goes for good we will fight each other."

> Aáh – ma ya – nti í óró – nbe – h – ú.
> rain- if do-fut not go - fut – 1p – 1fin

> "If it rains I will not go."

2.1.2.3 Contrary-to-fact sentences also express a conditional idea but are structurally different from conditional sentences as expressed above. There seem to be several types.

2.1.2.3.1 Type A In this type the first clause is a medial contrary-to-fact clause followed by a final clause expressing the reason.

> Kuru uwaraah naren karamute e – h – u.
> fence make would jail be-1p –1fin

> "I would have built (your) fence but I was in jail."

2.1.2.3.2 __Type B__ In this type the contrary-to-fact clause occurs finally.

Kiyaahpe íhyaa éri - kaá - re - ínt - i - h   pá
Kiap   not   come-pf - narr-   3p-1pv.s just

ti - ruw - iyaáh naré - m - íh.
1 p.r.-fight-cont. would-3p-3fin.   "If the kiap had not come

we would still be fighting."

2.1.2.3.3 __Type C__ - 'Lest' This may not be contrary-to-fact as the form is different, but it will be included here for lack of a better place.

Érawi - naa - pó   kaáo.   "Lest it fall down, put (it
go down-lest-cert   put   away)."

2.2 Dependent sentences are of four types: vocatives, responses, exclamatory and anticipatory. The first three may be fragmentary, non-clause utterances dependent upon preceding utterances or some situation.

2.2.1 __Vocatives__ These are dependent in that they are only uttered under certain circumstances - those which require gaining some person's attention. They usually consist of a person's name plus the vocative suffix. Certain phrases of identification may also occur with the vocative suffix.

Kómpa - oé   " O, Kompa."
Kompa-voc.

Mámán wáántá - oé   "O, man over there."
over-there man-voc.

2.2.2 __Responses__ Responses may be less than a clause or may be comment clauses. The response may be provoked by some non-verbal form of behaviour or by a previous utterance.

2.2.2.1 Less than a clause: This type is given in response to a
visual stimulus, a question or vocative.

<u>Wáántá</u>   "Man"   (in response to "What
man   is it?")

<u>Éeyo</u>   "Yes"
yes

2.2.2.2 Comment clause: This type may also be given in response
to a visual stimulus or a question.

<u>Wáántá - ih</u>   "It is a man."
man - pred.

<u>Wáántá - p - i</u>   "Is it a man?"
man -int - 3fin

<u>Iye - p - i</u>   "Who is it?"
who-int - 3fin

2.2.3 <u>Exclamations</u>   An exclamation may be a response to an ut-
terance or a situation.

<u>Aí</u>   "Oh!" (expressing wonder, ad-
                                        miration or interest)
<u>Íye</u>   This has no exact translation;
                                 perhaps "You don't say" comes
              .   close.   It is usually long and
                                 drawn out.

2.2.4 <u>Anticipatory</u>   An anticipatory sentence terminates in a
medial verb and occurs non-finally in a discourse. The succeeding
sentence picks up the verb.

<u>... éeyo   tí - re - n   ór - e - n.   Óri - ka - n ...</u>
    yes   say-narr-3pv.s go-nt-3pv.s Go-pf-3p

"...they agreed and went. Having gone (or "after they went")...,"

3. <u>Clause Types</u>   Agarabi clauses are grammatical units of predication
containing, minimally, a predicate. This predicate may consist of only
one word or may optionally occur with other items. Long, complex
clauses do not often occur but strings of clauses making up one sen-
tence are common.

Clauses may be classified according to several different categories.
One major classification is into medial and final clause types and
another is independent versus dependent.

	Medial	Final
Independent		X
Dependent	X	X

This distinction at present is not proven, the matrix being in-
complete. Future investigation may reveal a filler for the independ-
ent medial box or may disprove the validity of these distinctions.

Independent final clauses occur in the final position in a sen-
tence and have no dependency on other clauses.

Dependent medial clauses occur in non-final position in a sen-
tence and contain verbs which show dependence as to subject and tense
on the verb of the final clause.

Dependent final clauses occur sentence finally but are dependent
on another clause expressed or understood from the context.

3.1   Any of the basic clause types may occur as transitive, in-
transitive or equational clauses. This further division provides the
following matrix.

	Transitive	Intransitive	Equational
Independ. Med.			
Independ. Final	X	X	X
Depend. Med.	X	X	X
Depend. Final	X	X	X

The distinguishing features between Transitive, Intransitive and Equational clauses are the different fillers of the predicate slot and the different obligatory and optional fillers of lateral slots.

3.1.1 Transitive clauses contain an obligatory predicate slot filled by a verb phrase which, in turn, contains a transitive verb. Optional lateral slots which may occur are Time, Location, Subject, Indirect Obj./Instrument, Object and Negative. The order of slots may vary but the above order is fairly common. The predicate occurs clause final unless there is an appositional phrase. It has been noted that though this occurs in speech the informant does not accept it in material being prepared for writing. The Negative slot may occur anywhere except clause final depending on what is being negated and the emphasis desired.

It is rare to find all these slots filled in any one clause though it might be possible to make such a sentence and have it O.K.'d by an informant. Three or four slots in one clause is more common, any other desired information being included in another clause.

The Time slot is filled by Temporals, temporal phrases or temporal clauses.

The Location slot is filled by locatives, locative phrases or clauses, all occuring with locative suffixes.

The Subject slot is filled by noun phrases, pronouns or clauses.

The Instrument slot is filled by noun phrases occuring with the instrument suffix, -póh.

The Indirect Object slot may be filled by noun phrases, pronouns, or clauses.

The Object slot is filled by noun phrases, pronouns or clauses, sometimes occuring with the object suffix, -n.

The Negative slot is filled by the negative, íhyaa or its short-ened form, í.

There are two other slots that may be interpreted as clause level, directional and manner. They might also be interpreted as phrase level and I will put them there for the present.

The following clauses illustrate Transitive clause tagmemes.

> Aapehih - pah anaati pahk - e - m - ih.
> Afei   - at   woman   hold-nt-3p-3fin
>
> "They held a woman at Afei." (Possibly for marriage.)

> Manaa wuhku ti - m - e - m - ih.
> One   book   1p.r.-give-nt-3p-3fin
>
> "He gave me one book." (This verb has an obligatory obj.
>   prefix.)

Transitive clauses which contain an Interrogative word or phrase occur with the word or phrase immediately preceding the predicate.

> ... aahau inte - pah - ket - ah   e   un - iyaa - nap -
>   sun   where- at - from -int   here rise-cont-int -
>
> í - no.
> 3fin-emph   "From where is the sun rising?"

A sub-type of transitive clause which is more restricted than the others is the Quotation. The Object slot is filled by the quote which may be a clause or less than a clause. The predicate slot is filled by the verb te "say" (or, possibly, by words like 'shout',etc.)

"Téhi oén waah - ná, tatoóreh waraá - ntə - h - ú - no.
 I   new stay-ger,   later   get - fut - 1p - 1fin-emph

Éhi waraa - nóo." te - h - ú.
You get(imp)-emph say/nt-1p-1fin   '"I, being young, will get (it)

later. You get it now!" I said.'

3.1.2 Intransitive clauses contain an obligatory predicate slot

filled by a verb phrase containing an intransitive verb. Optional

tagmemes which may also occur are Time, Location, Subject, Acquisition/

Referent, Negative. The fillers of these slots and their order are the

same as for Transitive clauses, including the possible occurence of

an interrogative word or phrase.

It should be noted, however, that the Object slot is obligatorily

absent and optional slot filled by either Acquisition or Referent are

obligatorily absent from the Transitive clause. To my knowledge these

last two tagmemes do not occur together so I have assigned them the

same slot.

Acquisition tagmas have only been observed in clauses in which the

predicate slot is filled by a verb of motion. They are filled by noun

phrases.

Examples of Intransitive clauses:

          Taréhaa kamani er - e - i -n ... (medial intrans. clause)
           Now   gov't. come-nt-3p-3pv.s.

          "Now the government came ..."

          Mái - ráh kumane.   "Sit down there."
          this - on sit(imp.)

          Aárintá káyo irá - ih - kon ór - iyaa - m - íh.
           girl   group fire-pred-acq. go-cont-3p-3fin

          "The group of girls is going for firewood."

Taréhaa   Kómpa   tohpe - wan   yot - iyaa - m - ih.
Now   Kompa   machete-ref   look for-cont-3p-3fin

"Kompa is looking for the machete now."

3.1.3 Equational clauses are of three types. Type 1 has an oblig-
atory predicate filled by the verb 'be'. Type 2 has an obligatory pred-
icate filled by a predicatized noun phrase. Type 3 has an obligatory
predicate filled by the verb 'stay'.

3.1.3.1 Equational clause Type 1. In addition to the obligatory
predicate filled by o 'be', this clause has an obligatory comment slot
filled by a noun phrase, modifier or pronoun phrase. The filler of the
comment slot normally occurs with the predicatizing suffix, -ih. There
is also an optional Subject slot filled by a noun phrase or a pronoun.

Wáantá - ih   e - m - ih.   "It is a man."
man - pred.   be/nt-3p-3fin   (or "He is a man.")

The above is the simplest form of this clause, but is not as common
as some others.

T - ih   iyaa - h - ú - no.   "I am sick."
1p.r.-sick be/cont-1p-1fin-emph

Káákan - ih   e - m - ih.   "It is big."
Big-pred   be/nt-3p-3fin

Weni   pon   kaakan - ih   e - m - ih.
His   pig   big-pred.   be/nt-3p-3fin

   "His pig is big."

Tetih - na - ih   e - m - ih.   "It is mine."
my-thing- pred.   be/nt-3p-3fin

3.1.3.2 Equational clause Type 2 has an obligatory predicate slot
filled by a predicatized noun, modifier or pronoun phrase. The filler
may be in the indicative, interrogative or emphatic mood (or possibly
certitive).

Waanta - ih   "He/it is a man."
man - pred.

Kaakan - ih   "It/he is big."
 big - pred.

Weih - na - ih   "It is his/hers."
his/her-thing-pred.

Tehi - u - no   "It is I!"
 I-pred-emph

Waanta - p - i   "Is it/he a man?"
 man-int - pred.

3.1.3.3 Equational Type 3 can also be called 'stative'. The ob-
ligatory predicate is filled by the verb **waa** 'stay', 'remain'; but
it is often best translated as 'be'. This is an irregular verb.

Waanta   waa - m - ih.   "A man stays." (There is a man.)
 man   stay -3p - 3fin

3.2 Independent final clauses may occur in Imperative, Indic-
ative, Interrogative or Question moods.

	Transitive	Intransitive	Equational
Imperative	X	X	not observed
Indicative	X	X	X
Interrogative	X	X	X
Question	X	X	X

Distinguishing features are varying verb morphology, different
responses expected and different obligatory tagmemes in the clause.

3.2.1 Imperative clauses expect an action response from the hearer.
All optional slots for the respective types are possible, but usually
imperative clauses are short with only one or two optional tagmemes
occuring with the obligatory predicate. The verb which fills the pred-

icate. The verb which fills the predicate slot occurs in the imperative
mood.

> Óro   "Go."
> go
>
> Kurú uwaraa   "Make a fence."
> fence   make
>
> Aine   upo – noo   "Dig quickly!"
> quickly dig-emph.

3.2.2   Indicative clauses expect no response from the listener —
except, perhaps, that he listen. The indicative mood is unmarked.

This is probably the most common type of clause and has the great-
est potential for expansion.

> Kainantu – páh   ór – e – m – íh.
> Kainantu – at   go-nt-3p – 3fin
>
> "He went to Kainantu."
>
> Iyampon   pon   wahkúr – iyaa – m – íh.
> boy   pig   chase- cont- 3p – 3 fin
>
> "The boy is chasing a pig."

3.2.3   Interrogative clauses expect a yes or no answer. The verb
which fills the predicate slot occurs with interrogative suffixes
(-rap, -p, -nap) and any of the optional tagmemes can occur.

> Waanta   kayo   ór – e – nap – í.
> man   group go -nt -3p int- 3fin
>
> "Did the men go?"

Ná – nte – p‑o.   "Will you eat?"
eat‑fut‑ 2p int ‑ 2fin

Táhkoh   teteó – nte – rap – ú.
shelf   wash – fut – 1p int ‑‑ 1 fin

"Shall I wash the shelf?"

Questions expressing alternatives require two clauses, two inde-
pendent final clauses or one independent and one dependent.

Órí – nte – p – ó.   Pá wá – nte – p – ó.
go – fut –2p int –2fin Just stay‑fut‑2p int – 2fin

"Will you go? Will you just stay?" ("Will you go or stay?")

Or – e – nap – í. Í – p – í.
go‑nt‑3p int‑3fin   not‑int‑3fin   "Did he go or not?"

3.3.4 Question clauses call for an oral response other than yes
or no. As in the interrogative clause the verb occurs with the inter-
rogative suffixes, but there is also an obligatory question word in
this clause that does not occur in indicative, interrogative or im-
perative clauses.

Inté – páh – két – áh ér – e – nap – í.
where‑at‑from‑qu   come‑3p int‑ 3fin

"Where did he come from?"

Iye or – iyaa – nap – í.   "Who is going?"
who go‑cont‑3p int –3fin

Nahí – tah iyaa – p – o.   "What are you doing?"
what‑qu   be/cont‑int – 2fin

3.4 Dependent final clauses are contrary‑to‑fact clauses and
occur in the subjunctive mood. These need more investigation.

3.5   Independent medials I question.unless they link with the
dependent final clauses.

3.6   Dependent medial clauses are of several types. Some express
a time difference with the following clause; others express condition,
purpose or, perhaps, other kinds of dependence. These have not been
thoroughly investigated so the following is merely a collection of ob-
servations.

All medial clauses express relationship between the subject of
the medial clause and that of the dependent clause. This is indicated
by affixation on the verb of the dependent clause. The affixation dif-
fers somewhat depending on whether the subject of the two clauses is the
same or different.

If the subjects of both clauses is the same only the preview
subject (pvs.) is marked on the dependent verb. These suffixes are as
follows:

>   1st person -h (glottal stop)
>   2nd person # (zero or not marked)
>   3rd person -n

> Téhi   ér - e - h te - h - ú.   "I come and speak."
>   I   come-nt-1pv.s speak-Ip-Ifin
>
> Ehi   ér - e   te - o.   "You come and speak."
> You come-nt-   speak-2fin
>
> Wéhi   ér - e - n   te - m - íh. "He comes and speaks."
> He   come-nt-3pvs. speak-3p-3fin

If the subjects of the two clauses are different the dependent
clause contains a verb which occurs with two person-subject suffixes,
the first of which indicates the subject of the clause, the second that
of the independent clause which follows.

Dependent subject suffixes:

    1st person -ké

    2nd person -ti

    3rd person -i

(This may not hold true in all cases, more investigation is needed.)

Téhi ér - e - ké -# éhi tí - no
I   come-nt-1p-2pv.s. you say-may(2p)

"I come, you may talk."

Éhi ér - e - ti - h téhi teé - nte - h - ú
You come-nt-2p- 1pv.s. I   say-fut-1p-1fin

"You come, I will talk."

Wéhi éri - nt - i - h téhi teé - nte - h - ú
He   come-nt-3p - 1pv.s. I   say- fut-1p - 1pv.s.

"He comes, I will say."

3.6.1 The various types of conditional medial clauses have been illustrated under Conditional sentences, section 2.1.2.2. It may be noted here that the simple conditional clause is the only one in which the dependence upon another clause is marked by suffixes on items other than the verb.

3.6.2   Time relationships: These are indicated by the tense suffixes occuring with the verb in the medial clause. If neutral tense or aspect suffixes occur with the medial verb it takes its tense from the succeeding clause.

kur - e - n na - nte - m - ih   "He will cook and eat."
cook-nt -3p   eat -fut-3p - 3fin

kur - e - ti - h naa' - nte - h - ú "You cook, I will eat."
cook-nt -2p -1pv.s eat - fut -1p-1fin

These are close-knit sequences in which one action follows closely after the other.

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

3.6.2.1 Successive actions are indicated by the narrative suffix -re.

waa - re - h ínt - e - h ér - e - h - ú
stay-narr-1pv.s. finish-nt-1pv.s. come-nt-1p-1fin

"I stayed, finished (and) came."

3.6.2.2 Separation in time

a) The action expressed in the dependent clause takes place first. The dependent verb occurs with the past suffix -ke.

ori - ke - n   uwah   ya - ke - n ...
go-past-3pv.s.   make   do-past-3pv.s.

"They went (and) made...."

b) The first action is completed before the second takes place. The dependent verb occurs with the suffix -we ~ -wi.

kiyaahpe - ma   ori - wi - nt - i - h   ti - ruwoo - nte -
kiap - if   go - comp -fut- 3p -1pv.s. 1p.r.-fight-fut-

h - u.
1p-1fin   "If the Kiap went we would fight." or "When

the Kiap goes for good we will fight."

3.6.2.3 Simultaneous action Simultaneous actions are indicated by the

simultaneous suffixes -áne or -áke. The first occurs with verbs of motion and the second with others. (These were elicited; the suffix -áne has not been heard in normal speech. Nor do I have any examples in which the subjects differ in the medial and final clauses. More investigation needs to be done here.)

Téhi ih ya - áne - h ér - e - h - ú.
I   song do-while-1p come-nt-1p-1fin

"I sang as I came."

Wéhi ih y - iyaa - áke - n yáwéná áat - iyaa - m - íh.
He   song do-cont-while-3p drum   sound-cont-3p-3fin

"He is singing while sounding the drum."

3.6.3 **Purpose clause:** The purpose of an action may be indicated by
a dependent medial clause in which the predicate slot is filled by a
verb occuring with the purpose suffix -nto.

We - ánkáán óri - ntó - n úhtaa - iyaa - m - íh.
they-all   go -pur -3p prepare-cont- 3p-3fin

"They all are preparing to go."

3.6.4 Combinations of tense and aspect suffixes can also occur with
medial verbs as in the example in 3.6.2.3.

3.6.5 There are some changes of vowel in tense and aspect suffixes
which may indicate third person subject of the medial verb. This area
needs more investigation. Examples are narrative aspect where -re
changes to -ra; completive aspect, -we → -wi; past tense, -ke → -ka;
neutral aspect/tense, -e → -i. There may be others as well.

ínúran aráh órí - ka - n t - íh
night bowels go-pst/3p-3pv.s 1p.r.-sick
iyaa - h - ú - no ..
be/cont-1p-1fin-emph ..   "..at night her bowels went,'I am sick..'.."

kaako war - e - n órí - wi - n anaati kayo
cargo get -nt-3pv.s go-comp/3p-3pv.s women group

"they took cargo, went completely the group of women.."

In addition there other medial verb suffixes which have been ob-
served but the meaning of which has not been determined. Two that are
first person are -kuh and -ruh. They must also have some tense or as-

pect significance, but these have not been pinned down.

                    <u>Paradigms</u> These are included here just so that they
will not be lost. They are listed for same subject and for different
subjects in several tense combinations.

a) Neutral in medial verb, future in final

Same subject: 1-1   kureh naantehu "I cooked (and) I will eat."

                   2-2   kure nano "You cooked and you may eat."

                   3-3   kuren nantemih "He cooked (and) he will eat."

Different subjects:

                   1-2   kureke nano "I cooked, you may eat"

                   1-3   kureken nantemih "I cooked, he will eat."

                   2-1   kuretih naantehu "You cooked, I will eat."

                   2-3   kuretin nantemih "You cooked, he will eat."

                   3-1   kureih naantehu* "He cooked, I will eat."

                   3-2   kurei nano* "He cooked, you may eat."

                   3-3   kurein nantemih* "He cooked and he (another)
                                                 will eat."

                   *these need checking

b) Future in both verbs

Same subj.   1-1   kuroonteh naantehu* "I will cook (and) eat."

                   2-2   kurinti nano "You will cook (and) you may eat."

                   3-3   kurintin nantemih "He will cook (and) eat."

Diff. subj.   1-2   kuroonteke nano "I will cook, you may eat."

                   1-3   kuroonteken nantemih "I will cook, he will eat."

                   2-1   kurintetih naantehu "You will cook, I will eat."

                   2-3   kurintetin nantemih "You will cook, he will eat."

                   3-1   kurintih naantehu "He will cook, I will eat."

                   3-2   kurinti nano "He will cook, you may eat."

                   3-3   kurintin nantemih "He will cook, he (another)
                                        will eat."

c) Neutral in both verbs

Same subj.	1-1	kureh nehu	"I cooked (and) ate."
	2-2	kure neo	"You cooked (and) ate."
	3-3	kuren nemih	"He cooked (and) ate."
Diff. subj.	1-2	kureke neo	"I cooked, you ate."
	1-3	kureken nemih	"I cooked, he ate."
	2-1	kureh nehu	"You cooked, I ate."
	2-3	kuren nemih	"You cooked, he ate."
	3-1	kurih nehu	"He cooked, I ate."
	3-2	kuri nepo	"He cooked, did you eat?"
	3-3	kurin nemih	"He cooked, he (another) ate."

Note: The third person different subject paradigm needs checking.
Also note that the neutral tense may be translated present as well
as past depending upon the context.

3.7 Included clauses are those which fill a clause level slot.
They can fill most any slot, but most often are found in the Location
slot or as a modifier in a noun phrase.

waa - ih - páh   "staying place"
stay-3fin-at

wáántá kaá - ih - páh   "man-putting place, i.e.
man   put-3fin- at   a cemetery"

kaákán atíh - ma waa - in wáántá
big   nose-cond stay-ger man
"the man who has a big nose"

.. kihpa - re - n yaa - rah - ke miyan e
   finish-narr-3p wood-on - from pay   here

wara - nte - m - ih,   "..they will get here the money
get - fut - 3p - 3fin   from the wood which is finished."

4. <u>Verb Phrases</u> Agarabi verb phrases are of two major types,
modified verb phrases and compound verb phrases. Verb phrases fill
the predicate slot in clauses.

4.1 Modified verb phrases consist of an obligatory Head slot
filled by a verb and optional lateral slots, Directional and/or Manner.

4.1.1 Head plus directional:

<u>... ware   mo   a - me.</u>   "...take and give to him there."
     take dir non-1 -give imp.
                p.r.

<u>yun   waa - p - ó</u>   "Are you up here?"
dir   stay-int-2fin

There are many directionals and they are very common with verbs
of motion.

4.1.2 The verb phrase which includes the Manner slot is more rare
but does occur.

<u>aine   óro</u>   "Go quickly."
quickly go(imp)

<u>tatoóre   te - nóo</u>   "Say it slowly!"
slowly   say-emph
          (imp)

these could be combined as follows:

<u>aine   ware   mo   a - me</u>   "take and give to him
quickly take dir non-1p.r.-   there quickly."
                   give/imp

4.2 Compound verb phrases consist of a verb plus an auxiliary,
both being obligatory. There seem to be many varieties of these, not
all of which have been investigated or defined.

There are several auxiliaries, two of which occur as main verbs in
other constructions though the meaning is different then. In the verb
plus auxiliary sequence the meaning is carried by the main verb and the
auxiliary carries the suffixes. These two are <u>yaa</u> "do" and <u>o</u> "be".

A third auxiliary looks like the verb <u>naa</u> "eat", but may be considered a homophonous form as there is no connection in meaning with "eat".

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

4.2.1 <u>Simple-Auxiliary</u> +V:mv$_1$ + Aux:<u>yaa</u> The nucleus is filled by a verb which consists of a form or stem with vowel changes plus a final glottal stop. The auxiliary which fills the lateral slot is filled by <u>yaa</u> "do". The main verb carries most of the lexical meaning but no suffixes. The auxiliary carries the tense, aspect and person-subject suffixes. There often seems no difference in meaning from other non-auxiliary forms of the main verb, but this type of phrase is very common.

$$\frac{\text{náh}}{\text{eat}} \quad \frac{\text{y - e - m - íh}}{\text{do-nt-3p -3fin}} \quad \text{"He did eat."}$$

4.2.2 <u>Abilitatative-auxiliary</u> +V:mv$_2$ + Aux:<u>o</u> Any verb may fill the nucleus and the lateral slot is filled by <u>o</u> "be". Here, too, the auxiliary carries the tense, aspect and person suffixes. The main verb consists of stem plus the abilitative suffix, <u>-ren</u>. The whole phrase indicates abilitative mood.

$$\frac{\text{naa - rén}}{\text{eat-abil}} \quad \frac{\text{e - m - íh}}{\text{be/nt-3p-3fin}} \quad \text{"He is able to eat."}$$

4.2.3 <u>Habituatative-auxiliary</u> +V:mv$_3$ + Aux:<u>o</u> The main verb fills the nuclear slot and consists of the verb in the neutral tense plus glottal stop. The auxiliary, <u>o</u> "be", fills the lateral slot in the continuative aspect which replaces the stem-final vowel — in this case the whole stem. Thus it consists of <u>-iyaa</u> "continuative" plus person-subject suffixes.

neh   iyaa - m - íh   "He eats (habitually)."
eat   be/cont-3p-3fin

(If this sentence occurred it would probably include an item of
food which is habitually eaten; this simpler form is unlikely.)

4.2.4 <u>Contrary-to-fact-auxiliary</u> +V:mv₄ +Aux:<u>naa</u> The main verb
fills the nucleus and consists of stem plus glottal stop. The auxiliary
which fills the lateral slot is <u>naa</u>, meaning unknown. This phrase
indicates contrary-to-fact mood.

náàh   na - re - m - íh   "He might have eaten."
eat   subj-narr-3p-3fin

(Again the auxiliary carries the tense, aspect and person suffixes.
There is also a tone change on the stem which is normally low tone.)

4.3 Another commonly occurring verb phrase might be classed as a
close-knit phrase of verb plus verb, both of which add some lexical
meaning and combine to give a slightly different meaning than either one
would have alone. The first verb consists of <u>ti</u> a form of <u>te</u> "say"
and occurs with no suffixes. The second verb is <u>ame</u> "give" and occurs with
the tense, aspect and person suffixes. Together they mean "tell".

éena - páh mo tí a -- me - m - íh.
other- at dir say non-1p.r. -give-3p-3fin
"He told him at another place."

tí   tí - me - m - íh.   "He told me."
say 1st p.r. -give-3p-3fin

4.4 Unidentified auxiliary phrases: There are two common forms
which occur that may later prove not to be separate words forming phrases.
What appears to be the auxiliary is <u>o</u> "be" occurring in different forms.
One is <u>ikan</u>, medially (I don't know if it occurs finally); the other is
úren medially, probably <u>uremih</u> finally.

waa - re - h i - ka - n   "having stayed"
stay - narr-? be-pst/3p-3pv.s

> ipaah u - re - n   "she put aside and .."
> forget/ be-narr-3pv.s
> put aside

5. **Noun Phrases** Agarabi noun phrases are of several types, modified, co-ordinate, possessive, appositional and relator-axis. All but the relator-axis phrases occur in Subject and Object slots in clauses. Relator-axis phrases occur in lateral slots such as Location, Purpose, Reason and Instrument.

5.1 **Modified noun phrases:** Formula: $\pm$ Mod$_2$:adj$_1$ $\pm$ Mod$_1$:adj$_2$/phrase/ clause + Head:Nphr $\pm$ Mod:adj$_2$/adj$_3$

Slot fillers: Adj$_1$ = limiter, **pá** **pára** 'just'; or demonstrative **mai** 'this/these'; negative **ihyaa** 'not/no'. Adj$_2$ = an open class of adjectives including those which indicate quantity, quality, etc; but not including a few which always occur in post-modification slot. The phrase which may occur in the first pre-modification slot is a numeral phrase; included clauses may also occur in this slot. Noun phrases occurring in the Head slot include single nouns which are potential phrases and various kinds of Noun phrases other than the modification phrase itself. Adj$_3$ = a limited list of adjectives which never occur in a pre-modification slot.

> auyén káwé   'new clay pot'
> new   clay pot
>
> pára   paaén yánáah   'just a small thing'
> just   small thing
>
> tiyaamihkan   tirantamihkan yanka   'twenty sticks'
> my-hands-two my-feet-two   stick
>
> anaati káyo   anáá   'only the group of women'
> women   group only
>
> minoh wáantá púmaaraa   'all the men and youths'
> all   man   youth
>
> mai iráran   iyááhen wáántá   'this skirting man'
> this skirting being   man

> mahtáhe – má   éhyanaín   yamúh   'the day the Master
> master–cond.   come up   day   comes up'

5.2 <u>Co-ordinate noun phrases</u>: Co-ordinate noun phrases occur as
fillers of the Subject and Object slots in clauses and may fill nu-
clear or lateral slots in phrases. They may be divided into two types,
compound and alternate.

5.2.1 <u>Compound</u>   Formula: $+H_1$:Nphr $+H_2$:Nphr $\pm H_3$:Nphr, etc.

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

> ítana úwé   'bow and arrow'
> bow   arrow

> tinaahu tiraaho tiyawehno tikeko tikaako
> my-g.fa. my-g.mo. my-?   my-gr.g.fa my gr.g.mo
> "my ancestors"

> manaa   mahtáhe   mahta Keti-námáh   'one Master and Mr.
> one   master   master Casey-and   Casey'

> anaati káyo áárintá káyo   'women's group (and) girls'
> woman group girl   group   group'

> tihkuru iyámpon anohé apohé   'school children's mothers
> school children mother father   (and) fathers'

When H is filled by single nouns one or both may optionally occur
with suffixes <u>-wáh</u>, <u>-námáh</u> 'and/with'. When filled by phrases the
nouns filling the H slots in the phrases may take these optional suf-
fixes.

> ítana – wáh úwé – wáh   'bow and arrow'
> bow – and   arrow– and

> manaa   mahtahe – wáh   mahta Ketin – námáh
> one   master – and   Mr.   Casey-with
> 'one Master (European man) and Mr. Casey'

There need not be the same suffix on each even when there is a long
list. This does not seem to change the meaning.

5.2.2 <u>Alternate</u>   Formula: + H:interr. com. sentence + H:interr.

com. sentence

These interrogative comment sentences occurring in clause level

slots are normally minimal, consisting of one word in each H slot.

<u>Ukarumpa - tapi   Punano - pa - tapi</u>
Ukarumpa - int   Punano - at - int

'at Ukarumpa or at Punano?'

5.3 <u>Possessive noun phrases</u> These may be just types of modified

phrases, but this is not definite. There are several sub-types of pos-

sessive noun phrases: possessor-alienable item; possessor-inalienable

item; specifier-item phrases.

5.3.1 <u>Possessor-alienable item</u>   Formula: +Poss:N/Pro + Al:N$_2$/RAphr

The nouns or pronouns occurring in Poss. slot are obligatorily

suffixed by <u>-i</u>, 'possessive'

wé - i   waru - páh   'at his place/village'
he-poss. place- at

wáántá - i   yoran   'men's work'
man-poss   work

5.3.2 <u>Possessor-inalienable item</u>   Formula: +Poss:Nphr/Pro +I:N$_2$

Nouns occurring in I slot are either Class II which always occur

with personal referent prefixes or Class III B which occur with these

prefixes in this situation only.

pon   a - maah   "pig's house"
pig non-1st p.r.-house

té ti - waapu   "my husband"
I 1p.r.-husband

pon   a - yo   "pig's bristle"
pig non-1st p.r.-hair

Mahmuninko   a - náayamun   "Matmuninko's chin"
Matmuninko non-1st p.r.-chin

mái waánta   a - wíh   "this man's name"
this man   non-1st p.r.-name

tihkuru íyámpon   a - nohé   a - pohé
school   children non-1st p.r. mother non-1st p.r.-
                                            father

"school children's mothers and fathers"

(It may be noted that in this type of possessive phrase the suffix
-i 'possessive' is not present.)

5.3.3 Specifier-item Formula: +Spec:Nphr + I:Nphr

Fillers of Specifier and Item slots may be single nouns or ex-
pansions. No obligatory affixes occur, order is significant, also in-
tonation.

anaati   kápínáá   'woman's skirt'
woman   skirt

uraa   ánú   'Pitpit hill'
pitpit hill

anoón   waántá   'adult men/elders'
elder   man

yóhtaa anoón ano   'the head doctor'
doctor elder the

Punaano ááríntá káyo 'Punano girl's group'
Punano   girl   group

kaákan mónoh námún   'big church building'
big   religion house

These phrases may be distinguished from co-ordinate phrases by in-
tonation and by transform possibilities. Co-ordinate phrases may be
changed in order without changing the meaning. Possessive phrases change
in meaning (possibly to zero meaning) if the order is altered. Possessive
phrases normally have no more than two nuclear items whereas co-ordinate
phrases have been observed to have up to 14 nuclear items. For example,
the following co-ordinate phrase fills the nuclear slot in an apposition
phrase.

yaahun tire araná aamo túti yááh katapéh ayáaraan
ampakúh ápuáán mahyan yánááh umánti owa   "sweet potato, corn, cucumber,
melon, pumpkin, sugar cane, banana type, banana type, banana type,
banana type, greens type, taro type, taro type, (and) yam"

5.4 Appositional noun phrases Formula: App₁:Nphr/clause +
App₂?Nphr/clause ± App₃:Nphr

When a single noun occurs in App₁, App₂ is usually filled by a
phrase. Noun phrases which have been noted to occur are modified noun
phrases, possessive, co-ordinate or R/A.

anú - páh, uraa ánú - páh   "on the hill, Pitpit hill"
hill -at, pitpit hill-at

mínoh yánááh, yunáán   "all things, food"
all thing   food

ti - naapu, ti - raaho, ti - yawehno, ti -
1st p.r.-g.fa, 1st p.r.-g.mo, 1st p.r.- ?,   1st p.r.-
keko ti - kaako, mái wé ánkáám - pín   "our grandfathers, our
gr.g.fa, 1st p.r.-gr.g.mo, this their all-in

grandmothers, our (?), our great-grandfathers, our great-grandmothers,
in their time"

aruwin atiwin umoyanihin, mái yánááh
fighting.quarrelling stealing, this thing

"fighting, quarrelling, stealing, these things"

wáántá íyámpon, káákan íyámpon, tíhtoh íyámpon
man   boy   big   boy   small   boy

"men (and) boys, big boys, small boys"

peepáh - ma érein, mái kiyaahpe   "(the one) who came
before-cond coming, this kiap   before, that kiap"

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

yunáán, yááh, tápo, pon, mái yánááh
food, sugar cane, greens, pig, this thing

'food, sugar cane, greens, pork, those things'

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

Péepáh manaa wáántá amín waarehín mái wáántá
before one   man giving staying this man

nampitipáh ó waaren éreín mái wáántá ano
coast-at dir stay   came this man   the

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

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

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

waru - páh   'at the village'
village-at

áná - pín   'in a bamboo'
bamboo-in

non aru - páh   'at the river bank'
water bank- at

tihtuah woi waih - páh 'at the store boy's place'
store   boy staying-at

inté - pah - ke - tah   'from where?'
where- at - from -int

ti - rúh - káá - o - na - páh   'place where you hurt me'
1pr-hurt - pf -2p -ger-at

pon   á - rúah   yeih - páh   "place where they killed
pig   non-1stp.r.-kill doing-at   the pig'

5.5.2 Temporal R/A Phrases These consist of an Axis slot filled
by a noun phrase, noun, pronoun or demonstrative and a Relator slot
filled by the locative enclitics _-táh_ 'on' or _-pín_ 'in'. Time relator-
axis phrases optionally fill the Time slot in clauses.

manaa   órena - ráh   'for one year'
one   year - on

Taarare - táh   'on Saturday'
Saturday-on

taréhaa   téhtim - pín   'now in our (time)'
now   our - in

pée - páh ti - naahu ti - raahom - pín
before-at 1p.r.-g.fa 1p.r.-g.mo- in

'before in our grandparent's time'

5.5.3 Instrument Relator-Axis phrases These phrases consist
of an Axis slot filled by a noun or a noun phrase and a Relator slot
filled by the instrument enclitic _-poh_ 'with' sometimes followed by
the location enclitic _-keh_ 'from'.

witukaa - póh   'with a small knife'
sm. knife-with

itana - póh - kéh   'with a bow'
bow - with - from

nún   aayo - póh - kéh 'with a bird feather'
bird   feather-with-from

5.5.4 Reason R/A phrases These phrases consist of an Axis slot
filled by a noun or pronoun (possible phrases or clauses though there
are no examples of these at hand) and a Relator slot filled by the
reason enclitic _-an_. The Reason Relator-Axis phrase obligatorily fills
the Reason slot in clauses.

ápáán - an (peeh yen)   "(they are afraid) of the sor-
sorcerer-ref   fear   cerer"

a- - nohé - nan (ipih yiyaamih   "(he is crying) for
non-1st p.r.-mo -ref crying   his mother"

5.5.5 <u>Purpose Relator-Axis phrases</u> These phrases consist of an

Axis slot filled by a noun, a pronoun and a Relator slot filled by

the purpose enclitic <u>-ton</u>.

> waa - ron (óremíh)   '(she went) for a man'
> man- acq   went
>
> ira - ih - kon (óriyaapó) "(are you going) for
> firewood-pred-acq going-you   firewood?"
>
> wéhi wén - ton (éremíh) '(she came) for him
> she   him-acq   came

5.5.6 <u>Likeness R/A phrases</u> This type needs investigation as I

think it has only appeared in elicitation except for the following

example. It may fill an equational slot of some type.

> epan - ten 'white'
> cockatoo-like

5.6 <u>Numeral phrases</u> Numbers higher than five are formed by

phrases or clauses. Interpretation of some items in uncertain.

> apahpah o kahyen 'six' (literal trans. uncertain)
>
> ti -yaam - ih - kan ti - rantam - ih - kan "twenty"
> 1st p.r.-hand-pred-2 1st p.r.-foot-pred-2

6. Verb structure

Agarabi verbs exhibit several types of morphophonemic vowel

changes. One such change, which has a wide occurrence, will be briefly

dealt with here. Others with restricted occurrence will be described

in the sections dealing with the morphemes with which they occur.

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

> naa + iyaa 'Co.' + hu 1p.sg. ﹥ niyaahú 'I am eating.'
>
> naa + e 'Ne' + hu ﹥ nehú 'I eat.'
>
> naa + ra 'Na' +e + hu ﹥ nárehú* 'I ate.'

*See 6.1.1.1.1 for explanation of the single a.

6.1 Independent verbs

6.1.1 <u>Verb stems</u>   Verb stems occur unaffixed as the 2nd person singular imperative and are divided into two morphological classes of reduction or non-reduction of the stem before certain suffixes.

6.1.1.1 <u>Class I Verb stems</u>. Class I verb stems are those which occur with the following morphophonemic changes and do not reduce.

6.1.1.1.1 <u>Stem-final vowel changes</u>. Stem-final -aa ﹥ -a; -e and -o ﹥ -i preceding -nte 'Fu' in 2nd and 3rd person forms, -nto 'Pu' and -ram 'De' in all forms.

> naa + nte + mih '3p.sg.' ﹥ nantemih 'He will eat.'
>
> naa + nto + mih ﹥ nantomih 'He intends to eat."
>
> naa + ram + mih ﹥ naramih 'He wants to eat.'
>
> ere + nte + mih ﹥ erintemih 'He will come.'
>
> oro +nto + mih ﹥ orintomih 'He intends to go.'

The first person future form retains the stem-final vowel.

> naa + nte + hu '1p.sg. naantehu 'I will eat."

Preceding -tinta/anta 'B'; -ke 'P'; -kaa 'Pf' and -ra 'Na' stem-final -aa ﹥ -a; -e ﹥ -i; C(consonant) o ﹥ Ci; V(owel) o ﹥ Vu; Vho ﹥ Vhu.

> puhte + anta ﹥ puhtíantaa* 'Blow for him.'

teteho + tinta	>	tetehútintaa	'Wash for me!'
pahkaa + tinta	>	pahkatintaa	'Hold for me!'
naa + ke +hu	>	nákehú	'I ate.'
oro + kaa + hu	>	órikááhu	'I have gone.'
ere + ra + e + hu	>	érirehú	'I came.'

*See 6.1.1.1.2 for explanation of the double aa.

6.1.1.1.2 The final -a of -tinta/-anta 'B' preceding 1p.sg Fu suffix and 2p.sg imperative becomes -aa.

puhte + anta	>	puhtíantaa 'Blow for him!'
puhte + anta + nte + hu	>	puhtíantaántehú 'I will blow for him.'

6.1.1.2 **Class II Verb Stems** Class II verb stems are those which reduce. Those which have a nasal preceding the final vowel drop the vowel preceding benefactive, narrative, past and perfect suffixes. All others drop the final syllable preceding these same suffixes.

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

6.2.1 **Prefixation** The one order of prefixes which occurs with Agarabi verbs identifies the person or thing to which the verb refers. The referent is an obligatory bound form with some transitive verbs and an optional one with a few others. There are also some transitive verbs which never take this referent prefix.* The forms of the prefix distinguish only between the speaker and non-speaker (person or thing spoken to or about), remaining the same for all tenses, aspects and numbers. The relationship of referent to verb is that of object, there being no difference in form between direct and indirect object.

*If there were to be considered sub-classes it would lead to considerable confusion, cross-cutting the classes already established. These same personal referent prefixes occur with nouns.

Speaker: t-   ti-   (ti)me   'give me'
                               (t)aáraa   'call me'

t- occurs before verbs beginning with a vowel, ti-
elsewhere.

Non-speaker: a-   (a)me   'give him'
                          aáraa   'call him'

a- does not occur preceding verbs which begin with
a vowel.

6.2.2 Suffixation

6.2.2.1. First order suffixes indicate benefactive aspect and dis-
tinguish only between speaker and non-speaker. The occurrence of the
benefactive suffix is optional and restricted only by the semantic
or cultural relevance of such a form.

Class I verb stems add these and other suffixes directly to the
stem with only the changes mentioned in section 6.111.

Speaker: -tinta   puhti(tinta)a 'Blow for me.'

                         tetehu(tinta)a 'Wash for me.'

Non-speaker -anta   puhti(anta)a   'Blow for him.'

                         tetehu(anta)a 'Wash for him.'

Class II verb stems exhibit certain changes after reduction
(cf. 6.1.1.1.2) before adding this suffix.

a) Those Class II stems which have a nasal preceding the
final vowel have a nasal preceding the benefactive suffix.

onaa   +   tinta   óntintaa   'Look for me.'

onaa   +   anta   ónantaa   • 'Look for him.'

The following verb stems which do not have a nasal in the stem
also take a nasal preceding the benefactive suffix.

atéraa   'fell'   máhyaáraa   'pull down'

kuraraa 'stand up'   púntaraa   'straighten'

taáraa 'prepare'   yaararaa 'cover'

úwáraa 'make'   yúhparaa 'hack'

waraa 'get'   kuro   'cook'

Ex.: taáraa + tinta   >   taántintaa 'Prepare for me.'

taáraa + anta   >   taánantaa 'Prepare for him.'

b) The following Class II verb stems add a glottal stop (symbolized h) onto the reduced stem preceding B.

iyáraa 'block'   yápíte 'look after'

kupéraa 'pour in'   yapo   'put on'

peraa 'smear'   yoraa   'work'

waéraa 'turn around'   úntáraa 'bite'

Ex.: peraa + tinta   >   pehtintaa 'Smear for me.'

peraa + anta   >   péhantaa 'Smear for him.'

c) The following Class II stems add B directly to the reduced stem.

kááo 'cut'   yápéraa 'sink'

kátéraa 'deceive'   yiwo   'open'

wáraa 'sleep'   apo   'put on top of'

awoho 'find'   wuwo   'shave'

wowo   'mumu'

Ex.: wuwo + tinta   wutintaa 'Shave for me.'

wuwo + anta   wúantaa   'Shave for him.'

6.2.2.2 Second order The single member of this order of suffixes occurs optionally indicating continuative aspect. -iyaa~-inaa. The form -inaa occurs optionally with verb stems in which the C of the final CV is a nasal; -iyaa elsewhere.

naa + iyaa + hu   >   n(iyaa)hú   'I am eating.'

onaa + inaa + hu   >   on(inaa)hú   'I am looking.'

This suffix never occurs contiguous to -e 'Ne' nor in combination with -kaa 'Pf'. When it occurs with no T/A suffix following it, it indicates present continuous.

6.2.2.3 <u>Third order</u> The single member of this suffixial order occurs optionally indicating narrative aspect, -ra.

naa + ra + e + hu   >   ná(r)ehú   'I ate/eat.'

naa + ra + ke + hu   >   ná(ra)kehú   'I ate.'

A fourth order suffix is obligatory to the occurence of the third order suffix.

6.2.2.4 <u>Fourth order</u> Fourth order suffixes occur optionally indicating time and/or aspect.

a) Neutral: -e   n(e)hú   'I ate/eat/'

This suffix occurs when neither specific time nor aspect is being stressed. The context tells whether it is past or present; I don't know if it would ever be future. It occurs with -iyaa 'Cont' only in combination with -ra.

b) Future: -nte   náá(nte)hú   'I will eat.'

This suffix refers to an action to take place in the future.

c) Purposive: -nto   na(nto)hú   'I intend to eat.'

This also refers to action to take place in the future, but also states intention, definite purpose.

d) Past: -ke ~ -te   ná(ke)hú   'I ate.'

                                    ón(te)hú   'I saw.'

This suffix indicates time in the past, recent past or more distant but not remote past.

e) Perfect: <u>-kaa</u> ~ <u>-taa</u>   na(káá)hu   'I have eaten.'

                                            on(táá)hu   'I have seen.'

Class II verb stems which take a nasal preceding B also
take a nasal preceding P and Pf suffixes. These take the <u>-te</u> and <u>-taa</u>
allomorphs.

<u>wowo</u> 'mumu', <u>wuwo</u> 'shave' and <u>peraa</u> 'smear' add an /a/
preceding P and Pf suffixes. All other Class II stems add these suf-
fixes directly to the reduced stem. All these plus Class I stems take
the <u>-ke</u> and <u>-kaa</u> allomorphs of P and Pf suffixes.

6.2.2.5 <u>Fifth order</u> Fifth order suffixes occur optionally and
indicate number.

a) Singular: #

b) Dual: 1p: <u>-nta</u>   niyaa(ntá)u 'We two are eating.'

           2p: <u>nt</u>   niyaa(nt)o   'You two are eating.'

Only one doubtful example of 3p dual has been found in the
data; the singular form is usually used.

c) Plural: 1p:<u>-ipe</u> ~ <u>-ipaa</u> niyaa(ipe)hú 'we are eating.'

            2p: <u>-r</u>   niyaa(r)ó   'You are eating.'

No 3p plural form has been found to date.

<u>-ipaa</u> occurs preceding <u>n</u>; <u>-ipe</u> elsewhere.

6.2.2.6 <u>Sixth order</u> There are two members of this order; both
are rare.

a) Prohibitive: <u>-raa</u>   niyaa(raa)u 'I should not eat.'

This suffix indicates something that is not or should not
be done. The ordinary negative is expressed by a free form preceding
the verb. It is optional in occurrence.

b) Immediate: <u>-no</u>   náá(no)wamú 'I want to eat right

This morpheme has been found only in combination with
<u>-wam</u> 'De'. (Also optional)

6.2.2.7 <u>Seventh order</u> The one suffix which occurs in this
position is optional and indicates the desiderative mood. It is re-
stricted in occurrence, never occurring in conjunction with tense or
aspect suffixes.

<u>-ram</u> ᴎ <u>-wam</u>   na(ram)ú 'I want to eat.'

                                        naáno(wam)ú 'I want to eat right
                                                        now.'

<u>-ram</u> occurs when contiguous to the stem; <u>-wam</u> elsewhere.

In forming the desiderative interrogative the nasal is re-
placed by the unidentified morpheme <u>-ra</u> which is then followed by the
interrogative suffix <u>-p</u>.

        naáno(wárá)po 'Do you want to eat right now?'

This <u>-ra</u> also occurs with a few other 1p interrogatives,
meaning uncertain.

6.2.2.8 <u>Eighth order</u> - Eighth order suffixes occur obligatorily
and indicate mood. They can occur in conjunction with the seventh or-
der. (See last example under 6.2.2.7.)

        a) Indicative: #   niyaaó 'You are eating.'
        b) Interrogative: <u>-p</u>   niyaa(p)ó 'Are you eating?'

6.2.2.9 <u>Ninth order</u> Ninth order suffixes occur obligatorily
and indicate person-subject.

        a) 1p: <u>-hu</u> ᴎ <u>-u</u>   niyaa(hú) 'I am eating.'

        <u>-hu</u> occurs following vowels, <u>-u</u> elsewhere.

        b) 2p: <u>-o</u>   niyaa(ó) 'You are eating.'
        c) 3p: <u>-ih</u> ᴎ <u>-mih</u>   niyaa(míh) 'He is eating.'

        <u>-ih</u> occurs with neutral prohibitive and permissive forms;
<u>-mih</u> elsewhere.

6.2.2.10 <u>Tenth order</u> Tenth order suffixes occur optionally and indicate emphasis.

    a) Ordinary emphasis: <u>-no</u>~ <u>-noo</u>   naa(nóo)'Eat!'

                                                nehú(no) 'I ate!'

<u>-noo</u> is the 2nd person emphatic imperative; <u>-no</u> occurs elsewhere.

    b) Certitive: <u>-mpo</u>   nehú(mpó) 'I certainly ate.'

<u>Residue</u>: Complex and compound forms have also been observed, but have not been fully analyzed. Permissive and hortative moods have also been observed and may prove to be forms of the imperative.

In addition to these there are some idiomatic expressions in which the sum of the parts does not equal the meaning of the whole.

                 <u>aah   yiyaahu</u> 'I am getting wet.'
                 rain doing-I

Occasionally reduplication of the stem or a portion thereof occurs expressing intensification of the action.

                 <u>puhputiyaahu</u> 'I am blowing and blowing.'

Footnotes for this section:

    1. Distinction between direct and indirect object is mentioned only because of the translation into English.

    2. <u>a</u> + <u>aa</u> becomes <u>aa</u>

    3. This alternation is explained in the section on verb stems.

7. <u>Nouns</u>   Nouns occur in the Subject and Object slots in clauses, as Head in Noun phrases. They may be modified by numerals and modifiers. They may be sub-divided on the basis of their occurrence with the personal referent prefix. Some nouns, such as kinship terms and body

parts, occur obligatorily with this prefix; others may optionally occur with it and some never do. These prefixes are **ti-**, first person referent, and **a-**, non-first person referent.

<div style="margin-left:2em;">

ti - nohe   'my mother'
1pr -mother

 a - pohe   'his father'(or her/your/their)
non-1-father
pr

 a - tih   'his nose'
non-1pr-nose

</div>

The prefixes are obligatory in these case. In the following it is optional.

<div style="margin-left:2em;">

we a - maah   'his house'
his non-1pr-house

</div>

Most nouns would not occur with this prefix.

8. **Pronouns** Pronouns may also occur in the Subject and Object slots in clauses, but seldom, if ever, in modified phrase in such slots. They do not occur with as many affixes as nouns and are a closed class.

<div style="margin-left:2em;">

tehi   'I/we'

ehi   'You'

wehi   'He/she/they'

ten   'Me/us'

en   'You'

wen   'Him/her/them'

</div>

The objective forms do not occur as often as might be expected since some verbs occur obligatorily with personal referent prefixes which express object or indirect object.

9. <u>Modifiers</u> Modifiers occur in the Modifier slots in noun and verb phrases. They may be sub-divided into adjectives which occur as modifiers in noun phrases and adverbs which occur in verb phrases. At present I don't have enough evidence to justify separating them further.

9.1 <u>Adjectives</u>:

kaákan	'big'
epanten	'white'
auyen	'new'

9.2 <u>Adverbs</u>:

aíne	'quickly'
tatoóre	'slowly/later'

10. <u>Locatives</u> Locatives normally occur in Locational slots in the second position in clauses. They occur often with locational clitics.

11. <u>Temporals</u> Temporals normally occur in the Time slot, first position in clauses. They do not occur with any distinctive affixes with the exception of <u>pee</u> 'before' which often occurs with <u>-pah</u> 'at' unless this is merely a homophonous form.

taréhaa	'now'
ataréhaa	'later'
peé	'before'
inun	'yesterday/tomorrow'

12. <u>Directionals</u> This is a limited class of words occurring normally immediately preceding the predicate in clauses. They indicate direction toward or away from the action and, also, up or down.

ó	'direction away from'
é	'direction toward'
ún	'up there'