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GRAMMATICAL NOTES ON SOME AGARABI TEXTS

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I INTRODUCTION

The texts presented here have been selected from material gathered in the Agarabi village of Punano in the highlands of New Guinea. Two men recorded them on tape during the period March to May, 1963. They recorded them first in normal speech and then at dictation speed. Those given for dictation were usually shorter and somewhat simplified; these were the type chosen for this paper. The choice of subject matter was left up to the informants and included folklore, tribal history, events in the life of the men themselves and current village "news".

The seven texts chosen for presentation here represent a cross-section of the types given. These include two describing some of the changes in tribal life due to the coming and influence of Europeans (any white men), three describing the trip made by the younger man when he left the tribal area to work for two years on a plantation and two of "village gossip".

Text materials are interesting not only for their content, but for what can be learned about the language by studying them. There are two general areas of interest exhibited in these texts, Morphology - here, primarily the composition of verbs and nouns, and Syntax, the larger area of relationships between verbs in sentences and paragraphs.

Key to pronunciation:

p, t, k, are stops initially and following consonants, and fricatives between vowels

w is pronounced b, w, or y initially and following con-
sonants and v between vowels

y is pronounced d, y or dy initially and following con-
sonants and y or j between vowels

h is a glottal stop

r is a flap

m, n as in English

a is pronounced as u in but

a is pronounced as a in part

i " " " i in bit

e " " " e in pear

o " " " o in soap

u " " " u in suit
NOTES ON AGARABI

Travel to Mutoh I

1 oreruhna₁ Yawaauroh₂ moh₃ mana₄ Taarareh₅ arurehkun₆ Manteh₇ waah₈ Tunteh₉ waah₁₀ Tarinteh₁₁ waah₁₂ Ponteh₁₃ pa₁₄ waah₁₅
2 Faranteh₁ aakurah₂ tihpi₃ erein₄ e₅ tiwiran₆ toru₇ waaraapin₈ oriya₉ oriya₁₀ inuhpah₁₁ airaanipin₁₂ Mutohkah₁₃ mo₁₄ kaaih₁₅ yoriya₁₆ waah₁₇ maipahke₁₈ inteh₁₉ erehu₂₀

1 After I went₁ to Rabaul₂ I spent₆ one₄ week₅ there;₃ Monday₇
I waited,₈ Tuesday₉ I waited,₁₀ Wednesday₁₁ I waited,₁₂ Thursday₁₃ I just₁₄ waited,₁₅ 2 On Friday₁ morning,₂ after the ship₃ came it took me on the sea,₇,₈ I was going₉ (and) going;₁₀ in the afternoon,₁₁ (it) put me there,₁₄ in an island,₁₂ on Mutoh,₁₃ I stayed,₁₇ working,₁₆ from this place,₁₈ (when) I finished,₁₉ I came,₂₀

Travel to Mutoh II

1 oreruhna₁ Yawaauroh₂ morah₃ mana₄ Taarareh₅ arurehkun₆ Manteh₇ pa₈ waah₉ Tunteh₁₀ pa₁₁ waah₁₂ Tarinteh₁₃ pa₁₄ waareh₁₅ Ponteh₁₆ pa₁₇ waah eken₁₈ Faranteh₁₉ tihpi₉ e₂₁ tiwiren₂₂ toru₂₃ waaraapin₂₄ oriya₂₅ oriya₂₆ Mutohkah₂₇ morah₂₈ yoriya₂₉ waareh₂₀ inteh₂₁ erehu₂₂₂ inkaih₁

1 After I went₁ to Rabaul₂ I spent₆ one₄ week₅ there;₃ on Monday₇ I just,₈ waited,₉ on Tuesday₁₀ I just,₁₁ waited,₁₂ on Wednesday₁₃ I just,₁₄ waited and,₁₅ on Thursday₁₆ I just,₁₇ waited,₁₉ on Friday₁₉ a ship₂₀ took me on the sea,₂₂ (and) going,₂₃,₂₄ going,₂₅ on Mutoh,₂₇ there,₂₈ I worked,₂₉ I stayed,₃₀ I finished,₃₁ I came,₃₂ 2 The end,₁
NOTES ON AGARABI

Travel from Mutoh

1 intarekun1 mahta2 ten3 2 inka1 e1 ye1 intemino4 intemipo5
3 Mante1 pa2 waa3 Tunte4 pa5 waa6 Tarinteh7 yamuh8 tihpiano9 e10
awirantemino11 tikan12 4 waare eken1 Tarinteh2 yamuh3 tihpiano4
05 tiwirah6 5 ereruhna1 Yawaauroh2 merah3 waareh4 mana5 Taarareh6
arurekun7 Mante8 pa9 waa10 Tunte11 pa12 waa13 Tarinteh14
warutimano15 o16 tiwirah17 6 ereruhna1 Kewiang2 e3 kumane4
penitini5 e4 ware7 7 erein1 Manutipahkena2 penitini3 e4 warah5
mairahke6 erehna7 Wewaake8 e9 kumane10 mairahke11 Manteh12
ereh13 Mantamph14 mai15 warutimano16 me17 kaauhye18.....

1 I finished and 1 the white man 2 said, 2 "Finally 1 your 2 day3
are finished, 4 really done! 5 On Monday 1 just 2 wait, 3 on
Tuesday 4 just 5 wait, 6 on Wednesday 7, 8 a ship 9 will take you!" 10, 11
he said. 12 4 I waited and 1 on Wednesday 2, 3 a ship 4 took me 5, 6
5 After I came 1 to Rabaul 2 I stayed 4, 7 there 3 one 5 week 6 on
Monday 8 just 9 waited 10 on Tuesday 11 just 12 waited 13 on Wednesday 14
a plane 15 took me 17 6 After I came 1 to Kaviang 2 it put down, 4
got 5 fuel 6 here. 7 After it came 1 we got 5 fuel 3 from Manus; 2
then 6 we came 7 to Wewak 8 (and) put down; 9, 10 then 11 on Monday 12
we came 13 to Madang 14 this 15 plane 16 put me down 17 here. 18.....
NOTES ON AGARABI

No Rest-days

1 Péph1 tinaahu2 tiraaho3 ihyaa4 oyaa5 tiren6 awikiyaamih7
2 paran1 yoran2 ineineanaa3 en4 oriyaamih5 3 oriyaahin1
inaamuni2 ema3 iyanpon4 kaaihma5 mairah6 yunaan7 taahen8
niyaaken9 oyaaen1 tiren2 waamih4 5 tarehaa1 tehtimpin2
kamani3 erein4 ten5 Taaratah6 yohan7 aahpihen8 Taanteh9
awikaanoo10 tikah11 6 tarehaa1 tehtimpin2 maha3 tikah4
tehti5 tiwikeyaahu6 7 Péph1 tinaahu2 tiraaho3 mai4 kayo5
ihyaa6 awikana7 iniyaamih8 8 paran1 yoran2 ineineanaa3 en4
oriyaamih5 9 aruwin1 ineineanaa2 en3 oriyaam 4 tarehaa5
tehtimpin6 Taanteh7 tiwikeyaahu8 inkaih9

1 Before, our grandfathers, and our grandmothers did not say 'it is a holiday' and rest. 2 They just went on thinking only of work. 3 As they went on, if there was a child, when the child was born, then they prepared food (and) ate. 4 "It's a holiday," they said and just stayed around. 5 Now, in our time, after the government came, it said, "On Saturday work a half (day), on Sunday rest!" 6 They said. 11 6 Now, in our time, we have spoken thus (and) we rest. 7 Before, our grandfathers (and) our grandmothers, this group, they were not thinking of rest. 8 They just went on thinking only of work. 9 They went on thinking only of fighting; now, in our time, we make a habit of resting on Sunday. The end.
NOTES ON AGARABI

Possessions

1 pepah₁ tinaahu₂ tiraahopin₃ ihyaa₄ oona₅ waamih₆ 2 manaa₁
wahyo₂ wan₃ matamen₄ waamih₅ 3 uwe₁ itana₂ maiha₃ yaaana₄
waahikan₅ namuroanom₆ wakuhyan₇ maikanan₈ oonaana₉ amaren₁₀
uhpimpa₪₁ karaampin₁₂ tihtoh₁₃ maah₁₄ wamaahnken₁₅ maipin₁₆
0₁₇ wariyaami₧₁₈ 4 mahai₁ iyaahin₂ tareha₃ kamani₄ eriikan₅
minoh₆ perehi₇ taatoh₈ tohe₉ wituka₆ taaraah₁₀ taantun₁₁
mai₁₃ yaaatinta₁₄ 5 aman₁ maahnaun₂ kaain₃ wahkan₄ 6 maiano₁
oonaih₂ ukan₃ waamih₄ 7 pepah₁ ihyaa₂ mahanten₃ oona₄ waamih₅
8 tareha₁ kamani₂ erin₃ me₄ tihtaah₅ kaikan₆ wahkan₇
maipinte₈ minoh₉ yaaah₁₀ aman₁₁ kaain₁₂ wahkan₁₃ maiano₁₄
oonaih₁₅ ukan₁₆ waamih₁₇ 9 inkaih₁

1 Before₁ in our grandparents time₂,₃ there were₅ not₄
possessions. 2 One₁ thing), bark₂,₃ there was₅ (and) bows₂ (and) these₃ things only,₄ there were;₅ if an enemy₆
they pursued₇ they took up₁₀ these two₈ possessions only₉ and
in the undergrowth₁₂ in the woods₁¹ they made₁₅ a little₁₃
house₁₄ (and) in this₁₆ they were sleeping. 4 After being₂
thus,₁ now₃ the government₄ has come₅ (and brought) many₆
plates,₇ spoons,₈ machetes,₉ knives,₁₀ forks₁₁ (and) axes,₁₂
these₁₃ things for us.₁₄ 5 After they put (them)₃ inside
the house₂ they remained.₄ 6 This₁ is₃ the possessions₂
(that) there are. 7 Before₁ there were₅ not₂ possessions₄
like that.₃ 8 Now,₁ after the government₂ came,₃ here₄ they
put₆ stores₅ (which) stay₇ In these₈ they brought₁₁ lots₉
of things₁₀ (and) put them₁₂ to stay;₁₃ there being₁₆ these₁₄
possessions₁₅ they stay.₁₇ 9 The end₁

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Sickness

1 ihyamuh$_1$ para$_2$ waaren$_3$ inuran$_4$ arah$_5$ orikan$_6$ 2 tihiyahun$_1$
tiren$_2$ 3 tikan$_1$ we$_2$ anohe$_3$ arun$_4$ mahen$_5$ 4 kaa$_1$ kan$_2$ orein$_3$
Weweti$_4$ nehne$_5$ moo$_6$ tin$_7$ ere$_8$ e$_9$ awirah$_{10}$ yohtaampah$_{11}$ moruh$_{12}$
yah$_{13}$ waano$_{14}$ tikan$_{15}$ 5 erein$_1$ e$_2$ awiren$_3$ 6 arawein$_1$ yohtaampah$_2$
moruh$_3$ yan$_4$ waratin$_5$ amikan$_6$ oo$_7$ akonnaiah$_8$ waratin$_9$ wihan$_{10}$
karuhyaren$_{11}$ purikan$_{12}$ awiren$_{13}$ 7 ehyein$_1$ muhyan$_2$ we$_3$ amaah$_4$
 washkan$_5$ Wehwaah汀$_6$ amaah$_7$ karapuntaahin$_8$ yon$_9$ wunan$_{10}$ karuhyaren$_{11}$
maipin$_{12}$ e$_{13}$ awihan$_{14}$ kaa eken$_{15}$ wakan$_{16}$ 8 ena$_1$ namun$_2$ uwah yen$_3$
maipin$_4$ e$_5$ awihan$_6$ kaain$_7$ wakan$_8$ minopimpahkeh$_9$ maipin$_{10}$ e$_{11}$
wan$_{12}$ arunanaah$_{13}$ waren$_{14}$ inuran$_{15}$ waamih$_{16}$

1 The day before yesterday$_1$ she just$_2$ stayed and$_3$ at night$_4$ she
had diarrhea$_{5,6}$ 2 "I am sick!"$_1$ she said$_2$. 3 Since she said
this$_1$ her$_2$ mother$_3$ felt sorry$_{4,5}$ 4 At dawn$_1,2$ after she went$_3$
to Weweti$_4$ and others$_5$ she said$_7$ there$_6$ "Come, let's take her$_{10}$
to the doctor's$_{11}$ (and) put (her) there$_{12,13}$ (to) stay!"$_{14}$ she
said$_{15}$ 5 After they came$_1$ they took her$_3$. 6 After they went
down$_1$ to the doctor's$_2$ they put her down there;$_{3,4}$ they gave her$_6$
they gave her$_6$ medicine$_5$ (and) her mouth$_7$ being tight$_8$ she spit
up$_{10,11}$ the medicine and$_9$ died$_{12}$ they took her (away)$_{13}$
7 After they came up$_1$ they put her up there (at)$_2$ her$_3$ house$_4$
(to) stay;$_5$ Wehwaah汀$_6$ threw out$_{11}$ the partitions$_8$ being$_{10}$
there$_9$ (in) his house;$_7$ they took her$_{14}$ in here$_{12}$ (and) put
her$_{15}$ (to) stay.$_{16}$ 8 Another$_1$ house$_2$ they built$_3$ (and) took her$_6$
(and) put her$_7$ in here$_4$ (to) stay;$_8$ from every place$_9$ in here$_{10}$
they stayed$_{12}$ were sorry$_{13,14}$ stayed$_{16}$ (all) night$_{15}$

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Waampeya

1 Aapeihpah₁ anaati₂ pahkemih₃ 2 mai₁ aarinta₂ awih₃ Waampeya₄ pahkaaken₅ anaati₆ ono₇ tiren₈ 3 yunaan₁ upiyaante₂ oriyaareh ikah₃ aarintano₄ temih₅ 4 peyan₁ waanta₂ tiponkei₃ ayen₄ waanta₅ waraanthehungo₆ tiren₇ 5 me₁ ipaah₂ Kainantumpah₃ tihtuah₄ woi₅ waaihpah₆ e₇ wakahin₈ 6 we₁ ayopi₂ erein₃ e₄ awirakhanka₅ tiponkah₆ tehi₇ mai₈ waanta₉ waraanowan₁₀ erehunon₊ tikan₁₂ 7 ipaahe₁ oremih₂ 8 o₁ wakaare₂ waanta₃ kayo₄ o₅ awire₆ 9 erein₁ me₂ koh₃ tika₄ mahtahe₅ temih₆ 10 peyan₁ waanta₂ ipaahono₃ ayen₄ waanta₅ ipaahono₆ ena₇ waanta₈ waraanoo₉ tikan₁₀ 11 eyo₁ tiren₂ oren₃ 12 orein₁ para₂ waamih₃ 12 aarinta₁ waraumo₂ temih₃

1 At Aapeihpah₁ they caught a woman. 2 This girl, her name (is) Waampeya₄ they grabbed; "You are a married woman!" they said. 3 While they were going (to) dig out food, the girl said. 4 "I don't want an old man, I will get a young man!" she said. 5 She gave up here (and) slept at the store boy's place. 6 After her brother came (to) take her, "I don't want (to go) I came (because) I want to get this man!" she said. 7 He gave up (and) went. 8 Having slept there, a group of men took her. 9 After they came here they held a court; the white man said, "Forget about the old man, forget about the young man, get another man!" he said. 10 "O.K." they said and went. 11 After they went they just stayed. 12 "I want to stay single," she said.

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NOTES ON AGARABI

II MORPHOLOGY

A Verbal affixes

There are a large number of verb constructions in the texts. These provide abundant illustrative material for discussion of verbal affixes. Agarabi verbs not only express action; but, by adding suffixes to the stem, they indicate the subject and something about the kind and/or time of the action. In addition all verb stems may be affixed to function as either independent or dependent verbs. These functions are determined by the different sets of subject suffixes that occur with them and by the possible presence of relational suffixes on dependent forms. These latter suffixes occur when it is important to denote the relationship between the verbs or clauses of the sentence.

Independent forms are those which can occur alone as sentences and in the final position in expanded sentences. Dependent forms never occur alone as sentences and normally take a medial position in the sentence.

The types of action, or aspect, suffixes illustrated in these texts are -iyaa, continuative; and -ra, narrative which occurs in conjunction with the neutral tense. The tense suffixes are -e, neutral which replaces the vowel of the preceding morpheme; -nte, simple time in the future; -ke, simple time in the past; and -kaa (-ka in dependent forms), time in the past, denoting completed action. The two mood suffixes are -ram, general desire and -nowan, emphatic or immediate desire.

Key to symbols referring to texts:

TfM - Travel from Mutoh
TMI - Travel to Mutoh I
TMII - Travel to Mutoh II
P - Possessions
NR - No Rest Days
S - Sickness
W - Wampeya

1, 2, , etc. - sentence numbers

Examples:

continuative TMI9 or-iyaa-h 'I (was) going...' a dependent form, context supplies the tense.
narrative S1 waa-re-n '...she stayed and...'
neutral W9 or-e-n '...they went...'
future W4 waraa-nte-hu-no '...I will get!'
past P8 uwmamaha-ke-n '...they made...'
perfect S6 a-mi-ka-n '...they gave her...'

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Independent verb forms are always marked for; first, second or third person subject and occasionally for number. The plural affix, however, does not occur at all in these texts—the context is expected to supply that information. The independent forms may also add emphatic markers following the person suffixes. The singular person-subject suffixes are -hu, first; -o, second and -mih, third. The ordinary emphatic is -no and the certitutive, -po.

**Examples**

1st person sg.  ere-hu  '...I came.'  TMI13
2nd person sg.  ipaah-o-no'...you forget!  W10
3rd person pl.  te-mih  '...she said.'  W11
emphatic  ere-hu-no'...I came!'  W6
certitutive  intemi-po' It is completely finished.'  TfM

Dependent verbs are not always marked for person, they may occur with only tense or aspect suffixes; for example in TIII-8 oriyyaa, go + continuative. In simple person-subject suffixes often occur, -h, first person; -n, third person. Second person is unmarked.

Some of the relational suffixes are complex forms which include the type of relationship plus the person-subject. Such a suffix is the contingent sequential suffix which expresses the idea that the first action must take place before the second one. In these texts we find examples of the first person contingent sequential, -ruhna; and of the third person, -in.

**Examples**

Simple first person - waa-h  '...I stayed...'  TMI5
            third person - te-n  '...he said...'  TfM2

There are no second person forms in our text.

Contingent Sequential—

first person - ore-ruhna Yawauroh 'After I went to Rabual, then...'  TMI11
            third person - tihpi ere-in '...after the ship came, then...'  TMI7
NOTES ON AGARABI

B. Non-Verbal affixes

Agarabi nouns, pronouns (possessive and demonstrative), and adjectives may occur unaffixed. When affixed, they may all occur with the same sets of affixes. Those that are illustrated by the accompanying texts include the locatives: -pin, in; -tah, on; -naun, inside; -pah, place or at and -ke, from. Others are likeness: -ten, like; predicative: -ih, it is and those denoting number: -ano, a, the; -anaa, only; and -kanan, two.

Examples:

locatives: in  toru waraapin 'in the salt water, TMI8
              tehtipin 'in our time'    NR9
              maipin 'in this place'   P9

              on  tarraretah 'on Saturday' NR11
              Mutohkah 'on Mutoh'      TMI10

              inside maahnaun 'inside the house' NR14

              place at Apeihpah 'a village name' W1
              yohtaampah 'at the doctor's' S5

              from Manutipahkena 'from Manus' TMI17

likeness: like  mahanten 'like thus'    P16

predicative: oonaaih 'it is possessions' P15

number: the  tihpiano 'the ship'    T M3

              only yanaaanaa '(the) only things' P4

              two  maikanan 'these two'    P6

combinations: minohpimpahke 'from everywhere' S10

              maipahke 'from this place' TMI2

C Affixes common to both verbs and nouns

The only prefixes in Agarabi occur on both nouns and verbs. These are the personal referents; ti-first person; a- non-first person, i.e. second or third, according to the context. It occurs obligatorily with some verbs and also obligatorily to some of the nouns.

When personal referents occur with verbs they function as object, direct or indirect depending on the meaning of the verb.
NOTES ON AGARABI

C Affixes common to both verbs and nouns

- amikan 'gave to her' S6
- awiren 'took her' S5
- tiwiren 'took me' TMI7

When the personal referent occurs with nouns they indicate possession. It is obligatory to all body parts, kinship terms and a few other nouns such as sickness, fear, yawn and shadow. It also occurs optionally with a few others.

- tinaahu 'my/our grandfather' Pl
- tiraaaho 'my/our grandmother' Pl
- anohe 'her mother' S3
- goopi 'her brother' W6
- awih 'her name' W2
- amaah 'her house' (optional) S7

There are also two suffixes which may occur with both nouns and verbs. The conditional: -mai, "if" or "when" occurs with dependent forms of the verb and on nouns. The other is benefactive: -tinta, "for me/us;" -anta, "for you/her/him/them".

conditional:

verbal - iyampon kaaihmai 'if a child was born
child put-it then...'
when

non-verbal - namuro:anoma wakuhyan 'when they pursued
enemy-a-when pursue an enemy...'

benefactive:

non-verbal - yanaatinta 'things for us'

There are no examples of the verbal in these texts.

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III Syntax

A. Simple Sentences: The simplest of sentences consists of one independent final verb in the imperative form.

* oro 'go!'
* naa 'eat!'

However, any sentence containing only one verb is here considered a simple sentence. The sentence may be expanded by the addition of other words and still be considered a simple sentence.

* Pepah tinaahu tiraahopin ihyaa oona waamih.
  'In our grandparents time there were no goods.' Pl
* Aapehipah anaati pahkemih.
  'They caught a woman at Aapehipah.' Wl

There is some freedom of position of subject, object, locatives etc., but the verb nearly always closes the construction. The only cases observed in which some other word closed the construction were for emphasis. This is rare.

B. Multiple verb sentences: Most narration and everyday conversation contain multiple verb sentences. In these cases there will be one or more dependent verbs in each sentence and one final verb to close the construction. In the following section several of the interesting features of these expanded constructions which can be observed in the text material will be presented. There is much more that could be said but the incomplete analysis of the language at this stage will not allow more.

It is often possible in Agarabi to have only one independent form in an entire text, that which closes it. For example the two short texts on the trip to Mutch each have but one independent form, the last in the text. In the 'Sickness' the only independent form other than the one that finishes the text is one in the first quotation.

It is also possible to string a number of dependent forms one following the other without any intervening words as in 'Sickness':

* wihan karuhyaren purikan awiren ehyein muhyan ...
  'She spat it out and died. They took her and, after they came...'
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For the sake of clarity in translation, punctuation is inserted here but there is not necessarily any justification for it in the language itself.

In some instances the verb, especially in its continuative form may be repeated as in Mutoh 1 and 2 oriyaa oriyaa to indicate that the person went and went - a long trip.

There are also several cases where a verb is repeated with different affixes over a clause break. In some cases this is a matter of style only. In others it indicates that that action has been completed and what follows came later in time.

Examples:

...ineineanaa en oriyamih oriyahin NR2,3
"... they went on thinking ... As they went on

tihiyaahuno tren tikan ... S2,3
"I am sick!" she said. Since she said ...

In quotations the verb 'say' is used in different forms to open and close the quotation.

ten inka ei yei ... awirantemino TfM1,3
he said "finally your days .... will take you!" he said

Occasionally this rule is not followed as in Sickness sentence number 2, where there is no introductory word, only the verb 'say' following.

tihiyaahuno tiren "I am sick!" she said.

In contrast, in sentence number 4, the quote is introduced by tin and closed by tikan. In the cases where the first verb is not included the quotes may be set apart from the rest of the text by the first person personal-referent on the first word of the quotation, See S2 (above) and the following example.

tiponkah tehi mai waanta ... W6
"I don't want (to go), this man ..."

C. Idioms: There are several examples of idioms in these texts. The translation is not the literal equivalent of the Agarabi words but of the underlying meaning.
NOTES ON AGARABI

Examples:

arah orikan literally, 'her intestines went' S1
but the meaning is that she had diarrhea.

yoran ineineanaa en oriyaamih literally 'work, the
only thought was going' NR2
but the actual meaning is that the people went on
thinking only of work.

In the story of Ṭaampeya we are told that at the village of
Aapeihpah they caught a woman. This is a 'cultural idiom'.
The catching of a woman like this means that a man is taking
hold of a girl, signalling that she is to marry him. It is not
exactly an engagement; but, perhaps, the nearest thing in Agarabi
culture to an engagement though the girl has not necessarily
given her assent.