

REASON-RESULT IN AGARABI

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ABBREVIATIONS

ass.	assertive mode	top.	topic marker
bro.	brother	vbl.	verbaliser
com em .	completive aspect	voc.	vocative
cont.	continuative aspect	y.	younger
dl.	dual		
des.	desiderative mode	1	first person
ds.	different subject	2	second person
emph.	emphatic	3	third person
ex.	example	nl	non-first person
fin.	final		
fut.	future tense		
imm.	immediate mode		
ind.sp.	indirect speech marker		
int.	interrogative mode		
ints.	intensifier		
iter.	iterative aspect		
jus.	jussive		
nom.	nominaliser		
nt.	neutral tense		
obj.	object		
pl.	plural		
poss.	possessive		
pr.	personal referent		
pst.	past tense		
ptc.	participle		
refl.	reflexive		
rep.	repetitive aspect		
sis.	sister		

SYMBOLISATION

-	morpheme break
[]	indicates a morpheme that drops out due to morphophonemic change
#	zero morpheme

0 INTRODUCTION

Agarabi is spoken by approximately 15,000 people of the Kainantu sub-province of the Eastern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea. It is a member of the Gadsup-Auyana-Usarufa-Awa-Tairora language family.

The data used for this paper was collected over a number of years and has been supplied by Kompa Barake of Punano village, a man who is now about 50 years of age and has spent most of his time in his own language area. Much of my time since 1959 has been spent in the village of Punano. Jean Goddard joined me in 1960.

Many of the examples in this paper are taken from legends and most others occur in texts. Most of the examples in this paper have been chosen on the basis of clarity and brevity.

In Agarabi, as you would expect, there are different types of Reason-Result. The problem was that some of them seemed to be so close in meaning that it was hard to make a distinction. The fact that the same, or a very similar, English free translation could be used for each type further confused the issue. The most puzzling ones were the ones which used affixes that, in other places, functioned as locatives.

In all instances that I have found to date, the Reason precedes the Result. In the minimal form Reason consists of one word and Result of one word. This is most likely to appear in the Assertive and Causative types. The Assertive can even be reduced to one word giving the Reason with the Result understood. Either Reason or Result or both can be considerably expanded.

1. TYPES OF REASON-RESULT

Five types of Reason-Result have been distinguished in Agarabi and they may be labelled: Assertive, Causative, Inferential, Consequential and Sequential. Inferential, Consequential and Sequential each have two subtypes.

Each type has its own distinctive affix, which appears at the end of the Reason. Except for the Assertive, this affix may appear on the demonstrative mái 'that', 'there (mid-distance)', and the word thus formed functions as a conjunction introducing the Result. The demonstrative plus suffix is sometimes used for emphasis and sometimes to reiterate the Reason. The demonstrative: míhan 'this', or máhan 'that', may be used to summarise the Reason and then appears as part of the Reason. It is then followed by a form of the verb 'to be'. The appropriate Reason suffix follows, either on the verb (ex. 3), or on the demonstrative.

1.1 ASSERTIVE

This kind of Reason-Result occurs in direct discourse. It often occurs in conversation in legends and other texts as well as in everyday speech.

The Reason makes an assertion about something, or draws attention to something, which is the basis for the following action. The final word of the Reason is a verb, or verbalised form, to which is affixed the assertive mode, -(m)pó. The verbalised form may be a verbal noun (ex. 4), a noun (ex.2), or a modifier (ex. 1). When the assertive mode is used it implies that there is a consequence to follow, whereas the emphatic indicative makes a statement and does not imply anything following.

Example:

1. kánáá - i - pó
good - vbl. - 3ass.

'Alright! So...'

2. A - naahu - i - pó
n1pr. - g'father - vbl. - 3ass.

'He's your grandfather! So ...'

3. Míhan ú - ke - m - i - pó
this be - pst. - 3 - 3fin. - 3ass.

'It is like this! So ...'

The Result generally contains a verb in the imperative, in the jussive or in the interrogative mode. Imperatives and jussives are the more frequent. This verb appears as the final word of the Reason, unless there is an after-thought.

Example:

4. A - naahu - i - pó. Ááhaa - nóo.
n1pr. - g'father- vbl. - 3ass. stop - emph.

'He's your grandfather! So stop it!'

A dog and its owner were out hunting. It got dark, then they saw a light and found an old couple by a fire. The dog bit the old man and his owner indicated that a little more respect was due.

5. Kuh k - e - i - pó. Ér - e - tí - h
dawn shine - nt.-3nom. - 3ass. come - nt. - 2 - 1
ór - oó - nt - ó - h, waru - pát - e.
go - juss. - dl. - 2 - 1 village - to -ind.sp.

'It's daylight! So come let's both go, home I mean.'

A man had gone hunting in the bush leaving his fiancée in the village. Her ghost went after him seeking revenge. After they spent the night in the bush she invited him to return to the village.

6. Éhí e waér - e - # unaan - táh yápí - ke -
 you here turn - nt. - 2 bag - on look. - pst.
 after

tí - h t - e - h - u - mpó. Pára
 2 - 1 say - nt. - 1 - 1fin. -lass. Just

tí - wáhkúr - e - # ér - iyaa - p - ó - no.
 1pr. - follow - nt. - 2 come - cont. - int. - 2fin. -emph.

'You go back and look after the bag so that I can get them, I said! So why are you coming following me?'

The man was trying to get away from the ghost, who had come to kill him. He told her to stay and eat and look after things while he went off to look for firewood etc. that they would need for the night. But the ghost wasn't put off so easily and she followed the man. So he scolded her for disobeying his instructions.

Occasionally the assertion occurs on its own when the Result is obvious.

Example:

7. ...ínka - i - pó, t - iya - áke - n ...
 enough - vbl. - 3ass. say - cont. - while - 3

'... OK then, while he was speaking ...'

A young man said this, after he brought the girl he was going to marry back to his village. Now he could go ahead and marry her. He could have said: "So let's get married," or something similar, but he didn't. Marriage was the obvious Result and there was no need to say so in so many words.

Negatives can occur in both Reason and Result.

Ex. 4 could have been:

8. A - naahu - i - pó. I - wáh
 1pr. - g'father - vbl. - 3ass. not - ints.

~~naahu~~ - to - nóo.
 that - do - emph.

'He's your grandfather. So don't do that!'

Negating the Reason could produce something like this:

9. I a - naahu - i - pó. Ipaahaa.
 not n1pr. - g'father - vbl -3ass disregard

Eenu - í - no.
 other.one - vbl. - emph.

'He's not your grandfather! So disregard him.

He's someone else!'

This is the sort of thing that might be said to a small child who had mistaken another man for his grandfather.

1.2 CAUSATIVE

This type also frequently occurs, especially in explanatory texts.

Causal relationship is indicated by the use of the suffix -(w)an 'for'

When the Reason consists of a noun the suffix may be attached to the noun. When the Reason consists of a relative clause the suffix may be attached to the verbalised noun. The noun or relative clause may be followed by maiwan 'therefore'.

Example.

10. Nón - an a - iy - iyaa - m - ih.
 water-for n1pr. - long - cont. - 3 - 3fin.

'He is longing for water.' i.e. 'He is thirsty.'

11. fyámpón - i a' - r - e - in - an
 child - poss. n1pr. - kill - nt. - 3nom. - for
naan - táh e yaamp - e - m - i - no.
 breast -on here stick - nt. - 3 - 3fin. - emph.

'Because of the child's killing it stuck here on my breast.'

A woman suspected that her husband was going to kill their baby boy during her absence. The husband sent her off to fetch water in a leaky bamboo. Before she went she told

the child that, if her husband killed him, he was to peel off his fingernail and send it to stick on her breast so that she would be aware of his death.

When the Reason ends with a medial or final verb it is followed by máiwán 'therefore'.

The Result often contains a command, a jussive, a habitual or an emphatic statement.

Example;

12. Unaantum - páh ór - in - oó - no.
 Unantu - to go - jus. - 2 - emph.
Mái - wán pára wé ánkáán kátér -e - ó - nò.
~~there-for~~ just they all tease- nt.- 2 - emph.

'You have to go to Unantu! Therefore you just teased them all!'

The riot squad pulled up in Punano and made as though they were going to search the place. Instead of which, they had only stopped to pick up an Unantu man. Their commanding officer made the above remark.

There are instances of the Causative suffix being followed by máiwán. In some cases, this seems to be for added emphasis or to reiterate the reason, but, in others, it looks as though there is more than one Result.

Example:

13. Yupáá - ma i wá - k - a - n
 food - that not stay - pst. - 3 - 3ds.
yunáán - án mái - wán, yot - iyaa - m -
 food - for ~~there-for~~ search - cont.- 3 -
i - no.
 3fin. - emph.

'When there is no food, for food, therefore, he is searching!'

I was checking to see if the demonstrative plus affix could follow a noun and to see if the affix could occur on both the noun and the demonstrative. They could, and Kompa added the first clause to show when they would be used.

14. Míha - ma te - o - na - wán, mái - wán
 this - that say - 2 - nom. - for there - for
- tíhtoh - aa Awinaah - kenu a - yaa - e - ké - n
 little - bit Avina - line n1pr. - help - nt. - 1 - 3
- wéhi a - mí - nte - m - í - no.
 they n1pr. - give - fut. - 3 - 3fin. - emph.

'Because of your saying this, therefore we help
 Avinakenu a little and they will give you!'

Barapa had invited Avinakenu and Punano to dress up and dance for them. Barapa had given Avinakenu food, pork and beef, which they shared with Punano. Avinakenu were going to invite Barapa to dance for them at Avinakenu. They were going to call on Punano to help them with the return gift of food, pork and beef. The Barapas were pressing them for the return payment before they were ready and the Punanos were upset. The Barapas were saying: "You hurry up and give us." The Punanos replied with: "Because of your saying this, therefore we help Avinakenu a little and they will give you!" "therefore" was added for emphasis.

Combinations of Causative and Assertive can occur.

Example:

15. Nón - án t - iy - e - i - pó. War - e - ya
 water - for 1pr. - long - nt. - 3nom. - 3ass. take - nt. - 2
- yááh - an ti - m - e - tí - h naá - í.
 fetch-ptc. 1pr. - give - nt. - 2-1 drink - imm.

'I am thirsty! So you take it fetching, give me to drink.'

This was a ruse that the husband used to get his wife out of the way. (see ex. 11).

The Reason in the above could be negated and an appropriate Result added.

Example:

16. Nón - án ihyaa t - iy - iyaa - h - u - mpó.
 water -for not 1pr.- long -cont. - 1 -1fin. -1 ass.
É - yan ór - e # yapo.
 you-refl. go - nt. - 2 fetch

'I am not thirsty! So fetch it for yourself.'

There can be a combination of a negative assertion and a positive assertion followed by a Result. The Causative was ~~not expressed~~ because we had been discussing being thirsty.

17. É - n ihyaa a - iy - iyaa - m - i - pó.
 you- obj. not n1pr.-long - cont. - 3 -3fin. -3ass.
Téhi - n t - iy - iyaa - h, t - iyaa -
 I _ obj. 1pr. -long -cont. - 1 say- cont. -
h - u - mpó. War - e - # o yaáh - an
 1 - 1fin. -1 ass. take -nt. -2 there fetch -ptc.
me ti - me.
 here 1pr. - give

'You are not thirsty! But I am thirsty, I am saying!

So take it fetching it there, give it to me here.'

1.3 INFERENTIAL

In Inferential Reason-Result general principles are involved. Inferential may be divided into Deductive and Inductive, In Deductive Inferential the general principle appears in the Reason, whereas in Inductive Inferential it appears in the Result.

1.3.1 DEDUCTIVE

An examination of examples of this type of Reason-Result has shown that there is an underlying general sociological principle that is the basis for resultant action.

This type of Reason-Result is signalled by the suffix -páh 'to', 'at'. It may be affixed to the verbal noun, that is, to the final word of a relative clause, containing the Reason. It may be affixed to the demonstrative mái 'there', máipáh 'thereat' and then acts as a conjunction.

The Result often contains an imperative, jussive, or emphatic statement.

Example:

18. Ti - yaarapenu - oe, éhi - má yunáá - ma
 1pr. - god - voc. you - that food - that
- ti - m - e - o - ná mái - páh
 1pr. -give- nt. - 2 - nom. there - at
- mutéh t - e - h a - noónaa
 thanks say - nt. - 1 n1pr. - reciprocator
- mátiñ - na a - m - e - h - ú - no.
 right.here -nom. n1pr. -give= nt. - 1 - 1fin. -emph.
- 'God, you giving us food, thereat worshipping we give
 you this right here in return!'

This remark was made during a harvest festival ceremony in which the firstfruits were offered to God. The underlying principle is that food is a gift from God and, as a consequence, people have an obligation to reciprocate with a gift.

19. A - yaa - e - m - má taar - e ih - páh
 n1pr. - help - nt. - 3 -that prepare - nt. 3nom-at
- a - yaah a - m - ín - o.
 n1pr. - help n1pr. -give- 2jus. -2fin.

'Through his helping you prepare, you must give
 him pay.'

Once again the principle of reciprocation is involved. If someone does something for you - in this case, helping with food ^{preparation possibly} for a feast - then you have an obligation to give some recompense.

Another example of Deductive Inferential in which obligation was involved occurred in a legend. A man sent some pork to his sister via his wife, but the wife ate the pork herself. When the husband found out that his sister and child were going hungry because his wife had not given them the pork, he found a fitting punishment for her. He made her go on eating pork until she died of overeating. A man has an obligation to provide meat for his sister. Non-fulfilment of the obligation brings undesirable consequences. So he said to his wife: "My sister going on being hungry, máipáh through that, eat up all that pork!"

Another legend concerned two brothers who had been orphaned. There was no one to look after them. So one brother said to the other: "Our mother and father being dead, máipáh through that, how are we two going to manage?" The underlying principle is that children need parents to look after them. In fact, according to ancient custom, if there was no one to look after an orphaned, or illegitimate child, out of a genuine concern for the welfare of the child, the child would be killed. The two boys in the legend decided to become a pig and a bird respectively. The lesson that Agarabis take from this story is that, when a child's parents die, someone should adopt the child and bring it up.

I have found one instance in which Deductive Inferential and Causative occur together.

Example:

20. Tákiti - má karúhy - e - # - na - páh
 tax - that throw - nt. - 1 - nom. - at
- mái - wán manaah - aa yoran man
 there - for one - bit work take /ptc.
- ti - mí - nte - p - ó - no,
 1pr. - give - fut. - int. - 2fin. - emph.

t - e - n anan eh iyaa - m - ih.
 say -nt. - 3 dark be cont. - 3 - 3fin.

'Through my paying tax therefore taking some work will you give it to me? saying, they are habitually disgruntled.'

Paying taxes is not something which generates employment is a principle, as far as the Agarabis are concerned.

1.3.2 INDUCTIVE

The Inductive Inferential is formed by the addition of -kéh 'from' to the Deductive form.

The basis for the resultant action is in the form of a relative clause. The Result contains a habitual action. When I asked Kompa to explain a couple of examples, he ended his short explanatory text by saying that it was a rule; it was a prevailing custom.

Example:

21. Tínton - aa yunáá - ma manaah - aa a - mí - re - n
 little -bit food-that one - bit n1pr.-give-narr.-3

manaah - aa i a - mí - re - n
 one -bit not n1pr.- give - narr. - 3

- iyaah - e - ih - páh - kéh o úhtúp -e-n
 be- cont. - nt. - 3nom. - at - from there undo-nt.-3

tanaa, káán, á - reh iyaa - m - ih.
 small two n1pr.- kill cont. - 3 - 3fin.

'If they give a little food, give some and don't give some, from that they habitually kill less, a couple.'

This is another text relating to the trouble between Barapa and Punano (see ex. 14). Fighting and disagreements were settled by holding a dance at which the hosts gave a generous gift of food to the dancers. They in turn hosted a dance and gave a like gift. The gifts had to be equal, otherwise trouble ensued. Punano were having trouble matching

the gift from Barapa. This particular text gave the general setting to explain the problem. The ones who were continually giving used to kill many men. But if they gave a little then they used to kill a few.

1.4 CONSEQUENTIAL

There are two types of Consequential in Agarabi - Immediate and Far-reaching.

1.4.1 IMMEDIATE

Immediate Consequential is signalled by the suffix -pín 'in'. It may be affixed to the verbal noun in the relative clause containing the Reason, or, the Reason may be followed by máipín 'therein', which then acts as a conjunction.

Example:

22. ...ihyaa wáántá anaati waa - im - pín ona -wáákon
 not man woman stay-nom.-in see-iter.

y - e -n wé a - pah ano wé- yán pon- íh
 do-nt.-3 he nlpr.-y.bro. top. he-refl. pig-vbl.

e # - e -m- íh.
 here be-nt.-3-3fin.

'...as a consequence of there being no men and women he tried and tried and the younger brother turned himself into a pig here.'

After the death of their parents two brothers wondered what would become of them (see 1.3.1). They decided to go off in different directions. The younger brother came upon a place where a house built itself and food planted itself but there were no people there. As a

consequence the younger brother turned himself into a pig.

In another legend, two young men turned into birds. They attended a dance where two sisters saw the brothers and were attracted to them. They pursued them and found the brothers sleeping. They tied them to themselves and then went to sleep. The younger brother woke up and saw them. Wakeimpin as a consequence of them being asleep he pinched his brother to wake him and they made good their escape.

1.4.2 FAR-REACHING

Far-reaching is signalled by the addition of -téh 'from' to the Immediate form. When a nasal precedes the affix takes the form of -téh.

Examples of Far-reaching did not occur in the texts that I examined for this paper. However, it seemed likely that the Reason would be in the form of a relative clause and that the Result would contain a habitual action. Kompa repeated the examples I posited with one important change - he added the completive aspect to the verbal noun in the Reason. In one case he added a little further explanation.

Example:

There is a legend about a sister and brother who became a bird and a pig following the death of their parents. This is what could have been said:

23. Wé a - no - a - po púh- w - e - im -pín-téh
 they nlpr.-mother-nlpr.-father die-com.-nt.-3nom.-in-from
wé a - yopayo - káán nún - íh # - e - n
 they nlpr.-bro.sis.-two bird-vbl. be-nt.-3

pon- fh #- e - n waah iyaa - m - fh.

pig-vbl. be-nt.-3 stay cont.-3 -3fin.

'As a consequence of their parents' death the sister and brother used to live as a pigd and a pig.'

1.5 SEQUENTIAL

There are two types of Sequential in Agarabi - Proximate and Subsequent. The difference is not very great. Spatially, Kōmpa distinguishes them as being 'close' and 'a little bit further away'. In other contexts, he says that they are a short and long form with no difference in meaning. However, an examination of texts does seem to point to a slight difference.

Sometimes the focus seems to be on the temporal relationship, but, often it seems to be a combination of temporal and logical, or of spatial and logical.

1.5.1 PROXIMATE

Proximate Sequential is signalled by the suffix -ráh '(up)on'. The suffix -ráh follows a vowel, -táh a nasal, and -káh a glottal. Máiráh 'thereupon', 'then' may follow a relative clause or a clause containing a medial verb or a final verb.

Example:

24. Pon-táh karúhy - e - m - fh.

pig-on throw-nt.- 3 -3fin.

'He paid for pork.'

25. Ehi - má t - e - o - ná -ráh téhi ti -mutín

you-that say-nt.-2-nom.-on I lpr.-pleased

- iyaa - h - ú.

be-cont.- 1 -1fin.

1.5.2 SUBSEQUENTIAL

This is signalled by the addition of the suffix -kéh 'from' to the Proximate Sequential form.

Máiráhkéh 'therefrom', next' may follow a relative clause, a medial verb or a final verb.

In a genealogy máiráhkéh 'next' is often used. For example, towards the end of a genealogy a man might say: 'Máiráhkéh next my grandfather bore my father. Máiráhkéh next my father bore me.' Genealogies are often cited in court.

27.27. Míha tí - re - n wárá - ráh - kéh miyan
 this say-narr.-3 ground-on- from pay
war -iyaa-m- íh.
 take-cont.-3-3fin.

'They said this and from ground are getting pay.'

'This' is the genealogy, the recital of which justifies their claim to the land. Following on this they can claim compensation for their land.

Máiráhkéh occurs in other contexts.

Example:

28. Máha t - e - n owaa yá - re - n
 that say-nt.-3 announcement do-narr.-3
mái -ráh- kéh káwé pahk- e - n e
 there-on-from pot hold-nt.-3 here
uhká - re - n wánaa- e - n
 circle-narr.-3 spill-nt.-3

'Saying that he made an announcement and grabbing the pot he cupped it in his hands and pouring out....'

In an account of an offering made to God, the leader addressed God and then grabbed the clay pot, in which the food had been cooked, and tipped its contents out on the

ground. This food was an offering to God. The action of taking hold of the pot and tipping out the food as an offering ~~was~~ consequent upon the announcement made to God.

29. Paahti ú - rá - nt - i - n mái - ráh - kéh
 party be-narr.-fut.-3-3ds. there-on-from
yá- nte -m- ih.
 do-fut.-3-3fin.

'He will arrange the party next they will dance.'

OR 'As a result of him arranging the party they will dance.'

Modern day parties still follow the traditional pattern in that there is feasting and dancing. The two are linked. Dancing is not just the next event but is consequent upon the party because the two go together.

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A.2

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The dictionaries not only helped supply labels for some of the types and subtypes but helped give pointers for some of the distinctions.