

A MORPHOLOGY AND GRAMMAR OF ADZERA (AMARI DIALECT),
MOROBE PROVINCE, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Susanne Holzknrecht

1. HISTORICAL SUMMARY

1.1 Introduction

This outline of the morphology and grammar of the Amari-Adzera language was undertaken as a result of a long-term relationship between the people of the area and myself, and because of the close ties between the Adzera-speaking people and my husband's family, who have lived and worked with them since 1946. A previous grammar of Adzera had been written, but not published, by Otto Dempwolff in 1928. Since then my father-in-law, Rev. K.G. Holzknrecht, has produced a dictionary, translated the New Testament into Adzera, and published articles on Adzera phonology, morphophonemics, and aspects of grammar. I hope to be able to add in a small way to the data on this language.

1.2 The Amari-Adzera speech community

1.2.1 Geography of the area

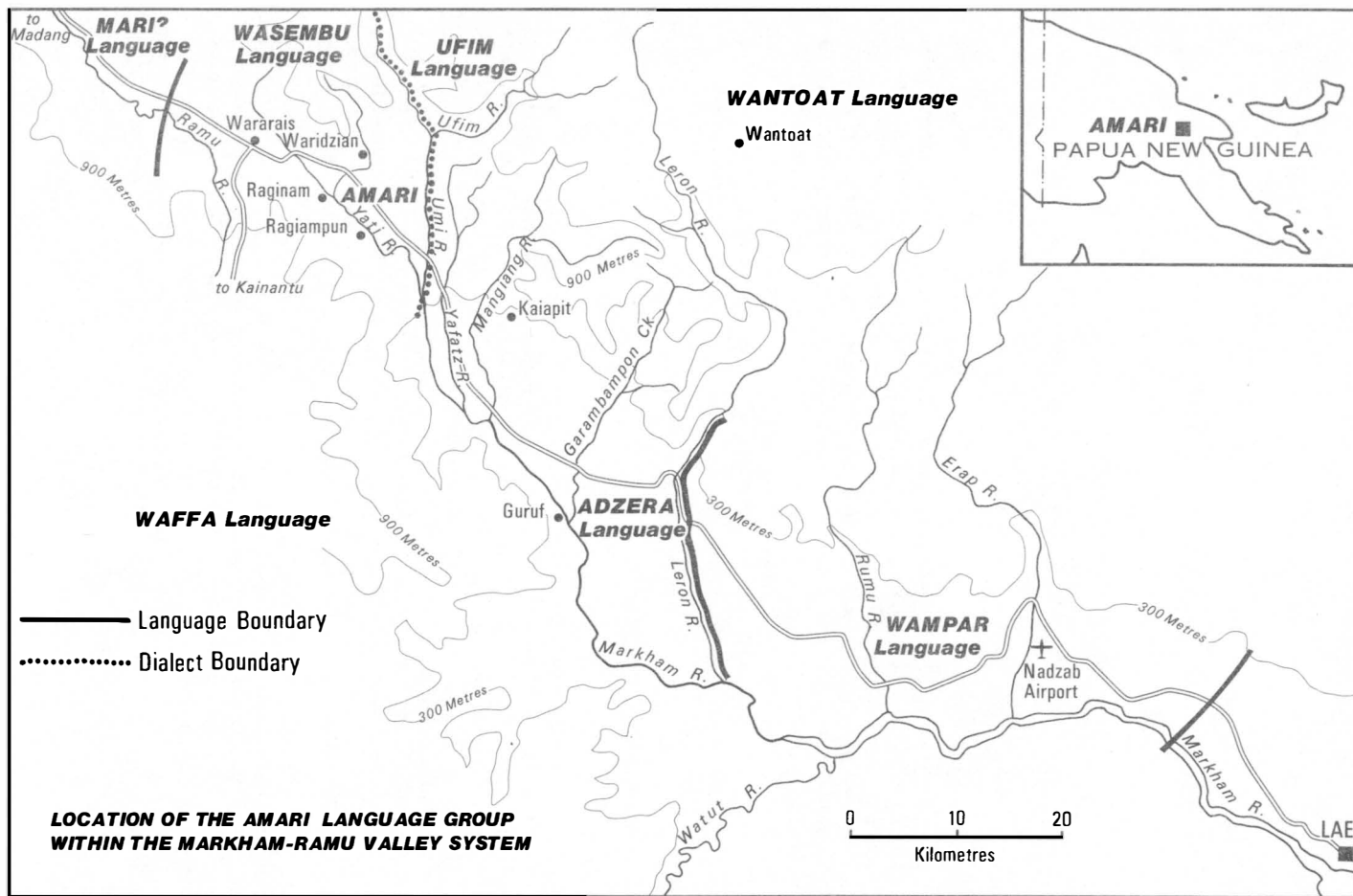
The people who speak the Adzera language, numbering about 20,000, live in the valley of the Markham River, Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea. Some of the Adzera people also live in the valleys which are tributaries of the Markham River. Their land is mainly flat and fertile, and extends up into the hills on either side of the broad valley. Their language is Austronesian, but unlike speakers of most Austronesian languages, they are completely land-locked. They are the furthest inland of any Austronesian-speaking people (except for the Mari², who live in the Upper Ramu Valley of the Madang Province). Consequently, one does not find the usual Austronesian words for sea and sea-life, canoes and so on in the Adzera language. All Adzera speakers live below 1,000 feet above sea level.

The Adzera people live in large, well-defined villages under coconut palms on the plain, near the creeks or rivers. They cultivate extensive banana gardens on the flat land, and yam gardens on the slopes. Their staple food is bananas, always cooked with coconut milk. The men of certain villages make clay pots, which are still used nowadays for cooking in, in preference to metal pots. The Adzera have great pride in their land, their culture and their language.

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1.2.2 Adzera, Amari and neighbouring languages

The 20,000 people who make up the speech community called, nowadays, 'Adzera', are divided politically into 10 'district groups' (as defined by Read 1946-47:98-99). These district groups are Amari, N̄arowapum, Tsumim, Mamariŋan, Saŋaŋ, Mutsiŋ, Oŋa, Guruf, Yarus, Leron. There has not been any linguistic survey done to determine whether these district groups are also dialect groups or not. However the language spoken by each of these groups is mutually intelligible with all the others. This study is based on the community which calls itself Amari, and consists of approximately 4,000 people, living in 14 villages which are scattered between the Umi River and the Markham-Ramu divide (see Map). Most of my work was done among the *garam waraŋ?* or *the people from below*, the people of three villages, Waridzian, N̄arutumua, and Atsunas, who live on the upper or northern side of the Amari area. Throughout this account, 'Amari' is taken to mean the language of the Amari district group, and 'Adzera' to refer to the whole language group.

According to informants, there are several features which distinguish Amari speech from the speech of other Adzera groups. Firstly, they say *namu* for *no*, instead of *ima?* which is heard among all other Adzera-speaking groups. There are also many vocabulary differences. There are minor pronunciation differences between Amari and other groups, for example Amari say *impi?* for *coconut-shell spoon* and Kaiapit people say *umpi?*, although this is not a regular sound shift between the two speech communities. The Amari themselves say that their intonation pattern is different, but I am not sufficiently familiar with other groups' speech to be able to analyse this difference.

The Adzera as a whole never had a name for their widest speech community. 'Adzera' or *adzra* is a word from the neighbouring language further down the valley, Wampar, meaning *upstream*, and was taken by the earliest explorers and missionaries who heard it as designating the people who lived upstream, and the name has been used to identify the whole language group up until present times. Each Adzera district group called itself *garam gar true men*, as opposed to *garam buman wild men*, who inhabited all areas around their own political community, and may or may not speak the same language. *Garam buman* were not considered to be true men, but more animals, to be hunted, killed and eaten just as pigs were. The political units are all named, for example, Amari, N̄aruwapum, Guruf, Oŋa, but it is not certain how and when these names arose. None of the groups has or had a name for their own speech variety as distinct from the others. *Speech* or *talk* is *nan*, and that applies to all speech. Nowadays, if pressed, an Amari person might call the speech of the Amari district group *nan Amari* but it is not a well-used or general term.

The nearest neighbours of the Adzera are the Wampar, who inhabit the lower Markham Valley, to the south-east. They speak a related Austronesian language which is not intelligible to the Adzera, except for a few obviously related words. Fischer (1963:283) estimates the percentage of cognates between Wampar and Adzera (presumably the nearest Adzera-speaking group, Guruf or Saŋaŋŋ) as 58%.

The nearest language group to the north-west is the Mari?, who speak a related Austronesian language. Their language is not intelligible to the Adzera. To the north of the Adzera-speaking people, in the mountains, are several communities who speak non-Austronesian languages. These are Wantoat, Awara, Ufim, and the Maraboi-Yankawan group of villages whose language has been called Wasembu (McElhanon 1975:897-902). Far to the south are the very isolated Waffa? villages, whose language is part of the Eastern family, and the Gadsup and Binumarien language groups. The Adzera had little to do with these latter groups to the south,

except in occasional warfare or raids. The Adzera villages to the north of the valley and in the northern tributary valleys traded with the non-Austronesian speaking communities in the mountains closest to them. Informants nowadays claim that they always spoke Adzera with these people, and that they, in turn, learned some Adzera with which to communicate, for trading purposes. However, in spite of having trade ties with these people, the Adzera still fought with them and ate them.

1.2.3 Contact with other non-neighbouring languages

Since first outside contact was made in 1907, the Adzera have had extensive contact with Europeans, both English and German speaking. However, one of the most significant influences on the Adzera from outside was exerted by the Yabim-speaking evangelists and teachers of the Lutheran Church, who began coming into the Adzera area with the first German missionaries in 1916-1917. These people were from the original Yabim communities at Finschhafen, and from the related language groups of Bukaua?, Taemi, and other groups from villages as far east as Morobe. All of these evangelists and teachers had been taught Yabim, and evangelised the Adzera area using the Yabim language. Schools were set up for the children and instruction was given in Yabim. These people brought Christianity, and evidence of a different way of life to the Adzera. They, rather than the officials of the colonial administrations, pacified the Adzeras, and were responsible for their stopping warfare, cannibalism, and many other cultural practices.

The Yabim-speakers affected the Adzera language as well as the culture. When they learned Adzera, and found that it did not have some constructions which were in Yabim, they invented new ones, using Adzera words, but with Yabim constructions: for example, *if* clauses and question tags. They introduced many different foods and cultural items, along with the words for them, which were often changed to fit the Adzera phonology, for example, Yabim *mo galam Chinese taro*, became *umant garam* in Adzera, *kasang peanut*, became *gantsanj*. Most Adzera people take a new, Yabim name at baptism.

Tok Pisin, brought into the Adzera area by returning indentured labourers after their recruitment periods ended, has had little influence on the language. One occasionally comes across an obvious Tok Pisin borrowing, such as *banj kapa* for *finger nail*, and *sawi*, used with Adzera verb affixes, to mean *to know*. But the influence of Tok Pisin has not been great, and the influence of English has been even less, although English has been the medium of instruction in Primary (now Community) schools since the 1960s.

Most Adzera people are trilingual, in Adzera, Yabim and Tok Pisin. The younger people these days use less Yabim and more Tok Pisin than their elders. Many people, especially older people who went through Yabim schools, are literate in Yabim and in Tok Pisin, but very few people will, or can, write in their own language, Adzera. Many read what Adzera material is available in printed form, for example, *Sisiq? bini* (Adzera New Testament), and Sunday texts for church, and some hymns. But almost nobody ever writes anything in Adzera. Between 1967 and 1971 the Summer Institute of Linguistics had a team in the area, whose aim was to conduct an adult literacy campaign. The project failed, to a large extent, and was abandoned for various reasons.

1.3 History of contact with outsiders, and review of literature on Adzera

This section outlines, in chronological order, the history of contact between the Adzera-speaking people and the outside world, and reviews publications about the Adzera area, people and language. These two subjects, history of contact and literature, are not easily separable because the earliest explorers, travelers and missionaries wrote about the people and the area as they discovered and studied them. Therefore they are to be considered together.

The Adzera were first contacted by outsiders in 1907, when two German explorers, gold-prospectors, and surveyors, Wilhelm Dammköhler and Otto Fröhlich, made an overland trip from where Lae is not situated, through the Markham and Ramu Valleys to Madang. They had extensive contact with the people along the way, and were received, in general, peacefully (Holzknecht 1973d). Dammköhler made two subsequent trips through the Markham Valley, with other companions (Dammköhler and Oldörp 1909). Fröhlich's report of the first journey is the most detailed (Fröhlich 1908). They learned a little of the language, in order to help their relations with the people, but did not write any of it down. Dammköhler was killed before he could publish any detailed accounts of his journeys and experiences.

Following hard on the heels of the first white explorers came labour recruiters, whose atrocities are well documented (e.g. Flierl 1920; Rowley 1958; Holzknecht 1974a). Then followed the Lutheran Missionaries, who had already established a Station at Gabmatsung, in the lower Markham Valley, by 1911 (Holzknecht 1973d). The first permanent European settlement among the Adzera was made by the Neuendettelsau Lutheran Missionaries in 1918, at Kaiapit. The first missionary was Fritz Örtel, and he was accompanied by evangelists and helpers from the Bukaua⁷ area of the Huon Gulf. These people unofficially introduced the Yabim language to the Adzeras as a lingua franca, but Yabim was not used as the official mission language until 1930, after Örtel had left.

The earliest language material in the Adzera language was produced by Örtel. He compiled a dictionary, texts, church booklets and teaching materials. Unfortunately this was all lost during the Second World War when Kaiapit was the scene of fierce battles between Australian and Japanese troops. Only one piece of Örtel's works survived the war. This was called *Anoto nang gan* (God's Word), and was republished in 1946 (Örtel 1946).

During Örtel's time at Kaiapit, the German linguist, Otto Dempwolff, wrote a brief phonological and grammatical study of Adzera (Dempwolff 1928). This was done partly with the intention of supporting Örtel's conviction that Adzera rather than Yabim should be used as the church language, and as a medium for education, in the Adzera area. (This study was not published, and exists today in typescript form only.) However Yabim did become the official church language in the Adzera area and has remained so until the present time.

After World War II ended, the missionaries returned to Kaiapit. Reverend Karl Holzknecht was posted to Kaiapit, and by 1947 was in residence there. He began a long-term study of Adzera, starting from scratch because all of Örtel's material except for the one small booklet had been lost. Holzknecht's dictionary, begun when he arrived at Kaiapit, is still being revised, and he hopes to have it published in the near future. Three volumes of the dictionary, Adzera-German-English, English-Adzera, and German-Adzera, are in typescript form. Holzknecht has produced Sunday texts, church booklets for congregations, songs, and texts of myths and stories in Adzera. He had also had published linguistic papers on the Adzera language (Holzknecht 1973a; 1973b; 1973c). Accounts of the history of European exploration and contact in the Markham area have also been published

(Holzknecht 1973d; 1974a; 1975). A translation of the four Gospels, *Sisiŋ? Bini*, was published in 1968 by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and a full translation of the New Testament in Adzera was completed and published in 1977.

In the 1950s, a German culture-historian, linguist and ethnologist, Dr Carl Schmitz, made a study of the Markham-Huon Peninsula area and published *Historische Probleme in Nordost Neuguinea* (Schmitz 1960). In this work Schmitz put forward his theories of prehistoric population migrations in the area, using evidence from social, linguistic, and material-cultural sources. Of the Adzera language and people he says:

The dialects of the Markham Valley, although possessing a prefix conjugation, show such marked differences in vocabulary from the other Austronesian dialects that they have always been suspected as belonging to an older stratum of the Austronesian family.

(Schmitz 1960:413)

But Schmitz decided that this relegation of Adzera to an older substratum is not possible, and allocated it to his 'Culture B', which also includes some non-Melanesian-speaking peoples, different to those non-Melanesian peoples in 'Culture A'. 'Accordingly, Culture B must be termed a pre-Austronesian culture, but younger than Culture A.' (Schmitz 1960:413). And: 'The prefix conjugation in the Markham Valley must be due to later Austronesian influences coming from the East (Jabim, Tami).' (Schmitz 1960:413).

Another German anthropologist, Hans Fischer, began working in the Markham Valley-Watut Valley area in 1958-59. His publication, *Watut*, which appeared in 1963, includes a brief comparison of the Watut, Wampar, and Adzera languages. His lexicostatistical analysis, based on his own word lists, shows a cognate relationship of 58% between Wampar and Adzera, and 60% between Watut and Adzera (Fischer 1963:283).

Dyen's lexicostatistical comparison of 1965 includes Adzera ('Acira') as one of the three languages of the Morobe District used in his survey (Dyen 1965). He puts 'Acira' in the 'Austronesian Linkage', and shows that Adzera has a very low percentage of cognates with the other languages he has chosen. Grace, in his review of Dyen's article, uses non-lexicostatistical data, as well as Dyen's data, and he puts Adzera into a subgroup of its own, as one of the earliest Austronesian branches (Grace 1966:22).

In 1967, an SIL team of two women, Ann Roke and Dorothy Price, began work on the Adzera language, with the aim of eventually implementing a literacy program in Adzera. However the program has been discontinued, and there are no more SIL personnel working in the Adzera area. The teams produced many texts in Adzera (see Healey 1973:37-38). However they have not published any scientific papers on aspects of the Adzera language.

Bruce Hooley, and later Hooley and McElhanon, of the SIL, presented an overview of the languages of the Morobe District (Hooley 1964; 1971; Hooley and McElhanon 1970). In these studies, the Adzera family of languages was discussed, and its members, population figures, and geographical situation were considered. The comparative word lists were also published, and lexicostatistical percentages were given.

Much has been published about general aspects of Adzera, and about its position in the present taxonomies of Papua New Guinea's languages, but little has been done on the linguistic aspects of the Adzera language itself, except for

Holzknicht's three papers. So it is hoped that this work will, partially at least, fill that gap.

1.4 Aims

In this present work, it is hoped to provide a readable, easily understood phonology, morphology and grammar of the Amari language, that can be understood by specialist linguists and non-specialists, and especially by interested members of the speech community itself. It is hoped that these people may be able to find something useful in it, whether for purposes of linguistic comparison, historical-linguistic research, or to provide information for standardisation of material in the language itself.

The work does not follow any particular, rigid theoretical approach. It is argued that a clear, simply set out description of a language will be of more use to more people than a rigidly adhered-to theoretical exposition. Lincoln (1976: 5) quotes, in the introduction to his description of Banoni, Lakoff's plea for a return to informal, clear descriptions of exotic languages, and this present grammar, it is hoped, extends this move towards simplicity and clarity.

2. PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOPHONEMICS

2.1 Introduction

This description of Amari sounds is based on the speech of the Waridzian, Atsunas and Njarutumua villages of the Amari District Group. Holzknicht (1973a) has written an account of the phonology of the Adzera language, and my account agrees in many aspects with his. However, there are certain sounds which Holzknicht has described (for the central Adzera group) which do not occur as separate phonemes in Amari. Also, my account differs from Holzknicht in the way in which certain sounds, particularly vowels, are interpreted and consequently in how they are represented phonemically.

The vowels will be described first, followed by the consonants. The sequences and restrictions on sounds will be described next, and the syllable structure follows this as a summary.

2.2.1 Vowels

Amari has three single vowels. These are:

i u
a

/i/: high front unrounded voiced vowel. It may occur word initially, medially or finally.

e.g. i-saŋʔ [isaŋʔ] *it is enough*
sibibi [sibibi:] *a small bird*

/a/: low central unrounded voiced vowel. It may occur word initially, medially or finally.

e.g. Amari [amaʔi] *name of district group*
i-fa [i fa] *he goes/went*

/u/: high back rounded voiced vowel. It may occur word initially, medially or finally.

e.g. uri? [uʔiʔ] *type of frog*
 tut [tʰutʰ] *flower of a vine/to suck*
 Asu [asu:] *man's name*

2.2.2 Allophonic variants of vowels

/i/: At the end of a word, [i] becomes lengthened to [i:]. However, these two sounds do not contrast in minimal or subminimal pairs, and the lengthened sound occurs only at the end of a word. Consequently it is to be considered an allophonic variant of /i/.

/a/: The vowel [a] may sometimes be shortened to an [ʌ] sound. This occurs in rapid speech, and also when [a] is followed by a glottal stop [ʔ], as in mamaʔ [mamʌʔ] *child*. However the longer and shorter forms of /a/ do not contrast in minimal or subminimal pairs, and are to be considered allophonic variants of /a/.

/u/: In the central Adzera speech, in the Kaiapit area, a contrast is made between /o/ and /u/, and Holzknrecht (1973a:5-6) shows that these are two different phonemes. Although these two sounds are present in Amari speech, the Amari do not distinguish between the two sounds, and I could not obtain any minimal or subminimal pairs in which these two sounds contrasted. They appear to vary freely. Several Amari informants who are literate maintain that they would write u for both the /o/ and /u/ distinguished by the Kaiapit people.

When [u] occurs at the end of a word, it can be lengthened, e.g. as in Asu [asu:] *man's name*. This variation only occurs word finally, and is taken to be an allophone of the phoneme /u/.

2.2.3 Diphthongs

Two diphthongs may occur as syllable nuclei. They are /ai/ and /au/.

/ai/: mais [mais] *bad*
 sai [sai] *'kunai' grass, Imperata sp.*
 ais [ais] *central rib of coconut frond*

/au/: daum [daum] *good*
 pauʔ [pʰau] *tobacco*

When a high vowel, /i/ or /u/, is followed by any other vowel, the corresponding glide for the first vowel is phonetically inserted between the two vowels:

/i + V/ → [i + y + V]
 /u + V/ → [u + w + V]

Thus, /i + V/ results in a palatalised glide before the following vowel, and /u + V/ results in a labialised glide before the following vowel.

e.g. /i/ + /a/: tsakia [tsakʰiya] *to pain*
 maiam [maiya] *tree, Erythrina sp.*

/i/ + /u/: miu [miyu] *snake*
 tsiuʔ [tsiyuʔ] *thicket*

/u/ + /i/: mpiu [mpuwi] *water*
 Guin [guwin] *name for Ramu River*

/u/ + /a/: suat [suwa^h] *a type of frog*
 puam [puwam] *green leaf, vegetable Gnetum gnemon*
 nuai [nuwai] *mango*

(See 2.3.5 for discussion of the semivowels /y/ and /w/.)

2.2.4 Vowel morphophonemics

There is very little to discuss in Amari morphophonemics. However, there are several rules which are observed.

After dzi *I* the *i*- Realis prefix is assimilated, when the sound following it is a consonant.

e.g. dzi *i* - fan [dzifan] *I go*
 dzi *i* - bugin [dzibugin] *I do not like/want to*

After *u*, the second person singular pronoun subject, the Realis prefix *i*- is lost.

e.g. *u i* - fan [ufan] *you go/are you going?*
u i - ba *i* wai [ubaiwai] *why did you come?*

Sequences of like vowels result in assimilation of the sounds to one vowel sound. This occurs across morpheme and word boundaries.

e.g. *u fa* anuŋ? [ufanuŋ?] *where are you going?*
wa - akar [wak^haʃ] *imperative of to write*
araŋan i - su umpur [aʃaŋanisumpuʃ] *he is lying*
rib igi i -yu ufum *i* - mpru? [ʃibigiyufumimpruʃ] *they gathered them together*

2.3 Consonants

See Table 1 below.

Table 1: Table of consonants

			BILABIAL	LABIO-DENTAL	ALVEOLAR	ALVEO-PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
STOPS	Aspirated	v1	p		t		k	ʔ
	Non-aspirated	Vd	b		d		g	
	Affricated	v1			ts			
		Vd			dz			
PRENASALISED STOPS	Aspirated	v1	mp		nt		ŋk	ŋʔ
	Affricated	v1			nts			
		Vd			ndz			
FRICATIVES	Flat	v1		f				
	Grooved	v1			s			
NASALS		Vd	m		n		ŋ	
VIBRANTS		Vd			r			
SEMIVOWELS		Vd	w			y		

2.3.1 Stops

Amari has a range of stops, both voiceless and voiced.

2.3.1.1 Voiceless stops

The simple voiceless stops, /p/, /t/ and /k/, can all be aspirated or non-aspirated. Aspirated stops appear to occur in free variation with non-aspirated stops, but aspiration is heard more frequently than not.

/p/: voiceless aspirated bilabial stop.

/p/ can occur word initially, medially and finally.

e.g. Papan [p^hap^haŋ] *place name*
paip [p^haip^h] *play*

/t/: voiceless aspirated alveolar stop.

/t/ can occur in word initial, medial and final positions.

e.g. tamut [t^hamut^h] *mud*
itat [it^hat^h] *Setaria plant*
tut [t^hut^h] *suck*

/k/: voiceless aspirated velar stop.

/k/ occurs word initially, medially and finally.

e.g. kup-an [k^hup^han] *participle of hide*
ukam [uk^ham] *moon*
akak [ak^hak^h] *negative exclamation*

/ʔ/: voiceless glottal stop.

/ʔ/ occurs word medially and finally. It probably occurs at the onset of a word when the initial phoneme is a vowel, but it is not considered phonemic in this context.

e.g. ikiʔ-an [ik^hiʔan] *to carry (by the rim)*
saʔ [saʔ] *men's house*

2.3.1.2 Voiced stops

There is in Amari a set of voiced stops, /b/, /d/ and /g/, which correspond to the voiceless stops.

/b/: voiced bilabial stop.

/b/ occurs word initially, medially and finally.

e.g. batsab [batsab] *death; to do with death*
ibiŋimp [ibiŋimp] *brown kite*
buaruf [buwaʔuf] *eel*

/d/: voiced alveolar stop.

/d/ occurs initially and medially, but not finally.

e.g. daum [daum] *good*
gadugadu [gadugadu] *type of banana*

/g/: voiced velar stop.

/g/ occurs word initially and medially but not finally.

e.g. gai [gai] tree
bigub [bigub] sweat-bee

2.3.1.3 Affricated stops

There are two simple affricated stops in Amari. They are both alveolar, /ts/ and /dz/. They are considered as single stops rather than clusters of two consonants because if they were treated as consonant clusters the syllable structure as established would be invalidated, and there would be clusters of up to four consonants, for example in the word *untsraf missed; crooked*. In order to be consistent with the syllable structure, as analysed in 2.4, /ts/ and /dz/, as well as the prenasalised affricated stops /nts/ and /ndz/ will be considered as single phonemes.

/ts/: voiceless affricated alveolar stop.

/ts/ occurs word initially, medially and finally.

e.g. tsitsin [tsitsin] little finger
bits [bits] one

/dz/: voiced alveolar affricated stop.

/dz/ occurs word initially, medially and finally.

e.g. dzaf [dzaf] fire
waridzian [waridziyan] place name
fagamudz [fagamudz] old fight leader

2.3.1.4 Prenasalised stops

In Amari, all voiceless stops and /dz/ may be prenasalised, forming another set of stops, as discussed in 2.3.1.3 above. The nasalisation + consonant is considered as a single phoneme. Holzknrecht (1973a) has discussed a parallel set of prenasalised voiced stops for central Adzera, but the Amari do not appear to have these two sets of prenasalised voiceless stops and prenasalised voiced stops.

/mp/: prenasalised voiceless bilabial stop.

/mp/ occurs initially, medially and finally.

e.g. mpui [mpui] water
ampan [ampan] leaf
waiamp [waiyamp] type of lizard

/nt/: prenasalised voiceless alveolar stop.

/nt/ occurs initially, medially and finally.

e.g. ntinʔ [ntinʔ] fence
antim [antim] banana ladder
dugunt [dugunt] smoke

/ŋk/: prenasalised voiceless velar stop.

/ŋk/ occurs word initially, medially and finally.

e.g. ŋkian-an [ŋkiyaŋan] *to be bitter*
 dzaŋkum [dzaŋkum] *corn*
 minuŋk [minuŋk] *a tree*

/ŋʔ/: prenasalised glottal stop.

/ŋʔ/ occurs word medially and finally, but not initially.

e.g. miŋʔ-an [miŋʔan] *to be*
 ntiŋʔ [ntiŋʔ] *fence*

2.3.1.5 Prenasalised affricated stops

There are two prenasalised affricated stops in Amari, voiceless /nts/ and voiced /ndz/.

/nts/: prenasalised voiceless affricated stop.

/nts/ occurs word initially, medially and finally.

e.g. ntsup-an [ntsup^han] *be finished*
 Wantsan [wantsan] *man's name*
 ŋants [ŋants] *shield*

/ndz/: prenasalised voiced affricated stop.

/ndz/ occurs word initially and medially, but not finally.

e.g. ndza-dan [ndzadan] *to cover up a hole*
 i-ndzam [indzam] *is charmed, blessed*

2.3.2 Fricatives

There are two fricatives in Amari speech, /f/ and /s/. Another fricative, [h], occurs only once, in the word haiʔ *yes*. As it only occurs in this single example it will not be considered as a phoneme of the language in this phonemic statement.

/f/: voiceless flat labiodental fricative.

/f/ occurs word initially, medially and finally.

e.g. fump [fump] *coconut husk*
 afaʔ [afaʔ] *sister-in-law*
 gaif [gaif] *centipede*

/s/: voiceless grooved alveolar fricative.

/s/ occurs word initially, medially and finally.

e.g. santan [santan] *all*
 isiʔ [isiʔ] *small*
 was [was] *lime powder*

2.3.3 Nasals

There are three voiced nasals in Amari speech, /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/.

/m/: voiced bilabial nasal.

/m/ occurs initially, medially and finally.

e.g. masas [masas] *cane*
 Umi [umi] *name for Markham River*
 ntsim [tsim] *betel nut*

/n/: voiced alveolar nasal.

/n/ occurs word initially, medially and finally.

e.g. nifu-n [nifun] *his/her mouth*
 unab [unub] *head-rest*
 gin [gin] *Oblique Object*

/ŋ/: voiced velar nasal.

/ŋ/ occurs initially, medially and finally.

e.g. ŋants [ŋants] *shield*
 baŋi-n [baŋin] *his/her hand*
 ganaŋ [ganaŋ] *yam; banana*

2.3.4 Vibrant

Amari has one vibrant, a voiced alveolar flap, /r/.

/r/ occurs word initially, medially and finally.

e.g. rim-an [ʃiman] *to give*
 waraŋʔ [waʃaŋʔ] *below*
 gir [giʃ] *stone axe*

2.3.5 Semivowels

There are two Amari semivowels, /w/ and /y/. These have proven difficult to identify and to distinguish from the epenthetic [w] and [y] occurring after high vowels, before another vowel (see 2.2.3). However, there seems to be a case for the existence of /w/ and /y/ as separate phonemes, occurring word initially only.

There is a problem here of description and orthography. The orthography for Adzera established and used by Holzknrecht, especially for the translation of the New Testament, *Sisiŋʔ bini* (British and Foreign Bible Society 1968), uses /j/ for the phoneme for which I have used /y/. Holzknrecht also identifies this phoneme and /w/ word medially, as well as initially. It is perhaps equally valid to describe the sounds occurring between high vowels and a following vowel as semivowels or glides. However, in the interests of simplicity and consistency, I describe the semivowels as being word initial only, and the sounds which occur after /i/ or /u/, before another vowel, as epenthetic glides.

My evidence for the existence of /w/ and /y/ as separate phonemes is as follows. If we consider the verb *wam to look for*, it is conjugated as follows:

dzi i - wam	[dziwam]	<i>I look for</i>
u wam	[uwam]	<i>you(S.) look for</i>
araŋan i - wam	[aʃaŋaniwam]	<i>he looks for</i>

If the initial /w/ were really /u/, then these conjugations would sound different:

- * dzi i - uam [dziyuwam]
- * u uam [uwam]
- * arañan i - uam [aʔañaniyuwam]

As discussed in 2.2.3, /i/ + /u/ results in [iyu]. This does not occur in dzi i-wam or in arañan i-wam. Consequently, /w/ is to be considered a separate phoneme.

Similarly, if we consider the verb yai? to cry out, it can be seen that /y/ is a separate phoneme and not an allophone of /i/ or the epenthetic [y] which is phonetically inserted between /i/ and another vowel. If we take conjugations of yai? we hear:

- dzi i - yai? [dziyai?] I cry out
- u yai? [uyai?] you(S.) cry out
- arañan i - yai? [arañaniyai?] he cries out

If the /y/ were really /i/ one would hear:

- * dzi i - iai? [dziyai?]
- * u iai? [uiyai?]
- * arañan i - iai? [arañaniyai?]

In 2.2.3 we saw that /u/ + /i/ becomes [wi] or [ui]. However, when we hear the second person singular conjugation for the verb yai? we hear [uyai?] and not [uiyai?] as we would if the initial sound of the verb root were [i] rather than [y]. Thus /y/ is to be considered a separate phoneme.

Some examples of /w/ and /y/, in initial positions are:

/w/: wai [wai] question word
was [was] lime powder
waian [waiyan] root

/y/: yab [yab] go up
yafas [yafas] fish
yu [yu] take, get

2.3.6 Consonants contrasted in minimal and subminimal pairs

[p^h] and [b] contrast in minimal pair:

e.g. i-pa [ip^ha] lights
i-ba [iba] comes

[p^h] and [mp] contrast in minimal pair:

e.g. upa [up^ha] sorcery
umpa [umpa] mountain garden

[p^h] and [f] contrast in minimal pair:

e.g. i-pa [ip^ha] lights
i-fa [ifa] goes

[t^h] and [d] contrast in minimal pair:

e.g. fat-an [fat^han] her sister-in-law
fa-dan [fadan] participle of to go

[t^h] and [ts] contrast in minimal pair:

- e.g. taf-an [t^hafan] *his/her/their great-grandfather*
 tsaf-an [tsafan] *to boast about someone*

[t^h] and [nt] contrast in minimal pair:

- e.g. atim [at^him] *cucumber*
 antim [antim] *banana ladder*

[k^h] and [g] contrast in minimal pair:

- e.g. ukam [uk^ham] *moon*
 u-gam [ugam] *yours*

[k^h] and [ʔ] contrast in subminimal pair:

- e.g. wa-ka [wak^ha] Imperative of *breathe through mouth*
 waʔ-an [waʔan] participle of *go outside*

[k^h] and [ŋk] contrast in subminimal pair:

- e.g. kiaŋ-kiaŋ [k^hiyāŋk^hiyāŋ] *lorikeet*
 ŋkiaŋ-an [ŋkiyaŋan] participle of *be bitter*

[ʔ] and [ŋʔ] contrast in subminimal pair:

- e.g. dzraʔ [dzraʔ] *upstream*
 dzaŋʔ [dzaŋʔ] *wild pig; meat*

[b] and [m] contrast in minimal pair:

- e.g. bampan [bampan] *tail*
 mamp-an [mampan] *to die*

However, in one example in Amari [b] and [m] alternate freely. This is in the future prefix buŋʔa- which is also heard as muŋʔa-. There is no apparent reason for this unusual variation.

[b] and [mp] contrast in subminimal pair:

- e.g. rabu-rabun [ʔabuʔabun] *old people*
 rampu [ʔampu] *pit-pit*

However, [b] and [mp] alternate in one example only, in the word sanab *road* which is often heard as sanampun. Amari people say that sanampun is the older form, and that sanab is a new and lazy form.

[d] and [dz] contrast in subminimal pair:

- e.g. daŋur [daŋuʔ] *hornbill*
 dzaŋʔ [dzaŋʔ] *meat; wild pig*

[ts] and [dz] contrast in subminimal pair:

- e.g. tsup [tsup] *banana-leaf spoon*
 dzub [dzub] *ripe*

[ts] and [nts] contrast in minimal pair:

- e.g. tsaf-an [tsafan] *to boast about someone*
 ntsaf-an [ntsafan] *to recede (flood)*

[ts] and [s] contrast in minimal pair:

- e.g. tsaf-an [tsafan] *to boast about someone*
 saf-an [safan] *to cut*

[dz] and [ndz] contrast in minimal pair:

- e.g. dza-dan [dzadan] *to open up the hand*
 ndza-dan [ndzadan] *to cover up a hole*

[mp] and [m] contrast in subminimal pair:

- e.g. fump [fump] *coconut husk*
 ufum [ufum] *gather together*

[nt] and [n] contrast in subminimal pair:

- e.g. intap [intap] *ground*
 i-nab [inab] *cuts*

[nt] and [nts] contrast in subminimal pair:

- e.g. intiŋʔ [intiŋʔ] *green banana leaf*
 Intsiʔ [intsiʔ] *place name*

[ŋk] and [ŋʔ] contrast in minimal pair:

- e.g. waŋkan [waŋkan] *a tree*
 waŋʔ-an [waŋʔan] *be crooked*

[ŋk] and [ŋ] contrast in subminimal pair:

- e.g. Waŋkuŋ [waŋkuŋ] *place name*
 waŋu-ŋʔ [waŋuŋʔ] *my stomach*

[ŋʔ] and [ŋ] contrast in subminimal pair:

- e.g. waŋu-ŋʔ [waŋuŋʔ] *my stomach*
 Waŋkuŋ [waŋkuŋ] *place name*

[nts] and [ndz] contrast in minimal pair:

- e.g. ntsam-an [ntsaman] *to look after someone*
 ndzam-an [ndzaman] *to charm; bless*

[n] and [ŋ] contrast in minimal pair:

- e.g. riŋa-n [ʃinan] *his/her mother*
 riŋa-n [ʃiŋan] *his/her ear*

[ʃ] and [d] contrast in minimal pair:

- e.g. gur-an [guʃan] *his/her clay pot*
 gu-dan [gudan] *to see (close to)*

[ʃ] and [n] contrast in minimal pair:

- e.g. gir [giʃ] *stone axe*
 gin [gin] *Oblique Object*

2.3.7 Consonant morphophonemics

2.3.7.1 Before a /g/ all nasals become [ŋ]. This is heard especially in the use of the Possessive morphemes -gam and -gan, before which the first position Possessive morphemes -m and -n become [ŋ].

- e.g. u naru-m-gam
becomes [unaʔungam] *your(S.)¹ child*
agam rama-m-gam
becomes [agam ʔamangam] *your(Pl.) father*
araŋan rina-n-gan
becomes [aʔaraŋan ʔinangan] *his/her mother*

2.3.7.2 At the beginning of an utterance, the nasal of a prenasalised consonant is not pronounced. When the prenasalised consonant, as the first consonant of a word, is within an utterance and follows a vowel, then the nasalisation is heard.

- e.g. mpui i-sasus [puwisasus] *the water is hot*
ntiŋʔ igi anuŋʔ-i-daum u
[tiŋʔigiyanuŋʔidaumu] *this fence is not good*
cf. wa-fa mpui [wafampwi] *go to the river*
sagat igi ntiŋʔ-a mpui
[sagat igintiŋʔampwi:] *these women damming up the water*

2.4 Syllable structure

As established for Adzera by Holzknecht (1973a) syllables in Amari consist of an optional onset of one or two consonants, an obligatory nucleus of a vowel or diphthong, and either one or two optional final consonants. The structure may be represented by the following formula (C = consonant, V = vowel):

$$(C_1) + (C_2) + V + (C_3)$$

The following restrictions apply to this formula:

- 1) If C_1 occurs without C_2 , C_1 can be any one of the voiced or voiceless stops, any nasal, fricative, vibrant or semivowel except /ʔ/ or /ŋʔ/.
- 2) C_2 can only be /r/. When C_2 is /r/, then C_1 can be any consonant except /ʔ/, /ŋʔ/, /ndz/, /n/ or the semivowels /w/ and /y/.
- 3) If V is a diphthong, either /ai/ or /au/, then the diphthong is treated as the nucleus of the syllable, e.g.

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{mais } \textit{bad} \\ \text{pau} \textit{? tobacco} \end{array} \right\} = C_1 + V + C_3$$

But if /iu/, /ia/ or /ua/ occur after one or two consonants, or as the onset of a syllable, then the two vowels are considered nuclei of separate syllables, e.g.

$$\begin{array}{lcl} \text{miu} & \textit{snake} & = C_1 + V + V \\ \text{tsakia} & \textit{to pain} & = C_1 + V + C_1 + V + V \\ \text{mpui} & \textit{water} & = C_1 + V + V \\ \text{pua} \textit{?} & \textit{soup} & = C_1 + V + V + C_3 \end{array}$$

- 4) C_3 can be any consonant except /d/, /g/, /ndz/ or the semivowels /w/ and /y/.

2.5 Stress

Stress in Amari is not phonemic. In general, the first syllable of a two-syllable word is stressed, and in words of more than two syllables, the first syllable is stressed, and then every alternate syllable is stressed. Slightly heavier stress falls on the first syllable.

e.g. sàgat	woman
ì-saŋ?	is enough
màmu	cassowary
màragàmp	white
bìŋan-gàŋ?	my name
gàdugàdu	type of banana
Bùsuŋàwa	woman's name
ŋàrubìni	good

2.6 Intonation

Intonation is important in Amari because in some cases it may be the only indication of the full meaning of an utterance or a sentence. This is particularly so for questions. There is no syntactic change in a sentence or utterance to show that it is a question except when the question words wai or bi anuŋ? are used. The only indication that it is a question is the intonation.

2.6.1 Declarative intonation

The usual intonation pattern of declarative utterances or sentences is of a slowly falling intonation to the last syllable of the utterance.

e.g. araŋan rina-n-gan i-ba igi
Here comes his mother.

dzi gamp-aŋ? Waridzian
My village is Waridzian.


rib igi i-fa taun i-fa-fa-fa da i-wa? da sifu
They went to town and arrived there in the night.

2.6.2 Question intonation


The intonation on questions, whether using question words or not, is a slowly rising intonation, then a sharply falling intonation on the last syllable.

e.g. agam i-ba i wai
Why did you (Pl.) come?

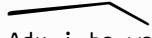
u mpa bini
Are you (S.) well?



u naru-m-gam i-bi anuŋ?
How many children do you have?



wain-gan i-bi anuŋ? da i-bururuŋ?
How did it burn up?




Adu i-ba wa
Has Adu come?

When there are two sentences joined by *da and* as in the last example but one, the intonation rises to the first syllable of *anuŋ?*, and falls on the last syllable of *anuŋ?*, then rises again to the last syllable of *bururuŋ?*, when it falls again.

2.6.3 Intonation with *da-* contrary-to-fact prefix


The *da-* prefix has a particular intonation with which a sentence in which this prefix occurs is said. The tone of such sentences is 'if only such-and-such had happened!', and is said with regret. The intonation is a falling one, but it begins in a higher-pitched voice than either question or declarative intonation.




e.g. a! dzi da-yu nam aga
Ah! If only I had taken that food!

2.6.4 Scolding intonation

Amari women, in particular, are noted for their strident voices when scolding each other and their children. A scolding intonation begins very high, goes higher in the middle of the utterance, then falls towards the end.



e.g. maragab na-ba ama?
Let the poor fellow come!



sagat igi da-yu nam
If only that woman would get the food!

3. THE NOUN PHRASE

3.1 Pronouns

3.1.1 Definite pronouns

Adzera pronouns are distinguished for number and person. There are first, second and third singular and plural, with the common Austronesian characteristic of first person plural, inclusive and exclusive. There are no separate forms for dual or trial. All the pronoun forms are independent, and can be used for subject, object (direct and indirect) and possessive functions. All these pronouns, with their various forms, are given in Table 2.

Table 2: Table of pronouns

	SINGULAR			PLURAL			
	I	II	III	I (Inc.)	I (Exc.)	II	III
SUBJECT	dzi	u, agu	araŋan	agi	aga, agai	agam	rib + (Dem.)
OBJECT	dzi	agu	araŋan	agi	agai	agam	rib + (Dem.)
POSSESSIVE I	dzi — -ŋ?-gaŋ?	u — -m-gam	araŋan — -n-gan	agi — -ŋ?-gaŋ?	aga — -ŋ?-gaŋ?	agam — -m-gam	rib(—) — -n-gan
POSSESSIVE II	dzi (—) -gaŋ?	u — -gam	araŋan — -gan	agi — -gaŋ?	aga — -gaŋ?	agam — -gam	rib(—) — -gan
INDEPENDENT POSSESSIVE	dzi gaŋ?	u gam	— gan	agi gaŋ?	aga gaŋ?	agam gam	— gan
INCLUSIVE POSSESSIVE	dzi (K.T.)-ŋ? rusa-ŋ?	u (K.T.)-m rusa-m	araŋan (K.T.)-n rusa-n	agi (K.T.)-ŋ? rusa-ŋ?	aga (K.T.)-ŋ? rusa-ŋ?	agam (K.T.)-m rusa-m	rib(—) (K.T.)-n rusa-n
REFLEXIVE I EMPHATIC	dzi ruŋ-gaŋ?	u ruŋ-gam	araŋan (gan) ruŋ-gan	agi ruŋ-gaŋ?	aga ruŋ-gaŋ?	agam ruŋ-gam	rib(—) ruŋ-gan
RECIPROCAL REFLEXIVE II	ruaŋ?	ruam	ruan	ruaŋ?	ruaŋ?	ruam	ruan
INCLUSIVE REFLEXIVE III			ruas				ruas

Dem. = Demonstrative; K.T. = Kinship Term.

e.g. Subject:

dzi i- bugin yafas
I Real. not like fish
I do not like fish.

u ni wai
you(S.) say what
What did you say?

agi fa- dan
we(Inc.) go Part.
Let's go.

Direct object:

araŋan i- bugin dzi
he/she Real. not like me
He doesn't like me.

rib igi i- is araŋan
they Real. hit him/her
They hit him.

araŋan i- is agai
he/she Real. hit us(Exc.)
He hit us.

Indirect object:

Uriam i- rim danŋi da agam
Uriam Real. give thanks to you(Pl.)
Uriam thanked you.

wa- rim ba da dzi
Imp. give come to me
Give it to me.

Oblique object:

rib igi i- riŋantiŋ i agai
they Real. hear Obl.Obj.M. us(Exc.)
They heard about us.

Isan i- ni nan barun i agu
Isan Real. say talk bad Obl.Obj.M. you(S.)
Isan said something bad about you.

3.1.2 The possessive

Objects in the Adzera world can be possessed in two ways - Inalienably, which I refer to as Possessive I, and which is a closed class and Alienably, which I refer to as Possessive II, which is an open class.

POSSESSIVE I

Kinsmen² and body parts are referred to using the first type of possession. For example, *my head* is *dzi gudzuŋ?-gaŋ?*. This consists of the first person, singular free pronoun *dzi*, *gudzu head*, and suffixed to *gudzu* is firstly the first person possessive suffix *-ŋ?*, followed by the second position, first person possessive suffix, *-gaŋ?*.

For second person, the noun *gudzu* has the second person possessive suffixes -m plus -gam affixed. In actual speech, the -m suffix becomes -ŋ before the -gam (see 2.3.7).

Similarly, for third person, the suffixes are -n and -gan, but in speech, the -n becomes -m before -gan.

In some isolated speech communities of Adzera, for example, in Guruf, the -m and -n are pronounced before the -gam and -gan, and do not become -n,

e.g. u rina-m-gam *your mother*
 araŋan bani-n-gan *his hand*

The following are examples from the Amari area:

e.g. *head* - *gudzu*-

Singular	dzi gudzu-ŋʔ-gaŋʔ	<i>my head</i>
	u gudzu-m-gam	<i>your head</i>
	araŋan gudzu-n-gan	<i>his head</i>
Plural	agi gudzu-ŋʔ-gaŋʔ	<i>our(Inc.) heads</i>
	aga gudzu-ŋʔ-gaŋʔ	<i>our(Exc.) heads</i>
	agam gudzu-m-gam	<i>your heads</i>
	rib igi gudzu-n-gan	<i>their heads</i>

e.g. *father* - *rama*-

Singular	dzi rama-ŋʔ-gaŋʔ	<i>my father</i>
	u rama-m-gam	<i>your father</i>
	araŋan rama-n-gan	<i>his father</i>
Plural	agi rama-ŋʔ-gaŋʔ	<i>our(Inc.) fathers</i>
	aga rama-ŋʔ-gaŋʔ	<i>our(Exc.) fathers</i>
	agam rama-m-gam	<i>your fathers</i>
	rib igi rama-n-gan	<i>their fathers</i>

All of these can be shortened by dropping the -ga(-) morpheme. In calling to or speaking to a kinsman, one would say:

rama-ŋʔ *Father!*
 rai-ŋʔ *Brother!*

Similarly with body parts, one may drop the -ga(-) morpheme,

e.g. dzi faga-ŋʔ i-tsakia *my foot hurts*

The presence or absence of the -ga- morpheme has no semantic effect on the noun or the sentence. However, the noun + -ŋʔ/-m/-n is more commonly heard than with the -ga- morpheme. To add the -ga- is considered by the Amari to be rather pedantic.

Other parts-to-whole relationships are expressed in the same way,

e.g. *branch of a tree*

gai bani-n-gan OR gai bani-n
tree hand.Poss. tree Poss.

narrowing of a creek

mpu³ wa-n
water neck.Poss.

POSSESSIVE II

Most objects in the Adzera world fall into this category. They are possessed alienably, that is, they can be removed from the possessor, and are not an integral part of it.

e.g. *gai tree*

dzi <i>gai-gaŋ?</i>	<i>my tree</i>
u <i>gai-gam</i>	<i>your(S.) tree</i>
araŋan <i>gai-gan</i>	<i>his/her tree</i>
agi <i>gai-gaŋ?</i>	<i>our(Inc.) tree</i>
aga <i>gai-gaŋ?</i>	<i>our(Exc.) tree</i>
agam <i>gai-gam</i>	<i>your(Pl.) tree</i>
rib <i>igi gai-gan</i>	<i>their tree</i>

However, after a consonant the *-g-* is dropped and the morpheme becomes *-aŋ?*, *-am*, or *-an*.

e.g. *mudzuk knife*

dzi <i>mudzuk-aŋ?</i>	<i>my knife</i>
u <i>mudzuk-am</i>	<i>your(S.) knife</i>
araŋan <i>mudzuk-an</i>	<i>his knife</i>
agi <i>mudzuk-aŋ?</i>	<i>our(Inc.) knives</i>
aga <i>mudzuk-aŋ?</i>	<i>our(Exc.) knives</i>
agam <i>mudzuk-am</i>	<i>your(Pl.) knives</i>
rib <i>igi mudzuk-an</i>	<i>their knives</i>

The morphemes *gaŋ?*, *gam*, *gan*, may also be preposed to the possessed noun, and the free pronoun is dropped.

e.g. *gan unar-an his house*
gam gur-am your pot(s)

INDEPENDENT POSSESSIVE

The Independent Possessive forms are essentially the same as the Possessive, except that the Possessive morpheme follows after the pronoun,

e.g. *dzi gaŋ? Mine!*
araŋan gan His!
Martin gan Martin's!
u gam Yours!

INCLUSIVE POSSESSIVE

There is a third type of Possessive construction in Amari-Adzera, *rusa-* which applies only to Kinship Terms, and has the meaning *all of* It is possible that this is a quantifier which takes possessive agreement.

e.g. with *mother rina-*

Singular	dzi <i>rina-ŋ? rusaŋ?</i>	<i>all my mothers</i>
	u <i>rina-m rusa-m</i>	<i>all your(S.) mothers</i>
	araŋan <i>rina-n rusa-n</i>	<i>all his/her mothers</i>
Plural	agi <i>rina-ŋ? rusa-ŋ?</i>	<i>all our(Inc.) mothers</i>
	aga <i>rina-ŋ? rusaŋ?</i>	<i>all our(Exc.) mothers</i>
	agam <i>rina-m rusa-m</i>	<i>all your mothers</i>
	rib <i>igi rina-n rusa-n</i>	<i>all their mothers</i>

This construction refers to a group of people, all of whom are called by the kinship term *mother* by the person referred to. So, *dzi rina-ŋʔ rusa-ŋʔ* means *all the women I call 'mother'*, which includes true mother, mother's sisters, mother's parallel and cross cousins (female).

The *rusa-* is declined in the same way as other possessives.

In this construction, the first suffix only of the inalienable possessive form is used.

3.1.3.1 The reflexive

The Emphatic and Reflexive pronouns have the same form in Adzera. Below is a paradigm for the Emphatic/Reflexive pronouns with the verb *fa(n) to go*.

<i>dzi ruŋ-gaŋʔ i-fan</i>	<i>I myself am going/went.</i>
<i>u ruŋ-gam i-fan</i>	<i>You yourself are going/went.</i>
<i>araŋan ruŋ-gan i-fan</i>	<i>He himself is going/went.</i>
<i>agi ruŋ-gaŋʔ i-fan</i>	<i>We (Inc.) ourselves are going/went.</i>
<i>aga ruŋ-gaŋʔ i-fan</i>	<i>We (Exc.) ourselves are going/went.</i>
<i>agam ruŋ-gam i-fan</i>	<i>You yourselves are going/went.</i>
<i>rib igi ruŋ-gan i-fan</i>	<i>They themselves are going/went.</i>

The Reflexive is difficult to elicit because the Adzera do not recognise the self as the active participant in actions which in English are expressed by a Reflexive, e.g. *I cut myself* is expressed by, for example, *The knife cut me*,

mudzuk i- saf dzi
knife Real. cut me

or *I hit myself (on the tree)* is expressed by *The tree hit me*,

gai i- is dzi
tree Real. hit me

In these examples, the agent is the actual thing which performed the action. However, a Reflexive is found in some expressions,

e.g. *wa- ga ruŋ-gam*
Imp. eat yourself
Go and eat yourself! (Obscenity)

dzi mara -ŋʔ i- fur ruŋ-gaŋʔ
I thought Poss. Real. think myself
I am thinking about what I should do.

sagat i- gira ruŋ-gan
woman Real. decorate herself
The woman decorates herself.

3.1.3.2 Reciprocal reflexive

There is another form of Reflexive in Adzera, which I have called the Reciprocal Reflexive, as the meaning of it is usually translated as *each other* or *one another*.

e.g. *agam i- ni nam idzu wai da ru-am*
you(Pl.) Real. say thing true what to each other
What did you say to each other?

garam igi i- is ru-an
 men there Real. hit each other
Those men hit/are hitting each other.

rib igi i- fis in da ru-an
 they Real. say something to each other
They are saying things to each other.

rib igi i- rim pau? da ru-an
 they Real. give tobacco to each other
They gave tobacco to each other.

aga i- ni da ru-an?
 we(Exc.) Real. say to each other
We said (something) to each other.

As can be seen from the above examples, this form of the Reflexive is also inflected for first, second and third person by putting the Possessive suffixes -an?, -am, -an, after the ru reflexive morpheme.

3.1.3.3 Inclusive reflexive

A form which appears to be related to the Reciprocal Reflexive is ruas, which only appears in the third person form, and which I've called the Inclusive Reflexive. It has approximately the meaning *all those associated with something or someone or and company*, e.g. Anis ruas means *Anis and all those with him at the moment*. It can also be used with kinship terms, e.g. rama-an? ruas *My father and company*. Ruas does not imply any more than a purely temporary classification, i.e. those associated with my father for a particular purpose at a particular time. Ruas can also be used when referring to a group of animals:

e.g. mamu ruas dza? buman ruas ru-mpai i- miq? wap igi
cassowary all pig wild all Cont. stay Real. stay bush there
Cassowaries, wild pigs all live in that bush there.

It is interesting that all these Inclusive, Reflexive and Reciprocal forms have the morpheme ru as their base, with the addition of possessive suffixes. Thus ru appears to have the function of anaphoric referent, referring back to the pronoun which precedes it. The verb prefix ru- (Continuous) appears to have the same form, but there is no apparent semantic relationship between this and the other ru- morphemes. This is perhaps borne out by the fact that the Kaiapit variety of Adzera uses ro- rather than ru- for the continuous prefix.

3.1.4 Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite Pronouns are formed by prefixing n- to the Demonstratives (see 3.2.8),⁴

e.g. n-ani *this here, near me*
 n-igi *that there, near you*
 n-aga *that there, far away, or referred to before*

They are usually used, alone, in the form of a question, or as an answer to a question,

e.g. a n-igi *Ah, that one?*

gur maṅan. n-ani
pot which this one
Which pot, this one?

namu. n-aga
no that one
No, that one (over there).

3.1.5 arai

In the Amari dialect of Adzera, when two verbs follow each other in sequence, a free morpheme, *arai*, may be used (optionally) to indicate plurality in certain contexts. *Arai* only precedes verbs of motion. It acts like a pronoun. J. Lynch has suggested that it may be related to POC **ada*, third person pronoun (personal communication). *Arai* only occurs before the second verb of verb sequences, and its referent may be in first, second or third person plural.

1ST PERSON REFERENT

agi atañ -a (arai) fa -da uṅar
we(Inc.) go inside. Part. (Pl.) go. Part. house
We went inside the house.

aga i- yab arai i- fan da aga i- fan i rib fain
we(Exc.) Real. go up Pl. Real. go and we Real. wait for people some
ru? -a arai i- ba
go down. Part. Pl. Real. come
We went up and we waited for some people to come down.

aga i- yab arai i- fan da aga i- mpa arai i- ru?
we(Exc.) Real. go up Pl. Real. go and we Real. sit Pl. Real. go down
We went up and we sat down.

In these three examples, *arai* has a 1st person plural pronoun referent (*agi* (Inclusive) or *aga* (Exclusive)), which is the subject of the sentence.

2ND PERSON REFERENT

With second person referent, which is the subject of the sentence, a similar construction occurs:

i- saṅ? agam runt -a arai ru? -a fa -da gamp
Real. be enough you(Pl.) run. Part. Pl. go down. Part. go. Part. village
Can you run down to the village?

agam wa- fan da wa- runt arai wa- yab mamai
you(Pl.) Imp. go and Imp. run Pl. Imp. go up mountain
You go and run up the mountain.

The referent of *arai* in these two sentences is *agam*, second person plural pronoun.

3RD PERSON REFERENT

I found it difficult to elicit sentences using *arai* with a third person plural subject referent. A third person plural object seemed to be preferred,

e.g. dzi i- rim bampiŋ? (arai) i- ru?
 I Real. put coconut (Pl.) Real. go down
 I threw the coconuts down.

Arai is, again, optional, and is only used with the plural object.

araŋan i- yu tauf da i- rim (arai) i- fan
 he Real. take stone and Real. put (Pl.) Real. go
 He took the stones and threw them.

In these examples, arai refers back to the object nouns, bampiŋ? *coconuts*, in the first example, and tauf *stones* in the second. These nouns are otherwise unmarked for singular or plural, and since the subjects of both sentences are clearly singular - dzi *I*, and araŋan *he*, the arai must refer to the object nouns. With a singular object, it is unnecessary:

dzi i- rim taiap maŋan i- fan
 I Real. take net bag a Real. go
 I took a net bag away.

The following sentence produced another problem of plurality:

rib igi i- tip gur igi i- rim (arai) i- fan
 they Real. dig out clay Dem. Real. give (Pl.) Real. go
 They dig out the clay (and) give it (to others) to go out (of the clay pit).

This sentence occurred in a text about women digging clay in pits for making pots. The referent of arai appears to be the noun gur (*clay*), which appears to be considered a countable or plural noun for this purpose, because the women (rib igi) don't go out of the pit, but hand the lumps of clay out to others. So it is the clay which goes out.

A similar usage was noted in the following sentence:

sagat igi i- iki? nam (arai) i- fan
 woman Dem. Real. carry food by pot rim (Pl.) Real. go
 The woman carried the food away by the pot rim.

In this sentence, the referent of arai is nam, meaning *food* in this context, and food in pots, because the verb iki? *to carry* is only used for the action of carrying pots by the rim. So nam seems to be considered, in this example, to be a plural noun.

3.2 Nouns

3.2.1 Introduction

The following formulae represent the ways in which nouns can be modified in Amari:

NP → Head Noun + (Modifier)
 Modifier → $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(Possession)} \\ \text{(Demonstrative)} \\ \text{(Adjective)} \\ \text{(Clause)} \end{array} \right\}$

Nouns and pronouns can be modified by possession, and by quantitative or qualitative modification.

Possession of nouns has already been discussed, under Pronouns (3.1.2). Most objects in the Amari world are possessed according to the Type II Possessive form. The modifiers always follow the noun.

3.2.2 Quantitative modification

Quantity is marked by numerals, by plural marking, or by indefinite quantifiers.

NUMERALS

The numerals are the most precise markers. The Amari counting system is a binary system, and some numbers are listed below:

bitsinta? (or bits)	<i>one</i>
iru?run (or iru?)	<i>two</i>
iru? da bits	<i>three</i>
iru? da iru?	<i>four</i>
iru? da iru? da bits	<i>five</i>

and so on, in multiples of two, and two plus one. This becomes very cumbersome, and if there are more than five objects, people rarely count them using Amari numerals nowadays, and usually count them in Tok Pisin,

e.g. garam sikispara
man six
six men

With the Amari numerals we have,

e.g. ifab bitsinta?
pig one
one pig

sagat iru?run
woman two
two women

However, iru? can also mean *a few*,

e.g. garam iru? i- ba
man a few Real. come
A few men came.

3.2.3 Singular and plural marking

Nouns in Amari are normally unmarked by affixes to indicate plurality. Usually one has to obtain this through the context, or through any pronouns which may follow the noun and refer to it,

e.g. mama? marub i- fa wap. Rib igi i- wam dzaŋ? buman
child male Real. go bush they Real. look for pig wild
The boys went to the bush. They looked for wild pigs.

Plurality can sometimes be marked by reduplication of the modifier. However, this is quite rare.

e.g. mama? finam finam
child female female
girls

3.2.4 Indefinite quantifiers

There are other modifiers, less specific than numerals, which indicate quantity. These include:

isi?	<i>a little</i>
fain	<i>some</i>
maŋan	<i>a, any, which</i>
santan	<i>all</i>
ampi	<i>lots</i>
raginti	<i>lots of, very many</i>
ragingan	<i>lots of, very many</i>

e.g. mpui isi? ru- miŋ?
water little Cont. stays
A little water is left.

nam fain
food/things some
some food/things

mama? maŋan i- fa gamp
child a/which Real. go village
A child went to the village. OR Which child went to the village? (If accompanied by rising intonation.)

agi santan i- bugin araŋan
we(Inc.) all Real. not like him/her
We all dislike him/her.

garam ampi biŋan i- mpa Waridzian
men many very Real. stay Waridzian
Many people live in Waridzian.

dzaŋ? ragingan i- miŋ? wap aga
meat (game) lots Real. stay bush there
Lots of game animals live in that bush there.

Some of these can be intensified by reduplication,

e.g. isi? isi? aŋu *only very little* (aŋu is an adverb meaning *only*)
 tsira? tsira? *very big, very important*

3.2.5 Ordinals

Although there are no true ordinals, I will use the term to refer to the following usages:

Nouns can be modified according to their position in a sequence,

e.g. miamun *first*
 wasa? *in the middle*
 bampan *last, at the end (lit. tail)*

So we have,

e.g. nan miamun *firstly (used in narrative)*
 sagat miamun igi *That woman is first.*
 garam wasa? *The man in the middle.*
 garam bampan sib *The last man, last-born, last in the line.*

3.2.6 Descriptive modification

Modifiers always follow the noun in Amari. There are two types of adjective-like modifiers - those which immediately follow the noun, and those which also function as stative verbs. Below are listed examples of the first type, Type I, with examples, and some of the second type, Type II, with examples. These are all that I have collected so far, but there are undoubtedly more. Both appear to be open classes.

3.2.6.1 Type I modifiers

tsira?	<i>big</i>
isi?	<i>small</i>
gunti?	<i>tall, long</i>
uts	<i>short, narrow</i>
(ŋaru)bini	<i>good</i>
fa?	<i>new</i>
fufi	<i>old (people)</i>
ratar	<i>old (objects)</i>
maradza	<i>wide, broad</i>
mututu	<i>blunt</i>
bararaŋ	<i>sharp</i>
finam	<i>female</i>
marub	<i>male</i>
buman	<i>wild</i>
babampaf	<i>hard</i>
yas	<i>left (hand)</i>
gaunt	<i>hot (liquids)</i>
marabusuŋ	<i>black</i>
maragamp	<i>white</i>
dzunudzuaŋ	<i>yellow</i>
raŋuŋ?	<i>red</i>
mudzu	<i>blue; a small blue flower</i>
asasa?	<i>white (refers to plants and fruits only)</i>
bi?	<i>red (refers to plants and fruits); blood</i>

Examples of use are:

mama? bini	<i>a good child</i>
uŋar isi?	<i>small house</i>
garam maragamp	<i>white man, European</i>
gai gunti?	<i>tall tree</i>
sagat fa?	<i>new woman or wife, young woman</i>
sagat fufi	<i>old woman</i>

mama? finam	<i>female child, girl</i>
siŋan mututu	<i>blunt spear</i>
baŋi yas	<i>left hand</i>
baŋi bini	<i>right hand</i>
mpui gaunt	<i>hot water</i>

3.2.6.2 Type II modifiers

daum-an	<i>good</i>
mais-an	<i>bad</i>
sasus-an	<i>hot</i>
fuŋ?-an	<i>full</i>
pupu?-an	<i>broken</i>
ruruŋ-an	<i>straight</i>
waŋ-an	<i>crooked</i>
dzub-an	<i>ripe</i>
nu?-an	<i>cooked</i>
nufunuf-an	<i>wet</i>
tsara?-an	<i>dry</i>
pu?-an	<i>broken</i>
puapap-an	<i>light</i>
barabin-dan	<i>heavy, troublesome</i>
nabaŋip-an	<i>sweet (taste)</i>
giririp-an	<i>sour</i>
ŋaŋaŋaŋ-an	<i>hot, chili (taste)</i>
ŋkiaŋ-an	<i>bitter</i>
gagats-an	<i>irritating, itchy</i>
mamp-an	<i>dead</i>

These are all predicate adjectives, or participles, which in English are expressed by adjectives. They are all conjugated as verbs, and are all stative verbs. To modify a noun, they can be used in two ways:

- (a) with Realis prefix *i-* + Root (see 4.2.2)
 (b) as a Participle - Root + *-(d)an* (see 4.3).

Examples:

- (a) aruf *i-* mais
girl Real. *bad*
The girl is bad. OR *She is a bad girl.*
- nam *i-* sasus
food Real. *hot*
The food is hot. OR *It is hot food.*
- mub *i-* dzub
berry Real. *ripe*
The berry is ripe. OR *It is a ripe berry.*
- nam *i-* nu?
food Real. *cooked*
The food is cooked. OR *It is cooked food.*
- tauf *i-* barabin
stone Real. *heavy*
The stone is heavy. OR *It is a heavy stone.*

garam i- mamp
 man Real. dead
 The man is dead.

(b) aruf mais -an
 girl bad. Part.
 A bad girl OR She is a bad girl.

nam sasus -an
 food hot. Part.
 Hot food OR The food is hot.

mub dzub -an
 berry ripe. Part.
 Ripe berry OR The berry is ripe.

nam nu? -an
 food cook. Part.
 Cooked food OR The food is cooked.

tauf barabin -dan
 stone heavy. Part.
 Heavy stone OR The stone is heavy.

garam mamp -an
 man dead. Part.
 Dead man OR The man is dead.

The main difference between (a) and (b) is that the examples in (a) can stand alone as complete sentences, and those in (b) can be the subject or object of a sentence, i.e. they can stand as a noun phrase. However, they can also stand as complete utterances as well. There is no apparent semantic distinction between those in Type I and those in Type II.

3.2.6.3 Location adjectives

There is another type of modifier which can act as an adjective or a noun. These indicate location. Whether the word is being used as an adjective or a noun must come from the context, e.g. *wasa? middle*. *Uŋar wasa?* can mean either *the middle of the house* or *the house in the middle*. Others of this type are:

warəŋ?	<i>below</i>	e.g. garam warəŋ?	<i>the people living on the lower (southern) side of the valley</i>
wagun?	<i>above</i>	sagat wagun?	<i>the women living on the higher (northern) side of the valley</i>
marafain	<i>beside</i>	nam marafain	<i>the thing beside</i>

3.2.6 Compounds

In Amari compounds, the first noun is the head noun, and the second word, whether noun, verb, or participle, is descriptive, and refers to the preceding noun. These compounds occur in the following ways:

NATIONALITY:

garam Niu Gini *a Niuginian man*
 sagat Adzera *an Adzera woman*
 sagat Siapan *a Japanese woman*
 mama? Waridzian *a Waridzian child*

PROFESSIONS, OR WORK:

garam is -a yafas
man catch. Part. fish
a fisherman

garam rim -a uŋar
man make Part. house
a carpenter

sagat u -da mama? atañ -an
woman take. Part. child go in. Part.
teacher (female)

garam rab -a gai
man cut. tree
woodcutter

garam puris
man police
policeman

PERSONAL IDIOSYNCRASIES AND CHARACTERISTICS:

garam yab -a bampiŋ?
man go up. Part. coconut
man who climbs coconuts (who likes to, or is good at it)

sagat gabai gari -da gum
woman never weed. Part. garden
woman who never weeds her garden

garam mpa -dan aŋu
man sit down. Part. only
man who only sits around all the time

garam anuŋ? ni -da nan aŋu
man Neg. say. Part. talk only
man who does not talk much

PART-TO-WHOLE RELATIONSHIP (EXPRESSED BY POSSESSIVE):

mpu(i) wa -n
water neck. 3PossI.
a narrowing of a river or stream

mamai yu -n
mountain nose. 3Poss.
a peak of a mountain

gai baŋi -n
tree arm. 3Poss.
branch of a tree

3.2.8 Demonstratives

Other important postnominal modifiers in Amari-Adzera are the demonstratives. These are used very frequently. They incorporate distance from the speaker with visibility of the object being spoken about, and whether or not the object has been referred to already. They are:

ani	<i>here, near me/us</i>	} visible
igi	<i>there, near you, generally referential</i>	
aga	<i>there, near him, it</i>	} visible or invisible
ugu	<i>there, far away, near him or it, already seen or referred to</i>	

Examples:

ani:

maŋa gur -an ani wasa? ani bubumpwa? sib
who pot. 3Poss. here inside here dirty finish
Whose pot is this here, whose inside is dirty?

nam ani i- nabaŋip i- yus
food here Real. sweet Real. too much
This food is too sweet.

igi: This is the most commonly used demonstrative. It occurs frequently throughout narratives, and seems to be used mainly as a referential tag, e.g. as in

rib igi *they, them* or
 nan aranaŋ igi *that's all, the end of the story*

garam igi i- raf ganaŋ
man that Real. dig yam
The man digs out yams.

aga:

wa- yu dzaf aga i- ba
Imp. bring fire that Real. come
Bring that fire over here to me.

kar idzuwai aga i- ba
car which that Real. come
What car is that coming?

ugu:

da rib ugu santan i- ru? da i- buariŋ dzaŋ? ugu i-
and they there all Real. go down and Real. carry pig there Real.

fafub mpui i- ba
come downstream water Real. come
And they (already referred to) all came down and carried that pig (already referred to) downstream, and came back.

ugu is also used on either side of relative clauses, to demarcate those clauses from the rest of the sentence (see 3.2.9).

The demonstratives are also used in time phrases, e.g.

ani :

gubu? buŋ?a- bi ani da dzi na- is u gur -am
day Fut. be like this and I Hort. make you pot 2Poss.
On a day like this one, I will make your pot.

ugu:

rib igi i- fan da fraidi bampān ugu
they Real. go on Friday last there
They went on Friday last week.

araŋan i- mamp da mai? ugu
he Real. die on yesterday there
He died the day before yesterday.

3.2.9 Relative clauses as noun modifiers

NP → Head Noun + $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{(Adjective)} \\ \text{(Demonstrative)} \\ \text{(Possessive)} \\ \text{(Noun)} \\ \text{(Relative Clause)} \end{array} \right\}$

NP → Head Noun + (ugu) + Relative Clause

Relative Clause → (N) + Verb Root + Predicate + ugu

Relative clauses, as more complex postnominal modifiers, exist in Amari, and they always follow the noun they modify. The head noun, or referent, is followed optionally by the demonstrative ugu, then the relative clause follows. After the relative clause, ugu is repeated, as an anaphoric referent back to the subject of the clause. The verb of the clause is always expressed in the participial form, verb root + (d)a. Examples:

ifab (ugu) / mus -a yup -a intap ugu / i- mamp sib
pig (Dem.) always. Part. dig. Part. earth Dem. Real. die finish
The pig that was always digging up the ground is dead.

dzi na- yu uŋar ugu / garam fawa? -a sib aga ugu /
I Hort. take house Dem. man break. Part. finish Dem. Dem.
I will take the house which the man has broken.

In these two sentences, the relative clause follows directly after the noun to which it refers (ifab and uŋar) whether the noun is subject or object of the sentence. The Demonstrative ugu follows directly after the noun which the clause modifies, and again directly after the end of the clause. The verb of the clause is in the participial form, which is formed by the addition of the suffix -a, -da, to the verb root. Some other examples:

mama? marub ugu / dzi dzigin -da i gan nam -gan ugu /
child male Dem. I steal. Part. Obl.Obj.M. Poss. food. 3Poss.II Dem.

i- fa uta da ru- fa giŋ?
Real. go nothing and Cont. go sleep
The boy whose food I stole went without anything and went to sleep.

In this sentence, the relative clause indicating possession is expressed in the same way, with the possessive markers on the noun nam food.

garam (ugu) / dzi i- rim pas rut in ugu / i- yu i- fa
 man (Dem.) I Real. give letter go with him Dem. Real. take Real. go

taun
 town

The man to whom I gave the letter has taken it to town.

sagat (ugu) / dzi ni -da nan rut in ugu / i- fa sib gamp
 woman (Dem.) I say. Part. talk go with her Dem. Real. go Compl.I village
The woman to whom I spoke went back to the village.

In these two examples, the clause contains the verb *rut-* to go with, to be together, and the Oblique Object in *to him, her*, which refers back to the subject noun.

dzantsun (ugu) / dzi rab -a gai gin ugu / i- tati? sib
 axe (Dem.) I cut. Part. tree Obl.Obj. Dem. Real. break finish
The axe with which I cut the tree is broken.

unar (ugu) / dzi mus -a gin? -a gin ugu / dzaf i-
 house (Dem.) I always. Part. sleep. Part. Obl.Obj. Dem. fire Real.

ga sib
 eat finish

Fire has burnt down the house in which I usually sleep.

In these two examples, the Oblique Object refers back to the subject in the first sentence, and the object in the second sentence.

4. THE VERB PHRASE

4.1 Verbs

4.1.1 Introduction

Verbs are very important in the Amari language. They carry much of the semantic information of a sentence, different verbs being used specifically for certain operations and contexts that would, in English, need a phrase or two to explain. For example, for the verbs used to describe the different ways of 'picking' or 'harvesting' crops, I have recorded the following, and no doubt there are many more:

bri?	}	<i>to pull out of the ground (e.g. peanuts) (from English pull)</i>
pur		
turu		<i>to pick off altogether, not leaving any of the fruit or leaves</i>
turu	}	<i>to pull fruit off a bunch one at a time (e.g. peanuts, betel-nut off a cluster)</i>
piats		
piats	}	<i>to pick bananas off a bunch</i>
tus		
pis		<i>to pick single fruit off with the hand, one at a time (e.g. cucumbers, mangoes, melons)</i>
is	}	<i>to pick beans, corn, break off the stalk, to collect a lot of (e.g. pit-pit, leafy vegetables)</i>
sam		
idza?		<i>to harvest by breaking off (e.g. pineapple, sugarcane)</i>

raf to dig out of the ground (e.g. yams, sweet potatoes, tapioca)
 ari to dig in the ground

There are numerous other semantic areas in Amari, with many verbs which explain precisely the kind of activity being performed, e.g. ways of walking or moving, verbs to do with making a clay-pot, to do with fishing, with building a house, etc. They are all worthy of detailed investigation, but are beyond the scope of this paper.

As verbs carry most of the meaning-load of a sentence, they have numerous prefixes and suffixes which refine their meaning even more precisely to locate the actions expressed by the verb in time, to describe its manner of execution and its duration within the time span given.

Table 3 gives the prefixes, suffixes and postverbal particles for Amari. Those described for the Kaiapit Adzera are a little different (see Holzknacht, K.G. 1973b and 1973c).

4.2 Verb prefixes

In Amari, the verb can be analysed as being made up of a number of possible prefix positions, then the Verb Root, then one suffix position, with three possible Postverbal Particles following the Verb. Not all of the prefix positions can ever be filled at the one time, and not all of them co-occur with the suffix position and the Postverbal particles. There are usually no more than three prefixes co-occurring at one time, and there are restrictions on which can co-occur.

I will discuss each of the prefixes, suffixes and Postverbal particles indicating its co-occurrence with other verbal features. Negative affixes and particles will be discussed separately in 4.11.

4.2.0 Prefix slot 1 - negative (see 4.11 Negation)

4.2.1 Prefix slot 2

This slot includes { $\begin{matrix} ru- \\ ru\eta? \end{matrix}$ } Continuative, and bu η - Perfective. ru- is the most common form of this prefix, which can be translated in English as *still ... -ing*. An alternative form ru η ?- is called by the Amari the 'correct' form, and ru- is called the 'lazy' or 'short' form. K. Holzknacht (1973c:25-26) says that around Kaiapit and Sangang ru- (or ro-) follows a singular subject and ru η ?- (or ro η ?-) follows a plural subject. My data from Amari do not support this explanation. Examples:

ara η an ru- mpai
 he/she Cont. stay
 He (or she) is still staying there.

agam ru- ga nam
 you(Pl.) Cont. eat food
 Are you(Pl.) still eating?

dzi ru- gari gum
 dzi ru η ?- gari gum
 I Cont. weed garden
 I am still weeding the garden.

Table 3: Amari verb affixes and particles

Prefix 1	Prefix 2	Prefix 3	Prefix 4	Prefix 5	Prefix 6	Prefix 7	Verb Root	Suffix	Post- verbal Particle 1	Post- verbal Particle 2	Post- verbal Particle 3
anuŋʔ- (Neg.)	{ru- ruŋʔ- (Cont.) buŋ- (Perf.)	i- (Real.) {buŋʔa- muŋʔa- (Fut.)	ma- (Pot.)	da- (CF)	{wa- a- (Imp.) {na- a- (Hort.) ma- (Neg. Imp.)	bu- (Repet.)		{-da -dan -an -a (Part.)	sib (Compl.) aŋu (only) amaʔ (Hort. Int.) a (Imp. Int.)	i (Compl. Int.) wa (Compl. Int.)	u (Neg.) maʔ (Neg. Imp.)

agam ru- muaruts i ba -dan da agai
 you(Pl.) Cont. want Obl.Obj.M. come. Part. with us
Do you still want to come with us?

Ru-/ruŋ?- can co-occur with other prefixes with the following restrictions:

ru-/ruŋ?- with i- 'Realis', Present and Past Tense. Before i- the form ruŋ?- is preferred by the Amari to ru- 'because it sounds better'. However, it is still correct to use ru-i-.

e.g. rib idzun ruŋ?- i- pur pinat
 they Cont. Real. pull peanut
They are still harvesting peanuts.

dzi ruŋ?- i- adzu? nam
 I Cont. Real. wash thing
I am still washing things (clothes or food).

ru-/ruŋ?- with buŋ?a-/muŋ?a- Future

e.g. tata? da aranan ru- buŋ?a- mpai
 tomorrow and he Cont. Fut. stay
He will still be here tomorrow.

ru-/ruŋ?- with ma- Potential

e.g. aranan ma- ga nam ma aranan ru- ma- mpai
 he Pot. eat food or he Cont. Pot. stay
Perhaps he has eaten, or perhaps he is still sitting (there).

ru-/ruŋ?- with da- Contrary to Fact

e.g. (This example is adapted from Holzknrecht 1973c:26)
 sagat ru- da- gari gum ani da agi da- ni rut
 woman Cont. CF. weed garden here and we(Inc.) CF. say to her
If only the woman were still weeding this garden here, then we could tell her (something).

ru-/ruŋ?- with wa- Imperative. Does not occur.

ru-/ruŋ?- with na- Hortative

e.g. Martin ru- na- mpai
 Martin Cont. Hort. stay
Martin should still stay.

dzi ru- na- mpai ma aga na- fan
 I Cont. Hort. stay or we(Exc.) Hort. go
Should I be staying, or should we go?

ru-/ruŋ?- with bu- Repetitive

e.g. aranaŋ ru- bu- ga unas
 he Cont. Rep. eat sweet potato
He is eating sweet potato again.

buŋ- Perfective. This prefix means *just now completed*. It usually co-occurs with and precedes Realis i-.

e.g. Sinur buŋ- i- fa makit
Sinur Perf. Real. go market
Sinur has just gone to the market.

But buŋ- can also be used to refer to a time further past than *just now*.

e.g. da dzi buŋ- i- adzu? nam da mai? ugu
and I Perf. Real. wash thing TimeM. yesterday
But I only just washed clothes yesterday!

buŋ- with buŋ?a-/muŋ?a- Future. Does not occur.

buŋ- with ma- Potential

e.g. rib idzun buŋ- ma- ba ma
they Perf. Pot. come or
Perhaps they have only just come, or?
 aranan buŋ- ma- rab ma garam manan ma- rab
he Perf. Pot. cut or man a Pot. cut
(I think) maybe he just cut it, or maybe another man cut it.

buŋ- with da-, wa-, na-, bu-, does not occur.

4.2.2 Prefix slot 3

There are two prefixes in this slot, i- Realis, and buŋ?a-/muŋ?a- Future. I treat Realis i- first.

i- Present and Past tense. This prefix refers to events which have actually happened in the past, or which are happening now. It is the most commonly used prefix in Amari, and has been called 'Modus realitatus' by K. Holzkecht (1973c: 21). The same form is used for singular or plural subjects, and for transitive or intransitive verbs. I will refer to this prefix as 'Realis'.

e.g. rib igi i- fan da i- mpa yaŋ da i- tai nam
they Real. go and Real. stay shade and Real. cook food
They go/went and stay/stayed in the shade and cook/cooked food.

Martin i- ga nam
Martin Real. eat food
Martin ate food.

dzi i- fa taun da mai? ugu
I Real. go town TimeM. yesterday
I went to town yesterday.

aga rama -ŋ? -gaŋ? i- mpa bini
our(Exc.) father. 1Poss.I 1Poss.I Real. stay good
Our father is well.

miamun ugu da aga rumpu -ŋ? rusa -ŋ? i- is garam
before Dem. and we(Exc.) grandfather. 1Poss.I all. 1Poss.I Real. hit man

funub da i- gan
dead and Real. eat
Before, our grandfathers all killed people and ate them.

This prefix is usually dropped in Amari after a vowel.

e.g. dzi i- ga nam
I Real. eat food
I ate food.

This would be said, in normal speech, dzi ga nam. However, for purposes of this paper, I will always write the i- even when the sound would be dropped in speech.

i- with ma-, da-, wa-, na-, does not occur.

i- with bu- Repetitive

e.g. dzi i- bu- ba
I Real. Repet. come
I came back again.

Marafiriaŋ i- bu- tip i- yuŋ
Marafiriaŋ Real. Repet. return Real. walk
Marafiriaŋ walks back and forth all the time.

buŋ?a-/muŋ?a- Future. This prefix indicates events that are definitely believed will occur in the future. It also expresses an intention to do something in the future. The forms buŋ?a- and muŋ?a- appear to alternate freely in the Amari dialect of Adzera, whereas in the Kaiapit dialect only the buŋ?a- form is heard. However, in Amari buŋ?a- is the most common form. This prefix is called 'Future' rather than 'Irrealis' because there are two other prefixes, ma- Potential, and da- Contrary to Fact, which also have an Irrealis sense. The common opposition of Realis/Irrealis does not occur in Amari.

e.g. agi buŋ?a- fa gamp
we(Inc.) Fut. go village
We will go to the village.

tata? da aga buŋ?a- yab mamai na- fa- fa da na-
tomorrow TimeM. we(Exc.) Fut. go up mountain Hort. go. go and Hort.

ntuap Yaŋkawan
come up to Yaŋkawan
Tomorrow we will climb the mountain, up and up, and we will arrive at
Yaŋkawan.

garam igi muŋ?a- yuŋ a- fan
man Dem. Fut. walk Hort. go
That man will walk.

In the last two examples, the first verb with the Future prefix buŋ?a-/muŋ?a- is followed by another verb, with the Hortative prefix, na-/a-, affixed to it. This is the case whenever the verb in the future tense is followed by another verb which also expresses future. The buŋ?a-/muŋ?a- prefix is never repeated on the second verb (except before da-).

buŋ?a-/muŋ?a- with ma- Potential. This combination expresses doubt about some future action. The final vowel of buŋ?a- is usually dropped before ma- and the two become buŋ?ma-. It is often used in a question form. (Amari informants cannot agree about whether this combination occurs in Amari or only in Kaiapit.)

e.g. arajan buŋ?- ma- fan da mai?
he Fut. Pot. go TimeM. tomorrow
Will he go tomorrow?

buŋʔa-/muŋʔa- with da- Contrary to Fact. When buŋʔa- precedes da-, the final vowel of buŋʔa- is dropped and the two become buŋʔda-, and together they express a somewhat negative sense.

e.g. u muŋʔ- da- mpai
you(S.) Fut. CF. stay
Won't you stay?

u muŋʔ- da- ni da rib idzun muŋʔ- da- fan
you(S.) Fut. CF. say and they Fut. CF. go
If you will only say something, then they would go.

buŋʔa-/muŋʔa- with wa, na, a-, does not occur.

buŋʔa-/muŋʔa- with bu- Repetitive

e.g. dzi buŋʔa- bu- ba
I Fut. Repet. come
I will come back again.

araŋan muŋʔa- bu- tip a- fan
he Fut. Repet. again Hort. go
He will go back again.

4.2.3 Prefix slot 4

This slot has only one prefix, ma- Potential. This prefix can be translated as *perhaps*, and conveys a sense of doubt. It has already been shown how ma- combines with several other prefixes which occur in the two prefix slots before it (ru- and buŋʔa-/muŋʔa-). When used alone, before a verb root, ma- can be translated as *perhaps* or *maybe*, in the present or past tense.

e.g. araŋan ma- mpai ma ma- fan
he Pot. stay or Pot. go
Perhaps he is there, or perhaps he has gone.

Siras ma- ga nam ma araŋan ru- ma- mpai
Siras Pot. eat food or he Cont. Pot. stay
Perhaps Silas has eaten, or perhaps he is still sitting there.

ma- with da-, wa-, does not occur. However ma-da- does occur in the Kaiapit dialect.

ma- with na- does not occur, but is found in the Kaiapit dialect.

ma- with bu- Repetitive

e.g. dzi ma- bu- fan
I Pot. Repet. go
Did I go back? (i.e. I can't remember ...)

4.2.4 Prefix slot 5

This slot contains only da- Contrary to Fact. This prefix has a negative sense, in that it indicates that something could, or should, have taken place, but did not. It has also an element of regret, 'if only' something had happened.

e.g. dzi da- yu papaya ugu wa da dzi da- num da- suf
 I CF. take pawpaw Dem. finish and I CF. drink CF. be enough
 If only I had brought that pawpaw, I could have eaten my fill.

sagat igi da- ntaŋ krus
 woman Dem. CF. sew clothes
 If only that woman would sew clothes! (She can, but she doesn't.)

da- with wa-, na-, does not occur.

da- with bu- does not occur.

4.2.5 Prefix slot 6

A number of prefixes may occur in this slot. They are wa-/a- Imperative, and na-/a- Hortative.

wa- Imperative. This prefix is only used with second person subjects, u/agu (Singular), and agam (Plural). When used with second Singular u/agu, the pronoun is dropped.

e.g. wa- ga nam
 Imp. eat food
 Eat!

wa- ba ani
 Imp. come here
 Come here!

With second person plural agam, the pronoun is retained, but the wa- can become a-.

e.g. agam a- ba
 you(Pl.) Imp. come

or agam wa- ba
 you(Pl.) Imp. come
 Come!

agam a- mpai
 you(Pl.) Imp. stay
 You stay!

garam da sagat wa- ba
 man and woman Imp. come
 Men and women, come!

wa- with bu- Repetitive

e.g. wa- bu- fan da tata? wa- bu- ba
 Imp. Repet. go and tomorrow Imp. Repet. come
 You go again now and come back tomorrow.

na- Hortative, or First and Third Imperative. This prefix is only used with first or third person subjects. It has a future connotation.

e.g. agi na- fan
 we(Inc.) Hort. go
 Let us go! We shall go. We should go.

araŋan na- naŋa na- bi anuŋ? da na- ntaŋ taiap in
he/she Hort. make Hort. how where and Hort. weave net bag Obl.Obj.
How should she prepare it (the string) and make a net bag from it?

na- ntsup da dzi na- fan
Hort. finish and I Hort. go
When it is finished, I should go.

na- is often used to convey the meaning 'when something will occur, then ... something else will occur', as in the last example. Another common example is:

na- pis da garam da sagat na- fa gamp
Hort. sun come up TimeM. man and woman Hort. go village
When the sun comes up, the men and women will go to their villages.

na- with ru- and with ma- (Kaiapit dialect only) have been treated (see 4.2.1 and 4.2.3).

na- with bu- Repetitive

e.g. dzi na- bu- ba
I Hort. Repet. come
I will/should come back again.

4.2.6 Prefix slot 7

This slot has only one prefix, bu- Repetitive. This can often be translated as *again*. It is usually preceded by i- Realis prefix (see 4.2.2), or Future prefix buŋ?a- (see 4.2.2).

e.g. araŋan i- bu- ba
he Real. Repet. come
He came back again.

dzi muŋ?a- bu- ba da Muntai
I Fut. Repet. come TimeM. Monday
I will come back again on Monday.

Table 4: Chart of prefix co-occurrence

	anuŋʔ-	ru- ruŋʔ-	buŋ-	i-	buŋʔa- muŋʔa-	ma- ¹	da-	wa- a-	na- a-	ma- ²	bu-
anuŋʔ-		*	*	*	*						*
ru- ruŋʔ-				*	*	*	*		*		
buŋ-				*		*					
i-											*
buŋʔa- muŋʔa-						*	*			*	*
ma- ¹							*		*		*
da-							(Kaiapit)		(Kaiapit)		*
wa- a-											*
na- a-											*
ma- ²											
bu-											

1. Potential; 2. Negative; * = co-occur

4.3 Verb suffix: participle marker

In Amari, there is only one verbal suffix, which can have one of four forms. This suffix, -dan/-an, -da/-a, changes the verb form into a participle or verbal noun.

If the preceding sound is either a vowel, or [n], the form will be -dan/-da. If the preceding sound is a consonant (including other nasals and glottal stop), the form will be -an/-a.

The final nasal of -an and -dan is dropped if the verb is followed by any predicate - any postverbal particle, adverb, an object, complement, or another verb. The form used then is either -da (after a vowel or [n]) or -a (after a consonant). This means, in effect, that the final n is retained only when the participial form of the verb is the last word in a sentence, or before the conjunction da when it joins two sentences. (See fa go (4.5.1) and ga eat (4.5.2) for exceptions.)

e.g. After vowel or [n]:

sagat mpa -da ris igi
woman stay. Part. dam Dem.
The women are staying at the dam.

arajan i- tip i- fa i tsajan -da sagat ugu
he Real. return Real. go Obl.Obj.M. see. Part. woman Dem.
He returned in order to see that woman.

After consonants (including other nasals and glottal stop):

rama -ŋʔ i- fa naŋ -a gum miŋʔ -a wap
father 1.Poss.I Real. go do. Part. work stay. Part. bush
Father has gone to work in the garden in the bush.

dzi i- naŋ i fis -a i nan sagat ari
 I Real. want Obl.Obj.M. tell. Part. Obl.Obj.M. talk woman dig out.
 -da gur
 Part. clay
 I want to tell the story about how women dig out the clay (for pots).

With a predicate following the verb:

agam i- fa tsan̄an-da wai
 you(Pl.) Real. go see. Part. what
 What did you all go to see?

dzi gabai bia? -a suŋ da dzi i- muan̄its buŋ?a- rut
 I never go. Part. quick and I Real. be hungry Fut. be together
 If I do not go quickly, I will be hungry.

sagat mpa -da ris igi i- is yafas
 woman stay. Part. dam Dem. Real. hit fish
 The women staying at the dam caught fish.

aga i- dzraŋ i wam -a nam ga -dan
 we(Exc.) Real. split up Obl.Obj.M. find. Part. food eat. Part.
 We split up in order to find some food.

At end of sentence, or before conjunction da:

i- saŋ? dzi bia? -an
 Real. be enough I come Part.
 Can I come?

araŋan i- mpa i- saŋ? buramp iru?run igi ntsup -an
 he Real. stay Real. be enough month two Dem. finish. Part.

da tip -a fa -dan
 and return. Part. go. Part.
 He stayed until two months had finished, and he went back.

araŋan i- tsan̄an dzaŋkum uri? -an da atim runt -an da
 he Real. see corn sprout. Part. and cucumber grow. Part. and

ganaŋ tap -an
 yam grow. Part.
 He saw the corn had sprouted, and the cucumbers had grown, and the yams had grown.

4.4 Post-verbal particles

Post-verbal particles can occur after any verb, and can be separated from the verb by any number of words, for example, demonstratives, an object, a complement, etc. There are two post-verbal particle positions. In the first position (1) either sib, ama?, a, or aŋu may occur. In the second position, and following directly after the first position, i or wa may occur. Most of these particles emphasise tense, aspect or mood which is conveyed by the verbal prefixes, and usually intensifying the meaning conveyed by these prefixes.

4.4.1 Completive I – sib

When sib occurs at the end of a verb phrase, it means that the action is completed. It is also used in time phrases to denote actions which have been completed in the past, or actions which will be completed in the future.

e.g. rib igi i- ga nam tai -dan igi sib
they Real. eat food cook. Part. Dem. Compl.I
They ate the cooked food.

mpui igi i- ri? sib
water Dem. Real. dry up Compl.I
That water has all dried up.

Future:

suntai iru?run na- ntsup sib i da agi na- bri? pinat
Sunday two Hort. finish Compl.I first and we(Inc.) Hort. pick peanuts
In two weeks' time, we will pick the peanuts.

Past:

ukam iru?run i- fa sib da dzi anuŋ? i- tsaŋan aranan u
moon two Real. go Compl.I and I Neg. Real. see him/her Neg.
I haven't seen her for two months.

Sib is used frequently when narrating a story, to show that one action is finished and another is about to begin,

e.g. ...da rib igi i- rim mani sib da i- ntaŋ dzaŋ?
...and they Real. give money Compl.I and Real. spear pork/pig
...and they gave (them) the money, and then they took the pork on their
their spears.

Sib also gives a sense of finality to actions which, when expressed by certain verbs, may be ambiguous, e.g. mamp *to die* may also mean *to faint*, but when followed by sib there is no doubt that *to die* is meant.

e.g. dzi rama -ŋ? -gaŋ? i- mamp sib
I father 1Poss.Poss. Real. die Compl.I
My father is dead.

4.4.2 Completive II – sib i and sib wa

Only sib can be followed by the second position particles, i and wa, although they can occur without sib (see below: 4.4.6). They both act as intensifiers. i is an affirmative intensifier, asserting and stressing that an action has occurred:

e.g. dzi i- naŋ sib i
I Real. do Compl.I. Compl.II
I have done it.

Wa intensifies the sense of 'finished, already done', when used after sib. It is also a completive particle, and can occur alone, without sib:

e.g. Adu i- ba sib wa
Adu Real. come Compl.I Compl.II
Adu has already come.

4.4.3 Hortative Intensifier ama? *let*

This particle must co-occur with either Hortative prefix na-/a- or Imperative wa-/a-, and has the meaning of *let...something happen*. It adds encouragement to the hortatory sense of na-/a-, and it can only occur following second and third person subjects:

- e.g. maragab na- rab ama?
poor fellow Hort. cut Hort.Int.
Let the poor fellow cut it!
- rib igi na- fan ama?
they Hort. go Hort.Int.
They should go! Let them go!

4.4.4 Imperative Intensifier a

a occurs only with second person subjects, and with the Imperative prefix wa-. It has a strong assertive sense, and according to one informant, it implies criticism of the person being addressed, or exasperation:

- e.g. wa- naŋ nam a
Imp. cook food Imp.Int.
Do go and cook the food!
- wa- gari a
Imp. weed Imp.Int.
Go on, weed it! (Example from K. Holzknrecht 1973:23)

4.4.5 aŋu *only, just*

The particle aŋu can occur with all subjects and prefixes, and has the meaning *only, just*. It can also act like an adverb, and qualify verbs, adjectives or other adverbs:

- e.g. wa- fan aŋu
Imp. go only
Just get going!
- dzi i- mpai aŋu
I Real. stay only
I am just sitting here.

4.4.6 i and wa without sib

Both i and wa can stand alone, without sib. The particle i asserts that the action is to be completed first, before another begins:

- e.g. dzi na- rab i
I Hort. cut first
Let me cut it first (before something else happens).
- dzi na- gari i
I Hort. weed first
Let me weed it first (before I plant something).

wa implies a completed action, with or without sib preceding it:

- e.g. Adu i- ba wa
 Adu Real. *come* Compl.II
 Adu has already come. OR Has Adu already come? (with question intonation.)
- dzi i- tsanan wa
 I Real. *see* Compl.II
 I have already seen it.
- gum i- ntsup sib wa
 work Real. *finish* Compl.I Compl.II
 The work has really finished.

These particles cannot follow any of the other particles in Position I, Post-verbal particles (4.4) except sib.

4.5 Irregular verb roots

In the Amari language, two verb roots behave differently to other verbs, in the way in which they take endings. These two verbs are *fa go*, and *ga eat*.

4.5.1 *fa go*

The root of this verb is *fa*, and the participial form is *fa-dan*. However, for all prefixes, the root becomes *fan* if it ends the sentence or clause:

- e.g. wa- fan da na- tsanan
 Imp. *go and* Hort. *see*
 You go and see!
- dzi na- rut aranan na- fan
 I Hort. *go with him* Hort. *go*
 I should go with him.

However, with any predicate following the verb, the root *fa* does not change.

In comparison, the verb *ba come* does not behave in this way. The participial form is *ba-dan*, but the root always remains *ba*, and never becomes *ban*:

- e.g. dzi na- bu- ba
 I Hort. Repet. *come*
 I will come back again.
- aranan i- ni ba -dan
 he Real. *want come*. Part.
 He wants to come.

4.5.2 *ga eat*

The verb root *ga eat* is also irregular, and behaves in a similar way to *fa go*. Before *da and*, and at the end of a sentence, *ga* becomes *gan*. However, before a vowel, within a sentence, *ga* does not change to *gan*, but remains *ga*, and in speech a glottal stop is inserted between the vowels:

- e.g. rib igi i- ga unas
they Real. *eat sweet potato*
They are eating sweet potato.
- araṅan i- ga sib
he Real. *eat Compl.I*
He has eaten.
- araṅan ampi -gan i- gan
he *guest. 3Poss.II* Real. *eat*
His guest is eating.
- garam igi ampi -gan igi i- gan da i- num ti igi
man Dem. *guest. 3Poss.II* Dem. Real. *eat and* Real. *drink tea* Dem.
That man's guests ate, and drank tea.

However, the regular participial form is ga-dan/ga-da:

- e.g. dzi i- ni ga -da nam
I Real. *want eat. Part. food*
I want to eat (food).
- araṅan i- bugin ga -dan
he Real. *not like eat. Part.*
He does not like eating.

4.6 Auxiliary verbs

There appear to be two types of auxiliary verbs in Amari – those which can also stand alone as main verbs, and those which can only be used in association with another verb.

4.6.1 *fa go*, and *ba come*

The first type of auxiliary verb includes *fa go* and *ba come*. As well as being true independent verbs in their own right, *fa* and *ba* can be used with another verb to indicate a continuous aspect, as well as giving a directional sense to the verb, especially verbs of motion. When used in this way, *fa* and *ba* always come after the main verb:

fa go

- e.g. garam igi i- ni nan i- fa fa da nan i- saṅ? ruan
man Dem. Real. *say talk* Real. *go. go and talk* Real. *be enough* Refl.
The men talk, on and on, until the talk is straight among them.
- rib igi i- ḡump i- fa- fa- fa da gubu? i- pis
they Real. *dance* Real. *go. go. go and sun* Real. *come up*
They dance and dance, until the sun comes up.
- mama? igi i- fits aruf igi taiaṅ -an da i- yu i- fan
child Dem. Real. *carry girl* Dem. *net bag* 3Poss.II *and* Real. *take* Real. *go*
The child carries the girl's net bag and takes it away.
- dzi i- yuṅ i- fa gamp
I Real. *walk* Real. *go village*
I am walking to the village.

In the first example, the verb root *fa* is repeated, in order to show that the action was continuing on for a long time. This usage is normally marked by past tense, Realis *i-*, so it is actually a past imperfect. Similarly, the second example shows *fa* being used as an auxiliary aspectual marker. The third example shows *fa* being used as an auxiliary showing direction, and giving a sense of motion to a verb which is not a verb of motion (*yu take*). Because *fa* is used after the verb, it shows that *i-yu i-fan* means *took it (net bag) away from the village*. Motion is seen in relation to the speaker, and his/her position with respect to the home village, so motion away from the village is expressed by *fa go*, and motion towards the village is expressed by *ba come*. The last example shows the motion of walking specifically towards the village.

ba come

e.g. aranan i- tsanan dzaf unar igi dugunt -an yab -a su
he Real. see fire house Dem. smoke 3Poss.II go up. Part. become.

-da tsira? da i- tip i- ru? ba
 Part. big and Real. return Real. go down come
He saw the smoke from the house-fire become bigger and he came back down again.

da rib igi i- yu nam fain da bus da i- yu i-
and they Real. take food some and greens and Real. take Real.

ba gamp
come village
...and they get some food and greens and bring them back to the village.

garam gamp manan i- rim nan i- ba da garam gamp manan
man village a Real. send talk Real. come to man village a
The men from one village send the talk to the men of another village.

ba come is used as a direction marker also, when it follows another verb. Again, as with *fa go*, the direction is determined by the position of the speaker, and of the speaker's village. As in the first example for *ba*, *i-tip i-ru? ba* *he came back down again*, the person referred to came back down to the village from the mountain. Also, in the second example, the motion is towards the village, *i-yu i-ba gamp brought (it) back to the village*. In the third example, the speaker is speaking from the standpoint of a person in her own village — *i-rim nan i-ba da garam gamp manan brought the talk to a man of the village*, i.e. not any village at all, but her own village.

4.6.2 Auxiliary verbs II

A second type of auxiliary verb comes before the main verb (with one exception *mpru? be with*). These verbs differ from the first type of auxiliary in that they cannot stand alone as independent verbs. Verbs of this type collected so far, and commonly used, are:

mus *always*
 mpru? *be with*
 rut *go with*

mus *always*.

- e.g. aga i- mus i- fan
 we(Exc.) Real. *always* Real. go
We always go.
- garam igi i- mus i- runt anu
 man Dem. Real. *always* Real. run only
That man always only runs.

rut *go with, accompany*.

This has a more active sense of *accompany* than mpru⁷ and always precedes the verb it modifies, except when it accompanies *ni say*. The object, if there is one, usually comes straight after rut.

- e.g. mama⁷ finam finam i- rut sagat fain i- fan da i- is
child female female Real. go with woman some Real. go and Real. hit
- nam wasa⁷ i ntiŋ⁷ -a mpui gin
thing inside Obl.Obj.M. dam. Part. water Obl.Obj.
The girls accompany some women and get together the things for damming up the water with.
- Irafruan i- rut fini -n -gan i- yab i- mpru⁷
Irafruan Real. go with wife 3Poss.I 3Poss.II Real. go up Real. be with
- da agai
with us(Exc.)
Irafruan, accompanied by his wife, got up (into a car) and were together with us.

ni say followed by rut.

The verb *ni say, like*, is often followed by rut, which then has the meaning of *say to* someone. This must then be followed by the oblique object marker, *i*, plus object, or, if the indirect object is a pronoun, by the form which combines oblique object marker and third person pronoun object, *in*.

- e.g. dzi i- ni rut in i ba -dan
I Real. say together Obl.Obj.M. Compl.M. come. Part.
I told him to come.
- wa- ni rut in i dzi fa -da mpru⁷ -an
 Imp. say together Obl.Obj.M. Compl.M. I go. Part. be with. Part.
- da rib idzun
with them
Tell him that I am going with them.

mpru⁷ *be with, be together*.

mpru⁷ usually follows the verb it is accompanying. It can be either transitive or intransitive, and when transitive takes *da* before the object.

- e.g. garam igi i- yu mama⁷ i- mpru⁷
 man Dem. Real. take child Real. be together
That man gathered the children together.

dzi na- fa na- mpru? (da) arañan da aga na- fa gum asa
I Hort. go Hort. be together (with) him and we (Exc.) Hort. go garden
I will go with him and we will go to the garden.

rib igi i- gints dzaŋ? igi i- mpru? da mani i-
they Real. divide up pig Dem. Real. be together with money Real.

saŋ? garam bitsinta? bitsinta?
be enough man one one
They divided up the pork, together with the money, for each man.

4.7 Objects: direct object; indirect object; oblique object

The relative positions of objects in the verb phrase may be expressed in the following way:

VP + (Direct Object) + (da) + (Indirect Object) + ({ i + Oblique Object }
 { i + Complement })

4.7.1 Direct object

The direct object of a transitive verb, in Amari, is not marked in any way other than position, which is directly following the verb.

e.g. arañan i- tip i- yu kar da i- runt
he Real. again Real. take car and Real. run
 Subject Verb 1 Verb 2 Direct Object Conjunction Verb 3

i- atsun? dzi
Real. follow me
 Verb 4 Direct Object
He got the car again and followed me.

In this sentence, *car* is the direct object of the first verb compound and *me* is the direct object of the second verb compound. They both follow directly after the verb they are related to, and are not marked in any other way.

4.7.2 Indirect object

The indirect object follows the direct object, and is usually preceded by *da to*.

e.g. sifu da i- rim rais da ti da biskit da arañan ampi -gan
night Time.M. Real. give rice and tea and biscuit to him guest 3Poss.II
At night, (they) gave rice and tea and biscuits to his guests.

However, when the indirect object is a third person pronoun, certain verbs must be followed by the auxiliary verb *rut* and the oblique object *in*.

e.g. dzi i- ni nan da agu
I Real. say talk to you
I said it to you.

aga na- rim nam ga -dan da agam
 we(Exc.) Hort. *give food eat. Part. to you(Pl.)*
We will give you (plural) food.

cf. Rami i- ni nan rut in
 Rami Real. *say talk be together Obl.Obj.*
Rami talked with him

mama? maŋan i- rim rut in
 child a Real. *give be together Obl.Obj.*
Some child gave (it) to him.

Some verbs take in or gin after them, as a direct object, for example, riŋant *hear*, gut *ask*, and fis *tell*

e.g. dzi i riŋant in
 I Real. *hear Obl.Obj.*
I hear/heard it.

wa- gut in da na- fis in da agu
 Imp. *ask Obl.Obj. and Hort. tell Obl.Obj. to you(S.)*
Ask him and he will tell you (it).

4.7.3 Oblique object

The oblique object, that is, the object of a verb that is further removed from the verb than the direct or indirect objects, is marked by the particle *i*, which has the forms in or gin, when the oblique object is a third person pronoun. In the latter case, in or gin incorporates the *i* marker with the pronoun object.

The English gloss of *i* can vary considerably. It can mean *of*, *about*, *because of*, *in order to*, *as a consequence of*, *with*, and many other things. For example:

i:

aga i- ba munti da aga i- raŋ i gaŋ?
 we(Exc.) Real. *come stand and we(Exc.) Real. cry Obl.Obj.M. 1Poss.II*
 uŋar -aŋ?
 house. 1Poss.II
We came and stood (there) and cried for our house.

dzi i- is gai i baŋi -ŋ?
 I Real. *hit tree Obl.Obj.M. hand. 1Poss.I*
I hit the tree with my hand.

sagat fain i- fan da i- is nam wasa? i ntiŋ?
 woman some Real. *go and Real. hit thing inside Obl.Obj.M. dam up.*

-a mpui gin
 Part. *water Obl.Obj.*
Some women go and put the things inside in order to dam up the water with them.

rib fain mara -n i- fur i muŋ?a- ba gamp
 people some eye 3Poss.I Real. *think Obl.Obj.M. Fut. come village*
Some people think about coming back to the village.

aga na- muŋ? i Banabas i- mamp
we(Exc.) Hort. go back Obl.Obj.M. Banabas Real. die
We should go back because Banabas has died.

in and gin.

Another form of *i* is *in/gin*. These incorporate *i* plus a third person, singular or plural object, and thus become, for example, *with it, because of him, about him, for them*, and so on. These could be analysed as *i* plus a third person suffix *-n*. This would correspond to the third person possessive suffix *-n*. One finds *gin* occurring after a vowel, or after [n] or [ŋ], and *in* after all other consonants. When *in* or *gin* are used, usually the referent of the third person pronoun has already been mentioned, and *in* and *gin* provide a short way of referring back to it, i.e. it is an anaphoric referent. For example:

in:

...da aga i- gut in : agam i- ba i wai
...and we(Exc.) Real. ask Obl.Obj.: you(Pl.) Real. come Obl.Obj.M. what
...and we asked them: what did you come for?

rib idzun i- yu gur igi i- wa? da i- adzu? i
they Real. take pot Dem. Real. go out and Real. wash Obl.Obj.M.

su -da nam in
cook. Part. food Obl.Obj.

They took the pots out and washed them in order to cook food in them.

There appears to be a stylistic preference for *gin* over *in*. When *in* is indicated, speakers often use *igi* (Demonstrative, *this, these*) after the word ending in a consonant or [n/ŋ] and then *gin* can be used after *igi*.

e.g. sagat i- yu maŋuf da maradzuaŋ da i- gira sasiŋ?
woman Real. take Bixa sp. and turmeric and Real. decorate grass-skirt

igi gin
 Dem. Obl.Obj.

The women take Bixa and turmeric and decorate the grass-skirts with them.

One informant explained that 'it sounds better' to say *sasiŋ? igi gin* than *sasiŋ? in*, although either is correct. Similarly:

Marakus i- yu dzaf da i- faŋa uwir
Marakus Real. take fire and Real. set fire to dry banana leaves

igi gin
 Dem. Obl.Obj.

Marakus took some fire and set fire to the dry banana leaves with it.

gin:

rib igi i- yu bugum da maŋuf da i- gira ruan gin
they Real. take clay and Bixa and Real. decorate Refl. with it
They take clay and Bixa seeds and decorate themselves with it.

...da aga naŋ -gaŋ? atsuf -an da nam giŋ? -a gin
...and we(Exc.) thing lPoss.I wear Part. and thing sleep. Part. in them

igi santan ima?
 Dem. all Neg.

...and we had nothing to wear and nothing to sleep in, it was all gone.

There are certain verbs in Amari which must take in/gin as an obligatory object. These verbs cannot occur without gin.

- e.g. patam -a gin *to turn something back-to-front*
 umat -a gin *to remove something from something else, e.g. a stick stuck in the ground*
 pitam -a gin *to turn something upside-down*
 untap -a gin *to drag something along with something else*
 parim -a gin *to turn something around; to change the direction of something*
 tapu -da gin *to throw something onto something else, e.g. salt into a pot*

The addition of gin to a verb may transform the meaning of the verb, e.g.

- | | | | | |
|--------------|------------------|-----|------------------|----------------------------------|
| mu -dan | <i>fall over</i> | cf. | mu -da gin | <i>to set a trap for someone</i> |
| mpa -dan | <i>sit down</i> | | mpa -da gin | <i>to sit down on something</i> |
| tsaŋan isru? | <i>know</i> | | tsaŋan isru? gin | <i>to get to know something</i> |

Thus gin can add an instrumental element to the verb, or a causative sense.

4.8 The complement

Amari complementation can take several forms. The simplest form is where the verb 'to be' takes a noun phrase as a complement. This relationship of 'something is something' is usually expressed by the use of 'verbal adjectives' (see 3.2.6.2), and these are all stative verbs. When being used as the verb of a sentence, these verb roots take one or more of the usual tense/aspect prefixes.

- e.g. iyam i- mais
dog Real. bad
The dog is bad.
- nam igi ru- sasus
food Dem. Cont. hot
This food is hot.
- is -a garam funub i- mais
hit. Part. man dead Real. bad
To kill people is bad.

Intransitive verbs and stative verbs can take a sentence as complement, but this complement must take the complement marker i before it, and the verb of the complement sentence then becomes expressed in the participial form, that is, verb root + participial suffix -a/-an/-da/-dan.

- e.g. anuŋ? - i- daum i is -a garam funub u
Neg. Real. good Compl.M. hit. Part. man dead Neg.
It is not good to kill people.
- i- daum i yi? -a mpui
Real. good Compl.M. swim. Part. water
It is good to swim.

Some verbs take an obligatory object which may be a noun phrase or a verb phrase, and these must be preceded by i. Some verbs, such as ni *talk, want, say* (unless followed by direct, quoted speech), riŋant *hear, listen*, take an

obligatory oblique object, and this has been discussed in 4.7.3. Other verbs which indicate a state of mind or certain emotions (referred to by Pawley as 'psychological verbs' (Pawley 1973)) must be followed by *i* before a predicate, whether the predicate is a noun or a sentence. Some of these verbs are *muaruts* *believe*, *think*, *frip* *be surprised at*, *rat* *be afraid of*. Metaphors which refer to such emotions and states of mind are also subject to this condition, e.g. *rini -n i-pa?* *be fed up with something* (literally *one's skin rejects*), *mara -n i-ari* *love somebody* (literally *one's eyes spear*) and many more.

e.g. *dzi i- frip i araŋa -gan rab -a nifu -n*
I Real. be surprised Compl.M. he 3Poss.II cut. Part. mouth 3Poss.I
I was surprised at his cutting his lip.

ma- rat i iyam ma?
Imp.Neg. be afraid Compl.M. dog Imp.Neg.
Do not be afraid of dogs.

Maria rini -n i-pa? i rim -a mani da Anis
Maria be fed up with Compl.M. give. Part. money to Anis
Maria is fed up with giving money to Anis.

4.9 Location

The particle *i* also serves as a location marker. When the sense of the location is simply *at*, then *i* is used. It cannot be used to indicate where someone has gone, but only to express a static relationship between the subject and the verb. For locating something in a specific position in relation to something else, other location markers can be used, such as prepositions, or verbs in which the location or direction is understood.

i as a locative marker:

dzi i- rut fata -ŋ? i- mpa i- miŋ? i
I Real. be together sister-in-law 1Poss.I Real. stay Real. stay Loc.

gan uŋar -an
3Poss.II house. 3Poss.II
My sister-in-law and I stayed at her house.

rina -ŋ? i- apiŋ? Rufi? i uŋar igi
mother. 1Poss.I Real. bear Rufi? Loc. house Dem.
My mother gave birth to Rufi? at that house.

aga santan i- fa munti i mpui
we(Exc.) all Real. go stand Loc. water
We all went and stood at the river.

dzi i- taŋin mudzuk rai i gum asa
I Real. leave knife behind Loc. garden
I left the knife behind in the garden.

mama? igi i- kup i sagat igi uŋar -an
child Dem. Real. hide Loc. woman Dem. house 3Poss.
The child hid at that woman's house.

Many verbs in Amari have either direction (if verbs of motion) or location understood in them, for example, *fa* *go* is not only *go* but *go to*.

e.g. dzi i- ni⁵ fa -da Rai
 I Real. want go. Part. Lae
 I want to go to Lae.

The root mpa *stay, sit* means *stay at, sit on*.

e.g. wa- mpa tsitsu?
 Imp. sit mat
 Sit down on the mat.

Thus, *i* as locative marker is only necessary with verbs which do not have location understood, as in the examples above, *apiŋ?* *give birth to*, *munti stand*, *kup hide*. However, *i* can sometimes be used after *fa* for emphasis or style.

e.g. agi fa -da i nambis
 we(Inc.) go. Part. Loc. beach
 Let us go to the beach.

The location phrase always occurs at the end of the sentence, and can sometimes be separated by many elements of speech from the word or phrase to which it refers.

e.g. aga i- ataŋ? i rab -a gai i Simon
 we(Exc.) Real. go upstream Obl.Obj.M. cut. Part. tree Obl.Obj.M. Simon
 uŋar -an i Bribris
 house. 3Poss.II Loc. Bribris
 We went upstream in order to cut trees at Bribris for Simon's house.

The locative marker *i* in the sentence above refers to the *trees*, *gai*, and not to *uŋar house*.

The direction of actions is often expressed, as said before, by the verb root. Usually there is a specific verb which describes the action which in English might be translated by a phrasal verb, a collocation of verb + adverb or verb + preposition.

e.g. ataŋ go inside, go upstream
 wa? go outside
 fafub go downstream
 taŋi turn around, turn head around
 ru? go down (e.g. down mountain)
 yab go up (e.g. up mountain)
 wafi? go around
 sari walk beside the edge of
 gru? take something off (e.g. clothes)

OTHER PREPOSITIONS

There are several other prepositions which indicate location, besides *i*. Some of these are:

da to, towards.

e.g. araŋan i- yuŋ i- fa da uŋar
 he Real. walk Real. go towards house
 He walked towards the house.

sinuŋ? *away from, out of, without.*

e.g. dzi i- fa sinuŋ? uŋar
 I Real. go away from house
 I walked away from the house.

The location of an action expressed in a verb can often be in the form Noun + Attribute, for example:

araŋan i- fa uŋar wasa?
 he Real. go house middle
 He went into the inside of the house.

unas i- miŋ? tiriaŋ? waguŋ?
 sweet potato Real. stay bed platform on top of
 The sweet potato is on top of the bed platform.

dzi i- yuŋ wasa? i uŋar
 I Real. walk middle Loc. house
 I walked between the houses.

In the first sentence, uŋar wasa? means *house middle*, and is actually a compound of two nouns, uŋar and wasa?. Similarly, tiriaŋ? waguŋ? means *bed platform the top of*, and is also a compound of two nouns. By moving these around one can achieve a different meaning, as in the third sentence, with wasa? i uŋar *middle of the houses*: i.e. *the space between the houses*.

4.10 Time phrases

Time phrases can occur either at the beginning or at the end of a sentence. When a time phrase occurs at the beginning of a sentence, it is followed by da, which can be translated in this usage as *and then*. The rest of the sentence then follows da. (I will call da Time Marker, in this usage.)

e.g. gubu? maŋan da dzi buŋ?a- fan
 sun a Time M. I Fut. go
 I will go one day.

Suntai iru?run sib i da agi na- bri? pinat
 Sunday two Compl.I Compl.II Time M. we(Inc.) Hort. pick peanut
 In two weeks' time we will pick peanuts.

ukam bitsinta? i- fa sib da dzi anuŋ? i- tsanaŋ garam
 moon one Real. go Compl.I Time M. I Neg. Real. see man

igi u
 Dem. Neg.
 I have not seen that man for one month.

udzuf iru?run na- ntsup da dzi na- fa Madang
 season two Hort. finish Time M. I Hort. go Madang
 In two years' time I will go to Madang.

When the time phrase occurs at the end of a sentence, it is preceded by da.

e.g. araŋan i- ba da mai? ugu
 he Real. come Time M. yesterday
 He came yesterday.

rib igi buŋ'a- fa gamp da tata?
 they Fut. go village Time M. tomorrow
 They will go to the village tomorrow.

In both of these examples, the meaning remains the same when the time phrase is placed at the beginning of the sentence:

mai? ugu da aranan i- ba
 yesterday Time M. he Real. come
 Yesterday he came.

tata? da rib igi buŋ'a- fa gamp
 tomorrow Time M. they Fut. go village
 Tomorrow they will go to the village.

The only difference discernible is one of emphasis.

These time phrases all set the time of reference of the action expressed by the verb and its particles. Tense and aspect marking agree with the time expressed in the time phrase.

e.g. ukam bitsinta? na- ntsup da aranan na- bu- ba
 moon one Hort. finish Time M. he Hort. Repet. come
 After one month, he will come back again.

In this sentence, the tense/aspect marking on the two verbs, *ntsup finish*, and *ba come*, is by *na-*, Hortative prefix, which has a future connotation. This agrees with the time phrase *ukam bitsinta? na-ntsup one month should be finished...* Also, for example:

aranan buŋ- i- fa da mai?
 he Perf. Real. go Time M. yesterday
 He only left yesterday.

In this sentence, the tense/aspect markers are *buŋ-* Perfective, and *i-* Realis, which correspond to the time phrase, *da mai? yesterday*.

Time phrases used as greeting seem to have been introduced by Europeans, and follow European patterns. Previously, according to old Amari informants, the only greetings used were of the 'Where are you going?', 'I am going to the garden, where are you going?' variety. Nowadays people use the introduced forms as well as the old forms.

The times of the day, as divided up by the Amari, are as follows:

tata?	morning
gubu?	day (literally sun)
nam nufan	afternoon
idzian?	evening
sifu	night

All of these time phrases can be used with *bini good* following them (except *gubu?*), as a greeting or farewell, e.g. *tata? bini good morning*, or *sifu bini good night*. These words can also be used as temporal phrases in sentences.

e.g. tata? maratait da dzi buŋ'a- fa Nadzab
 morning early Time M. I Fut. go Nadzab
 Early in the morning I will go to Nadzab.

rib igi santan i- wa? da i- ari mint da sifu i-
they all Real. come up and Real. hit song Time M. night Real.

san? gubu? pis -an
be enough sun dawn. Part.
They all came up and sang songs into the night, until the day dawned.

Common time phrases used as time reference in sentences are as follows:

mai?	<i>yesterday</i>
mai? ugu	<i>yesterday</i>
mai? manan	<i>day before yesterday</i>
mai? Tundi	<i>the day before yesterday, Tuesday</i>
tata?	<i>tomorrow</i>
tata? manan	<i>the day after tomorrow</i>
aruani	<i>now</i>
rai i	<i>later</i>
Fraidi manan	<i>a Friday in the future</i>
Fraidi bampam ugu	<i>Friday last week</i>
Fraidi manan ugu	<i>next Friday</i>
gubu? manan	<i>some day</i>

Weeks are reckoned as 'Sundays', since the advent of Europeans and their seven-day week. Months are calculated usually as 'moons', either buramp or ukam. A year is now called udzuf. The word udzuf means *season*, and most things in the natural environment of the Amari have a season of their own — fruit, trees, vegetables, animals, rains, winds, and it can also be used metaphorically to refer to men.

e.g. garam igi udzuf -an i- ntsup da i- mamp
man Dem. season. 3Poss.II Real. finish and Real. die
This man's time finished and he died.

Nowadays, udzuf is used to refer to the European-introduced calendar year.

e.g. udzuf iru?run rai i da agi na- fa gamp
season two later Compl.II and we(Inc.) Hort. go village
In two years' time we will go to the village.

4.11 Negation

4.11.1 Simple negation and refusal

The simplest form of negation in Amari is the word *no*, which can be either *ima?* or *namu*. *Namu* is a specifically Amari word, and often people from other Adzera-speaking areas recognise the Amari by their use of *namu* for *no* instead of *ima?* which occurs in all other Adzera areas as a simple negative. In Amari itself, the two can be used interchangeably.

Namu and *ima?* can be said alone, as a straight-out refusal, or as a negative reply to a question.

For example an order to a child might be:

wa- fa yi? -a mpui
Imp. go swim. Part. water
Go and swim/wash!

And the child, if he dared, might answer:

namu
no
No!

Or a question might be:

u ni ga -da biskit
you(S.) want eat. Part. biscuit
Would you like a biscuit?

Reply:

ima? dzi i- bugin biskit
Neg. I Real. not like biscuit
No, I do not like biscuits.

4.11.2 Negation of noun phrase

Namu and ima? can also be used to negate a noun or noun phrase. This is not often heard in speech as a discrete unit, but more often tagged at the end of a sentence, for emphasis.

e.g. da aga nan -gaŋ? atsuŋ -an da nam gin? -a gin
and we(Exc.) thing. 1Poss.II wear. Part. and thing sleep. Part. Obl.Obj.

igi santan⁶ ima?
Dem. all Neg.
...and our clothes and our things to sleep on, all gone.

Santan ima?, literally *all no*, is used at the end of this sentence, which was about a fire which destroyed someone's house, and she was describing how there was nothing left after the fire.

The following sentence does not contain any verb. The negative namu negates the two head nouns.

iyam da ifab namu garam gar ruŋ -gan aŋu
dog and pig Neg. man true Refl. 3Poss.II only
No dogs or pigs. Only men by themselves.

This would most likely be in reply to a question, such as 'Were there any dogs or pigs there?'. Another question which would elicit a negative noun phrase as answer is, for example:

u naru -n² -gam i- bi aŋu?
you(S.) child 2Poss.I 2Poss.I Real. be like how much
How many children do you have?

Reply:

mama? namu
child Neg.
No children.

4.11.3 Negation of verb phrase

The verb phrase is negated more commonly than the noun phrase. The form of negation is quite different for the verb phrase, consisting of a verb prefix *anuŋʔ-* before the verb, and an optional, free particle *u* at the end of the sentence. This form of negation is applied to all verbs which are marked for all tenses and moods, except Imperative and Hortative, which have a different form of negation. This consists of *ma-* as a prefix on the verb in place of the Imperative *wa-* or the Hortative prefix *na-*, and *maʔ* as a free morpheme after the verb or at the end of the sentence. This morpheme is obligatory (see Table 5).

Table 5: Amari negative verb affixes and particles

	Verbal Prefixes	Verb Root	Suffixes	Post-Verbal Particles	Post-Verbal Neg. Particles
General Negation	<i>anuŋʔ-</i> (all except Imp. <i>wa-</i> and Hort. <i>na-</i>)		All	All	(<i>u</i>)
Negation of Imp. (<i>wa-</i>) and Hort. (<i>na-</i>)	<i>ma-</i> (<i>wa-</i> and <i>na-</i> only)		None	All	<i>maʔ</i>

Negative morphemes *anuŋʔ-* and *u*.

e.g. *dzi anuŋʔ- i- saŋʔ rim -a u sib u*
I Neg. Real. be enough help. Part. you(S.) Compl.I Neg.
I am not able to help you.

When the action being negated is one which should or will occur in the future, the future tense prefix *buŋʔa-/muŋʔa-* is dropped, and the realis prefix *i-* is used. However, time marking is still present in the time phrase, e.g.

tataʔ da u anuŋʔ- i- saŋʔ fa -da taun u
tomorrow Time M. you(S.) Neg. Real. be enough go. Part. town Neg.
Tomorrow you will not be able to go to town.

When there are two sentences either joined by a conjunction, or merely separated by a pause, and the tense marking of both verbs is future, when one is negated the second verb retains the future tense marking.

e.g. *aranjaŋ anuŋʔ- i- saŋʔ samur -a gamp da fits -a*
she Neg. Real. be enough sweep. Part. village and carry. Part.
gai u aranjaŋ buŋʔa- sasaʔ aŋu
wood Neg. she Fut. walk around only
She will not be able to sweep the village and carry firewood, she will only walk around.

When verbs in the future tense are being negated, it also seems that the verb *saŋʔ* 'be able, be enough', is preferred as an auxiliary, before the main verb of the sentence. There appears to be a reluctance about making negative statements about the future. The statements are either put into the form of 'not able to do something', with *i-saŋʔ* used as verb auxiliary, or the statements are changed to the potential form, using the potential prefix *ma-*.

Other tense/aspect/mood markers on the verb are used with the *anuŋʔ-* u negative forms.

e.g. with *bu-* repetitive:

dzi anuŋʔ- bu- fa -dan u
I Neg. Repet. go. Part. Neg.
I cannot go again.

with *ru-* continuous:

rib igi anuŋʔ- ru- mpai u
they Neg. Cont. stay Neg.
They are not still there.

with participle *-a/-an/-da/-dan-*:

araŋan anuŋʔ- rat -a gin u
he Neg. *be afraid.* Part. Obl.Obj. Neg.
He is not afraid of it.

4.11.4 'Neither/nor'

When two negative alternatives are presented in one sentence, and the two elements, either nouns, verbs or sentences are joined by *da* 'and', the first negative morpheme *anuŋʔ-* is placed before the first element, and the last negative morpheme *u* comes at the end of the whole sentence.

e.g. muŋʔ ugu da sagat anuŋʔ- i- ga was da i- is
a long time ago Time M. *woman* Neg. Real. *eat lime* and Real. *hit*

pauʔ u
tobacco Neg.

A long time ago, women neither chewed betel nut nor smoked tobacco.

araŋan anuŋʔ- i- yuŋ rairai i- fa gum asa da mpui da
he Neg. Real. *walk anywhere* Real. *go garden* and *water* and

umpa u
mountain garden Neg.

He does not go anywhere, neither to the garden, nor to the river, nor to the mountain garden.

4.11.5 Negation of imperative and hortative

When a negative order is given, or the hortative 'I should, we must' etc. is expressed in the negative, a different pair of negative morphemes is used. With imperative, the *wa-* prefix is replaced by *ma-* and the other part of the morpheme, *maʔ* comes after the verb, or at the end of the sentence.

- e.g. ma- mpa ru? ma?
 Imp.Neg. *sit go down* Imp.Neg.
Do not sit down!
- ma- fan ma?
 Imp.Neg. *go* Imp.Neg.
Do not go!

With the hortative, the na- prefix is dropped, and ma- replaces it.

- e.g. dzi ma- bu- fan ma?
 I Imp.Neg. Repet. *go* Imp.Neg.
I should/must not go again.
- agi ma- fan da na- u nam igi ma?
 we(Inc.) Imp.Neg. *go and* Hort. *get food* Dem. Imp.Neg.
We should not go and get food there.

5. SOME ASPECTS OF SYNTAX

5.1 Introduction

This section discusses three aspects of Amari syntax which have not been treated so far. They are Questions, 'If' Clauses, and Co-ordination of Clauses.

5.2 Questions

In Amari, there is no particular question form or change in sentence structure for questions. Unless one of the question words is being used, the only indication that a question is being asked is the intonation on the sentence, which is a rising intonation up to the second from last word or syllable, and then a sharp drop in intonation on the last word or syllable.

- e.g. tata? da u buŋ?a- fa taun
 tomorrow Time M. you(S.) Fut. go town
Will you go to town tomorrow?

u bugin i rut -a rib aga fa -da mpui
 you not like Obl.Obj.M. go with. Part. them Dem. go. Part. water
Don't you want to go to the river with the others?

Questions are often posed in the form i-saŋ? + pronoun + verb, *can he...?* or *can you...?*

- e.g. i- saŋ? u rim -a dzi sib
 Real. be enough you(S.) help. Part. me Compl.I
Can you help me?

The question is always said with the interrogative intonation.

5.2.1 Question words

There are two common question words used in Amari questions. These are *wai* which is used like an adjective or a pronoun, and usually follows nouns, and *anuŋʔ* which acts in adverbial manner, usually following the verb *bi be like*, thus.

5.2.1.1 Time questions

Questions about time can be in two forms. The first is using *wai* as an adjective after a time noun, and the rules for forming time phrases apply to time questions as well. At the beginning of a sentence, time phrases must be followed by *da*, and at the end of a sentence they must be preceded by *da*. It often occurs as noun + *idzuʔ* + *wai*.

e.g. *gubuʔ idzu wai da agi fa -dan*
sun Partic. Q. Time M. we(Inc.) go. Part.
When/what day will we go?

gubuʔ mara -n idzu wai da aranan fa -da i
sun face 3Poss.I Partic. Q. Time M. he go. Part. Obl.Obj.M.

ataŋ -an
start. Part.
What time will he go and start?

aranan i- ba wa da gubuʔ idzu wai
he Real. come Compl.II Time M. sun Partic. Q.
When did he arrive?

anuŋʔ can also be used in time questions, following the verb *bi be like*, thus. This must also be followed by *da* when it occurs at the beginning of a sentence, and preceded by *da* when it occurs at the end of a sentence.

e.g. *udzuf bi -da anuŋʔ da aranan ntsup -an*
season be like. Part. Q. Time M. he finish. Part.
What year will he finish?

gubuʔ i- bi anuŋʔ da rib igi i- ba wa
sun Real. be like Q. Time M. they Real. come Compl.II
When did they come?

rib idzun fa -dan da udzuf bi -da anuŋʔ
they Partic. go. Part. Time M. season be like Part. Q.
What year did they go?

A reply to any of these questions would also be in the form using a time phrase.

e.g. *gubuʔ bi -da ani da aranan buŋʔa- fa gamp*
sun be like. Part. Dem. Time M. he Fut. go village
On a day like this (e.g. Monday) he will go to the village.

5.2.1.2 Location questions

anuŋ? can also be used as a question word in questions about location. It is used as an adverb, and always occurs after the verb, as do all locative phrases. When the sentence is a question, the interrogative intonation is used.

e.g. u gabu -m -gam i- naŋ gum anuŋ?
you(S.) husband. 2Poss.I 2Poss.II Real. make work Q.
Where does your husband work?

rib Waridzian kar -an fa -da anuŋ?
people Waridzian car 3Poss.II go. Part. Q.
Where did the Waridzian people's car go?

nam aga i- yai? i- miŋ? anuŋ?
thing Dem. Real. cry out Real. stay Q.
Where did that thing cry out?

u rama -m -gam i- mpa anuŋ?
you(S.) father. 2Poss.I 2Poss.I Real. stay Q.
Where is your father?

With future tense, 'where' questions have a time phrase at the beginning, but the verb is in the Realis tense or in the participial form. The future prefix buŋ?a- is not used, and the future connotation comes from the time phrase. However, the hortative prefix na- may be used instead.

e.g. tata? da rib Waridzian fa -da anuŋ?
tomorrow Time M. people Waridzian go. Part. Q.
Where will the Waridzian people go tomorrow?

buŋ?a- pis tata? da rib idzun na- fa anuŋ?
Fut. dawn tomorrow Time M. people Partic. Hort. go Q.
Where will they go tomorrow morning?

5.2.1.3 'Which' questions

wai can be used after nouns or noun phrases as an adjective meaning *which*, to specify which one out of a range of things is meant. bi + anuŋ? can also be used in this way. It often follows idzu.

e.g. kar idzu wai naga (i-) ba
car Partic. Q. Dem. come
Which car is that coming?

dzi yu -da gai idzu wai
I take. Part. tree Partic. Q.
Which tree should I take?

When wai or idzu wai is reduplicated after a noun, it means *which kinds of these things?*

e.g. dzi yu -da gai idzu wai idzu wai
I take. Part. tree Partic. Q. Partic. Q.
Which kinds of trees should I take?

dzi yu -da gai wai a wai
I take. Part. tree Q. Q.
Which kinds of trees should I take?

or: dzi rab -a gai idzu wai a wai
 I cut. Part. tree Partic. Q. Q.
 What kind of tree should I cut?

'Which' questions using bi + anuŋ?:

dzi rab -a gai bi -da anuŋ?
 I cut. Part. tree be like. Part. Q.
 What sort of tree should I cut?

rib igi fa -da unar bi -da anuŋ?
 they go. Part. house be like. Part. Q.
 Which house did they go to?

5.2.1.4 Questions about instrument and manner

wai can be used as a question word in questions about manner or instrument, when preceded by the instrumental marker (or oblique object marker) i. In this case, idzu wai is used as an adjective, following a noun.

e.g. aragan saf -a i nam idzu wai
 he cut. Part. Instru.M. thing Partic. Q.
 What did he cut it with?

rib idzun i- wa? i sanampun idzu wai
 they Partic. Real. come up Instr.M. road Partic. Q.
 Which road did they come up by?

bi + anuŋ? can also be used in this sense, but then two sentences are used, joined by da and. In the first sentence, bi + anuŋ? is used adverbially, and an oblique object in or gin must occur in the second sentence, with its reference back to the subject of the first sentence.

e.g. dzi adzuŋ? -a bru? bi -da anuŋ? da dzi i- ntaŋ
 I roll Part. bark rope be like. Part. Q. and I Real. weave
 tayap in
 net-bag Obl.Obj.
 How should I roll the rope, so that I can make a net-bag out of it?

5.2.1.5 'Why' questions

Questions asking for reasons for actions are also put into the form i + wai, so wai in this case is used as a noun, or pronoun. The phrase can be translated as *because of what?*. The phrase always comes after the verb, and after any other objects of that verb.

e.g. u rab -a gai igi i wai
 you(S.) cut. Part. tree Dem. Obl.Obj.M. Q.
 Why did you cut that tree?

rib idzun i- mpi? ruan i wai
 they Partic. Real. argue Refl. Obl.Obj.M. Q.
 Why are they arguing with each other?

kiap i- ni rib idzun fa -dan i wai
 kiap Real. *say they* Partic. *go*. Part. Obl.Obj.M. Q.
Why did the kiap tell them to go?

However, if the question is negative, e.g. 'Why did you/he not...?' then the sentence must be in the form *bi + anuŋ? da + sentence* with the negation on the verb.

e.g. i- bi anuŋ? da rib idzun anuŋ?- i- ba u
 Real. *be like* Q. *and they* Partic. Neg. Real. *come* Neg.
Why didn't they come?

i- bi anuŋ? da rib igi anuŋ?- i- naŋ nam u
 Real. *be like* Q. *and they* Neg. Real. *cook food* Neg.
Why have they not cooked the food yet?

5.2.1.6 Negative questions

Negative marking on questions does not occur. A question which is in a negative sense is put in the form *bi + anuŋ? da* and then the action which is negative is put into a co-ordinating sentence, with the usual negative morphemes marking the verb, as described in the previous section. Otherwise, verbs which have a negative sense understood in them are used, with a question word.

e.g. u bugin ga -da yafas i wai
you(S.) not like eat. Part. *fish* Obl.Obj.M. Q.
Why don't you like to eat fish?

5.2.1.7 Other question forms

maŋan can be used as a question word, meaning *which* or *who*. It occurs in its usual place in a sentence, as an indefinite pronoun marker after a noun, or can stand alone as a pronoun, and is accompanied by an interrogative intonation over the whole sentence.

e.g. garam maŋan igi i- ba
man which Dem. Real. *come*
Which man is that coming?

maŋan i- rab gai igi
who Real. *cut tree* Dem.
Who cut this tree?

dzi gut -a i maŋan
I ask. Part. Obl.Obj.M. *who*
Whom should I ask?

maŋa -gan
who 3Poss.II
Whose is it?

maŋan iyam -an
who dog 3Poss.II
Whose dog is it?

There are several other short question forms which are often heard. These are as follows:

u mantun igi
you(S.) do what Dem.
What are you doing there?

i- mantun
Real. do what
What is it? OR What is he doing?

u ni wai
you(S.) say Q.
What did you say?

nam idzu wai
thing Partic. Q.
What is it?

5.3 'If' clauses

5.3.1 Introduction

'If' clauses have come into existence in the Adzera language since the coming of mission personnel from the coastal Yabim-speaking areas, in the early 1920s. Before this, according to K. Holzknrecht, Adzera had no 'if' clause of the type one hears today, and the Yabim speakers invented it after their own model, using Adzera forms which already existed.

5.3.2 *bi be like*

Nowadays one constructs 'if' clauses using the verb *bi be like*, thus, in the participial form at the beginning of the 'if' clause, and the following clause is joined to it by *da and*.

e.g. *bi -da gami? ni -da mu -dan da agi anuŋ?- i-*
be like. Part. rain want. Part. fall. Part. and we(Inc.) Neg. Real.

saŋ? fa -da makit
be enough go. Part. market
If it rains we will not be able to go to the market.

bi -da Yambutau na- ni ni -da nifu -n da aga
be like. Part. Yambutau Hort. like say. Part. mouth. 3Poss.I and we(Exc.)

na- fa gamp
Hort. go village
If Yambutau says so, then we will go to the village.

The *bi + participle* form can also occur after the subject of the 'if' clause.

e.g. *kiap bi -da ba -dan da agi anuŋ?- i- saŋ?*
kiap be like. Part. come. Part. and we(Inc.) Neg. Real. be enough

fa -da gum
go. Part. garden
If the kiap comes, then we will not be able to go to the garden.

However, the previous sentence can be said without the *bi - da* construction, and this is probably more like the original Adzera way of saying it, using the hortative prefixes in both clauses.

e.g. *Yambutau na- ni ni -da nifu -n da aga na- fa gamp*
Yambutau Hort. like say. Part. mouth. 3Poss.I and we(Exc.) Hort. go village
If Yambutau say so, then we will go to the village.

The clauses in this sentence are equivalent and the *bi - da* construction is unnecessary.

5.3.3 Negation of 'if' clauses

When the 'if' clause carries a negative action, the negation is done through the use of *gaba i*, a particle which is difficult to describe because it acts like a verb, in the verb position, but does not take any verbal prefixes or suffixes. It is always followed by *i* before its object, whether the object is a noun or pronoun or a verb phrase.

e.g. *dzi gaba i bia? -a suŋ da dzi muanits buŋ?a- rut*
I do not Obl.Obj.M. go Part. quick and I hungry Fut. be together
If I do not go soon, I will be hungry.

bi -da sagat aga gaba i gari -da gum da gabu
be like. Part. woman Dem. do not Obl.Obj.M. weed. Part. garden and husband.

-n -gan buŋ?a- is
3Poss.I. 3Poss.I Fut. hit
If that woman does not weed the garden, then her husband will hit her.

5.4 Co-ordination of clauses – clauses joined by conjunctions *da*, *ma* and *da bitsinta?*

5.4.1 *da and*

da and is the most common conjunction, and is used as a co-ordinator to join two sentences. If the subject of the second sentence is the same as the subject of the first, then the subject of the second is omitted.

e.g. *rib igi i- fan da rib tsira? tsira? fain igi i- mpa yaun*
they Real. go and people big big some Dem. Real. sit shade
They go, and some of the older women sit in the shade.

sagat igi i- ba wa da ris igi da i- gints yafas
woman Dem. Real. come Compl.I to dam Dem. and Real. distribute fish

igi da ruan
Dem. to Refl.

The women came up to the dam, and then (they) divided up the fish among themselves.

5.4.2 *ma or*

ma or, is also used as a co-ordinator, between two clauses.

e.g. u muaruts i ga -da unas ma u muaruts
you(S.) like Obl.Obj.M. eat. Part. sweet potato or you(S.) like
 i ga -da umant
 Obl.Obj.M. eat. Part. taro
Do you like to eat sweet potato or do you like to eat taro?
 arañan na- yab i gai aga bini ma arañan na- yab da na-
he Hort. go up Loc. tree Dem. good or he Hort. go up and Hort.
 ru? -a
go down. Part.
He will either climb the tree well, or he will go up and fall down.

When two sentences are joined by *ma* and have the same subject, the second subject cannot be left unstated, as it can when clauses are joined by *da*. The subject has to be given in full for both first and second clauses.

5.4.3 *da bitsinta?* but

e.g. dzi i- naŋ i fa -da taun da bitsinta? gami? i- mui
I Real. like Obl.Obj.M. go. Part. town but rain Real. fall
I wanted to go to town, but it rained.
 arañan i- rim nam ga -dan da dzi da bitsinta? dzi i- bugin
he Real. give food eat. Part. to me but I Real. not like
He gave me some food, but I did not like it.
 aga i- naŋ i giŋ? -a marampru? da bitsinta?
we(Exc.) Real. want Obl.Obj.M. sleep. Part. lie but
 mpui ragiamas i- naŋ aga mara -ŋ? i- ta? da aga
water splashing Real. make we(Exc.) eye. 1Poss.I Real. wake and we(Exc.)
 i- mpai
Real. stay
We wanted to sleep, but the water's splashing kept us awake and we stayed like that.

NOTES

1. Here is a list of abbreviations and symbols used in the text.

Real.	Realis Tense Marker	Imp.	Imperative Mood
S.	Singular	Refl.	Reflexive
Pl.	Plural	Cont.	Continuative Aspect
Inc.	Inclusive	Dem.	Demonstrative
Exc.	Exclusive	Neg.	Negative
Part.	Participle	Fut.	Future Tense Marker
Obl.Obj.M.	Oblique Object Marker	Hort.	Hortative Mood
Poss.I	Possessive I	Obl.Obj.	Oblique Object
Poss.II	Possessive II	Pot.	Potential Aspect
Poss.III	Possessive III	CF.	Contrary-to-fact Aspect
1Poss.	First Person Possessive	Perf.	Perfective Aspect
2Poss.	Second Person Possessive	Repet.	Repetitive Aspect
3Poss.	Third Person Possessive	Compl.I	Completive I Particle

Compl.II	Completive II Particle	V.	Verb
Compl.M.	Complement Marker	NP	Noun Phrase
Time M.	Time Marker	VP	Verb Phrase
Imp.Neg.	Imperative Negative	Partic.	Participialiser
Q.	Question Word	Hort.Int.	Hortative Intensifier
Instr.M.	Instrumental Marker	Imp.Int.	Imperative Intensifier
Conj.	Conjunction	Compl.Int.	Completive Intensifier
N.	Noun	Neg.Imp.	Negative Imperative

2. For a complete list of Amari kinship terms, see Appendix III.
3. The reduction of mpu *water* to mpu is common when mpu is the first word in a noun compound, for example:

mpu maran
water eye
hole dug in river to find water

mpu fagan
water leg
tributary of a stream, etc.
4. The prefix n- as used here could perhaps be related to the third person possessive suffix -n (see 3.1.2).
5. ni *want* = ni *say*.
6. See 3.2.2 for quantifiers.
7. The word idzu or idzun appears to be some sort of particulariser, and to mean *that one*, or *those ones*. It occurs after the third person plural pronoun rib, and after nouns referring to people, e.g. garam *man*, sagat *woman*, mama? *child*.

APPENDIX I

1.0 Text of Amari story: Kapumigan raba nifungan.

Gubu? maŋan dzi da rai -ŋ? rusa -ŋ? Kapumi ani da
sun a I and brother. 1Poss.I Inc.Poss.III. 1Poss.I Kapumi Dem. and

Benjamin da Tiasan da Maiamguntu da Kapumi naru -n -gan marub
Benjamin and Tiasan and Maiamguntu and Kapumi child. 3Poss.I. 3Poss.I male

tsira? ni -da Rasara gin, aga (i-) ataŋ i rab -a
big say. Part. Rasara Obl.Obj. we(Exc.) (Real.) follow Obl.Obj.M. cut. Part.

gai iya? Simon uŋar -an i Bribris. Aga (i-) ga nam
tree Obl.Obj.M. Simon house. 3Poss.II Loc. Bribris we(Exc.) (Real.) eat food

burumpir sib da Kapumi da naru -n -gan i- ataŋ i-
left-over Compl.I and Kapumi and child. 3Poss.I 3Poss.I Real. follow Real.

tip sanampun Waŋumudan. Da aga santan i- fa rab gai. Aga
prepare path (to) Waŋumudan and we(Exc.) all Real. go out tree we(Exc.)

(i-) rab gai sib da nam i- nuf da aga (i-) ru?
 (Real.) *cut tree Compl.I and food Real. be cooked and we(Exc.) (Real.) go down*

i- ba mpa mpui muṅ? i rib idzun. Rib idzun i-
 Real. *come stay water lead the way Obl.Obj.M. them they Real.*

ba wa? i- bi nigida aga (i-) tai nam da aga
come come up Real. be like this and we(Exc.) (Real.) cook food and we(Exc.)

(i-) ntiṅ? mpui. Nam idziaṅ? i- bi nigida aga (i-)
 (Real.) *dam water thing evening Real. be like this and we(Exc.) (Real.)*

ntaṅ ram da aga (i-) aruṅ? dzaf. Aga (i-) mpai da nam
light lamp and we(Exc.) (Real.) light fire we(Exc.) (Real.) stay and thing

iriṅiriaṅ i- bi nigida aga i- yab. Aga yab tauf
very dark Real. be like this and we(Exc.) Real. go up we(Exc.) go up stone

mais ni -da Waṅumudan gin da aga (i-) fa i- ru?
bad say. Part. Waṅumudan Obl.Obj. and we(Exc.) (Real.) go Real. go down

dzra? . Aga i- fa wa? i- bi nigida aga (i-)
upstream we(Exc.) Real. go come up Real. be like this and we(Exc.) (Real.)

ntaṅ ram tsira? . Da aga i- paṅ. Aga i- paṅ i- ataṅ
light lamp big and we(Exc.) Real. fish we(Exc.) Real. fish Real. go in

i- fafa da aga i- fa tsana buaruf. Nam fariṅ! Da dzi da
 Real. *go go and we(Exc.) Real. go see eel thing huge and I and*

Kapumi aga (i-) rab. Dzi i- su garugaru i rab -an da
Kapumi we(Exc.) (Real.) hit I Real. was anxious Obl.Obj.M. hit. Part. and

dzi i- rab untsraf. Dzi i- rab Kapumi i ntiṅ? da ram.
 I Real. *hit missed I Real. hit Kapumi Obl.Obj.M. block off to lamp*

Arun igi da ram bitsinta? aṅu ru- miṅ? da aga i- ni da Yamin
then Dem. and lamp one only Cont. stay and we(Exc.) Real. say to Yamin

da mama? naru -n naru -n Rasara da nam Maiamuntu
and child child. 3Poss.I child. 3Poss.I Rasara and thing Maiamuntu

i mpa -dan. Aga (i-) aruṅ? dzaf rut in ntua?
 Obl.Obj.M. *stay. Part. we(Exc.) (Real.) light fire be together Obl.Obj. back*

Gubu? gami? igi da gai i- nufunuf i mpui da dzaf anuṅ? - i-
time rain Dem. and wood Real. wet Obl.Obj.M. water and fire Neg. Real.

ga bini. Aga ni -gaṅ? dzaf ga -dan gin da aga
eat good we(Exc.) thought 1Poss.II fire eat. Part. Obl.Obj. and we(Exc.)

(i-) ataṅ i- fan. Aga (i-) fa wa? wasa? i- bi nigida
 (Real.) *go in Real. go we(Exc.) (Real.) go come up middle Real. be like this*

da Kapumi i- rab buaruf tsira? da bitsinta? buaruf igi i- rupiat i
and Kapumi Real. hit eel big but eel Dem. Real. shake Loc.

rini -n da mudzuk i- mpit i- ba rab Kapumi nifu -n
skin. 3Poss.I and knife Real. bounce off Real. come cut Kapumi mouth. 3Poss.I

-gan. Arun igi aga nugu -ṅ? i- mais da aga i- ni
 3Poss.II *then Dem. we(Exc.) liver. 1Poss.I Real. bad and we(Exc.) Real. say*

da Kapumi: 'Agi anuŋ?- ru- atan -a fa -dan. Agi giŋ? -a
to Kapumi we(Inc.) Neg. Cont. go in. Part. go. Part. we(Inc.) sleep. Part.
 aruani'. Aga (i-) fa tsana ragibaniŋ isi? aru manjan da aga
here we(Exc.) (Real.) go see bend of river small there a and we(Exc.)
 (i-) aruŋ? dzaf da aga (i-) mpai. Aga (i-) nan i
(Real.) light fire and we(Exc.) (Real.) stay we(Exc.) (Real.) try Obl.Obj.M.
 giŋ? -a marampru? da bitsinta? mpui ragiamaŋ nan aga
sleep. Part. down but water splashing Real. make we(Exc.)
 mara-ŋ? i- ta? da aga (i-) mpai. Dzi da Tiasan i- tai
eye.1Poss.I Real. open and we(Exc.) (Real.) stay I and Tiasan Real. cook
 buaruf i- gan da Kapumi i- giŋ? marampru?. Da aranan i- ŋkraf
eel Real. eat and Kapumi Real. sleep down and he Real. snore
 rai ida i- fafub fa da i- ru? da mara-n i- ntap
later then Real. dream go and Real. fall down and eye.3Poss.I Real. come up
 ruan da i- ni wasi da agai: 'Agam anuŋ?-giŋ? -a marampru?.
Refl. and Real. say strongly to us(Exc.) you(Pl.) Neg. sleep. Part. down
 Agi (i-) atan garam muantsi manjan mpui -gan'. Aga (i-)
we(Inc.) (Real.) go in man clan a water. 3Poss.II we(Exc.) (Real.)
 mpa i- fafa da i- pis wasi agai. Aga bu- nan
stay Real. go go and Real. dawn break strongly we(Exc.) we(Exc.) Perf. do
 i fafub -a mpui ba -dan da aga (i-) rat i
Obl.Obj.M. follow. Part. water come. Part. and we(Exc.) (Real.) afraid Obl.Obj.M.
 nam mais tsira? tsira? da aga (i-) yab wap. Aga (i-)
thing bad big big then we(Exc.) (Real.) go up forest we(Exc.) (Real.)
 yab i- fa sari i- fafa da aga (i-) fa wa?
go up Real. go beside forest Real. go go and we(Exc.) (Real.) go come up
 Binibinikasiab. Da aga (i-) ru? ba Rakiak. Aga (i-)
Binibinikasiab and we(Exc.) (Real.) go down come Rakiak. we(Exc.) (Real.)
 fafub Bintia i- ba dawa? rib igi, Yamin da mama? naru -n
follow Bintia Real. come and then they Yamin and child child. 3Poss.I
 naru -n i Waŋumudan faga -n. Aga (i-) ba mpa i-
child. 3Poss.I Loc. Waŋumudan foot. 3Poss.I we(Exc.) (Real.) come stay Real.
 ru? i- ga gana wauf rib idzun tai -dan. Da Yamin i- guru
go down Real. eat tapioca they cook. Part. and Yamin Real. chop up
 buaruf. Nam i- nuf i- bi nigida aga (i-) fafub i-
eel food Real. cool Real. be like this and we(Exc.) (Real.) follow Real.
 ba gamp. Aga (i-) ba wa gamp sib da aga i-
come village we(Exc.) (Real.) come Compl.II village Compl.I and we(Exc.) Real.
 ntuaŋ Kapumi -gan rab -a nifu -n da rib Pisu. Sifu? i-
reveal Kapumi. 3Poss.II cut. Part. mouth. 3Poss.I to people Pisu night Real.
 bi nigida raburabun Pisu mpa -da Waŋumudan ugu i- ba is
be like this and ancestors Pisu stay. Part. Waŋumudan Dem. Real. come hit

aga farangan -gaŋ? da Kapumi. Aruani da rib gamp (i-)
 we(Exc.) namesake. 1Poss.II to Kapumi nowadays and people village (Real.)

is ru- is mint idzun.
 hit Cont. hit song true

Araŋan igi.
 he Dem.

Sinur Atang.
 Waridzian Village, Amari.

1.1 Translation: How Kapumi cut his lip

One day, I and all my brothers, Kapumi and Benjamin (Yamin) and Tiasan and Maiamguntu and Kapumi's eldest son who is called Rasara, we went into the river to cut trees at Bribris for Simon's house. We went, and sat down and we ate left-over food. When we had finished eating the left-over food Kapumi and his son followed the river up to prepare a path to Waŋumudan. And we all went and cut trees. We finished cutting trees and it was getting cold and we came down, leading the way for the others, to the water. They arrived soon after and we cooked food and we dammed up the water (for fishing). Night came then and we lit the lamp and made a fire. We sat down and it became very dark, and we climbed up. We climbed up a bad stone called 'Waŋumudan', and we went down it, in the direction of upstream. We arrived and we lit the big lamp. And we fished with the lamps. We fished for eels and went on upstream, and we went and saw an eel. What a huge one! And I and Kapumi threw knives at it. I was so anxious to hit it that I missed it. I hit the lamp which was in front of Kapumi. That was that, and only one lamp was left, and we said to Yamin and the small children, Rasara and...um...Maiamguntu to stay there. We lit a fire and left it with them. It had been raining during the day, and the wood was wet and the fire did not burn well. We thought the fire was burning and we continued on upstream. We arrived midway and Kapumi speared a big eel, but the eel shook itself and the knife bounced and cut Kapumi's lip. So we were upset and we said to Kapumi: 'We must not continue on. Let us sleep here'. We went and saw a small bend in the river and we lit a fire and we stayed there. We tried to sleep but the water's splashing made our eyes awake and we stayed like that. I and Tiasan cooked some eel and ate it and Kapumi slept. And later he snored and then he had a dream which caused him to fall, and he woke up with a start and said strongly to us: 'Do not sleep! We have entered the water owned by another clan'. We stayed awake until the dawn came upon us. We wanted to follow the stream back but we were afraid of the very bad things there, so we went up through the forest. We went up beside the forest, on and on, and we reached Binibinikasiab. Then we came down to Rakiak. We followed the Bintia creek down to the others, to Yamin and the children, at the foot of the Waŋumudan stone. We came and sat down and ate the tapioca that they had cooked. And Yamin chopped up the eel. It became cool soon and we followed the river to the village. We arrived at the village and we revealed to the people of Pisu clan how Kapumi had cut his lip. That night the Pisu ancestors came to sing about us to Kapumi. Nowadays the people in the village still sing about it.

That is all.

APPENDIX II

Word list

This word list is from Wurm: Lexicostatistical comparisons, Highlands Districts languages, TPNG (n.d.). Nouns are recorded as roots only. Nouns which take the Inalienable Possessive suffixes are recorded without any suffix, but with a hyphen after the word, e.g. 5. *child* naru-. Verbs are recorded in the form of Root + Participial suffix -a/-an/-da/-dan. All items are written phonemically, not phonetically. Alternatives are indicated in brackets beside the item. Footnotes explain discrepancies and give special information.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>man</i> garam | 21. <i>we</i> (Inc.) agi |
| 2. <i>woman</i> sagat | 22. <i>you</i> (Pl.) agam |
| 3. <i>old man</i> garam fufi = <i>man old</i> | 23. <i>they</i> rib aga = <i>there, at distance</i> , rib igi = <i>there, close by</i> |
| 4. <i>old woman</i> sagat fufi = <i>woman old</i> | 24. <i>all</i> santan |
| 5. <i>child</i> naru- (mama?) | 25. <i>head</i> gudzu- |
| 6. <i>young boy</i> mama? fa? (mama? marub) = <i>child new (child male)</i> | 26. <i>hair of head</i> gudzu yafa- (fufun) = <i>head hair (body hair)</i> |
| 7. <i>husband</i> gabu- | 27. <i>forehead</i> mara gubu? = <i>face sun</i> |
| 8. <i>wife</i> fini- | 28. <i>eye</i> mara nidzun ² |
| 9. <i>father</i> rama- | 29. <i>nose</i> yu- |
| 10. <i>mother</i> rina- | 30. <i>ear</i> riŋa- |
| 11. <i>sibling: s.s., older</i> rai-tsira? = <i>brother big</i> | 31. <i>tooth</i> nifu uru- = <i>mouth bone</i> |
| 12. <i>sibling: s.s., younger</i> rai-isi? = <i>brother small</i> | 32. <i>tongue</i> ma- |
| 13. <i>sibling: o.s., older</i> nafu-tsira? = <i>sister big</i> | 33. <i>jaw, chin</i> katakat (katafat) |
| 14. <i>sibling: o.s., younger</i> nafu-isi? = <i>sister small</i> | 34. <i>throat</i> uyamu- (inside), wa- (outside) |
| 15. <i>I</i> dzi | 35. <i>nape</i> untu- |
| 16. <i>you</i> (S.) agu (u) | 36. <i>mouth</i> nifu- |
| 17. <i>he</i> arajan | 37. <i>shoulder</i> sipat |
| 18. <i>we two</i> (Inc.) aga iru?run | 38. <i>arm</i> baŋi- |
| 19. <i>you two</i> agam iru?run | 39. <i>elbow</i> baŋi gudzuntu- = <i>hand joint</i> |
| 20. <i>they two</i> iru?run aga ¹ | 40. <i>palm of hand</i> baŋi pitat = <i>hand surface</i> |

1. aga is a Demonstrative here, not a Pronoun as in 18.

2. *Eyeball*.

41. *finger* banji naru- = *hand child*
 42. *finger nail* banji uru- = *hand bone*
 43. *chest* nugu mpaŋ = *liver*
 44. *breast (of woman)* sisu-
 45. *belly* waŋu-
 46. *navel* mut
 47. *back* urian (urun)
 48. *buttocks* dziŋa?
 49. *leg* faga-
 50. *thigh* faga ntun? = *leg long stick*
 51. *knee* faga gudzun (tun?) = *leg joint*
 52. *sole of foot* faga intap = *leg ground*
 53. *skin* rin (ubit)¹, (rini-)²
 54. *body hair* rini fufu- = *skin body-hair*
 55. *blood* bi?
 56. *fat* ragaran
 57. *bone* uru-
 58. *heart* nugu ampi sisu-
 59. *liver* nugu iran = *liver original*
 60. *sore* rini mais = *skin bad*
 61. *dream* nam bru?p-an = *thing dreaming*
 62. *to dream* bru?p-an
 63. *sun* gubu?
 64. *moon* ukam (buramp)
 65. *star* ŋantam
 66. *sky* gunuŋun
 67. *cloud* marabuari
 68. *fog* nam {yafi-dan umuman
 69. *rain* gami?
 70. *night* (nam) sifu
 71. *day* gubu?
 72. *morning* tata?
 73. *evening* (nam) idziaŋ
 74. *water* mpui
 75. *river* mpui
 76. *round water, pond* mpu fu?
 77. *ground* intap
 78. *stone* tauf
 79. *sand* magamaŋ
 80. *mountain* mamai
 81. *bush* wap
 82. *garden* gum
 83. *fence* ntiŋ?
 84. *wind* manis
 85. *wind blows* manis i-runt = *wind runs*
 86. *fire* dzaf
 87. *smoke* dugunt
 88. *ashes* gai fuŋus³, (pap)⁴ = *tree ashes*
 89. *path* sanampun (sanab)
 90. *tree* gai
 91. *trunk of tree* gai tsira? = *tree big*
 92. *branch of tree* gai banji-n = *tree hand*
 93. *stump of tree* gai gudzuntun? = *tree joint*

-
1. Covers whole body.
 2. General.
 3. *Black ashes.*
 4. *White ashes.*

94. *root of tree* gai waia-n = *tree root*
95. *bark of tree* (gai) rini gaŋ-an = *(tree) skin...*
96. *tree top* gai gudzu-n = *tree head*
97. *fruit of tree* gai nidzu-n = *tree fruit*
98. *kunai* sai
99. *sweet potato* unas
100. *taro* umant
101. *yam* ganaŋ
102. *banana* ganaŋ¹
103. *sugar cane* yait
104. *pandanus* mampim², sagara³, saŋum⁴
105. *betel nut* ntsim
106. *tanket* idiriŋ
107. *salt* iri? simp⁵
108. *dog* iyam
109. *pig* ifab
110. *dog's tail* iyam bampa-n = *dog tail*
111. *dog's fur* iyam rini fufu-n = *dog skin body-hair*
112. *bird* dzaŋ?dzuf = *meat-flying*
113. *feather* ragi yafa-n = *arse leaf*
114. *egg* urubit
115. *wing* inut
116. *cassowary* mamu
117. *snake* miu
118. *fish* yafas
119. *fly* nuŋunuŋ
120. *mosquito* nubunamp
121. *butterfly* uruburi?
122. *house* uŋar
123. *bow* banta
124. *arrow* biriariŋ
125. *string, rope* bru?
126. *net-bag* taiap
127. *woman's clothes* sasiŋ?
128. *singsing* (n) nam ŋump-an = *thing jumping*
129. *big* tsira?
130. *small* isi?
131. *good* bini (daum-an)
132. *bad* mais
133. *long* gunti?
134. *short* uts
135. *sick* rini-n giŋ?-an (rini-n mais) = *skin sleeping (skin bad)*
136. *hungry* muaŋits rut-an = *hunger-be with*
137. *red* raŋuŋ? (bi?)
138. *white* maragamp
139. *black* marabusuŋ
140. *yellow* dzuŋudzuaŋ
141. *green* gai pisia = *tree green*
142. *hot* sasus-an⁶, (gaunt)⁷

1. There are many different, named types of bananas.

2. Inedible.

3. Edible.

4. Edible.

5. Traditional ash salt.

6. General.

7. For liquids only.

143. *cold* ranaran
 144. *blind* marasap
 145. *deaf* riñantan
 146. *full* fuñ?-an
 147. *come quick* wa-ba suñ = Imp. -
come quickly
 148. *old house* uñar ratar (mugumun)
 = *house old (old)*
 149. *new house* uñar fa? (ñarubunun)
 = *house new (new)*
 150. *rotten (house)* pupu?-an
 151. *right hand* bañi-n bini = *hand*
good
 152. *left hand* bañi yas = *hand left*
 153. *to eat* ga-dan
 154. *drink* num-an
 155. *stand up* munti-dan
 156. *sit down* mpa-da ru?-an =
staying going down
 157. *speak* ni-da nan = *saying talk*
 158. *call out* nu?-an
 159. *run* runt-an
 160. *walk* yuñ-an
 161. *take* u-dan
 162. *give me* wa-rim ba da dzi =
 Imperative *give come to me*
 163. *give you* (dzi) i-rim da agu =
 Realis - *give to you (S)*
 164. *give him* wa-rim da arañan =
 Imperative *give to him*
 165. *hit (with the hand)* is-an
 166. *break* (tr.) anta-dan¹
 167. *fall (from standing)* rua?-an
 (i-mu i-ru?)
 168. *fall (from height)* rua?-an
 169. *sleep* giñ?-a marampru? =
lying down sleep
 170. *lie on ground* giñ?-an
 171. *see* tsañan-dan
 172. *hear* riñant-a gin = *hear it*
 173. *cry* ran-an
 174. *singsing* (v) ñump-an
 175. *cook* antuñ-a nam =
cook food
 176. *blow fire* gufi-da dzaf = *blow*
fire
 177. *jump* mpruts-an
 178. *laugh* rubuñ?-an
 179. *be afraid* rat-an
 180. *scratch skin* aris-an
 181. *throw* tapu-dan
 182. *swim* map-an
 183. *wash oneself* adzu?-an
 184. *look for* wam-an
 185. *smell* (tr.) ntaf-a gin = *smell*
it
 186. *make bow*²
 187. *go* fa-dan
 188. *come* ba-dan
 189. *go up* yab-an
 190. *go down* ru?-an
 191. *turn (oneself)* (intr.) i-tama
 i ruan = Realis - *turn oneself*
 192. *put down (on ground)* rim-a
 ru?-an = *put goes down*
 193. *hold (in hand)* gip-an
 194. *carry on shoulder* piya?-an³
 195. *push* yut-an
 196. *pull* untap-a gin = *pull it*

1. Different for different things.

2. Not clear what this means.

3. This means *carry on head*, e.g. net-bag.

197. *bird flies* dzuf-an
 198. *shoot* ntaŋ-an
 199. *bite* (v) gara-dan
 200. *vomit* tsup-an
 201. *cough* uku-dan
 202. *chop wood* rab-a gai = *cut wood*
 203. *break wood* idza?-an
 204. *name* biŋan
 205. *pain* (v) tsakia-dan
 pain (n) nam tsakia-dan = *thing*
 paining
 206. *thick* tsira?
 207. *thin* isi?
 208. *narrow* isi?
 209. *wide* maradza (maradzariŋ)¹
 210. *straight* rururuŋ-an
 211. *crooked* waŋ-an
 212. *ripe (banana)* dzub-an
 213. *cooked* nu?-an
 214. *wet* nufunuf
 215. *dry* tsara?
 216. *different, other* mara-n maŋan
 = *face a* (Indefinite)
 217. *heavy* barabin-dan
 218. *stop* antaŋ?-an
 219. *joke* (v) tus-a umpur =
 make lie
 220. *skin swells up* fup-an (rinin)
 221. *enter (go inside)* ataŋ-an
 222. *go outside* wa?-an
 223. *bury* pu-dan (dzufuŋ?-an)
 224. *make hole in ground* raf-a ntsuf
 = *cut hole*
 225. *sweat* uwats
 226. *swallow* (v) tap-a gin =
 swallow it
 227. *sew up* ntaŋ-a nam² = *spear*
 thing
 228. *pour out* yat-an
 229. *cut rope* tipu?-an
 230. *tie rope* udzu-dan
 231. *draw water* intuŋ?-an
 232. *who* maŋan
 233. *what* nam idzu wai = *thing true*
 what
 234. *where (at)* anuŋ?
 235. *when* gubu? idzu wai = *day true*
 what
 236. *later* rai i
 237. *how much, how many* i-bi anuŋ?
 = *be like where*
 238. *on top (of house)* waguŋ?
 239. *underneath (of house)* waraŋ?
 240. *beside (of house)* riŋa
 241. *on top (stone)* waguŋ?
 242. *underneath (stone)* waraŋ?
 243. *beside (stone)* marafain
 244. *stand up (post)* (v.tr.)
 fuasu-dan
 245. *dig ground* raf-a intap = *cut*
 ground
 246. *hit (stick)* is-an
 247. *stick* (n) gai
 248. *burn* (tr.) faŋa-dan
 249. *louse* risian
 250. *far away, distant* gunti?
 251. *near* uts
 252. *many* raginti (ragin-gan) (ampi)

1. Very big and wide equally.

2. ntaŋ-a applies to anything with a point – spear, needle, etc.

253. *this (close)* nani
 254. *this (further)* nigi
 255. *that (distant)* naga (nugu)
 256. *here* ani
 257. *there* igi
 258. *there (distant)* aga (ugu)
 259. *one* bitsinta?
 260. *two* iru?run
 261. *three* iru? da bits
 262. *four* iru? da iru?
 263. *five* iru? da iru? da bits¹
 264. *six*
 265. *seven*
 266. *eight*
 267. *nine*
 268. *ten*
 269. *eleven*
 270. *twelve*
 271. *thirteen*
 272. *fourteen*
 273. *fifteen*
 274. *sixteen*
 275. *seventeen*
276. *eighteen*
 277. *nineteen*
 278. *twenty*
 279. *and* da
 280. *together with* mpru?-an²,
 (rut-an)³
 281. *fight (v) (two men fight)*
 is-a ruan = *hit each other*
 282. *sharp* bararaŋ
 283. *blunt* mututu
 284. *understand (language)* riŋantiŋ
 gin = *hear it*
 285. *kill pig* is-a ifab funub =
hit pig dead
 286. *talk to me* wa-ni da dzi⁴ =
 Imperative - *say to me*
 287. *talk to you* dzi i-ni da agu
 288. *talk to him* wa-ni da aranaŋ⁴
 = Imperative - *say to him*
 289. *piece of wood* gai pupuŋuts =
tree small piece
 290. *float (v)* map-an
 291. *water carries wood* mpui i-yu
 gai i-fan
 292. *not (negative)* anuŋ?- u
 (namu)⁵

1. Amari do not usually count over five.

2. *Be with* - auxiliary verb.

3. *Go with* - auxiliary verb.

4. wa- imperative prefix.

5. anuŋ?- u verb negation. namu simple negative.

APPENDIX III

List of Amari kinship terms

All terms are given with the full possessive suffixes, for first person.
(m = male speaking; f = female speaking.)

Reference term	Vocative term	Gloss
rai-ŋʔ-gaŋʔ (i.e. sibling same sex, parallel cousins, same sex)	rai-ŋʔ	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sibling (same sex) 2. Father's brother's son (m) 3. Mother's sister's son (m) 4. Father's brother's daughter (f) 5. Mother's sister's daughter (f) 6. Wife's sister's husband (m) 7. Husband's brother's wife (f)
nafu-ŋʔ-gaŋʔ (i.e. sibling opposite sex, parallel cousins, opposite sex, cross-cousins, opposite sex)	nafu-ŋʔ	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sibling (opposite sex) 2. Father's brother's daughter (m) 3. Mother's sister's daughter (m) 4. Mother's brother's daughter (m) 5. Father's sister's daughter (m) 6. Father's brother's son (f) 7. Mother's sister's son (f) 8. Father's sister's son (f) 9. Mother's brother's son (f) 10. Wife's brother's wife (m) 11. Husband's sister's husband (f)
yara-ŋʔ-gaŋʔ (i.e. cross-cousins, same sex)	yara-ŋʔ	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mother's brother's son (m) 2. Father's sister's son (m) 3. Mother's brother's daughter (f) 4. Father's sister's daughter (f)
fini-ŋʔ-gaŋʔ (i.e. wife; wife of all called rai-ŋʔ or yara-ŋʔ)	fini-ŋʔ	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Wife (m) 2. Wife's sister (m) 3. Brother's wife (m) 4. Mother's brother's son's wife (m) 5. Father's sister's son's wife (m) 6. Father's brother's son's wife (m) 7. Mother's sister's son's wife (m)
gabu-ŋʔ-gaŋʔ (i.e. husband; husband of all those called rai-ŋʔ or yara-ŋʔ)	gabu-ŋʔ	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Husband (f) 2. Husband's brother (f) 3. Sister's husband (f) 4. Father's brother's daughter's husband (f) 5. Mother's sister's daughter's husband (f) 6. Father's sister's daughter's husband (f) 7. Mother's brother's daughter's husband (f)

Reference term	Vocative term	Gloss
numuntu-gaŋ? (i.e. brother-in-law – husband of anyone called nafu-ŋ? and brother of anyone called fini-ŋ? – term used by men only)	mimik	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Wife' brother (m) 2. Sister's husband (m) 3. Father's sister's daughter's husband (m) 4. Mother's brother's daughter's husband (m) 5. Father's brother's daughter's husband (m) 6. Mother's sister's daughter's husband (m)
fata-ŋ? (i.e. sister-in-law – sister of anyone called gabu-ŋ?, wife of anyone called nafu-ŋ? – term used by women only)	afa?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Husband's sister (f) 2. Brother's wife (f) 3. Mother's brother's son's wife (f) 4. Father's sister's daughter's wife (f) 5. Father's brother's son's wife (f) 6. Mother's sister's son's wife (f)
rama-ŋ?-gaŋ?	rama-ŋ?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Father (m + f) 2. Father's brother (m + f) 3. Mother's sister's husband (m + f)
rina-ŋ?-gaŋ?	rina-ŋ?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mother (m + f) 2. Mother's sister (m + f) 3. Father's brother's wife (m + f)
gaia-ŋ?-gaŋ?	gaia-ŋ?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mother's brother (m + f) 2. Father's sister's husband (m + f)
wagat-aŋ?	wagat	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Father's sister (m + f) 2. Mother's brother's wife (m + f) 3. Brother's son (f) 4. Brother's daughter (f) 5. Husband's sister's daughter (f) 6. Husband's sister's son (f)
murugu-ŋ?-gaŋ? (Term used by men only)	murugu-ŋ?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sister's son (m) 2. Sister's daughter (m) 3. Wife's brother's son (m) 4. Wife's brother's daughter (m)
naru-ŋ?-gaŋ?	naru-ŋ?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Son (m + f) 2. Daughter (m + f) 3. Brother's son (m) 4. Brother's daughter (m) 5. Sister's son (f) 6. Sister's daughter (f) 7. Father's brother's son's son (m + f)

Reference term	Vocative term	Gloss
		8. Father's brother's son's daughter (m + f)
		9. Father's brother's daughter's son (m + f)
		10. Father's brother's daughter's daughter (m + f)
		11. Mother's sister's son's daughter (m + f)
		12. Mother's sister's son's son (m + f)
		13. Mother's sister's daughter's son (m + f)
		14. Mother's sister's daughter's daughter (m + f)
		15. Mother's brother's son's daughter (m)
		16. Mother's brother's son's son (m)
		17. Father's sister's son's daughter (m)
		18. Father's sister's son's son (m)
		19. Mother's brother's daughter's son (f)
		20. Mother's brother's daughter's daughter (f)
		21. Father's sister's daughter's daughter (f)
		22. Father's sister's daughter's son (f)
		23. Wife's sister's son (m)
		24. Wife's sister's daughter (m)
		25. Husband's brother's son (f)
		26. Husband's brother's daughter (f)
 rumpu-ŋ?-gaŋ?	 rumpu-ŋ?	 1. Grandfather (m + f) 2. Grandmother (m + f) 3. Grandchild (m + f) 4. Wife's grandmother (m) 5. Wife's grandfather (m) 6. Husband's grandmother (f) 7. Husband's grandfather (f)
 (i.e. all people in grand- parents', and all people in grandchildren's generations)		
 bu-ŋ?-gaŋ?	 maiak	 1. Wife's mother (m) 2. Wife's father (m) 3. Husband's mother (f) 4. Husband's father (f) 5. Son's wife (m + f) 6. Daughter's husband (m + f)
 (i.e. all people called father and mother, by wife or husband, and all people called wife or husband by one's children)		
 rasi-ŋ?-gaŋ?	 rasi-ŋ?	 1. Grandparents' mother (m + f) 2. Grandparents' father (m + f) 3. Grandchild's son (m + f) 4. Grandchild's daughter (m + f)
 (i.e. all great-grandparents, all great-grandchildren)		

Reference term	Vocative term	Gloss
tafa-ŋʔ-gaŋʔ (i.e. all great-great-grandparents, all great-great-grandchildren)	tafa-ŋʔ	1. Great-grandparents' mother (m + f) 2. Great-grandparents' father (m + f) 3. Great-grandchild's daughter (m + f) 4. Great-grandchild's son (m + f)
yara-ŋʔ rabiʔ (Reciprocal term between parents whose children have married)		1. Son's wife's mother (m + f) 2. Son's wife's father (m + f) 3. Daughter's husband's mother (m + f) 4. Daughter's husband's father (m + f)

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