Words in Ama
Britten Årsjö

handledare: Anju Saxena
Abstract

This paper is part of a morphosyntactic description of Ama, a Papuan language spoken in Papua New Guinea. It contains a brief phonology and sections on morphology, word classes and phrases.

Complex verb morphology is typical of Papuan languages and Ama is no exception. Person, number, gender and case are marked on the verb as are tense, aspect and mood. Suppletive verb stems are common. Their main function is to express number according to an ergative - absolutive system. Noun morphology is less complex. There is a three-way gender distinction, but even that is mainly marked on the verb.

One of the more interesting features of the verb morphology in Ama is its split case-marking system. Apart from the already mentioned ergative - absolutive system, Ama also features an active - non-active system as well as a neutral ditto. These three case marking systems are morphologically marked on the verb. A fourth system is marked by clitics on the nominal phrase and includes more peripheral case roles. In addition, its degree of animacy will sometimes determine an argument’s role.
### List of Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>zero morpheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>ungrammatical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( )</td>
<td>a grammatical structure repeated up to (3) times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/</td>
<td>either or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>portmanteau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=</td>
<td>equal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>actor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJ/Adj.</td>
<td>adjectival(al)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV/Adv.</td>
<td>adverbial(al)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADVR</td>
<td>adverbialiser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG</td>
<td>agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>allative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN</td>
<td>animate</td>
</tr>
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<td>ATEL</td>
<td>atelic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>benefactive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>compound gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>consonant (in phonology)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDA</td>
<td>compounding: direction away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDT</td>
<td>compounding: direction towards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CON</td>
<td>conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cond.</td>
<td>conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CP</td>
<td>comment (phrase)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/dl.</td>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM/dem.</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>direction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DNT</td>
<td>deontic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DV</td>
<td>dummy verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>emphasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPST/Epist.</td>
<td>epistemic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>EV</td>
<td>evaluating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EX/excl.</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F/fem.</td>
<td>female</td>
</tr>
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<td>FAV</td>
<td>favour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOC</td>
<td>focus marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRUST.INT</td>
<td>frustrated intention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>genitive</td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>inalienable possession</td>
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<tr>
<td>IR</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IT</td>
<td>iterative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KIN</td>
<td>kinship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>M/masc.</td>
<td>masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAL</td>
<td>malfactive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIST.ASMP</td>
<td>mistaken assumption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC</td>
<td>nominalised clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NG</td>
<td>noun group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NONP/non-pl.</td>
<td>non-plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>noun phrase</td>
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<tr>
<td>NS/non-sg.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUM</td>
<td>number</td>
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</tr>
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<td>peripheral phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR</td>
<td>present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>progressive</td>
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<td>PRON/Pron.</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
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<tr>
<td>PROP</td>
<td>proper name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUT</td>
<td>stative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QW</td>
<td>question word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RC</td>
<td>relative clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RED</td>
<td>reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RFLX</td>
<td>reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RIR</td>
<td>remote irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RPST</td>
<td>remote past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S/sg.</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEE</td>
<td>try</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEND</td>
<td>change of place or condition</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The verbs in capital letters, e.g. GIVE, GO, PUT, have the grammatical function stated here.

The abbreviations using the lower case are used in running text, tables and in free translations.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SF</td>
<td>singular feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sfxs</td>
<td>suffixes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHOOT</td>
<td>on behalf of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM</td>
<td>singular masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPEC</td>
<td>specifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STAT</td>
<td>stative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syll.</td>
<td>syllable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAKE.FROM</td>
<td>malfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAM</td>
<td>tense, aspect, mood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temp.</td>
<td>temporal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>topic marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOPQ</td>
<td>topic marker in a question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TPST</td>
<td>today’s past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>undergoer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNQ</td>
<td>unique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>vowel (in phonology)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WALK.ABOUT</td>
<td>scattered action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YPST</td>
<td>yesterday’s past</td>
</tr>
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6.4 Temporal Phrases

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7. Summary

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Appendix: Text
1. INTRODUCTION

This paper is a description of the phonemes, morphemes, words and phrases of the Ama language, also called Sawiyanu. The forms encountered will be described in a basically structural way “interpreting them in the light of the language’s essentially human and communicative character” (Payne 1997:11).

Ama is a fairly typical Papuan language, conforming to many of the features of these languages as they are described in Foley (1986:12). It is basically a verb final language. It has a simple noun morphology, but the verb morphology is complex. There are suppletive verb stems (marking number). Actor and undergoer agreement is marked on the verb as are tense and mood. There is a three-way gender distinction in the nouns, which is, however, mainly marked on the verb. Though Ama lacks the switch reference system typical of many other Papuan languages (ibid.:183f), this is amply compensated for by the widespread topic marking system described in Årsjö (1994).

One of the intriguing features of the language is its grammaticalised split case-marking system (see section 5.1.4 (Marking Person, Number, Gender and Case) for details).

The organisation of the paper is as follows. In section 2 some general information about the language will be given. Section 3 is an abbreviated description of the phonology. In section 4 the morphology, including its morphophonemics, will be described. In this section seven morphological processes will be presented: suffixation, prefixation, stem modification, suppletion, reduplication, compounding and cliticisation, and it will be noted in what language specific operations these processes are used, e.g. marking of tense, aspect or mood in the verb or marking inalienable possession on kinship nouns. Describing the word classes in section 5, it will be noted, especially in regards to the verb, that different morphological processes may be used for the same operation, e.g. marking of number. Section 6 describes the different phrases in the language. Section 7 is a brief summary of the paper.

2. LANGUAGE INFORMATION

The Ama language is spoken by a group of people in the Ambunti district of the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea (PNG). The people are semi-nomadic hunters and gatherers. Children grow up learning to speak the language. Especially the boys also learn to understand Tok Pisin, one of the national languages. As they grow older they learn to speak it. Women do not usually speak Tok Pisin though some understand it. There are about 450 speakers of this language group.

According to Wurm (1982), Ama is a Papuan language, belonging to the Left May (or Arai) Phylum-Level Family, which comprises, apart from Ama, five other language groups: Rocky Peak, Iteli, Nimo, Bo and Owiniga. Rocky Peak is, however, actually part of the Iteli language. The languages are mutually unintelligible even though the total population of the Left May family is only about 1500. Within the language group of Ama there is no dialect variation.


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2 The terms ‘actor’ and ‘undergoer’ are used following Foley & Van Valin (1984).
3 The terms ‘morphological process’ and ‘morphological operation’ are used in accordance with Payne (1997:376). (See section 4.2 (Morphological Processes) for details.)
This paper is part of a more detailed description of the Ama grammar than has earlier been attempted, though a sketch can be found in S. and B. Årsjö (1975), S. Årsjö (1978a, 1978b) and B. Årsjö (1978a, 1978b). In this paper morphemes, words and phrases are covered in some detail. The data for the paper was collected between 1973 and 1991 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). It was mainly collected in the village of Kawiya where the author lived intermittently for about half of the period mentioned above. People from all other Ama villages visited regularly. The data consists of 97 texts, 33 transcribed oral and 64 written. It also includes a dictionary with about 1700 entries and a number of locally authored and translated books including the New Testament. A wordlist based on the New Testament contains 11 307 unique forms.

3. PHONOLOGY

The phonology of the Ama language will be presented in an abbreviated form using mainly tables and examples. The basic segmental features will be presented first. It will be followed by sections on syllable patterns and suprasegmentals. The last section outlines the orthography.

3.1 Basic Features

3.1.1 Consonants

There are twelve phonemic consonants in Ama.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosive</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>∏</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral Approximant</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/\w/ voiced labio-velar approximant
/\k/ voiceless unaspirated labialized velar plosive

Note: The plosives are unaspirated.

The /s/ is more retracted, [s], than the corresponding English sound.

The /h/ is rare and occurs only preceding /a/, except for loan-words.

The /\k/ occurs only morpheme initially preceding /a/, /ai/ and /au/.

Examples of phonemic consonants in word initial and medial position

/p/ /pau/ ‘chest band’ /w/ /wambo/ ‘mosquito’
/apu/ ‘tail’ /ewo/ ‘water’
/m/ /ma/ ‘possum’ /t/ /ta/ ‘fire’
/im/ ‘talk’ /tn\p/ ‘bitter’
/\f/ /\fau/ ‘look out!’ /n/ /nu/ ‘house’
/α\m/ ‘sago shoot’ /\jan\k/ ‘pain’

4 My husband and I are indebted to all Ama speakers for teaching us their language. I am especially grateful to Tuti Nikiyamo, Alopoi Imamu, James Yamu, Kwamo Nikiyamo, Maikel Liyali, Titus Siwau and Michael Lapuwo for checking much of the material. I am also indebted to my colleagues in SIL, PNG, who at different times have helped me to gain insight into the language. Thanks also to Anju Saxena of Uppsala University for valuable input into this paper.
Phonological variation of consonants
The following phonemic consonants have more than one allophone:

/\n/ [ŋ] occurs before /k/ instead of /\n/ in rapid speech

/ti-noki  /tinn\ke/  [t\n\ke]  come.P-INS.EX.A  ‘we (excl.) came’

[n] occurs elsewhere

/\p/ [v] occurs before /u/

/fu/  [\wu]  ‘pig’

[\p] occurs elsewhere

/\l/ [r] an alveolar flap, occurs following /\l/. It also occurs in free variation with /\l/ following /\n/.

/t\l\n/  [\r\n]  ‘stand’

/s\l\i/  [s\r\l\i]/[s\l\i]  ‘black’

[\l] occurs elsewhere

/k/ [\kw] occurs word medially between /u/ and /a/, /\ai/ or /\oi/

[k] occurs elsewhere. This means that the contrast between /k/ and /\kw/ is neutralised in this position

/u\tau\kai/  /utuk\lai/  [utuk\l\ai]  leave  ‘leave’

/u\tau\k\lai/  /tuk\\lai/  [tuk\l\ai]  PR-perceive  ‘hears’

Contrasts, consonants
The following series contrast:

/p/  /pau/  ‘breast band’ —

/\p/  /\pau/  ‘watch out!’ —

/m/  /\mai\u/  ‘kind of bark’ /\ma/  ‘possum’

/w/  /\wau/  ‘sorcery’ /\wa/  ‘what (did you say)?’

/t/  /\tau\u/  ‘three’ /\ta/  ‘fire’

/n/  /\na\u/  ‘cup’ /\na/  ‘yes’

/s/  /\sa\u/  ‘stand up (pl.)’ /\sa/  ‘rain’

/\l/ — /\l\a/  ‘fish’

/\j/  /\jau/  ‘dead’ /\ja/  ‘I/me’

/k/  /\kau/  ‘take away’ /\ka/  ‘built’

/\kw/ — /\kw\a/  ‘edge’

/h/ — /\ha/  ‘comfort’
3.1.2 Vowels

There are seven phonemic monophthongs and four phonemic diphthongs in Ama.

Vowels: Monophthongs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Closed</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-closed</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-open</td>
<td>å</td>
<td>ò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ð</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The phonetic manifestation of /i/ is always [ɪ].

The /e/ is always slightly raised.

Examples of phonemic monophthongs in word initial, medial and final position

/i/ /isaunô/ ‘tongue’ /u/ /unu/ ‘shoot him’
/si[j̥]p̥/ ‘name’ /puwô/ ‘up’
/kn̥p̥ni/ ‘animal’ /al̥/ ‘child’
/e/ /ewô/ ‘water’ /o/ /o/ ‘bird’
/keki/ ‘saw’ /tɔnɔ/ ‘skin’
/ʃɔnɔpe/ ‘tobacco’ /mɔtɔ/ ‘true’
/a/ /anɔ/ ‘get’ /ɔ/ /ɔ[i]/ ‘seed’
/ɔnɔpõ/ ‘barren’ /nɔnɔ/ ‘woman’
/ul̥uwa/ ‘wash’ /nɔnɔ/ ‘man’

Phonological variation of monophthongs

The following phonemic monophthongs have more than one allophone:

/a/ [v] occurs morpheme initially before a syllable containing a diphthong, or if more than one syllable follow, or any position if unstressed

/anoi/ [anɔi] ‘my mother’
/t-ɔmɔli/ [tɔ-mɔli] ‘PR-go.upriver’
/kawi-ɔ-tumɔ/ [kɔwĩ-ɔtumɔ] ‘take-bring-come’

[a] occurs elsewhere

/u/ [u] occurs in unstressed positions

/mu[u]/ [mu’u] ‘heart’

[u] occurs elsewhere

/ɔ/ [ɔ] (ʔ) (a very weak manifestation of the phoneme) in unstressed positions between /p/-/l/, /f/-/l/, /m/-/l/, /n/-/l/, /k/-/l/ and /f/-/n/, /m/-/n/, /k/-/n/. Between /f/-/l/, /m/-/l/, and /m/-/n/ [ʔ] is the preferred variant.

/kn̥p̥i/ [kɔn̥p̥i] ‘open (pl.)’
/mn̥p̥p̥ni/ [mɔn̥p̥p̥ni] ‘many’
[ɔ] − [ʌ]  
[ɔ] varies with [ʌ] in unstressed position though neither occurs word finally.

Word initially, and following [j] and [w], [ʌ] is the preferred variant.

\[\text{tnpōlimo}/ [tɔˈpʲimob] ‘sow’\]
\[\text{amōɾki}/ [′ɛm[akʲi] ‘night’\]
\[\text{wōli}/ [wəˈlʲi] ‘my friend’\]
\[\text{osi}/ [ʌˈsʲi] ‘land’\]

\[[o] \] occurs elsewhere

**Vowels: Diphthongs**

| ai | i | au | u |

Note: /ai/ and /au/ have the stress on the first vowel: ['ai'], ['au']

/ai/ and /au/ have the stress on the second vowel except for the allophone [ˈɛi]; [ʌˈi]/[ˈɛi], [ʌˈu]/[ˈu]

(The loudness and length that are the two parts of stress in Ama are part of the vowel quality. For further details see section 3.3.1 (Stress and Length).)

**Examples of phonemic diphthongs in word initial, medial and final position**

\[\text{/ai/} /aɪnɨp/ ‘pandanus fruit’ /pi/ /pʲinn/ ‘like that’\]
\[\text{/iɾɨnʲiɾɨnm/} ‘good’ /knōni-sʊ/ ‘later today’ (now-ALL)\]
\[\text{/pƖai}/ ‘today’ /mɒi/ ‘we (incl.)/you (pl.)’\]
\[\text{/au/} /aʊwɨa/ ‘my brother’ /dʊ/ /dɒwɔsi/ ‘be ashamed’\]
\[\text{/iɾasʊn}/ ‘tongue’ /sɒwai/ ‘surpass’\]
\[\text{/kau/} ‘take away’ /kɒi/ ‘adornment’\]

**Phonological variation of diphthongs**

The following phonemic diphthongs have more than one allophone:

\[\text{/iɾi/} [ɛi] occurs word initially and medially\]
\[/pʲinn/ [ɛn]^n ‘like that’\]
\[/pʲiɾp/ [ɛɾp] ‘rice’\]

\[[ʌi] occurs elsewhere\]
\[/knōni/ [kn̥i] ‘now’\]

\[/dʊ/ [dʊ] occurs following /w/\]
\[/dʊwû/ [ʌ]wʊdʊ] ‘dog’\]

\[[au] occurs elsewhere\]

**Contrasts, all vowels including diphthongs**

The following series contrast:

\[/i/ /ki/ ‘plain’ /ti/ ‘come (pl.)’ /si/ ‘a type of fruit’\]
\[/e/ /ke/ ‘see’ /fɛs/ ‘help’\]
\[/a/ /ka/ ‘built’ /ta/ ‘fire’ /sa/ ‘rain’\]
\[/u/ /ku/ ‘mark’ /tu/ ‘thumb’ /su/ ‘thorn’\]
\[/o/ /ko/ ‘cloud’ /to/ ‘sago’ /so/ ‘exchange’\]
\[/ɔ/ /ko/ ‘jaw’\]
\[/ɒ/ /kɒ/ ‘build’ /tɒ/ ‘bread fruit’ /i-sɒ/ ‘said to her’ (say-3SF.ABS)\]
3.2 Syllable Patterns

There are only two syllable patterns in Ama. They are V and CV. The V syllable only occurs word initially and in one syllable words. The vowel may be a monophthong or a diphthong.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllables</th>
<th>One Syll. Word</th>
<th>Word Initial</th>
<th>Word Medial</th>
<th>Word Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>/i.wa/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘tree’</td>
<td>‘leaf’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ai/</td>
<td>/au.wa/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘sickness’</td>
<td>‘brother’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>/ta/</td>
<td>/n. ni/</td>
<td>/a.lu.wa/</td>
<td>/n. kn/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘fire’</td>
<td>‘woman’</td>
<td>‘dog’</td>
<td>‘man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/koi/</td>
<td>/du.wa/</td>
<td>/i.sau.na/</td>
<td>/a.lu.wa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘we/us (excl.)’</td>
<td>‘anoint’</td>
<td>‘tongue’</td>
<td>‘follow’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are only two syllable patterns in Ama. They are V and CV. The V syllable only occurs word initially and in one syllable words. The vowel may be a monophthong or a diphthong.

3.3 Suprasegmentals

In this section stress, length, nasalisation, tone and intonation will be briefly described. Stress, length and nasalisation are not contrastive, whereas tone and intonation are.

3.3.1 Stress and Length

A phonological word in Ama is defined as having one stressed syllable. Stress is in most cases predictable as it occurs on the heaviest syllable of the word. Heaviness is usually tied to vowel quality but sometimes to certain suffixes. There are certain words, however, where these two criteria fail to predict the stress.

There are two parts to stress in Ama: loudness and length, i.e. a stressed syllable has a longer vowel than an unstressed one.

The hierarchy of heaviness

The stress is usually placed on the heaviest syllable in the word. In Ama a heavy syllable is a syllable with a heavy nucleus consisting of a vowel that as part of its quality is louder and longer than other vowels in the same word. For example, the vowel /a/ is always louder and longer than /i/ or /u/. It has been found, depending on vowel quality, that all vowels including diphthongs can be arranged in a hierarchy of heaviness. Usually a syllable with a heavy vowel is stressed if there is no syllable with a nucleus that is higher up in the hierarchy. Starting with the heaviest vowel, the hierarchy is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/ai/</th>
<th>/au/</th>
<th>/isiku*nai/</th>
<th><em>isiku</em>nai</th>
<th>‘plant’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/auwa/</td>
<td>*auwa</td>
<td>‘my brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/nisamu/</td>
<td><em>eri’samu</em></td>
<td>‘sago pudding for initiation’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/nakn/</td>
<td>*nakn</td>
<td>‘blood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/ani/</td>
<td>*ani</td>
<td>‘louse’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5 The period in the example words in the table signals the syllable juncture.
6 These features will be marked in the phonetic writing only where relevant for the discussion.
A syllable containing the vowel /o/ is stressed only if there are no other kind of vowel present in the word.

1) /nɔnî/ [nɔˈnɪ] ‘woman’
2) /anij̣p̣a/ [aŋiˈj̣p̣a] ‘forever’
3) /sɔl̩/ [sɔˈl̩] ‘laugh’

If a two or more syllable word contains only one kind of vowel the last occurrence tends to attract the stress.

4) /unu/ [ʊˈnu] ‘shoot him’
5) /isi/ [ɪˈsɪ] ‘garden’

**Heavy suffixes**

There are certain suffixes that attract stress, and are therefore called “heavy”. Seemingly they bypass at least part of the above hierarchy. Some of them are:

6) /-kɔ/ [-kɔ] ‘3NS.U’
7) /-kɔnɔ/ [-kɔnɔ] ‘go down’
8) /-jɔ/ [-jɔ] ‘moving towards’

Another suffix /-tɔnɔ/ ‘3INAL’, used on inalienable nouns, perturbs the stress so that it falls on the syllable immediately preceding it.

9) /auwa/ ['auwa] ‘my brother’
10) /auwa-tɔnɔ/ [auˈwatɔnɔ] ‘his/her brother’
Exceptions to stress rules

There are certain words that seem to be exceptions to the above stress rules, for example:

11) /ewŋ/   [e’wŋ]  ‘water’

Length

As mentioned above length is part of stress in Ama. Stressed syllables have longer vowels.

12) /nụn/       [a’nu:]  ‘there’
13) /aŋi/       [‘a:nı]  ‘louse’

3.3.2 Nasalisation

Nasalisation is a common phonetic feature of the Ama language, but it is not phonemic. Within a word, all vowels preceded by a nasal consonant are nasalised until a non-nasal consonant occurs to break it. The semi-vowels /j/ and /w/ do not block the spreading, however.

14) /nunjı/    [nɔnı]  ‘woman’
15) /nunjı/    [nɔnkı]  ‘man’
16) /njıu/    [nıjıu]  ‘nest’

There is one exception:   /a/   [á]  ‘tree’

There is no word with the phonetic form *[a].

3.3.3 Tone

There is phonemic word tone contrasting on one and two syllable words. The contrastive patterns are a rising / and a rising-falling \ tone on the last stressed syllable.

17) / ı:/  ‘string bag’
18) / ı:/  ‘tooth’
19) /n’mu:]  ‘nose’
20) /n’mu:]  ‘moon’

3.3.4 Intonation

There are four contrastive intonation patterns in Ama: falling, signalling a final statement, level, signalling a non-final statement, rising, signalling a temporal sequence and rising-falling, signalling a question.

The examples under this heading are in orthography. The following punctuation is used to signal the four intonation patterns: falling intonation is marked in the orthography by a full stop, level intonation by a comma, rising intonation by a semi-colon and rising-falling intonation by a question mark.

Falling Intonation Pattern - Final statement

21) Noko mo utukai-ki-∅.
    man TOP leave-RPST-1/3S.A
    ‘The man left.’

Level Intonation Pattern - Non-final clause

22) Sa tumo somiso mo, ya mana-imo.
    rain come without TOP 1S go-FUT
    ‘If it does not rain I will go.’
Rising Intonation Pattern - Time sequence

23) *Nu-ki-noki, nu-ki-noki, nu-ki-noki; Ama-ki mo*
*go-RPST-1NS.EX.A go-RPST-1NS.EX.A go-RPST-1NS.EX.A a.name-plain TOP*
*ti-ki-noki. come-RPST-1NS.EX.A*

‘We went and went and went and (finally) arrived at Ama.’

Rising-Falling Intonation Pattern - Question

24) *Ni no hani?*
*his TOPQ what*

‘What is this?’

3.4 Orthography

The following orthography is used for the Ama language since 1980.7

\[
\begin{align*}
/a & e \phi h i k k^* l m n o o p s t o u w j/ \\
< & a I F H I K K w L M N O O P S T U U o U W Y >
\end{align*}
\]

3.4.1 Orthographic Conventions

Phonemic tone is not written.

Based on psycholinguistic testing the following under-differentiating is practised, i.e. the same orthographic symbol is used for more than one phoneme as follows:

| /i/ | <i> | /isÅni/ | <isÅni> | ‘here and now’ |
| /e/ | <i> | /enÅ/ | <enÅ> | ‘seed’ |
| /u/ | <u> | /kuÅ/ | <kuÅ> | ‘write’ |
| /o/ | <u> | /toÅ/ | <toÅ> | ‘skin’ |
| /ɔ/ | <o> | /onÅ/ | <onÅ> | ‘drum’ |
| /ø/ | <o> | /noÅ/ | <noÅ> | ‘man’ |

The phoneme /o/ is usually written <u> only in words of more than one syllable. In one-syllable words /o/ is written <uo>.

| /u/ | <u> | ‘flower’ |
| /ø/ | <uo> | ‘bird’ |

This under-differentiation is possible because the phonemes /e/ and /o/ are relatively rare and /ɔ/ is extremely rare.

Also based on psycholinguistic testing word initial /ɔ/, /õ/ and /o/ are written as <a>, <ai> and <au> respectively, for example:

25) *[Aŋu] /nÅ/ <Aŋu> ‘there’
26) *[eipijɛt] /nipijoi/ <aipijoi> ‘cassowary’

3.4.2 Punctuation

The following punctuation is used:

Period: Falling intonation - Final statement
Comma: Level intonation - Non-final clause
Semi-colon: Rising intonation - Time sequence
Question-mark: Rising-Falling intonation - Question

---

7 Orthographic conventions are indicated within < >. As usual, the phonemes occur within / /.
4. MORPHOLOGY

Just glancing down a page of interlinerised text of Ama gives the impression that it is a highly agglutinative language. The following example is illustrative:

27) \(ft\) t-un-a-li-noki
    pig PR-shoot-CDA-go.upriver-INS.EX.A
    ‘We are going upriver to shoot a pig.’

This is, however, somewhat misleading as there are also other processes going on apart from affixation, and they apply differently to different word classes.

The first thing to be observed then is that, as far as word structure goes, there are two types of words: verbs and non-verbs. In non-verbs, comprising all word classes except the verb, there are only a few and mostly regular morphological processes going on. In verbs, on the other hand, there are many processes going on at the same time, and many of them show an irregular pattern. In the table, in section 4.2.1 (Overview of Morphological Processes), it can be seen that six morphological processes are going on in the verb, while the other word classes share four processes between them and none using more than three processes.

There are three entwined case systems in Ama encoded in the verb morphology: active - non-active, neutral and ergative - absolutive. Terminology in this area basically follows Comrie (1981:104f, 117f). Considering nominal core-arguments in the clause, there are three “primitives”:

- the single core argument of the intransitive clause (S)
- the agent of the transitive clause (A)
- the patient of the transitive clause (P)

In Ama the basic, most underlying case system is the active - non-active system. In this system the single core argument of the intransitive clause could be either the same as A or P depending on the semantics of the verb it is an argument of. Typical verbs where \(S=A\) would be \(run, jump, sit\), i.e. verbs signalling actions where control is involved. This type of core argument is an ‘actor’ in Ama (see below). It is also one of the core arguments in a transitive clause. Typical verbs where \(S=P\) are \(die, get sick, fall\), i.e. verbs signalling actions where control is absent. This type of core argument is an ‘undergoer’ in Ama (see below). It is also one of the core arguments in a transitive clause.

However, the active - non-active system is only part of the total case marking method in Ama. There is a morphological person-based split, so that depending on person, number and gender all three systems mentioned above are used. In the ergative - absolutive system the S and the P are marked the same, i.e. the single core argument of the intransitive clause is marked the same as the patient of the transitive clause. This system is in Ama used to mark gender and to some extent number. In the neutral (ibid.:118) system the “three primitives” are all marked the same. This system applies to second person in Ama and is a truth with modification as will be shown in section 5.1.4.2 (Neutral Case). The case system, including all its splits, will be described in section 5.1.4 (Marking Person, Number, Gender and Case). There is also a case system signalled by clitics on the noun phrase involving also peripheral arguments like locationals and temporals. This is described in section 6.2.3.2 (Case Marking of Noun Phrases).

Partly because of the split case system it has not seemed possible to define a subject or object for this language, so the terms actor and undergoer have been adopted from Foley and Van Valin (1984). An intransitive clause has either an actor or an undergoer as its only core argument (see above). A transitive clause has one of each.

Another issue to be addressed here concerns the fact that, as the verb root in many cases varies with number and sometimes also with gender, it is desirable to find a basic verb form from which other forms could, at least to some degree, be predicted. The most neutral form there is in the language is the third person singular masculine. It is a bare verb root, which may be used as a noun. It may be conjugated for person (including number, gender and case), tense and mood, as well as other more peripheral verb categories. This basic form is in many cases the same regardless of number of participants. This is the unmarked form used in the gloss of the examples. In section 5.1.1 (The Basic Verb Form) this form will be further discussed. Paradigms for three regular verbs will be given in section 5.1.2.2.1 (Basic Verb Paradigms).

---

8 The other problem with defining the terms ‘subject’ and ‘object’ in Ama is the topic marking system. The marking of topic in Ama was described in Årsjö (1994).

9 Somewhat simplified this form will be understood as referring either to the actor or the undergoer depending on the lexical meaning of the verb. It is also understood as realis and today’s past tense which are signalled by zero morphemes as is the third person actor in a transitive clause.
Most operations are inflectional but, as will be seen in section 4.3 (Derivation versus Inflection), some could be interpreted as either inflectional or derivational.

There are some rather long root morphemes in the language. It is plausible that there has been a change over time so that some operations that used to be productive are no longer so. These morphemes are synchronically one but diachronically complex. These will be commented on as they occur.

There are six productive morphological processes: prefixation, suffixation, reduplication, stem modification, suppletion and compounding. In addition cliticisation occurs at different levels.

There are five types of morphemes: roots, stems, prefixes, suffixes and enclitics.

The organisation of this section is as follows. Section 4.1 presents types of morphemes. In 4.2 the morphological processes, including cliticisation, will be presented starting with an overview. In section 4.3 inflection and derivation will be discussed. Section 4.4 contains morphophonemic rules.

4.1 Types of Morphemes

There are roots, affixes, and clitics in Ama. The affixes may be either prefixes or suffixes. infixes do not occur. A stem consists of a root that may have been augmented by reduplication or compounding and may be further affixed. Below are some examples of each. For more examples and complete paradigms of prefixes, suffixes and clitics see section 4.2 (Morphological Processes).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roots</th>
<th>Stems</th>
<th>Prefixes</th>
<th>Suffixes</th>
<th>Enclitics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fasi</td>
<td>fasi-ko</td>
<td>to- ‘PRESENT’</td>
<td>-no ‘3NS.A’</td>
<td>[-mai ‘LOCATIVE’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘help’</td>
<td>help-3NS.U</td>
<td>po- ‘IRREALIS’</td>
<td>-nuwo ‘2NS’</td>
<td>[-yo ‘AGENT’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yousi</td>
<td>yousi-moi</td>
<td>ku- ‘down below’</td>
<td>-moko ‘1NS.U’</td>
<td>[-woi ‘WITH’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sit’</td>
<td>sit-GO(=PROG)</td>
<td>ti- ‘inside’</td>
<td>-so ‘3SF.ABS’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki</td>
<td>ki-ya-tumo</td>
<td>you- ‘up’</td>
<td>-ki ‘REMOTE PAST’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘see’</td>
<td>‘see-CDA-come’</td>
<td>‘came to see him’</td>
<td>-imo ‘FUTURE’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fu</td>
<td>fu-aluwou</td>
<td>-wo ‘NON-SINGULAR’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘pig’</td>
<td>pig-dog</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siyoli</td>
<td>si-siyoli</td>
<td>RED.NS-big</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘big’</td>
<td>‘big (non-sg.)’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2 Morphological Processes

The term ‘morphological process’ is used in accordance with Payne (1997:376). For Payne a ‘morphological process’ is a structural process regardless of function, e.g. suffixation. He contrasts this with the ‘morphological operation’, which is a language specific function signalled by one structure or another, e.g. plural formation in English. This terminology has been adopted in this paper.

In Ama there are six productive morphological processes: prefixation, suffixation, reduplication, stem modification, suppletion and compounding. All of these processes take place in the verb. Some occur on other word classes as well (see table in next section). Cliticisation also occurs at different levels.

10 The difference between an affix and a clitic in this language is that an affix is affixed to one particular word class while a clitic “floats” and may attach itself to any of a number of word classes. Both are different from a particle in that they carry no stress of their own.

11 but see section 4.4 (Morphophonemics), Rule 6 for an exception.

12 A root may also be modified or suppleted (see sections 4.2.5 (Stem Modification) and 4.2.6 (Suppletion) respectively).

13 The square brackets refer to the fact that the clitics are phonetically bound but grammatically free (see section 4.2.8 (Cliticisation)).

14 It should be noted that in Ama several processes may occur together in one operation. This is especially true in regards to marking number on verbs, where stem modification usually occurs together with reduplication (see sections 4.2.4.1 (Reduplication in the Verb) and 4.2.5 (Stem Modification) for details).
4.2.1 Overview of Morphological Processes

**Suffixation** is the most common morphological process. A number of different suffixes function in the verb expressing such things as person, number, gender and case (actor and undergoer/absolutive), as well as tense, deontic mood and negative. There are also a few suffixes occurring on nouns. **Prefixation** only occurs on verbs and is used to express epistemic mood and some locative specifications.

28) \(p\)-ayolo-so-mosi-ki-no
   IR-teach-3SF.ABS-IT-RPST-3NS.A
   ‘They used to teach her.’

29) ni-ya to-fasi-k-a-yo-koni
   here-UNQ PR-help-3NS.U-CDA-go.up-1NS.IN.A
   ‘Let’s go up and help them.’

30) inai-**tono**
   male’s.sister-3INAL
   ‘his/their sister’

**Reduplication** is often an augmentative operation used to increase number. It applies mainly to verbs and adjectives. In the verb reduplication and stem modification often work together. In the pronoun reduplication has a contrastive function.

31) am\(i\)-mo \(\text{ami-ami-ko}^{15}\)
   strong-S RED.NS-strong-3NS.U
   ‘strengthen him’
   ‘strengthen them’

32) noko siyoli \(\text{noko si-siyoli}\)
   man big man RED.NS-big
   ‘an important man’
   ‘important RED.NS-big’

33) toi \(\text{to-tai}\)
   3P RED.EMPH-3P
   ‘they’
   ‘they (contrastive focus)’

**Stem modification** and **suppletion** are used to change some verbal stems according to number and, seemingly, for some common verbs, gender as well.

34) tukolo \(\text{tukwoli}\)
   kill kill.NS
   ‘kill him’
   ‘kill them’

35) moi \(\text{mano-so} \text{nu}\)
   go go-3SF.ABS go.P
   ‘I/he went’
   ‘she went’
   ‘they went’

36) yousi \(\text{si-so} \text{si}\)
   sit sit.(P)-3SF.ABS sit.P
   ‘I/he sat’
   ‘she sat’
   ‘they sat’

**Compounding** of roots occurs mostly in the verb. It is commonly used to express direction and location. There are two different affixes that bind the roots together (see section 4.2.7 (Compounding) for details). There are also a number of verb roots that are used to express semantic and grammatical functions. Among the grammatical functions of compounding aspect and benefactive are prominent.

37) fonopoi ifolomu-ko-tolo-∅
   tobacco smoke-3NS,U-stand-TPST
   ‘I/he stood smoking.’

38) na po-ki-ya-tumo-∅-∅
   FOC IR-see-CDA-come-IMP-S
   ‘Come and look at him (you sg.)!’

---

15 This is a verb derived from an adjective. Many non-derived verbs may also be reduplicated to indicate an increase in number but then the operation is never regular.
39) *ai t-ระหว-โมย*  
sickness PR-afflict-1S,U-GO  
‘I’m always sick.’  

40) *ยำโมโนโมย โมะนะกระโดะ-โมะ-กิ*  
1S TOP mother.1 TOP FOC die-3SF.ABS-TAKE,FROM-GIVE1-1S.U-RPST  
‘My mother died leaving me (alone).’  

**Cliticisation**, finally, functions on phrase and clause level. There are a number of enclitics expressing e.g. case. (For a definition of ‘clitic’ in Ama see footnote 10.)  

41) *อายิ้นผู้พยาบาล*  
child sickness afflict TOP mother.3-AG take FOC clinic-ALL  
‘When a child is sick his mother must take him to the hospital.’  

The following table shows what the different morphological processes are used for. The table also includes cliticisation.  

**Morphological Processes**  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefixes</th>
<th>Suffixes</th>
<th>Re-duplication</th>
<th>Com-pounding</th>
<th>Stem Modification</th>
<th>Suppletion</th>
<th>Cliticisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VERBS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>Person</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Aspect</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>()</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epist. Mood</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Benefactive</td>
<td>(Gender)</td>
<td>(Gender)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Direction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tense</td>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Number DNT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DNT Mood</td>
<td>Derivational</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOUNS</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inalienable Possession</td>
<td>(Number)</td>
<td>(Complex Nouns)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>()</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derivational</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRONOUNS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Contrast. Focus (personal)</td>
<td>Dual (personal)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>()</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16 A () in this column means that a clitic may occur on the word class in question, but if it does, it marks the whole phrase or, if occurring on a verb, the whole clause.  
17 An (xxx) in any column means that the process is of minor importance for the operation within parenthesis.  
18 On some demonstrative pronouns and conjunctions the case clitics occur word medially as part of a compounding process and in that way are more like a particle or possibly a compounding suffix.
### 4.2.2 Prefixation

Prefixes only occur on verbs in Ama and are used to express two things: epistemic mood and location. The locative prefixes occur closest to the stem. The epistemic mood prefixes are obligatory on finite verbs, while on non-finite verbs they cannot be there. The locative prefixes are not grammaticalised.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
(-2) & (-1) & \text{head-stem} & (1) & \text{stem} & (2) \\
\end{array}
\]

The prefixes will be listed in the order they occur, counting outwards from the stem. For varying shape of some prefixes see section 4.4 (Morphophonemics).

#### 4.2.2.1 First Order Prefixes

**Location**

- **tu-** ‘inside, upriver’
- **fu-** ‘outside, downriver’
- **ku-** ‘down below’
- **you-** ‘up above’

42)  \(\varnothing-tu-si\)
    
    R-inside-sit.P
    ‘they sat inside/upriver’

43)  \(a\ to-fu-ikai-tolo\)
    
    tree PR-downriver-plant-stand
    ‘(he) is downriver planting a tree’

19 Further verb stems (root plus certain suffixes) are used to express some grammatical and semantic features (see section 4.2.7.1 (Compounding of Verb Stems).
44) ∅-ku-toi
   R-below-sleep
   ‘I/he slept down below’

45) ∅-you-tolo
   R-above-stand
   ‘I/he stood up above’

4.2.2.2 Second Order Prefixes  (-2)

Epistemic Mood  ∅  ‘realis’
   to-  ‘weak realis (present)’
   po-  ‘irrealis’
   pa-  ‘remote irrealis’

Morphophonemic Rules 1 and 2 apply. See section 4.4 (Morphophonemics).

4.2.3 Suffixation

Suffixes occur on verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs. In addition there is a suffix that may occur on the clause. There are both inflectional and derivational suffixes. The inflectional suffixes occur mainly on the verb and will be listed in section 4.2.3.1. Inflectional suffixes of the noun and a clause suffix will be listed in sections 4.2.3.2 and 4.2.3.3, respectively. The derivational suffixes will be listed in section 4.2.3.4.

For varying shape of some suffixes see section 4.4 (Morphophonemics).

4.2.3.1 Inflectional Suffixes in the Verb

Person, number, gender and case may be expressed on the verb in suffixes expressing three or four of these categories21. More simply said, suffixes express actor (or just number in deontic mood) and undergoer/absolutive. Tense, or deontic mood, and one kind of negation are also signalled by suffixes. Epistemic mood and deontic mood do not co-occur except in the imperative mood.

On a finite verb form tense or deontic mood are obligatory, while on a non-finite verb form they cannot be there. Whether the actor or the undergoer is obligatory depends on the individual verb. Also, there are other processes involved in marking these categories. (see section 5.1.4 (Marking Person, Number, Gender and Case). The negative suffix is of course not obligatory.

20 This zero morpheme will not be indicated in any other examples than those in sections where prefixes or epistemic mood are in focus.

21 Gender only applies to third person singular.
The head stem may be a root or a stem that has been augmented to increase number by a derivational suffix, reduplication, stem modification or suppletion.

\[-2\] \[-1\] head-stem \[(1)\] \[(stem (2))\] \[(3)\] \[(4)\] \[(5)\] \[V \rightarrow \] (EPST) (LOC) stem \[(U/ABS)\] \[(root (U/ABS))\] \[(TENSE/DNT)\] \[(A/NUM)\] (NEG)

The suffixes signalling person, number, gender and case are especially complicated as there are splits in the morphological person marking as follows:

**Gender** (only expressed in third person singular) is marked as **ergative - absolutive**.

**Second person** (singular and plural) have mostly **neutral** marking, but in a transitive verb there are portmanteau morphemes expressing first and third person actors with second person undergoers. All these occur as fourth order suffixes, i.e. in the "actor" slot.

**First person** (singular and plural) and **third person plural**, have **active - non-active marking**.

This means that undergoer and absolutive suffixes are first order suffixes, (U/ABS), in the formula above. Actor, ergative, neutral and personal portmanteau suffixes are fourth order suffixes, A, in the formula.

The suffixes will be listed in the order they occur, counting outwards from the stem.

### 4.2.3.1.1 First Order Suffixes (1)

Undergoer and absolutive suffixes are first order suffixes.

**Undergoer Agreement**: (1S/NS, 3NS)  
- **-mono** ‘1S’  
- **-moko** ‘1NS’  
- **-ko** ‘3NS’

- **-kuwano** ‘reciprocal’
- **-komo** ‘disambiguating suffix for 1/2 NS’

52) *to-kokolomo-mono*  
PR-be.afraid-1S.U  
‘I am afraid’

53) *iwo usoiyo soliyaki-yo ufiyai-moko-kai-Ø*  
water flood big-AG hinder-1NS.U-PUT-1/3S.A  
The flood is hindering us.’

54) *i-ko-ki-Ø*  
say-3NS.U-RPST-1/3S.A  
‘I/he/she said to them’

55) *imo lukasi-kuwano-ki-no*  
talk speak.each.other-RPST-3NS.A  
‘They spoke with each other.’

56) *to-fasi-komo-nuvo*  
PR-help-1/2NS.U-3A+2NS.U  
‘he/she/they help you’

**Absolutive Agreement**: (3S)  
- **basic form**23  
  ‘masculine gender’
- **-so**  
  ‘feminine gender (3SF.ABS)’
- **-ko**  
  ‘compound gender (3C.ABS)’24

57) *na fasi-ki-no*  
FOC help-RPST-3NS.A  
‘They helped him.’

* na liyai-ki  
FOC walk.about-RPST  
‘I/he went for walk.’

---

22 Further verb stems (root plus certain suffixes) are used to express some grammatical and semantic features (see section 4.2.7.1 (Compounding of Verb Stems)).

23 The basic form is the masculine form (see section 5.1.1 (The Basic Verb Form)).

24 This suffix is the same as the third person non-singular undergoer suffix which is glossed 3NS.U. For compound gender see section 5.2.1 (Gender).
4.2.3.1.2 Third Order Suffixes (3)

There are no second order suffixes as their place is occupied by modifying verb roots/stems. Third order suffixes are tense and deontic mood suffixes.

**Tense**

-ki  ‘remote past’
-a   ‘yesterday’s past’
∅    ‘today’s past’
-imo ‘future’

There are four tense suffixes, including a zero morpheme, expressing tense: remote past, yesterday’s past, today’s past and a future tense. For present a prefix, 30- ‘present’, expressing a middle category between realis and irrealis mood, is used (see section 5.1.3.3.1 (Epistemic Mood: Weak Realis)).

60) tino/toku i-mono-ki-no
day before,yesterday/before say-1S.U-RPST-3NS.A
‘Day before yesterday/before they said to me …’

61) fai no-s-a-noki
yesterday eat-3SF.ABS-YPST-1NS.EX.A
‘We ate her (a sow) yesterday.’

62) somosai tumo-∅
morning come-TPST
‘I/he came this morning.’

63) amuwai-so mano-so-imo
tomorrow-ADVR go-3SF.ABS-FUT
‘She will go tomorrow.’

Deontic mood suffixes may occur instead of the tense suffixes above.

**Deontic Mood**

∅    ‘imperative’
-su   ‘imperative with soi ‘go’ only (see example (65) and section 5.1.2.1 (Simple Verbs))
-i    ‘prohibitive’
-u    ‘obligative’

The imperative is signalled by one of the irrealis prefixes and a postulated zero morpheme. It is only used in second person.

64) po-fasi-ya-tumo-∅-wo
IR-help-CDA-come-IMP-NS
‘Come and help me (you pl.)!’

65) soi-su-∅
go-IMP-S
‘Go (you sg.)!’

The prohibitive is signalled by the suffix -i ‘prohibitive’. It is used with second and third person actors. In second person the verb in this mood is preceded by the adverb noiyol ‘don’t’. In third person the actor suffixes are retained.

66) noiyol mano-i-∅
don’t go-PROH-S
‘Don’t go (you sg.)!’
The **obligative** is mainly used in third person. It is signalled by the suffix -u, having the meaning of ‘must’ or ‘should’. It forms complex morphemes with a few unique suffixes, which are used only together with this suffix. These other suffixes express third person actor (singular/none versus non-singular), tense (present versus future) and undergoer (first/third person versus second person). The first and third person undergoer and absolutive suffixes are regular first order suffixes, while the second person undergoer suffixes are unique and have their own place as can be seen in the formula below.

OBLG → stem (1/3U) (3A) OBLG (2U) (TENSE)
OBLG → stem (1/3U) (∅ ‘S’/none) -u(-) (-koni- ‘S’) (∅ ‘PR’)
(-w- ‘NS’) (-konu/konuwu- ‘NS’) (-mo ‘FUT’)

The reason that these undergoer and tense suffixes are not described as fourth and fifth order suffixes is that they do not fit that structure, the most serious problem being that the actor suffixes occur before the tense suffix, while in all other moods it is the other way around (see 4.2.3.1 (Inflectional Suffixes in the Verb)).

### Obligative (must/should)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Undergoer</th>
<th>Singular (or no) Actor</th>
<th>Non-Singular Actor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S (-mono)</td>
<td>-mon-u(-mo)</td>
<td>-mono-w-u(-mo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-1S.U-OBLG(-FUT)</td>
<td>-1S.U-NS.A-OBLG(-FUT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1NS (-moko)</td>
<td>-mok-u(-mo)</td>
<td>-moko-w-u(-mo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-1NS.U-OBLG(-FUT)</td>
<td>-1NS.U-NS.A-OBLG(-FUT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S (-koni)</td>
<td>-u-koni(-mo)</td>
<td>-w-u-koni(-mo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OBLG-2S.U(-FUT)</td>
<td>NS.A-OBLG-2S.U(-FUT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2NS (-konu/-konuwu)</td>
<td>-u-konuwu(-mo)</td>
<td>-w-u-konuwu(-mo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OBLG-2NS.U(-FUT)</td>
<td>NS.A-OBLG-2NS.U(-FUT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM (∅)</td>
<td>-u(-mo)</td>
<td>-w-u(-mo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OBLG(-FUT)</td>
<td>NS.A-OBLG(-FUT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SFBS (-so)</td>
<td>-s-u(-mo)</td>
<td>-so-w-u(-mo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-3SF.ABS-OBLG(-FUT)</td>
<td>-3SF.ABS-NS.A-OBLG(-FUT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3NS (-ko)</td>
<td>-k-u(-mo)</td>
<td>-ko-w-u(-mo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-3NS.U-OBLG(-FUT)</td>
<td>-3NS.U-NS.A-OBLG(-FUT)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Morphophonemic Rules 8-10 apply (see section 4.4 (Morphophonemics).)

68) **aluwai-yu-mo**
follow-OBLG-FUT
‘he/she must follow him’

69) **im-u-koni-mo**
talk-OBLG-2S.U-FUT
‘he/she must talk to you (sg)’

70) **alu na tol-u**
child FOC stand-OBLQ
‘the boy must stay’

71) **kal-u-mo**
die-OBLQ-FUT
‘he must die’
For further discussions see 5.1.3.3.2 (Deontic Mood: Obligative).

4.2.3.1.3 Fourth Order Suffixes (4)

Actor, ergative, neutral, personal portmanteau (1/3A+2U), and deontic number suffixes are fourth order suffixes.

**Actor Agreement (1S/NS, 3NS)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor Form</th>
<th>Ergative Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>3NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-noki ‘1NS.EX’</td>
<td>-koni ‘1NS.IN’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-no ‘3NS’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A fourth order suffix is also another kind of portmanteau suffix than discussed so far, namely one that comprises first person non-singular inclusive with the future tense, -monoi ‘1NS.IN.A+FUT’.

73) yo mo anoi-so na i-s-a-no-ki-

1S TOP mother.1-ALL FOC say-3SF.ABS-CDA-go.straight-RPST-1/3S.A

‘I went to my mother and said ...’

74) ti-ki-noki

come.P-RPST-1NS.EX.A

‘We came.’

75) toni lamo-woi to-koliyalo-koni

bow arrow-WITH PR-kill.with.weapon-1NS.IN.A

‘Let’s kill it with bows and arrows.’

76) nuwo mo noko-yo na no-ki-no

snake TOP man-AG FOC eat-RPST-3NS.A

‘Some men ate the snake.’

77) moi nu-mono

1P.IN/2P go.P-1NS.IN.A+FUT

‘we (incl.) will go’

**Ergative Agreement (3S)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ergative Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘3SM’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘3SF’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘3NS’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The compound ergative form is hardly viable as this gender refers to something inanimate.

78) anoi-yo i-mono-ki-

mother.1-AG say-1S.U-RPST-1/3S.A

‘My mother said to me ...’

79) apou-yo i-mono-ki-

father.my-AG say-1S.U-RPST-1/3S.A

‘My father said to me ...’

The gloss 1/3S.A includes 1S.A and 3S.ERG.

**Neutral Agreement (2S/NS)**

Note the functional variability of these suffixes in example (83).

- ni ‘2S’
- nuwo ‘2NS’

---

25 The same form may also function as a portmanteau suffix expressing both the actor and the undergoer (see below).

26 Both of these forms may also function as portmanteau suffixes expressing both the actor and the undergoer (see below).
80) moi-so to-mano-ni
   where-ALL PR-go-2S
   ‘Where are you (sg.) going?’

81) wafi-so nali to-fasi-moko-noonu
   happy-ADVR really PR-help-1NS.U-2NS
   ‘Thank you (pl.) very much for helping us.

82) usukuno-ki-ni usukuno-noono-ki
   fall-RPST-2S fall-1S.U-RPST
   ‘you (sg.) fell’  ‘I fell’

Portmanteau Agreement (1/3A+2U)

One of the actor agreement suffixes, -noki ‘1NS.EX.A’ and both of the neutral suffixes, -ni ‘2S’ and
-noonu ‘2NS’ (see examples (74), (80), (81)) may, if they occur on transitive verbs, function as portmanteau
morphemes expressing also the undergoer. This makes them ambiguous. There is one more such suffix
(-nukuuno) which always expresses both actor and undergoer. Note that these suffixes are fourth order suffixes,
as are the ordinary actor suffixes making these portmanteau suffixes more actor than undergoer-like (see
formula in section 4.2.3.1 (Inflectional Suffixes in the Verb).

\[
\begin{align*}
-noki & \quad \text{‘1A+2S.U // 1NS.EX.A’} \\
nukuuno & \quad \text{‘1A+2NS.U’} \\
-ni & \quad \text{‘3A+2S.U // 2S’} \\
noonu & \quad \text{‘3A+2NS.U // 2NS’}
\end{align*}
\]

83) t-imo-noki
   PR-say-1NS.A.EX // 1A+2S.U
   ‘we’ll say to him’
   ‘we’ll say to you (sg.)’

84) t-imo-nukuuno
   PR-say-1A+2NS.U
   ‘I/we’ll say to you (pl.)’

85) t-imo-ni
   PR-say-2S // 3A+2S.U
   ‘you’ll (sg.) say to him’
   ‘he/they’ll say to you (sg.)’

86) t-imo-noonu
   PR-say-2NS // 3A+2NS.U
   ‘you’ll (pl.) say to him’
   ‘he/they’ll say to you (pl.)’

Number (deontic mood)

If the verb is in imperative or prohibitive mood only number must be marked instead of any of the other
fourth order suffixes above.

\[
\begin{align*}
\emptyset & \quad \text{‘S’} \\
-wo & \quad \text{‘NS’}
\end{align*}
\]

84) na po-ni-mono-ni-\emptyset
   FOC IR-give.P.PAT-1S.U-IMP-S
   ‘Give them to me (you sg.)!’

85) noiyi pko-mono-i-\emptyset
   don’t afflict-1S.U-PROH-S
   ‘Don’t hurt me (you sg.)!’

4.2.3.1.4 Fifth Order Suffix (5)

A negative marker that only occurs in epistemic mood is a fifth order suffix.

Negation\textsuperscript{27} -so ‘NEG’

The negation suffix -so co-occurs with the remote irrealis prefix pa-.

86) pa-nu-ki-noki-so
   IR-go.P-RPST-1NS.EX.A-NEG
   ‘we did not go’

\textsuperscript{27} There are several negative constructions. These will be described in section 5.1.6 (Marking Negative).
The only negation suffix that may occur in deontic mood is the prohibitive -i (see above).

4.2.3.2 Inflectional Suffixes in the Inalienable Noun

Most verbs in Ama are alienable but a few are inalienable. They are the ones that express kinship or other kinds of human relationships (see section 5.2.3 (Kinship Nouns)). The inalienable suffixes are:

**Inalienable Possessive**

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>‘1’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-no</td>
<td>‘2’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tono</td>
<td>‘3’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

87) **auwa-∅**  **auwa-no**  **auwa-tono**
brother-1INAL  brother-2INAL  brother-3INAL
‘my/our brother’  ‘your brother’  ‘his/her/their brother’

88) **woli-∅**  **woli-no**  **woli-tono**
friend-1INAL  friend-2INAL  friend-3INAL
‘my/our friend’  ‘your friend’  ‘his/her/their friend’

4.2.3.3 A Clause Suffix

Dependent clauses are usually constructed with the topic marker mo, but there is one exception: the ambiguous temporal/conditional clause that is marked by -aki ‘when/if’ followed by the topic marker mo. This is the only function of -aki.

**Temporal/Conditional Clause**

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-aki</td>
<td>‘when/if’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

89) **isi**  **kiyo**  **noko-yo t-aki**  **mo**  **uo**  **mula**  **si-siyoli**  **garden owner man-AG come.P-WHEN/IF TOP evil heart RED.NS-big**  
**uwo-ko-imo**  **afflict-3NS.U-FUT**  
‘When/if the owners of the garden come they will be really angry.’

4.2.3.4 Derivational Suffixes

The difference between inflection and derivation is not clear cut in Ama. Some verbal suffixes could be interpreted as either inflectional or derivational, or even as part of the verbal stem. This will be discussed in section 4.3 (Derivation versus Inflection). However, there are a few derivational suffixes that apply to the noun, adjective and adverb. These will be listed in this section.

A Derivational Suffix in the Noun, Adjective or Adverb

A suffix -a ‘unique’ makes the singled out entity unique in its class. It is mostly used on nouns but also on adjectives and adverbs. Often the basic form is repeated immediately following the unique form. Morphophonemic Rules 8-10 apply (see section 4.4 (Morphophonemics)).

**Unique in a Class**

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-a</td>
<td>‘unique’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

90) **Kot-a**  **Koto**  **God-UNQ God**  **‘the real God’**

91) **iw-a**  **iwo**  **water-UNQ water**  **‘real water (not anything mixed in)’**

92) **naino**  **nain-a**  **hand**  **hand-UNQ**  **‘hand’  ‘right hand’**

93) **siyoli-ya**  **siyoli**  **big-UNQ big**  **‘the biggest’**

94) **motu-wa**  **true-UNQ**  **‘absolutely true’**
A Derivational Suffix in the Noun

Specific  
\(-\text{ta}\)  
’specifier (masc.)’

95)  \(u\)\(o\)  \(n\)\(o\)\(k\)\(o\)\(-\text{ta}\) 
   evil  man-SPEC 
   ‘the evil man’

96)  \(a\)\(l\)\(u\)\(w\)\(o\)\(-\text{yo\,}t\)\(u\)\(k\)\(o\)\(l\)\(-\text{ta}\) 
   dog-AG  kill/bite  man-SPEC 
   ‘the man who got bitten by a dog’

For more details see section 6.2.1 (The Noun Group).

A Derivational Suffix in the Adverb

The adverbialiser changes an adjective into an adverb.

Adverbialiser  
\(-\text{so}\)  
‘adverbialiser’

97)  \(a\)\(l\)\(u\)  \(s\)\(i\)\(y\)\(o\)\(-\text{li}\) 
   child  big 
   ‘a big child’

   \(a\)\(l\)\(u\)  \(m\)\(o\)  \(s\)\(i\)\(y\)\(o\)-\(i\)\(-\text{so\,}t\)\(o\)-\(s\)\(o\) 
   child  TOP  big-ADVR  PR-cry 
   ‘The child is crying very much.’

4.2.4 Reduplication

Reduplication is usually an augmentative process in Ama changing a word (verbs, nouns, adjectives and a few question words) from singular to non-singular. It may be complete but is usually only partial. Its most obvious characteristic is that it is very irregular and often works together with stem modification and/or suffixation.

Partial reduplication occurs in a number of verb forms signalling that the absolutive argument is non-singular. There are a few nouns where non-singular is marked by reduplication. Number is marked on the adjective by whole or partial reduplication. A few question words and adverbs may also be reduplicated to signal non-singular. Reduplication also occurs on pronouns, where it signals contrastive focus.

In the verb, noun and some common adjectives reduplication is very irregular. Though it is obvious from the forms that some kind of reduplication is taking place it is usually not possible to predict the forms. It is plausible that these forms are the result of a diachronic development and are no longer part of a synchronic process. If a verb is reduplicated to indicate non-singular it is seldom the only morphological process taking place in that operation. Stem modification and suffixation are often part of the same operation.

Complete reduplication occurs in the adjective and a few verbs, which cannot be inflected for number, and results in two words due to stress patterns. This is, however, included here for the sake of completeness.

4.2.4.1 Reduplication in the Verb

Certain verbs are reduplicated to indicate non-singular of an absolutive argument. What verbs, and how they will be reduplicated, is not predictable. Usually stem modification and suffixation are part of the same operation. However, there are a few reduplication patterns that may be observed.

If the verb root starts with a vowel it is the following syllable\(^{28}\) that will be reduplicated, usually with a vowel change, the reduplicated syllable occurring immediately preceding the syllable it is a reduplication of.

\[\text{RED.NS} \rightarrow \text{VC}_1\text{V}_1 \rightarrow \text{VC}_1\text{V}_2\text{C}_1\text{V}_1\]

Reduplication in the Verb I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Non-Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(\text{ati} / \text{ati})  ‘carry on shoulders’</td>
<td>(\text{ati}) carry.on.sholders</td>
<td>(\text{i-\text{ta}} / \text{ti}) carry.RED.NS-carry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{ifasiyai} / \text{ifasiy})  ‘hit’</td>
<td>(\text{ifasi-yai-mo} / \text{hit-S}-S)</td>
<td>(\text{i-fa} / \text{fasi}) hit.RED.NS-hit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{akai} / \text{isikokai})  ‘put’</td>
<td>(\text{akai}) put</td>
<td>(\text{is-i-kai-o} / \text{kai}) put.RED.NS-put</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{28}\) Alternatively, you may say that the first consonant is reduplicated with a non-predictable vowel inserted.
If the verb root starts with a consonant the first syllable is reduplicated sometimes with a vowel change.

\[
\text{RED.NS}_{\text{II}} \rightarrow C_1V_1 \rightarrow C_1V_1:C_1V_1
\]

### Reduplication in the Verb II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Non-Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>foiyono/fuoiimuwan</td>
<td>foiyono</td>
<td>fu-foi-muwano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘fly’</td>
<td>fly</td>
<td>RED.NS-fly-NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fumo/fuafumuwan</td>
<td>fumo</td>
<td>fu-fu-muwano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘run’</td>
<td>run</td>
<td>RED.NS-run-NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soni/sosonuno</td>
<td>soni</td>
<td>so-sonuno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘cry’</td>
<td>cry</td>
<td>RED.NS-cry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sometimes the reduplication is more complete with or without a vowel change.

\[
\text{RED.NS}_{\text{III}} \rightarrow \text{Vroot} \rightarrow \text{Vroot}_{(\text{Mod})}\text{Vroot}
\]

### Reduplication in the Verb III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Non-Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kalo/koli kali</td>
<td>kalo</td>
<td>koli-kali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘die’</td>
<td>die</td>
<td>RED.NS-die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koumi/koukoumuwan</td>
<td>kou-mi</td>
<td>kou-kou-muwano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘climb up’</td>
<td>climb,up-S</td>
<td>RED.NS-climb,up-NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molo kau(kau)</td>
<td>(molo) kau</td>
<td>(molo) kau-kau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘shut one’s eye(s)’</td>
<td>(eye) shut</td>
<td>(eye) RED.NS-shut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kali kali (ko)</td>
<td>kali-kali-mi</td>
<td>kali-kali-mi-ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘slander (pl.)’</td>
<td>RED.NS-slander-S</td>
<td>RED.NS-slander-S-NS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reduplication in the last example refers to the wagging of the tongue, not to the person(s) being slandered.

There is a group of verbs that cannot be inflected. These are completely reduplicated to indicate number. Due to stress patterns this results in two words. They are included here for the sake of completeness.

\[
\text{RED.NS}_{\text{IV}} \rightarrow \text{Vroot} \rightarrow \text{Vroot}_{\text{Vroot}}
\]

### Reduplication in the Verb IV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Non-Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kapu (kapu)</td>
<td>kapu</td>
<td>kapu kapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘eat’</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>RED.NS eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolo (kolo)</td>
<td>kolo</td>
<td>kolo kolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘throw’</td>
<td>throw</td>
<td>RED.NS throw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 4.2.4.2 Reduplication in the Noun

Only a few nouns have special non-singular forms. Reduplication is one of two processes used for this (see section 5.2.2 (Number). The reduplication patterns used are similar to those described above for the verb.

### Reduplication in the Noun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Non-Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alu/alalo</td>
<td>alu</td>
<td>a-la-lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘child/children’</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>child-RED.NS-child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sawi/susi sawi</td>
<td>sawi</td>
<td>su-sawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘widow/widows’</td>
<td>widow</td>
<td>RED.NS-widow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loi-lo</td>
<td></td>
<td>loi-lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘rice’</td>
<td></td>
<td>RED.P-rice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2.4.3 Reduplication in the Adjective

Adjectives are always reduplicated to indicate non-singular. Usually the reduplication is complete, but some common adjectives have special only partially reduplicated forms. The reduplication patterns used are similar to those described above for the verb. However, complete reduplication gives two main stresses. As a word is defined as a phonological unit with one main stress, complete reduplication results in two words. This is, however, included here for the sake of completeness.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Non-Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>itouniyaimo/ititouni</td>
<td>'good'</td>
<td>i-ti-touni good-RED.NS-good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koiyau/kopokoiyau</td>
<td>'bad'</td>
<td>kopo-koiyau RED.NS-bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(si)siyoli</td>
<td>'big'</td>
<td>si-siyoli RED.NS-big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwalu (kwalu)</td>
<td>'stupid'</td>
<td>RED.NS stupid</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reduplication in Other Word Classes

There are a few question words and adverbs that are completely reduplicated to, in some way, increase number. These reduplications constitute two words.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Non-Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lnknh</td>
<td>'how'</td>
<td>lnknh RED.NS-how</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrnh</td>
<td>'a long time'</td>
<td>hrnh RED.NS-long(ER) time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.4.5 Reduplication in the Pronoun

The pronoun may be reduplicated for emphasis to indicate contrastive focus. It is always the first syllable that is reduplicated. If the reduplicated syllable contains a diphthong the last vowel segment is dropped. There is a vowel change in the final syllable of the reduplicated word.

\[ \text{RED} \rightarrow C_1 o(i) \rightarrow C_1 oC_1 a(i) \]

Reduplication in Personal Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Basic</th>
<th>Reduplicated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>to-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he/she'</td>
<td>3S</td>
<td>RED.EMPH-3S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

29 This adjective is probably an old verb form as it has recognisable “verbal” parts: itouni-yai-mo good-S-S ‘good’. Even though the form seems to contain a suffix that is sometimes specifically masculine -mo ’(3)S(M.ABS)’ it does not vary with gender.

noko itouniyaimo noni itouniyaimo
man good woman good
'a good man' 'a good woman'
For complete paradigms see section 5.3.1 (Personal Pronouns).

4.2.5 Stem Modification

Stem modification is one of the mechanisms used to change the number of a verb root from singular to non-
singular referring to an absolutive argument.

As with reduplication it is plausible that these forms are the result of a diachronic development and are no
longer part of a synchronic process.

Even if the modification may be totally irregular it is not uncommon that an initial a changes to an i or a
final o changes to an o to indicate non-singular, while the rest of the modification is due to reduplication or non-
predictable.

Stem Modification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Non-Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alo/ii or ilomani</td>
<td>alomani</td>
<td>ilomani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘take away’</td>
<td>take.away</td>
<td>take.away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atokoli or itatokoli</td>
<td>atokoli</td>
<td>i-ta-tokoli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘carry on one’s head’</td>
<td>carry.on.head</td>
<td>carry-RED.P.tvol.on.head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ali/alo</td>
<td>ali</td>
<td>alo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘put in a bag’</td>
<td>put.in.bag</td>
<td>put.in.bag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anali/inalo</td>
<td>anali</td>
<td>inalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘put inside’</td>
<td>put.inside</td>
<td>put.inside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atolikai or itolosikai</td>
<td>atolikai</td>
<td>itolo-si-kai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘lean’</td>
<td>lean-PUT</td>
<td>lean.P-sit.P-PUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tukolo/tukuwoli</td>
<td>tukolo</td>
<td>tukuwoli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘kill’</td>
<td>kill</td>
<td>kill.NS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the non-singular forms are glossed P, the dual roots are the same as the singular ones. If the non-singular
roots are glossed NS they include dual.

4.2.6 Suppletion

Suppletion is yet another mechanism to change the number of the verb root from singular to non-singular.
Sometimes it is hard to know if the process should be called stem modification or suppletion as the processes
work along a continuum. The first example in the following table would also fit under stem modification, while
the last example in the previous table would also fit here as an example of suppletion.
### Suppletion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ano/i ‘get’</td>
<td>ano</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afoli/saloso ‘throw’</td>
<td>afoli</td>
<td>saloso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tolo/yousi/toi/si ‘stand/sit/lie’</td>
<td>tolo/yousi/toi</td>
<td>si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumo/ti ‘come’</td>
<td>tumo</td>
<td>ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moi/nu ‘go’</td>
<td>moi</td>
<td>nu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dual roots are the same as the singular forms for these verbs.

### 4.2.7 Compounding

Compounding is a process whereby a word comes to consist of more than one root or stem morpheme. It is a regular process in the verb. Compounding also occurs involving some nouns, pronouns and conjunctions.

#### 4.2.7.1 Compounding of Verb Stems

A verb may consist of up to four verb stems. More has not been observed. The first stem is the head of the verb word. The following roots or stems act as modifiers of the head. Only certain verb roots occur in this position. They may be stative, verbs of motion, adjectival, perceptive and/or benefactive. They express such concepts as location, direction, evaluation, aspect and benefactive. This is, however, not an exhaustive list.

The formula of the structure of the verb is repeated here to facilitate understanding of how the different verb roots (actually stems, as an undergoer/absolutive suffix may have to co-occur with a root depending on the transitivity of that particular verb) are joined. The modifying stems occur instead of a second order suffix, as it were.

\[
V \rightarrow \text{(EPST)} \text{ (LOC) stem (U/ABS)} \text{ (stem (U/ABS))}_3 \text{ (TENSE/DNT) (A/NUM) (NEG)}
\]

The internal order of the modifying stems is as follows:

(STAT) (FAV) (BEN/MAL) (STAT) (DIR/LOC) (ATEL/EV/OTHER) (PROG/IT)

The verb stems expressing aspect, those expressing benefactive and a few others do not keep their basic meaning. However, this does not necessarily mean that they do not vary with person, number, gender or case. Some, like the benefactive and one of the aspects do. On the other hand, some of the other modifying stems keep their basic meaning but do not respond to the above variables. For a summary chart see section 5.1.2.2.2 (Compound Verbs). Each group of modifying verb stems are described below in the following order: location, direction, evaluation, aspect, benefactive and “other”.

Morphophonemic Rule 17 (see section 4.4) applies in compounding, whereby a secondary verb root starting with a drops that a.

#### 4.2.7.1.1 Compounding to Express Location

To express location a stative verb root is juxtaposed to the head of the verb. Four roots may occur in this position. These roots keep their basic lexical meaning and they vary with the number and gender of the actor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular/Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tolo ‘stand/live/be’</td>
<td>si stand/sit/lie/live/be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vousi ‘sit/be’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toi ‘lie’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

30 It is more common that the distinction in verb forms is singular - non-singular. For an over-view of marking of number at all levels of the language see section 5.2.2.1 (Overview of Marking of Number). See also section 5.1.4.3.1 (Ergative-Absolutive Marking to Express Number).
4.2.7.1.2 Compounding to Express Direction

Two verb roots may be joined by the juncture morphemes -a- ‘direction away’ and -yo- ‘direction towards’ to express direction in regards to a deictic centre. The second verb root expresses motion. While there are only four locative prefixes (see section 4.2.2 (Prefixation)) there are seven allative verb roots. In addition tumo ‘come’ and -you ‘move up’ also have this function. This last form is not preceded by any juncture morpheme and the full form *ayou/*you does not occur.

When used in compounding the allative verb roots are abbreviated more than other modifying verb roots, and none of them vary with number or gender in this position. They keep their basic meaning. For further details of the allative verbs see section 5.1.5.2 (Allative Marking on the Verb).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locative prefix (be ...)</th>
<th>Allative Verb</th>
<th>Shortened Verb Form used in Compounding</th>
<th>Meaning of Allative Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tu-</td>
<td>amoti</td>
<td>-ti</td>
<td>‘go inside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fu-</td>
<td>amufu</td>
<td>-fu</td>
<td>‘go outside, downriver’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you-</td>
<td>amiyu</td>
<td>-yo</td>
<td>‘go up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku-</td>
<td>amukono</td>
<td>-kono</td>
<td>‘go down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>amuno</td>
<td>-no</td>
<td>‘go straight (to a place)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>----</td>
<td>-lo</td>
<td>‘go all over’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumo</td>
<td>tumo</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-you</td>
<td>‘move up’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

102) iwo ki-ya-kono-ki-∅
water look-CDA-go.down-RPST-1/3S.A
‘I/he/she went down to look at the river.’

103) ki-ya-fu-ki-∅
look-CDA-go.outside/downriver-RPST-1/3S.A
‘I/he/she went outside/downriver to look at it.’

104) to-kwai-ya-yo-koni
PR-perceive-CDA-go.up-1NS.IN.A
‘Let’s go up and hear.’

105) yo mo tuo t-an-a-no-∅
1S TOP sago PR-get-CDA-go.straight-1/3S.A
‘I’m going to get some sago.’

106) fu samo-k-a-lo-ki-no
pig hunt-3NS.U-CDA-go.all.over-RPST-3NS.A
‘They went all over the place hunting for pig.’

107) po-ko-k-a-tumo-∅-∅
IR-see-3NS.U-CDA-come-IMP-S
‘Come and look (you sg.)!’

108) tuo ani-yo-kono-ki-noki
sago get-CDT-go.down-RPST-1NS.EX.A
‘We brought sago down.’
109) yo mo nu-so **kau-si-yo-ti-Ø-Ø**
1S TOP house-ALL get.AN-3SF.ABS-CDT-go.inside-TPST-1/3S.A
‘I took her into the house.’

110) naino a-ki-you
hand get-3C.ABS-move.up
‘lift (his) hand up’

Morphophonemic Rule 11 applies to any morpheme preceding -yo ‘towards’ and -you ‘move up’ (see section 4.4 (Morphophonemics)).

### 4.2.7.1.3 Compounding to Express Evaluation

Two verb stems may be joined together to evaluate an event. The second verb stem is either of two adjectival verb stems:

- **itouniyaimo** ‘be good’
- **koiyaumo** ‘be bad’

Both these verbs are derived adjectives. When used in a compound they do not vary with the number or gender of either the actor or the undergoer. They keep their basic meaning.

111) no-na-ni imo-so **kwai-itouniyaime-aki mo, noko-yo**
that-FOC-this talk-ALL perceive-good-WHEN/IF TOP man-AG
‘When a man hears well ...’

112) mulu tomoki-so na **to-si-itouniyaime-koni**
heart stone-ALL FOC PR-sit.P-good-1NS.IN.A
‘We have peace.’

113) noko uwo-koiyaumo-ki-no
man afflict-do.bad-RPST-3NS.A
‘They hurt the man badly.’

### 4.2.7.1.4 Compounding to Express Aspect

There are four verb stems that function as aspect markers. According to morphophonemic Rule 17 any initial a is lost where applicable (see 4.4 (Morphophonemics)).

- **akai** ‘put’
- **-kai** ‘stative’
- **moi** ‘go’
- **moi/mana-** ‘progressive’
- ***amosi/*mosi ?!**
- **-mosi** ‘iterative’
- **aluwai** ‘follow’
- **-luwai** ‘atelic’

Morphophonemic Rule 16 (see section 4.4) applies to the root **moi** ‘go’

There is no verb root *amosi/*mosi but based on the fact that the three other aspect markers are verb roots it is plausible that there once was such a verb.

These verb roots, except the last one, when functioning as aspect markers do not keep their basic meaning, and do not vary with number or gender of any argument. (Regarding the verb root -luwai ‘atelic’ see below in this section.)

114) muwo-so-**kai-Ø-mono-ki-no**
mark-3SF.ABS-PUT-GIVE1-1S.U-RPST-3NS.A
‘They marked her for me.’

115) i-so-**kai-Ø**
say-3SF.ABS-PUT-RPST-1/3S.A
‘I/he/she promised her.’

116) **fufoli-kai**
forget-PUT
‘forget completely’
117) toni mo to-falo-ulu-manono, noko-yo falomo-∅-∅
bow TOP PR-carve-NS-GO-3NS.A man-AG carve-GO-RPST-1/3S.A
‘The men keep carving bows’ ‘The man kept carving’

118) ya to-fasi-mono-manono
1S PR-help-1S.U-GO-2S
‘You are always helping me.’

The root -mosi ‘iterative’ usually co-occur with the irrealis prefix (see Epistemic Mood 5.1.3.3.1).

119) po-fasi-mono-mosi-ki-∅
IR-help-1S.U-IT-RPST-1/3S.A
‘He/she helped me again and again.’

The form -luwai ‘atelic’ varies with person and number of the undergoer. Its specific meaning when used in a grammatical sense is complex. The compound forms it occurs on are all atelic. It also increases the valence of the head-verb by one.

120) mulu-molo-luwai
heart-path-FOLLOW
‘believe’

121) solitono-luwai
dream-FOLLOW
‘he dreamed about him’

122) kwai-luwai
perceive-FOLLOW
‘look intensively’

123) noko si-siyoli ... to-tamiyo-luwai-ko, toi-ni noko nokolalo-so
man RED.NS-big PR-?-3S.FOLLOW-3NS.U 3P-GEN man women-ALL
‘The leaders use force on their people.’

4.2.7.1.5 Compounding to Express Benefactive

There are three sets of verb stems marking three kinds of benefactive relationships: common benefactive, malfactive and ‘on behalf of’ respectively.

There are two undergoers in the common benefactive and the malfactive: the patient, and the person who is the benefactee. The verb stem varies with both.

These verb stems do not keep their basic meaning.

Common Benefactive

The common benefactive construction uses a verb meaning ‘give’. This verb has three suppletive roots based on the person, number and gender of the benefactee, and one suppletive root based on the number of the patient.

a- ‘give one thing (masc.) to first person’
a-noni ‘give one thing (masc.) to second person and third person masculine’
a-ti ‘give one thing (masc.) to many people’
ni ‘give many things to one person’

The feminine benefactee form is based on the root for plural benefactee.
a-ti-so ‘give one thing (masc.) to third person (fem.)’

Morphophonemic Rule 17 apply, i.e. the initial a is lost (see section 4.4).

124) muwo-∅-mono
mark-GIVE1-1S.U
‘marked for me’

31 There is no form *tamiyo. The form ami, on the other hand, means ‘strong’. The explanation may be lost in the past.
Malfunction

The malfactee series is built on the common benefactive. All non-plural forms, referring to the patient, are preceded by the common verb *v* `take from*. For plural patient the simple benefactive verb root *ni give.P.PAT* is replaced by -v`h21 ‘take.P from’.

- **wa-** ‘one harmful thing (masc.) done to first person’
- **wa-nonl** ‘one harmful thing (masc.) done to second and third person’
- **wa-ti** ‘one harmful thing (masc.) done to many people’
- **wa-ti-so** ‘one harmful thing (masc.) done to feminine person’
- **wai** ‘many harmful things done to one person’

130) **posaso-ko-wa-nonl-ki-no**
reveal-3NS.U-TAKE,FROM-GIVE2/3-RPST-3NS.A
‘They witnessed against him (in court).’

131) **atino mo alu mo kalo-wa-ti-so-ki**
mother.3 TOP child TOP die-TAKE,FROM-GIVE.3P/F-3SF.ABS-RPST
‘The child had died for his mother.’

132) **muwoni noiy0 i-wai-ko-i-wo**
money don’t get.P-TAKE,FROM.P-3NS.U-PROH-NS
‘Don’t take their money from them!’

133) **polamu-ko-wai-mono**
steal-3NS.U-TAKE,FROM.P-1S.U
‘sneal from me’

Benefactive ‘On Behalf Of’

The ‘on behalf of’ series is built on the common verb *unu shoot* and is often used to increase transitivity with the function of doing somebody a favour. While the other benefactive verb stems increase the valence by two this one only increases it by one. The basic forms are:

- **unu shoot** ‘shoot/favour first and second person and third person singular masculine’
- **u-so shoot-3SF.ABS** ‘shoot/favour third person singular feminine’
- **tuku shoot.3NS** ‘shoot/favour third person non-singular’

As with the other benefactive verb stems this one, too, uses the regular undergoer suffixes for the benefactee.

---

32 This form is not *wa-i*, at least not in a synchronic perspective.
134) **yo-unu**  
do-SHOOT  
‘do (something) for him’

135) **yomu-u-so-kai-ki**  
say-SHOOT-3SF.ABS-PUT-RPST  
‘promise in regard to her’

136) **Isiso mo noko nokolalo komaso-mono kaloku-ki**  
Jesus TOP man women all-OBLQ die-SHOOT.3NS-RPST  
‘Jesus died for all people.’

### 4.2.7.1.6 Other Compounding of Verbs

Apart from the above there are other verbs occurring as modifiers of a head-stem and in that position having a grammatical or some other special function. The following list is not exhaustive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexical meaning</th>
<th>Grammatical/special meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ki</td>
<td>‘see’ ‘try’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liiyai</td>
<td>‘walk about’ ‘scattered action’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-taikiyo</td>
<td>‘send’ ‘change of place or condition’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form *ataikiyo/*taikiyo does not occur.

None of the above verb roots varies with number or gender of the undergoer or actor in this position. They do not keep their basic meaning.

The following verb roots basically keep their basic meaning. The last one varies with the number of the undergoer.

| soli            | ‘dip’ ‘dip’ |
| tomasimo        | ‘be together with’ ‘be together with’ |

137) **yo-ki**  
do-SEE  
‘try to do (it)’

138) **na kwai-ko-ki-yoimo**  
FOC perceive-3NS.U-SEE-FUT  
‘I/he/she will try them (in court).’

139) **na ti-liiyai-ki**  
FOC come.P-WALK.ABOUT-RPST  
‘They came from all directions.’

140) **i-ko-taikiyo**  
say-3NS.U-SEND  
‘send a message to them’

141) **solinamu-mo-taikiyo**  
black-S-SEND  
‘become black’

142) **fu na tukuwoli-soli-ki**  
pig FOC kill.NS-dip-RPST  
‘The pigs drowned.’

143) **noko nokolao-woi tolo-tomasiko-imo**  
man women-WITH stand-be.together.with-3NS.U-FUT  
‘He will stand together with other people.’

### 4.2.7.2 Compounding Involving Non-Verbs

Compounding of nouns are extremely rare. When it occurs the total meaning is not the sum of the parts as can be seen from the examples.
The stem *mulumolo*—‘thinking process’ is a compound of *mulu* ‘heart’ and *molo* ‘path’ and is used in some verbs.

145) *mulu-molo-luawai*

heart-path-FOLLOW

‘believe in someone’

146) *mulu-molo-kō*

heart-path-3NS.U

‘think about something’

A shortened form, -*fa*, of the adjective *koufa* ‘small’ is used as a diminutive on nouns. This is a regular operation. This diminutive does also occur on a few verb stems.

147) *alu-fa  noni-fa  a-fa*

child-small  woman-small  tree-small

‘baby’  ‘young teenage girl’  ‘stick’

148) *no-sai-no  amuno-fa-mo-ki*

that-ABL-that  go.straight-small-S-RPST

‘He went a short bit.’

The dual forms of the personal pronouns are compound forms. The plural forms are reduced through apocope and the shortened form is joined to the numeral *ti* ‘two’.

149) *koi  ko-ti*

1P.EX  1P.EX-two

‘we excl.’  ‘we two excl.’

Most demonstrative pronouns are compound forms.

150) *i-so-ni  anu-na-ni  no-sai-no*

here-ALL-here  there-FOC-here  there-ABL-there

‘here & now’  ‘that’  ‘then’

### 4.2.8 Cliticisation

All clitics in Ama occur on phrase and clause level, though some of them have discourse function. Mostly clitics occur on the noun phrase and may, then, cliticise to a noun, pronoun or adjective. Cliticisation may also occur on a verb. Clitics in that position function at clause level. There are three kinds of clitics based on their function: case clitics, discourse clitics and a relational clitic.

For the use of clitics in demonstrative pronouns and temporal adverbs see sections 5.3.2 (Demonstrative Pronouns) and 5.5.1 (Temporal Adverbs) respectively.

Clitics are phonologically bound, but grammatically they are free forms. This is marked in the description in the following sub-sections by a hyphen in square brackets [-]. Only enclitics (post-clitics) occur.

#### 4.2.8.1 Case Clitics

Marking case by cliticisation on the noun phrase is one of several strategies of case marking in Ama. The
following case markers occur:

[-]ni  ‘genitive’
[-]yo  ‘agent, instrumental’
[-]so  ‘allative, benefactive’
[-]sai  ‘ablative’
[-]mai  ‘locative’
[-]monoi  ‘reason, purpose, oblique’

For more details see section 6.2.3.2 (Case Marking of Noun Phrases).

151)  
la mo iwo siyoli-ni koloni  
fish TOP water big-GEN animal  
‘Fish are the animals of the sea.’

152)  
Liyali-ni nu  
a.name-GEN house  
‘Liyali’s house’

153)  
Wau nali-no noko komaso noko-jo no-ko-monoi.  
share really-there man all man-AG eat-3NS.U-OBLQ  
‘Sharing in order for all people to eat.’

154)  
lamo-jo yau  
arrow-AG dead  
‘dead from an arrow’

155)  
koi mo Yowiya yu-sai Akolu yu-so naukolo  
1P.EX TOP a.name hill-ABL a.name hill-ALL build.hunting.shelter  
na samo-ko-s-a-ti-ki-noki  
FOC hunt-3NS.U-sit-CDA-go.inside-RPST-1NS.EX.A  
‘We went in from Yowiya hill to Akolu hill to build a hunting shelter to stand (there) hunting for (pig).’

156)  
yo-so pa-ni-mono-∅-∅  
1S-ALL IR-give.P.PAT-1S.U-IMP-S  
‘Give them to me!’

157)  
solo-sai mo na ti-yousi  
laugh-ABL TOP FOC PR-sit  
‘Having (learnt to) laugh he sits.’ (about child development)

158)  
na si-ki-noki, Akolu yu-mai mo  
FOC sit.P-RPST-1NS.EX.A Akolu hill-LOC TOP  
‘We were at Akolu hill’

159)  
asa-mono to-tumo  
1S.EMPH-OBLQ PR-come  
‘He is coming because of me.’

4.2.8.2 Discourse Clitics

There are three discourse clitics.

[-]su  ‘contrast’
[-]noi  ‘emphatic’
[-]wo  ‘mistaken assumption’

The clitic -su ‘contrast’ cliticises to noun phrases to mark contrast. The clitic -noi ‘emphatic’ cliticises to genitive and demonstrative forms as well as to some question words to emphasise and point out. The clitic -wo ‘mistaken assumption’ cliticises to any phrase or clause.
4.2.8.3 Relational Clitic

There is a clitic that occurs on noun phrases or on a clause and has either a coordinating or subordinating function depending on the nature and structure of the argument it is relating to:

[-]woi ‘with’

NP[-]woi NP[-]woi (examples (164))
NP[-]woi (example) (165)
CLAUSE/NP [-]woi muwoi (example (166), (167))
[-]WITH NEG

It functions in three contexts: co-ordination of noun phrases of equal importance, sub-ordination of noun phrases of unequal importance and sub-ordination of a noun phrase or clause with a negative particle in order to negate the phrase or clause.

164) ya-ni alalo-woi noni-woi mo tiya na si-ki
1S-GEN children-WITH woman-WITH TOP hunger FOC sit.P-RPST
‘My children and wife were hungry.’

165) to mani toni-woi
3S also bow-WITH
‘He too, has/had a bow.’

166) yo mo toni mo a-ko-woi muwoi
1S TOP bow TOP get-3NS.U-WITH not
‘I did not get the bow.’

167) Tuuo-woi muwoi, tuo mo uwofa na.
sago-WITH not sago TOP finished FOC
‘There was no sago, it was all gone.’

4.3 Derivation versus Inflection

The difference between a derivational affix and an inflectional is not clear cut in Ama. Only one affix is typically derivational in that it changes one word class into another: the suffix -so ‘adverbialiser’, changing an adjective into an adverb.

168) somoi-so po-tumo-∅-∅
quick-ADVR IR-come-IMP-S
‘Come quickly!’
Another suffix -a ‘unique’ does not change the word class but makes the singled out entity unique in its class.

169) $im-a$ \ $imo$
    talk-UNQ talk
    ‘meaning/summary of something said’

170) $naino$ \ $nain-a$
    hand hand-UNQ
    ‘hand’ ‘right hand’

A third derivational suffix is -ta ‘specifier. It is used for a certain form of characterisation described in section 6.2.1 (The Noun Group).

171) $nokolalo$ $toitati$ $noko-ta$
    women four man-SPEC
    ‘the man with four wives’

In addition to the above mentioned clearly derivational suffixes there are a number of suffix-like morphemes referring to number of participants that are best interpreted as derivational. These occur irregularly, mostly, in some verb forms to indicate number along an absolutive system. They are seldom the only indication of number and do not occur at all on other words with the same function. A hypothesis is that they are no longer part of a synchronic grammatical process, but represent an earlier stage of the language.

- $mo$ ‘(third) singular (masculine absolutive)’
- $yai$ ‘singular’
- $mi$ ‘singular’
- $ulu$ ‘non-singular’
- $muwano$ ‘non-singular’

### Suffix-like Morphemes Marking Number

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Non-Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘good’</td>
<td>$itouni-yai-mo$ $good$-S-S ‘good’</td>
<td>$i-ti-touni$ good-RED.NS-good ‘good (pl.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘run’</td>
<td>$fu-mo$ run-S ‘I/he ran’</td>
<td>$fu-fu-muwano$ RED.NS-run-NS ‘they ran’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘climb up’</td>
<td>$kou-mi$ climb.up-S.A ‘I/he climbed up’</td>
<td>$kou-kou-muwano$ RED.NS-climb.up-NS ‘they climbed up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘shout’</td>
<td>$alola-mo$ shout-S ‘I/he shouted’</td>
<td>$alola-muwano$ shout-NS ‘they shouted’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘stand up’</td>
<td>$auwono$ stand.up ‘I/he stood up’</td>
<td>$auwono-ulu$ stand.up-NS ‘they stood up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘marry male(s)’</td>
<td>$au$ marry.a.man ‘I/he married’</td>
<td>$au-lu$ marry.a.man.NS ‘they married them’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Morphophonemic Rule 12 apply to the suffix -ulu (see section 4.4 (Morphophonemics)).

The most interesting of these is the suffix -mo ‘singular’. Historically this seems to be the third singular masculine absolutive form, which in the language, as it is spoken today, has lost most of its masculine quality as shown in the following two examples where one of the female forms has the masculine suffix as part of the stem and the other does not.
In a few verbs that may be either intransitive or transitive the undergoer and absolutive suffixes, including the somewhat elderly -\textit{mo} with the masculine meaning intact, are clearly derivational and increase the valence by one. A typical example is \textit{alosi} ‘turn’.

This operation also works for deriving verbs from adjectives.

Apart from what has been said above, there are also reasons to consider operations involving number marking by reduplication, stem modification and suppletion as derivational, as well as all operations involving undergoer and absolutive marking. The choice of number of participants is a semantic choice more than a grammatical. A verb word, or a whole clause, may function as a noun phrase in Ama. If it does, the above mentioned categories are still marked on the verb, while other operations are either optional or cannot be there at all. This will be illustrated with the frame: "... is OK." It is not possible to use the same stem when number or gender of participants is changed.

A verb root that also may be interpreted as derivational is -\textit{kai} ‘stative’ as it is part of some basic verb stems, e.g. \textit{atolikai} ‘lean on’. Verbs with this extra root attached may also function as a noun.

Affixes that may not be interpreted as derivational are the modal prefixes, the actor, tense, deontic mood, and negative suffixes. Other affixes and modifying verb roots come somewhere between.
It seems that the categories of derivational and inflectional operations are best described as working along a continuum.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Derivational</th>
<th>Inflectional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adverbialiser</td>
<td>mood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number</td>
<td>tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stative</td>
<td>actor sfxs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>ergative sfxs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absolutive</td>
<td>neutral case sfxs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>undergoer</td>
<td>actor+undergoer sfxs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absolutive</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>undergoer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absolutive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4 Morphophonemics

There are a number of morphophonemic rules. Rules 1-2 apply to prefixes, Rules 3-12 to suffixes, Rules 13-14 to reduplication and Rules 15-17 to certain verb roots with regular stem modification involving other segments than the last vowel.

**Modal Prefixes**

Rules 1 and 2 apply to the prefixes to- ‘present’ and po- ‘realis’.

**Rule 1**

\[
V \rightarrow [\text{back}] / \_ C \{w/kw/y\}
\]

The vowel in the modal prefixes to- ‘present’ and po- ‘realis’ varies in backness with the following consonants: /w/\(^{35}\), /kw/ and /j/.

185) tu-waso-∅ PR-beat-3SF.ABS-1/3S.A ‘(he) is beating her’
186) pu-kwai-∅ ‘hear!’
187) ti-yousi PR-sit ‘(he) is sitting’
188) to-nu PR-go.P ‘they are going’

**Rule 2**

\[
V \rightarrow \_ / \_ V
\]

The vowel in the modal prefixes tV- ‘present’ and pV- ‘realis’ is deleted preceding another vowel.

189) t-i-∅ PR-get.P-1/3S.A ‘(he) gets it all’

**Future Tense and Prohibitive Suffixes**

Rules 3 and 4 apply to the suffixes -imo ‘future’ and -i ‘prohibitive’.

**Rule 3**

\[
\_ \rightarrow \text{yo} / V \_ i
\]

---

34 Orthographic symbols are used if not otherwise specified.
35 If w is followed by / the rule does not apply.

For example: to-wiyoloko-∅ PR-show.somebody.some.things-1/3.S.A ‘(he) is showing them some things’
An extra syllable -yo is inserted preceding the suffixes -imo ‘future’ and -i ‘prohibitive’, if the verb stem ends in a front vowel or the phoneme /o/ (spelled <u>).

190) afoli-yoimo throw-FUT ‘(he) will throw it’
191) noito afoli-yoi ∅ PROH throw-PROH-S ‘don’t throw it’
192) samuku-yoimo watch-over-FUT ‘(he) will watch over him’
193) ko-imo build-FUT ‘(he) will build it’

**Rule 4**

\[ u \rightarrow o / _i \]

If the verb stem ends in /u/ this vowel is changed to /o/ (spelled <o>) preceding /i/.

194) fu uno-imo (unu ‘shoot’) pig shoot-FUT ‘(he) will shoot a pig’
195) sosono mo isi-ko-uto-i-ni-mo (utu ‘cook/burn’) grass TOP cut-3C.ABS-cook-FUT-2S-FUT ‘you will cut and burn the grass’

**Exception to Rules 3 and 4**

Two common verb roots are irregular and by-pass Rule 3: si ‘sit (pl.)’ and ti ‘come (pl.)’. Instead the vowel in the root is changed from /i/ to /o/ preceding /i/.

196) noito so-i-wo PROH sit.P-PROH-NS ‘don’t stay’
197) to-imo come.P-FUT ‘they will come’

One common verb root is irregular and by-pass Rule 4: nu ‘go (pl.)’. Instead an extra syllable, -wo-, is inserted preceding /i/.

198) nu-woimo go.P-FUT ‘they will go’

**Future Tense Suffix**

Rules 5, 6 and 7 all apply to the suffix -imo ‘future’ only.

**Rule 5**

\[ mo \rightarrow \emptyset / _so \]

When the future tense is negated the future tense marker -imo is reduced to -i.

199) tumo-imo come-FUT ‘(he) will come’
pa-tumo-i-so RIR-come-FUT-NEG ‘(he) will not come’

**Rule 6**

imo-A.SFX → i-A.SFX-mo

When the actor suffix is added to the future tense marker this suffix is infixed within the future tense marker. If it is a negative future, the actor suffix precedes the negative suffix.

---

36 /samuko-jeimo/

37 With actor, in this context, is meant: actor, portmanteau actor+undergoer, as well as neutral case. First and third person singular is a zero, which does not appear in the glossing of future tense.
200) *tumo-i-ni-mo*  *pa-tumo-i-ni-so*
    come-FUT-2S-FUT
    ‘you (sg.) will come’
    RIR-come-FUT-2S-NEG
    ‘you (sg.) will not come’

**Rule 7**

noki → ki / i__mo
nukuwo kuwo

When the portmanteau morphemes -noki and -nukuwo are infixed within the future tense marker -imo, they are reduced to -ki and -kuwo respectively. In the following examples Rule 3 also applies.

201) *fasi-yoi-ki-mo*  *fasi-yoi-kuwo-mo*
    help-FUT-1A+2S,U-FUT
    help-FUT-1A+2NS,U-FUT
    ‘I/we will help you (sg.)’
    ‘I/we will help you (pl.)’

**Suffixes Starting with -a and the Suffix -u ‘obligatory’**

Rules 8, 9 and 10 apply to yesterday’s past tense suffix -a, the compounding juncture morpheme -a, the temporal/conditional morpheme -aki and the suffix -u ‘obligatory’. Rules 8 and 9 apply before Rule 10 except for the common verbs *si* ‘sit (pl.)’ and *ti* ‘come (pl.)’. Irregular is also the verb *nu* ‘go (pl.)’. The rules also apply irregularly to the derivational suffix -a ‘unique’. For all exceptions see below.

**Rule 8**

\[
V \rightarrow yV / V \_\_\_
\]
\[
\{a/u\} \quad \{a/u\} \quad \{[-\text{back}]\} /\text{o}/
\]

**Rule 9**

\[
V \rightarrow wV / au/ou__
\]
\[
\{a/u\} \quad \{a/u\}
\]

The first syllable of any suffix starting with *a* and the suffix -u ‘obligatory’ becomes -ya/-yu following a front vowel or the phoneme /o/ (spelled <u>). They become -wa/-wu following /au/ and /ou/.

202) *tuo a-ya-no*
    sago harvest-CDA-go.straight
    ‘go and harvest sago’
203) *ki-ya-tumo*
    see-CDA-come
    ‘come to see him’
204) *asa-yo hamuku-ya-Ø³⁸*
    1S.EMPH help-YPST-1/3S.A
    ‘I helped him yesterday’
205) *koli-kali-yu-konu-mo*
    RED.NS-die-OBLG-2NS.U-FUT
    ‘you (pl.) must die’
206) *samuku-yu-mo*
    watch.over-OBLG-FUT
    ‘he/she must watch over him’
207) *auwoni-you-wa*
    rise-up-YPST
    ‘(he) rose yesterday’

³⁸ /hamuko-ja/
Rule 10

\[ V \rightarrow \emptyset / \_ \_ V \{a,u\} \]

A vowel followed by a suffix starting with \( a \) or followed by the suffix -\( u \) ‘obligatory’ is lost.

Exceptions to Rules 8, 9 and 10

Two common verb roots \( si \) ‘sit (pl.)’ and \( ti \) ‘come (pl.)’ are irregular and by-pass Rule 8. Rule 10 applies directly to them.

One common verb root \( nu \) ‘go (pl.)’ is irregular and Rule 9 applies instead of Rule 10 for any suffixes starting with \( a \). The obligatory form, however, is regular and Rule 10 applies.

The suffix -\( a \) ‘unique’ is irregular in the following way. If the root ends in \( i \) or \( o \) Rules 8 and 10, respectively, apply in a regular way.

---

39 In this form the suffix -\( wu \) is a variant of -\( u \) and not -\( w-u \) ‘NS.A-OBLQ’. The plural form is \( au-lu-w-u-mo\) marry.a.man-NS.U-NS.A-OBLQ-FUT ‘they must marry (one husband each)’

40 The following orthographic convention applies: the vowel /\( o/\) is in one syllable roots spelled <\(uo/> and in roots of more than one syllable usually <\(u/> (see Orthographic Conventions 3.4.1). This means that the obligatory suffix -\( u \) usually is spelled <\(u/>>, but could be spelled <\(uo/> as in this case and in example (216).
If the root ends in \textit{u} \text{Rule 9} applies instead of Rule 10.

219) \textit{fu-wa} \hspace{1cm} (\textit{fu})
\text{pig-UNQ} \hspace{1cm} \text{pig}
\text{‘a real pig’} \hspace{1cm} \text{‘pig’}

If the root ends in \textit{a} none of the above rules applies.

220) \textit{sa-a} \hspace{1cm} \textit{sa} \hspace{1cm} (\textit{sa})
\text{rain-UNQ} \hspace{1cm} \text{rain}
\text{‘the worst of rains’} \hspace{1cm} \text{‘rain’}

\textbf{Juncture Morpheme -yo}

Rule 11 applies to the compounding juncture morpheme -\textit{yo}.

\textbf{Rule 11}

\begin{equation*}
V \rightarrow i \ / \ _{yo} [\text{compounding juncture}]
\end{equation*}

When the juncture morpheme -\textit{yo} ‘towards’ is used to join two verb roots the preceding vowel is changed to \textit{i}. This rule also applies to any root preceding the morpheme -\textit{you} ‘move up’.

221) \textit{ani-yo-tumo} \hspace{1cm} (\textit{ano})
\text{get-CDT-come} \hspace{1cm} \text{get}
\text{‘bring it’} \hspace{1cm} \text{‘get it’}

222) \textit{tomoki ani-you-ki-∅}
\text{stone} \hspace{1cm} \text{get-move.up-RPST-1/3S.A}
\text{‘(he) lifted the stone up’}

\textbf{Non-Singular Suffix -ulu}

Rule 12 applies to the suffix-like morpheme -\textit{ulu} ‘non-singular’.

\textbf{Rule 12}

\begin{equation*}
u \rightarrow \emptyset \ / \ _{ulu}
\end{equation*}

The first vowel \textit{u} in -\textit{ulu} ‘non-singular’ is lost when it follows another \textit{u}.

223) \textit{au-lu}
\text{marry.a.male-NS}
\text{‘marry men’}

\textbf{Reduplication}

There are a number of rules relating to reduplication. Most reduplication occurs in the verb. Its function is to increase the number of an absolutive argument. Reduplication also occurs in the noun, adjective and in a few adverbs and question words all with the function of increasing number. Pronouns are reduplicated to indicate contrastive focus.

Most of this reduplication is, however, only partially regular and only applies to certain forms in a non-predictable and irregular way. It is believed that these rules are residues from former diachronic operations. See section 4.2.4 (Reduplication) for details.

However, there are two rules that are regular and these will be repeated here as Rules 13 and 14. Rule 13 applies to most adjectives and simple verbs (see section 5.1.2.1 (Simple Verbs)) and Rule 14 applies to pronouns.

\textbf{Rule 13}

Rule 13 applies to simple verbs and adjectives to signal non-singular.
The whole root is exactly reduplicated. This results in two words due to stress patterns.

**Complete Reduplication: Adjective and Simple Verb**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Non-Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kapu (kapu)</td>
<td>kapu</td>
<td>kapu kapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘eat’</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>RED.NS eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolo (kolo)</td>
<td>kolo</td>
<td>kolo kolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘throw’</td>
<td>throw</td>
<td>RED.NS throw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sopo (sopo)</td>
<td>sopo</td>
<td>sopo sopo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘tall’</td>
<td>tall</td>
<td>RED.NS tall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ukolo (ukolo)</td>
<td>ukolo</td>
<td>ukolo ukolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘weak’</td>
<td>weak</td>
<td>RED.NS weak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few very common adjectives have irregular forms in non-singular (see section 5.4.1 (Reduplication of Adjectives).

**Rule 14**

Rule 14 applies to personal pronouns to signal emphasis or contrastive focus.

RED.EMPH → C\(_1\)o(i) → C\(_1\)oC\(_2\)a(i)

The first syllable is reduplicated. If the reduplicated syllable contains a diphthong the last vowel segment is dropped. There is a vowel change in the final syllable of the reduplicated pronoun from \(\text{o}\) to \(\text{a}\).

**Reduplication in Personal Pronouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Basic</th>
<th>Reduplicated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>to-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘he/she’</td>
<td>3S</td>
<td>RED.EMPH-3S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toi</td>
<td>toi</td>
<td>to-tai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘they’</td>
<td>3P</td>
<td>RED.EMPH-3P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koi</td>
<td>koi</td>
<td>ko-kai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘we excl.’</td>
<td>3P.EX</td>
<td>RED.EMPH-1P.EX</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The rule does not apply to first person singular. For complete paradigms see section 5.3.1 (Personal Pronouns).

**Verb Roots**

Rules 15-17 apply to certain verb roots with regular stem modification involving other segments than the last vowel.

**Rule 15**

Rule 15 applies to verb roots with the shape Coni.

Coni → Cino / \_i

Metathesis occurs in a verb root of the shape Coni when a suffix starting with \(i\) follows. The vowels switch place and the root becomes Cino

224) to-soni PR-cry ‘(he) is crying’
225) noiyo sino-i-∅ PROH cry-PROH-S ‘don’t cry’
226) a-noni-ki-∅ give-GIVE2/3-1/3S.A ‘(he) gave it to him’
227) a-nino-imo give-GIVE2/3-FUT ‘(he) will give it to him’

**Rule 16**

Rule 16 applies to verb roots with the shape Coi.

Coi → Cano /[-final]
A verb root of the shape Coi is changed to Cano as soon as any suffixes are added.

\[\begin{align*}
228) & \quad \text{yo to-moi} & \text{yo mano-ki} & \text{mo-ti} & \text{to-mano-nuwo} \\
& 1S \text{ PR-go} & 1S \text{ go-RPST} & 1P,\text{IN/2P-two} & \text{PR-go-2NS} \\
& \text{‘I’m going’} & \text{‘I went’} & \text{‘Are you two leaving?’}
\end{align*}\]

**Rule 17**

Rule 17 applies to verb roots starting with the vowel \(a\), when they appear as a modifying root in a compound verb.

\[a \rightarrow \emptyset /\text{verb root}___\]

A verb root starting with an \(a\) is lost when functioning as a modifier in a compound verb.

\[\begin{align*}
229) & \quad \text{kumo-noni} & \text{anoni} \\
& \text{write-GIVE2/3} & \text{give} \\
& \text{‘write (one paper) to him’} & \text{‘give one thing to him’}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
230) & \quad \text{muwo-so-kai-\emptyset-mono-ki-no} & \text{(akai)} & \text{(a-mono)} \\
& \text{mark-3SF.ABS-PUT-GIVE1-1S.U-RPST-3NS.A} & \text{put} & \text{give-1S.U} \\
& \text{‘they marked her for me’} & \text{‘put’} & \text{‘give one thing to me’}
\end{align*}\]

5. **Words**

There are nine word classes based on their function as well as on how affixes are distributed among them. They are verbs, nouns, pronouns (including demonstratives), adjectives (including numbers), adverbs (including manner, temporal and locational adverbs), conjunctions, interjections and particles. In addition there are question words that actually are a collection of words from other word classes, but because of their similar function they will here be considered a word class of their own.

5.1 **Verbs**

Verbs constitute an open class of words that function as heads of verb phrases. There are two types based on structure. Complex verbs take prefixes marking mood and locative and suffixes marking e.g. tense and person. Simple verbs take no affixation, but some may occur together with an inflected auxiliary.

\[\begin{align*}
231) & \quad \text{koi mo wiko mo ti-woi na \emptyset-si-ki-noki} \\
& 1P,\text{EX TOP week TOP two-WITH FOC R-sit.P-RPST-1NS.EX.A} \\
& \text{‘We were (there) for two weeks.’}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
232) & \quad \text{ya-ni anoi mo ai t-uwo-so} \\
& 1S-\text{GEN mother.1 TOP sickness PR-afflict-3SF.ABS} \\
& \text{‘My mother is sick.’}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
233) & \quad \text{tuo komu \emptyset-i-ko-ki-\emptyset kusomi} \\
& \text{sago head R-AUX-3NS.U-RPST-1/3S.A take.hold.of} \\
& \text{‘I/he/she took (some) lumps of sago.’}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
234) & \quad \text{so-sonuno-woi futo} \\
& \text{RED.NS-cry-WITH finished} \\
& \text{‘Their crying was over.’}
\end{align*}\]

There are two main classes of verbs: intransitive and transitive, based on whether a verb takes one or two arguments. An intransitive verb may be either active or non-active (see Active and Non-Active 5.1.4.1 for details). However, it may also be seen that many verbs vary in form with the number of the absolutive argument connected with it. In accordance with this system, the Ama verbal system could be described as ergative-absolutive. Gender marking also follow the ergative-absolutive system (see Ergative-Absolutive 5.1.4.3). In addition, second person is split but to a large extent it is marked in a neutral way, i.e. actors and undergoers are usually marked the same. If it is not, portmanteau morphemes expressing both the actor and the undergoer are used.
5.1.1 The Basic Verb Form

A verb root in Ama may vary with number and sometimes gender. That being the case, it is desirable to find a basic verb form from which other forms could, at least to some degree, be predicted. The most neutral form there is in the language is the third person singular masculine. It is a bare verb root, which may be conjugated for person (including number, gender and case), tense and mood, as well as other more peripheral verb categories. This basic form is in many cases the same regardless of number of participants. This is the unmarked form used in the gloss of the examples.

In an intransitive non-active verb the basic form is congruent with 3SM.

In an intransitive active verb the basic form is ambiguous, being congruent with both 1S or 3SM.

In a transitive verb the basic form is congruent with 3SM undergoer, while for the actor zero morphemes are postulated making it congruent with both 1S or 3S.

See section 5.1.2.2.1 (Basic Verb Paradigms) for an overview of person marking.

For definitions of ‘active’ - ‘non-active’ and ‘actor’ - ‘undergoer’ in Ama see sections 4 (Morphology) and 5.1.4 (Marking Person, Number, Gender and Case).

The basic form is also understood as realis and today’s past tense, both of which are signalled by zero morphemes. The following examples illustrate the use of the basic form. The focus marker functions as a frame for bare forms in these examples.

235) na ṥ-kalo-∅, j`kn, ṣ∅ (a non-active intransitive verb, which takes an undergoer as its only argument; the basic form is congruent with 3SM)
   ‘He died.’

236) na ṣ-moi-∅, jnh, ṣ∅ (an active intransitive verb, which takes an actor as its only argument; the basic form is congruent with both 1S and 3SM)
   ‘I/he just left.’

237) na ṣ-fasi-∅-∅, e`rh, ṣ∅, ṣ∅ (a transitive verb, which takes both an undergoer and an actor as arguments; the basic form is congruent with 3SM undergoer. There are zero morphemes postulated for 1S.A and 3S.ERG making this form congruent with both first and third person actors, glossed as 1/3S.A)
   ‘I/he/she just helped him.’

5.1.2 Basic Verb Structure

A verb consists of at least one verb root. There are two types of verbs based on their structure: simple and complex. A simple verb takes no affixes. A complex verb takes a variety of them. It may also consist of more than one verb root.

5.1.2.1 Simple Verbs

There is a type of verb that takes no affixation. This type has two sub-types: imperative simple verbs and common simple verbs. The imperative simple verbs are listed in the first column. They are only used as imperatives (or hortitatives). The common simple verbs are listed in the second column. These verbs may be used in any context where a complex verb can be used. Some of them are fully reduplicated (usually two words) to indicate non-singular of its absolutive argument.
Imperative Simple Verbs | Common Simple Verbs
--- | ---
awi | ‘wait!’
fau | ‘look out!’
fuo | ‘take it!’
fuwoi | ‘move!’
kapu kapu | eat! (always reduplicated)
kuku | ‘come!’
soi | ‘let’s go!’ (hortative)

238) toni | kusumi
bow | get
‘get/got the bow’

239) tomoki | kolo
stone | throw
‘throw a stone’

240) kuku, na | po-tumo-
come! FOC | IR-come-IMP-S
‘Come!!’

241) toi | fau, atiyai-so
3P | na | s-u-o-mo
lookout | careful-ADVR | FOC
‘They better look out and be careful.’

242) koi | mo | sai | muwoi, koi | mo | sosoli
1P.EX | TOP | know | NEG | 1P.EX | TOP | know.not
‘We really don’t know.’

The common simple verbs may be preceded by an auxiliary, *imo*, totally avoid of meaning, but which can be inflected as any complex verb form. This auxiliary is a separate word. If there is no auxiliary to indicate non-singular, the reduplicated form is used as shown in example (239). In the example below the form of the auxiliary is *i-ko*, which is congruent with a third person non-singular undergoer, in this case the lumps of sago.

243) tou | komu i-ko-ki-
sago head | AUX-3NS.U-RPST-1/3S.A | get
‘I/he/she got several lumps of sago.’

One of the imperative/hortative simple verbs *soi* ‘let’s go!’, which in its simple form is hortative, may actually take a couple of affixes to indicate imperative and also number as shown below.

soi-wo | let’s go (pl.)!
soi-su | go!
soi-su-wo | go (pl.)!

There is one further simple verb that does not fit either of the just described types; *fi* ‘do’. It is only used in one context: the mode frustrated intention. It is never reduplicated. See section 5.1.3.3.4 (Mode).

---

41 The suffix *su* 'IMP' only occurs on this form.
5.1.2.2 Complex Verbs

Complex verbs take several kinds of affixes. There are two kinds of prefixes expressing location and epistemic mood respectively. Suffixes express undergoer/absolutive, tense (or deontic mood), actor (or number in deontic mood) and negation. None of the affixes are obligatory in all environments.

Complex verbs may also consist of more than one verb root/stem, where the first root/stem is the head and the following roots/stems function as modifiers, expressing among other things aspect and benefactive. Up to three modifying roots/stems have been observed. The modifying verb stems occur instead of second order suffixes. They are not obligatory.

The head stem may be a root or a stem that has been augmented to increase number by a derivational suffix, reduplication, stem modification or suppletion.

The following formula shows the structure of a complex verb:

\[ V \rightarrow (EPST) (LOC) (stem (U/ABS)) (root (U/ABS))_1 (TENSE/DNT) (A/NUM) (NEG) \]

Epistemic mood and deontic mood do not co-occur, except to express the imperative (see section 5.1.3.3.2 (Deontic Mood)).

5.1.2.2.1 Basic Verb Paradigms

Disregarding the modifying verb stems for the time being the next four examples show some typical verb structures.

245) ∅-imo-ki-∅
R-say-RPST-1/3S.A
‘I/he/she said to him’

246) to-ku-no-ko-no
PR-down.below-eat-3NS.U-3NS.A
‘they are down below eating’

247) pa-ki-no-ki-so
RIR-come.P-RPST-1NS.EX.A-NEG
‘we (excl.) did not come’

248) na po-fasi-mono-∅-wo
FOC IR-help-1S.U-IMP-NS
‘Help me (you pl.)!’

However, the verbal system in Ama is, as far as person, number, gender and case marking go, irregular and not fully predictable. Verb stems may vary in form with number and sometimes with gender. There is also a semantic split in the verbs themselves in active - non-active, making the marking of person mainly active - non-active. Second person, however, is split between a neutral system and a system with portmanteau morphemes expressing both the actor and the undergoer. Gender is only marked in third person singular and then in an ergative - absolutive way. All this makes many verb forms not very transparent. Some verb paradigms on invariable verb stems with regular suffixation may be helpful. Three paradigms follow: intransitive active, intransitive non-active and transitive.

46 Words in Ama
### Intransitive Active: *liyai* ‘walk about’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Non-Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1EX</td>
<td><em>liyai</em></td>
<td><em>liyai-noki</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 IN</td>
<td><em>liyai-ni</em></td>
<td><em>liyai-koni</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>liyai-so</em></td>
<td><em>liyai-ko</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M</td>
<td><em>liyai-ko</em></td>
<td><em>liyai-no</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Intransitive Non-Active: *usukuno* ‘fall’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Non-Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1EX</td>
<td><em>usukuno-mono</em></td>
<td><em>usukuno-moko</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 IN</td>
<td><em>usukuno-ni</em></td>
<td><em>usukuno-nuwo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>usukuno-so</em></td>
<td><em>usukuno-ko</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M</td>
<td><em>usukuno-ko</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Transitive: *fasi* ‘help’ and *aloma* ‘take away’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>42</th>
<th>U/A→</th>
<th>1S</th>
<th>2S</th>
<th>3S</th>
<th>1NS.EX</th>
<th>1NS.IN</th>
<th>2NS</th>
<th>3NS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td></td>
<td>fas-i-mono-ni</td>
<td>fas-i-mono-∅</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>fas-i-mono-nuwo</td>
<td>fas-i-mono-no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>fas-i-noki</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>fas-i-ni</td>
<td>fas-i-noki</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>fas-i-ni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM</td>
<td>fas-i-∅</td>
<td>fas-i-∅</td>
<td>fas-i-∅</td>
<td>fas-i-noki</td>
<td>fas-i-koni</td>
<td>fas-i-nuwo</td>
<td>fas-i-no</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF.ABS</td>
<td>fas-i-so-∅</td>
<td>fas-i-so-ni</td>
<td>fas-i-so-∅</td>
<td>fas-i-so-noki</td>
<td>fas-i-so-koni</td>
<td>fas-i-so-nuwo</td>
<td>fas-i-so-no</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1NS</td>
<td>fas-i-moko-ni</td>
<td>fas-i-moko-∅</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>fas-i-moko-nuwo</td>
<td>fas-i-moko-no</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2NS</td>
<td>fas-i-nukuwo</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>fas-i-nuwo</td>
<td>fas-i-nukuwo</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>fas-i-nuwo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3NS</td>
<td>fas-i-ko-∅</td>
<td>fas-i-ko-ni</td>
<td>fas-i-ko-∅</td>
<td>fas-i-ko-noki</td>
<td>fas-i-ko-koni</td>
<td>fas-i-ko-nuwo</td>
<td>fas-i-ko-no</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the actor, neutral and portmanteau suffixes (see section 4.2.3.1.3 (Fourth Order Suffixes (4))) co-occur with the future tense marker there are further complications. These actor and actor-like suffixes are infixed within the future tense suffix (according to Morphophonemic Rules 6 and 7, see section 4.4 (Morphophonemics)). In addition, the first person non-singular inclusive is totally irregular. The different forms will be shown in the next paradigms. Morphophonemic Rule 3 applies to both verbs, i.e. the form of -imo ‘future’ is -yoimo, following i. The portmanteau suffixes are shown in the second of the following tables with the transitive verb *fasi* ‘help’.

---

42 A different verb is used to show the paradigm for 3C.ABS as the compound gender almost entirely comprises in-animate nouns.
Actor and Future Tense: *liyai* ‘walk about’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Non-Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1EX</td>
<td><em>liyai-yoimo</em></td>
<td><em>liyai-yoi-ki-mo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 IN</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>liyai-monoi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>liyai-yoi-ni-mo</em></td>
<td><em>liyai-yoi-nuwo-mo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M</td>
<td><em>liyai-yoimo</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F</td>
<td><em>liyai-so-imo</em></td>
<td><em>liyai-yoi-no-mo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3C</td>
<td><em>liyai-ka-imo</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Actor+2 Person Undergoer and Future Tense: *fasi* ‘help’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>↓U/A→</th>
<th>1A</th>
<th>3A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>→2S.U</td>
<td><em>fasi-yoi-ki-mo</em></td>
<td><em>fasi-yoi-ni-mo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2NS.U</td>
<td><em>fasi-yoi-kuwo-mo</em></td>
<td><em>fasi-yoi-nuwo-mo</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.1.2.2.2 Compound Verbs

As mentioned in section 4.2.7.1 (Compounding of Verb Stems), extra verb roots, some with an undergoer suffix attached, may appear between first and third order suffixes. Verb forms with four verb roots/stems have been observed. The second, third and fourth of these may express a number of grammatical and semantic notions including location and direction, aspect, benefactive, change of place or condition and "trying" (for a full list see below). If these modifying stems start with an *a* this is lost according to Morphophonemic Rule 17 (see section 4.4). Allative verbs lose more (see below).

The modifying stems occur in the slot of a second order suffix. Their internal order is as follows:

(STAT) (FAV) (BEN/MAL) (STAT) (DIR/LOC) (ATEL/EV/OTHER) (PROG/IT)

It may be noted that all roots/stems belonging to the same group have a common place in this order except for the roots functioning as aspect markers (marked in bold). The root (*akai* ‘put’, marking stative aspect, occurs in different places depending on if it marks a benefactive or non-benefactive argument. In example (251) it marks both.

249) *apou mo iwo louwa ki-ya-kono-ki-∅*
father.my TOP water FRUST.INT see-CDA-go.down-RPST-1/3S.A
‘Father went down wanting to look at the river, but ...’

In example (249) there are two roots the second one expressing direction.

250) *uo mo na louk-a-tumo-liyai-ki-no*
bird TOP FOC wash-CDA-come-walk.about-RPST-3NS.A
‘The birds came from all around to have a bath.’

In example (250) there are three roots. The two last ones expresses direction toward speaker and scattered action respectively.

251) *muwo-so-kai-∅-mono-kai-ki-no*
mark-3S.ABS-PUT-GIVE1-1S.U-PUT-RPST-3NS.A
‘she is in the state of being promised to me by them’

In the last example there are four verb roots, the head morpheme *muwo* ‘mark’, -*kai* ‘stative’ from *akai* ‘put’ occurring twice, and ∅ is the zero morpheme for benefactive from *a* ‘give to first person’.

Below is a list of verb roots that may occur as modifiers in a verb word. A few forms occurring in compounding cannot occur as head roots but only as modifiers (marked with a hyphen). They are classified as
Verb roots on the basis of their relationship to forms that can... A parenthesis means that the part embraced by it is omitted in compounding. The list is not exhaustive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Lexical meaning</th>
<th>Modified Meaning</th>
<th>Varies with Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tolo</td>
<td>‘stand/live/be (non-pl.)’</td>
<td>‘stand/live/be (non-pl.)’</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yousi</td>
<td>‘sit/be (non-pl.)’</td>
<td>‘sit/be (non-pl.)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toi</td>
<td>‘lie (non-pl.)’</td>
<td>‘lie (non-pl.)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si</td>
<td>‘stand/sit/lie/live/be (pl.)’</td>
<td>‘stand/sit/lie/live/be (pl.)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Direction/Allative | | | |
|-------------------|----------------|----------------|
| (amu)ti           | ‘go inside’ | ‘go inside’ | no |
| (amu)fu           | ‘go outside, downriver’ | ‘go outside, downriver’ | |
| (amu)li           | ‘go upriver’ | ‘go upriver’ | |
| (ami)yo           | ‘go up’ | ‘go up’ | |
| (amu)kono         | ‘go down’ | ‘go down’ | |
| (amu)mo           | ‘go straight (to a place)’ | ‘go straight (to a place)’ | |
| -lo               | ‘go all over’ | ‘go all over’ | |
| tumo              | ‘come’ | ‘come’ | |
| -you              | ‘move up’ | ‘move up’ | |

| Evaluating | | | |
|------------|----------------|----------------|
| itouniya | ‘be good’ | ‘be good’ | no |
| koiyaumo  | ‘be bad’ | ‘be bad’ | |

| Aspects | | | |
|----------|----------------|----------------|
| (a)kai   | ‘put’ | ‘stative’ | no |
| moi/mano | ‘go’ | ‘progressive’ | |
| -mosi    | ‘?’ | ‘iterative’ | |
| (a)luwai | ‘follow’ | ‘atelic’ | yes |

| Benefactive | | | |
|-------------|----------------|----------------|
| (a)-∅      | ‘give (non-pl.) to me/us’ | ‘benefactive’ | yes |
| (a)-noni   | ‘give (non-pl.) to you (sg.)/(pl.)/(him)’ | ‘benefactive’ | |
| (a)-ti     | ‘give (non-pl.) to her/them’ | ‘benefactive’ | |
| ni         | ‘give (pl.) to ...’ | ‘benefactive’ | |

| Malfactive | | | |
|-------------|----------------|----------------|
| wa          | ‘take (non-pl.) from me/us’ | ‘malfactive’ | yes |
| wa-noni     | ‘take (non-pl.) from you (sg.)/(pl.)/(him)’ | ‘malfactive’ | |
| wa-ti       | ‘take (non-pl.) from her/they’ | ‘malfactive’ | |
| wai         | ‘take (pl.) from ...’ | ‘malfactive’ | |

| Favouritism | | | |
|-------------|----------------|----------------|
| uhu         | ‘shoot (me/us)/(you (sg.)/(pl.)/(him)’ | ‘favour’ | yes |
| u-so        | ‘shoot(her)’ | ‘favour’ | |
| uku         | ‘shoot (them)’ | ‘favour’ | |

| Other      | | | |
|-------------|----------------|----------------|
| ki          | ‘see’ | ‘try’ | no |
| liyai       | ‘walk about’ | ‘scattered action’ | |
| -taikiyo    | ‘send’ | ‘change of place or condition’ | |
| soli        | ‘dip’ | ‘dip’ | yes |
| tomasimo    | ‘be together with’ | ‘be together with’ | |

49 Words in Ama
5.1.3 Marking TAM

5.1.3.1 Tense

There are four suffixes, including a zero morpheme, expressing tense: remote past, yesterday’s past, today’s past and a future tense. For present a prefix, to- “present”, expressing a middle category between realis and irrealis mood is used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Aspectual Adverb in VP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ki</td>
<td>‘remote past’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a</td>
<td>‘yesterday’s past’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>‘today’s past’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-imo/-i</td>
<td>‘future’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The common future form is -imo. An alternate form -i is used together with the two modal particles aiko ‘lest’ and poj ‘perhaps’.

252) tino/toku ko-ko-ki-noki
day. before yesterday/ before see-3NS.U-RPST-1NS.EX.A
‘Day before yesterday/ before we saw them.’

253) somu fai no-k-a-noki
meat yesterday eat-3NS.U-YPST-1NS.EX.A
‘We (excl.) ate the meat yesterday.’

254) somosai nu-∅
morning go.P-TPST
‘They went this morning.’

255) amuwoi-so tuo-so-imono
tomorrow-ADVR come-3SF.ABS-FUT
‘She will come tomorrow.’

256) wonikaluso aiko kalono-i
lest lest die-1S.U-FUT
‘Lest I die.’

257) auwa-tono poj mano-i
brother-3INAL perhaps go-FUT
‘his brother will perhaps go

258) tiya-woi-su na to-si-ko
hunger-WITH-CON FOC PR-sit.P-1NS.IN.A
‘But we (excl.) are hungry.’

Morphophonemic Rules 8-10 apply to yesterday’s past tense -a and Rules 3-7 apply to the future tense -imo (see section 4.4 (Morphophonemics)).

5.1.3.2 Aspect

There are six aspect categories expressed in Ama by two different strategies as is shown below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspects</th>
<th>Verb Root</th>
<th>Aspectual Adverb in VP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iterative</td>
<td>(po-) -mosi ‘iterative’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td>-moi/-mano- ‘go’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Static</td>
<td>-kai ‘put’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atelic</td>
<td>-luwai ‘follow’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td></td>
<td>yasoi, yopoli ‘have/be’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prospective</td>
<td></td>
<td>amai ‘(not) yet’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both the iterative and the progressive may be used for the habitual aspect.
The suffix -mosi ‘iterative’ usually co-occurs with the irrealis prefix (see section 5.1.3.3.1 (Epistemic Mood)).

For the alteration between moi and mano ‘go/PROG’ see Rule 16 in section 4.4 (Morphophonemics).

The stative aspect marker is the verb root akai ‘put’, with the a lost according to Morphophonemic Rule 17.

The form yasoi ‘have/PERF’ is used with action verbs like ‘come’ and yopoli ‘be/PERF’ is used with more stative verbs like ‘sit’.

The prospective aspect marker amai means ‘not yet’ when used with punctual verbs and ‘yet’ when used with stative verbs.

259) p-ifasiyaimo-mono-mosi-ki-∅
IR-hit-1S.U-IT-RPST-1/3S.A
‘He/she hit me again and again.’

260) na t-aiyolo-ko-mano-no
FOC PR-teach-3NS.U-GO-3NS.A
‘They keep teaching them.’

261) muwo-so-kai-∅-mono-ki-no
mark-3SF.ABS-PUT-GIVE1-1S.U-RPST-3NS.A
‘They marked her for me.’

262) Koto-so mulu-molo-luwai
God-ALL heart-road-FOLLOW
‘believe in God’

263) yasoi tumo-∅
PERF come-TPST
‘(He) has come.’

264) amai tumo-imono
(not.)yet come-FUT
‘(He) hasn’t come yet (but will).’

5.1.3.3 Mood and Mode

There are three kinds of moods signalled on the verb in Ama: epistemic mood, deontic mood and conative mood. In addition there are other non-factual modes signalled in the verb phrase or in the clause.

5.1.3.3.1 Epistemic Mood

There are four prefixes expressing epistemic mood, two of them used for realis and two for irrealis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epistemic Mood</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>∅</td>
<td>realis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to-</td>
<td>‘weak realis (present)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po-</td>
<td>‘irrealis’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa-</td>
<td>‘remote irrealis’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Morphophonemic Rules 1 & 2 apply to to- ‘weak realis’ and po- ‘irrealis’ (see section 4.4 (Morphophonemics)).

Realis

Realis is the mood used to express that which is considered real, including even future events. It is the mood that is used to tell what has actually happened or what is sure to happen. It is signalled by a zero morpheme.

265) noko ∅-tumo-ki
1S R-come-RPST
‘The man came.’

43 Following Bybee (1995:2) ‘mood’ “refers to a formally grammaticalised category of the verb which has a modal function”, while, in this paper, ‘mode’ is used for any type of modality that is not marked morphologically on the verb.

44 Foley (1986:152): “the actor tries to perform the action”

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266) \( \text{ya} \ \emptyset \text{- mano-imo} \)
\begin{align*}
1S & \text{ R-go-FUT} \\
& \text{‘I will go.’}
\end{align*}

**Weak Realis**

The weak irrealis is used to express that which the speaker considers not to be quite as sure as the realis, namely that which is still in progress.

Ama does not have a present tense (see above), but this is the form used to express anything that takes place in the present time or is just about to happen. The reason it has not been analysed as a tense is that all tenses are expressed by suffixes, while this category is expressed by a prefix of the same kind as the epistemic prefixes. This mood, the weak realis, is signalled by the prefix to-.

267) \( \text{to-ti-noki} \)
\begin{align*}
\text{PR-go.P-1NS.EX.A} \\
& \text{‘We are coming.’}
\end{align*}

A form that may suggest that this mood may be interpreted as a tense is the form where the prefix to- ‘weak realis’ and the prefix pa- ‘remote irrealis’, from the same series of modal prefixes, occur together. This particular form is used to deny something in the present.

268) \( \text{pa-to-fast-mono-} \emptyset \text{ yasoi mano-so} \)
\begin{align*}
\text{RIR-PR-help-1S.U-1/3S.A PERF go-3SF.ABS} \\
& \text{‘She isn’t helping me; she has left.’}
\end{align*}

**Irrealis**

The irrealis is signalled by the prefix po-. It has several functions that all express that which is somewhat unsure:

**Immediate imperative:** Here the irrealis prefix is the only marking though a zero suffix is postulated for the imperative.

269) \( \text{nona-yo po-ko-ko-} \emptyset \emptyset \)
\begin{align*}
2S.\text{EMPH-AG IR-see-3NS.U-IMP-S} \\
& \text{‘You (sg.), look at them now.’}
\end{align*}

**Iterative aspect:** To express iterative aspect in the past the irrealis prefix on, always co-occurs with the iterative suffix -lnrh.

270) \( \text{po-aiyolo-ko-mosi-ki-} \emptyset \)
\begin{align*}
\text{IR-teach-3NS.U-IT-RPST-1/3S.A} \\
& \text{‘I/he/she used to teach them.’}
\end{align*}

**Past state that has been changed:** This is similar to the previous function.

271) \( \text{toku koi mo to-ta uo noko-ta po-si-ki-noki} \)
\begin{align*}
\text{earlier 1P.EX TOP RED.EMPH-3S enemy man-SPEC IR-sit.P-RPST-1NS.EX.A} \\
& \text{‘Earlier we (excl.) were his enemies.’}
\end{align*}

**Mistaken assumption:** Used on verbs with the general meaning of ‘say’ to express a mistaken assumption. It co-occurs with the clitic -wo ‘mistaken assumption’, that cliticises to the phrase or clause expressing that assumption.

272) \( \text{noni mo sai muwoi, pi-yomu-so-ki, noko siya-wo} \)
\begin{align*}
\text{woman TOP know NEG IR-think-3SF.ABS-RPST man one-MIST.ASMP} \\
& \text{‘The woman didn’t know, she thought (it was) another man.’}
\end{align*}

**Contrary-to-Fact Conditional:** Both verbs in a contrary-to-fact conditional are marked with po- ‘irrealis’.

273) \( \text{fu mo p-unu-} \emptyset \text{ mo fona p-ani-yo-tumo-noki} \)
\begin{align*}
pig TOP IR-shoot-1/3S.A TOP leg IR-get-CDT-come-1A+2S.U \\
& \text{‘If I had shot a pig I would have brought you a leg.’}
\end{align*}
Remote Irrealis

The remote irrealis is signalled by the prefix pa-. It has two functions that both express that which the speaker considers unreal in the sense that is so much in the future that it is unlikely to happen, or it is non-factual.

Future Imperative: Here the remote irrealis prefix pa- is the only marking though a zero suffix is postulated for imperative.

\[274\) \text{pa-ko-k-a-kono-∅-∅} \]
\[\text{RIR-see-3NS.U-go.down-IMP-S} \]
\['Look at them later!'\]

Negative: The remote irrealis prefix pa- co-occurs with the suffix -so ‘negative’.

\[275\) \text{pa-κwai-κo-κi-no-so} \]
\[\text{RIR-perceive-3NS.U-RPST-1NS.A-NEG} \]
\['They did not hear them.'\]

In this construction pa- ‘remote irrealis’ may co-occur with to- ‘present’.

\[276\) \text{pa-to-kokolo-komo-moko-so} \]
\[\text{RIR-PR-be.afraid-1/2NS.U-1NS.U-NEG} \]
\['We are not afraid.'\]

5.1.3.3.2 Deontic Mood

The following suffixes may occur instead of the tense suffixes to express deontic mood.

\begin{itemize}
\item [Deontic Mood] \begin{itemize}
\item [∅] ‘imperative’
\item [-i] ‘prohibitive’
\item [-u] ‘obligative’
\end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

Imperative: This is signalled by a postulated zero morpheme, one of the irrealis prefixes and the lack of tense and actor suffixes. It is only used in second person. The irrealis prefix po- signals immediate imperative and the remote irrealis prefix pa- signals future imperative. Non-singular is marked by the suffix -wo.

\[277\) \text{po-ki-ya-tumo-∅-∅} \]
\[\text{pa-ki-ya-tumo-∅-wo} \]
\[\text{IR-see-CDA-come-IMP-S} \]
\[\text{RIR-help-CDA-come-IMP-NS} \]
\['Come and look at it now (you sg.)!' ‘Come and look at it later (you pl.)!'\]

Prohibitive: This is signalled by the suffix -i ‘prohibitive’. It is used for second and third person. In second person the verb in this mood is preceded by the adverb noiy ‘don’t’. Non-singular is marked by the suffix -wo. In third person the actor suffixes are retained.

\[278\) \text{noiy o tumo-i-wo} \]
\[\text{don’t come-PROH-NS} \]
\['Don’t come (you pl.)!'\]

\[279\) \text{iwo ki oy au mo siko-i-no} \]
\[\text{water bad TOP drink-PROH-3NS.A} \]
\['They shouldn’t drink.'\]

Obligative: This is signalled by the obligative suffix -u. The obligative is mainly used in third person, but it may be used in first and second person, if the verb is non-active (examples (286) and (287). The obligative suffix forms portmanteau morphemes with third person actor, second person undergoer and tense morphemes, which are different from the suffixes used in epistemic mood.

The following formula, repeated from section 4.2.3.1.2 (Third Order Suffixes (3):Obligative), will help to explain the system. For a complete paradigm see that section.

\begin{itemize}
\item [OBLG] \begin{itemize}
\item [stem (1/3U)] (3A)
\item [OBLG (2U)] (TENSE)
\end{itemize}
\end{itemize}
Morphophonemic Rules 8-10 apply (see section 4.4).

The actor is third person, and there is a singular (∅) versus non-singular distinction (-mo-).

The undergoer marking of second person is in contrast to the portmanteau morphemes used in epistemic mood to signal second person undergoer with first or third person actor (see section 5.1.4.2.1 (Actor-Undergoer Agreement Suffixes for Second Person)). It is far from clear what could have triggered the use of special second person undergoer morphemes to be used nowhere in the language but in the obligative mood!

Instead of the regular tense forms there is a present (∅) versus future (-mo-) distinction, though the future is by far the more common. It seems the present form (without the -mo-) is mostly used with stative verbs, where the state in question is already a fact (examples (289) and (290)). The following macro-morphemes tied to specific examples may be of help to understand the obligative mood:

- (w)-u-(mo) (examples (280), (281), (282), (285), (286), (289), (290))
- (A)-OBLQ-TENSE

- (w)-u-koni-(mo) (example (283), (284))
- (A)-OBLQ-2S.U-TENSE

- (w)-u-konu/konuwu-(mo) (example (287), (288))
- (A)-OBLQ-2NS.U-TENSE

280) aluwai-yu-mo
   follow-OBLG-FUT
   ‘he/she must follow him’

281) aluwai-wu-mo
   follow-NS.A-OBLG-FUT
   ‘they must follow him’

282) Yamu  p-im-a-yo  amuvoi-so  ki-mon-a-f-u-mo
   a.name  IR-say- CDA-go.up  tomorrow-ADVR  see-1S.U- CDA-go.downriver-OBLG-FUT
   ‘Go up and tell Yamu that he must go downriver to see me tomorrow.’

283) im-u-koni-mo
   talk-OBLG-2S.U-FUT
   ‘he/she must talk to you (sg).’

284) na-ni  siyolo  mo  na  kaluwai-yu-koni-mo
   2S-GEN  name  TOP  FOC  call-OBLG-1NS.IN.A-FUT
   ‘He must call your name.’

285) kal-u-mo
   die-OBLQ-FUT
   ‘he must die’

286) kalo-mon-u-mo
   die-1S.U-OBLG-FUT
   ‘I must die’

287) koli-kali-yu-konu-mo
   RED.NS-die.U-must-2NS.U-FUT
   ‘you (pl.) must die’ (plural signalled by the verb stem)

288) imo-wu-konu(wu)-mo
   talk-OBLG-2NS.U-FUT
   ‘they must talk to you (pl.)’

289) tafolo  tan-u
   never.mind  lie-OBLG
   ‘He should stay.’

290) amai  na  tu-tol-u
   (not.)yet  FOC  inside-stand-OBLQ
   ‘He must stay inside.’
Intransitive active verbs with a separate non-singular verb root do not take the non-singular actor suffix in the obligative mood.

291)  
\[ \text{s-uo-mo}^{35} \]
\[ \text{sit.P-OBLG-FUT} \]
\[ \text{‘they must sit’} \]

5.1.3.3 Conative Mood

The conative mood expresses that which the actor tries to perform (Foley 1986:152). In Ama, as in many other Papuan languages, it is expressed by a compound verb involving the verb root ‘see’, in Ama \( ki \), which occurs as the modifying root in a compound verb. It is invariable in that position.

292)  
\[ \text{ya ti-yo-ki} \]
\[ \text{1S PR-do-see} \]
\[ \text{‘I’ll try’} \]

293)  
\[ \text{kwai-ko-ki} \]
\[ \text{perceive-3NS.U-see} \]
\[ \text{‘hear court cases’} \]

5.1.3.3.4 Mode

In addition to the morphological moods there are four modes expressing varying degrees of uncertainty: frustrated intention, believing, doubt and warning. These are signalled by various constructions in the phrase and clause as described below.

Frustrated Intention

The mode of frustrated intention is used to signal events that were intended but did not actually happen, were not completed or the result was not all that could have been desired. It is marked in the verb phrase by the particle \( \text{louwa} \) ‘frustrated intention’ preceding or following the verb. The verb is uninflected and marked by the oblique case marker -\( \text{lnmnh}^{+} \) if the modal particle follows the verb. The simple dummy verb \( \text{eh} \) ‘do’ may in that case follow the modal particle. The meaning of these different constructions is basically the same.

294)  
\[ \text{xn ln knk`h ln ` kn}^{\text{ntv}} \]
\[ \text{sn,et,hj`h,snkn} \]
\[ \text{1S TOP today TOP tree FRUST.INT PR-downriver-plant-stand} \]
\[ \text{‘I was downriver today wanting to plant a tree but ...’} \]

295)  
\[ \text{l` t,rn,lnmnh kn}^{\text{ntv}} \]
\[ \text{eh( possum shoot -3SF.ABS-OBLQ FRUST.INT (do)} \]
\[ \text{‘(He) want(ed) to shoot the possum but ...’} \]

Believing

An opinion may be expressed by the modal particle \( \text{nako} \) with the approximate meaning of ‘I think’ followed by the topic marker \( \text{mo} \).

296)  
\[ \text{nako mo moi mo muo muo yapoli ki-ya-no-ki-nuwo} \]
\[ \text{I.think TOP 1P.IN/2P TOP RED.NS a.grass PERF see-CDA-go.straight-RPST-2NS} \]
\[ \text{‘I think you went to see if there was any grass’} \]

Doubt

The particle marking doubt is usually followed by the topic marker. It is often used to express doubts relating to alternatives. It may follow any phrase but it may also precede a verb phrase.

297)  
\[ \text{waliyo poi mo wiyou poi mo} \]
\[ \text{all.right perhaps TOP no perhaps TOP} \]
\[ \text{‘Is it all right or isn’t it?’} \]

298)  
\[ \text{amuwoi-so poi (mo) tumo-i} \]
\[ \text{one.day.removed-ALL perhaps TOP come-FUT} \]
\[ \text{‘Perhaps he will come tomorrow.’} \]

---

\(^{35}\text{see footnote 40}\)
Warning

Warning is expressed by an adverb wonikaloso with the approximate meaning ‘lest’ and the modal particle aiko also meaning ‘lest’. The adverb will appear first in the clause and the modal particle will precede the verb. Any clauses following continuing this series will have the modal particle preceding the verb.

\[
\text{wonikaluso} \text{ ta-ni} \text{ au-so} \quad \text{aiko} \quad \text{kiyo-i-ni} / \text{polimanu} \text{ noko-ni} \quad \text{naino-so} \quad \text{lest} \quad \text{3S-GEN} \quad \text{body-ALL} \quad \text{lest} \quad \text{take-FUT-2S} / \quad \text{police} \quad \text{man-GEN} \quad \text{hand-ALL}
\]

\[
\text{aiko} \quad \text{kiyo-i-ni} / \quad \text{kalopulonu-so} \quad \text{aiko} \quad \text{kiyo-i-ni} \quad \text{lest} \quad \text{take-FUT-2S} / \quad \text{prison} \quad \text{house-ALL} \quad \text{lest} \quad \text{take-FUT-2S}
\]

‘Lest you’ll be taken to him (person in authority), lest you’ll be taken to the police, lest you’ll be put in prison.’

5.1.4 Marking Person, Number, Gender and Case

There are three competing systems for marking person, number, gender and case: Suffixes are distributed along an active - non-active scale except for gender and for marking second person. The morphological operations expressing number are distributed along an ergative - absolutive system as are the gender suffixes. Second person are partly neutral. The active - non-active system is the more basic one and marks case.

5.1.4.1 Active and Non-Active

There are two main classes of verbs: intransitive and transitive. An intransitive verb has only one argument, while a transitive verb has two. The intransitive verb may be either active or non-active. If the verb takes an actor, as its only argument, it belongs to the active sub-class of intransitive verbs. If the verb requires an undergoer, as its only argument, it belongs to the non-active sub-class of intransitive verbs. A transitive verb has both an actor and an undergoer as it needs two arguments. In accordance with this system the Ama verbal system could be described as active - non-active.

Some verbs from each group are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive - Active</th>
<th>Intransitive - Non-Active</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>moi ‘go’</td>
<td>kalo ‘die’</td>
<td>fasi ‘help’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tolo ‘stand’</td>
<td>kokolo ‘be afraid’</td>
<td>tukolo ‘kill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alosi ‘turn’</td>
<td>usukuno ‘fall’</td>
<td>kausi ‘get’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toi ‘sleep’</td>
<td>uwo ‘(be) afflict(ed)’</td>
<td>aliyoni ‘call’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following examples are the plural forms of one verb each from the above groups. The plural forms are used because they show more clearly then the singular how the active verbs take an actor and the non-active verbs take an undergoer.

\[
\text{300) to-nu-noki} \quad \text{PR-go.P-1NS.EX.A} \quad \text{nu} \quad \text{‘go (pl.)’}
\]

\[
\text{301) to-koli-kali-moko} \quad \text{PR-RED.NS-die-1NS.U} \quad \text{koli-kali} \quad \text{‘die (non-sg.)’}
\]

\[
\text{302) t-aliyoni-moko-no} \quad \text{t-aliyoni-ko-noki} \quad \text{aliyoni-ko} \quad \text{‘call (non-sg.)’}
\]

5.1.4.1.1 Actor Agreement Suffixes

The following suffixes mark the actor in transitive verbs and in intransitive actor oriented verbs. The suffix -noki ‘1NS.EX may also occur as a portmanteau suffix which makes it ambiguous (see section 5.1.4.2.1 (Actor-Undergoer Agreement Suffixes for Second Person)).
Actor basic form/ ∅ ‘1S’ -noki ‘1NS.EX
-koni ‘1NS.IN
-no ‘3NS’

Second person has neutral case marking (see section 5.1.4.2 (Neutral Case)). Third person singular is
absolutive (see section 5.1.4.3.2 (Ergative-Absolutive Marking to Express Gender)).

303) na tumo-ki
FOC come-RPST
‘I/he came.’ (The basic form agrees with both 1.S.A and 3SM.ABS; see section 5.1.4.3.2.)

304) yo mo ma u-so-ki-∅
1S TOP possum shoot-3SF.ABS-RPST-1/3S.A
‘I shot a possum.’

305) na si-ki-noki
FOC sit.P-RPST-1NS.EX.A
‘We (excl.) sat (there).’

306) isi t-isi-k-a-li-koni
clearing PR-clear-3NS.U-CDA-go.upriver-1NS.IN.A
‘Let’s go upriver to clear a garden.’

307) ma mo alaloy no no-so-ki-no
possum TOP children-AG FOC eat-3SF.ABS-RPST-3NS.A
‘Some children ate the possum.’

5.1.4.1.2 Undergoer Agreement Suffixes

Pure undergoer agreement is only used for first person, singular and plural, and third person plural. In
addition, the reciprocal may occur in the place of an undergoer agreement.

Undergoer -mono ‘1S’ -moko ‘1NS’
-ko ‘3NS’
-kuwano ‘reciprocal’

Second person has neutral case marking (see next section). Third person singular is absolutive (see section
5.1.4.3.2 (Ergative-Absolutive Marking to Express Gender)).

308) t-usukuno-mono
PR-fall-1S.U
‘I am falling’

309) noko wai-mono na pa-samuku-moko-moi-∅-∅
man old-OBLQ FOC RIR-watch.over-1NS.U-GO-IMP-S
‘Keep protecting us from the old man (you sg.)!’

310) aluawai-ko-ki-∅
follow-3NS.U-RPST-1/3S.A
‘I/he/she followed them’

311) mi t-ano-fasi-kuwano-koni
bone PR-get-help.each.other-1NS.IN.A
‘Let’s help each other with the work.’

5.1.4.2 Neutral Case Suffixes

Neutral case marking applies to second person only in Ama. The term ‘neutral’ comes from Comrie
(1981:118) and refers to the case when the single core argument of an intransitive clause and both core
arguments of a transitive clause are all marked the same. In Comrie’s words “all three primitives” have the same
form.
Neutral Case

- **ni** ‘2S’
- **nuwo** ‘2NS’

1) **na no hani-yo uwon**

2S TOPQ what-AG afflict-2S
‘What has happened to (afflicted) you (sg.)?’

2) **hani t-ano-nuvo**

what PR-get-2NS
‘What are you (pl.) getting/doing?’

3) **moi-so to-mano-ni**

where-ALL PR-go-2S
‘Where are you (sg.) going?’

See also examples (316) and (317). However, the neutral case is not as neutral as it might seem. In a transitive clause there is a partial contrast depending on the actor.

### 5.1.4.2.1 Actor-Undergoer Agreement Suffixes for Second Person

The neutral suffixes -**ni** ‘2S’ and -**nuwo** ‘2NS’ and the actor suffix -**noki** ‘1NS.EX.A’ may, when they occur on transitive verbs, function as portmanteau morphemes expressing both the actor and the undergoer. This makes them ambiguous. There is one more such suffix (-**nukuwo** ‘1A+2NS.U’) which, as can be seen from the gloss, has a more precise meaning.

1/3**A+2U**

- **noki** ‘1A+2S.U // 1NS.EX.A’
- **nukuwo** ‘1A+2NS.U’
- **ni** ‘3A+2S.U // 2S’
- **nuwo** ‘3A+2NS.U // 2NS’

These suffixes are fourth order suffixes, i.e. they are actor-like. This makes it hard to call them absolute suffixes even though they partly have the distribution of such suffixes.

1) **to-fasi-noki**

PR-help-1NS.EX.A // 1A+2S.U
‘we (excl.) will help him’
‘I/we (excl.) will help you (sg.)’

2) **to-fasi-ni**

PR-help-2S // 3A+2S.U
‘you will (sg.) help him’
‘he/she/they will help you (sg.)’

3) **to-fasi-nuwo**

PR-help-2NS // 3A+2NS.U
‘you (pl.) will help him’
‘he/she/they’ll help you (pl.)’

4) **to-fasi-nukuwo**

PR-help-1A+2NS.U
‘I/we (excl.) will help you (pl.)’

To disambiguate some of the above constructions there is another suffix -**komo**- ‘1/2NS.U’ that is never used on its own but may optionally precede the two portmanteau suffixes -**nuwo** ‘3A+2NS.U’ and -**nukuwo** ‘1A+2NS.U’. It is often also used with -**moko** ‘1NS.U’.

1) **to-fasi-komo-nuvo**

PR-help-1NS.U-3A+2NS.U
‘he/she/they will help you (pl.).’

2) **to-fasi-komo-nukuwo**

PR-help-1NS.U-1A+2NS.U
‘I/we will help you (pl.).’

1) **to-fasi-komo-moko-no**

PR-help-1NS.U-1NS.U-3NS.A
‘They will help us.’

### 5.1.4.3 Ergative-Absolutive

An ergative-absolutive system is evident in the marking of number and gender in Ama.
5.1.4.3.1 Ergative-Absolutive Marking to Express Number

Many verb roots vary in form with the number of the absolutive argument connected with it, i.e. an active intransitive root/stem may vary according to the number of its actor, a non-active intransitive root/stem may vary according to the number of its undergoer, but a transitive root/stem may only vary according to the number of its undergoer. In accordance with this system, the Ama verbal system could be described as ergative-absolutive. There are four ways in which number could, according to this system, be signalled in the stem: suffixation, reduplication, stem modification and suppletion. Dual is usually the same as the plural stem but for some common roots the singular is used for dual as well. One very important fact about Ama verb forms, in connection with marking number, is that a great many of them are irregular. In fact, it is hard to find a system that is in any way regular.

### Singular | Dual | Plural
--- | --- | ---

#### Intransitive active: verb root varies with number of actor

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **320**
criy-RPST  ‘I/he cried’ | same as plural | **so-sonuno-ki**  RED.NS-cry-RPST  ‘they/the two of them cried’ |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **321**
go-RPST  ‘I/he went’ | **mano-ki-no**  go-RPST-3NS.A  ‘the two of them went’ | **nu-ki**  go.P-RPST  ‘they went’ |

#### Intransitive non-active: verb root varies with number of undergoer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **322**
na kalo-mono-imono | ‘I will die’ | **na koli-kali-moko-imono**  FOC RED.NS-die-1NS.U-FUT  ‘we/the two of us will die’ |

#### Transitive verb: verb root varies with number of undergoer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **323**
alamani-ki-no  ‘they took it away’ | alomani-ko-ki-no  take.away-3NS.U-RPST-3NS.A  ‘they took the two things away’ | ilomani-ki-no  take.away.P-RPST-3NS.A  ‘they took the things away’ |
| **324**
ano-ki-no  ‘they got it’ | a-ko-ki-no  get-3NS.U-RPST-3NS.A  ‘they got the two things’ | i-ki-no  get.P-RPST-3NS.A  ‘they got the things’ |

5.1.4.3.2 Ergative-Absolutive Marking to Express Gender

There is a three-way classification of nouns in Ama based on gender but which is morphologically marked on the verb: masculine, feminine and compound. The compound gender comprises nouns referring to inanimate things that are considered to be made up of many parts. Typical examples are bundles of things and mechanical items (see 5.2.1 (Gender)).

The system for the morphological marking of gender on the verb is mainly realised by ergative and absolutive suffixes. However, the masculine absolutive is inherent in the basic form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>basic form</th>
<th>‘3SM.ABS</th>
<th>∅</th>
<th>‘3SF.ABS’</th>
<th>∅</th>
<th>‘3S.ERG/(1S.A)’</th>
<th>‘3C.ABS/(3NS.U)’</th>
<th>–</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Sometimes stem modification and suppletion works together with the suffixes to mark gender.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Compound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘come’</td>
<td>tumo</td>
<td>tumo-so</td>
<td>tumo-ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go’</td>
<td>moi</td>
<td>mano-so</td>
<td>mano-ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘take away’</td>
<td>alomano</td>
<td>aloma-so</td>
<td>aloma-ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
<td>toi</td>
<td>ta-so</td>
<td>ta-ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘give him/her/-’</td>
<td>anoni</td>
<td>ati-so</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

^46 inanimate verb root (see "Get"-Verbs and Animacy 5.2.4.4)
As can be seen from the above only the feminine absolutive suffix -so is unique. The compound absolutive suffix -ko is the same as the non-singular undergoer suffix, and the ergative suffix, a proposed zero morpheme, ∅, is the same as the first singular actor suffix. An ergative suffix for compound gender is hardly viable because as a gender suffix it can only refer to something inanimate.

In example (328), the middle form, the compound gender and the third person dual undergoer form are ambiguous. This is common in the language. The plural form is shown to the right for comparison.

325) afoli   moi-∅
    throw    go-VPST
    ‘throw it/him’ (basic form agrees with 3SM.ABS) ‘he went’

326) kwai-so-ki-no  liyai-so-ki
    perceive-3SF.ABS-RPST-3NS.A     walk.about-3SF.ABS-RPST
    ‘they listened to her’ ‘she went for a walk’

327) palulo aloma-ko-ki-no  palulo tumo-ko-ki
    aeroplane take.away-3C.ABS-RPST-3NS.A     aeroplane come-3C.ABS-RPST
    ‘they piloted the plane’ ‘the plane came’

328) ano-ki-no  a  a-ko-ki-no  a  i-ki-no
    get-RPST-3NS.A  tree  get-3C.ABS-RPST-3NS.A  tree  get.P-RPST-3NS.A
    ‘they got something’      ‘they got a bunch of firewood’      ‘they got many logs’
    ‘they got two logs’

329) nau  a-so-ki-no
    cup(fem.) get-3SF.ABS-RPST-3NS.A
    ‘they got a cup’

330) mano-no  tou  mano-ko
    go-3NS.A  faeces  go-3C.ABS
    ‘the two of them went’      ‘defecate’

There is an obsolete suffix -ln that seems to have survived as part of some irregular verb stems. Synchronically it is best to interpret it as part of the root/stem as can be seen from the last part of example (332).

5.1.4.4 Benefactive

As mentioned earlier, benefactive is signalled by additional verb stems in the verb. There are three verb stems used depending on how the benefactee is effected by the event expressed by the head stem in the verb: the common benefactive - an event is beneficent to somebody, the malfactive - an event effects somebody in a negative way and the ‘on behalf of’ benefactive’ - something is done to somebody as a favour.

In the common benefactive and the malfactive constructions there are two undergoers involved, which will be called the ‘patient’ and the ‘benefactee/malfactee’. The ‘on behalf of’ construction usually marks the benefactee.

5.1.4.4.1 Common Benefactive

The modifying verb roots used for common benefactive are the ones, which, when used in a head stem, mean ‘give’. Before giving a paradigm and examples for the common benefactive the verb forms meaning ‘give’ will be presented.

---

47 This suffix -mo is also used to increase the valence of some verbs (see Derivation versus Inflection 4.3). The gloss S for 'singular' seems to fit most of its occurrences (if it needs to be separate from the stem).
The Verb ‘Give’

There are two verb roots, the bound root a- ‘give (non-plural patient)’ and the free root ni ‘give (plural patient)’ on which all verb forms meaning ‘give’ in Ama are based. Most forms can be predicted from knowing the following verb stems for the verb ‘give’:

- a- give1 ‘give one thing (masc.) to first person’
- a-non ni give-2/3 ‘give one thing (masc.) to second person and to third person singular masculine’
- a-ti give-3P/F ‘give one thing (masc.) to many people’
- a-ti-so give-3P/F-3SF.ABS ‘give one thing (masc.) to feminine person’
- ni give.P.PAT ‘give many things to one person’

This verb has two undergoers, that which is given, the patient and the person to whom it is given, the benefactee. The form varies with both. (For paradigms of undergoer, absolutive, neutral and actor+undergoer portmanteau suffixes see above in sections 5.1.4.1-5.1.4.3).

The suffixes marking the patient is inserted in the middle of the forms at the left hyphen. They are undergoer and absolutive suffixes described above in section 5.1.4.1.2 (Undergoer Agreement) and 5.1.4.3.2 (Ergative-Absolutive Marking to Express Gender). The forms used for the plural patient have their own suppletive root ni.

- a-so-non i ‘give one thing (fem.) to second and third person’
- a-ko-non i ‘give one thing (comp.)/two things to second and third person’
- ni ‘give many things to one person’

The suffixes marking the benefactee occur last. Here the whole range of suffixes described in sections 5.1.4.1-5.1.4.3 are used.

For further details see chart below, which, of course, also applies when the verb is used as a head stem.

A few examples follow of the use of the verb ‘give’ as a head stem.

A gloss GIVE for ‘benefactive’ is used throughout the paper to show the relationship to the verb meaning ‘give’.  

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The gloss GIVE for ‘benefactive’ is used throughout the paper to show the relationship to the verb meaning ‘give’.

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48 The gloss GIVE for ‘benefactive’ is used throughout the paper to show the relationship to the verb meaning ‘give’.
The Use of the Verb ‘Give’ to Indicate Common Benefactive

When the verb ‘give’ is used for the grammatical category of benefactive, the first vowel a- is lost, according to Morphophonemic Rule 17 (see section 4.4 (Morphophonemics)). This leaves, for the non-plural patient forms, only the benefactee part of the verbs, which is through-out the paper glossed as follows:

-∅ GIVE1 ‘first person benefactive’
-noni GIVE2/3 ‘second person (all forms) and third person singular masculine benefactive’
-ti GIVE.3P/F ‘third person plural/third person singular feminine benefactive’

For the plural patient forms, there is the root:

ni- GIVE.P.PAT ‘singular benefactee’ (but plural patient)

This, together with the facts given above for the verb forms meaning ‘give’, results in the following paradigm for common benefactive in Ama.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>-∅-mono</td>
<td>-so-∅-mono</td>
<td>-ko-∅-mono</td>
<td>ni-mono</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1NS</td>
<td>-∅-moko</td>
<td>-so-∅-moko</td>
<td>-ko-∅-moko</td>
<td>ni-moko</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S+1A</td>
<td>-noni-noki</td>
<td>-so-noni-noki</td>
<td>-ko-noni-noki</td>
<td>ni-noki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S+3A</td>
<td>-noni-ni</td>
<td>-so-noni-ni</td>
<td>-ko-noni-ni</td>
<td>ni-ni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2NS+1A</td>
<td>-noni-nukuwo</td>
<td>-so-noni-nukuwo</td>
<td>-ko-noni-nukuwo</td>
<td>ni-nukuwo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2NS+3A</td>
<td>-noni-nuwo</td>
<td>-so-noni-nuwo</td>
<td>-ko-noni-nuwo</td>
<td>ni-nuwo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM</td>
<td>-noni</td>
<td>-so-noni</td>
<td>-ko-noni</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF</td>
<td>-ti-so</td>
<td>-so-ti-so</td>
<td>-ko-ti-so</td>
<td>ni-so</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3NS</td>
<td>-ti</td>
<td>-so-ti</td>
<td>-ko-ti</td>
<td>ni-ko</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form -ko in the third column, may refer to dual number as well as to compound gender. Also, the aspect marker -k‘ai ‘stative’ (from the verb ‘put’) may occur between the different suffixes that are part of the benefactive forms (345) and (346).

339) paso kumo-noni-ki-no
letter write-GIVE2/3-RPST-3NS.A
‘They wrote a letter to him.’

340) paso kumo-ti-so-ki-no
letter write-GIVE.3P/F-3SF.ABS-RPST-3NS.A
‘They wrote a letter to her.’

341) paso kumo-ti-ki-no
letter write-GIVE.3P/F-RPST-3NS.A
‘They wrote a letter to them.’

342) paso kumo-∅-moko-ki-no
letter write-GIVE1-1NS.U-RPST-3NS.A
‘They wrote a letter to us.’

343) koloni wasi-ni-ki-no
animal give.party-GIVE.P.PAT-RPST-3NS.A
‘They gave a party for him (lots to eat!).’

344) koloni wasi-ni-ko-ki-no
animal give.party-GIVE.P.PAT-3NS.U-RPST-3NS.A
‘They gave a party for them (still lots to eat!).’

345) Koto-so muwo-ko-kai-noni-mono
God-ALL mark-3NS.U-PUT-GIVE2/3-OBLQ
‘in order to set them aside for God’
5.1.4.4.2 Malfactive

The malfactee series is built on the common benefactee series. A malfactive verb root is added to the forms described for the common benefactive. It occurs immediately preceding ∅/noni/ ‘GIVE’, that is, the patient suffix precedes it (see example (348)). For non-plural patients, "the thing taken", the verb root is wa ‘take from’. For plural patient the corresponding verb root is -v`h ‘take (pl.) from’.

wa ‘one harmful thing done to first person’

wa-non ‘one harmful thing done to second person and to third person singular masculine’

wa-ti ‘one harmful thing done to many people

wa-ti-so ‘one harmful thing done to feminine person

wai ‘many harmful things done to one person’

wai-ko ‘many harmful things done to many people’

As can be seen from example (351), this form is not always malfactive as far as meaning is concerned.

5.1.4.4.3 Benefactive ‘On Behalf Of’

The ‘on behalf of’ series is built on the verb root unu ‘shoot’. It is often used to indicate a favour but not always (see example (353). The basic forms are:

unu shoot ‘a favour done to first and second person and third person singular masculine’

u-so shoot-3SF.ABS ‘a favour done to third person singular feminine

uku shoot.NS ‘a favour done to third person non-singular’

The benafactee is signalled by the different suppletive roots of the verb unu and the undergoer/absolutive suffixes. There is no patient indicated.
On Behalf of

unu-mono ‘SHOOT-1S.U’
unu-noki ‘SHOOT-1A+2S.U’
unu-ni ‘SHOOT-3A+2S.U’
unu ‘SHOOT(3SM.ABS)’
u-so ‘SHOOT-3SF.ABS’

356) into to-liyo-uku-nonir-∅
     coconut  PR-climb.up-SHOOT.P-GIVE2/3-1S.A
     ‘I/he/she climbed up to get some coconuts for him.’

5.1.5 Marking Locative and Allative Case on the Verb

There are four prefixes expressing location and seven allative verb roots expressing direction. In addition the verb root *tumo* ‘come’ functions as an allative verb root. Neither of these categories are grammaticalised on word, phrase or clause level. They are not optional on discourse level, however, as they form an important part of the overall deictic system of the language. A shortened verb root -you ‘move up’ has a more restricted distribution.

5.1.5.1 Locative Marking on the Verb

The locative case expresses where a certain action takes place. There are four prefixes to express this.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tu-</td>
<td>‘inside, upriver’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fu-</td>
<td>‘outside, downriver’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku-</td>
<td>‘down below’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you-</td>
<td>‘up above’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These prefixes often co-occur with a stative verb but there are other favoured combinations as well (example (359)).

357) na tu-tolo-ki
     FOC  inside-stand-RPST
     ‘He was (stood) inside/upriver.’

358) Liyali isi to-fu-isi-ko-tolo
     a.name  clearing PR-downriver-clear-3C.ABS-stand
     ‘Liyali is downriver clearing a garden.’

359) la imo mo na ku-kiyo-takiyo-ki-no
     fish  net  TOP FOC down-move-SEND-RPST-3NS.A
     ‘They threw in the fishnet.’
The woman was (stood) up (there).

Allative Marking on the Verb

The allative is expressed by seven verb roots. These verbs will first be outlined in their full forms and thereafter their use in compounding expressing allative will be described. They have slightly irregular forms for plural and feminine as can be seen in the following table. One of them -lo ‘go all over’ has no corresponding full verb form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allative Verbs</th>
<th>Non-Plural</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘go inside’</td>
<td>amo-ti</td>
<td>(ti)</td>
<td>amu-siyo-ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go outside/downriver’</td>
<td>amu-fu</td>
<td>fu</td>
<td>amu-siyo-fu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go upriver’</td>
<td>amo-li</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>amu-siyo-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go up’</td>
<td>ami-yo</td>
<td>yo</td>
<td>amu-siyo-yo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go down’</td>
<td>amu-kono</td>
<td>kuno</td>
<td>amu-siyo-kono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go straight’</td>
<td>amu-no</td>
<td>(nu)</td>
<td>amu-siyo-no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go all over’</td>
<td>*amu-lo</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form *ti, in the third column, is the same form as *ti ‘come (pl.).’

The female forms of these verbs use an irregular form of -so 3SF.ABS only occurring in this set of verbs.

The form *nu, in the third column, is the same form as *nu ‘go (pl.).’

When used in compounding these verbs are shortened a little more than other verbs. Usually only an a is deleted according to Morphophonemic Rule 17 (see section 4.4 (Morphophonemics)), but for these verbs also the next syllable is deleted. In their shortened forms these verb roots are similar to the locative prefixes but only one is exactly the same as the corresponding prefix, -fu ‘outside/downriver’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allative</th>
<th>amotí</th>
<th>-ti</th>
<th>‘go inside’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>amufu</td>
<td>-fu</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘go outside, downriver’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amoli</td>
<td>-li</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘go upriver’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amiyó</td>
<td>-yo</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘go up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amukono</td>
<td>-kono</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘go down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amunó</td>
<td>-no</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘go straight (to a place)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
*amulo -lo ‘go all over’

In compounding these shortened verb roots may occur preceded by two different juncture morphemes -a- ‘direction away’ and -yo- ‘direction towards’.

Any verb may occur as the head stem in a compound form with -a- ‘direction away’, but with -yo- ‘direction towards’ only verbs meaning ‘bring/take/get’ occur.

Any verb may occur as the head stem in a compound form with -a- ‘direction away’, but with -yo- ‘direction towards’ only verbs meaning ‘bring/take/get’ occur.

365) ya ki-ya-kono-i-kuwo-mo
1S look-CDA-go.down-FUT-1A+2NS.U-FUT
‘I will come down to see you.’

366) koi mo kwai-k-a-fu-ki-noki
1P.EX TOP perceive-3NS.U-CDA-go.outside/upriver-RPST-1NS.EX.A
‘We went outside/upriver to hear them.’

367) yo mo mi t-an-a-no-Ø
1S TOP bone PR-get-CDA-go.straight-1/3S.A
‘I’m going to work.’

368) imo to-lukas-a-lo-ki-no
1P.EX TOP talk PR-speak-CDA-go.all.over-RPST-3NS.A
‘They spoke without saying much. (-lo ‘go all over’ is here used in a figurative sense, which is often the case)

369) noko toitati iyali-so kolisi-yo-no-ki-Ø
man four group-ALL get.AN.P-CDA-go.straight-RPST-1/3S.A
‘I/he/she got four men and brought them’

The verb root tumo ‘come’ functions in exactly the same way as the allative suffixes.

370) ya ki-ya-tumo-ki-Ø
1S look-CDA-come-RPST-1/3S.A
‘I came to look at it.’

371) ai noko koli-ya-tumo-ki-no
RED.NS sickness man bring.AN.P-come-RPST-3NS.A
‘They brought sick people.’

There is one other form -you ‘move up’ that occurs with "bring-get-take” verbs.

372) p-ani-you-Ø-Ø
IR-get-move.up-IMP-S
‘Lift it up!’

5.1.6 Marking Negative

There are six ways of marking negation in Ama. Three of them involve affixation or a clitic on the verb word.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Marking on Verb</th>
<th>Marking in Phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Finite Verb Forms</td>
<td>pa- -so ‘not’</td>
<td>pa- -so ‘not’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Finite Verb Forms</td>
<td>-woi muwoi ‘not’</td>
<td>-woi muwoi ‘not’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibitive</td>
<td>noiyo -i ‘don’t!’</td>
<td>noiyo -i ‘don’t’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>somiso mo ‘if not’</td>
<td>somiso mo ‘if not’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPs</td>
<td>somiso ‘without’</td>
<td>somiso ‘without’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-VPs</td>
<td>muwoi ‘not’</td>
<td>muwoi ‘not’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The negation suffix -so always co-occurs with the remote irrealis prefix pa-. The clitic -woi ‘with’ is the relational clitic which here occurs on the bare verb stem followed by a negative particle muwoi. Prohibitive is marked by the suffix -i on the verb. The verb is preceded by the negative particle noiyo ‘don’t’. The adverb somiso ‘without’ is used to negate nouns and in negative conditionals.
Nouns constitute an open class of words that may take case clitics and function as the head of noun phrases. There are three classes of nouns based on gender: masculine, feminine and compound (see next section). Gender is marked on the verb, not on the noun itself. Number is only rarely marked on the noun itself, but it is marked on the verb and in the noun phrase. The number categories are: singular, dual and plural. Kinship and other relational types of nouns are inalienably possessed. Some syntactic arrangements in the phrase and clause are based on the animacy of the participants involved.

There is no formal difference between proper and general nouns. Mass nouns are encompassed within the compound gender class. Nouns denoting some body parts are used in the traditional numerical system (see section 5.4.3 (Numerical System)). There are a few abstract nouns.

A noun consists of a noun root and may take case marking clitics, but that will be described under the noun phrase as that is the level it is functioning on (see Noun Phrases 6.2).

5.2 Nouns

There are three classes of nouns based on gender: masculine, feminine and compound. The last category refers to nouns which are considered to consist of more than one part. The noun class is not marked on the noun but on the verb, mainly by suffixation, but on a couple of verbs also by suppletion and stem modification. All verbal marking is according to an ergative-absolutive system (see section 5.1.4.3.2 (Ergative-Absolutive Marking to Express Gender)).

It is not possible to define the noun classes exactly but some tendencies can be noticed. To the feminine noun class belongs all nouns denoting animate female referents. Words denoting birds and fish are feminine. Many loan words are also feminine.

5.2.1 Gender

There are three classes of nouns based on gender: masculine, feminine and compound. The last category refers to nouns which are considered to consist of more than one part. The noun class is not marked on the noun but on the verb, mainly by suffixation, but on a couple of verbs also by suppletion and stem modification. All verbal marking is according to an ergative-absolutive system (see section 5.1.4.3.2 (Ergative-Absolutive Marking to Express Gender)).

It is not possible to define the noun classes exactly but some tendencies can be noticed. To the feminine noun class belongs all nouns denoting animate female referents. Words denoting birds and fish are feminine. Many loan words are also feminine.
The compound noun class encompasses non-animate nouns where the referent can be seen as having many parts. Typical compound nouns are words denoting piles and heaps of things as well as mass nouns e.g. water and sand. Many loan words belong to this class as the referents are seen as having many parts, e.g. book, aeroplane.

The masculine noun class is the biggest. To it belongs all nouns denoting animate male referents as well as most everyday nouns. Synchronically this is the unmarked form, though diachronically there is a rest of marking by -mo which is no longer productive.

The number categories in the language are singular, dual and plural. These categories are marked at several levels of the language, but most prominently on the verb. A very few nouns with human referents have reduplicated or supplanted non-singular forms. Some abstract nouns, e.g. ai 'sickness' are fully reduplicated, resulting in two words, when referring to a non-singular entity.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Singular (alu)</th>
<th>Non-Singular (a-la-lo)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘child/children’</td>
<td></td>
<td>child-RED.NS-child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘woman/women’</td>
<td>noni</td>
<td>nokolalo women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘widow/widows’</td>
<td>sawi</td>
<td>su-sawi RED.NS-widow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sick people’</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>ai ai noko RED.NS sickness man</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5.2.2.1 Overview of Marking of Number

The number categories of singular, dual and plural are marked at several different levels of the Ama language. Below is an overview:

1. In the verb: obligatory suffixation, reduplication, stem modification, suppletion. Singular, dual, plural.
2. In the noun: a few, mostly, reduplication, human nouns, suppletion. Singular, non-singular.
4. In an adjective used attributively in an NP or as a comment in a CP: obligatory reduplication. Singular, non-singular.
5. In the personal pronoun: obligatory stem modification, suppletion, compounding. Singular, dual, plural.

The form ... noko ti ‘... and somebody else’ (in (3) above) is used for nouns that are not in themselves plural. Compare examples (397) and (400).

392) alu siyoli to-tumo-∅
    child big PR-come-1/3S.A
    ‘a big child is coming’

393) alalo si-siyoli to-ti
    children RED.NS-big PR-come.P
    ‘(some) big children are coming’

394) alalo si-siyoli ti to-tumo-no
    children RED.NS-big two PR-come-3NS.A
    ‘two big children are coming’

395) alu mo siyoli
    child TOP big
    ‘the child is big’

396) alalo mo si-siyoli
    children TOP RED.NS-big
    ‘the children are big’
397) alalo ti mo si-siyoli
children two TOP RED.NS-big
‘the two children are big’

398) anoi to-tumo-so
mother.1 PR-come-3SF.ABS
‘my mother is coming’

399) anoi iyali to-ti
mother.1 group PR-come.P
‘my mothers are coming’/‘my mother and some other people are coming’

400) anoi noko ti to-tomu-no
mother.1 man two PR-come-3NS.A
‘my two mothers are coming’/‘my mother and somebody else are coming’

401) to to-ti toi
3S 3P-two 3P
‘he/she’ ‘the two of them’ ‘they’

402) yo ko-ti koi
1S 1P.EX-two 1P.EX
‘I’ ‘the two of us (excl.)’ ‘we (excl.)’

5.2.3 Kinship Nouns

Kinship and other relational type nouns are inalienably possessed. The following suffixes are used to express these relationships:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>‘first person’ Ø</th>
<th>‘second person’ -no</th>
<th>‘third person’ -tono</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘mother’</td>
<td>anoi</td>
<td>anoni</td>
<td>atino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘father’</td>
<td>apou</td>
<td>apono</td>
<td>apitono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘a man’s sister/fem.</td>
<td>inai</td>
<td>inai-no</td>
<td>inai-tono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parallel cousin’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘maternal uncle’</td>
<td>ala</td>
<td>ala-no</td>
<td>ala-tono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘friend’</td>
<td>siyoku</td>
<td>siyoku-no</td>
<td>siyoku-tono</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

403) inai-tono
male’s.sister-3INAL
‘his/her sister’

5.2.4 Animacy

There are four operations in the clause, phrase and word structures that are based on the animacy of the participants. One has to do with what argument is interpreted as the actor in a transitive clause, when the arguments are equal except as to animacy. Another, concerns the agent, whether it triggers verbal agreement or not. Yet another has to do with locational marking of noun phrases where the head refers to something animate. Finally, there are certain verb forms that are inherently animate or inanimate.
5.2.4.1 Actor or Undergoer, a Question of Animacy

The following example may seem to have two possible interpretations, because both participants are third person singular masculine. In reality the second interpretation is blocked due to animacy.

404) noko mo fu unu-ki-∅
     man TOP pig shoot-RPST-1/3S.A
     ‘The man shot a pig.’
     ‘A pig shot the man.’

The topic marker may be used to mark the pig instead of the man. That would not change the fact that it was the man who shot the pig. Word order may change, placing fu ‘pig’ first or placing noko ‘man’ after the verb, or in several other ways, but it will always be the man who shot the pig, because he is higher on the animacy scale than the pig. The scale is as follows:

humans
animals
things

The only grammatical clause, where the pig would shoot the man, would be to use the case marker -yo ‘agent’ on the pig. However, most Ama speakers would consider that nonsense as that is not the kind of story they would make up.

405) ?noko mo fu-yo unu-ki-∅
     man TOP pig-AG shoot-RPST-1/3S.A
     ‘A pig shot the man.’

5.2.4.2 Agent or Instrument, a Question of Animacy

There are several case roles marked by clitics on the noun phrase in Ama. This will be described in section 6.2.3.2 (Case Marking of Noun Phrases). One of the case markers is -yo and marks the agent, which in Ama includes the instrumental case. This case marking triggers verbal agreement, if the marked entity is animate. An inanimate entity does not normally trigger verbal agreement, but there are exceptions if the argument refers to a “natural force” like wind or water (example (408). For details see section 6.2.3.2.1 (The Agent).

406) nu mo noko-yo na ko-ki-no
     house TOP man-AG FOC build-RPST-3NS.A
     ‘(Some) men built the house.’

407) noko mo muwo kolukuwa kolukuwa-yo tokoso-i-mano-ki-no
     man TOP bush,knife RED.NS crooked-AG cut-get.P-GO-RPST-3NS.A
     The men were cutting and collecting (grass) with long crooked knives.

The plural forms in the verb in this example refer to the grass (i ‘get.P) and the men (-no 3NS.A).

408) imonu-yo ufasi-foli-komo-mok-a-lo-∅-ki
     storm-AG toss-throw 2/3NS-1NS.U-CDA-go.all.over-RPST-1/3S.A
     ‘The storm tossed us all over the place.’

5.2.4.3 Locational Marking and Animacy

Animate nouns do not take any of the locational case clitics to indicate physical position. To express these concepts a genitive construction has to be used as follows:

409) *anoni-so po-moi-∅-∅
     mother.2-ALL IR-go-IMP-S
     ‘Go to your mother!’

410) anoni-ni au-so po-moi-∅-∅
     mother.2-GEN body-ALL IR-go-IMP-S
     ‘Go to your mother!’

411) Pita-ni au-sai to-ti-noki
     Peter-GEN body-ABL PR-come.P-1NS.EX.A
     ‘We are coming from Pita.’

412) noko-ni au-mai mo waliyo
     man-GEN body-LOC TOP OK
     ‘Being near people is OK.’
5.2.4.4 "Get"-Verbs and Animacy

There are different verb roots depending on animacy for verbs meaning to 'get', 'bring' and 'take'. The forms also vary with number. The "bring" forms are based on the "take"-forms for animate nouns and on the "get"-form for inanimate nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animate</th>
<th>Inanimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kausi 'get'</td>
<td>ano 'get'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koliso 'get (non-sg.)'</td>
<td>a-ko 'get (dl.)/(compound gender)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>get-3NS.U</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i 'get (pl.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kau 'take'</td>
<td>aloma 'take (non-pl.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koliyono 'take (non-sg.)'</td>
<td>iloma 'take (pl.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kau-wiyo-tumo 'bring'</td>
<td>ani-yo-tumo 'bring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take.AN-CDT-come</td>
<td>get-CDT-come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koli-yo-tumo 'bring (non-sg.)'</td>
<td>get-3NS.U-CDT-come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take.AN.NS-CDT-come</td>
<td>i-yo-tumo 'bring (pl.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>get.P-CDT-come</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

413) ya-ni puko p-a-k-a-no-∅-∅
1S-GEN book IR-get-3C.ABS-CDA-go.straight-IMP-S
‘Go get my book!’

414) noni kau-so
woman take.AN-3SF.ABS
‘(to) marry a woman’

415) palulo aloma-ko
aeroplane take-3C.ABS
‘(to) pilot a plane’

416) toi-ni alalo koli-yo-tumo-ki-no
3P-GEN children take.AN.NS-CDT-come-RPST-3NS.A
‘They brought their children.’

5.2.5 Proper Names

Proper names behave in many ways like any other noun. Names of animate beings may occur as an agent, take the allative case marker to indicate that it is an undergoer or be an oblique argument. But as they refer to animate entities, they do not take any of the locational case clitics to indicate physical position. To express that, a genitive construction has to be used. A geographical name will usually be in the allative, ablative or locative case. Other case marking is possible, if it occurs as a topic or comment in a verb-less clause. A proper name may occur in a noun phrase with a genitive or adjective as an attribute. In fact, a common way of expressing family type relationships, corresponding to a surname is through a genitive construction.

417) Nikiyamo-ni Imamo
a.name-GEN a.name (female)
‘Nikiyamo’s daughter Imamo’

418) Imali siyoli-woi Imali koufa-woi
a.name big-WITH a.name small-WITH
‘the big Imali and the small Imali’

419) Ayamo-ni au-so ti
a.name-GEN body-ALL come.P
‘they came to Ayamo’

There are two lists of proper names for people, one male and one female. Children from the same mother are given these names in numerical order, which gives them the meaning of first, second, third etc. with an additional lexical sex component, e.g. ‘First Male’, ‘Second Female’ etc. The lists go up to eleven.
Male | Female
--- | ---
1. Imu | Ayamo
2. Nikiyamo | Yamoï
3. Yamu | Yamuwai
4. Imali | Imali
5. Imamu | Imamoi
6. Imowa | Yotolo
7. Liyali | Lawoi
8. Yaliyo | Apu
9. Simoso | Sitoi
10. Noisa | Imowai
11. Lapuwo | Siyolo

In addition there are more personal, given names like Sipolu ‘gecko (fem.)’, Kapu-kapu ‘eat!’, which are associative in nature, and foreign names like Pita ‘Peter’, Alopo ‘Albert’ and Moili ‘Mary’.

### 5.2.6 Abstract Nouns

There are some abstract nouns. A few examples are:

- **Amoloki** ‘night’
- **Ai** ‘sickness’
- **Aniyopa** ‘eternity’
- **Suo** ‘exchange’
- **Folosu** ‘darkness’
- **Tiya** ‘hunger’
- **Nuwoi** ‘a certain day’
- **Ulololi** ‘sleep’
- **Saponi** ‘light’
- **Upimo** ‘afternoon’

There are also some concrete nouns with extended abstract meanings:

- **Mi** ‘bone’ (work)
- **Mulu** ‘heart’ (mind, emotions)
- **Ulo** ‘sun’ (day)

420) **Mi** t-ano-no
bone PR-get-3NS.A
‘They are working.’

421) **Yo mo mulu to-kalo-mono**
1S TOP heart PR-die-1S.U
‘I’m worried.’

422) **Ulo siya**
sun one
‘one day’

### 5.3 Pronouns

Pronouns constitute a closed class of words. There are two sub-classes: personal (including possessive) and demonstrative pronouns. Personal pronouns substitute for animate nouns. One of the functions of demonstrative pronouns is to substitute for inanimate nouns. They also substitute for higher grammatical units even whole paragraphs as well as discourse external entities.

#### 5.3.1 Personal Pronouns

There is a three way distinction in number in the pronominal forms: singular, dual and plural.
The dual pronouns are compound forms, in that the plural forms are reduced through apocope and then joined to the root morpheme ti ‘two’.

DUAL → Coiti → Coti

There are two types of personal pronouns: regular and emphatic. Most of the emphatic pronouns are partial reduplications of the regular forms. It is always the first syllable that is reduplicated. If the reduplicated syllable contains a diphthong the last vowel segment is dropped. There is a vowel change in the final syllable of the reduplicated word.

RED → C₁ o(i) → C₁ oC₁ a (i)
     (ti)

The forms for first and second person singular are irregular.

**Regular Personal Pronouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 exclusive</td>
<td>yo/ya</td>
<td>koti</td>
<td>koi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 inclusive</td>
<td>nono/na</td>
<td>moti</td>
<td>moi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>to/ta</td>
<td>toti</td>
<td>toi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second of the singular forms are used when no topic marker follows.

**Emphatic Personal Pronouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 exclusive</td>
<td>asa</td>
<td>kokati</td>
<td>kokai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 inclusive</td>
<td>nona</td>
<td>momati</td>
<td>momai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tota</td>
<td>totati</td>
<td>totai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pronouns function as heads of noun groups (see section 6.2 (Noun Phrases)), which substitute for noun groups with nouns as heads. There are restrictions as to what enclitics a pronoun can take. As a personal pronoun always refers to animate beings they can not take any of the locational case clitics to indicate physical position as described in section 5.2.4.3 (Locational Marking and Animacy). There are also restrictions as to modifiers that can occur with a pronoun (see section 6.2.1 (The Noun Group: Structure II)).

The personal pronouns are not used much in the language as the verbal suffixes, marking actor and undergoer/absolutive, actually carry a lot more information. The free pronouns only mark person and number, while the suffixes also mark gender and case. The third person pronouns are used in non-verbal clauses and also in order to topicalise without repeating the noun. First and second person are more frequently used, corresponding to proper names and kinship terms used in third person. The emphatic pronouns are mostly used to indicate contrastive focus.

423) yo ko-ti koi
   1S 1P.EX-two 1P.EX
   ‘I/me’ ‘we/us two (excl.)’ ‘we/us (excl.)’

424) to mo asi uo-fa
   3S TOP ground bird-small
   ‘He is a small bird (living on the) ground.’

425) yo mo nooi mo aisamu 1978-mai
   1S TOP mother.1 TOP sago.for.feast 1978-LOC
   na kalo-so-wa-0-mono-ki
   FOC die-3SF.ABS-TAKE.FROM-GIVE1-1S.U-RPST
   ‘My mother died on me in 1978.’
The **possessive pronouns** are formed by adding the genitive clitic -ni to any of the above pronominal forms.

426) *ya-ni* alu
   1S-GEN child
   ‘my child’

427) *to-ta-ti-ni* nu
   RED.EMPH-3P-two-GEN house
   ‘the house belonging to the two of them (nobody else’s)’

428) *toi-ni* *molo* *ko* *iyau* *mo* *s*-*siyoli* // *ulai* *afonimai-so/*
   3P-GEN road bad TOP RED.NS-big // but for.nothing-ADVR//
   *mo-mai-yo-su* na *taiyalo-ko-mano-nuwo*
   RED.EMPH-2P-AG-CON FOC PR-teach-3NS.U-GO-2NS
   ‘Their behaviour is very bad, because it is you (pl.) who are teaching them.’

There is one **reflexive pronoun amu** used for all persons together with an emphatic free pronoun.

429) *to-ta* amu *tukolo-ki*
   RED.EMPH-3S RFLX kill-RPST
   ‘He killed himself.’

430) *mo-ma-ti* amu mo na *pa-hamuku-kuwano-O-wo*
   RED.EMPH-1P.IN/2P-two RFLX TOP FOC RIR-help-each.other-IMP-NS
   ‘The two of you must help yourselves (and settle your disagreement).’

### 5.3.2 Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns show a binary division: ‘here’ and ‘there’. There are five basic demonstrative pronominal roots based on that distinction. In addition there are two other roots *aino* ‘about that previously mentioned’ and *noino* ‘like this’. The following table will show some of their individual peculiarities.

#### Demonstrative Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>i-</th>
<th>ni</th>
<th>anu</th>
<th>au</th>
<th>no</th>
<th>aino</th>
<th>noino</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>here/now</td>
<td>here/now/this</td>
<td>there/that</td>
<td>there</td>
<td>there/then/that</td>
<td>about that</td>
<td>like this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Root only</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exophoric</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anaphoric</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cataphoric</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Conjunctions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Here are some of the more common demonstrative pronouns, adverbs and conjunctions. The internal structure is shown in bold\(^{49}\). In addition, these pronominal forms may take further nominal clitics (see section 6.3 (Locative Phrases)).

**DEM**

- **anu** ‘that’, ‘there’ (exophoric free pronoun/locational adverb)
- **ni** ‘this’, ‘here’ (exophoric free pronoun/locational adverb)
- **no** ‘that’ (anaphoric free pronoun)
- **aino** ‘about that’ (anaphoric pronoun)
- **noino** ‘like this’ (cataphoric pronoun)

**DEM-FOC-here**

- **anu-na-ni** ‘that ...’ (exophoric adjectival pronoun (in a noun group))
- **ni-na-ni** ‘this ...’ (exophoric adjectival pronoun (in a noun group))
- **no-na-ni** ‘that ...’ (anaphoric adjectival pronoun (in a noun group))
- **aino-na-ni** ‘about that ...’ (anaphoric adjectival pronoun (in a noun group))
- **noi(no)-na-ni** ‘like this ...’ (exophoric adjectival pronoun (in a noun group))

**DEM-UNQ-(here)**

- **ni-ya** ‘exactly here’ (exophoric locational/temporal adverb)
- **ni-ya-ni** ‘this specific’ (exophoric adjectival pronoun (in a noun group))

**DEM-ALL-here**

- **i-so-ni** ‘here & now’ (exophoric locational adverb)
- **ni-so-ni** ‘here’ (exophoric locational adverb)
- **au-so-ni** ‘there & now’ (exophoric locational adverb)
- **no-so-ni** ‘there’ (anaphoric locational adverb)

**DEM-ABL-other.side**

- **i-sai-mi** ‘on this side’ (exophoric locational adverb)
- **au-sai-mi** ‘on the other side’ (exophoric locational adverb)

**DEM-ABL-there**

- **i-sai-no** ‘here & then’ (exophoric locational adverb)
- **au-sai-no** ‘there & then’ (exophoric locational adverb)
- **no-sai-no** ‘then’ (anaphoric conjunction)

**DEM-there**

- **ni-no** ‘that’ (exophoric adjectival pronoun)

**DEM-LOC-there**

- **i-mai-no** ‘here’ (exophoric locational adverb)
- **ni-mai-no** ‘here’ (exophoric locational adverb)
- **no-mai-no** ‘at that time’ (anaphoric conjunction)

**DEM-OBLQ-there**

- **no-mono-no** ‘therefore’ (anaphoric conjunction)

\(^{49}\) The term ‘exophoric’ is used when a linguistic unit refers “directly … to the extra-linguistic situation” (Crystal 1985). The term ‘anaphoric’ is used when a linguistic unit refers to something already expressed. The term ‘cataphoric’ is used when a word refers forward (ibid.).

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431) **ni-su mo yani aluwou**

this/here-CON TOP 1S-GEN dog

‘This/here is my dog.’
5.4 Adjectives

Adjectives constitute an open class of words functioning as modifiers in the noun phrase, where it follows the head, and as modifiers in the noun group where it precedes the head. It also functions as the head of a modifier phrase in the verb-less clause. The adjectives may take the same kind of enclitics as nouns, but that will be described under the heading of Noun Phrases in section 6.2, as that is the level they are functioning on.

50 What is marked bold is a causative construction with this demonstrative pronoun.
Quantifying words are part of the adjective class. Numerals will also be described under this heading even though most of them are nouns and some are noun phrases.

Here are some common adjectives:

- *siyoli* ‘big’
- *molopoi* ‘many’
- *koufa* ‘small’
- *siyai* ‘some’, ‘one of two’
- *sopo* ‘tall’
- *siya* ‘one’
- *foku* ‘short’
- *toitati* ‘four’

444) **noko siyoli** | **siyoli noko-ta** | **noko mo siyoli**
| man big | big man-SPEC | man TOP big |
| ‘a/the big man’ | ‘a big man’ | ‘the man is big’ |

445) **noko siya**
| man one |
| ‘another man’ |

### 5.4.1 Reduplication of Adjectives

Adjectives are reduplicated to indicate non-singular. For most adjectives the reduplication is complete, resulting in two words.

- **foku** short ‘short’
- **foku foku** RED.NS short ‘short (non-sg.)’
- **nakiyai** red ‘red’
- **nakiyai nakiyai** RED.NS red ‘red (non-sg.)’

446) **nu sopo sopo**
| house RED.NS tall |
| ‘high houses’ |

447) **iyo siyai**
| ear some |
| ‘one ear’ |

For four very common adjectives the reduplication is partial, unpredictable or even non-existent:

- **siyoli** big ‘big’
- **si-siyoli** RED.NS-big ‘big (non-sg.)’
- **koufa** small ‘small’
- **kou-lo-lo-fa** small-NS-small ‘small (non-sg.)’
- **itouni-yai-mo** good-S-S ‘good’
- **i-ti-touni** good-RED.NS-good ‘good (non-sg.)’
- **koiyau** bad ‘bad’
- **kopo-koiyau** RED.NS-bad ‘bad (non-sg.)’

448) **noko si-siyoli**
| man RED.NS-big |
| ‘big men’ |

When **siyoli** ‘big’ precedes any adjective, it means ‘very’

449) **aipiyoi sopo siyoli**
| cassowary tall big |
| ‘a very tall cassowary’ |

### 5.4.2 Verb Derivation from Adjectives

Verbs may be derived from some adjectives by adding appropriate undergoer suffixes.

450) **nu mo to-siyoli-mo-taikiyo-moi**
| house TOP PR-big-S-SEND-GO |
| ‘The house keeps getting bigger and bigger.’ |

451) **au tuno tokosonasi-komo-moko no moloi i-ti-touni-komo-moko-mono**
| body skin cut-1/2NS.U-1NS.U TOPQ how good-RED.NS-good-1/2NS.U-1NS.U-OBLQ |
| ‘How can cutting our skin make us good? (It cannot!)’ |
See also section 4.3 (Derivation versus Inflection).

5.4.3 Numerical System

The traditional numerical system is partly based on body parts. Often the enclitic -woi ‘with’ is attached to the numeral.

- siya: one
- ti(-woi): two(-WITH)
- tau(-woi): three(-WITH)
- toitati: four
- tu(-woi): thumb(-WITH)
- naino siya uwai: hand one finish
- toufo(-woi): navel(-WITH)
- nano siya(-woi): breast one(-WITH)
- nano ti(-woi): breast two(-WITH)
- noimi siya(-woi): collar bone one(-WITH)
- noimi ti(-woi): collar bone two(-WITH)
- naino ti(-woi) uwai: hand two(-WITH) finish
- molo siya(-woi): eye one(-WITH)
- molo ti(-woi): eye one(-WITH)
- pounu: many

For higher numbers, and as an alternative to these traditional numbers, English numbers are used.

5.5 Adverbs

Adverbs are a mixed group of words that in some way function as modifiers. They most typically modify a verb or, as the head of a locative or temporal phrase, the whole clause. When the adverb modifies the verb directly it immediately precedes the verb. Only very few adverbs may modify an adjective.

There are three classes of adverbs based on their function: temporal, locational and manner. Manner adverbs belong to a large open class based on the open class of adjectives. Temporal and locational adverbs belong to smaller classes, possibly closed but not easily defined (so no attempt at a definition has been made here). Typical of many temporal and locational adverbs are that they make use of the locative, allative and ablative case clitics.

5.5.1 Temporal Adverbs

Temporal adverbs function as heads of temporal phrases. Some examples from this class are the following:

452) nokolalo toufo-woi
   women navel-WITH
   ‘six women’

453) alalo naino ti uwai
   children hand two finish
   ‘ten children’

Ordinal numbers are expressed by adding the oblique clitic -monoi and number of times by adding the locative clitic -mai.

454) tau-monoi ti-mai
    three-OBLQ two-LOC
    ‘third’ ‘twice’
konoi  ‘now/today’  
lolai  ‘today’  
amuwoi  ‘one day later/tomorrow’  
fai  ‘one day earlier/yesterday’  
tino  ‘two days removed’  
tauno  ‘three days removed’

toku  ‘earlier’  
namoli-sai  ‘later’  
amuwoi-tino  ‘another time’  
makolu  ‘far away in the future’

These basic temporal stems may occur on their own, but with the help of the locational clitics they are used to express past and future. The locational clitics are:

-allative’ (used to specify future)
-ablative’ (general)
-locative’ (exact)
   (past)

Note that this use of the clitics is different from the use described on phrase level where the clitics specify the relationship to the verb. Here they are used to modify the meaning of a temporal adverb. (Compare the use of clitics in demonstrative pronouns in section 5.3.2)

Not all clitics may be used with all temporal adverbs, however. Some common combinations are presented in the following examples:

455) konoi  konoi-mai  konoi-so
   now  now-LOC  now-ALL
   ‘now’  ‘just now’  ‘later today’

456) amuwoi-so  amuwoi-sai
   one.day.later-ALL  one.day.later-ABL
   ‘tomorrow’  ‘one day later’

457) amuwoi-so  im-a-tumo-i-ni-mo
   one.day.removed-ALL  say-CDA-come-FUT-3A+2S.U-FUT
   ‘He will come and talk to you tomorrow.’

458) fai  fai-ni-sai
   one.day.earlier  one.day.earlier-GEN-ABL
   ‘yesterday’  ‘one day earlier’

459) tino  tino-so  tino-sai
   two.days.removed  two.days.removed-ALL  two.days.removed-ABL
   ‘day before yesterday’  ‘day after tomorrow’  ‘two days later’

460) makolu-mai-so
   far.away.in.future-LOC-ALL
   ‘in the future’

In addition to the above list there are certain compounds in use like in the following example:

461) tauno-ni  amuwoi-so
   three.days.removed-GEN  one.day.later-ALL
   ‘three days after tomorrow’

462) tauno-ni  fai-ni-sai  ai-unu-ki-no
   three.days.removed-GEN  one.day.earlier-GEN-ABL  dig-SHOOT-RPST-3NS.A
   ‘They buried him four days later.’

The temporal conjunctions may also be classified as temporal adverbs looking at their temporal function (but see Conjunctions 5.6).

5.5.2 Locational Adverbs

There are two types of locational adverbs. One type are part of the bigger word class of demonstrative words (see section 5.3.2 (Demonstrative Pronouns) for basic information about this word class). The other type is a class of adverbs, where some are topographical and some relational in nature. The demonstrative adverbs will be presented first.
5.5.2.1 Demonstrative Adverbs

There are several demonstrative adverbs. Two of them consist of simple roots, *ni* ‘here’ and *anu* ‘there’, but the rest have three parts: two demonstrative roots separated by a case clitic. The first demonstrative root signals the ‘here’ and ‘there’. The clitic signals direction or position. The second demonstrative is partly predictable from the case clitic chosen (see below).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEM₁</th>
<th>CASE</th>
<th>DEM₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>i</em>-</td>
<td>-so</td>
<td><em>ni</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘here’</td>
<td>‘allative’</td>
<td>‘here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ni</em></td>
<td>-sai</td>
<td><em>no</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘here’</td>
<td>‘ablative’</td>
<td>‘there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>au</em></td>
<td>-mai</td>
<td><em>-mi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘there’</td>
<td>‘locative’</td>
<td>‘on the other side’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>no</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘there’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second demonstrative root is predictable as follows:

- *-so* ‘allative’ triggers *ni* ‘here’ (adverbs with *-so* have both a locative and allative function)
- *-sai* ‘ablative’ triggers *no* ‘there’, *-mi* ‘on the other side’
- *-mai* ‘locative’ triggers *no* ‘there’

A locational adverb usually functions as the head of a locative phrase. An exception is the two basic forms below, which may be either adverbs or demonstrative pronouns. When functioning as adverbs they occur in the verb phrase immediately preceding the verb.

- *anu* ‘there/that’ (exophoric adverb/free pronoun)
- *ni* ‘here/this’ (exophoric adverb/free pronoun)

463) *ni* toi
this/here lie
‘(He) is here.’

464) *anu* tolo
that/there stand
‘(He) is there.’

Other adverbs are:

- *i-so-ni* ‘here’ (exophoric allative & locative adverb)
  here-ALL-here
- *i-sai-no* ‘from here’ (exophoric ablative adverb)
  here-ABL-there
- *i-sai-mi* ‘on this side’ (exophoric ablative adverb)
  here-ABL-on-other.side
- *i-mai-no* ‘here (general position)’ (exophoric locative adverb)
  here-LOC-there
- *ni-so-ni* ‘here’ (exophoric allative & locative adverb)
  here-ALL-here
ni-mai-no ‘here (general position)’ (exophoric locative adverb)
here-LOC-there

au-so-ni ‘there’ (exophoric allative & locative adverb)
there-ALL-here

au-sai-no ‘from there’ (exophoric ablative adverb)
there-ABL-there

au-sai-mi ‘on the other side’ (exophoric ablative adverb)
there-ABL-on.other.side

no-so-ni ‘there’ (anaphoric allative & locative adverb)
there-ALL-here

The adverbs with the root ni and i-, both with the basic meaning of ‘this/here’, are synonymous though the adverbs with i- are much more common.

All locational adverbs are exophoric, i.e. referring to the linguistic situation, except nosoni ‘there’ which is anaphoric, i.e. it refers back to something said or written. It is based on the anaphoric pronoun no ‘there/that’.

465) kalopulo nu-so kiyo-kai-ki-no imo-fa mo
prison house-ALL take-PUT-RPST-3NS.A talk-small TOP

no-so-ni kolom-a-tumo-ki
there-ALL-here spread-CDA-come RPST
‘They had put him in prison, and the rumour spread to there.’

466) au-so-ni tolo-kai-no
there-ALL-here stand-PUT-there
‘(He) is there.’

467) i-sai-no ti-liyai-yoimo au-sai-no ti-liyai-yoimo
here-ABL-there come.P-walk/about-FUT there-ABL-there come.P-walk/about-FUT
‘They will come from all directions.’

468) ya-ni asi mo i-sai-mi
1S-GEN ground TOP here-ABL-other.side
‘My ground is on this side.’

469) iwo toku ilo au-sai-mi fiyamosiy-a-no-ki-no
water round bank there-ABL-other.side appear-CDA-go.straight-RPST-3NS.A
‘They landed on the other side of the lake.’

When the locational adverbs function in the locative phrase they may take further case clitics (see examples in section 6.3 (Locative Phrases)).

470) iwo ilo au-sai-mi-so to-ti-koni
water bank there-ABL-other.side-ALL PR-come.P-INS.IN.A
‘Let’s go over to the other side of the river.’

5.5.2.2 Topographical and Relational Adverbs

There is a group of locational adverbs which are topographical and/or relational in that they refer to an already known location without making use of the demonstratives. They are:

puwo ‘up’ aumoifa ‘close to’

woi ‘down’ aluwa ‘far away’

aluwo ‘upriver’ kwa ‘alongside’

powo ‘downriver’
5.5.3 Manner Adverbs

A manner adverb is often derived from an adjective by the derivational suffix -so. It usually functions as a modifier in a verb phrase, preceding the verb, but it may also function on its own as a head of a modifier phrase.

474) sioyi-li-so to-no-ko-manono
big-ADVR PR-eat-3NS.U.GO-3NS.A
‘They always eat a lot.’

475) fu mo soma-so na usukuno-ki
pig TOP near-ADVR FOC fall-RPST
‘The pig fell quickly.’

476) toi ni sioyo sioyo mo fofamo-so na
3P-GEN RED.NS name TOP different-ADVR FOC
‘Their names are/were different.’

The demonstrative aino ‘about that’ and noino ‘like this’ may, with the addition of the adverbialiser also function as a manner adverb.

477) aino-so ti-yomu-ko
about.that-ADVR PR-say-3C.ABS
‘(the book) says like that’

478) noino-so pi-yo-∅-∅ (showing)
like.this-ADVR IR-do-IMP-S
‘Do like this.’

There are also some manner adverbs that do not correspond to an adjective. They modify adjectives and nouns as well as verbs. They often follow the phrase they modify, either as head of a modifier phrase or as a modifier of another phrase.

koma ‘enough’
uwai ‘finished’
futo ‘finished’ (abstract)
uwofa ‘finished’ (none to share)
muwoi ‘not’
nali ‘really’
awa ‘planning to return today’ (usually modifies finite verbs within the verb phrase)
wonikalu-so ‘lest’ (‘lest’-ADVR; appears clause initially but does not join the clause to the preceding one)

479) ya-ni imo mo koma/uwai
1S-GEN talk TOP enough/finished
‘That is all I have to say.’

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51 The numerals based on body parts are of course not included here.
52 The adverbialiser -so and the allative case clitic [-]so are homophones.
53 The form koma(-)so ‘all’ functions as an adjective, for example: noko komaso man all ‘all men’.
5.6 Conjunctions

Conjunctions bind clauses, sentences or paragraphs together. They are:

no-sai-no there-ABL-there ‘then’
no-mai-no there-LOC-there ‘at that time’
nuwoi-no certain.day-there ‘at a certain time’
nono-moi-no there-OBLQ-there ‘because of that’, ‘so’, ‘therefore’
aino-so hani about.that-ADVR what ‘until’
ulai but ‘but’ (signalling the unexpected)
o or ‘or’ (binds phrases and clauses together)

The conjunction ulai ‘but’ is different from the others in that its main function is to contrast and disrupt an argument rather than connecting them. It is especially common in rhetorical questions, where the whole construction is often used to disrupt a sequence of connected thought.

486) tiya na si-ki // no-sai-no mo ya na i-ko-ki-∅
hunger FOC sit.P-RPST // there-ABL-there TOP 1S FOC say-3NS.U-RPST-1/3S.A
‘They were hungry. Then I said to them’

487) Moili-yo Isiso na ki-ki // no-mai-no Hilo komano noko-ta
Mary-AG Jesus FOC see-RPST // there-LOC-there Herod government man-SPEC
sionoli tolo-ki
big stand-RPST
‘Jesus was born by Mary. At that time Herod was the ruler.’

488) aino-so iyamo-i-nuwo-mo // nuwoi-no ti-moni na tumo-imo
about.that-ADVR say.P-FUT-2NS-FUT // certain.day-there two-OBLQ FOC come-FUT
‘You (pl.) will say like that. At that exact time I/he will come for the second time.’

489) yau ku-tano-kai-no no-moni-no fu-fu-muwan-a-kono-ki
dead down.below-sleep-PUT-there there-OBLQ-there RED.NS-run-NS-CDA-go.down-RPST
‘He lay down there dead, therefore they ran down.’

490) kalumani-so-woi muwoi aino-so hani alu ki-ki-∅
go.along.with-3SF.ABS-WITH NEG about.that-ADVR what child see-RPST-1/3S.A
‘He did not touch her until she saw(bore) the child.’
491) **ulai nuvo mo noko-yo na no-ki-no**

but snake TOP man-AG FOC eat-RPST-3NS.A

‘But the men ate the snake.’

492) **ulai somu no koiyau**

but meat TOPQ bad

‘How can the meat be bad? The meat wasn’t bad, was it?’

493) **siyai mo sai poi mo o siyai mo sosoli poi mo**

some TOP know perhaps TOP or some TOP don’t know perhaps TOP

‘Perhaps some know or perhaps they don’t.’

Conjunctions are by no means the only junctions used in the language. Other strategies are juxtaposition, head-tail linkage, linking by using the topic marker *mo* (see Årsjö 1994) and morphological linkage (see section 4.2.3.3 (A Clause Suffix)).

5.7 Interjections

There are a number of interjections. Interjections are different from particles in that they have a common function: they are a response to something said or perceived. They take no affixes or clitics.

The particle *na* ‘focus’ may also function as an interjection, meaning ‘yes’, and may then take the clitic -su ‘contrast’.

- **wuo** ‘yes’
- **yuo** ‘I don’t know.’
- **na** ‘yes’
- **wiyou** ‘no’
- **wa** ‘What did you say?’
- **woi** ‘I am grieving!!’
- **iii** ‘I am surprised.’

**ha (ha ha ha)** ‘comfort!’

**oi** ‘Hey!’

494) **nona no mano-i-ni-mo // wuo/na/su/yuo/wa**

2S.EMPH TOPQ go-FUT-2S-FUT // yes/yes/yes-CON/I don’t know/what did you say

‘Are you leaving? Yes/Certainly/I don’t know/Pardon?’

495) **ya-ni alu woi**

1S-GEN child I’m grieving

‘Oh my child!!!’

496) **iii siyoli wiyou na**

I’m surprised big no FOC

‘I couldn’t believe it how big it was.’

497) **ya to-hamuku-noki ha ha ha ha**

1S PR-help-1A+2S.U comfort …

‘I’ll help you; help is coming …’

498) **oi woli na po-fou-mono-∅-∅**

hey friend.1 FOC IR-wait.for-1S.U-1MP-S

‘Hey! My friend, wait for me!’

---

54 This interjection is not used to deny. A denial of example (494) would be:

**yo mo mano-woi muwoi**

1S TOP go-WITH NEG

‘I’m not going.’
5.8 Particles

Particles are a heterogeneous class of words with diverse grammatical functions. They take no affixes but, if their place in the phrase is final, they may take an enclitic referring to the whole phrase. The particles may be divided into categories according to their function: aspectual, modal, nominal and discourse particles.

**Aspectual Particles**

*amai* ‘(not) yet’
*yasoi* ‘perfect’
*yapoli* ‘perfect stative’

The particle *amai* means ‘not yet’ when used with punctual verbs and ‘yet’ when used with stative verbs.

499) tumo-woi muvoi, *amai* come-WITH NEG (not.)yet
‘(He) has not come yet.’

500) ya *amai* wiyo-nino-i-kuwo-mo / mi mo
1S (not.)yet show-GIVE2/3-FUT-1A+2NS.U-FUT / bone TOP
‘I have not shown you (pl.) the work yet.’

501) *amai* s-u-o-mo
(not.)yet sit.P-OBLG-FUT
They must stay.

502) *noko* *yasoi* ti
man PERF come.P
‘The men have come.’

503) *imo* siya *yapoli* kwai-ki-nuwo
talk one PERF perceive-RPST-2NS
‘There is a “talk” (and) you (pl.) have heard it.’

**Modal Particles**

*louwa* ‘frustrated intention’
*poi* ‘perhaps’
*nako* ‘I think’
*noiyo* ‘don’t’
*aiko* ‘lest’

504) *noni* tukolo-so-mono *louwa* (ji) yo-ki-no
woman kill-3SF.ABS-OBLQ FRUST.INT (do) do-RPST-3NS.A
‘They wanted to kill the woman, but …’

505) *na* *louwa* tukolo-so-ki-∅
FOC FRUST.INT kill-3SF.ABS-RPST-1/3S.A
‘they wanted to kill her, but …’

506) *komi-nalomo-mono* *louwa* (ji)
hold-take.away-OBLQ FRUST.INT do
‘… want to arrest, but …’

507) *no* *mo* au *poi* mo waliyo *poi* mo
that TOP taboo perhaps TOP all.right perhaps TOP
‘Could (that be) taboo or is it OK?’

508) *isi* kiyo *noko-*ta-yo tum-aki mo *moloi* *poi* mo
garden owner man-SPEC-AG come-WHEN/IF TOP how perhaps TOP
uwo-k-a-tumo-i
afflict-3NS.U-CDA-come-FUT
‘When/if the owner of the garden comes what will he do to them?’
509) nako mo yau noko-ta-so ki-ya-no-ki-nuwo
I think TOP dead man-SPEC-ALL see-CDA-go.straight-RPST-2NS
‘I think you are going to look at the dead man.’

510) noiy o mano-i-wo
don’t go-PROH-NS
‘Don’t go you (dl.).’

511) wonikaluso noko nokolalo-yo aiko kwai-komo-i-nuwo
lest man women-AG lest perceive-1/2NS.U-FUT-2NS
‘Lest people will see you (pl.).’

Nominal Particles
komiyai ‘like’
topi ‘like in appearance’
mani ‘also’
saso ‘only’
iyali ‘group/pluraliser’

512) nuwo komiyai louwa t-ulolo-nuwo
snake like FRUST.INT PR-escape.P-2NS
‘You are planning to escape like snakes, but …’

513) mulu iwo mo topi
heart water TOP like
‘heart like water’ (no character)

514) molo kukumo soliyaki komiyai tano-kai-no a soliyaki topi
eye rubbish big like lie-PUT-there tree big like
‘like having a piece of dirt in the eye (dirt) like a big (piece of) wood’

515) ta-ni uo mo ta topi
3S-GEN evil TOP fire like
‘his anger is like fire’

516) noko nokolalo mani kufau-ko-liyai-ki
man women also surprised-3NS.U-WALK.BOUT-RPST
‘All around people were surprised.’

517) nokolalo muwoi noko saso
women NEG man only
‘no women only men’

518) atino iyali to-ti
mother.3 group PR-come.P
‘His/her/their mother came together with some other people.’

Discourse Particles
mo ‘topic marker’
no ‘topic marker in a question’
na ‘focus marker’

For more information about the topic marker see Årsjö (1994).

519) ulo siya mo inai-woi anoi-woi mo aino lukolo i-mono
sun one TOP sister.1-WITH mother.1-WITH TOP pandanus pick get.P-OBLQ
na mano-ki-no
FOC go-RPST-3NS.A
‘One day my sister and mother went to pick pandana fruit.’

520) ulai anoi-woi inai-woi no aino lukolo i no sai
but mother.1-WITH sister.1-WITH TOPQ pandanus pick get TOPQ know
‘But did my mother and sister know (how) to pick pandana fruit? (They did not.)’
5.9 Question Words

There are five basic question words (bold in list) used to elicit information. Formally they are very different but because of their similar function they constitute one class of words. The basic forms of the question words may be augmented, usually by enclitics (see the list below for details), to make them more versatile. They are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>noī</td>
<td>‘who?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noī-wo</td>
<td>who-P ‘who? (pl.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noī-ni</td>
<td>who-GEN ‘whose?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hāni</td>
<td>‘what/?thing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hāni hāni</td>
<td>RED.NS what ‘things’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hāni-monoi</td>
<td>what-OBLQ ‘why/?don’t!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moloī</td>
<td>‘how?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moloī moloī</td>
<td>RED.NS how ‘how many?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moloī-monoi</td>
<td>how-OBLQ ‘why?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moī-so</td>
<td>where-ALL ‘where to?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moī-sai</td>
<td>where ABL ‘where from?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maniwoi</td>
<td>‘when? (past)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maniwoi-so</td>
<td>when-ALL ‘when? (future)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form hāni ‘what’ has a secondary meaning of ‘(some)thing’ as can be seen from examples (525) and (526).

521) noī noī 2S.EMPH TOPQ who ‘Who are you?’
522) noī-wo noko who-NS man ‘Who are the men?’
523) ni no noī-ni nu this TOPQ who-GEN house ‘Whose house is this?’
524) hāni t-ano-ni what PR-get-2S ‘What are you doing?’
525) yo mo hāni mo sai muwōi 1S TOP what TOP know NEG ‘I don’t know anything.’
526) nu mo hāni hāni saso house TOP RED.NS what only ‘The house is full of things.’
527) hāni-monoi ti-yo-ni what-OBLQ PR-do-2S ‘Why do you do (it)?/Don’t do (it)!’
528) ayou no moloī to-falo-ulu-manono-nuwo canoe TOPQ how PR-carve-NS-GO-2NS ‘How do you (pl.) make canoes?’
There are five classes of phrases based on function in the clause: verb phrases, noun phrases, temporal phrases, locative phrases and modifier phrases.

The two main classes are the noun phrase and the verb phrase, encoding the main arguments of the clause. The verb phrase is the head of a verbal clause. The noun phrase is the most versatile phrase. It may have a key function as actor or undergoer in the clause but also a more peripheral role such as a temporal, a locational or an instrumental argument. These different roles are marked by clitics and/or verbal agreement depending on role. Animacy is also important when the role of a noun phrase is assigned. A noun phrase may also function as either the topic or the comment in a verb-less clause.

Peripheral phrases are: the temporal phrase, the locative phrase and the modifier phrase. The temporal and locative phrases function mainly as peripheral arguments in the verbal clause. The modifier phrase functions mainly as a comment in the verb-less clause.

6.1 Verb Phrases

The verb phrase functions as the head of the verbal clause. It has the following structure:

\[
\text{VP} \rightarrow \text{(ADV)} \ (\text{ASP}) \ (\text{FOC/DEM}) \ (\text{MODE}) \ V
\]

Aspect markers that occur here are:  
\(\text{yasoi}\)  ‘perfect’  
\(\text{yapoli}\)  ‘perfect stative’  
\(\text{amai}\)  ‘(not) yet’
Modal markers that occur here are:

- **louwa** ‘frustrated intention’
- **noiyo** ‘don’t’ (cannot co-occur with focus)

The verb phrase is the only obligatory constituent of the verbal clause. It is optionally preceded, counting outward from the verb, by the focus marker or, in the rare case, a simple demonstrative, and/or a modal or aspectual marker and/or an adverb. Only rarely are all the optional arguments present.

533) **na-so** na **po-ki-Ø-Ø**
  shadow-ALL FOC IR-see-IMP-S
  ‘Look at the picture.’

534) **ya-ni** anoi iyali mo **ni si**
  1S-GEN mother.1 group TOP here sit
  ‘My mother and some other people are sitting here.’

535) **Imali mo yasoi na tumo**
  a.name TOP PERF FOC come
  ‘Imali has come.’

536) **yo mo nu-so** na **louwa mano-ki**
  1S TOP house-ALL FOC FRUST.INT go-RPST
  ‘I wanted to go home, but …’

537) **noiyo sino-i-Ø**
  don’t cry-PROH-S
  ‘Don’t cry (you sg.)!’

538) **Yowiya yu-so** mo **somai-so pa-ki-noki-so**
  a.name mountain-ALL TOP fast-ADVR RIR-come.P-RPST-1NS.EX.A-NEG
  ‘We didn’t come quickly to Yowiya mountain.’

539) **?alu mo ami-so yasoi na ifasiyaimo-ki-Ø** /
  child TOP strong-ADVR PERF FOC hit-RPST-1/3S.A /
  **ta-ni** woli-tono-so mo
  3S-GEN friend-3INAL-ALL TOP
  ‘The child has hit his friend hard’

The last example, though grammatically correct is too “heavy” for normal speech but can be elicited out of context. Example (540) is a more realistic expression of the same content.

540) wiyou / **yasoi ifasiyaimo-ki-Ø** // **alu mo woli-tono-so**
  no / PERF hit-RPST-1/3S.A // child TOP friend-3INAL-ALL
  **na ifasiyaimo-ki-Ø** / **ami-so nali**
  FOC hit-RPST-1/3S.A / strong-ADVR really
  ‘Wow, he/she has hit him! The child hit his/her friend, really hard.’

### 6.1.1 Verb Phrase Modifications

In this section I will outline some verb phrases that are in some way different from the most normal ones mentioned above. What they have in common is that the inflected verb is not last in the phrase. They are:

- **Negative**
  - **-woi muwoi** ‘non-finite negative’

- **Frustrated Intention**
  - **-monoi louwa (fi)** ‘non-finite frustrated intention’

- **Inflection by Dummy Verb**
  - **imo + simple V** ‘dummy verb’ + simple verb

- **Strongly Certified**
  - **na** ‘focus’ following non-finite verb

---

57 the expression in Ama is:
  **ko mo muwoi**
  jaw TOP heavy
  ‘(It is) hard to say.’

58 for a list of different negative constructions see section 5.1.6 (Marking Negative)
541) *nuwo mo somai-so kalo-woi muwoi*

snake  TOP  quick-ADV  die-WITH  NEG
‘The snake did not die quickly.’

542) *iwo woliyo-noni-monoi louwa fi*

water  carry-in.container-GIVE2/3-OBLQ  FRUST.INT  do
‘wanted to get water for someone but …’

543) *ma u-so-monoi louwa*

possum  shoot-3SF.ABS-OBLQ  FRUST.INT
‘wanted to shoot a possum, but …’

544) *lamo i-ko-ki∅ kusomi*

arrow  DV-3C.ABS-RPST-1/3S.A  get
‘I/he/she took the arrows.’

545) *tomoki imo-ki∅ kolo*

stone  DV-RPST-1/3S.A  throw
‘I/he/she threw a stone’

546) *muwo-yo komiyai tokosiyyai-mo na*

axe-AG  like  cut-S  FOC
‘cut like an axe’

6.2 Noun Phrases

There are three main types of noun phrase based on their internal structure: simple noun phrase, possessive noun phrase and co-ordinate noun phrase.

The noun phrase may function as actor or undergoer, or as an instrumental, temporal, locational or a more oblique argument in a verbal clause. It may also function in a verb-less topic-comment clause as either the topic or the comment. The function of the noun phrase is marked by case markers on the phrase itself and/or case marking on the verb or determined by the animacy of the head noun in the noun phrase. The formal structure of the noun phrase will be described in section 6.2.2 (Formal Structure of the Noun Phrase) and the function in section 6.2.3 (Function of the Noun Phrase). Section 6.2.4 is about Noun Phrase Modifications. Nominal and relative clauses have an important part to play in the noun phrase. They will be described in sections 6.2.5.1 (The Nominalised Clause) and 6.2.5.2 (The Relative Clause).

However, before describing the noun phrase, it will facilitate the description to recognise a level in between the noun and the noun phrase, i.e., the noun group which will be defined below.

The formal reasons for setting up the level of the noun group will be presented here as a chart listing the differences between the noun group and the noun phrase followed by a few examples. With ‘personal head nouns’ is meant the specified and unspecified forms for ‘man’ and ‘woman’ in the examples below. For details see next section.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Noun Group</th>
<th>Noun Phrase</th>
<th>(Example)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Word Order</td>
<td>head last</td>
<td>head first</td>
<td>(547)-(551)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Modifiers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1-2/(3)</td>
<td>(548)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Head Nouns</td>
<td>Different forms</td>
<td></td>
<td>(547)-(550)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RC/NC</td>
<td>NC</td>
<td>RC</td>
<td>(549), (550)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dem.Adj.</td>
<td>Different forms</td>
<td></td>
<td>(551)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

547) *siyoli noko-ta*  

big  man-SPEC
‘a big man’

548) *si-siyoli noko-ta ti*  

RED.NS-big  man-SPEC  man
‘two big men’
The noun group is a category between the noun and the noun phrase. In the noun group, as shown above, the head is optionally preceded by a modifier. There are two types depending on if the head of the noun group is a noun or a pronoun. If the head is a noun, the modifier may be an adjective, an adjectival demonstrative, a noun phrase or a nominalised clause, but never more than one. If the head is a pronoun, the only modifier that may occur is a proper name or a kinship term.

More permanent characteristics of referents are specified in the noun group.

Structure I - Noun Group

Though any noun may be the head of a noun group the most common of noun group constructions are the ones where the head noun is a person with different forms for male and female, singular and non-singular. If both sexes are referred to, a masculine form is chosen. The forms are:

Singular:  
- **noko-ta** man-SPEC ‘a specific man’  
- **nukonu** woman.SPEC ‘a specific woman’

Dual:  
- **noko-ta ti** man-SPEC two ‘two specific men’  
- **nokolalo ti** women two ‘two specific women’  
- **noko ti** man two ‘two specific persons’ (see example (565))’

Plural:  
- **noko** man ‘specific men/persons’  
- **nokolalo** women ‘specific women’

The forms **noko** means ‘specific men/persons’, if it has a modifier preceding it. Without anything preceding it, it means ‘man’ or ‘men’. It is always glossed ‘man’. The form **nokolalo** means ‘specific women’, if any modifiers precedes it, but ‘women’ if it is not preceded by a modifier.

- **ami noko-ta** strong man-SPEC ‘a strong man’
- **ni-na-ni nukonu** this-FOC-this woman.SPEC ‘this woman’
- **Mosopi noko-ta ti** Port.Moresby man-SPEC two ‘two men from Port Moresby’
- **ai ai uwo-ko nokolalo ti** RED.NS sickness afflict-3NS.U women two ‘two women stricken by sickness’
- **alalo molopoi noko** children many man ‘men with many children’
A specific-generic relationship is sometimes expressed as a noun group as in example (558).

Another kind of noun group are the title-like introductions to stories. Here the speaker/author uses the demonstrative pronoun *aining* ‘about that’ and/or the clitic -*monoi* ‘oblique’, in this context with the meaning “about”.

If the head is a pronoun the structure of the noun group is as follows:

**Structure II - Noun Group**

\[ \text{NG}_{II} \rightarrow (\text{PROP/KIN}) \text{ PRON} \]

If the head noun is a personal pronoun, or more common in third person the pluralising nouns/(noun phrases) *iuali* ‘group’, *koli* ‘family’ or *noko ti* ‘two persons’, the modifier can only be a proper name or a kinship term. This type of noun group has to stand alone without any further modification in the noun phrase.

The pronoun can of course occur on its own, though the forms *iuali* ‘group’ and *koli* ‘family’ cannot.

---

557) *tuo a-ya-no nokolalo*
sago harvest-CDA-go,straight women
‘women who go to harvest sago’

558) *polomoko koloni*
cow animal
‘cow’

559) *nuwo(-monoi) aino imo*
snake-(OBLQ) about.that talk
‘a story about a snake’

560) *nu ko-(monoi) aino imo*
house build-(OBLQ) about.that talk
‘a story about building a house’

561) *alalo-monoi imo*
children-OBLQ talk
‘a story/talk about/concerning/for children’

The last example is ambiguous as to meaning because of the very general meaning of the oblique case clitic.

If the head is a pronoun the structure of the noun group is as follows:

**Structure II - Noun Group**

\[ \text{NG}_{II} \rightarrow (\text{PROP/KIN}) \text{ PRON} \]

If the head noun is a personal pronoun, or more common in third person the pluralising nouns/(noun phrases) *iuali* ‘group’, *koli* ‘family’ or *noko ti* ‘two persons’, the modifier can only be a proper name or a kinship term. This type of noun group has to stand alone without any further modification in the noun phrase.

The pronoun can of course occur on its own, though the forms *iuali* ‘group’ and *koli* ‘family’ cannot.

562) *Alopoi asa*
Albert 1S.EMPH
‘I Alopoi’

563) *Pita koi*
Peter 1P.EX
‘Pita and the rest of us’

564) *koi mo Wewako-so to-nu-noki*
1P.EX TOP Wewak-ALL PR-go.P-1NS.EX.A
‘We (excl.) went to Wewak.’

565) *anoi noko ti*
mother.1 man two
‘my mother and another (probably father)’

566) *Laila iyali*
a.name group
‘Laila and her friends’

567) *Tuti koli toi koli*
a.name family 3P family
‘Tuti and his family’ ‘his/their family’
6.2.2 Formal Structure of the Noun Phrase

As mentioned above there are three main types of noun phrase based on their internal structure: simple noun phrase, possessive noun phrase and co-ordinate noun phrase.

6.2.2.1 Simple Noun Phrase

The simple noun phrase has two sub-types: a noun group as head (Structure IA) or a demonstrative or question word as head (Structure IB).

6.2.2.1.1 A Noun Group as Head

A simple noun phrase with a noun group as head may consist of just a noun group or be followed by one or two modifiers. The kind of modifiers that may occur are adjectives, numerals, quantifiers, demonstratives and relative clauses. Though it is possible to elicit long noun phrases with up to three modifiers, they do not occur in natural speech. Most noun phrases have none or one modifier. A noun group with a pronoun as head cannot be followed by any modifiers.

Structure IA - Simple Noun Phrase

\[
\text{NP} \rightarrow \text{NG (ADJ(\times2)) (NUML/QNT) (DEM) (RC)}
\]

The second adjective is a modifier of the main adjective (see example (570)). A demonstrative in this position, i.e. following the head, is rare. Demonstratives are usually placed before a noun as part of the noun group (see section 6.2.1 (The Noun Group)). This free demonstrative and a relative clause do not co-occur though simple demonstratives are part of the relative clause construction (see section 6.2.5.2 (The Relative Clause)).

568) alu koufa
child small
‘a small child’

569) alalo lolofa\ ti
children small two
‘two small children’

570) noko ami siyoli
man strong big
‘a very strong man’

571) noko si-siyoli
man RED.NS-big
‘big men’

572) imo ni-no
talk this-that
‘this talk’

573) puko noko-yo no a-ko-Ø-mono-ki-Ø no ni tako
book man-AG there get-3C.ABS-GIVE1-1S.U-RPST-1/3S.A there here lie.3C.ABS
‘The book the man got for me is here.’

A relative clause may replace the head noun and occur as a noun phrase all on its own. In that case the head is understood from the context.

574) no tuno-ki no tano-kai-no-ki
there come-RPST there lie-PUT-there-RPST
‘He who came slept here.’

Rather than having two adjectives follow the noun in a noun phrase, one of the nouns is fronted to within the noun group.

575) sopo nu siyoli
tall house big
‘a big and tall house’
6.2.2.1.2 A Demonstrative or Question Word as Head

A simple noun phrase may have as its head a demonstrative or one of the question words  
*hani* ‘what’ or  
*noi* ‘who’. If that is the case there can be no modifiers.

**Structure IB - Simple Noun Phrase**

\[ NP_{II} \rightarrow DEM/QW \]

576) *ni-su mo ya-ni pusi-fa*
    this-CON TOP 1S-GEN cat-little
    ‘This is my kitten.’

577) *noi tolo*
    who stand
    ‘Who’s there?’

578) *hani-so to-no-ni*
    what-ALL PR-eat-2S
    ‘What are you eating?’

6.2.2.2 Possessive Noun Phrase

A possessive noun phrase has a simple noun phrase as head preceded by another noun phrase in the genitive case, marked by the clitic *-ni* ‘genitive’.

579) *mo-ti-ni nu siyoli*
    1P.IN/2P-two-GEN house big
    ‘the big house belonging to the two of you/us (incl.)’

580) *Ayamo-ni tuo a-ya-no asi*
    a.name-GEN sago harvest-CDA-go.straight ground
    ‘Ayamo’s sago ground’

6.2.2.3 Co-ordinate Noun Phrase

A co-ordinate noun phrase is a combination of simple noun phrases and/or possessive noun phrases. They are co-ordinated by the enclitic *-woi* occurring at the end of both/all co-ordinated phrases.

581) *Alopoi asa-woi Ainowai-woi Politono-fa-woi Luto-fa-woi*
    Albert 1S.EMPH-WITH a.name-WITH a.name-little-WITH a.name-little-WITH
    ‘Alopoi I, myself, and Ainowai and little Politono and little Luto’

582) *Kwamo-woi asa-woi*
    a.name-WITH 1S.EMPH-with
    ‘Kwamo and I’

583) *ya-ni alalo-woi noni-woi*
    1S-GEN children-WITH women-WITH
    ‘my children and my wife’

Accompaniment is a variant of co-ordination where only one noun phrase is marked by *-woi*. Verbal agreement may vary in this case.

584) *noni mo alu-woi to-tumo-so*
    women TOP child-WITH PR-come-3SF.ABS
    ‘The woman is coming with her child.’

585) *noni mo alu-woi to-tumo-no*
    women TOP child-WITH PR-come-3NS.A
    ‘The woman is coming with her child.’

6.2.3 Function of the Noun Phrase

In general terms, the noun phrase may function as actor or undergoer, or it may have a more peripheral function such as expressing different temporal and locative relationships. It may also have an instrumental or an all purpose oblique function. The function of the noun phrase is marked by nominal case clitics and/or by verb morphology, or determined by the animacy of the arguments. Nominal case marking is not grammatically
obligatory, while verbal marking of the two core cases actor and undergoer are. Animacy is of course an inherent category of the referent.

Verbal case marking was discussed in section 5.1.4 (Marking Person, Number, Gender and Case). The importance of animacy was discussed in section 5.2.4 (Animacy).

As nominal case marking is not grammatically obligatory, the question arises how to interpret an unmarked noun phrase. This will be discussed in the next section. The use of case clitics will be discussed in section 6.2.3.2 (Case Marking of Noun Phrases).

6.2.3.1 The Unmarked Noun Phrase

The actor and undergoer are obligatorily marked on the verb. Noun phrases referring to these two categories of participant do not need to be marked for case though they still may be. If they are not, and if actor and undergoer are the same person, number and gender, the highest on the scale of animacy will normally be interpreted as actor.

586) *fu mo noko unu-ki-∅*

pig TOP man shoot-RPST-1/3S.A

‘A man shot the pig.’

587) *noko aluwou waso-ki-∅*

man dog beat-RPST-1/3S.A

‘A man beat a dog.’

However, there may be exceptions, as in the following example:

588) *noko aluwou tukolo-ki-∅*

man dog kill/bite-RPST-1/3S.A

‘A man killed a dog.’

‘A dog bit a man.’

What happened here? Well, this particular verb is sensitive to animacy in another way. You can not tell which the actor is. It has to be marked. But the meaning of the verb depends on the animacy of the actor.

589) *noko-yo aluwou tukolo-ki-∅*

man-AG dog kill/bite-RPST-1/3S.A

‘A man killed a dog.’

590) *noko aluwou-yo tukolo-ki-∅*

man dog-AG kill/bite-RPST-1/3S.A

‘A dog bit a man.’

6.2.3.2 Case Marking of Noun Phrases

Though case marking on noun phrases is not obligatory, there is a choice of six to choose from. The definitions are adapted from Crystal (1985) for the Ama language.

-yo ‘agent/instrumental’ the means whereby a particular action came about/ an inanimate entity casually involved in a verbs action

-so ‘allative/benefactive’ motion to a place/ for the benefit of

-sai ‘ablative’ motion away from a place

-mai ‘locative’ location of an action

-ni ‘genitive’ a possessive relationship

-monoi ‘oblique’ includes a variety of relationships including reason, result and “concerning”

The most obvious observation from this list is that the core arguments, actor and undergoer, which are obligatorily marked on the verb, are missing from the list. They are the arguments that are most commonly unmarked. In general you can say that the more marginal an argument is the better its function in the clause has to be marked. So the actor and undergoer are seldom marked, because they are the most important. Another consequence of this general rule is that a topicalised argument may be unmarked for case though the relationship is of course implicit. This was referred to in Årsjö (1994).
6.2.3.2.1 The Agent

The category of agent in Ama can refer to both animate and inanimate entities. This means that agent can not only refer to the actor but also to the ‘instrument’ which according to Crystal (ibid.), is “the inanimate entity casually involved in a verbs action”. This case marker is the clitic -\(\text{yn}\) ‘agent’

It is possible for a noun phrase that agrees with the actor marked on the verb, to be marked as an agent. It is never ungrammatical at the sentence level, but it is a marked construction at discourse level in that an actor marked by the agentive is very often a minor participant (see Årsjö ibid.). Apart from this discourse function, an animate noun phrase, functioning as actor, may also be marked as an agent to disambiguate between third person participants of the same gender or number, where the verb morphology is of no help.

591) Liyali noko siya-yo fasi-ki-\(\emptyset\)  
   a.name man one-AG help-RPST-1/3S.A  
   ‘Another man helped Liyali.’

What is then the difference between the actor (marked on the verb) and the agent (marked on the noun phrase)? The difference is that an actor is almost always animate, and he is always marked on the verb. An agent, on the other hand, may be marked on the verb, i.e. if he is also the actor already so marked.

In the following example the agent marker is on a noun phrase referring to a human being agreeing with the actor marked on the verb by -\(\text{no}\) ‘3NS.A’.

592) nuwo mo noko-yo na no-ki-no  
   snake TOP man-AG FOC eat-RPST-3NS.A  
   ‘The snake was eaten by some men’

An inanimate agent is usually an instrument and as such is not marked on the verb.

593) nu kololi mi mo molo-yo konosuwa-ko-mano-noki  
   house build.NS bone TOP vine-AG tie-3NS.U-GO-INS.EX.A  
   ‘The work of building houses (involves) tying (things together) with vines.’

In general then, an animate agent is always the same as the actor marked on the verb, while an inanimate agent does not usually agree with the verb. If it does, you could speak of ‘personification’. In the following example a natural force, the flood in the river, has taken on an actor role. Other such forces are rain and winds.

594) iwo usoiyo soliyaki-yo na ufiyai-moko-kai-\(\emptyset\)  
   water flood big-AG FOC hinder-INS.U-PUT-1/3S.A  
   ‘The flood in the river hindered us.’

6.2.3.2.2 The Allative

The category of allative in Ama can also refer to both animate and inanimate entities. It is directional and marks a goal. In that way it may be used to mark location, as well as the benefactee and undergoer arguments. The case marker is -\(\text{so}\) ‘allative’ / ‘to’.

The most neutral use of the allative case marker is to mark the nominal argument stating a place to which a movement is perceived. It occurs in connection with an active intransitive verb like moi ‘go’, which in itself is directional, as well as with any of the allative verb forms (see section 5.1.5.2 (Allative Marking on the Verb).

595) yo mo Mosopi-so mano-imo  
   1S TOP Port.Moresby-ALL go-FUT  
   ‘I will go to Port Moresby.’

596) moi tuo t-i-ya-kono-koni kwai-so  
   1/2P sago PR-get.P-CDA-go.down-1NS.IN.A swamp-ALL  
   ‘Let’s go down to the swamp and get some sago.’

---

59 see introduction in section 4 (Morphology)
A less obvious use of this case marker is when it occurs on the noun phrase in a clause where the verb phrase has a head like tolo ‘stand’. It seems to express a more specific location then the locative -mai ‘at’ (see next section).

597) alu mo hausi nu-so to-lo
    child TOP hospital house-ALL PR-stand
    ‘The child is in hospital.’

The same case marker is used to mark the benefactive argument. A verb like ‘give’ triggers the allative case marker on the noun phrase referring to the benefactee. There is direction involved here, too.

598) nokolalo-so ati
    women-ALL give.3P/F
    ‘giving it to the women’

Finally, as it is possible to mark a noun phrase functioning as actor with the agent marker, it is also possible to mark an undergoer with the allative marker, in which case it agrees with the verbal marking of undergoer on the verb. This says something about the semantics of the verb, implying that it is in some way directional.

599) hani-so to-no-ni
    what-ALL PR-eat-2S
    ‘What are you eating?’

600) tisa mo alalo-so na i-ko-ki-
    teacher TOP children-ALL FOC say-3NS.U-RPST-1/3S.A
    ‘The teacher said to the children’

This case marker is also used in temporal and locational adverbs but here it has more of a semantic function. This was described in sections 5.5.1 (Temporal Adverbs) and 5.5.2 (Locational Adverbs).

6.2.3.2.3 The Ablative and the Locative

Apart from the allative case clitic -so ‘to’ there are two other clitics that are locational in nature. They are the ablative -sai ‘from’ and the locative -mai ‘at’. The clitic -mai usually expresses a location in a general area. The allative -so ‘to’ is used in a locative sense for a more specific location. The clitics -sai ‘from’ and -mai ‘at’ may also be used on nominalised clauses to give them a temporal function in the clause.

601) Ama-ki-sai poi mo to-tuno-ni
    a.name-plain-ABL perhaps TOP PR-come-2S
    ‘Perhaps you are coming from Ama.’

602) nu-mai to-lo
    house-LOC PR-stand
    ‘(He) is near the house.’

603) nu-so ti-yousi
    house-ALL PR-sit
    ‘(He) is sitting in the house.’

The clitics -so ‘allative’ and -mai ‘locative’ may be combined to mean a specific place within a general area.

604) nu-mai-so to-lo
    house-LOC-ALL stand
    ‘(He) is at the house.’

The ablative and the locative case markers may also be used to mark a temporal argument. Occurring on a nominalised clause they have this function.

605) solo-sai na ti-yousi
    laugh-ABL FOC PR-sit
    ‘Having (learnt to) laugh he sits.’
Apart from the above these case markers are also used in temporal and locational adverbs, but here they have more of a semantic function. This was described in sections 5.5.1 (Temporal Adverbs) and 5.5.2 (Locational Adverbs).

### 6.2.3.2.4 The Genitive

The genitive case marker is -ni ‘genitive. It is used to connect two phrases within the possessive noun phrase. The genitive phrase precedes the head phrase. The head of the genitive phrase may be a pronoun.

### 6.2.3.2.5 The Oblique

The oblique case marker is -lnmnh ‘oblique’. It is used to mark a noun phrase or clause that is in a loose relationship to a verb phrase. In that way it marks reason and purpose and also such things as ‘concerning’, ‘about’ and ‘for’. It is usually so that the argument marked by the oblique does not agree with the verb but there are exceptions (see example (615)).
6.2.4 Noun Phrase Modifications

The noun phrase, as described in the preceding sections, may be modified to facilitate wider functions. In that way it may be negated or compared. It may also be marked for topic and focus in order to establish its function in the discourse.

Negation: \( \text{NP } + \text{muwoi} \) ‘negative’
\( \text{NP } + \text{somiso} \) ‘without’

Comparison: \( \text{NP } + \text{komiyai} \) ‘like (general)’
\( \text{NP } + \text{topi} \) ‘like (appearance)’
\( \text{NP } + \text{noino} \) ‘like this (doing)’

Discourse: \( \text{NP } + \text{mo} \) ‘topic’
\( \text{NP } + \text{no} \) ‘topic question’
\( \text{NP } + \text{na/nalino} \) ‘focus/really’

617) \( \text{noko muwoi popuwa na/nali-no} \) (two modified NPs)
\( \text{man NEG evil.spirit FOC/really-there} \)
\( \text{‘(It was)not a man, (it was) a spirit.’} \)

618) \( \text{koloni somiso} \)
\( \text{animal without} \)
\( \text{‘(having) no meat’} \)

619) \( \text{apitono komeyai/topi/noino} \)
\( \text{father.3 like} \)
\( \text{‘being/looking/doing like his father’} \)

620) \( \text{nono no} \)
\( \text{hani-so to-no-ni} \)
\( \text{2S TOPQ what-ALL PR-eat-2S} \)
\( \text{‘What are you eating?’} \)

621) \( \text{yo mo fu somu to-no-∅} \)
\( \text{1S TOP pig meat PR-eat-1/3S.A} \)
\( \text{‘I’m eating pig meat.’} \)

6.2.5 Clauses Embedded within the Noun Phrase

There are two kinds of clauses that may be embedded within the noun phrase: the nominalised clause and the relative clause. The nominalised clause has different functions, but one of its functions is to specify characteristics of the thing referred to by a noun, in the same way a relative clause does. The formal difference between a nominalised clause and a relative clause is that tense and actor marking is possible in the relative clause, but not in the nominalised clause, and that the nominalised clause (in the function described here) precedes the head noun, while the relative clause follows it.

The verb phrase has to be final in both the nominalised and the relative clause, and the topic and focus markers may not occur anywhere within them.

6.2.5.1 The Nominalised Clause

The verb in a nominalised clause do not take all the categories possible in a normal clause. It is not possible to mark mood, tense, actor or common negative. ‘Actor’ in this context includes neutral and portmanteau case marking (see sections 5.1.4.2 (Neutral Case) and 5.1.4.2.1 (Actor-Undergoer Agreement Suffixes for Second Person)). The common negative is replaced by the more nominal form somiso ‘without’ (see 5.1.6 (Marking Negative)).

The nominalised clause when functioning as an attribute within the noun phrase is part of the noun group (see section 6.2.1 (The Noun Group), and precedes the head noun.

622) \( \text{tuo utu-kai nukonu mo ya-ni anoi} \)
\( \text{sago cook-PUT woman.SPEC TOP 1S-GEN mother.1} \)
\( \text{‘The woman cooking sago is my mother.’} \)
623) *tumo somiso noko-ko mo ai t-uwo*
   ‘The man who did not come is sick.’

624) *noko-yo polomu-ko toni lamo-woi ikoli-ko-mano-ki-no*
   ‘They were looking for the bows and arrows that were stolen.’

6.2.5.2 The Relative Clause

The relative clause follows the head noun or replaces it. It is marked by the demonstrative anaphoric
pronoun *no ‘there/that’ or the exophoric *ni ‘here/this’ immediately preceding the verb in the relative clause
and the anaphoric *no ‘there/that’ following it.

Structure - Relative Clause

RC → CLAUSE (less V) no/ni V no
   there/here there

625) *molo no p-aluwai-mano-ki-no no*
   ‘the road they are following’

626) *imo wiyo-ti-ki∅ to-yo toku no kumo-ki-no no*
   ‘I/he/she showed them what they had written earlier.’

627) *ni kulu-kai-ki∅ no / no mo*
   ‘This that I/he/she wrote, that …’

6.3 Locative Phrases

The locative phrase functions as an optional phrase in the verbal clause. It may also function as either the
topic or the comment in a verb-less clause. The structure of the locative phrase is as follows:

Structure - Locative Phrase

LP → NP (ADV) / ADV

A locative phrase may consist of a noun phrase or a locational adverb or both with the adverb following the
noun phrase. The relationship of the locative phrase to the verb is signalled by the locational clitics: allative,
ablative and locative. If the head of the locative phrase is a demonstrative adverb, these clitics are sometimes
omitted. They may also be omitted if the phrase is topicalised.

The locative phrase may occur anywhere in the verbal clause even, but rarely, following the verb phrase.

628) *anoj mo isi-so mano-so-ki*
   ‘My mother went to the garden.’

629) *no-so-ni-so na pa-ki-ya-no∅-wo*
   ‘…go and look there’

630) *iyano ro siyoli na uwo-k-a-tumo-imo i-so-ni-so*
   ‘Coming here they will be experience pain.’

631) *iwó ilo au-sai-mi-so to-ti-koni*
   ‘Let’s go over to the other side of the river.’

632) *sakoni au-sai-mi-sai souwa-ya-lo-ki-nokí*
   ‘We went past on the left side.’
A temporal phrase may consist of a noun phrase or a temporal adverb, or both with the adverb preceding the noun phrase. The locational clitics in the temporal adverbs are lexicalised and do not express a relationship with the verb (see section 5.5.1 (Temporal Adverbs)). However, if a nominalised clause functions as a temporal phrase it is marked by the locative clitic -l`h ‘locative’.

6.4 Temporal Phrases

The temporal phrase functions as an optional phrase in the verbal clause. It may also function as either the topic or the comment in a verb-less clause. The structure of the temporal phrase is as follows:

Structure - Temporal Phrase

\[
TP \rightarrow (ADV) \ NP / ADV / NC
\]

A temporal phrase may consist of a noun phrase or a temporal adverb, or both with the adverb preceding the noun phrase. The locational clitics in the temporal adverbs are lexicalised and do not express a relationship with the verb (see section 5.5.1 (Temporal Adverbs)). However, if a nominalised clause functions as a temporal phrase it is marked by the locative clitic -l`h ‘locative’.

The temporal phrase may occur anywhere in the verbal clause even, but rarely, following the verb phrase.

638) moi-so to-mano-\text{-ni} / yo mo aluwo-so to-moi
where-ALL PR-go-2S / 1S TOP upriver-ALL PR-go
‘Where are you going? I’m going upriver.’

639) nu komu puwo-\text{-mai} tomoki-mo-ki-\text{\text{-h}}
house head up-LOC stone-S-RPST-1/3S.A
‘(It) stopped over the roof.’

640) i-so-ni-so mo waliyo
here-ALL here-ALL TOP all.right
‘(It’s) all right here.’

641) ya-ni apou-ni asi mo aluwa-so
1S-GEN father.1-GEN ground TOP far.away-ALL
‘My father’s ground is far away.’

642) aluwou mo au-so-ni
dog TOP there-ALL here
‘The dog is over there.’

6.4 Temporal Phrases

The temporal phrase functions as an optional phrase in the verbal clause. It may also function as either the topic or the comment in a verb-less clause. The structure of the temporal phrase is as follows:

Structure - Temporal Phrase

\[
TP \rightarrow (ADV) \ NP / ADV / NC
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A temporal phrase may consist of a noun phrase or a temporal adverb, or both with the adverb preceding the noun phrase. The locational clitics in the temporal adverbs are lexicalised and do not express a relationship with the verb (see section 5.5.1 (Temporal Adverbs)). However, if a nominalised clause functions as a temporal phrase it is marked by the locative clitic -l`h ‘locative’.

The temporal phrase may occur anywhere in the verbal clause even, but rarely, following the verb phrase.

638) ulai konoi no moi no molo no hani-sai to-nu-koni
but now TOPQ 1P.IN/2P TOPQ road TOPQ what-ABL PR-go.P-1NS.IN.A
‘But what road are we going to go now?’

639) nuwoi siya mo apou iyali koi mo
certain.day one TOP father.1 group 1P.EX TOP
nauko-s-a-ti-ki-noki
build.hunting.shelter-sit.P-CDA-go.inside-RPST-1NS.EX.A
‘On a certain day my father and the rest of us went inside (the bush) to stay and build a hunting shelter.’

640) yo mo ai uwo-ki / amoloki siyoli mo
1S TOP sickness afflict-RPST / night big TOP
‘I was sick in the middle of the night.’

641) tino-so palulo tumo-ko-imo
two.days.removed-ALL aeroplane come-3C.ABS-FUT
‘Day after tomorrow the aeroplane will come.’

642) tauno-ni amuwoi-sai mano-ki-no
three.days.removed-GEN one.day.removed-ABL go-RPST-3NS.A
‘Four days later the two of them went.’

643) amuwoi-so mo waliyo
one.day.removed-ALL all right
‘Tomorrow is all right.’

644) yo mo amuwoi-so
1S TOP one.day.removed-ALL
‘I’m for tomorrow.’

Words in Ama
In this section some modifications of the locative, temporal and modifier phrases, i.e. the peripheral phrases, will be outlined. These are similar to what has been described for the noun phrase (see section 6.2.4 (Noun Phrase Modifications)).

Negation: PERP + muwoi ‘negative’
Comparison: PERP + noino ‘like this’
Discourse: PERP + mo ‘topic’
          PERP + no ‘topic question’
          PERP + na/nalino ‘focus/really’

6.5 Modifier Phrases

The modifier phrase occurs only in the verb-less clause usually as a comment but it may also appear as a topic. The head of a modifier phrase is an adjective, simple or reduplicated, or an adverb.

6.6 Modifications of Peripheral Phrases

In this section some modifications of the locative, temporal and modifier phrases, i.e. the peripheral phrases, will be outlined. These are similar to what has been described for the noun phrase (see section 6.2.4 (Noun Phrase Modifications)).

Negation: PERP + muwoi ‘negative’
Comparison: PERP + noino ‘like this’
Discourse: PERP + mo ‘topic’
          PERP + no ‘topic question’
          PERP + na/nalino ‘focus/really’

6.5 Modifier Phrases

The modifier phrase occurs only in the verb-less clause usually as a comment but it may also appear as a topic. The head of a modifier phrase is an adjective, simple or reduplicated, or an adverb.

6.6 Modifications of Peripheral Phrases
7. SUMMARY

The aim of this paper has been to outline the structure of the Ama language from morpheme to phrase and to state the function of each structure found. As has been shown, this language conforms to many typical features of Papuan languages, such as having a simple noun morphology but a complex verb ditto, featuring suppletive verb stems, marking of actor and undergoer agreement, as well as of tense, aspect and mood. Also in accordance with its Papuan nature, there is a three-way gender distinction in the nouns, but this is also marked on the verb.

One of the more striking features of the Ama language is its split case marking system. As has been shown, there is a three-way split morphologically marked on the verb: active - non-active, ergative - absolutive and neutral. It would make an interesting study to try to find a model that would account for such a split. Another interesting aspect of the case system is that it has been impossible to define the categories of subject and object for Ama. This is, however, not only due to the split case system but also to the importance of topic marking as described in Årsjö (1994). Pursuing this subject (i.e. the lack of ‘subject’ and ‘object’) would make another interesting study.

It is the aim of the author to complete this description of the Ama language in a forthcoming paper which will describe clause and sentence structure, as well as some discourse features, especially that of focus marking.
References


Årsjö, B. 1980. The vowels of the Ama language according to the Ama literates. ms: SIL, Papua New Guinea.


Årsjö, S. 1980. The vowels of the Ama language according to the Ama literates. ms: SIL, Papua New Guinea.


1) **Nuwo aino imo.**

   snake about.that talk

   ‘A Story about a Snake

2) **Nuwo mo Liyali-yo na ki-ya-tumo-ki-∅,**

   snake TOP a.name-AG FOC see-CDA-come-RPST-1/3S.A

   Liyali came to see the snake,

3) **na i-ko-ki-∅, noko molopoi-so,**

   FOC say-3NS.U-RPST-1/3S.A man many-ALL

   and he said to all the men,

4) “**Kuku,**

   come

   “Come,

5) **nuwo siyoli mo ni toi.**

   snake big TOP here lie

   there is a snake over here.

6) **Toni lamo-woi p-i-yo-tumo-wo**

   bow arrow-WITH IR-get.P-CDT-come-NS

   Bring your bows and arrows

7) **to-koliyalo-koni.”**

   PR-kill.with.weapon-1NS.IN.A

   and let us kill it.”

8) **Noko mo toni lamo-woi na i-ki-no,**

   man TOP bow arrow-WITH FOC get.P-RPST-3NS.A

   The men got their bows and arrows

9) **na koliyalo-ki-no.**

   FOC kill.with.weapon-RPST-3NS.A

   and killed it.

10) **Wiyou,**

    no

    No!!

11) **nuwo mo somai-so kalo-woi muwoi,**

    snake TOP quick-ADVR die-WITH NEG

    the snake did not die quickly,
12) *mi siyoli ano-mano-ki-∅.*  
bone big get-GO-RPST-1/3S.A  
it kept up the work.

13) *Somai-so kalo-woi muwoi,*  
quick-ADVR die-WITH NEG  
It did not die quickly,

14) *tamiyoko-yo koliyal-mon-ki-no mo,*  
axe-AG kill.with.weapon-GO-RPST-3NS.A TOP  
(but) when they over and over again had aimed killing blows with an axe

15) *no-mai-no mo yau.*  
there-LOC-there TOP dead  
then it died.

16) *No ki-ki-no mo,*¹  
there see-RPST-3NS.A TOP  
When they saw it (dead),

17) *na aloman-ki-no, nu-so.*  
FOC take.away-RPST-3NS.A house-ALL  
they took it home.

18) *Wiwou,*  
nej  
Wow!!

19) *nuwo mo siyoli nali-no,*  
snake TOP big really-there  
the snake was really big.

20) *na kokolomo-mono-ki.*  
FOC be.afraid-1S.U-RPST  
and I was afraid.

21) *Ulai asa-su no moloi koliyalo-mono?*  
but IS.EMPH-CON TOPQ how kill.with.weapon -OBLQ  
I could never have killed it.

22) *Uo noko-ta siyoli nali-no.*  
evil man-SPEC big really-there  
He was a very evil thing.

23) *Ulai nuwo mo noko-yo na no-ki-no.*  
but snake TOP man-AG FOC eat-RPST-3NS.A  
But the snake was eaten by the men.

¹ A semikolon stands for rising intonation which emphasises the time sequence.
24) *Ulai somu no koiyau?*
   but meat TOPQ bad
   The meat isn’t bad, is it?

25) *Noko to-tai mo itouniyaimo to-no-ko-mano-no.*
   man RED.EMPH-3P TOP good PR-eat-3NS.U-GO-3NS.A
   The men (not I) ate (the meat) well.

26) *Nuwo somu mo wiyou,*
   snake meat TOP no
   Snake meat is fantastic,

27) *usutono-so.*
   sweet-ADVR
delicious.

28) *Noko-yo to-no-ko-mano-no mo,*
   man-AG PR-eat-3NS.U-GO-3NS.A TOP
   When the men eat,

29) *usutono-so.*
   sweet-ADVR
   (it is) delicious.

30) *Ya-ni nuwo aino imo mo koma.*
   1S-GEN snake about.that talk TOP slut
   My story about the snake is finished.’