HIGHER LEVELS OF AGARABI GRAMMAR

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OUTLINE

ABBREVIATIONS

AMP	amplification	simult	simultaneous
as	anticipatory subject	ss	same subject
bene	benefactive	vb	verb
BU	build-up	vbl	verbalizer
cert	certituative	1p	first person
cond	conditional	1pl	first person plural
cont	continuative		
contra	contrary-to-fact	2p	second person
cpl	completive	3p	third person
desid	desiderative		
dir	directional		
ds	different subject		
emph	emphatic		
fin	final		
fut	future		
habit	habituative		
impv	imperative		
ins	instrument		
int	interrogative		
narr	narrative		
neg	negative		
nom	nominalizer		
nt	neutral		
PAR	paragraph		
perm	permissive		
pf	perfect		
poss	possessive		
pr	personal referent		
pst	past		
S	sentence		

SYMBOLIZATION

.	joins literal English gloss when more than one word equates with one language morpheme or vice versa
...	data follows that is not pertinent to the construction under discussion and is not included in the example
:	filled by
-	morpheme break (except in 'non-1pr' which means 'non-first person')
/	follows same subject verb
//	follows different subject verb
///	follows independent verb
+	obligatory item
±	optional item
?	unidentified word or morpheme
v́	high tone[1] (v = any vowel)

Construction types are indicated as follows:

     Clause

     <u>Sentence</u>

     PARAGRAPH

     <u>DISCOURSE</u>

Both the name of the construction and its slots are so marked for the level at which they occur.

0   INTRODUCTION

Agarabi is spoken by approximately 12,000 people of
the Kainantu sub-district of the Eastern Highlands Dis-
trict of Papua New Guinea. It is a member of the Gadsup-
Auyana-Awa-Tairora language family. The data used for
this paper was gathered from residents of the village of
Punano which is in the center of three dialects. The
data was collected over a period of 12 to 14 years.

This paper is by no means exhaustive, being based on
some 15 texts varying in length from 19 words to seven
double-spaced typed pages. They were about half narrative
type texts which limited the variety of material avail-
able for analysis.

Agarabi is a typical language of the Highlands in
that a seemingly endless number of clauses may be strung
together in a stream of speech. This presents the analyst
with the problem as stated by Healey[2], "One of the ana-
lytical problems faced by those who have developed and
used the tagmemic approach has been the identification
of LEVELS within the syntactic hierarchy. One of the
characteristic problem areas in this regard has been the
levels above the Clause." This problem is compounded by
the meaning we attach to the traditional labels of 'sen-
tence' and 'paragraph'.

One of the traditional marks of a sentence has been
something which shows finality, such as pause and falling
intonation. In Papua New Guinea languages or, at least,
those of the Highlands, the 'final' verb has often been
taken as a mark of a sentence terminus. Since this is
often accompanied by falling intonation and pause, it has
seemed a good solution to use this as a mark of sentence
terminus. However, this can result in extremely long and

complicated sentences which may be difficult to describe
or to differentiate.

This traditional interpretation of sentence is being
used by Frantz for Gadsup which is closely related to
Agarabi. There are other possible analyses as well. One
is to posit intermediate levels such as Healey[3] and
Geary[4] have done. Another is to posit the sentence as a
seemingly lower level than the traditional, and calling
final verb, falling intonation and major pause as marking
paragraphs instead of sentences. This has been done by
Scott[5] for Fore, a Highland language.

I have chosen, for this paper, to follow this last
type of analysis. Thus, a sentence consists of a string
of clauses all of which have the same subject. The verb
in the terminal clause is marked to indicate that the
succeeding clause, which begins a new sentence, has a
different subject. There are a few exceptions which will
be discussed under the appropriate sentence type. A ter-
minal clause which has an independent (final) verb, fall-
ing intonation and is followed by pause is, then, inter-
preted as marking paragraph terminus.

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be given to Kompa who has provided much of the text over
the years and who helped to correct and explain some of
the material during the actual time of analysis and
writing.

Personal Referent	STEM (Bene-factive)	Aspect	Aspect	Tense/Mode	Subject number	Mode	Desider-ative Mode	Subject person	Interro-gative	Final Marker	Mode
ti- first person	-tinta first person	-iyaa cont	-ra narr	-e neutral	# sing-ular	-raa prohib-	-ram -wam	-h #		-u 1p	-mpo certi-tuative
a- non-first person	-anta non-first person	-we cpl	-waa repet-etive	-nte future	-ntaa 1p dual	-no immed-iate		1p		-o 2p	-no -noo emphatic
				-nto purposive	-nt 2p dual			# 2p	-ap 1p	-h 3p	
				-ke -taa perfect	-hipe 1p pl			-m 3p	-p 2p	-u 1p	
					-r 2p pl			-r 1p	-ap 3p	-o 2p	
					-hipaa 1p pl horta-tive			# 2p		-a 3p	
								-a 3p-			

Second block:

Relation-al	Interro-gative (Differ-ent Subject)	Antici-patory Subject	Mode
# sequence etc.	-ke -ku 1p	-h 1p	-ma condi-tional
-ake simul-taneous	-ti 2p	# 2p	
	-a -a 3p	n 3p	
	Same Sub-ject #		

The unaffixed verb stem occurs as second person impera-tive. Other person occur rarely, forms are not clear.
The permissive mode has not been tested for co-occurrence restrictions; but it probably occurs with ver few other affixes. All the forms of this mode are not available.
The habituative mode occurs as a verb phrase.

1   SENTENCE

Agarabi <u>Sentences</u> consist of one or more <u>Bases</u> ex-
pounded by clauses. The last <u>Base</u> of every <u>Sentence</u> is
expounded by a clause with a verb whose form is deter-
mined by the grammatical context in which the <u>Sentence</u>
occurs. If the <u>Sentence</u> is unembedded the verb may be a
different-subject dependent form or an independent form;
if the <u>Sentence</u> is embedded within another <u>Sentence</u> the
verb may also be a same-subject dependent form. All other
<u>Bases</u> are expounded by clauses with a same-subject verb,
except that in <u>Amplification</u>, <u>Conditional</u>, <u>Reason</u>, and
<u>Frustration</u> <u>Sentences</u> an earlier <u>Base</u> may be expounded by
a clause with a different-subject verb.

The final verb of an embedded <u>Sentence</u> will change
its form to suit the pattern of what it is embedded in.
If it is exponent of the final Tagmeme in a PARAGRAPH it
will be an independent verb, in which case the different
subject will not be marked. If it is exponent of non-
final <u>Base</u> of <u>Sentence</u>, except in above noted cases, a
same-subject verb occurs, and, if it is exponent of final
<u>Base</u> of <u>Sentence</u>, a different-subject verb occurs.

It should be noted that a dependent verb is marked
for anticipatory subject; that is, it indicates the per-
son subject of the next <u>Base</u>. When the next subject is to
be different, the dependent verb also has a suffix which
indicates the subject of the verb with which it occurs.
If this suffix does not occur then the subject of that
verb is the same as the one in the following <u>Base</u> and can
be labeled a 'same-subject verb'.

There are a few exceptions to this rule. In at least
one case an anticipatory subject does not occur; that is
with the suffix -<u>nowan</u> 'desiderative'. Also in <u>Amplifica-</u>

tion Sentence the prediction of different subject may
skip the amplifying Bases and predict the subject of the
Base which follows them.

1.1 SIMPLE SENTENCE
    A Simple Sentence consists of a clause with a dif-
ferent subject verb or an independent verb; or a noun or
pronoun occurring with verbalizer or interrogative mood
suffixes, in the predicate tagmeme.
    Simple Sentence embeds in other Sentence types and
occurs in all PARAGRAPH and DISCOURSE types. They seem to
be most common in DESCRIPTIVE DISCOURSES and least common
in PROCEDURAL DISCOURSES. They occur in formulaic form in
the Finis of all DISCOURSES (cf. the last two examples
below).

Examples:

(1) pára   kumantekén //
     Just   sit-nt-1ds-3p

     'I just sat (and they) ...'

(2) karaámpín   óriwíhkan //
     bushes-in   go-cpl-pst.3ds-3p

     'they had gone into hiding ...'

(3) ówaariyaamíh ///
     call.out-cont-3p-3fin

     'they are calling out.'

(4) wé   anohé   puremíh ///
     3p.poss   their-mother   die-nt-3p-3fin

     'their mother died.'

(5) wáántá   anaati   pára   awétáraa   iyaapóno ///
     man   woman   just   tired   be.cont-int-2p-emph

     'Men and women, why are you tired?'

(6) iyépi ///
     who-int-3p

     'Who is it?'

(7) máihaa   wááyááíh ///
     this-part   talk-vbl

     'This is the story.'

(8) inkaíh ///
     finish-vbl

     'That's all.'

I.2 SEQUENCE SENTENCE

Slots:	+ Antecedent Base^n	+ Consequent Base
Fillers:	Clause Simultaneous S Parallel S Quotation S Conditional S	Clause Simultaneous S Parallel S Quotation S Conditional S
Special Features:	exponent ends with ss verb	

Deep Structure: Temporal Sequence

Restriction Rules: 1. Subjects of the last clause of
                       each Antecedent Base and of Con-
                       sequent Base are identical.

> 2. Anticipatory subject markers on
> the verbs of each clause refer to
> the subject of the immediately
> following clause in the sentence.

A <u>Sequence Sentence</u> consists of two or more Bases
in juxtaposition with no overt marker to indicate their
relationship. It expresses a sequence of events per-
formed by the same actor. The two outstanding features
of this <u>S</u> type are its length and the recursion of other
<u>S</u> types within its <u>Bases</u>. From one to 12 <u>Antecedent</u>
<u>Bases</u> have been observed; it may be possible for more to
occur.

Each <u>Base</u> contains either a clause with ss verb, or
one of the above listed <u>S</u> types ending with a clause with
ss verb. The material at hand is limited so there may be
other <u>S</u> types that may occur in <u>Antecedent Base</u>.

Following the <u>Antecedent Base/s</u> is the <u>Consequent</u>
<u>Base</u> which contains a clause or one of the above listed
<u>S</u> types. It may also be possible for others to occur.

Sequence Sentence occurs in SEQUENCE and QUOTE
PARAGRAPHS and with high frequency in <u>NARRATIVE</u> and
<u>PROCEDURAL</u> <u>DISCOURSES</u>. They occur less often in other
types of <u>DISCOURSE</u>. There is embedding of other <u>Sentence</u>
types in <u>Sequence</u> Sentence Bases.

Examples:

(1) <u>Antecedent</u>:   mamahken /
                   take.up-pst-3p
    <u>Consequent</u>:   máiwáh   tááh   yan //
                   this-!   prepare   do-nt.3ds-3p
                   'They took it and prepared it ...'

(2) <u>Antecedent</u>:   waren /
                   take-nt-3p

Consequent: wurimakaautan yotíntemíh///
             cattle-for   search-fut-3p-3fin
             'they will take (money) and look for
             a cow (to buy).'

(3) Antecedent: tipah   téhi   kánáaitáh
                 my.younger.brother   I   good-vbl-int
                 oónterapúno///   toóntaanóo///
                 be.fut-int-1p-emph   me-look-impv-emph
                 miha   tiren/
                 this   say-narr-3p

    Consequent: ayo   torarin.taararin uwíhkan//
                 hair   ruffled   be-cpl-pst.3ds-
                                          3p
                 'He said, "Younger brother will I be
                 good? Look at me!" and he ruffled his
                 hair ...'

(4) Antecedent₁: míhan túren/
                  thus   be.like-narr-3p

    Antecedent₂: ipááh   en/
                  leave.off be.nt-3p

    Antecedent₃: é   waéren/
                  dir turn-nt-3p

    Antecedent₄: kaaripín óhiwen/
                  car-in   go.up-cpl-3p

    Antecedent₅: minoh ano meéren/
                  all   the put.here-nt-3p

    Consequent: óremih ///
                  go-nt-3p-3fin
                  'It was like that and they left it,
                  turned, went up in the car, put them
                  all here and left.'

(5) <u>Antecedent₁</u>:   <u>máirahkéh</u>   <u>érehná</u>   <u>wewaahke</u>   <u>e</u>
                       then   come-1p-nom   Wewak   dir

                       <u>kúmánen</u> /
                       sit-nt-3p

     <u>Antecedent₂</u>:   <u>máirahkéh</u>   <u>manten</u>   <u>éren</u> /
                       then   rise-nt-3p   come-nt-3p

     <u>Antecedent₃</u>:   <u>mantampáh</u>   <u>mai</u>   <u>warutin</u>   <u>ano</u>   <u>mé</u>
                       Madang-at   this   plane   the   dir

                       <u>kaaúh</u>   <u>yen</u> /
                       put   do-nt-3p

     <u>Consequent</u>:   Quotation <u>S</u>:
                     <u>Quote Opening</u>:   <u>ten</u> /
                                        say-nt-3p

                     <u>Quote Base</u>:   <u>téhi</u>   <u>yúnih</u>   <u>e</u>
                                        I   dark-vbl   dir

                                        <u>werehneh</u>   <u>yaaipáh</u>
                                        again   Lae-at

                                        <u>órerúno</u>.///
                                        go-?-1fin-emph

                                        <u>tirehti</u>   <u>marah</u>   <u>waatíh</u>//
                                        you.pl   dir   stay-
                                                               2ds-1p

                                        <u>wááriti</u>   <u>ekén</u> //
                                        wireless   be.nt-1ds-3p

                                        <u>kóróhkaah</u>   <u>óhintin</u> //
                                        Goroka   go.up-fut-
                                                      3ds-3p

                                        <u>kóróhkaahkéh</u>   <u>yorun</u>
                                        Goroka-from   dir

                                        <u>awiranóo</u> ///
                                        non-1pr-take.along-perm-
                                        emph
                     <u>Quote Closure</u>:   <u>tíhkan</u> //
                                        say-pst.3ds-3p

                     'Then, as we were coming, it landed at
                     Wewak; then it took off (and) put down
                     at Madang (and the pilot) said, "Its
                     dark so I'm going back to Lae. You

stay here and I will send a radio mes-
sage to Goroka and someone may come
down from Goroka and get you."'

(6) <u>Antecedent</u>:   íníren/
                      hear-narr-nt-3p

   <u>Consequent</u>: <u>Conditional</u> <u>S</u>:
     <u>Condition</u>: waaremá   en /
               stay-narr-cond   be.nt-3p

     <u>Result</u>: <u>Sequence</u> <u>S</u>:
       <u>Antecedent</u>$_1$: ááhkúráh   manten/
                morning   rise-nt-
                          3p
       <u>Antecedent</u>$_2$: áárintá   iyámpon
                girl   boy

                    íráih   mo
                    firewood-vbl   dir

                    uahyen/
                    put-nt-3p
       <u>Consequent</u>:   anoón   nánimáántá
                elder   people

                    e   awirantin//
                    dir   non-1pr-take.
                    along-fut-3ds-3p

'they listen and if they stay they get
up in the morning (and) the children
put the firewood there and will take
the older people along there...'

1.3 PARALLEL SENTENCE

Slots:	+ Parallel Base₁	± Parallel Baseⁿ⁻²	+ Parallel Baseₙ	± Summary Base
	+ Parallel $Base_1$	± Parallel $Base^{n-2}$	+ Parallel $Base_n$	± Summary Base
Fillers:	Clause with ss verb	Clause with ss verb	Clause with ss or ds verb	pro-verb
Special Features:	verbs in Parallel Bases are the same			

Deep Structure: Parallel Coupling
Restriction Rules: 1. The verb in each clause of Paral-
lel Bases is the same.
2. At least one of the fillers of
the other slots change.
3. A minor constituent may be added
or deleted, such as manner or
directional.

A Parallel Sentence consists of at least two Paral-
lel Bases. The final Parallel Base may occur with either
ss or ds verb, unless followed by a Summary Base, in
which case the ds verb occurs in it. Other Parallel
Bases are all ss verb clauses. The verbs are normally
identical, though in one example the verb in one Base
has an additional aspect marker. A non-verbal item in
each Parallel Base changes and a minor constituent may
be added or deleted from some; examples are pa 'just'
and yo 'directional'. The basic structure of each Parallel
Base is the same, that is, the same kind and number of
Tagmemes.

In the present data Parallel Sentence occurs only

embedded in <u>Amplification</u> <u>Sentence</u> and AMPLIFICATION
PARAGRAPH, though it is likely that they can occur else-
where.

Examples:

(1) <u>Parallel</u>₁: manteh   pá   waah /
                 Monday   just stay-1pss

    <u>Parallel</u>₂: tunteh   pá   waah /
                 Tuesday just stay-1pss
                 'I just stayed Monday and Tuesday.'

(2) <u>Parallel</u>₁: manteh   waah/
                 Monday   stay-1pss

    <u>Parallel</u>₂: tunteh   waah/
                 Tuesday stay-1pss

    <u>Parallel</u>₃: tarinteh   waah/
                  Wednesday stay-1pss

    <u>Parallel</u>₄: ponteh   pá   waah/
                 Thursday just stay-1pss
                 'I stayed Monday, I stayed Tuesday, I
                 stayed Wednesday and I just stayed
                 Thursday...'

(3) <u>Parallel</u>₁: manteh   pá   waah/
                 Monday   just stay-1pss

    <u>Parallel</u>₂: tunteh   pá   waah/
                 Tuesday just stay-1pss

    <u>Parallel</u>₃: tarinteh   pá   waareh/
                  Wednesday just stay-narr-1pss

    <u>Parallel</u>₄: ponteh   pá   waah/
                 Thursday just stay-1pss

    <u>Summary</u>:   ekén
                 be.nt-1pds-3p
                 'Monday I just stayed, on Tuesday I just
                 stayed, on Wednesday I just stayed and

on Thursday I just stayed ...'

(4) <u>Parallel</u>₁: kaákantáh yo ayuáh yen/
$$\overline{\text{big-on}} \quad \overline{\text{dir}} \; \overline{\text{shed}} \quad \overline{\text{do-nt-3pss}}$$

   <u>Parallel</u>₂: tíhtoh yo ayuáh yen/
$$\overline{\text{small}} \quad \overline{\text{dir}} \; \overline{\text{shed}} \quad \overline{\text{do-nt-3pss}}$$

   <u>Parallel</u>₃: ayááh ayuáh yen/
$$\overline{\text{long}} \quad \overline{\text{shed}} \quad \overline{\text{do-nt-3pss}}$$

   <u>Parallel</u>₄: atihkááh ayuáh yen/
$$\overline{\text{short}} \quad \overline{\text{shed}} \quad \overline{\text{do-nt-3pss}}$$

   <u>Summary</u>: úkan//
$$\overline{\text{be-pst.3ds-3p}}$$
             'the big ones shed; the small ones shed;
             the long ones shed; the short ones shed;
             thats the way it is...'

1.4 AMPLIFICATION SENTENCE

Slots:	+ <u>Generic</u> <u>Base</u>	+ <u>Specific</u> <u>Base</u>
Fillers:	Clause	Clause <u>Parallel</u> <u>S</u> <u>Amplification</u> <u>S</u>
Special Features:	ss or ds verb	.

Deep Structure: Generic-Specific
Restriction Rules: 1. The actor is the same in <u>Generic</u>
                    and <u>Specific</u> <u>Bases</u>.
                 2. If a different anticipatory sub-
                    ject is indicated in the <u>Generic</u>
                    <u>Base</u> it does not refer to the sub-
                    ject of the <u>Specific</u> <u>Base/s</u>, but

> to the clause which immediately
> follows the last clause of the
> Specific Base/s.
> 3. The verbs of the Generic Base and
>   Specific Base are identical or of
>   the same semantic domain.

An Amplification Sentence consists of two obligatory Bases. The Generic Base is manifested by a clause with ss or ds verb. Then follows Specific Base manifested by clause with ds verb or a Parallel S.

Amplification Sentences usually embed in other S types, in the present data in Sequence S.

Examples:

(1) Generic: un   waah/
                up.there   stay-1pss

     Specific: káán   tááraréh   intarekén//
               two   Saturday   finish-narr- 1ds-3p
               'I stayed up there, I spent two weeks...'

(2) Generic: manaa   táárareh   árúrehkún//
               one   Saturday   spend-narr-1ds-3p

     Specific: Parallel S
               Parallel$_1$:   manteh   pá   waah/
                                Monday   just   stay-1pss

               Parallel$_2$:   tunteh   pá   waah/
                                Tuesday   just   stay-1pss
               'I spent one week there; I just stayed on
               Monday (and) I just stayed on Tuesday...'

(3) Generic: manaa   tááraréh   árúrehkún//
               one   Saturday   spend-narr-1ds-3p

     Specific: Parallel S
               Parallel$_1$:   manteh   pá   waah/
                                Monday   just   stay-1pss

Parallel$_2$: tunteh   pá   waah/
              Tuesday   just stay-1pss

Parallel$_3$: tarinteh   pá   waareh/
              Wednesday just stay-narr-
                                1pss

Parallel$_4$: ponteh   pá   waah/
              Thursday   just stay-1pss

Summary: ekén//
              be.nt-1pds-3p

(4) Generic: waáreh/
               stay-narr-1pss

     Specific: Amplification S
               Generic: manaa   táárárèh   árúrehkún//
                         one   Saturday   spend-narr-
                                            1pds-3p

               Specific: Parallel S:

                         Parallel$_1$: manteh   pá   waah/
                                        Monday   just stay-
                                                       1pss

                         Parallel2:   tunteh   pá   waah/
                                        Tuesday just stay-
                                                       1pss

1.5 QUOTATION SENTENCE

Slots:	+ Quote Opening	+ Quote Base	+ Quote Closure
Fillers:	Clause	any utterance	Clause
Special Features:	usually te 'say' ss form		speech verb te 'say'

Deep Structure: Reported speech

Restriction Rules: 1. Verbs occuring in <u>Quote</u> <u>Opening</u>
and <u>Quote</u> <u>Closure</u> must be verb
'say' or one in the same semantic
domain.

A <u>Quotation</u> <u>Sentence</u> consists of an optional <u>Quote</u>
<u>Opening</u> manifested by a Clause with an ss verb. (Often
this opening tagmeme does not occur and it is not immed-
iately obvious that the material is a quotation until it
terminates and is followed by the <u>Quote</u> <u>Closure</u>.) An o-
bligatory <u>Quote</u> <u>Base</u> follows which is manifested by any
utterance from a non-clause response to a whole dis-
course. Following the <u>Quote</u> <u>Base</u> an obligatory <u>Quote</u>
<u>Closure</u> occurs which is manifested by a Clause expounded
by the verb <u>te</u> 'say', a verb phrase im which this is one
member or another verb in the same semantic domain. This
latter is rare; but, when it occurs, may include ináao
'ask', aáraa 'call someone', owaaraa 'call out'. It is,
however, much more common for these to occur in con-
junction with <u>te</u>.

<u>Quotation</u> <u>S</u> occurs embedded in <u>Sequence</u> <u>S</u> and prob-
ably in others and in all PARAGRAPH and <u>DISCOURSE</u> types.

Examples:

(1) <u>Quote</u> <u>Base</u>:   éeyo
                             yes

     <u>Quote</u> <u>Closure</u>:   tiren/
                             say-narr-3p
                             '"Yes," she said and...'

(2) <u>Quote</u> <u>Base</u>:   purin   atihkááh   eompó///
                             death   short   be-2p-cert

                        aíne   waraanóo ///
                        quickly take-2p.impv-emph

Quote Closure: tekén //
                        say-Ids-3p

                        '"You will certainly die soon. Take
                        it quickly!" I said...'

(3) Quote Opening: mahtahe **ten** /
                        master   say-nt-3p

    Quote Base: inka   éi   yei intemíno ///
                        finally your day finish-nt-3p-
                                                  3fin-emph

                        intemipó ///
                        finish-nt-3p-cert

                        manteh pá   waa ///
                        Monday just stay-2p.impv

                        tunteh   pá   waa ///
                        Tuesday just stay-2p.impv

                        tarinteh yamúh tihpi ano e
                        Wednesday day ship the dir

                        awirantemíno ///
                        non-1pr-take.along-fut-3p-3fin-emph

Quote Closure: tihkah//
                        say-pst.3ds-1p

                        'The boss said, "Your time is fin-
                        ally finished. It certainly is! Just
                        wait on Monday and Tuesday, and on
                        Wednesday a ship will come and take
                        you." he said ...'

(4) Quote Base: anaati únápe /
                        woman dig.out-nt-2p

                        me   tááriyaatín //
                        dir   prepare-cont- 2ds-3p

                        wáántá e   áhtárú en /
                        man   dir gather be.nt-3p

wáayáá   tinóo ///
talk   say-3p.impv-emph

Quote Closure: miha   tíren /
                 thus   say-narr-3p

                 owaaraaáh   yiyaamíh ///
                 call.out   do-cont-3p-3fin

'Women, you dig out (food) and pre-
pare here; the men gather here, they
must talk!" he spoke thus calling
out.'

1.6 CONDITIONAL SENTENCE

Slots:	+ Condition Base[1-2]	+ Result Base
Fillers:	Clause with ss or ds verb plus -ma 'condition'	Clause Sequence S
Special Features:	-ma may occur on any number of tagmemes in the clause, one is the usual	

Deep Structure: Hypotheticality , Contingency
Restriction Rules: 1. Subject of Condition Base and
                        Result Base may be the same or
                        different.
                    2. If the verb of the first Base is
                        in the neutral tense, the verb
                        of the second Base may be neutral,
                        future or past tense or contin-
                        uative aspect. If the first verb
                        is future then the second is also
                        future. If the first verb is past

tense or continuative or complet-
ive aspect, the second is neutral.

3. Anticipatory subjects of <u>Condi-
tion Base</u> refer to the immediate-
ly following clause of <u>Result
Base</u>.

A <u>Condition Sentence</u> consists of two obligatory tag-
memes. <u>Condition Base</u> is manifested by Clause with ss or
ds verb. One or more tagmemes in this clause occurs with
–<u>ma</u> 'condition', often the first tagmeme. This may be
followed by another, optional, <u>Condition Base</u>. Then fol-
lows the Result Base which is obligatory and manifested
by Clause with ds or final verb or <u>Sequence S</u>.

When the speaker uses a different subject in the
<u>Condition Base</u> than that of the <u>Result Base</u>, he uses a
ds verb for <u>Condition Base</u>; but the conditional suffix
over-rides the ds verb, so that this is no longer the
end of a <u>Sentence</u>, but a Clause dependent upon the fol-
lowing Clause and the whole construction is a <u>Sentence</u>.

<u>Conditional S</u> occurs embedded in <u>Sequence</u> and <u>Reason
S</u>. They occur most often as exponents of SEQUENCE PARA-
GRAPH but may occur in others though there are only
doubtful examples in the present corpus. There are ex-
amples in <u>NARRATIVE</u>, <u>PROCEDURAL</u> and <u>EXPOSITORY</u> <u>DIS-
COURSES</u>.

Examples:

(1) <u>Condition</u>:   yunáán   aminti-má //
                    food   them-give-fut-3ds-cond

     <u>Result</u>:   warantin //
                    take-fut-3ds-3p
                    'if they give them food, they will take
                    (it)...'

(2) Condition: <u>moanih-má</u>   <u>áhtárú</u>   <u>úren</u> /
                 money-cond   gather   be-narr-3p

     Result: <u>kaáintín</u> //
                 put-fut-3ds-3p

                 'if it is money they collect, they will
                 put it ...'

(3) Condition: <u>yún</u>   <u>inti-má</u>   <u>in</u> //
                 dark   be-fut-3ds-cond   be.nt.3ds-3p

     Result: <u>wéi</u>   <u>warupáh</u>   <u>óreráá</u>   <u>úkantíh</u> //
                 their   village-at   go.about   be-fut-3ds-
                                                      1p

                 'When it gets dark they will go to their
                 villages ...'

(4) Condition₁: <u>ááhiketih-má</u> //
                  wait-2ds-1p-cond

     Condition₂: <u>téhi-má</u>   <u>úhtaareh-má</u> /
                  I-cond   prepare-narr-1p-cond

     Result: <u>ááreké</u> //
                 call-nt-1ds-2p

                 <u>érenóo</u> ///
                 come-2p.impv-emph

                 'If you wait, when I prepare I (will)
                 call you (and) you come!'

(5) Condition₁: <u>iyámpo-má</u>   <u>yó</u>   <u>awiren</u> /
                  boy-cond   dir   them-take.along-nt-3p

     Condition₂: <u>iyámpo-má</u>   <u>áauíh</u>   <u>en</u> /
                  boy-cond   dress.up   be.nt-3p

     <u>Result</u>: Sequence <u>S</u>:

           Antecedent₁: <u>máipóhkéh</u>   <u>mahyen</u> /
                         this-ins-from   take.up-nt-3p

Antecedent₂: úmpúh yen /
              suck   do-nt-3p

Consequent: amiyaamíh
              them-give-cont-3p-3fin

              yunáámpín ///
              food-in

'When they initiate the boys, when they
dress them up they take this, suck it
(and) are giving it to them in food.'

1.7 REASON SENTENCE

Slots:	+ Reason Base	+ link	+ Result Base
Fillers:	Clause	maiwan maipah -wan	Clause
Special Features:	ss, ds or nom- inalized verb		

Deep Structure: Efficient Cause

Restriction Rules: 1. Subject of the Reason Base
may be the same or different from
that of the Result Base.
2. Link when maiwan or maipah occurs
as first tagmeme in the Clause
filling the Result Base. When the
link is -wan it occurs suffixed
to a tagmeme in the Clause filling
Reason Base.

Reason Sentence consists of two obligatory tagmemes,
Reason Base and Result Base, joined by an obligatory link.
Reason Base is manifested by Clause with ss, ds or nomin-

alized verb. Then follows the <u>link</u> which is manifested by
<u>maiwan</u> or <u>maipah</u> 'for this reason', 'so'. Occasionally
-<u>wan</u> occurs as the reason link; in which case it is suf-
fixed to a tagmeme in the Clause filling <u>Reason</u> <u>Base</u>.
Finally the <u>Result</u> <u>Base</u> occurs manifested by Clause with
ds or final verb.

    <u>Reason</u> <u>Sentence</u> embeds in <u>Sequence</u> <u>S</u> and occurs in
SEQUENCE PARAGRAPH and all types of <u>DISCOURSE</u>.

Examples:

(1) <u>Reason</u> <u>Base</u>: <u>mihamá</u>   <u>teonawan</u>
                    this-cond say-2p-would

    <u>Link</u>:   <u>máiwán</u>
                    for.this.reason

    <u>Result</u> <u>Base</u>: <u>tihtohaa</u> <u>Awinaakenu</u> <u>ayaaekén</u> //
                    small   Avinakenu them-help-nt-lds
                                          3p

                  'if you would speak (like this), so
                  we (would) help Avinakenu a little...'

(2) <u>Reason</u> <u>Base</u>: <u>mihan</u> <u>ukein</u>
                    thus   be-pst-nom

    <u>Link</u>:   <u>máiwán</u>
                    for.this.reason

    <u>Result</u> <u>Base</u>: <u>nahínáátáh</u>   <u>waanapíno</u> ///
                    what-thing-int stay-int-3p-emph
                  'being like this what remains?'

(3) <u>Reason</u> <u>Base</u>: <u>péepahmá</u>   <u>éena</u>   <u>órenapin</u>
                    before-cond other year-in
                    <u>érawukááhein</u>
                    come.down-pf-nom

    <u>Link</u>:   <u>máiwán</u>
                    for.this.reason

    <u>Result</u> <u>Base</u>: <u>taréhaa</u>   <u>ma</u>   <u>órenapín</u> <u>míyan</u>
                    now   this   year   pay

óhinóo ///
go.up-3p-impv-emph
'Before, in another year, (the pay)
having gone down, so this year it must
go up.'

(4) <u>Reason Base</u>: i   mo   kánááih   úkan //
                        neg   dir   good-vbl   be-pst.3ds-3p

    <u>Link</u>: máiwán
          for.this.reason

    <u>Result Base</u>: anaati   wáántá   minoh   éraketíh //
                 woman   man   all   come.down-2ds-
                                           1p
          'It was not good there, so men and
          women, all of you, come down ...'

(5) <u>Reason Base</u>: wé   apah   ano   akoko-wan
                        his   younger brother   the   fear-reason
                 úren /
                 be-narr-3p

    <u>Result Base</u>: temíh ///
               say-3p-3fin
          'Because he was afraid the younger
          brother spoke.'

(6) <u>Reason Base</u>: Anoónaamá   amíma
                        exchange-cond   them-give-cond
                 náhkaáheoná
                 eat-pf-2p-nom

    <u>Link</u>: máipáh
          for.this.reason

    <u>Result Base</u>: wéhin   amínoóno ///
               them   give-2p.perm-emph
          'Because you ate at the exchange mar-
          riage, you must give them!'

1.8   SIMULTANEOUS SENTENCE

Slots:	+ Simultaneous Base₁	+ Simultaneous Base₂
Fillers:	Clause	Clause Quotation S
Special Features:	verb marked with -ake 'simultaneous'	

Deep Structure: Overlap

Restriction Rules: 1. Subjects of the <u>Bases</u> may be same or different.

2. Verb of the first Base is not marked for ds, but second may be and refers to immediately following clause.

3. Verb of the first <u>Base</u> may occur with -<u>iyaa</u>, 'continuative aspect'.

A <u>Simultaneous</u> <u>Sentence</u> consists of two obligatory <u>Bases</u>. <u>Simultaneous</u> <u>Base₁</u> is manifested by a Clause with simultaneous verb, marked by the suffix -<u>ake</u>. <u>Simultaneous</u> <u>Base₂</u> is manifested by Clause with ds or final verb. The two actions are considered to occur simultaneously.

<u>Simultaneous</u> <u>S</u> has been observed embedded in <u>Sequence</u> <u>S</u> though they may possibly occur in others. In the present corpus they occur as exponents of SEQUENCE and COMPOUND PARALLEL PARAGRAPHS. The examples are all from <u>NARRATIVE</u> <u>DISCOURSE</u>.

Examples:

(1)   <u>Simult</u>₁: áhtárú   iyaah-áke-n /
                gather   be.cont-simult-3p

      <u>Simult</u>₂: yunáánan   átíwiyaamíh ///
                food-for   quarrel-cont-3p-3fin

'While they are gathering together they
are quarrelling about food.'

(2) $\underline{Simult_1}$:   yóh   yen /
                plant do-nt-3p
                waah-áke-n //
                stay-simult-3p

     $\underline{Simult_2}$:   pon ano kókoníh   emíh ///
                pig the many-vbl be.nt-3p-3fin
                'While they continued planting there were
                many pigs.'

(3) $\underline{Simult_1}$:   pahka-áke-n /
                take.hold-simult-3p

     $\underline{Simult_2}$:   Quotation S:
                Quote Base: anaati óno ///
                                 woman   be.2p.impv-emph

                Quote Closure: tíren /
                                 say-narr-3p
                                 'While they took hold of
                                 her they said, "You are a
                                 married woman!"'

(4) $\underline{Simult_1}$:   yon oniya-áke-n /
                dir look-cont-simult-3p

     $\underline{Simult_2}$:   e   áhmaren áná   amonu ún
                dir aloft   bamboo top   dir
                kumámaren /
                sit-narr-3p
                'while he was looking he went up and sat
                on the top of the bamboo and ...'

1.9 NEGATIVE PARAPHRASE SENTENCE

Slots:	+ **Statement**	+ **Paraphrase**
Fillers:	Clause with ss verb	Clause
Special Features:	Negative antonym may occur in either **Base**	

Deep Structure: Negated Antonym
Restriction Rules: 1. The subjects of each **Base** must be the same.
                    2. One **Base** must be negated, but not both.

A **Negative Paraphrase Sentence** consists of two obligatory **Bases**, **Statement** and **Paraphrase** occurring in juxtaposition. Statement is manifested by Clause with **ss** verb and Paraphrase by Clause with **ds** or final verb. The fillers of one tagmeme in both clauses are antonyms, one of which is negated.   In the material analyzed, the only example occurs with neutral tense and both predicates have ss verbs, as the sentence is embedded. The two examples elicited also have neutral tense, but final verb occurs in the Clause of **Paraphrase**.

Negative Paraphrase S occurs embedded in **Reason** S. The one example in the present material occurs as exponent of DESCRIPTIVE DISCOURSE.

Examples:

(1) **Statement:**   téhtin íhyaa apoówah
                      we   neg   acquainted.with
                      úkehipéh/
                      be-pst-Ipl-lp

Paraphrase: amino   eh /
              ignorant be.nt-1p

              'we were not acquainted (with it), we
              were ignorant ...'

(2) Statement: wehi   ihyaa   kaakanih en /
                he   neg   big-vbl   be.nt-3p

      Paraphrase: tihtotih   emih ///
                small-vbl be.nt-3p-3fin

              'He isn't big, he's small.'

(3) Statement: wehi tihtotih   en /
                he   small-vbl be.nt-3p

      Paraphrase: ihyaa   kaakanih   emih ///
                neg   big-vbl   be.nt-3p-3fin

              'He's small, he's not big.'

1.10   FRUSTRATION SENTENCE

Frustration and Warning Sentences do not occur in
the texts examined for this paper. However, some examples
have been heard and a few recorded in the past. At the
present these are all considered to be different; but
may, at a later date when more examples are available, be
united under one heading.

They all occur with the unidentified morpheme, naa
which has been translated either 'would' or 'lest' ac-
cording to context.

1.10.1   Frustration-A Sentence

Slots:	+ Intention	+ Link	+Prevention
Fillers:	Clause	naren	Clause with final verb
Special Features:	verb stem + glottal stop		

Deep Structure: Frustrated Intent

Restriction Rules: 1. The subjects of both <u>Bases</u> are the
                       same.
                    2. Anticipatory subjects do not occur.
                    3. Neutral tense only has been ob-
                       served.
                    4. Negative does not occur.

A <u>Frustration-A</u> <u>Sentence</u> consists of three obliga-
tory tagmemes. <u>Intention</u> <u>Base</u> is manifested by Clause
with verb stem plus glottal stop followed by <u>Link</u> ex-
pounded by <u>naren</u>. This is followed by <u>Prevention</u> <u>Base</u>
manifested by Clause with final verb.

The general meaning is that the action of the first
<u>Base</u> was intended to take place but was frustrated by the
action of the second.

Example:

<u>Intention</u>:   kúrú   úwáraah
                 fence   build

<u>Link</u>:   naren /
                 would

<u>Prevention</u>:   karamúte   ehú ///
                  fence   be.nt-lp-lfin
                  'I would have made the fence (but) I was
                  in jail.'

1.10.2 <u>Frustration-B</u> <u>Sentence</u>

Slots:	+<u>Prevention</u>	+ <u>Intention</u>	+ <u>Terminal</u>
Fillers:	Clause with ss or ds verb	Clause with modified verb	naremih

Deep Structure: Frustrated Ability

Restriction Rules: 1. The subjects of the two <u>Bases</u> are
the same or different.

2. Anticipatory subject occurs on the
<u>Prevention</u> <u>Base</u> and indicates the
subject of the <u>Intention</u> <u>Base</u>.

3. The negative may occur with the
<u>Prevention</u> <u>Base</u>. (Further inves-
tigation may show that the negat-
ive may occur with one or the
other, but not with both.)

A <u>Frustration-B</u> <u>Sentence</u> consists of three obliga-
tory tagmemes. <u>Prevention</u> <u>Base</u> is manifested by Clause
with ss or ds verb. This is followed by <u>Intention</u> <u>Base</u>
manifested by Clause with a modified verb, either stem
plus glottal stop or stem plus continuative aspect suffix
plus glottal stop. Then follows <u>naremih</u> which looks like
a final verb, that is, <u>naa</u> + <u>re</u> + <u>m</u> + <u>ih</u>, verb stem plus
narrative aspect, plus third person subject, plus third
person final.

The general meaning of this <u>Sentence</u> type is that
if the action of the <u>Prevention</u> <u>Base</u> had not happened,
the action of the <u>Intention</u> <u>Base</u> would have occurred.

Examples:

(1) <u>Prevention</u>: kiyaahpe   ihyaa   érikaáreintih //
                    kiap   neg   come-pf-narr-?-3ds-1p

    <u>Intention</u>: pá   tiruwiyaáh
                  just   1pr-fight-cont-glottal

    <u>Terminal</u>: naremíh ///
                 would-narr-3p-3fin
                 'If the kiap hadn't come we would
                 still be fighting.'

The following example was elicited:

(2) **Prevention**: téhi ihyaa karamúte uhkaáreh /
I not jail be-pf-narr-lp

Intention: kúrú uwáraah
fence make-glottal

Terminal: naremíh ///
would-narr-3p-3fin

1.11 WARNING SENTENCE

Slots:	+ **Warning**	+ **Link**	+ **Command**
Fillers:	Clause	-naapo 'lest'	Clause with final verb in imperative mode

Deep Structure: Warning
Restriction Rules: 1. Subjects of two **Bases** may be different.
2. Verb in Clause of **Command Base** is in imperative mode.

A **Warning Sentence** consists of three obligatory tagmemes. **Warning Base** is manifested by a Clause with verb suffixed with -**naapo** "lest", the obligatory **Link**. This is followed by **Command Base** which is manifested by Clause with final verb in the imperative mood.

There being only one example the rules may need revising at a later date.

Example:

Warning: erawinaápo
fall.down-lest

Command: kaáó ///
put-2p.impv

'Lest it fall down, put it (down)!'

2   PARAGRAPH

An Agarabi PARAGRAPH has been defined as a construction at a level in the grammatical hierarchy between <u>Sentence</u> and <u>DISCOURSE</u>. It consists of BASE manifested by a <u>Sentence</u> whose minimum exponent is Clause with independent verb, falling intonation and major pause. Except for SIMPLE PARAGRAPH, this BASE is preceded by BASE/S manifested by <u>Sentence</u> whose minimum exponent is Clause with ds verb.

The last verb of an embedded PARAGRAPH changes its form to suit the pattern of what it is embedded in. If the PARAGRAPH is exponent of non-final PARAGRAPH BASE the verb is a ds verb.

A COMPOUND PARAGRAPH consists of two or more BASES manifested by SIMPLE PARAGRAPHS whose minimum exponents are Clauses with independent verbs. The over-all subject or theme of the Paragraph is the same and some major tagmeme in the final Clause of each BASE are identical or a part of the whole. In most cases it is the subject which is the same or, in a few cases, the subject of one verb is multiple and subject of the other/s a portion of that group. In the case of COMPOUND CONTRAST PARAGRAPH and COMPOUND PARALLEL PARAGRAPH it is some other tagmeme of the component <u>Sentences</u> that is the same, such as the object.

A speaker may choose to use either <u>Sentence</u> or PARAGRAPH constructions. If he is speaking of identical subjects and wishes to use a PARAGRAPH construction, he uses a COMPOUND PARAGRAPH. This seems to be most common in <u>DESCRIPTIVE</u> <u>DISCOURSES</u> where the information is new or unknown to the hearer. There are a few concepts which are only expressed in PARAGRAPH constructions so, if the sub-

jects are different, a PARAGRAPH is used and, if the sub-
jects are the same, a COMPOUND PARAGRAPH is used.

2.1 SIMPLE PARAGRAPH

A SIMPLE PARAGRAPH consists of one BASE manifested
by a Simple, Sequence, Amplification, Simultaneous, Cond-
itional or Quote Sentence with independent verb. Others
may also occur but were not found in the material being
analyzed.

SIMPLE PARAGRAPHS embed in COMPOUND PARAGRAPHS. They
are also exponents of NARRATIVE, PROCEDURAL and EXPOSI-
TORY DISCOURSE tagmemes.

Examples:

(1) Simple Sentence: míhan   úkemíh ///
                         thus   be-pst-3p-3fin
                         'Its like that.'

(2) Simple Sentence: úraran   ano   kókoníh   úkemíh ///
                         animal   the   many-vbl   be-pst-3p-
                                                    3fin
                         'There are many animals.'

(3) Simple Sentence: wáántá   anaati   pára   awetaraa
                         man   woman   just   tired
                         iyaapóno ///
                         be.cont-2p.int-emph
                         'Men and women, why are you
                         tired?'

(4) Sequence Sentence: Unaantumpáh   órinóno ///
                         Unantu-at   go-2p.perm-emph

                         máiwán   pára   wéankáán
                         for.this.reason   just   they.all

katéreóno ///
deceive-nt-2p-emph

máha   tíren /
thus   say-narr-3p

Tóhonke   wénááhkáh   é
Sohonke   he-only   dir

awiren /
non-lpr-take.along-nt-3p

éhi   warumá   apoówah
you   village-cond   know

úhkeóna   mái   anihetíh//
be-pst-2p-nom   this   show-2ds-lp

onááno ///
see-lp.perm-emph

máha   tíren /
thus   say-narr-3p

ó   awiren/
dir   non-lpr-take.along-nt-3p

óremíh ///
go-nt-3p-3fin

'"You may go to Unantu. So you
just deceive them all," they said
and took only Sohonke along, "You
know the village (so) you can
show us and we'll see." they said
and went taking him along.'

(5) Simultaneous Sentence: wááháken /
                              stay-simult-3p

                              inoóriyaamíh ///
                              grow-cont-3p-3fin

                              'While they remain (there)
                              they grow up.'

(6) <u>Conditional</u> <u>Sentence</u>: Anaatimá   áárintá   apowaa
                                        woman–cond   girl   old.
                                                                 woman

                                        kánááih   en /
                                        good–vbl   be.nt–3p

                                        matiyan   en /
                                        share   be.nt–3p

                                        waremíh ///
                                        take–nt–3p–3fin

                                        'If the women, girls and old
                                        women can, they share and take
                                        it.'

(7) <u>Amplification</u> <u>Sentence</u>: míha   ten /
                                           this   say–nt–3p

                                           inuhpáh   owaaremíh ///
                                           afternoon   call.out–nt–3p–
                                                        3fin

                                           'He said this, in the after-
                                           noon he called (it) out.'

2.2 SEQUENCE PARAGRAPH

Slots:	+ BU$_1$	+BU^n
Fillers:	<u>Simple</u> <u>S</u> <u>Sequence</u> <u>S</u> <u>Quote</u> <u>S</u> <u>Simultaneous</u> <u>S</u> <u>Reason</u> <u>S</u> <u>Parallel</u> <u>S</u> <u>Conditional</u> <u>S</u> <u>Amplification</u> <u>S</u>	<u>Simple</u> <u>S</u> <u>Sequence</u> <u>S</u> <u>Quote</u> <u>S</u> <u>Simultaneous</u> <u>S</u> <u>Reason</u> <u>S</u> <u>Parallel</u> <u>S</u> <u>Conditional</u> <u>S</u> <u>Amplification</u> <u>S</u> AMPLIFICATION PAR

Deep Structure: Succession

Restriction Rules: 1. The subject of the first clause of
                        each BU is different from the sub-
                        ject of the final clause of the
                        preceding BU except where the verb
                        of the first clause is a repeti-
                        tion of the verb of the final
                        clause of the preceding PARAGRAPH.
                        (Occasionally such a repetition
                        occurs in mid-paragraph; but
                        usually at the beginning.)
                     2. Tenses are mainly neutral. When
                        other tenses occur their meanings
                        carry back through the preceding
                        string of ss neutral tense verbs.

A SEQUENCE PARAGRAPH consists of at least two BUs,
n = 1-21; up to nine BUs have been observed in the corpus
in NARRATIVE DISCOURSES. In PROCEDURAL DISCOURSES 22 BUs
have been observed. At present there seems no other dif-
ference in the PARAGRAPHS to warrant setting up two types.
The above listed Sentence types have been observed, ex-
cept that Simultaneous and Reason S are merely assumed to
be possible in this position. Others may also be possible
in either position but do not occur in the present corpus.
The predicate of the final Clause must contain an indep-
endent verb.

SEQUENCE PARAGRAPHS occur as primary exponents of
NARRATIVE and PROCEDURAL DISCOURSES.

Examples:

(1) BU$_1$:   Simple S: pára   kumantekén //
                            just   sit-nt-Ids-3p

    BU$_2$:   Simple S: káá   kemíh ///
                            light   shine-nt-3p-3fin

'I just sat until dawn.'

(2) BU₁: <u>Simple S</u>: káá   káhkan //
                          light   shine-pst.3ds-3p

   BU₂: <u>Sequence S</u>: aum waáren /
                          eye sleep-narr-3p

                          owaariyaamih ///
                          call.out-cont-3p-3fin

                          '(After) it dawned they slept and
                          (now) are calling out.'

(3) BU₁: <u>Simple S</u>: erihkah //
                          come-pst.3ds-1p

   BU₂: <u>Sequence S</u>: tinúh   yúreh /
                          1pr-startle   do-narr-1p

                          é   mánteh /
                          dir   rise-nt-1p

                          unaan   kapinaa   aman
                          string.bag   bark.skirt   take.up
                          úreh /
                          be.nt-1p

                          erekén //
                          come-nt-1ds-3p

   BU₃: <u>Simple S</u>: óná   ánkámemih ///
                          door   it-hit-nt-3p-3fin

                          'They came (and) I was scared and
                          got up, dressed and came (and) they
                          knocked on the door.'

(4) BU₁: <u>Sequence S</u>: tihkaan /
                          cut-pf-3p

                          áhtárú   úren /
                          gather   be-narr-3p

                          yáá   enaa   ánkáman   me
                          tree   leaf   hit-nom   dir

<div style="text-align: right">

kaaín //
put-3ds-3p

</div>

BU₂: <u>Simple S</u>: maahnaáún   áátáh   káwin //
                      house-inside   sun-on   dry-cpl-3ds-
                                                      3p

BU₃: <u>Sequence S</u>: irá   aihaan   kaáúh   yen /
                        firewood   gather-nom   put   do-nt-
                                                                   3p

                        kókon   wíyon   óriyaan /
                        many   moon   go-cont-3p

                        umá   kurinain   mái   yánááh
                        salt-cond   cook-thing   this   thing
                        ámán   kaaín //
                        take.up-nom   put-3ds-3p

BU₄: <u>Simult. S</u>: maahnaáúmpín   waaháken /
                        house-inside-in   stay-simult-3p

                        áátáh   káwin //
                        sun-on   dry-cpl-3ds-3p

BU₅: <u>Sequence S</u>: áahma   kein   máih   yamúh
                        sun-cond   shine-nom   this   day
                        maah   uwáh   yen /
                        house   make   do-nt-3p

                        máipín   tááriyaamíh ///
                        this-in   prepare-cont-3p-3fin

'They cut and gather and (then) put
the leaves they have beaten (and)
it dries completely in the house;
(then) they gather firewood (and)
do this many months and the salt
which is cooking they take and put
it; while it is in the house it
dries completely and, on a day when
the sun shines, they build a house
and are preparing in this.'

(5) BU₁: <u>**Parallel**</u> <u>S</u>   úhpín   manaahaa   káákan   úraran
                     bush-in   one-part   big   animal

                     wáhkan //
                     stay-pst-3ds-3p

                     nómpín   manaahaa   úraran
                     water-in   one-part   animal

                     wáhkan //
                     stay-pst.3ds-3p

                     míhan   úhkan //
                     thus   be-pst.3ds-3p

   BU₂: <u>**Sequence**</u> <u>S</u>:   manaahaa   úraran   áyún   pahken /
                          one-part   animal   seed   take.hold-
                                                     nt-3p

                     awínen /
                     them-tend-nt-3p

                     kaáín /
                     put-3ds-3p

                     waah . iyaamíh ///
                     stay   cont-3p-3fin (habit)

                     'In the bush there are some big
                     animals; in the water there are
                     some animals; its like that. They
                     take the seed of some animals and
                     tend them, put them and they re-
                     main.'

(6) BU₁: <u>**Conditional**</u> <u>S</u>:   móanihmá   áhtárú   úren /
                         money-cond   gather   be-narr-3p

                     kaáíntin //
                     put-fut-3ds-3p

   BU₂: <u>**Sequence**</u> <u>S</u>:   waren /
                          take-nt-3p

                     wúrimakaaután   yotíntemíh ///
                     cattle-for   search-fut-3p-
                                     3fin

'When they gather the money they will put it (and others) will take it and search for a cow.'

(7) BU₁: <u>Amplification</u> <u>S</u>:   <u>un</u>   <u>waah</u> /
dir   stay-1p

<u>káán</u>   <u>tááraréh</u>   <u>intarekén</u> //
two   Saturday   finish-narr-
lds-3p

   BU₂: <u>Sequence</u> <u>S</u>:   <u>máiráh</u>   <u>kaari</u>   <u>ano</u>
then   car   the

<u>tiwiren</u> /
1pr-take.along-nt-3p

<u>kainantumpáh</u>   <u>moruh</u>
Kainantu-at   put.there

<u>yah</u> //
do-3ds-1p

<u>érehú</u> ///
come-nt-1p-1fin

'I spent two weeks there (and) then a car took me and put me at Kainantu and I came.'

(8) BU₁: <u>Amplification</u> <u>S</u>:
Generic: <u>Simple</u> <u>S</u>: <u>orerúhna</u>   <u>yáwaaúroh</u>
go-bit.by.bit-nom Rabaul

<u>mo</u>   <u>manaa</u>   <u>tááraréh</u>
dir   one   Saturday

<u>árúrehkún</u> //
spend-narr-lds-3p

   Specific: <u>Parallel</u>   <u>manteh</u>   <u>waah</u> /
         <u>S</u>:   Monday   stay-1p

<u>tunteh</u>   <u>waah</u> /
Tuesday   stay-1p

<u>tarinteh</u>   <u>waah</u> /
Wednesday   stay-1p

<div style="text-align:right">

ponteh   pá   waah /
Thursday   just   stay-1p

</div>

BU2: AMPLIFICATION. PAR:

   THEME: Simple S:

   paraanteh   áåhkúráh   tihpi
   Friday   morning   ship

   eréin   é
   come-nom   dir

   tiwirah //
   1pr-take.along-3ds-1p

   AMPLIFICATION
   BASE: Simple S:

   toru   waarapín   óriyaah
   salt   water-in   go-cont-1p

   óriyaah //
   go-cont-1p

BU3: Simple S:

   inuhpáh   airaanipín
   afternoon   island-in

   mutohkáh   mó   kaáih //
   Mutoh-on   dir   put-3ds-1p

BU4: Sequence S:

   yoriyaah   waah /
   work-cont-1p   stay-1p

   máipáhkéh   ínteh /
   this-at-from   finish-nt-1p

   érehú ///
   come-nt-1p-1fin

'As I was going I spent a
week at Rabaul; I stayed
Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday
and Thursday and on Friday
morning a ship coming, took
me along, and we were going
and going on the salt water
and (then) in the afternoon
it put me on an island, Muso;
and I was working there, fin-
ished there and came.'

(9) BU₁: <u>Sequence</u> <u>S</u>:

yunáán   unáh   yen /
food   dig.out   do-nt-3p

tááh   yen /
prepare   do-nt-3p

yanon   woóren /
mumu   bake-narr-3p

káwé   kúh   yen /
clay.pot   cook   do-nt-3p

ánápín   tápo   kúh   yan //
bamboo-in   greens   cook   do-3ds-3p

BU₂: <u>Quote</u> <u>S</u>:

inaaru   tian   ten /
sky   say-nom   say-nt-3p

wanááan   karuhyáretín //
spill.out-nom   throw.away-narr-
               2ds-3p

yunáán   apé   intin //
food   abundant   be-fut-3ds-3p

nánoóno ///
eat-2p.perm-emph

tíren /
say-narr-3p

BU₃: <u>Sequence</u> <u>S</u>:

áátárema   yóh   yákein
later-cond   plant   do-pst-nom

máipíntéh   mínoh   yunáán
this-in-from   all   food

unáh   yen /
dig.out   do-nt-3p

mah   yamúh   wáántá   anaati
that   day   man   woman

káákan   yunáán   tááh   yen /
big   food   prepare   do-nt-3p

yáá   enáá   máh   yen /
tree   leaf   take.up   do-nt-3p

mairah   uwíh   yen /
then   spread   do-nt-3p

áná   ayóhan   meériyaán /
bamboo   empty-nom   put.here-cont-3p

káwé   ayóhan   meériyaán /
clay.pot   empty-nom   put.here-cont-
                         3p

úren /
be-narr-3p

manaa   wáántá   ano   owááren /
one   man   the   call.out-nt-3p

temíh ///
say-nt-3p-3fin

'They dig out food, prepare it,
make a mumu, cook in clay pots,
cook greens in bamboo (and then)
the sky told them, "Throw away what
was spilled out. The food will be
abundant and you may eat," they
said and, later, from among the
things planted all kinds of food
were dug out and on that day the
people prepared a big meal; they
took leaves and spread them there
and put the emptied bamboo and the
emptied clay pot here and one man
called out and spoke.'

2.3   QUOTE PARAGRAPH

Slots:	+ QUOTE	+ QUOTE FORMULA
Fillers:	any <u>Sentence</u> any PARAGRAPH any DISCOURSE	Clause with final verb <u>Simple S</u> <u>Sequence S</u> <u>Reason S</u> <u>Amplification S</u>

Deep Structure: Reporting

Restriction Rules: 1. The subject of the QUOTE FORMULA
may be the same or different from
subject/s of the quoted speech.
2. Any tense may occur in the quoted
speech; neutral tense occurs most
often in the QUOTE FORMULA.

A QUOTE PARAGRAPH consists of two obligatory tag-
memes, QUOTE followed by QUOTE FORMULA. Any kind of <u>Sen-
tence</u>, PARAGRAPH, and, I think, any <u>DISCOURSE</u>, may occur
in the QUOTE. The QUOTE FORMULA is more restricted, most
often consisting of a Clause with a speech verb or a verb
phrase of two close-knit speech verbs. In nearly all
cases one of the verbs is <u>te</u> 'say'; this is normally pre-
ceded by <u>miha</u> 'thus'. Tenses and subjects may be the same
or different in the two tagmemes. QUOTE PARAGRAPHS occur
in all <u>DISCOURSE</u> types.

Examples:

(1) QUOTE: <u>Simple S</u>:   <u>mapah</u>   <u>éraanóo</u> ///
                          here-at   come.down-2p.impv-emph

     QUOTE   Simple S: <u>tiyaamíh</u> ///
     FORMULA: say-cont-3p-3fin
                         'He is saying, "Come down here!"'

(2) QUOTE: <u>Sequence</u> <u>S</u>:   éretíh //
                                       come-2ds-1p

                                    wáàyáá   teéno ///
                                    talk   say-1p.perm-emph

      QUOTE FORMULA: <u>Amplification</u> <u>S</u>:
                     <u>Generic</u>:   miha   ten /
                                    thus   say-nt-3p

                     <u>Specific</u>: owaariyaamíh ///
                                    call.out-cont-3p-3fin

                                    '"You come and I may say some-
                                    thing," he said calling out.'

(3) QUOTE: <u>Sequence</u> <u>S</u>:

            <u>Antecedent</u>: <u>Reason</u> <u>S</u>:

                <u>Reason</u> <u>Base</u>:   téhtimpín   manaa   aú
                                    us-in   one   bad

                                    wááhin //
                                    stay-3ds-3p

                <u>Result</u> <u>Base</u>:   kateéh   yen /
                                    deceive   do-nt-3p

            <u>Consequent</u>: <u>Simple</u> <u>S</u>:
                                    karawúten   tiwirántemíno///
                                    gaol   1pr-take.along-
                                    fut-3p-3fin-emph

      QUOTE FORMULA: <u>Sequence</u> <u>S</u>:   miha   teh /
                                            thus   say-nt-1p

                                    inehú ///
                                    hear-nt-1p-1fin

                                    '"There is trouble among us
                                    (so) they deceive us and
                                    will take us to jail," I
                                    said and listened.'

(4) QUOTE: <u>Simple</u> <u>S</u>: yunáánámáh   móanihnámáh   íhyaa
                                 food-with   money-with   neg

                                 kánááih   úkemíno ///
                                 good-vbl be-pst-3p-3fin

QUOTE   <u>Amplification</u> <u>S</u>:
FORMULA:
               Generic: míha   ten /
                         thus   say-nt-3p

               Specific: átiwoónowan   tíah   yiyaamíh ///
                         scold-desid   say   do-cont-3p-
                                                3fin

               '"The food and money was not enough,"
               he said; wanting to scold them he
               was speaking.'

2.4 AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

Slots:	+ THEME	+ AMP BASE$_1$	± AMP BASE$_2$	± SUMMARY
Fillers:	<u>Simple</u> <u>S</u>	<u>Simple</u> <u>S</u> <u>Parallel</u> <u>S</u> COMPOUND PARALLEL PARAGRAPH AMP PAR	<u>Simple</u> <u>S</u>	<u>Simple</u> <u>S</u> COMPOUND PARALLEL PARAGRAPH

Deep Structure: Amplification
Restriction Rules: 1. Subject of THEME may be the same
                       or different than subject of AMP
                       BASE/S.

                    2. Verbs occur with neutral tense or
                       continuative or habitual aspects.

An AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH consists of two obliga-
tory tagmemes, THEME followed by AMPLIFICATION BASE$_1$.
These are optionally followed by AMPLIFICATION BASE$_2$ and/

or SUMMARY. THEME may be a general statement to be en-
larged or a formulaic statement like <u>mihan</u> <u>ten</u> 'it was
like that' which may link the PARAGRAPH to what preceded
it.

There are not many clear examples in the present
material, but they have been observed to occur in <u>NARRA-
TIVE</u>, <u>PROCEDURAL</u> and <u>EXPOSITORY</u> <u>DISCOURSES</u>.

Examples:

(1) THEME: <u>Simple</u> <u>S</u>:   <u>paraanteh</u>   <u>áahkúráh</u>   <u>tihpi</u>   <u>érein</u>
                        Friday   morning   ship   come-
                                                        nom

                        é   tiwirah //
                        dir Ipr-take.along-3ds-lp

    AMP BASE$_1$: <u>Simple</u> <u>S</u>:   <u>toru</u>   <u>waarapín</u>   <u>óriyaah</u>
                             salt   water-in   go-cont-lp

                             <u>óriyaah</u> /
                             go-cont-lp

                             'Friday morning a ship coming it
                             took me and I was going and going
                             on the salt water ...'

(2) THEME: <u>Simple</u> <u>S</u>:   <u>iyámpon</u>   <u>mó</u>   <u>úpayanih</u>
                        boy   dir   nose.stick.ceremony-
                                         vbl

                        <u>en</u> /
                        be.nt-3p

    AMP BASE$_1$: <u>Simple</u> <u>S</u>:   <u>atihpen</u>   <u>máipóhkéh</u>
                             nose-in   this-ins-from

                             <u>máh</u>   <u>yen</u> /
                             take.up   do-nt-3p

    AMP BASE$_2$: <u>Simple</u> <u>S</u>:   <u>win</u>   <u>úmpúh</u>   <u>yen</u> /
                             ginger   suck   do-nt-3p

    SUMMARY: <u>Simple</u> <u>S</u>:   <u>úpayanih</u>
                             nose.stick.ceremony-vbl

                             <u>úantiyaamíh</u> ///
                             be-bene-cont-3p-3fin

'They have the nose-sticking
ceremony for the boys there;
they put this in the nose, they
suck ginger, they are having
the ceremony for them.'

(3) THEME: <u>Simple</u> <u>S</u>:   míhan   ten /
                                    thus   be.like-nt-3p

    AMP BASE$_1$:

        AMPLIFICATION PAR:

            THEME: <u>Simple</u> <u>S</u>:   waruráh   mé   kaáúh
                                                       village-on   dir   put

                                                       yan //
                                                       do-3ds-3p

        AMP BASE$_1$: COMPOUND PARALLEL PAR:

            PARALLEL BASE$_1$: <u>Simple</u> <u>S</u>:

                    kaánkánán   kaari   kaákan
                                                           two   car   big

                                                           kánán   éremíh ///
                                                           two   come-nt-3p-3fin

            PARALLEL BASE$_2$: <u>Simple</u> <u>S</u>:

                    tíhtoh   yamaanaahpáh
                                                           small   five

                                                           éremíh ///
                                                           come-nt-3p-3fin

            'It was like that; they put them
                                                           at the village. Two big cars came.
                                                           Five small ones came.'

(4) THEME: <u>Simple</u> <u>S</u>;   míhan   tukan //
                                    thus   be.like-pst.3ds-3p

    AMP BASE$_1$: <u>Parallel</u> <u>S</u>:

        <u>Parallel</u>$_1$:   kaákantáh   yo   ayuah
                                         big-on   dir   shed

$$\frac{\text{yen}}{\text{do-nt-3p}} /$$

Parallel$_2$: $\frac{\text{tíhtoh}}{\text{small}}$ $\frac{\text{yo}}{\text{dir}}$ $\frac{\text{ayuah}}{\text{shed}}$ $\frac{\text{yen}}{\text{do-nt-3p}} /$

Parallel$_3$: $\frac{\text{ayaah}}{\text{long}}$ $\frac{\text{ayuah}}{\text{shed}}$ $\frac{\text{yen}}{\text{do-nt-3p}} /$

Parallel$_4$: $\frac{\text{atihkááh}}{\text{short}}$ $\frac{\text{ayuah}}{\text{shed}}$ $\frac{\text{yen}}{\text{do-nt-3p}} /$

Summary: $\frac{\text{úkan}}{\text{be-pst-3ds-3p}} //$

AMP BASE$_2$: COMPOUND PARALLEL PARAGRAPH:

PARALLEL BASE$_1$: $\frac{\text{atihkááh}}{\text{short}}$ $\frac{\text{awih}}{\text{non.lpr-name}}$

$\frac{\text{wayumpaateen}}{\text{Bayumpasen}}$

$\frac{\text{teh.iyaamíh}}{\text{say cont-3p-3fin (habit)}} ///$

PARALLEL BASE$_2$: $\frac{\text{ayaah}}{\text{long}}$ $\frac{\text{waarin}}{\text{eel}}$ $\frac{\text{awih}}{\text{non.lpr-}}$
name

$\frac{\text{nonarikane}}{\text{Nonarikane}}$

$\frac{\text{teh.iyaamíh}}{\text{say cont-3p-3fin (habit)}} ///$

'Its like that. The big ones shed; the
little ones shed; the long ones shed; the
short ones shed; its so. The name of the
short one is 'Bayumpasen'. The name of the
long eel is 'Nonarikane'.'

2.5 COMPOUND AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

Slots:	+ THEME	+ AMP BASE$_1$	± AMP BASE$_2$
Fillers:	SIMPLE PAR	SIMPLE PAR	SIMPLE PAR

Deep Structure: Amplification

Restriction Rules: 1. Subjects are the same or THEME has
multiple subject and AMP BASE/S
refer to parts of that whole.

2. Verbs occur with neutral tense or
continuative or habitual aspects.

A COMPOUND AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH consists of two
obligatory tagmemes, THEME followed by AMPLIFICATION
BASE$_1$. These are optionally followed by AMPLIFICATION
BASE$_2$. No SUMMARY has been observed for this PARAGRAPH
type. Each BASE is manifested by SIMPLE PARAGRAPH. Two
examples occur in EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE and the others in
NARRATIVE DISCOURSE.

Examples:

(1) THEME: manaahaa   aunááh   wéhwéh   úkeín
                 one-part   face   very.good   be-pst-nom
                 úráran   waamih ///
                 animal   stay-3p-3fin

     AMP BASE$_1$:   inoókeín   waamih ///
                      grow-pst-nom   stay-3p-3fin

                  'There are some animals with very good
                  faces. Growing up they remain.'

(2) THEME: káakan   non   ankinaapáh   manaahaa
                 big   water   area-at   one-part
                 úráran   áraa.aráá   úráran   inoókemíh ///
                 animal   all.kinds   animal   grow-pst-3p-
                                                3fin

AMP BASE₁: náárareh   wáántái   wararáh   inoóran
            red   man-poss ground-on grow-nom

            waamíh ///
            stay-3p-3fin

AMP BASE₂: kámáá   úkein   wéhwéh   úkein
            good   be-pst-nom   very.good   be-pst-nom

            úráran   waamíh ///
            animal   stay-3p-3fin

            'Near the big water some animals, all
            kinds, grow. They live on the red man's
            ground. Good animals, very good animals,
            live there.'

(3) THEME:.   míhan   túkemíh ///
               thus   be.like-pst-3p-3fin

     AMP BASE₁: ún   kúrin   awúh.awaah   wááyáá
                 salt   cook-nom   custom   talk

                 máihaaíh ///
                 this-vbl

                 'It was like that. This is talk about
                 the custom of making salt.'

(4) THEME: tíhtohaa   kúrú   úwámáken /
              small-part   fence   make-pst-3p

              máipín   yunáán   yoremíh ///
              this-in   food   plant-nt-3p-3fin

     AMP BASE₁: áraa.aráá   awihpíntéh   awihpíntéh
                 all.kinds   name-in-from   name-in-from

                 yoremíh ///
                 plant-nt-3p-3fin

                 'They made a small fence and planted
                 food in it. They planted some from all
                 kinds of food.'

2.6   REASON-RESULT PARAGRAPH

Slots:	+ REASON BASE	± LINK	+ RESULT BASE
Fillers:	SIMPLE PAR	maipah	Quote S SIMPLE PAR REASON-RESULT PAR AMPLIFICATION PAR
Special Features:	BASES may occur in either order		

Deep Structure: Efficient Cause

Restriction Rules: 1. Subjects may be the same or dif-
                        ferent.

                     2. Tenses may vary.

                     3. BASES occur in either order.

A REASON-RESULT PARAGRAPH consists of two obligatory
tagmemes, REASON BASE and RESULT BASE, occurring in
either order. The linking word <u>maipah</u> 'so' may occur at
the beginning of the RESULT BASE. There are not many ex-
amples in the present corpus and only one follows the
normal pattern for PARAGRAPHS , of independent verb oc-
curring only on the final Clause of the final BASE. The
other two have independent verbs on both BASES, but do
not have the same subjects. However, they hang together
and I think should be treated as PARAGRAPHS.

REASON RESULT PARAGRAPHS occur in <u>NARRATIVE</u>, <u>HORTA-</u>
<u>TORY</u> and <u>EXPOSITORY</u> <u>DISCOURSES.</u>

Examples:

(1)   RESULT BASE: <u>Quote</u> <u>S</u>:   <u>Quote</u> <u>Base</u>:

                                 <u>míhan</u> <u>úkeín</u>   <u>máiwan</u>   <u>nahinaatáh</u>
                                   thus be-pst-nom reason what-int

                                   <u>waanapíno</u> ///
                                   stay-int-3fin-emph

Quote Formula:

míha   ten /
thus   say-nt-3p

REASON BASE: SIMPLE PAR:

aminó   eh .   iyaamíh ///
ignorant be.nt   cont-3p-3fin (habit)

'"Its like this, so what is there?"
they say and are always ignorant.'

(2) REASON BASE: Simple S:

péepáh   Wáárah   wáántá   yunáán
before   Barapa   man   food

amikáámih ///   wurimakaaúh-
them-give-pf-3p-3fin   cattle-

námah
with

LINK: máipáh
          so

RESULT BASE: REASON-RESULT PAR:

REASON BASE: anoóna   waayan   wan
               in.return   noon   stay-nom

               yamúh   ameénowan /
               day   them-give-desid

RESULT BASE: Amplification S:

taré   inúran   áhtárú   en /
now   night   gather   be.nt-3p

anaati   wáántá   móanih
woman   man   money

áhtárú iyaamíh ///
gather be.cont-3p-3fin

'Previously the Barapa men gave food
with meat. So on some rest day they
(Punano people) want to give to them
in return; they gathered last night,
the men and women are gathering money.'

2.7 COMPOUND CONTRAST PARAGRAPH

Slots:	+ THESIS	+ ANTITHESIS
Fillers:	SIMPLE PAR AMPLIFICATION PAR REASON-RESULT PAR	SIMPLE PAR AMPLIFICATION PAR REASON-RESULT PAR

Deep Structure: Contrast
Restriction Rules: 1. Subjects are different.
2. Tenses in the present corpus are neutral, the verbs being stative or habituative.
3. Either a negative or an antonym occurs in ANTITHESIS.

A COMPOUND CONTRAST PARAGRAPH consists of two oblig-atory tagmemes, THESIS and ANTHESIS. The THESIS is a statement and ANTITHESIS makes a contrasting statement. Either a negative or an antonym occurs in the predicate of ANTHESIS. Each BASE may be filled by SIMPLE, AMPLIFI-CATION or REASON-RESULT PARAGRAPH.

Only two examples have been identified in the mat-erial analyzed; both occurred in EXPOSITORY (DESCRIP-TIVE) DISCOURSE.

Examples:

(1) THESIS: SIMPLE PAR: Simple S:

éena   warupáh   téhti   i
other   village-at   we   neg

oóntehipená   úráran   manaahaa
see-pst-1pl-nom   animal   one-part

waaín   káákan   úráran   waamíh ///
stay-nom   big   animal   stay-3p-3fin

ANTITHESIS: AMPLIFICATION PAR:

> THEME:
> | iyón | wáráráh | ihyaa | máhan |
> |------|---------|-------|-------|
> | cold | ground-on | neg | thus |
>
> | ten // |
> |--------|
> | be.like-nt-3p |

> AMP BASE:
> | raaion | waain | máha |
> |--------|-------|------|
> | lion | stay-nom | thus |
>
> | awúh.awaahkáh | i | waamíh /// |
> |---------------|---|-----------|
> | custom-on | neg | stay-3p-3fin |

'In places we haven't seen where some
animals live there are big animals. Its
not like this in cold country; its not
like this where lions live.'

(2) THESIS: REASON-RESULT PAR:

> REASON:
> | iyón | wáráráh | inooranainá |
> |------|---------|-------------|
> | cold | ground-on | grow-thing-nom |
>
> | námú | en / |
> |------|------|
> | bad | be-nt-3p |

> RESULT:
> | tíhtotíh | úkemíh /// |
> |----------|-----------|
> | small-vbl | be-pst-3p-3fin |

ANTITHESIS: REASON-RESULT PAR:

> REASON:
> | múhmúh | wáráráh | kámáá | en / |
> |--------|---------|-------|------|
> | warm | ground-on | good | be.nt-3p |

> RESULT:
> | minoh | úráran | kaaín |
> |-------|--------|-------|
> | all | animal | put-nom |
>
> | waamíh /// |
> |-----------|
> | stay-3p-3fin |

'Cold country is bad for growing
things, they are small. Warm
country is good, all animals born
there survive.'

2.8   COMPOUND NEGATIVE PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH

Slots:	+ STATEMENT BASE	+ PARAPHRASE BASE
Fillers:	SIMPLE PAR	SIMPLE PAR

Deep Structure: Negated Antonym
Restriction Rules: 1. Subjects are the same.
                     2. Negative must occur in one BASE.

A COMPOUND NEGATIVE PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH consists of two obligatory BASES, STATEMENT and PARAPHRASE. A negative must occur in one BASE. I have only one example in the present corpus which occurs in a DESCRIPTIVE DIS-COURSE. The tenses in each BASE of this example are past, but I do not think this would be required.

Example:

STATEMENT: SIMPLE PAR:

nómpintéh   úráran   úhpintéh
water-in-from animal   bush-in-from
úráran   ihyaa   inoókemíh ///
animal   neg   grow-pst-3p-3fin

PARAPHRASE: SIMPLE PAR:

tíhtotíh   anáá   úkemíh ///
small-vbl   only   be-pst-3p-3fin

'Animals from the water and from the bush do not grow (large). They are only small.'

2.9 COMPOUND PARALLEL PARAGRAPH

Slots:	+ PARALLEL BASE$_1$	+ PARALLEL BASE$_2$
Fillers:	AMPLIFICATION PAR SEQUENCE PAR SIMULTANEOUS PAR	SIMPLE PAR

Deep Structure: Parallel Coupling
Restriction Rules: 1. The verb in the final predicate of
                       each BASE is the same or from the
                       same semantic domain.
                    2. At least one of the fillers of the
                       other slots of the final Clause of
                       PARALLEL BASE changes.

A COMPOUND PARALLEL PARAGRAPH consists of two obli-
gatory tagmemes, PARALLEL BASE$_1$ and PARALLEL BASE$_2$. PARAL-
LEL BASE$_1$ may consist of AMPLIFICATION, SEQUENCE or SIMUL-
TANEOUS PARAGRAPH. All available examples have SIMPLE PAR
in PARALLEL BASE$_2$. The verb in the final predicate of
PARALLEL BASE$_1$ is the same as the verb in the final pred-
icate of PARALLEL BASE$_2$ or is from the same semantic do-
main. The filler/s of at least one other slot changes.

COMPOUND PARALLEL PARAGRAPH occurs in NARRATIVE DIS-
COURSE in the material analyzed, all from one fable.

Examples:

(1) PARALLEL BASE$_1$: SEQUENCE PAR:

                    waaren /
                    stay-narr-3p

                    pon   aruan   kakupemih ///
                    pig   it-kill-nom   sprinkle-nt-3p-3fin

PARALLEL BASE 2: SIMPLE PAR:

<u>kóh</u> <u>ninaahan</u>   <u>kakupemíh</u> ///
koh   eat-cont-nom   sprinkle-nt-3p-3fin

'He remained and he sprinkled the pig he
killed. He sprinkled the 'koh' beans he
was eating.'

(2) PARALLEL BASE₁ : SIMULTANEOUS PAR:

<u>yóh</u>   <u>yen</u>   <u>waaháken</u> /
plant do-nt-3p stay-simult-3p

<u>pon</u> <u>ano</u> <u>kókoníh</u>   <u>emíh</u> ///
pig   the   many-vbl be.nt-3p-3fin

PARALLEL BASE2: SIMPLE PAR:

<u>kóh</u> <u>anán</u>   <u>kókoníh</u>   <u>emíh</u> ///
koh   vine   many-vbl be.nt-3p-3fin

'While they remained planting there were
many pigs. There were many 'koh' vines.'

(3) PARALLEL BASE₁: AMPLIFICATION PAR:

THEME: <u>wé</u> <u>ahyáhkán</u>   <u>waáken</u>
        3p   married.couple stay-pst-3p

AMP BASE ₁: <u>yunáán</u> <u>í</u>   <u>wan</u>   <u>pára</u>
             food   neg   have-nom   just
             <u>waáken</u> /
             stay-pst-3p

AMP BASE2 : <u>yunáánán</u> <u>yotiwááen</u> /
             food-for   search-repeatedly-3p

AMP BASE3: <u>kóh</u> <u>anáá</u> <u>yoremíh</u> ///
            koh   only   plant-nt-3p-3fin

PARALLEL BASE2: SIMPLE PAR:

<u>pon</u> <u>anáá</u> <u>awinemíh</u> ///
pig   only   tend-nt-3p-3fin

'There was a married couple; they
were just living without food, they
repeatedly searched for food (and)
they planted only the 'koh' beans.
They tended only pigs.'

3 DISCOURSE

Due to the limited nature of the corpus with which I
worked the following observations about Agarabi discourse
are tentative. When a greater amount of more varied ma-
terial is available, no doubt, some of the following will
be altered.

At present I am positing four main types of discourse
with probable subtypes. The main categories are NARRATIVE,
PROCEDURAL, HORTATORY and EXPOSITORY. I will first make
some general observations about discourses and then com-
ments on the features which I believe separate the dif-
ferent types.

A general formula for discourse is as follows:

   ± Title/Aperture ± Stage + Body ± Closure + Finis

When text material is being given, a title is often
supplied, but is not necessary. Such things as: 'A Feast',
'Shouted Speech', 'A Fable' have been noted. The word
waayaa 'talk/speech' often occurs in this slot. Once or
twice the verb te 'say' has been included: 'Let me say
old talk, my grandparent's talk' or 'I will say talk
about funeral feasts.' These two are full sentences but
the shorter, phrase-type is more common. One narrative
discourse has a title filled by a paragraph (possibly
amplification). The general subject matter, 'A Fable', is
given first and is followed by 'Two brothers became a pig
and a bird.'

Historical narratives and fables usually begin (after the title, if any) with the word for 'before' or 'long ago', though, in one case, the event referred to did not seem to be in the far past at all. Other types of discourse do not seem to have any particular words used as aperture unless semantically pertinent.

Stage seems to be pertinent to narrative and expository discourse, though one narrative which is a reported hortatory discourse had none. The others all either had a separate sentence or paragraph to lay the background, or something in the opening of the first episode which gave a clue to the setting, eg. 'as I was going I...' In the case of the expository discourse, the theme or introduction may be non-linguistic. I have a note on one that my language helper's wife brought a cicada over while he was giving me paradigms (more or less) and this set off a series of short discourses on bugs, worms and birds of the area. Without this context I would be at a loss to know why he started off with 'It sheds.' The examples of hortatory and procedural discourses that I have to handle do not occur with any kind of introductory material, but just plunge into the body of the discourse.

All types have a body consisting of at least one episode, procedure or point. In the present corpus the largest number of such segments, 13, occurs in a procedural discourse. Since I did not analyze the longest texts available I may find some narrative discourses with an equally large or larger number of episodes.

Closure is optional and may occur as a separate sentence or paragraph or as the last sentence or clause of the final episode.

Finis is probably obligatory though I do have some early written material (dictated) in which the finis does

not occur. It is possible that at that time I did not re-
alize the significance of these words and did not record
them. Or, perhaps, it is the presence of the recorder
that prompts them, though I am sure that I have heard the
same formulas used in non-recorded speech.

As a general comment on verb tenses, I must say that,
at this point, I do not find that they have any signifi-
cance on the discourse level. Neutral tense occurs most
often in all types and this seems to indicate that time
is not relevant. Perhaps shifts from this to more speci-
fic tenses will be useful, but I haven't seen anything
yet to support this. Past and future tenses occur where
semantically appropriate, but no grammatical signifi-
cance has been found. Aspect and mode seem to be more
productive at this point. Narrative discourses exhibit
the most freedom in tense, aspect and mode. Procedural
discourses are less apt to have future tenses; but that
is understandable since none of my texts refer to future
procedures. They are all of traditional activities. Pro-
cedural discourses have frequent alternation of neutral
tense, narrative aspect and completive aspect. Hortatory
discourse, as one would expect, depends heavily on the
imperative mode; but many interrogative and permissives
are also used. The interrogatives may prove to be mainly
rhetorical questions (which may be signalled by intona-
tion). The only expository texts I have are all the same
in general topic – animals that do or do not live in the
area – and this may be restricting what occurs. These
occur mainly with stative verbs or other verbs in the
habituative aspect.

Distinguishing features separating types
Narrative discourse:
Narrative discourses tend to have at least one extra

long paragraph. This occurs either in the middle or at
the end and may indicate a peak or climax in the dis-
course. If the discourse has more than one topic it may
also have more than one peak and, thus, more than one
long paragraph.

Narrative discourses are usually told in the third
person unless it is an account of a specific event in the
life of the speaker in which case it is told in the first
person. If the main subject of a narrative is plural, and
the speaker is included in the group, he may still choose
to give the account in the third person - first person
plurals are relatively rare. There are fewer free sub-
jects occurring in narrative discourses than in other
types. These occur only where a new subject needs to be
specified. Verbal suffixes most often indicate the sub-
ject and change of subject where pronominal identifica-
tion is sufficient for understanding.

Tail-head linkage with either the same verb or a pro-
verb repeated in a different form are common between par-
agraphs in this type of discourse. They are not as fre-
quent in some of the other types.

Procedural discourse:

Procedural discourses tend to have shorter clauses,
often the predicate only, which seldom, if ever, occurs
in a narrative discourse. The longest paragraphs may be
near the beginning and may consist of two dozen or so
sentences which is much longer than any available nar-
rative discourse. One such paragraph had 24 short sen-
tences with over 100 dependent verbs before a predicate
occurred with an independent verb which closed the para-
graph. There seem to be two types of procedural dis-
courses. One views the procedure as a whole on the dis-
course level, thus having only one procedure. It is this

type in which the long paragraphs occur.

The other type divides the procedures grammatically in places semantically analogous to paragraph breaks in narrative discourses. The clauses tend to be short with, perhaps, less possibility for expansion than those which occur in narrative discourses.

I have one example with very short paragraphs, each one with the tail-head linkage that is usually more common to the narrative discourse. In this case the whole final clause is repeated and not merely the final verb. I am not sure if this puts this discourse in a different category.

The continuative aspect occurs frequently in these texts as well as the narrative and completive aspects mentioned earlier.

Another feature common to the procedural discourses is the division somewhere in the middle when the actual process being described goes out of focus and the use made of the product or the result of the action is detailed. For example, after relating the process of making salt, the discourse continues to mention that the salt is used in the initiation of boys. In the discourse relating the making of a love potion, the story is carried past the point where the girl succumbs to it, to tell about the couple getting married, having children and making a settlement feast after she has children.

Procedural discourses are usually told in the third person with no specific subject mentioned. If it is as general a procedure as salt-making in which many people had a hand, no specific free subject may be mentioned even at the beginning. In the discourse about the love potion, the first sentence identifies (in the second clause) that it is a young man who does this. Thereafter

the subject is identified only by verbal suffixes.

Hortatory discourse:

Hortatory discourses have no title or aperture and
may have no introduction either. My only examples at pres-
ent are reported hortatory discourses set in a framework
of 'he said' or 'I said'. I don't know if this influences
the discourses in any way.

First and second person subjects are used, sometimes
in contrast; i.e. 'You come down! Yesterday I went up. In
return today you come down!' Contrasts also occur be-
tween second and third persons. 'The people of ... place
do ... you are doing this!'

Imperative, interrogative and permissive modes are
common.

Major breaks are more often signaled by the occur-
rence of an independent verb followed by a new paragraph
in which a free subject is stated in the first sentence
than by tail-head linkage. A hortatory discourse may have
several major "chunks", each of which is a separate ex-
hortation, and these may be much more unrelated semantic-
ally than the separate parts of other types of discourse.
In other words, I would expect closure and finis in other
types when the subject matter is so different.

The short exhortation in my data has a reason fol-
lowed by an exhortation. 'You will die soon, take it
quickly (baptism)!'This is followed by something which
might be labeled alternation: 'I am young, I'll take it
later,' and then a repetition of the first reason and ex-
hortation in almost the same words. The other discourses
may follow a similar pattern; but, being much longer and
more complicated, I haven't been able to sort them out.

Expository discourse:

The few expository discourses in my data exhibit fre-

quent occurrence of short stative sentences and frequent
verbs with habituative aspect suffixes (not on the sta-
tive verbs usually). The formulaic clause 'it's like that'
occurs more frequently in this type than in the others
and tail-head linkage less often. More free noun subjects
occur and less material is in each sentence. Longer para-
graphs, when they occur, tend to be parallel, with new
subjects but the same verb. Compound paragraphs are also
fairly common.

SUMMARY CHART

Distinctive Features	Narrative	Procedural	Hortatory	Expository
stage/ setting	+	-	-	-
aspect/ mode	all kinds	cont,narr, cpl,habit	impv,int, perm	stative, habit
person subject	1st, 3rd	3rd (im-personal)	2nd pre-dominates	3rd
noun subject	infrequent	infrequent	frequent	frequent
clause length	long	short	varied	short
sentence length	long	varied	varied	short
paragraph length	varied	long	varied	short
tail-head linkage	frequent	infrequent	infrequent	infrequent
formulaic linkage	infrequent	occasional	infrequent	frequent

FOOTNOTES

1. The Agarabi language has a two tone system; high tone
is marked by an acute accent. I do not guarantee the ac-
curacy of the notation as I do not hear tone accurately.
For the same reason I have not taken into account any
grammatical differences indicated by tonal changes.

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3. ibid.

4. Bjorkman, Doris and Geary, Elaine "Kunimaipa Phrases,
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5. Scott, Graham "Higher Levels of Fore Grammar", Pacific
          Linguistics, 1973.