Words in Ama

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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 Abbreviations¹

Ø	zero morpheme	FUT	future
*	ungrammatical	GEN	genitive
$()_3$	a grammatical	GIVE	benefactive
	structure repeated	GO	progressive
/	up to (3) times	gram.	grammatical
,	either or	IMP	imperative
+	portmanteau	IN/incl.	inclusive
=	equal	INAL	inalienable
1	first person		possession
2	second person	IR	irrealis
3	third person	IT	iterative
A	actor	KIN	kinship
ABL	ablative	LOC/Loc.	locative
ADJ/Adj.	adjectiv(e/al)	M/masc.	masculine
ADV/Adv.	,	MAL	malfactive
ADVR	adverbialiser	MIST.ASMP	
AG	agent		assumption
ALL	allative	N	noun
AN	animate	NC	nominalised clause
ATEL	atelic	NEG	negative
BEN	benefactive	NG	noun group
C	compound gender	NONP/non-pl	=
C	consonant (in	NP	noun phrase
GD. I	phonology)	NS/non-sg.	non-singular
CDA	compounding: direction away	NUM	number
CDT	compounding:	P/pl.	plural
CDI	direction towards	PAT	patient
CON	contrast(ive)	PERF	perfect
Cond.	conditional	PERP	peripheral phrase
CP	comment (phrase)	PR	present
D/dl.	dual	PROG	progressive
DEM/dem.	demonstrative	PRON/Pron	pronoun
DIR	direction	PROP	proper name
DNT	deontic	PUT	stative
DV	dummy verb	QW	question word
EMPH	emphasis	RC	relative clause
EPST/Epist	-	RED	reduplication
ERG	ergative	RFLX	reflexive
EV	evaluating	RIR	remote irrealis
EX/excl.	exclusive	RPST	remote past
F/fem.	female	S/sg.	singular
F/Iem. FAV	favour	SEE	try
		SEND	change of place or
FOC	focus marker		condition
FKUST.IN	Γ frustrated intention		

 $^{^{1}}$ 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.

SF singular feminine TOPQ topic marker in a question sfxs suffixes **TPST** today's past SHOOT on behalf of U undergoer SM singular masculine UNQ unique SPEC specifier V verb STATstative V vowel (in syllable syll. phonology) TAKE.FROM malfactive WALK.ABOUTscattered action TAM tense, aspect, mood YPST yesterday's past Temp. temporal

TOP

topic marker

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	1
2. Language Information	1
3. Phonology	2
3.1 Basic Features	2
3.1.1 Consonants	
3.1.2 Vowels	
3.2 Syllable Patterns	
3.3 Suprasegmentals	
3.3.1 Stress and Length	
3.3.3 Tone	
3.3.4 Intonation	
3.4 Orthography	
3.4.1 Orthographic Conventions	
3.4.2 Punctuation	
4. Morphology	10
4.1 Types of Morphemes	
4.2 Morphological Processes	
4.2.1 Overview of Morphological Processes	
4.2.2 Prefixation	14
4.2.2.1 First Order Prefixes (-1)	14
4.2.2.2 Second Order Prefixes (-2)	15
4.2.3 Suffixation	15
4.2.3.1 Inflectional Suffixes in the Verb	
4.2.3.1.1 First Order Suffixes (1)	
4.2.3.1.2 Third Order Suffixes (3)	17
4.2.3.1.3 Fourth Order Suffixes (4)	
4.2.3.1.4 Fifth Order Suffix (5)	20
4.2.3.3 A Clause Suffix	
4.2.3.4 Derivational Suffixes	
4.2.4 Reduplication	
4.2.4.1 Reduplication in the Verb	
4.2.4.2 Reduplication in the Noun	
4.2.4.3 Reduplication in the Adjective	
4.2.4.4 Reduplication in Other Word Classes	
4.2.4.5 Reduplication in the Pronoun	
4.2.5 Stem Modification	
4.2.6 Suppletion	
4.2.7 Compounding	
4.2.7.1 Compounding of Verb Stems	
4.2.7.1.1 Compounding to Express Location	
4.2.7.1.2 Compounding to Express Direction	
4.2.7.1.3 Compounding to Express Evaluation	
4.2.7.1.4 Compounding to Express Aspect	
4.2.7.1.5 Compounding to Express Benefactive	
4.2.7.1.6 Other Compounding of Verbs	
4.2.7.2 Compounding Involving Non-Verbs	
4.2.8 Cliticisation	
4.2.8.1 Case Clitics	
4.2.8.2 Discourse Clitics	33

4.2.8.3 Relational Clitic	
4.3 Derivation versus Inflection	34
4.4 Morphophonemics	37
·	
5. Words	43
5.1 Verbs	43
5.1.1 The Basic Verb Form	
5.1.2 Basic Verb Structure	
5.1.2.1 Simple Verbs	
5.1.2.2 Complex Verbs	
5.1.2.2.1 Basic Verb Paradigms	
5.1.2.2.2 Compound Verbs	
5.1.3 Marking TAM	
5.1.3.1 Tense	
5.1.3.2 Aspect	
5.1.3.3 Mood and Mode	
5.1.3.3.1 Epistemic Mood	
5.1.3.3.2 Deontic Mood	
5.1.3.3.3 Conative Mood	55
5.1.3.3.4 Mode	
5.1.4 Marking Person, Number, Gender and Case	56
5.1.4.1 Active and Non-Active	
5.1.4.1.1 Actor Agreement Suffixes	
5.1.4.1.2 Undergoer Agreement Suffixes	
5.1.4.2 Neutral Case Suffixes	
5.1.4.2.1 Actor-Undergoer Agreement Suffixes for Second Person	
5.1.4.3 Ergative-Absolutive	
5.1.4.3.1 Ergative-Absolutive Marking to Express Number	
5.1.4.3.2 Ergative-Absolutive Marking to Express Gender	
5.1.4.4.1 Common Benefactive	
5.1.4.4.2 Malfactive	
5.1.4.4.3 Benefactive 'On Behalf Of'	
5.1.5 Marking Locative and Allative Case on the Verb	
5.1.5.1 Locative Marking on the Verb	
5.1.5.2 Allative Marking on the Verb	
5.1.6 Marking Negative	
5.2 Nouns	
5.2.1 Gender	
5.2.2 Number	
5.2.2.1 Overview of Marking of Number	
5.2.3 Kinship Nouns	
5.2.4 Animacy	
5.2.4.1 Actor or Undergoer, a Question of Animacy	
5.2.4.2 Agent or Instrument, a Question of Animacy	
5.2.4.3 Locational Marking and Animacy	
5.2.4.4 "Get"-Verbs and Animacy	
5.2.5 Proper Names	
5.2.6 Abstract Nouns	73
5.3 Pronouns	
5.3.1 Personal Pronouns	
5.3.2 Demonstrative Pronouns	
5.4 Adjectives	
5.4.1 Reduplication of Adjectives	1 70
5.4.2 Verb Derivation from Adjectives	
5.4.3 Numerical System5.4.3 Numerical System	
5.5 Adverbs	
บ.บ Auveins	/ 9

5.5.1 Temporal Adverbs 5 5.5.2 Locational Adverbs 8 5.5.2.1 Demonstrative Adverbs 8 5.5.2.2 Topographical and Relational Adverbs 8 5.5.3 Manner Adverbs 8 5.6 Conjunctions 8 5.7 Interjections 8 5.8 Particles 8 5.9 Question Words 8	80 81 82 83 84 85 86
6. Phrases	39
6.1 Verb Phrases	39
6.1.1 Verb Phrase Modifications	90
6.2 Noun Phrases	91
6.2.1 The Noun Group	
6.2.2 Formal Structure of the Noun Phrase	94
6.2.2.1 Simple Noun Phrase	94
6.2.2.1.1 A Noun Group as Head	
6.2.2.1.2 A Demonstrative or Question Word as Head	
6.2.2.2 Possessive Noun Phrase	
6.2.2.3 Co-ordinate Noun Phrase	
6.2.3 Function of the Noun Phrase	
6.2.3.1 The Unmarked Noun Phrase	
6.2.3.2 Case Marking of Noun Phrases	
6.2.3.2.2 The Allative	
6.2.3.2.3 The Ablative and the Locative	98
6.2.3.2.4 The Genitive	
6.2.3.2.5 The Oblique	99
6.2.4 Noun Phrase Modifications	OC
6.2.5 Clauses Embedded within the Noun Phrase	
6.2.5.1 The Nominalised Clause	
6.2.5.2 The Relative Clause	
6.3 Locative Phrases)1
6.4 Temporal Phrases)2
6.5 Modifier Phrases10)3
6.6 Modifications of Peripheral Phrases10	
7. Summary	
References	•

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). Actor² 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 processes³ will be presented: suffixation, prefixation, stem modification, suppletion, reduplication, compounding and cliticisation, and it will be noted in what language specific operations³ 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.

The Ama language is mentioned in some works on language classification by Laycock (1973) and Wurm (1982). There is a published survey report by Conrad and Dye (1975). There are also a number of unpublished manuscripts specifically on the Ama language as well as a few published papers. Papers concerning the phonology are: S. and B. Årsjö (1974), B. Årsjö (1980), Tillitsson (1987) and S. and B. Årsjö (1994). Issues relating to the orthography/writing system are discussed in: S. and B. Årsjö (1981) and Clifton (1988). Årsjö (1994) is a fairly detailed description of Ama's extensive topic marking system. There are no known descriptions of the other languages in the language family.

1

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 data⁴ 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.

Consonants

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p	t			k	
Nasal	m	n				
Fricative	ф	s				h
Approximant				j		
Lateral Approximant			l			

/w/ voiced labio-velar approximant

/k^w/ voiceless unaspirated labialised 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 $/k^w/$ occurs only morpheme initially preceding /a/, /ai/ and /au/.

Examples of phonemic consonants in word initial and medial position

/p/	/pau/ /apu/	'chest band' 'tail'	/w/	/wamp/ /ewp/	'mosquito' 'water'
/m/	/ma/ /imp/	'possum' 'talk'	/t/	/ta/ /itplp/	'fire' 'bitter'
/ф/	/φau/ /aφυi/	'look out!' 'sago shoot'	/n/	/nu/ /ijanɒkɒ/	'house' '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.

/s/	/sa/	'rain'	/ j /	/ju/	'mountain'	
	/asi/	'ground'		/sijpli/	'big'	
/[/	/ [a/	'fish'	/h/	/hani/	'what'	
	/alu/	'child'		/jphappu/	'bean'	
/k/	/ku/	'mark'	$/k^{w}/$	/k ^w ami/	'sweetheart'	
	/iki/	'claw'		/pu-k ^w ai/	'hear!'	(IR-perceive)

Phonological variation of consonants

The following phonemic consonants have more than one allophone:

- /n/ [\mathfrak{g}] occurs before /k/ instead of /np/ in rapid speech ti-noki /tinpke/ [$ti\mathfrak{g}$ ke] come.P-1NS.EX.A 'we (excl.) came'
 - [n] occurs elsewhere
- $/\phi$ / [M] occurs before /u/
 - /fu/ [mu] 'pig'
 - $[\phi]$ occurs elsewhere
- - /tɒlɒ/ [trɒ] 'stand' /sɒli/ [sərɪ]/[sə[ɪ] 'black'
 - [l] occurs elsewhere
- /k/ [k^w] occurs word medially between /u/ and /a/, /ai/ or /pi/
 - [k] occurs elsewhere. This means that the contrast between /k/ and $/k^{w}\!/$ is neutralised in this position

utukai/utukai/[utokwaɪ]leave'leave'tu-kwai/tukwai/[tokwaɪ]PR-perceive'hears'

Contrasts, consonants

The following series contrast:

/p/	/pau/	'breast band'		
/ф/	/фau/	'watch out!'		
/m/	/imau/	'kind of bark'	/ma/	'possum'
/w/	/wau/	'sorcery'	/wa/	'what (did you say)?'
/t/	/tau/	'three'	/ta/	'fire'
/n/	/nau/	'cup'	/na/	'yes'
/s/	/sau/	'stand up (pl.)'	/sa/	'rain'
/[/			/ [a/	'fish'
/j/	/jau/	'dead'	/ja/	'I/me'
/k/	/kau/	'take away'	/ka/	'built'
$/k^{w}/$			$/k^{w}a/$	'edge'
/h/	_		/ha/	'comfort'

3.1.2 Vowels

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

Vowels: Monophthongs

	Front	Back
Closed	i	u
Half-closed	е	o
Half-open		э
Open	a	D

Note: The phonetic manifestation of /i/ is always [1].

The /e/ is always slightly raised.

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

/ i /	/isaunp/ /sijplp/ /kplpni/	'tongue' 'name' 'animal'	/u/	/unu/ /puwɒ/ /alu/	'shoot him' 'up' 'child'
/e/	/ewɒ/ /keki/ /фənɒpe/	'water' 'saw' 'tobacco'	/o/	/o/ /tonp/ /mpto/	'bird' 'skin' 'true'
			/o/	/ɔnɒ/ /ani-jɔ-knɒ/ /kɔ/	'drum' 'bring down' (bring-CDT-go.down) 'jaw'
/a/	/anp/ /enapp /uluwa/	'get' 'barren' 'wash'	/p/	/ɒ[i/ /nɒni/ /nɒkɒ/	'seed' 'woman' 'man'

Phonological variation of monophthongs

The following phonemic monophthongs have more than one allophone:

THE	onowing phoi	ichne monophinong	s nave more ma	ii one anophone.		
/a/	[9]	occurs morpheme initially before a syllable containing a diphthong, or if more than one				
		syllable follow, or	r in any position	if unstressed		
		anoi	/anpi/	[IVUA]	'my mother'	
		t-amoli	/tampli/	[tem[ɪ]	'PR-go.upriver'	
		kawi-yo-tumo	/kawijotump/	[dmutcj'iwsk]	'take-bring-come'	
	[a]	occurs elsewhere				
/u/	[υ]	occurs in unstress	ed positions			
		/mulu/	[mʊʾ[u]	'heart'		
	[u]	occurs elsewhere				
/p/	[Ø] ~ [°]	Ø varies with [°]	(a very weak ma	nifestation of the ph	noneme) in unstressed positions	
		between /p/-/[/, /d	o/-/[/, /m/-/[/, /t/-/	$\langle l \rangle$, $\langle k \rangle - \langle l \rangle$ and $\langle \phi \rangle - \langle n \rangle$	$/, /m/-/n/, /k/-/n/$. Between $/\phi/-/l/$,	
		/m/-/[/, and /m/-/r]	n/[°] is the prefer	rred variant.		
		/kɒ[ɒ[i/	[k[p'[1]	open (pl.)		
		/mp[pppi/	[m ⁹ [^, bei]	'many'		

 $[\mathfrak{d}]^{\sim}[\Lambda]$ $[\mathfrak{d}]$ varies with $[\Lambda]$ in unstressed position though neither occurs word finally.

Word initially, and following [j] and [w], $[\Lambda]$ is the preferred variant.

/topplimp/ [tə'plimp] 'sew'
/amplpki/ ['emlAki] 'night'
/wpli/ [wA'li] 'my friend'
/psi/ [A'SI] 'land'

[p] occurs elsewhere

Vowels: Diphthongs

ai	ρi
au	υu

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

/pɪ/ and /pu/ have the stress on the second vowel except for the allophone [ϵi]; [$\Lambda'i$]/[ϵi], [$\Lambda'u$]/[ϵi] (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

/ai/	/ainp/	'pandanus fruit'	/pi/	/pinp/	'like that'
	/itpunijaimp/	'good'		/konpi-sp/	'later today' (now-ALL)
	/[p[ai/	'today'		/mpi/	'we (incl.)/you (pl.)'
/au/	/auwa/	'my brother'	/pu/	/puwpsi/	'be ashamed'
	/isaunp/	'tongue'		/spuwai/	'surpass'
	/kau/	'take away'		/kpu/	'adornment'

Phonological variation of diphthongs

The following phonemic diphthongs have more than one allophone:

/pi/	[13]	occurs word initially and medially				
		/pinp/	[einp]	'like that'		
		/lpilp/	[a]13]]	'rice'		
	$[\Lambda I]$	occurs elsewhere				
		/kpnpi/	[knai]	'now'		
/pu/	[pu]	occurs following /	w/			
		/pluwpu/	[nawo]	'dog'		
	[ʌu]	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'			/fase/	'help'
/a/	/ka/	'built'	/ta/	'fire'	/sa/	ʻrain'
/u/	/ku/	'mark'	/tu/	'thumb'	/su/	'thorn'
/o/	/ko/	'cloud'	/to/	'sago'	/so/	'exchange'
/၁/	/kɔ/	ʻjaw'				
p/	/kp/	'build'	/tp/	'bread fruit'	/i-sp/	'said to her' (say-3SF.ABS)

/ai/	/akai/	'put'			/sainp/	'understand'
/au/	/kau/	'take away'	/tau/	'three'	/sau/	'stand up (pl.)'
/pi/	/kpi/	'we/us (excl.)'	/tpi/	'they/them'	/spi/	'let's go'
/pu/	/kpu/	'adornment'	/tpu/	'faeces'		

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.

Syllables⁵

	One Syll. Word	Word Initial	Word Medial	Word Final
V	/a/	/i.wp/		
	'tree'	'leaf'		
	/ai/	/au.wa/		
	'sickness'	'brother'		
	/ta/	∕no .ni/	/л. lu .wɒu/	/np. kp /
CV	'fire'	'woman'	'dog'	'man'
	/kpi/	Apu.wp/	/i. sau .np/	/a.lu. wai /
	'we/us (excl.)'	'anoint'	'tongue'	'follow'

3.3 Suprasegmentals

In this section stress, length, nasalisation, tone and intonation⁶ 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:

6

/ai/, /au/	/isikɒkai/	[ɪsɪkɒ'kaɪ]	'plant'
	/auwa/	['auwa]	'my brother'
/a/	/pisamu/	[ɛɪ'samu]	'sago pudding for initiation'
	/nakp/	['nakp]	'blood'
	/ani/	['anı]	'louse'

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.

/pi/, /pu/	/pini/	['eini]	'flatter'
	/ititpuni/	[iti'touni]	'good (pl.)'
/ɔ/	/a] c/	[a]c']	'tree grub'
/ i /	/ilplu/	['ו[א[ט]	'cargo'
/u/	/ulo/	['u[o]	'wound'
/e/, /o/	/enp/	['enp]	'seed'
	/tonp/	['tonp]	'skin'
/p/	/npkp/	[na'ko]	'man'

A syllable containing the vowel /p/ is stressed only if there are no other kind of vowel present in the word.

1)	/npni/	[nə'nɪ]	'woman'
2)	/anijppa/	[ʌnɪjʌ'pa]	'forever'
3)	/splp/	[aj'ea]	'laugh'

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

4)	/unu/	[v'nu]	'shoot him'	
5)	/isi/	[1'81]	'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:

/-kp/ [-kp] '3NS.U'

/-kpnp/ [-knp] 'go down'

/-jɔ/ [-jɔ] 'moving towards'

6) fasi-ko [fasɪ'kp]
help-3NS.U

7) t-amu(-)kono [temu'knp]

PR-go(-)down 'goes down'

'help them'

8) *kawi-yo-tumo* [kewi'jɔtumɔ] take.away.AN-CDT-come 'bring him'

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

7

9) /auwa/ ['auwa] 'my brother' brother.my

10) /auwa-tɒnɒ/ [au'watənɒ] 'his/her brother' brother-3INAL

Exceptions to stress rules

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

11) /ewp/ [e'wp] 'water'

Length

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

12)	/pnu/	[\Lambda'nu:]	'there'
13)	/ani/	['a:nɪ]	'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)	/npni/			[nə̃nı̃]	'woman'
15)	/noko/			[nãko]	'man'
16)	/nijpu/			[nĩjãũ]	'nest'
There is one	e exception:	/a/	[ã]	'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)	/ í: /	'string bag'
18)	/ î: /	'tooth'
19)	/ɒ'm ú: /	'nose'
20)	/p'm û: /	'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 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

/ a	e	ф	h	i	k	k^w [m	n	D	э	p	S	t	0	u	W	j /
<a< th=""><th>i</th><th>f</th><th>h</th><th>i</th><th>k</th><th>kw 1</th><th>m</th><th>n</th><th>O</th><th>O</th><th>p</th><th>S</th><th>t</th><th>u,uo</th><th>u</th><th>W</th><th>y ></th></a<>	i	f	h	i	k	kw 1	m	n	O	O	p	S	t	u,uo	u	W	y >
<a< th=""><th>ī</th><th>F</th><th>Н</th><th>Ţ</th><th>K</th><th>Kw L</th><th>M</th><th>N</th><th>Ο</th><th>0</th><th>Р</th><th>S</th><th>Т</th><th>U Uo</th><th>IJ</th><th>W</th><th>Y ></th></a<>	ī	F	Н	Ţ	K	Kw L	M	N	Ο	0	Р	S	Т	U Uo	IJ	W	Y >

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/ /e/	<i>> <i><i>> <</i></i></i>	/ i spni/ / e np/	<isoni> <ino></ino></isoni>	'here and now' 'seed'
/u/	<u> <u></u></u>	/k u lu/	<kulu></kulu>	'write'
/o/		/t o np/	<tuno></tuno>	'skin'
/o/	<0>	/ ɔ nɒ/	< o no>	ʻdrum'
/a/		/n ɒ kɒ/	<noko></n	ʻman'

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' /o/ <u> 'bird'

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

Also based on psycholinguistic testing word initial /p/, /pI/ and /pu/ are written as <a>, <ai> and <au> respectively, for example:

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25) [Anu] /σnu/ <anu> 'there'
26) [ειριjει] /σiρijσi/ <aipiyoi> '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) fu t-un-a-li-noki pig PR-shoot-CDA-go.upriver-1NS.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 object⁸ 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**⁹. 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).

10 Words in Ama

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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 10.

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.¹¹ A stem consists of a root that may have been augmented by reduplication or compounding¹² 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).

Roots	<u>Stems</u>	Prefixes		Suffixe	<u>s</u>	Enclitics
fasi	fasi-ko	to-	'PRESENT'	-no	'3NS.A' 13	[-]mai 'LOCATIVE'
'help'	help-3NS.U 'help them'	po-	'IRREALIS'	-nuwo -koni	'2ns' '1ns.in.a'	[-]yo 'AGENT'
yousi	yousi-moi	ku-	'down below'	-moko	'1NS.U'	[-]woi 'WITH'
'sit'	sit-GO(=PROG)	ti-	'inside'	-so	'3sf.abs'	
	'he was sitting'	уои-	'up'			
ki	ki-ya-tumo			-ki	'REMOTE PAST'	
'see'	'see-CDA-come' 'came to see him'			-imo	'FUTURE'	
fu	fu-aluwou			-wo	'NON-SINGULA	R'
'pig'	pig-dog					
	'family'					
siyoli	si-siyoli					
'big'	RED.NS-big					
	'big (non-sg.)'					

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.¹⁴

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.

11 Words in Ama

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-aiyolo-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)	ami-mo strong-S	ami-ami-ko ¹⁵ RED.NS-strong-3NS.U
	'strengthen him'	'strengthen them'
32)	noko siyoli man big 'an important man'	noko si-siyoli man RED.NS-big 'important men'
33)	toi	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)	<i>tukolo</i> kill		<i>tukuwoli</i> kill.NS
	'kill him'		'kill them'
35)	moi	mano-so	nu
	go	go-3SF.ABS	go.P
	'I/he went'	'she went'	'they went'
36)	yousi	si-so	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-uwo-mono-moi sickness PR-afflict-1S.U-GO 'I'm always sick.'
- 40) yo mo anoi mo na **kalo-**so-**wa-**Ø-mono-ki
 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) alu ai uwo mo atino-yo kau na hausi-so 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

Prefixes	Suffixes	Re-duplication	Com- pounding	Stem Modification	Suppletion	Cliticisation			
	VERBS								
Locative	Person	Number	Aspect	Number	Number	$()^{16}$			
Epist. Mood	Gender		Benefactive	(Gender) ¹⁷	(Gender)				
	Case		Direction						
	Tense		Location						
	Negative		Evaluation						
	DNT Mood		Other						
	Number DNT								
	Derivational								
			NOUNS						
	Inalienable Possession	(Number)	(Complex Nouns)			()			
	Derivational								
			PRONOUNS						
		Contrast. Focus (personal)	Dual (personal)			0			
			Adj./Adv. Dem.Pron.			Adj./Adv. Dem.Pron. ¹⁸			

Words in Ama

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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.

Morphological Processes, (continuing)

With photogrea	ii Frocesses, (con	tiliuliig <i>)</i>								
Prefixes	Suffixes	Re-duplication	Com- pounding	Stem Modification	Suppletion	Cliticisation				
	ADJECTIVES									
	(Derivational)	Number				()				
			ADVERBS							
	Derivational	(Number)								
			CONJUNCTIONS	S						
			Complex Conjunctions			Complex Conjunctions				
		Q	UESTION WORI	OS						
		(Number)				()				
		I	NTERJECTION	S						
						Discourse				
			PARTICLES							
			None							
		NOUN	N PHRASES/CLA	USES						
	Temp./Cond. Clause					Case				
						Discourse				
						Co/Sub- ordination				

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.

	(-2)	(-1)	head-stem	(1)	(stem (2))	(3)	(4)	(5)
$V \rightarrow$	(EPST)	(LOC)	stem	(U/ABS)	$(\text{root} (\text{U/ABS}))_3^{19}$	(TENSE/DNT)	(A/NUM)	(NEG)

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 (-1)

Location 'inside, upriver' tufu-'outside, downriver' ku-'down below' 'up above' you-42) ∅**-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) Ø-ku-toi
 R-below-sleep
 'I/he slept down below'
- 45) Ø-you-tolo
 R-above-stand
 'I/he stood up above'

4.2.2.2 Second Order Prefixes (-2)

Epistemic Mood

Ø 'realis' 20

to- 'weak realis (present)'

po- 'irrealis'

pa- 'remote irrealis'

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

46) *ya* Ø-tumo-ki 1S R-come-RPST

'I came'

47) *to-nu* PR-go.P

'they are going'

48) *t-i-ko*

PR-say-3NS.U 'they are saying'

49) *nona-yo* **po-**ko-ko-∅-∅
2S.EMPH-AG IR-see-3NS.U-IMP-S
'You (sg.) look at them!'

50) *pa-ko-ko-⊘-wo* RIR-see-3NS.U-IMP-NS 'Look at them later (you pl.)!'

51) pa-ko-ko-no-so
RIR-see-3NS.U-3NS.A-NEG
'they did not see them'

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))₃²² (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 a 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'

-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-∅ water flood big-AG hinder-1NS.U-PUT-1/3S.A 'The flood is hindering us.'
- 54) *i-ko-ki-∅* 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-nuwo
 PR-help-1/2NS.U-3A+2NS.U
 'he/she/they help you'

Absolutive Agreement (3S) basic form²³ 'masculine gender'

-so 'feminine gender (3SF.ABS)'

-ko 'compound gender (3C.ABS)²⁴'

57) na fasi-ki-no na liyai-ki
FOC help-RPST-3NS.A FOC walk.about-RPST
'They helped him.'

16 Words in Ama

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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).

58) nau aloma-so-ki-no mano-so-ki
plate take.away-3SF.ABS-RPST-3NS.A go-3SF.ABS-RPST
'They took away the plate.' 'She went.'

59) puko aloma-ko-ki-no puko ti-yomu-ko

book take.away-3C.ABS-RPST-3NS.A book PR-say-3C.ABS 'They took away the book.' 'The book says ...'

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' \varnothing '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, *to*- '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-Ø morning come-TPST 'I/he came this morning.'

63) amuwoi-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-Ø-wo
IR-help-CDA-come-IMP-NS
'Come and help me (you pl.)!'
65) soi-su-Ø
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 noiyo 'don't'. In third person the actor suffixes are retained.

17

```
66) noiyo mano-i-∅
don't go-PROH-S
'Don't go (you sg.)!'
```

67) *nukutai fu mo uno-i-no* village pig TOP shoot-PROH-3NS.A 'They shouldn't shoot a domesticated pig.'

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
$$\rightarrow$$
 stem (1/3U) (3A) **OBLG** (2U) (TENSE)
OBLG \rightarrow stem (1/3U) (\varnothing 'S'/none) - u (-) (- $koni$ - 'S') (\varnothing '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)

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

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

68) aluwai-yu-mo follow-OBLG-FUT 'he/she must follow him' aluwai-**w-u-mo**

follow-NS.A-OBLG-FUT 'they must follow him'

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

im-u-konu(wu)-mo talk-OBLG-2NS.U-FUT 'he/she must talk to you (pl.)'

70) alu na tol-u child FOC stand-OBLQ 'the boy must stay'

71) *kal-u-mo* die-OBLQ-FUT 'he must die'

72) koli-kali-yu-konu-mo RED.NS-die-OBLG-2NS.U-FUT 'you (pl.) 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) Ø '1S' -noki '1NS.EX²⁵
-koni '1NS.IN
-no '3NS'

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-Ø*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-monoi 1P.IN/2P go.P-1NS.IN.A+FUT 'we (incl.) will go'

Ergative Agreement (3S) \(\) \(\) '3SM' \(\times \) \(\) '3SF' \(\) \(\)

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

- 78) anoi-yo i-mono-ki-Ø mother.1-AG say-1S.U-RPST-1/3S.A 'My mother said to me ...'
- 79) apou-yo i-mono-ki-Ø 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'²⁶

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-nuwo happy-ADVR really PR-help-1NS.U-2NS 'Thank you (pl.) very much for helping us.
- 82) usukuno-ki-**ni** usukuno-**mono**-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 -nuwo '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 (-nukuwo) 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).)

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

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

t-imo-ni t-imo-nuwo

PR-say-2S // 3A+2S.U

'you'll (sg.) say to him'

'he/they'll say to you (sg.)'

t-imo-nuwo

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.

Ø 'S' -wo 'NS'

84) na po-ni-mono-Ø-Ø na po-ni-mono-Ø-wo
FOC IR-give.P.PAT-1S.U-IMP-S
'Give them to me (you sg.)!'
FOC IR-give.P.PAT-1S.U-IMP-NS
'Give them to me (you pl.)!'

85) noivo uwo-mono-i-Ø noivo uwo-mono-i-wo

don't afflict-1S.U-PROH-S
'Don't hurt me (you sg.)!'

noiyo uwo-mono-i-wo
don't afflict-1S.U-PROH-NS
'Don't hurt me (you pl.)!'

4.2.3.1.4 Fifth Order Suffix (5)

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

Negation²⁷ -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'

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).

'1'

4.2.3.2 Inflectional Suffixes in the Inalienable Noun

Inalienable Possessive \varnothing

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:

indicinable i obbebbite		\sim		
		-no	'2'	
		-tono	'3'	
87)	auwa-Ø brother-1INAL 'my/our brother'		a- no er-2INAL brother'	auwa- tono brother-3INAL 'his/her/their brother'
88)	woli-∅ friend-1INAL 'my/our friend'		no 1-2INAL friend'	woli-tono friend-3INAL '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 -aki 'when/if'

89) isi kiyo noko-yo t-aki mo uo mulu 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
                                     'unique'
                         -a
90) Kot-a
                 Koto
     God-UNO
                 God
     'the real God'
91) iw-a
                   iwo
     water-UNO
                  water
     'real water (not anything mixed in)'
92)
     naino
                         nain-a
     hand
                         hand-UNO
     '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 -ta 'specifier (masc.)'

95) *uo noko-ta* evil man-SPEC 'the evil man'

96) aluwou-yo tukolo noko-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 -so 'adverbialiser'

97) alu siyoli alu mo siyoli-so to-soni child big child TOP big-ADVR PR-cry 'a big child' '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 syllable²⁸ that will be reduplicated, usually with a vowel change, the reduplicated syllable occurring immediately preceding the syllable it is a reduplication of.

Reduplication in the Verb I

Meaning	Singular	Non-Singular
ati/itati	ati	i -ta- ti
'carry on shoulders'	carry.on.shoulders	carry-RED.NS-carry
ifasiyaimo/ifofasi	ifasi-yai-mo	i -fo- fasi
'hit'	hit-S-S	hit-RED.NS-hit
akai/isikokai	akai	isi- ko -kai
'put'	put	put-RED.NS-put

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.

$$RED.NS_{II} \rightarrow C_1V_1 \quad \rightarrow \quad C_1V_{1/2}C_1V_1$$

Reduplication in the Verb II

Meaning	Singular	Non-Singular
foiyono/fufoimuwan	foiyono	fu -foi-muwano
0	fly	RED.NS-fly-NS
'fly'		
fumo/fufumuwano	fumo	fu -fu-muwano
'run'	run	RED.NS-run-NS
soni/sosonuno	soni	so -sonuno
'cry'	cry	RED.NS-cry

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

 $RED.NS_{III} {\longrightarrow} \ Vroot \quad {\longrightarrow} \quad Vroot_{(Mod)} Vroot$

Reduplication in the Verb III

Meaning	Singular	Non-Singular
kalo/kolikali	kalo	koli -kali
'die'	die	RED.NS-die
koumi/koukoumuwano	kou-mi	kou -kou-muwano
'climb up'	climb.up-S	RED.NS-climb.up-NS
molo kau(kau)	(molo) kau	(molo) kau- kau
'shut one's eye(s)'	(eye) shut	(eye) RED.NS-shut
kalikalimi(ko)	kali- kali-mi	kali- kali-mi-ko
'slander (pl.)'	RED.NS-slander-S	RED.NS-slander-S-NS

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.

 $RED.NS_{IV} \rightarrow Vroot \quad \rightarrow \quad Vroot \ Vroot$

Reduplication in the Verb IV

Reduplication in the verb I v			
Meaning	Singular	Non-Singular	
кари (кари)	кари	kapu kapu	
'eat'	eat	RED.NS eat	
kolo (kolo)	kolo	kolo kolo	
'throw'	throw	RED.NS throw	

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

110000 110001 110001			
Meaning	Singular	Non-Singular	
alu/alalo	alu	a- la -lo	
'child/children'	child	child-RED.NS-child	
sawi/susawi	sawi	su- sawi	
'widow/widows'	widow	RED.NS-widow	
loilo	_	loi- lo	
'rice'		RED.P-rice	

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.

Reduplication in the Adjective

Meaning	Singular	Non-Singular
itouniyaimo/ititouni	itouniyaimo ²⁹	i -ti- touni
'good'	good	good-RED.NS-good
koiyau/kopokoiyau	koiyau	kopo- koiyau
'bad'	bad	RED.NS-bad
(si)siyoli	siyoli	si -siyoli
'big'	big	RED.NS-big
kwalu (kwalu)	kwalu	kwalu kwalu
'stupid'	stupid	RED.NS stupid

Complete reduplication of siyoli 'big' means 'very big'.

4.2.4.4 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.

Reduplication in Other Word Classes

Singular	Non-Singular	
moloi	moloi moloi	
'how'	'how many'	
isoi	isoi isoi	
'a long time'	'a long(ER) time'	

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.

RED
$$\rightarrow C_1 o(i) \rightarrow C_1 oC_1 a(i)$$

Reduplication in Personal Pronouns

Meaning	Basic	Reduplicated
to	to	to- ta
'he/she'	3S	RED.EMPH-3S

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.

nokoitouniyaimononiitouniyaimomangoodwomangood'a good man''a good woman'

toi	toi	to- tai
'they'	3P	RED.EMPH-3P
koi	koi	ko -kai
'we excl.'	3P.EX	RED.EMPH-1P.EX

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 i changes to an o to indicate non-singular, while the rest of the modification is due to reduplication or non-predictable.

Stem Modification

Meaning	Singular	Non-Singular
alomani/ilomani	a lomani	i lomani
'take away'	take.away	take.away.P
atokoli/itatokoli	a tokoli	i -ta-tokoli
'carry on one's head'	carry.on.head	carry-RED.P.U-carry.on.head
ali/alo	al i	al o
'put in a bag'	put.in.bag	put.in.bag.P
anali/inalo	a na li	i nal o
'put inside'	put.inside	put.inside.P
atolikai/itolosikai	a tol i- kai	i tol o -si-kai
'lean'	lean-PUT	lean.P-sit.P-PUT
tukolo/tukuwoli	tukolo	tukuwoli
'kill'	kill	kill.NS

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

Meaning	Singular	Plural
ano/i	ano	i
'get'	get	get.P
afoli/saloso	afoli	saloso
'throw'	throw	throw.P
tolo/yousi/toi/si	tolo/yousi/toi	si
'stand/sit/lie'	stand/sit/lie	stand/sit/lie.P
tumo/ti	tumo	ti
'come'	come	come.P
moi/nu	moi	nu
'go'	go	go.P

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.

(-2) (-1) head-stem (1) (stem (2)) (3) (4) (5)
$$V \rightarrow$$
 (EPST) (LOC) stem (U/ABS) (root (U/ABS))₃ (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.

Singular/Dual ³⁰		Plural	
tolo	'stand/live/be'	si	stand/sit/lie/live/be
yousi	'sit/be'		
toi	ʻlie'		

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).

- 100) *a fu-ikai-tolo-ki* tree downriver-plant-stand-RPST 'I/he was downriver planting trees.'
- 101) *ifolomu-ko-si-*Ø-*noki* smoke-3NS.U-sit.P-TPST-1NS.EX.A 'We sat smoking.'

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).

Locative prefix (be)	Allative Verb	Shortened Verb Form used in Compounding	Meaning of Allative Forms
tu-	amoti	-ti	'go inside'
fu-	amufu	-fu	'go outside, downriver'
	amoli	-li	'go upriver'
you-	amiyo	-yo	'go up'
ku-	amukono	-kono	'go down'
	amuno	-no	'go straight (to a place)'
		-lo	'go all over'
	tumo	tumo	'come'
		-you	'move up'

27

- 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-*∅-∅ 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-itouniyaim**-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-itouniyaimo-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-∅-mono-ki-no mark-3SF.ABS-PUT-GIVE1-1S.U-RPST-3NS.A 'They marked her for me.'
- 115) *i-so-kai-ki-*∅ 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-mano-no, noko-yo falo-moi-∅-∅ bow TOP PR-carve-NS-GO-3NS.A man-AG carve-GO-TPST-1/3S.A 'The men keep carving bows' 'The man kept carving'

118) *ya to-fasi-mono-mano-ni* 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 dreamt 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-?³¹-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-Ø-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.

125) kumo-noni write-GIVE2/3 'write (a letter) to him'

126) *kumo-ti-so* write-GIVE.3P/F-3SF.ABS

'write (a letter) to her'

127) paso kumo**-ti**

letter write-GIVE.3P/F 'write (a letter) to them'

128) imo lukaso-ni talk speak-GIVE.P.PAT 'speak with him (many words)'

129) tuo foloulu-**ni**-ko-ki-∅ sago break.P-GIVE.P.PAT-3NS.U-1/3S.A 'I/he/she broke the sago and gave it to them'

Malfactive

The malfactee series is built on the common benefactive. All non-plural forms, referring to the patient, are preceded by the common verb wa 'take from'. For plural patient the simple benefactive verb root ni 'give.P.PAT' is replaced by $-wai^{32}$ 'take.P from'.

wa- 'one harmful thing (masc.) done to first person'

wa-noni 'one harmful thing (masc.) done to second and third person'

wa-ti 'one harmful thing (masc.) done to many peoplewa-ti-so 'one harmful thing (masc.) done to feminine person

wai 'many harmful things done to one person'

130) posaso-ko-**wa**-noni-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 noiyo 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 'steal 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'

uku 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-monoi kalo-**uku-**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.

	Lexical meaning	Grammatical/special meaning
ki	'see'	'try'
liyai	'walk about'	'scattered action'
-taikiyo	'send'	'change of place or condition'

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-**liyai**-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-tomasi-ko-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.

144) *fu-aluwou* pig-dog 'family'

The stem *mulumolo*- 'thinking process' is a compound of *mulu* 'heart' and *molo* 'path' and is used in some verbs.

145) *mulu-molo-luwai* heart-path-FOLLOW 'believe in someone'

146) *mulu-molo-ko* 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-sections³³ 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

32

-

³³ though not in any examples

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-yo no-ko-monoi. share really-there man all man-AG eat-3NS.U-OBLQ 'Sharing in order for all people to eat.'
- 154) lamo-yo 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 po-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-monoi 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.

160) Koino mo Kuto-so pa-mulu-molo-luwai-ki-Ø-so
Cain TOP God-ALL RIR-heart-road-FOLLOW-RPST-1/3S.A-NEG

Aipolo-su mo na mulu-molo-luwai-mana-ki-∅ Abel-CON TOP FOC heart-road-FOLLOW-GO-RPST-1/3S.A 'Cain did not believe in God. **But** Abel, **he** kept believing in him.'

- 161) *ni-su* mo ya-ni-**noi** this-CON TOP 1S-GEN-EMPH '**This** is **mine**.'
- 162) hani-noi what-EMPH 'What is this?'
- 163) *ya pi-yomu siyoli-wo*1S IR-think big-MIST.ASMP
 'I thought it was big (but it was not).'

4.2.8.3 Relational Clitic

There is clitic that occur on noun phrases or on a clause and have either co-ordinating or sub-ordinating 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) *Tuo-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

Meaning	Singular	Non-Singular
'good'	itouni- yai-mo	i-ti-touni
	good-S-S	good-RED.NS-good
	'good'	'good (pl.)'
'run'	fu- mo	fu-fu-muwano
	run-S	RED.NS-run-NS
	'I/he ran'	'they ran'
'climb up'	kou- mi	kou-kou- muwano
	climb.up-S.A	RED.NS-climb.up-NS
	'I/he climbed up'	'they climbed up'
'shout'	alola -mo	alola -muwano
	shout-S	shout-NS
	'I/he shouted'	'they shouted'
'stand up'	auwono	auwono -ulu
	stand.up	stand.up-NS
	'I/he stood up'	'they stood up'
'marry male(s)'	au	аи- lu
	marry.a.man	marry.a.man.NS
	'she married him'	'she married them'

Morphophonemic Rule12 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.

```
    172) i(-)mo-ki-∅ fu(-)mo-ki say(-3SM.ABS)-RPST-1/3S.A run(-3SM.ABS)-RPST 'I/he/she said to him' 'he ran'
    173) i-so-ki-no fu(-)mo-so-ki say-3SF.ABS-RPST-3NS.A run(-3SM.ABS)-3SF.ABS-RPST 'they said to her' 'she ran'
```

In a few verbs that may be either intransitive or transitive the undergoer and absolutive suffixes, including the somewhat elderly -mo with the masculine meaning intact, are clearly derivational and increase the valence by one. A typical example is *alosi* 'turn'.

```
174) noko-yo alosi-ki namoli-yo alosi-mo-ki-no man-AG turn-RPST back-AG turn-S-RPST-3NS.A 'the man turned around' 'they turned their back to him'
```

175) noni-so-monoi alosi-so-ki-no women-ABL-OBLQturn-3SF.ABS-RPST-3NS.A 'they turned towards the woman'

This operation also works for deriving verbs from adjectives.

```
noko-yo alaloni apitono-so koiyau-m-aki-no mo ta-ni alalo-so man-AG children father.3-ALL bad-S-WHEN/IF-3NS.A TOP 3S-GEN children-ALL mani kopo-koiyau-ko-i-no-mo also RED.NS-bad-3NS.U-FUT-3NS.A-FUT 'When people mistreat a father they mistreat his children as well.'
```

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.

```
177) mano mo waliyo
go TOP OK
'It is OK for me/him to go.'
'*It is OK for her to go.'
'*It is OK for them to go.'
```

- 178) mano-so mo waliyo go-3SF.ABS TOP OK 'It is OK for her to go.'
- 179) **nu** mo waliyo go.P TOP OK 'It is OK for them to go.'
- 180) noko **fasi-ko** mo waliyo man help-3NS.U TOP OK 'It is OK to help people.'
- 181) molo kau-kau mo waliyo eye RED.NS-shut TOP OK 'Shutting one's eyes is OK.'

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

```
182) muwo-ko-kai-∅-mono mo waliyo
mark-3NS-PUT-GIVE1-1S.U TOP OK
'It is OK to mark them for me.'
```

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.

183) *to-tumo mo waliyo
IR-come TOP OK
'Coming is OK.'

184) *tumo-ki-ni mo waliyo nona tumo mo waliyo come-RPST-2S TOP OK 2S.EMPH come TOP OK 'It was OK for you to come.' 'It is/was OK for you to come.'

It seems that the categories of derivational and inflectional operations are best described as working along a continuum.

Derivational				Inflectional
adverbialiser	number undergoer	stative	other	mood tense
	absolutive			actor sfxs ergative sfxs neutral case sfxs actor+undergoer sfxs negative

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'.34

Rule 1

$$V \rightarrow [\alpha back] / \underline{\qquad} C \\ \{w/kw/y\}$$

The vowel in the modal prefixes to- 'present' and po- 'realis' varies in backness with the following consonants: $/w/^{35}$, $/k^w/$ and /j/.

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

Rule 2

$$V \rightarrow \varnothing / V$$

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

189) $t-i-\varnothing$ 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



³⁴ Orthographic symbols are used if not otherwise specified.

for example: to-wiyoluko-Ø PR-show.somebody.some.things-1/3.S.A '(he) is showing them some things'

³⁵ If w is followed by i the rule does not apply,

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 $\frac{1}{2}$ (spelled $\frac{1}{2}$).

190)	afoli -yo imo	throw-FUT	'(he) will throw it'
191)	noiyo afoli -yo i-∅	PROH throw-PROH-S	'don't throw it'
100)		THE	6/1>

192) samuku-yoimo³⁶ watch.over-FUT '(he) will watch over him'

193) ko-imo build-FUT '(he) will build it'

Rule 4

$$u \rightarrow o / \underline{}$$

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

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)	noiyo 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

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

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

Rule 6

When the actor suffix³⁷ 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/samuk**o-**jɛimo/

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.

Rule 7

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.

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

$$V \rightarrow yV / V _{a/u}$$
 [[-back]

Rule 9

$$V \rightarrow wV / au/ou_{\underline{}}$$

 $\{a/u\} \{a/u\}$

The first syllable of any suffix starting with a and the suffix -u 'obligative' 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'
- hamuku-ya- \varnothing ³⁸ 204) asa-vo 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'
- samuku-**yu**-mo 206) watch.over-OBLG-FUT 'he/she must watch over him'
- 207) auwoni-vou-wa rise-up-YPST '(he) rose yesterday'

 $^{^{38}}$ /hamuk**o-j**a/

208) noko-so na au-wu-mo³⁹
man-ALL FOC marry.a.man-OBLG-FUT
'she must marry'

Rule 10

A vowel followed by a suffix starting with a or followed by the suffix -u 'obligatory' is lost.

209)	an-a-tumo get-CDA-come 'come to get it'	(ano) get 'get'
210)	ifou na mano-s-u-mo back FOC go-3SF.ABS-OBLG-FUT 'she must go back'	(mano-so) go-3SF.ABS 'go (fem.)'
211)	ulai noko tukuwoli foli-monoi na kal-u but man kill.NS compensation-OBLQ FOC die-OBLG 'but he must die in retribution for killing (some) men'	(kalo) die 'die'

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.

212) *na* **s-a**-tumo FOC sit-CDA-come 'they came and stayed'

213) fai **t-a**yesterday come.P-YPST
'they came yesterday'

214) atiyai-so na s-uo-mo⁴⁰ careful-ADVR FOC sit.P-OBLG-FUT 'they must be careful'

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

215) *nu-waki mo* go.P-WHEN/IF TOP 'when/if they go ...'

216) *n-uo-mo* go.P-OBLG-FUT 'they must go'

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.

217) siyoli-ya (siyoli)
big-UNQ big
'the biggest' 'big'

218) nok-a noko (noko)
man-UNQ man
'a man (not a ghost)' 'man'

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 Words in Ama

_

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 obligative suffix -u usually is spelled <u>, but could be spelled <uo> as in this case and in example (216).

If the root ends in u Rule 9 applies instead of Rule 10.

219)	fu-wa	(fu)
	pig-UNQ pig	pig
	ʻa real pig'	'pig'

If the root ends in a none of the above rules applies.

Juncture Morpheme -yo

Rule 11 applies to the compounding juncture morpheme -yo.

Rule 11

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

'(he) lifted the stone up'

Non-Singular Suffix -ulu

Rule 12 applies to the suffix-like morpheme -ulu 'non-singular'.

Rule 12

$$u \rightarrow \varnothing / u_{\underline{}}$$

The first vowel u in -ulu 'non-singular' is lost when it follows another u.

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.

Rule 13

Rule 13 applies to simple verbs and adjectives to signal non-singular.

RED.NS \rightarrow ADJ/Vroot \rightarrow ADJ/Vroot ADJ/Vroot

The whole root is exactly reduplicated. This results in two words due to stress patterns.

Complete Reduplication: Adjective and Simple Verb

Meaning	Singular	Non-Singular
кари (кари)	kapu	кари кари
'eat'	eat	RED.NS eat
kolo (kolo)	kolo	kolo kolo
'throw'	throw	RED.NS throw
sopo (sopo)	sopo	sopo sopo
'tall'	tall	RED.NS tall
ukolo (ukolo)	ukolo	ukolo ukolo
'weak'	weak	RED.NS weak

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
$$\rightarrow$$
 C₁ o(i) \rightarrow C₁ oC₁ 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 o to a..

Reduplication in Personal Pronouns

Meaning	Basic	Reduplicated
to	to	to -ta
'he/she'	3S	RED.EMPH-3S
toi	toi	to- tai
'they'	3P	RED.EMPH-3P
koi	koi	ko -kai
'we excl.'	3P.EX	RED.EMPH-1P.EX

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
$$\rightarrow$$
 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-Ø	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.

A verb root of the shape *Coi* is changed to *Cano* as soon as any suffixes are added.

228)	yo to -moi	yo mano -ki	mo-ti	to -mano -nuwo
	1S PR-go	1S go-RPST	1P.IN/2P-two	PR-go-2NS
	'I'm going'	'I went'	'Are you two l	eaving?'

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 /verb root____
```

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

229)	kumo -noni	anoni		
	write-GIVE2/3	give		
	'write (one paper) to him'	'give one thing to	o him'	
230)	muwo-so- kai-Ø -mono-ki-no		(a kai)	(a-mono)
	mark-3SF.ABS-PUT-GIVE1-1S.U-R	PST-3NS.A	put	give-1S.U
	'they marked her for me'		'put'	'give one thing to me'

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.

- 231) koi mo wiko mo ti-woi na **Ø-si-ki-noki**1P.EX TOP week TOP two-WITH FOC R-sit.P-RPST-1NS.EX.A
 'We were (there) for two weeks.'
- 232) ya-ni anoi mo ai **t-uwo-so**1S-GEN mother.1 TOP sickness PR-afflict-3SF.ABS
 'My mother is sick.'
- 233) tuo komu Ø-i-ko-ki-Ø kusomi sago head R-AUX-3NS.U-RPST-1/3S.A take.hold.of 'I/he/she took (some) lumps of sago.'
- 234) **so-sonuno**-woi futo RED.NS-cry-WITH finished 'Their crying was over.'

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 Ø- kalo -Ø FOC R-die-TPST 'He died.'	(a non-active intransitive verb, which takes an undergoer as its only argument; the basic form is congruent with 3SM)
236)	na ∅- moi -∅ FOC R-go-TPST 'I/he just left.'	(an active intransitive verb, which takes an actor as its only argument; the basic form is congruent with both 1S and 3SM)
237)	na Ø-fasi-Ø-Ø FOC R-help-TPST-1/3S.A 'I/he/she just helped him.' making this form congru	(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 uent with both first and third person actors, glossed as

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 hortatives). 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.

Imperati	ive Simple Verbs	Common Simp	Common Simple Verbs		
awi	'wait!'	kolo	'throw'		
fau	'look out!'	kusumi	'get'		
fuo	'take it!'	sai	'know' (never reduplicated)		
fuwoi	'move!'	sosoli	'don't know'		
кари кар	eat! (always reduplicated)	tu	'break'		
kuku	'come!'	ukou	'grab' (RED: ukoukukou)		
soi	'let's go! (hortative)				
ŀ	toni kusumi bow get 'get/got the bow'				
5	stone throw	tomoki kolo stone RED.NS 'throw stones'	kolo throw		
	kuku, na po-tumo-∅-∅ come! FOC IR-come-IMP-S 'Come!!'				
(3	toi fau , atiyai-so na s-ta 3P lookout careful-ADVR FOC sit 'They better look out and be careful.'	uo-mo -OBLG-FUT			
		mo sosoli ГОР know.not			

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-Ø kusumi
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 i hortative, may actually take a couple of affixes to indict imperative and also number as shown below.

```
soi-wo let's go (pl.)!

soi-su^{41} 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).

45

⁴¹ The suffix -su 'IMP' only occurs on this form.

244) tukolo-monoi louwa fi kill-OBLQ FRUST.INT do '(they) want(ed) to kill him but ...'

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 a 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:

(-2) (-1) head-stem (1) (stem (2)) (3) (4) (5)
$$V \rightarrow (EPST) (LOC)$$
 stem (U/ABS) $(root (U/ABS))_3$ (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) Ø-imo-ki-Ø 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-ti-ki-noki-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 and transitive.

Intransitive Active: livai 'walk about'

Person	Singular	Non-Singular
1EX	liyai	liyai- noki
1 IN		liyai- koni
2	liyai- ni	liyai-nuwo
3M	liyai	
3F	liyai- so	liyai-no
3C	liyai -ko	

Intransitive Non-Active: usukuno 'fall'

Person	Singular	Non-Singular
1EX	usukuno- mono	usukuno- moko
1 IN		
2	usukuno- ni	usukuno -nuwo
3M	usukuno	
3F	usukuno -so	usukuno -ko
3C	usukuno- ko	

Transitive: fasi 'help' and aloma 'take away'42

↓U/A→	18	2S	3S	1NS.EX	1NS.IN	2NS	3NS
1S	_	fasi -mono-ni	fasi- mono- Ø	_	_	fasi-mono-nuwo	fasi- mono-no
2S	fasi- noki	_	fasi- ni	fasi- noki	_	_	fasi- ni
3SM	fasi-Ø	fasi- ni	fasi-Ø	fasi- noki	fasi- koni	fasi- nuwo	fasi- no
3SF.ABS	fasi- so- Ø	fasi -so-ni	fasi- so- Ø	fasi- so-noki	fasi- so-koni	fasi-so-nuwo	fasi- so-no
3C.ABS	aloma- ko -Ø	aloma- ko-ni	aloma- ko- Ø	aloma- ko-noki	aloma- ko-koni	aloma- ko-nuwo	aloma- ko-no
1NS	_	fasi- moko-ni	fasi- moko- Ø	_	_	fasi- moko-nuwo	fasi- moko-no
2NS	fasi- nukuwo	_	fasi- nuwo	fasi- nukuwo	_	_	fasi- nuwo
3NS	fasi- ko- Ø	fasi -ko-ni	fasi- ko-Ø	fasi- ko-noki	fasi- ko-koni	fasi- ko-nuwo	fasi- ko-no

When the actor, neutral and portmanteau suffixes (see section 4.2.3.1.3 (Fourth Order Suffixes (4)) cooccur 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: livai 'walk about'

Person	Singular	Non-Singular
1EX	liyai-yoimo	liyai-yoi -ki- mo
1 IN		liyai- monoi
2	liyai-yoi- ni- mo	liyai-yoi- nuwo -mo
3M	liyai-yoimo	
3F	liyai- so -imo	liyai-yoi- no -mo
3C	liyai -ko- imo	

Actor+2 Person Undergoer and Future Tense: fasi 'help'

↓U/A→	1A	3A
2S.U	fasi-yoi- ki -mo	fasi-yoi- ni -mo
2NS.U	fasi-yoi- kuwo -mo	fasi-yoi- nuwo -mo

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:

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 (a)kai '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-**Ø-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 \varnothing 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.

_	Lexical meaning	Modified Meaning	Varies with Number
Location	-		
tolo	'stand/live/be (non-pl.)'	'stand/live/be (non-pl.)'	yes
yousi	'sit/be (non-pl.)'	'sit/be (non-pl.)'	"
toi	'lie (non-pl.)'	'lie (non-pl.)'	"
si	'stand/sit/lie/live/be (pl.)'	'stand/sit/lie/live/be (pl.)'	"
Direction/Allati	ve		
(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'	ʻgo up'	"
(amu)kono	'go down'	ʻgo down'	"
(amu)no	'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			
itouniyaimo	'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) - \emptyset	'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'	II .
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/them	'malfactive'	II .
wai	'take (pl.) from'	'malfactive'	"
Favouritism			
unu	'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'	II .
-taikiyo	'send'	'change of place or condition'	"
soli	'dip'	'dip'	yes
tomasimo	'be together with'	'be together with'	"

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.

Tense	-ki	'remote past'
	<i>-a</i>	'yesterday's past'
	Ø	'today's past'
	-imo/-i	'future'

The common future form is -imo. An alternate form -i is used together with the two modal particles aiko 'lest' and poi '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-Ø morning go.P-TPST 'They went this morning.'
- 255) amuwoi-so tumo-so-**imo** tomorrow-ADVR come-3SF.ABS-FUT 'She will come tomorrow.'
- 256) wonikaluso **aiko** kalo-mono-**i** lest lest die-1S.U-FUT 'Lest I die.'
- 257) auwa-tono **poi** mano-**i** brother-3INAL perhaps go-FUT 'his brother will perhaps go'
- 258) tiya-woi-su na to-si-koni 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.

Aspects

Aspect	Verb Root	Aspectual Adverb in VP
Iterative	(po-) -mosi 'iterative'	
Progressive	-moi/-mano- 'go'	
Stative	-kai 'put'	
Atelic	-luwai 'follow'	
Perfect		yasoi, yopoli 'have/be'
Prospective		amai '(not) yet'

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-imo (not.)yetcome-FUT '(He) hasn't come yet (but will).'

na t-aiyolo-ko-**moi-**∅-∅ FOC PR-teach-3NS.U-GO-TPST-1/3S.A 'I/he/she keep(s) teaching them.'

na imo-kai-ki-∅ FOC say-PUT-RPST-1/3S.A 'I/he/she promised him.'

5.1.3.3 Mood and Mode⁴³

There are three kinds of moods signalled on the verb in Ama: epistemic mood, deontic mood and conative mood⁴⁴. In addition there are other non-factual modes signalled in the verb phrase or in the clause.

yopoli ti-yousi

(not.)yet PR-sit

'(He) is still here.

ti-yousi

PERF PR-sit

'(He) is here.'

amai

5.1.3.3.1 Epistemic Mood

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

Epistemic Mood \varnothing 'realis' to- 'weak realis (present)' po- 'irrealis' pa- 'remote irrealis'

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 Ø-tumo-ki 1S R-come-RPST 'The man came.'

51

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"

266) ya Ø-mano-imo 1S R-go-FUT 'I will go.'

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) **to-ti-noki** PR-go.P-1NS.EX.A 'We are coming.'

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) *pa-to-fasi-mono-*∅ *yasoi mano-so* RIR-PR-help-1S.U-1/3S.A PERF go-3SF.ABS 'She isn't helping me; she has left.'

Irrealis

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

<u>Immediate imperative</u>: Here the irrealis prefix is the only marking though a zero suffix is postulated for the imperative.

269) *nona-yo* **po**-ko-ko-∅-∅
2S.EMPH-AG IR-see-3NS.U-IMP-S
'You (sg.), look at them now.'

<u>Iterative aspect</u>: To express iterative aspect in the past the irrealis prefix *po*- always co-occurs with the iterative suffix *-mosi*.

270) *p-aiyolo-ko-mosi-ki-∅*IR-teach-3NS.U-IT-RPST-1/3S.A 'I/he/she used to teach them.'

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

271) toku koi mo to-ta uo noko-ta po-si-ki-noki earlier 1P.EX TOP RED.EMPH-3S enemy man-SPEC IR-sit.P-RPST-1NS.EX.A 'Earlier we (excl.) were his enemies.'

<u>Mistaken assumption</u>: 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) noni mo sai muwoi, **pi-**yomu-so-ki, noko siya-wo woman TOP know NEG IR-think-3SF.ABS-RPST man one-MIST.ASMP 'The woman didn't know, she thought (it was) another man.'

<u>Contrary-to-Fact Conditional</u>: Both verbs in a contrary-to-fact conditional are marked with *po-* 'irrealis'.

273) *fu mo p-unu-*∅ *mo fona p-ani-yo-tumo-noki* pig TOP IR-shoot-1/3S.A TOP leg IR-get-CDT-come-1A+2S.U 'If I had shot a pig I would have brought you a leg.'

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.

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

```
274) pa-ko-k-a-kono-∅-∅
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) pa-kwai-ko-ki-no-so
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) pa-to-kokolo-komo-moko-so
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.

```
Deontic Mood \varnothing 'imperative' -i 'prohibitive' -u 'obligative'
```

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) po-ki-ya-tumo-Ø-Ø pa-ki-ya-tumo-Ø-wo
IR-see-CDA-come-IMP-S RIR-help-CDA-come-IMP-NS
'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 *noiyo* 'don't'. Non-singular is marked by the suffix -*wo*. In third person the actor suffixes are retained.

```
278) noiyo tumo-i-wo
don't come-PROH-NS
'Don't come (you pl.)!'
279) iwo koiyau mo siko-i-no
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.

```
OBLG
OBLG
             stem
                     (1/3U)
                               (3A)
                                                       (2U)
                                                                                (TENSE)
OBLG →
                               (\emptyset 'S'/none) -u(-)
                                                       (-koni- 'S')
             stem
                     (1/3U)
                                                                                (Ø 'PR')
                               (-w- 'NS')
                                                       (-konu/konuwu- 'NS')
                                                                               (-mo 'FUT')
```

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

The actor is third person, and there is a singular (\emptyset) versus non-singular distinction (-w-).

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 (\emptyset) 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-**w-u-mo**

follow-NS.A-OBLG-FUT 'they must follow him'

- 282) Yamu p-im-a-yo amuwoi-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) tofolo 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) s-uo-mo<sup>45</sup> sit.P-OBLG-FUT 'they must sit'
```

5.1.3.3.3 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) ya ti-yo-ki
1S PR-do-see
'I'll try'
293) kwai-ko-ki
perceive-3NS.U-see
'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 louwa 'frustrated intention' preceding or following the verb. The verb is uninflected and marked by the oblique case marker -monoi, if the modal particle follows the verb. The simple dummy verb fi 'do' may in that case follow the modal particle. The meaning of these different constructions is basically the same.

```
294) yo mo lolai mo a louwa to-fu-ikai-tolo
1S TOP today TOP tree FRUST.INT PR-downriver-plant-stand
'I was downriver today wanting to plant a tree but ...'
```

```
295) ma u-so-monoi louwa (fi)
possum shoot-3SF.ABS-OBLQ FRUST.INT (do)
'(He) want(ed) to shoot the possum but ...'
```

Believing

An opinion may be expressed by the modal particle *nako* with the approximate meaning of 'I think' followed by the topic marker *mo*.

```
296) nako mo moi mo muo muo yapoli ki-ya-no-ki-nuwo
I.think TOP 1P.IN/2P TOP RED.NS a.grass PERF see-CDA-go.straight-RPST-2NS
'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.

55

```
297) waliyo poi mo wiyou poi mo all.right perhaps TOP no perhaps TOP 'Is it all right or isn't it?'
```

298) *amuwoi-so* **poi** (mo) tumo-i one.day.removed-ALL perhaps TOP come-FUT 'Perhaps he will come tomorrow.'

⁴⁵ see footnote 40

e 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.

```
wonikaluso ta-ni
299)
                                         aiko kiyo-i-ni
                                                            / polimano noko-ni
                            au-so
      lest
                  3S-GEN
                            body-ALL
                                         lest take-FUT-2S / police
                                                                        man-GEN hand-ALL
      aiko kiyo-i-ni
                         / kalopulo nu-so
                                                   aiko kiyo-i-ni
      lest take-FUT-2S / prison
                                     house-ALL
                                                   lest 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:

Intransitive - Active		Intransitiv	Intransitive - Non-Active		Transitive	
moi	ʻgoʻ	kalo	'die'	fasi	'help'	
tolo	'stand'	kokolo	'be afraid'	tukolo	'kill'	
alosi	'turn'	usukuno	'fall'	kausi	'get'	
toi	'sleep'	uwo	'(be) afflict(ed)'	aliyoni	'call'	

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.

```
300)
      to-nu-noki
                                                                       nu
                                                                              'go (pl.)'
      PR-go.P-1NS.EX.A
      'We (excl.) are going.'
301) to-koli-kali-moko
                                                                       koli-kali 'die (non-sg.)'
      PR-RED.NS-die-1NS.U
      'We are dying.'
302) t-aliyoni-moko-no
                                     t-aliyoni-ko-noki
                                                                       aliyoni-ko
                                                                                      'call (non-
      sg.)'
      PR-call-1NS.U-3NS.A
                                     PR-call-3NS.U-1NS.EX.A
      'They are calling us.'
                                     'We (excl.) are calling them.'
```

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/\varnothing '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-Ø* 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 alalo-yo na 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-monoi 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) aluwai-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

- 312) na no hani-yo uwo-ni 2S TOPQ what-AG afflict-2S 'What has happened to (afflicted) you (sg.)?'
- 313) hani t-ano-nuwo
 what PR-get-2NS
 'What are you (pl.) getting/doing?'
- 314) 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.

1/3A+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 absolutive suffixes even though they partly have the distribution of such suffixes.

- 315) to-fasi-noki
 PR-help-1NS.EX.A // 1A+2S.U
 'we (excl.) will help him'
 'I/we (excl.) will help you (sg.)'
- 316) to-fasi-ni
 PR-help-2S // 3A+2S.U
 'you will (sg.) help him'
 'he/she/they will help you (sg.)'
- 317) to-fasi-nuwo
 PR-help-2NS // 3A+2NS.U
 'you (pl.) will help him'
 'he/she/they'll help you (pl.)'
- 318) 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'.

319) to-fasi-komo-nuwo
PR-help-1/2NS.U-3A+2NS.U
'He/she/they will help you (pl.).'

to-fasi-komo-nukuwo
PR-help-1/2NS.U-1A+2NS.U
'I/we will help you (pl.).'

to-fasi-komo-moko-no
PR-help-1/2NS.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	
Intrans	sitive active: verb root varies w	vith number of actor		
320)	<i>soni-</i> ki cry-RPST 'I/he cried'	same as plural	so-sonuno-ki RED.NS-cry-RPST 'they/the two of them cried'	
321)	mano-ki go-RPST 'I/he went' sitive non-active: verb root var	mano-ki-no go-RPST-3NS.A 'the two of them went'	nu-ki go.P-RPST 'they went'	
322)	na kalo-mono-imo FOC die-1S.U-FUT 'I will die'	same as plural	na koli-kali-moko-imo FOC RED.NS-die-1NS.U-FUT 'we/the two of us will die'	
Transitive verb: verb root varies with number of undergoer				
323)	alomani -ki-no	alomani -ko-ki-no	ilomani- ki-no	

take.away-3NS.U-RPST-3NS.A take.away.P-RPST-3NS.A

'they took the two things away' 'they took the things away'

i-ki-no

Words in Ama

get-RPST-3NS.A	get-3NS.U-RPST-3NS.A	get.P-RPST-3NS.A
'they got it'	'they got the two things'	'they got the things'

a-ko-ki-no

5.1.4.3.2 Ergative-Absolutive Marking to Express Gender

take.away-RPST-3NS.A

'they took it 46 away'

324) *ano-ki-no*

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.

Gender	basic form	'3SM.ABS	ØÌ	
	<i>-so</i>	'3SF.ABS'	Ø }	'3S.ERG(/1S.A)'
	-ko	'3C.ABS(/3NS.U)'	_ J	

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

Meaning	Masculine	Feminine	Compound
'come'	tumo	tumo-so	tumo-ko
ʻgoʻ	moi	mano-so	mano-ko
'take away'	alomano	aloma-so	aloma-ko
'sleep'	toi	ta-so	ta-ko
'give him/her/-'	anoni	ati-so	

⁴⁶ inanimate verb root (see "Get"-Verbs and Animacy 5.2.4.4)

59

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, \emptyset , 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 throw 'throw it/him' (basic fo	orm agrees with 3SM.ABS)	moi-∅ go-YPST 'he went'
326)	kwai-so-ki-no perceive-3SF.ABS-RPST-3NS.A 'they listened to her'		liyai-so-ki walk.about-3SF.ABS-RPST 'she went for a walk'
327)	palulo aloma-ko-ki-naeroplane take.away-3C.A 'they piloted the plane'		palulo tumo-ko-ki aeroplane come-3C.ABS-RPST 'the plane came'
328)	ano-ki-no get-RPST-3NS.A 'they got something'	a a-ko-ki-no tree get-3C.ABS-RPST-3NS.A 'they got a bunch of firewood' 'they got two logs'	a i-ki-no tree get.P-RPST-3NS.A 'they got many logs'
329)	nau a-so-ki-no cup(fem.) get-3SF.ABS-R 'they got a cup'	PST-3NS.A	
330)	mano-no go-3NS.A 'the two of them went'	tou mano-ko faeces go-3C.ABS 'defecate'	

There is an obsolete suffix -mo 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).⁴⁷

331)	<i>i</i> (-) <i>mo-ki-</i> ∅ say(-)S-RPST-3S.ERG/1S.A 'he/she/I said to him'	fu(-) mo -ki run(-)S-RPST 'he ran'
332)	<i>i-so-ki-no</i> say-3SF.ABS-RPST-3NS.A 'they said to her'	fu(-) mo-so -ki run(-)S-3SF.ABS-RPST 'she ran'

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-noni	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-noni 'give one thing (fem.) to second and third person'
    a-ko-noni '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. 48

```
333) ami no mo nona-yo no a-mono-ki-ni strong that TOP 2S.EMPH-AG that give-1S.U-RPST-2S 'that power that you gave me'
```

- 334) *yo mo ami siyoli yasoi a-noni-ki-nukuwo*1S TOP strong big PERF give-GIVE2/3-RPST-1A+2NS.U
 'I have given you (pl.) strong power.'
- 335) asi a-ti-ki-Ø land give-GIVE.3P/F-RPST-1/3S.A 'I/he/she gave them land'
- 336) *pusi toniyoi p-a-so-ti-so-∅-wo* cat female IR-give-3SF.ABS-GIVE.3P/F-3SF.ABS-IMP-NS 'Give the female cat to her (you pl.).'
- 337) tomoki muwoni molopoi na a-ko-noni-ki-no stone money many FOC give-3NS.U-GIVE2/3-RPST-3NS.A 'They gave him a heap of coins.'
- 338) *nau* po-**ni**-mono-∅-∅ cup/plate IR-give.P.PAT-1S.U-IMP-S 'Give me the plates (you sg.)!'

Words in Ama

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⁴⁸ The gloss GIVE for 'benefactive' is used through-out 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:

Ø 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.

	← Non-Plural Patient →			←Plural Patient→
Benefactee	Singular Patient Masc.	Singular Patient Fem.	Singular Patient Comp. & Dual Patient	Plural Patient
1S	Ø-mono	-so-Ø-mono	-ko-Ø-mono	ni-mono
1NS	Ø-moko	-so-Ø-moko	-ko-Ø-moko	ni-moko
2S+1A	-noni-noki	-so-noni-noki	-ko-noni-noki	ni-noki
2S+3A	-noni-ni	-so-noni-ni	-ko-noni-ni	ni-ni
2NS+1A	-noni-nukuwo	-so-noni-nukuwo	-ko-noni-nukuwo	ni-nukuwo
2NS+3A	-noni-nuwo	-so-noni-nuwo	-ko-noni-nuwo	ni-nuwo
3SM	-noni	-so-noni	-ko-noni	ni
3SF	-ti-so	-so-ti-so	-ko-ti-so	ni-so
3NS	-ti	-so-ti	-ko-ti	ni-ko

The form -ko in the third column, may refer to dual number as well as to compound gender. Also, the aspect marker -kai '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-Ø-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-monoi God-ALL mark-3NS.U-PUT-GIVE2/3-OBLQ 'in order to set them aside for God'

- 346) samuku-ko noko muwo-ko-kai-ti-ya-lo-ki-∅ watch.over-3NS.U man mark-3NS.U-PUT-GIVE.3P/F-CDA-go.all.over-RPST-1/3S.A 'rulers were appointed over them (through the ages)'
- 347) *noki-tono mo auwoni-you-ni-ko-ki-*∅ man-3INAL TOP rise-move.up-GIVE.P.PAT-3NS.U-1/3S.A 'Her husband woke them up.' (the reason for the plural patient root *ni* 'give pl. patient' is unclear)

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 $\emptyset/noni/ti$ '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 -wai 'take (pl.) from'.

```
'one harmful thing done to first person'
wa-noni
'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.

```
    348) noko mo auwa-tono-ni noni polamo-so-wa-noni-ki-∅
man TOP brother-3INAL-GEN woman steal-3SF.ABS-TAKE.FROM-GIVE2/3-RPST-1/3S.A
na kau-so-ki-∅
FOC take.away.AN-3SF.ABS-RPST-1/3S.A
'The man took his brother's wife from him and married her.'
```

- 349) alu mo lomu-wa-ti-ki
 child TOP run.away-TAKE.FROM-GIVE.3P/F-RPST
 'The child ran away from them.'
- 350) 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.'
- 351) popuwo amiyaikiyo-**ko-wai-ko**evil.spirit drive.out-3NS.U-TAKE.FROM.P-3NS.U
 'drive out evil spirits from (people)'

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

'SHOOT-1S.U' 'SHOOT-1NS.U unu-mono unu-moko 'SHOOT-1A+2S.U' unu-nukuwo 'SHOOT-1A+2NS.U unu-noki unu-ni 'SHOOT-3A+2S.U' unu-nuwo 'SHOOT-3A+2NS.U unu'SHOOT(3SM.ABS)' uku 'SHOOT.3NS.U' 'SHOOT-3SF.ABS' u-so

352) *na pi-yo-u-so-*Ø-*wo*FOC IR-do-SHOOT-3SF.ABS-IMP-NS
'Do (something) for her (you pl.)!'

353) *tomoki ifolo-ko-uku-ki-no* stone throw-3NS.U-SHOOT.P-RPST-3NS.A 'They threw stones at them.'

354) hani-monoi to-tumo-unu-moko-ni what-OBLQ PR-come-SHOOT-1NS.U-2S 'What have you come to do to/for us?'

355) itu to-kolali-**unu-**noki itu to-kolali-**noni-**noki door PR-open-SHOOT-1A+2S.U door PR-open-GIVE2/3-1A+2S.U 'I/we'll open the door for you (as a favour).' 'I/we'll open the door for you (by necessity).

Sometimes an increase in transitivity seems to be the main purpose of using this construction. In the following example *uku* refers to the patient *molo* 'coconut' and *-noni* 'give' to the benefactee "him".

356) *molo* to-liyo-**uku-**noni-∅ coconut PR-climb.up-SHOOT.P-GIVE2/3-1/3S.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.

Locative tu- 'inside, upriver' fu- 'outside, downriver' ku- 'down below' you- 'up above'

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) Liyli 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-taikiyo-ki-no* fish net TOP FOC down-move-SEND-RPST-3NS.A 'They threw in the fishnet.'

360) *noni* **you**-tolo-so-ki woman up.above-stand-3SF.ABS-RPST 'The woman was (stood) up (there).'

5.1.5.2 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.

Allative Verbs

Meaning	Non-Plural	Plural	Feminine
'go inside'	amo-ti	(ti)	amu-siyo-ti
'go outside/downriver'	amu-fu	fu	amu-siyo-fu
'go upriver'	amo-li	li	amu-siyo-li
'go up'	ami-yo	yo	amu-siyo-yo
'go down'	amu-kono	kuno	amu-siyo-kono
'go straight'	amu-no	(nu)	amu-siyo-no
'go all over'	*amu-lo	*	*

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.)'.

- 361) *na* **amukono**-ki FOC go.down-RPST 'I/he came down.'
- 362) to-ti mo asiyofolo-so amufu-ki-no
 3P-two TOP outside-ALL go.outside-RPST-3NS.A
 'The two of them went outside.'
- 363) *yu siyoli-sai kuno-ki* mountain big-ABL go.down-RPST 'They went down from the big mountain.'
- 364) *yu nukutai asi-so amu-siyo-yo-ki* mountain village ground-ALL go-3SF.ABS-go.up-RPST 'She went up to a mountain village.'

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'.

Allative	amo ti	-ti	'go inside'
	amu fu	-fu	'go outside, downriver'
	amo li	-li	'go upriver'
	ami yo	-yo	'go up'
	amu kono	-kono	'go down'
	amu no	-no	'go straight (to a place)'

*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.

- 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) vo mo mi t-an-a-no- \varnothing
 - 1S TOP bone PR-get-CDA-go.straight-1/3S.A
 - 'I'm going to work.'
- 368) imo to-lukas-a-lo-ki-no
 - 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-∅
 - man four group-ALL get.AN.P-CDT-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-∅
 - 1S look-CDA-come-RPST-1/3S.A
 - 'I came to look at it.'
- 371) ai ai noko koli-vo-**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-*∅*-*∅

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

Negative Marking

Negative	Marking on Verb	Marking in Phrase
Finite Verb Forms	paso 'not'	
Non-Finite Verb Forms	-woi muwoi 'not'	-woi muwoi 'not'
Prohibitive	noiyo -i 'don't!'	noiyo -i 'don't
Conditional		somiso mo 'if not'
NPs		somiso 'without'
Non-VPs		muwoi 'not'

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.

- 373) alu **pa**-soni-ki-so child RIR-cry-RPST-NEG 'The child didn't cry.'
- 374) toi mo nu-woi muwoi 3P TOP go.P-WITH NEG 'They didn't go/they won't go.'
- 375) *noiyo* yo-i-wo don't do-PROH-NS 'Don't do (that) (you pl.).'
- 376) sa tumo somiso mo yo mo na po-tumo rain come without TOP 1S TOP FOC IR-come 'If it hadn't rained, I would have come.'
- 377) koloni somiso tumo-ki animal without come-RPST 'He came without (any) meat.
- 378) nokokai **muwoi** siyoli **muwoi**boy not big not
 'It is not a boy.' 'It is not big.'

5.2 Nouns

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).

- 379) *ulai asa-ni* **noni-yo** *i-mono* but 1S.EMPH-GEN woman-AG say-1S.U 'but my wife said to me'
- 380) *fonopi-ni ai mo tau-woi si* tobacco-GEN sickness TOP three-WITH sit.P 'There are three sicknesses from tobacco.'
- 381) *na i-ko-ki-∅,* **noko molopoi-so** FOC say-3NS.U-RPST-1/3S.A man many-ALL 'I/he/she said to a lot of men'

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.

382) *aluwou siya mo muwo-yo na ifasiyai-so-ki-*Ø, *Tokwai-yo* dog one TOP bush.knife-AG FOC hit-3SF.ABS-RPST-1/3S.A a.name-AG 'one of the dogs got hit with a bush knife by Tokwai'

- 383) **wopola** ... ta-ni nu mo a touwo-so to-tas-a-yo-moi bush.hen 3S-GEN house TOP tree branch-ALL PR-lie.3SF.ABS-CDA-go.up-GO 'a bush hen ...she flies up to sleep in her "house" on a tree branch'
- 384) *pouwo* ... *iwo poi-so to-tolo-so-moi* kind.of.fish water inside-ALL PR-stand-3SF.ABS-GO 'a 'pouwo' lives deep in the water'

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.

- 385) tou to-mano-ko faeces PR-go-3C.ABS 'defecate'
- 386) *iwo* lou-ko-ki-no water wash-3C.ABS-RPST-3NS.A 'They bathed.'
- 387) *puko a-ko-ki-*∅ book get-3C.ABS-RPST-1/3S.A 'I/he/she got the book.'
- 388) *palulo to-tumo-ko* aeroplane PR-come-3C.ABS 'An aeroplane is coming.'

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.

- 389) *noko mo fu ki-ki-Ø* man TOP pig see-RPST-1/3S.A 'The man saw a (male) pig.'
- 390) *noko mo nu to-ko-*Ø man TOP house PR-build-1/3S.A 'The man is building a house.'
- 391) *noko-so p-imo-*∅*-*∅ *noko-yo fumo-ki* man-ALL IR-say-IMP-S man-AG run-RPST 'Say to (the) man (you sg.)!' 'The man ran.'

5.2.2 Number

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 suppleted non-singular forms. Some abstract nouns, e.g. ai 'sickness' are fully reduplicated, resulting in two words, when referring to a non-singular entity.

Number in Nouns

Meaning	Singular	Non-Singular
'child/children'	alu	<i>a-la-lo</i> child-RED.NS-child
'woman/women'	noni	nokolalo women
'widow/widows'	sawi	<i>su-sawi</i> RED.NS-widow
'sick people'	ai	<i>ai ai noko</i> RED.NS sickness man

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, human nouns	reduplication } suppletion }	singular, non-singular
(3) in the noun phrase	most human nouns	(noko) ti 'two' } iyali 'group'	dual plural
(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-Ø 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:

∅ 'first person'-no 'second person'-tono 'third person'

The terms for 'mother' and 'father' are irregular.

Inalienable Possession

Meaning	'first person' Ø	'second person' -no	'third person' -tono	
	'my/our'	'your'	'his/her/their'	
'mother'	anoi	anoni	atino	
'father'	арои	apono	apitono	
'a man's sister/fem. parallel cousin'	inai	inai-no	inai-tono	
'maternal uncle'	ala	ala-no	ala-tono	
'friend'	siyoku	siyoku-no	siyoku-tono	

403) inai**-tono** inai**-no** iyali inai-Ø noko ti male's.sister-3INAL male's.sister-2INAL group male's.sister-1INAL man two 'his/their sister' 'your sisters' 'my/our two sisters'

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-Ø
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-Ø-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-\varnothing-\varnothing 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.

Animate		Inanimate	
kausi	'get'	ano	'get'
koliso	'get (non-sg.)'	<i>a-ko</i> get-3NS.U	'get (dl.)/(compound gender)'
		i	'get (pl.)'
kau	'take'	aloma	'take (non-pl.)'
koliyono	'take (non-sg.)'	iloma	'take (pl.)'
kau-wiyo-tumo 'bring' take.AN-CDT-come		ani-yo-tumo get-CDT-come	'bring'
koli-yo-tumo 'bring (non-sg.)' take.AN.NS-CDT-come		a-ki-yo-tumo get-3NS.U-CDT	'bring (dl.)/(compound gender)' -come
		<i>i-yo-tumo</i> get.P-CDT-come	'bring (pl.)'
413) <i>ya-ni puko p-a-k-a-no-∅-∅ 1S-GEN book IR-get-3C.ABS-CDA-go.straight-IMP-S 'Go get my book!'</i>			
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.'			S.A

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 Imamoi*a.name-GEN a.name (female)
 'Nikiyamo's daughter Imamoi'
- 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	Yamoi
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', *Alopoi* 'Albert' and *Moili* 'Mary'.

5.2.6 Abstract Nouns

There are some abstract nouns. A few examples are:

```
'night'
                                                    'sickness'
amoloki
                                       ai
             'eternity'
                                                    'exchange'
aniyopa
                                       suo
folosu
             'darkness'
                                                    'hunger'
                                       tiya
nuwoi
             'a certain day'
                                       ulololi
                                                    'sleep'
saponi
             'light'
upimo
            'afternoon'
```

There are also some concrete nouns with extended abstract meanings:

```
'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'.

$$DUAL \rightarrow Coiti \rightarrow Coti$$

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.

$$\begin{array}{cccc} RED \rightarrow & C_1 \, o(i) & \rightarrow & C_1 \, oC_1 \, a \, (i) \\ & (ti) \end{array}$$

The forms for first and second person singular are irregular.

Regular Personal Pronouns

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1 exclusive	yo/ya	koti	koi
1 inclusive		moti	moi
2	nono/na	moti	moi
3	to/ta	toti	toi

The second of the singular forms are used when no topic marker follows.

Emphatic Personal Pronouns

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1 exclusive	asa	kokati	kokai
1 inclusive		momati	momai
2	nona	momati	momai
3	tota	totati	totai

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.

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 koiyau mo si-siyoli // ulai afonimai-so//
 3P-GEN road bad TOP RED.NS-big // but for.nothing-ADVR//
 mo-mai-yo-su na t-aiyalo-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-∅-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

Root	i-	ni	anu	au	no	aino	noino
Meaning	here/now	here/now/this	there/that	there	there/then/that	about that	like this
Root only	\checkmark						
Exophoric	$\sqrt{}$	V	V	\checkmark			$\sqrt{}$
Anaphoric					V	V	
Cataphoric							V
In Conjunctions					V		

Here are some of the more common demonstrative pronouns, adverbs and conjunctions. The internal structure is shown in bold⁴⁹. In addition, these pronominal forms may take further nominal clitics (see section 6.3 (Locative Phrases)).

DEM

anu	'that', 'there'	(exophoric free pronoun /locational <u>adverb</u>)
ni	'this', 'here'	(exophoric free pronoun /locational <u>adverb</u>)
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-n	<i>i</i> 'like this'	(exophoric adjectival pronoun (in a noun group))

DEM-UNQ-(here)

ni-ya	'exactly here'	(exophoric locational/temporal <u>adverb</u>)
-------	----------------	--

ni-ya-ni 'this specific' (exophoric adjectival **pronoun** (in a noun group))

DEM-ALL-here

i-so-ni	'here & now'	(exophoric locational <u>adverb</u>)
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 <u>adverb</u>)
au-sai-mi	'on the other side'	(exophoric locational adverb)

DEM-ABL-there

i-sai-no	'here & then'	(exophoric locational <u>adverb</u>)
au-sai-no	'there & then'	(exophoric locational <u>adverb</u>)
no-sai-no	'then'	(anaphoric CONJUNCTION)

DEM-there

ni-no 'that' (exophoric adjectival **pronoun**)

DEM-LOC-there

i-mai-no	'here'	(exophoric locational <u>adverb</u>)
ni-mai-no	'here'	(exophoric locational <u>adverb</u>)
no-mai-no	'at that time'	(anaphoric CONJUNCTION)

DEM-OBLQ-there

no-monoi-no 'therefore' (anaphoric CONJUNCTION)

431) *ni-su* mo yani aluwou this/here-CON TOP 1S-GEN dog 'This/here is my dog.'

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.).

- 432) fu aino imo pig about.that talk 'a story about a pig'
- 433) ta-ni siyolo mo noino kaluwai-yoi-ni-mo Mou 3S-GEN name TOP like.this call-FUT-2S-FUT a.name 'You will call him Mou.'
- 434) to-ta-yo noino⁵⁰ mo ulo mo noko komaso noko-so RED.EMPH-3S-AG like.this TOP sun TOP man all man-ALL to-wi-kolo-ko-moi PR-shine-surround-3NS.U-GO 'He causes the sun to shine on all people.'
- 435) *anu-na-ni* noko nokolalo, toi-su mo sai muwoi. there-FOC-here man women 3P-CON TOP know NEG 'But those people over there they don't know.'
- 436) *imo* **ni-no** nono mo sai talk here-there 2S TOP know 'You know this talk.'
- 437) na po-moi yo mo **ni-ya** ti-yousi FOC IR-go 1S TOP here-UNQ PR-sit 'You go, I stay just here. / "Good-bye!"
- 438) **i-so-ni** pi-yousi-∅-∅ here-ALL-here IR-sit-IMP-S 'Sit here (you sg.)!'
- 439) *i-sai-no* yousi-ki here-ABL-there sit-RPST 'I/he sat here.'
- 440) Iyono mo kalopulo nu-so kiyo-kai-ki-no.
 John TOP prison house-ALL take-PUT-RPST-3NS.A

 Imo-fa mo no-so-ni kolom-a-tumo-ki,
 talk-small TOP there-ALL-here spread-CDA-come-RPST
 'John had been taken to and was in prison. A rumour was spread and came there, ...'
- 441) *iwo* **au-sai-mi** asi noko water there-ABL-other.side ground man 'men from the other side of the river'
- 442) no-sai-no mo ya-ni noni mo alu nokokai na TOP 1S-GEN woman TOP child boy there-ABL-there ki-ki // amu Akuso-mai, ulo mo 18-mai si-so-ki see-RPST // moon August-LOC sun TOP 18-LOC sit.P-3SF.ABS-RPST // si-so-ki, no-mai-no tiva-woi-so na there-LOC-there TOP hunger-WITH-ALL FOC sit.(P)-3SF.ABS-RPST 'Then my wife bore a male child. On the 18th of August she gave birth. At that time she was very hungry, ...
- 443) *ai t-uwo* **no-monoi-no** *wiyou mano-woi muwoi* sickness PR-afflict there-OBLQ-there no go-WITH not 'He is sick. Therefore he does not want to go.'

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:

siy	oli	'big'		molopoi	'many	,,	
koı	ıfa	'small'		siyai	'some	', 'one of two'	
sop	00	'tall'		siya	'one'		
fok	u	'short'		toitati	'four'		
444)	man	siyoli big big man'	<i>siyoli</i> noko- big man-S 'a big man'			noko mo sa man TOP b 'the man is big'	C
445)	noko man 'anoth	siya one ner 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'
                                             nakiyai nakiyai RED.NS red
                                                                                  'red (non-sg.)'
          red
 446) nu
               sopo
                         sopo
        house RED.NS tall
        'high houses'
 447)
        iyo siyai
                                          siyai
                                                    siyai
                                   ivo
        ear some
                                   ear
                                          RED.NS some
        'one ear'
                                    'both ears'
```

For four very common adjectives the reduplication is partial, unpredictable or even non-existent:

```
sivoli
              big
                        'big'
                                            si-sivoli
                                                            RED.NS-big
                                                                                  'big (non-sg.)'
                                                            small-NS-small
koufa
              small
                        'small'
                                            kou-lolo-fa
                                                                                  'small (non-sg.)'
itouni-yai-mo
                        good-S-S
                                                            i-ti-touni
                                                                                  good-RED.NS-good
                                            '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-**monoi 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	'one'
ti(-woi)	two(-WITH)	'two'
tau(-woi)	three(-WITH)	'three'
toitati	four	'four'
tu(-woi) naino siya uwai	thumb(-WITH) hand one finish	'five'
toufo(-woi)	navel(-WITH)	'six'
nano siya(-woi)	breast one(-WITH)	'seven'
nano ti(-woi)	breast two(-WITH)	'eight'
noimi siya(-woi)	collar bone one(-WITH)	'nine'
noimi ti(-woi) naino ti(-woi) uwai	collar bone two(-WITH) hand two(-WITH) finish	'ten'
molo siya(-woi)	eye one(-WITH)	'eleven'
molo ti(-woi)	eye one(-WITH)	'twelve'
pounu	many	'many'

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'

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:

konoi	'now/today'	toku	'earlier'	
lolai	'today'	namoli-sai	'later'	(back-ABL)
amuwoi	'one day later/tomorrow'	amuwoi-tino	'another time'	
fai	'one day earlier/yesterday'	makolu	'far away in the	e future'
tino	'two days removed'			
tauno	'three days removed'			

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:

```
-so 'allative' (used to specify future)
-sai 'ablative' (general)
-mai 'locative' (exact)
no clitic (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 now	konoi-mai now-LOC	konoi-so now-ALL
	'now'	'just now'	'later today'
456)	amuwoi-so one.day.later-ALL 'tomorrow'	amuwoi-sai one.day.later-ABL 'one day later'	
457)	amuwoi-so one.day.removed-ALL 'He will come and talk to	im-a-tumo-i-ni-mo say-CDA-come-FUT-3A+2S.U-FUT you tomorrow.'	
458)	fai one.day.earlier 'yesterday'	fai-ni-sai one.day.earlier-GEN-ABL 'one day earlier'	
459)	tino two.days.removed 'day before yesterday'	tino-so two.days.removed-ALL 'day after tomorrow'	tino-sai two.days.removed-ABL 'two days later'

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'
```

far.away.in.future-LOC-ALL

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

460) makolu-mai-so

'in the future'

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).

DEN	\mathbf{M}_1	CASE		DEM_2	
i-	'here'	-so	'allative'	ni	'here'
ni	'here'	-sai	'ablative'	no	'there'
au	'there'	-mai	'locative'	-mi	'on the other side'
no	'there'				

The second demonstrative root is predictable as follows:

```
(adverbs with -so have both a locative and allative
-so
          'allative'
                       triggers
                                         'here'
                                                      function)
          'ablative'
                                                              'on the other side'
-sai
                       triggers
                                   no
                                         'there',
                                                      -mi
-mai
          'locative'
                       triggers
                                         'there'
                                   no
```

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.

```
'there/that'
                                           (exophoric adverb/free pronoun)
  anu
  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
 (exophoric allative & locative adverb)

 au-so-ni
 (there'
 (exophoric allative & locative adverb)

 there-ALL-here
 (exophoric ablative adverb)

 there-ABL-there
 (exophoric ablative adverb)

there-ABL-on.other.side

no-so-ni 'there' (anaphoric allative & locative adverb)

there-ALL-here

au-sai-mi

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.

(exophoric ablative adverb)

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

'on the other side'

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-1NS.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'

- 471) *puwo-so to-moi* up-ALL PR-go 'I am/he is going up.'
- 472) *powo-so t-amufu* downriver-ALL PR-go.downriver 'I am /he is going downriver.'
- 473) **kwa**-sai yousi-ki alongside-ABL sit-RPST 'I/he was sitting at the side.'

5.5.3 Manner Adverbs

A manner adverb is often derived from an adjective⁵¹ by the derivational suffix $-so^{52}$ 'adverbialiser'. 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) *siyoli-so to-no-ko-mano-no* big-ADVR PR-eat-3NS.U-GO-3NS.A 'They always eat a lot.'
- 475) *fu mo somai-so na usukuno-ki* pig TOP near-ADVR FOC fall-RPST 'The pig fell quickly.'
- 476) toi-ni siyolo siyolo 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 adjective⁵³. 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'
                  'finished'
    uwai
                  'finished'
    futo
                               (abstract)
    uwofa
                 'finished'
                               (none to share)
    muwoi
                 'not'
    nali
                  'really'
                  'planning to return today'
                                               (usually modifies finite verbs within the verb phrase)
    awa
                                                'lest' ("lest"-ADVR; appears clause initially but does not join
    wonikalu-so
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.'

Words in Ama

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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'.

- 480) noko mo **koma** noko mo **uwai** man TOP enough man TOP finished 'There are enough men.'
- 481) *imo mo futo* talk TOP finished 'forgiven'
- 482) tuo-woi muwoi tuo mo uwofa na sago-with NEG sago TOP finished FOC 'There is no sago, the sago is finished/none to share.'
- 483) noko siyoli nali-no ami nali-no fumo nali man big really-there strong really-there run really 'a really big man' 'really strong' 'I/he really ran'
- 484) noko mo awa to-moi man TOP planning.to.return.today PR-go 'The man is leaving, planning to return today.'
- 485) wonikaluso uo noko-yo aiko tukolo-i-ni lest evil man-AG lest kill-FUT-3A+2S.U 'Lest enemies will kill you'

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'	
no-monoi-no	there-OBLQ-there	'because of that', 'so', 'therefore'	
aino-so hani	about.that-ADVR what	until'	
ulai	but	but' (signalling t	the unexpected)
0	or	or' (binds phras	ses 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 siyoli 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-monoi 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-monoi-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* nuwo 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'
             'I don't know.'
vuo
             'ves'
na
             'no'54
wiyou
             'What did you say?'
wa
woi
             'I am grieving!!"
iii
             'I am surprised.'
ha (ha ha ha)
                'comfort!'
oi
              'Hey!'
 494)
                          mano-i-ni-mo
                                          // wuo/na/na-su/yuo/wa
        nona
                   no
        2S.EMPH TOPQ go-FUT-2S-FUT // yes/yes/cON/I.don't.know/what.did.you.say
        'Are you leaving? Yes/Certainly/I don't know/Pardon?'
                 alu
 495) va-ni
                       woi
        1S-GEN child I'm.grieving
        'Oh my child!!!'
 496)
       iii
                     siyoli wiyou na
        I'm.surprised big
                                  FOC
                           no
        'I couldn't believe it how big it was.'
       ya to-hamuku-noki ha ha ha ha
        1S PR-help-1A+2S.U comfort ...
        'I'll help you; help is coming ...'
 498)
            woli
                            po-fou-mono-Ø-Ø
                       na
                       FOC IR-wait.for-1S.U-IMP-S
        hey friend.1
```

'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 muwoi, 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-uo-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-monoi **louwa** (fi) 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-nalomano-monoi louwa (fi) 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) *noiyo* 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-monoi 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:

noi		'who?'
noi-wo	who-P	'who? (pl.)'
noi-ni	who-GEN	'whose?'
hani		'what?/thing'
hani hani	RED.NS what	'things'
hani-monoi	what-OBLQ	'why?/don't!'
moloi		'how?'
moloi moloi	RED.NS how	'how many?'
moloi-monoi	how-OBLQ	'why?'
moi-so	where-ALL	'where to?'
moi-sai	where ABL	'where from?'
maniwoi		'when? (past)'
maniwoi-so	when-ALL	'when? (future)'

The form *hani* 'what' has a secondary meaning of '(some)thing' as can be seen from examples (525) and (526).

- 521) nona no **noi** 2S.EMPH TOPQ who 'Who are you?'
- 522) **noi-**wo noko who-NS man 'Who are the men?'
- 523) *ni no noi-ni nu* this TOPQ who-GEN house 'Whose house is this?'
- 524) *hani t-ano-ni* what PR-get-2S 'What are you doing?'
- 525) *yo mo hani mo sai muwoi* 1S TOP what TOP know NEG 'I don't know anything.'
- 526) *nu mo hani hani saso* house TOP RED.NS what only 'The house is full of things.'
- 527) hani-monoi ti-yo-ni what-OBLQ PR-do-2S 'Why do you do (it)?/Don't do (it)!'
- 528) ayou no **moloi** to-falo-ulu-mano-nuwo canoe TOPQ how PR-carve-NS-GO-2NS 'How do you (pl.) make canoes?'

- 529) kakalo uo no **moloi moloi** poultry bird TOPQ RED.NS how 'How many hens (& roosters)?'
- 530) *moloi-monoi* to-tumo-ni how-OBLQ PR-come-2S 'Why are you coming?'
- 531) *maniwoi* kalo-ki when die-RPST 'When did he die?'
- 532) *maniwoi-so* mano-i-nuwo-mo when-ALL go-FUT-2NS-FUT 'When will the two of you be going?'

6. PHRASES

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 clause⁵⁵. 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 phrase⁵⁶, 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:

 $VP \rightarrow (ADV)$ (ASP) (FOC/DEM) (MODE) VAspect markers that occur here are: yasoi 'perfect' yapoli 'perfect stative' amai '(not) yet'

89 Words in Ama

⁵⁵ There are two types of clauses in Ama: the verbal clause, which as its head has a verb phrase, and the verb-less clause which is defined a having a topic and a comment. The topic usually consists of a noun phrase, and the comment may consist of a noun phrase or a modifier phrase.

⁵⁶ A temporal or locative phrase may actually be a noun phrase (see sections 6.2.3.2.2 (The Allative) and 6.2.3.2.3 (The Ablative and the Locative).

```
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-ALLFOC 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-∅ don't cry-PROH-S 'Don't cry (you sg.)!'
- 538) Yowiya yu-so mo somai-so pa-ti-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.'
- 739) ?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.

```
ifasiyaimo-ki-Ø //
wiyou / yasoi
                                         alu
                                                         woli-tono-so
                                                 mo
                 hit-RPST-1/3S.A //
                                                         friend-3INAL-ALL
       / PERF
                                         child
                                                 TOP
no
      ifasiyaimo-ki-Ø / ami-so
                                        nali
na
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<sup>58</sup>: -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 muwoli 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-ADVR 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-Ø kusomi* arrow DV-3C.ABS-RPST-1/3S.A get 'I/he/she took the arrows.'
- 545) tomoki imo-ki-Ø kolo stone DV-RPST-1/3S.A throw 'I/he/she threw a stone'
- 546) muwo-yo komiyai tokosiyai-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.

	Noun Group	Noun Phrase	(Example)
Word Order	head last	head first	(547)-(551)
Number of Modifiers	1	1-2/(3)	(548)
Personal Head Nouns	Different forms		(547)-(550)
RC/NC	NC	RC	(549), (550)
Dem.Adj.	Different forms		(551)
547)	siyoli noko-ta big man-SPEC 'a big man'	noko siyoli man big 'a/the big man'	
548)	si-siyoli noko-ta ti RED.NS-big man-SPEC man 'two big men'	noko si-siyoli man RED.NS-big 'two big men'	ti two

549)	sai nukonu	noni no sai no
	know woman.SPEC	woman that know that
	'a knowledgeable woman'	'a/the woman who knows'
550)	yousi noko-ta	noko no ti-yousi no
	sit man-SPEC	man that PR-sit that
	'a/the sitting man'	'a/the man who is sitting'
551)	ni-na-ni alu	alu ni-no
	here-FOC-here child	child here-there
	'this child'	'this child'

6.2.1 The Noun Group

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

$$NG_I \rightarrow (ADJ/DEM/NP/NC) N$$

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'
Dual:	nukonu	woman.SPEC	'a specific woman'
	noko-ta ti	man-SPEC two	' two specific men'
	nokolalo ti	women two	'two specific women'
Plural:	noko ti	man two	'two specific persons' (see example (565))'
	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.

- 552) ami noko-ta strong man-SPEC 'a strong man'
- 553) ni-na-ni nukonu this-FOC-this woman.SPEC 'this woman'
- 554) Mosopi noko-ta ti Port.Moresby man-SPEC two 'two men from Port Moresby'
- 555) ai ai uwo-ko nokolalo ti RED.NS sickness afflict-3NS.U women two 'two women stricken by sickness'
- 556) alalo molopoi noko children many man 'men with many children'

557) tuo a-ya-no nokolalo sago harvest-CDA-go.straight women 'women who go to harvest sago'

A specific-generic relationship is sometimes expressed as a noun group as in example (558).

558) polomoko koloni cow animal 'cow'

Another kind of noun group are the title-like introductions to stories. Here the speaker/author uses the demonstrative pronoun *aino* 'about that' and/or the clitic *-monoi* 'oblique', in this context with the meaning "about".

- 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

```
NG_{II} \rightarrow (PROP/KIN) PRON
```

If the head noun is a personal pronoun, or more common in third person the pluralising nouns/(noun phrases) *iyali* '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 iyali '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 can not be followed by any modifiers.

Structure IA - Simple Noun Phrase

```
NP_{I} \rightarrow NG \quad (ADJ(x2)) \quad (NUML/QNT) \quad (DEM) \quad (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 tumo-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 maybe. 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 actor⁵⁹ 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 *-yo* '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-∅
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 -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-1NS.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-∅ water flood big-AG FOC hinder-1NS.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 -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
'Lets 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-tolo 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-Ø 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-tumo-ni a.name-plain-ABL perhaps TOP PR-come-2S 'Perhaps you are coming from Ama.'
- 602) **nu-mai** to-tolo 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 tolo
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.'
```

606) *tiya uwo-mai* na to-soni hunger afflict-LOC FOC PR-cry 'When he is hungry he cries.'

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.

- 607) *Imali-ni* aluwou a.name-GEN dog 'Imali's dog'
- 608) **koi-ni** fu 1P.EX-GEN pig 'our pig'
- 609) *Pita-ni* auwa-tono
 Peter-GEN brother-3INAL
 'Pita's brother'

For inalienable possession see section 5.2.3 (Kinship Nouns).

6.2.3.2.5 The Oblique

The oblique case marker is *-monoi* '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)).

- 610) hausi-so mo ai-monoi to-tumo (intransitive verb) hospital-ALL TOP sickness-OBLQ PR-come 'I/he come(s) to the hospital because I am/he is sick.'
- 611) hausi-so mo malosino-monoi to-tumo (intransitive verb) hospital-ALL TOP medicine-OBLQ PR-come 'I/he come(s) to the hospital in order (to get) medicine.'
- 612) *alalo-monoi* ya ti-yomu (intransitive verb) children-OBLQ 1S PR-say 'Concerning the children I think ...'
- 613) **fu** (**unu**)-**monoi** imo to-lukaso-noki (intransitive verb) pig (shoot)-OBLQ talk PR-speak-1NS.EX.A 'They spoke about shooting the pig.'
- 614) *ai-monoi* to-samiyaikiyo-koni (intransitive verb) sickness-OBLQ PR-be.free-1NS.IN.A 'We are free from sickness.'
- 615) *nokotalo-monoi itu po-kolali-unu-*Ø-Ø (transitive verb with benefactive important.man-OBLQ door IR-open-SHOOT-IMP-S compounding)

 'Open the door for the important man.'

In the last example the direct undergoer is *itu* 'door'. The verb is augmented by the 'on-behalf-of' benefactive *unu* and the noun phrase marked by *-monoi* agrees with this form.

A combination of the two case clitics -so 'allative' and -monoi 'oblique' yields a form meaning 'towards'.

616) *isi-so-monoi nu-ki* garden-ALL-PBLQ go.P-RPST 'They went towards the garden.'

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: NP + muwoi 'negative'
```

NP + somiso 'without'

Comparison: NP + komiyai 'like (general)'

NP + *topi* 'like (appearance)'

NP + *noino* 'like this (doing)'

Discourse: NP + mo 'topic'

NP + no 'topic question'

NP + na/nalino 'focus/really'

617) noko muwoi popuwa na/nali-no (two modified NPs) man NEG evil.spirit FOC/really-there '(It was)not a man, (it was) a spirit.'

618) koloni somiso animal without '(having) no meat'

619) apitono komeyai/topi/noino father.3 like 'being/looking/doing like his father'

620) **nono no** hani-so to-no-ni 2S TOPQ what-ALL PR-eat-2S 'What are you eating?'

621) **yo mo** fu somu to-no-∅ 1S TOP pig meat PR-eat-1/3S.A '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) *tuo utu-kai* nukonu mo ya-ni anoi sago cook-PUT woman.SPEC TOP 1S-GEN mother.1 'The woman cooking sago is my mother.'

- 623) *tumo somiso noko-ta mo ai t-uwo* come without man-SPEC TOP sickness PR-afflict 'The man who did not come is sick.'
- 624) *noko-yo polomu-ko toni lamo-woi ikoli-ko-mano-ki-no* man-AG steal-3NS.U bow arrow-WITH look.for-3NS.U-GO-RPST-3NS.A '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 \rightarrow CLAUSE (less V) no/ni V no there/here there
 - 625) molo no p-aluwai-mano-ki-no no road there IR-follow-GO-RPST-3NS.A there 'the road they are following'
- 626) *imo wiyo-ti-ki-*Ø *toi-yo toku no kumo-ki-no no* talk show-GIVE.3P/F-RPST-1/3.A 3P-AG earlier there write-RPST-3NS.A there 'I/he/she showed them what they had written earlier.'
- 627) *ni kulu-kai-ki-*Ø *no* / *no* mo here write.P-PUT-RPST-1/3S.A there / there TOP '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

$$LP \rightarrow NP (ADV) / ADV$$

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) anoi mo isi-so mano-so-ki mother.1 TOP garden-ALL go-3SF.ABS-RPST 'My mother went to the garden.'
- 629) **no-so-ni-so** na pa-ki-ya-no-Ø-wo there-ALL-here-ALL FOC RIR-see-CDA-go.straight-IMP-NS '...go and look there'
- 630) *iyanoko siyoli na uwo-k-a-tumo-imo i-so-ni-so* pain big FOC afflict-3NS.U-CDA-come-FUT here-ALL-here-ALL 'Coming here they will be experience pain.'
- 631) *iwo ilo au-sai-mi-so to-ti-koni* water bank there-ABL-other.side-ALL PR-come.P-1NS.IN.A 'Let's go over to the other side of the river.'
- 632) sokoni au-sai-mi-sai souwa-ya-lo-ki-noki
 left there-ABL-other.side-ABL go.pass-CDA-go.all.over-RPST-1NS.EX.A
 'We went past on the left side.'

- 633) *moi-so* to-mano-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.'
- 634) *nu komu puwo-mai tomoki-mo-ki-*Ø house head up-LOC stone-S-RPST-1/3S.A '(It) stopped over the roof.'
- 635) *i-so-ni-so* mo waliyo here-ALL-here-ALL TOP all.right '(It's) all right here.'
- 636) *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.
- 637) 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

 $TP \rightarrow (ADV) NP/ADV/NC$

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 *-mai* '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 *naukolo-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.'

- 645) *amuwoi-tino-so mo siyoli* one.day.removed-two.days.removed-ALL TOP big 'Another time (it) will be big.'
- 646) fai amoloki yesterday night 'yesterday night'
- 647) *Ama-ki-so amai tolo-mai* / *ni-mai-no na i-mono-ki-ni* a.name-plain-ALL (not.)yet stand-LOC / here-LOC-that FOC say-1S.U-RPST-2S 'While I was still here at Ama you said to me ...'

If the temporal modifier phrase is topicalised the clitics may not occur.

648) sosono mo konoi-monoi-so ki-so to-tolo-ko grass TOP now-OBLQ-ALL field-ALL PR-stand-3C.ABS

amuwoi mo isi-ko-uto-i-ni-mo one.day.removed TOP cut-3C.ABS-cook-FUT-2S-FUT

'The grass will stand through the day and tomorrow you will cut it and burn it.'

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.

- 649) auto mo sopo iron.wood.tree TOP tall 'The iron wood tree is tall.'
- 650) mamo iwo-ni la mo siyoli siyoli salt water-GEN fish TOP big big 'Salt water fish are very big.'
- 651) imo mo koma talk TOP enough 'end of talk'
- 652) *ami mo wiyou* / *ami siyoli nali-no* strong TOP no / strong big really-there 'Strong wow! Very strong indeed!'

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'

- 653) iwo lolofa-ni la mo si-siyoli muwoi water small.NS-GEN fish TOP RED.NS-big NEG 'River fish are not big.'
- 654) *nu* siyoli-sai / amuwoi-so / sopo muwoi house big-LOC / one.day.removed-ALL / tall NEG 'not from the big house / not tomorrow / not tall'
- 655) koufa noino small like.this 'small like this' (showing)

- 656) *molo-mai no* hani road-LOC TOPQ what 'What's that by the road?'
- 657) alu-fa mo yau na child-small TOP dead FOC 'The child is dead.'
- 658) fai na/nalino yesterday FOC/really '(it was) yesterday'
- 659) *itouniyaimo mo wiyou* good TOP no 'Fantastic!'

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.

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Nuwo aino imo 'A Story about a Snake' An Interlinearised Text in the Ama Language

- 1) *Nuwo aino imo.*snake about.that talk
 'A Story about a Snake
- 2) *Nuwo mo Liyali-yo na ki-ya-tumo-ki-*Ø, snake TOP a.name-AG FOC see-CDA-come-RPST-1/3S.A Liyali came to see the snake,
- 3) *na i-ko-ki-Ø*, *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-Ø.* 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 koliyalo-mano-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 alomano-ki-no, nu-so.* FOC take.away -RPST-3NS.A house-ALL they took it home.
- 18) *Wiyou*, 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-monoi?*but 1S.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.'

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