## 3. Sentences

Sentences in Kaki Ae can be categorised as simple, complex, or compound. Simple sentences contain only one clause, while complex and compound sentences contain more than one clause.

### 3.1 Simple Sentences

There are two types of simple sentences: verbal and nonverbal.

### 3.1.1 Verbal Sentences

Verbal simple sentences contain verbs. The basic form of a verbal sentence is given in (1).
(1) $\mathrm{NP}_{\text {subj }}\left(\mathrm{NP}_{\text {obj } 1}\left(\mathrm{NP}_{\text {obj2 }}\right)\right) \mathrm{V}$

That is, a verbal sentence consists of a subject noun phrase followed by one or two optional object noun phrases, followed by a verb. In addition, various adverbial words or phrases can occur between any of these major constituents.

Verbal sentences can be classified as intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive, depending on how many object noun phrases can be present. Sentences which cannot contain an object noun phrase, as shown in (2), are intransitive.
(2) Nao Kereva-ma wả'r-'ena. ${ }^{6}$

1s Kerema-LOC go.down-1sS
'I'm going down to Kerema.'
Sentences which may contain only one object noun phrase, as shown in (3-6), are transitive.
(3) Aiparo-ro nao erea-ne-ha.
pig-ERG is see-1sO-3sS
'The pig sees me.'
(4) Erahe aiparo ere-amu-'ani.

3p pig see-3sO-2/3pS
'They see the pig.'
${ }^{6}$ The orthography used in the examples is as follows: oral vowels/a $\varepsilon$ iou/ are $\langle\mathrm{a}$ e iou 〉, nasal vowels
 word-initially and $\langle r\rangle$ word-medially. The following abbreviations are used in glosses:

| CONT | continuous | IRR | irrealis | PL | plural | Q | question |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ERG | ergative | LOC | locative | POSS | possessive | RDP | reduplication |

IMP imperative NEG negative
Pronouns are indicated by a combination of 1,2 , or 3 to indicate person and $s$ or $p$ to indicate number; verbal agreement suffixes have an additional S or O to indicate agreement with subject or object.
Era nao faha-ma o'i-ne-ha.
3s is table-LOC put-1sO-3sS
'He put me on the table.'
(6) Era hau'ani akiva-ma asi-amu-ha.

3s sweet.potato knife-LOC cut-3sO-3sS
'He cut the sweet potato with a knife.'
Sentences which may contain two object noun phrases, as shown in (7), are ditransitive.
Nu-ro evera mono ini-amu-'ena.
lp-ERG dog boy give-3sO-1pS
'We gave the dog to the boy.'
When the subject is a noun phrase (as opposed to a pronoun), a referential pronoun frequently follows.
(8) Kurokuro erahe oharo moha ve'i-'ani... cuscus 3p tree ? sit-2/3pS
'Cuscus sit in trees...'
Time adverbials can occur sentence-initially, sentence-finally, or between the subject and verb.
(9)
a. Lafi aru ona-ha.
yesterday man go-3sS
'Yesterday the man went.'
b. Aru lafi ona-ha.
man yesterday go-3sS
'Yesterday the man went.'
c. Aru ona-ha lafi.
man go-3sS yesterday
'Yesterday the man went.'
Locative adverbials can occur sentence-finally or between the subject and verb, as shown by (2) and (10).
(10) Nao wał’i-'ena Kereva-ma.

1s go.down-1sS Kerema-LOC
'I am going down to Kerema.'
I have labeled the affix -ro in $(3,7)$ as an ergative marker. It is true that it occurs only on subjects of transitive verbs. However, it does not occur on all subjects of transitive verbs, as shown in (4-6). As in many other PNG languages, it seems to occur most commonly where there is potential ambiguity as to which noun phrase is the subject. No object in either transitive or ditransitive sentences receives any morphological marking.

As shown in the above examples, verbs take suffixes agreeing in person and number with the subject and object noun phrases. In ditransitive sentences the verb agrees in person and number with the semantic recipient, not the semantic patient.
(11) Erahe aiparo himiri nao ne-ni-'ani. 3p pig many is give-1sO-3pS
'They gave many pigs to me.'

If there is no overt subject or object noun phrase, the verb will still take suffixes agreeing with the understood subject, as in (12), or with the understood object, as in (13).
(12) Noa-'au, eisi lire-'au, hau'ani ore-'au, o'i-m-'enu.
taro-PL banana sucker-PL sweet.potato leaf-PL put-?-1pS
'We plant taro, banana suckers, and sweet potato leaves.'

```
Aiparo-ro erea-ne-ha.
pig-ERG see-1sO-3sS
```

'The pig sees me.'
As shown in (13), the subject of a transitive sentence can also be marked with the ergative marker -ro, even if the object is not overt.

Most verbs may be used only intransitively or transitively. Some verbs, however, can be used intransitively or transitively; one such verb is ara 'to burn'. When ara is used intransitively, as in (14a), it takes no object agreement suffix, and the subject cannot take the ergative suffix. When it is used transitively, as in (14b), it takes an object agreement suffix and the subject may take the ergative suffix.
$\begin{array}{ll}\text { a. } A i e ' i & \text { ara-ha. } \\ \text { fire } & \text { burn-3sS }\end{array}$
'The fire is burning.'
b. Aie'i-ro èa ar-amu-ha.
fire-ERG house burn-3sO-3sS
'The fire is burning the house.'
The verb ehera 'to be hungry' never takes an overt subject, although it always takes the third singular subject agreement affix. It also takes object agreement affixes agreeing in person and number with the one overt noun phrase.
a. Nao ehera-ne-ha.

1s hungry-1sO-3sS
'I am hungry.'
b. Ofe ehera-e-ha.

2p hungry-2/3pO-3sS
'You (pl) are hungry.'
The morpheme ehera can also be used as a noun, as discussed in section 5.1.
Two slightly different constructions are used for negative statements following the basic distinction in the language between realis and irrealis. (See section 5.1 for a discussion of the realis/irrealis distinction.) In both constructions the verb is in the irrealis mood. If the corresponding positive statement is in the realis mood, the negative morpheme ore is used, as shown in (16-17).

| a. Aru | era | ma-ha. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| man | 3 s | come-3sS |

'The man came.'
b. Aru ore ma-na-ra.
man NEG come-?-IRR
'The man did not come.'
a. Nao era koarai-amu-'ena.

1s 3 s help-3sO-1sS
'I am helping him.'
b. Nao era ore koarai-amu-ra. 1s 3 s NEG help-3sO-IRR
'I am not helping him.'
The negative morpheme ore can occur before or after the object, as shown in (18).
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { a. Era } & \text { ore evera ama-amu-ra. } \\ 3 \mathrm{~s} & \text { NEG dog hit-3sO-IRR }\end{array}$
'He did not hit the dog.'
b. Era evera ore ama-amu-ra.

3s dog NEG hit-3sO-IRR
'He did not hit the dog.'
If the corresponding negative statement is in the irrealis mood, the negative morpheme one is used, as shown in (19).
a. Pani'ira aru era ma-na-ra-ha.
tomorrow man 3s come-?-IRR-3sS
'Tomorrow a man will come.'
b. Aru one ma-na-ra-ha.
man NEG come-?-IRR-3sS
'The man will not come.'
The differences in the internal constituency of the verb itself are discussed in section 5.1.
Commands are marked by verbal morphology. Generally the second person subject is not specified. Otherwise, imperative sentences are not differentiated from declarative sentences. Verbs in negative commands are also in the irrealis mood, but the negative morpheme vaika is used.
a. On-e!
go-IMP
'Go!'
b. Vaika ona-ra!
don't go-IRR
'Don't go!'

### 3.1.2 Verbless Sentences

The basic form of verbless sentences is given in (21).
(21) $\mathrm{NP}_{\text {subj }}$ Complement

The subject may be any noun phrase, including a simple noun or pronoun. The complement may be a noun phrase as in (22-23), an adjective as in (24-25), or an adverbial as in (26-27).
(22) Era ava'ivori.

3s old.man
'He is an old man.'
(23) Ë'a aiparo. that pig
'That is a pig.'
(24) Ehe aiparo era hi'ivira.
that pig 3s big
'That pig is big.'
(25) No-vere napara era ahara-fe u'uka.

1s-POSS father 3s brother-PL two
'My father has two brothers./My father's brothers are two.'
(26) Aiparo faura-ma.
pig garden-LOC
'A pig is in the house.'
(27) Aiparo era vehe.
pig 3s yonder
'The pig is over there.'
As with verbal sentences, anaphoric pronouns frequently follow subject noun phrases as in (24,25, 26).

Negative verbless sentences are constructed according to the formula in (21), with the addition of sentence-final ore 'ea 'nothing', as shown in (28-30).
(28) Ë'a aru ore-'ea. that man NEG-thing
'That's not a man.'
a. Aiparo éa (lue) ore-'ea.
pig house in NEG-thing
'A pig is not in the house.'
b. Aiparo èa fe'u ore-'ea.
pig house under NEG-thing
'The pig is not under the house.'
(30) No-vere napara era ahara-fe a'uka ore-'ea.

1 s -POSS father 3 s brother-PL two NEG-thing
'My father does not have two brothers.'

### 3.1.3 Questions

There are two types of questions: yes-no questions and information questions. There are two constructions for yes-no questions, one for verbal sentences and one for verbless sentences. In the case of verbal sentences the suffix -ä'e is added to the verb, as in (31-33).
(31) Ofe Kereva-ma wả'i-'ani-ă'e?

2p Kerema-LOC go.down-2/3pS-Q
'Are you (pl) going down to Kerema?'
(32) Era mao-h-a'e?

3s dance-3sS-Q
'Is he dancing?'
(33) Ao aiparo ere-amu-he-à'e?

2s pig see-3sO-2sS-Q
'Did you see the pig?'
In the case of verbless sentences the morpheme $\ddot{a}$ is added in sentence-initial position, as in (3435).
(34) Ä ne'e aiparo?
$Q$ this pig
'Is this a pig?'
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { Ä éa } & \text { aiparo } & \text { éa } & \text { lue-ma? } \\ Q \text { that } & \text { pig } & \text { house } & \text { in-LOC }\end{array}$
'Is that a pig in the house?'
There is a class of quality verbs that forms questions with initial $\ddot{a}$ instead of with the suffix $-\ddot{a}$ 'e.
Ä é'a ara'a ho'u-ha?
$Q$ that canoe break-3sS
'Is that canoe broken?'
Content questions are formed by filling one of the positions in a sentence with an interrogative pronoun. This is true for both verbal sentences, as shown in (37-40), and verbless sentences, as shown in (41-43). The interrogative pronoun can fill a noun position, as in (37-38, 41-42), or an adverbial position, as in (39-40, 43).
(37) Naero ona-ra-ha Kereva-ma?
who go-IRR-3sS Kerema-LOC
'Who is going to Kerema?'
(38) Era ena'i fa'ari-ma ua-ha?

3s what string.bag-LOC put-3sS
'What did he put in the string bag?'
(39) Ao ka'a-ma ona-ra-veha?

2s where-LOC go-IRR-?
'Where are you going?'
(40) Ao enaha'u ona-ra-veha Kereva-ma?

2s when go-IRR-? Kerema-LOC
'When are you going to Kerema?'
(41) Ë'a naero ềa-ma?
that who house-LOC
'Who is in the house?'
(42) Ë'a enena'i-ro Êa-ma?
that what-ERG house-LOC
'What is in the house?'
(43) Enaha'u aiparo éa lue-ma? when pig house in-LOC
'When was the pig in the house?'
Sometimes the normal yes-no question suffix - $\ddot{a}$ ' is also added to verbs in content questions.
(44) Era ena'i ere-amu-h-a'e?

3 s what see-3sO-3sS-Q
'What did he see?'
(45) Ao ka'a-ma aena o'i-he-z'e?

2s where-LOC betelnut put-2sS-Q
'Where did you put the betelnut?'
(46) Aiparo ka'a-m-a'e?
pig where-LOC-Q
'Where is the pig?'

### 3.2 Conjoined and Complex Sentences

Conjoined and complex sentences consist of more than one clause. This discussion of compound and complex sentences is tentative; it does not even account for many of the sentences in the texts which accompany this grammatical sketch. Many of the observations made in this discussion are made on the basis of elicited sentences, although most of the structures discussed also occur in the texts.

In many cases the two clauses are simply juxtaposed, with no conjunction, as in (47-53).
(47) Ara'a ho'u-ha era feha-ha.
canoe break-3sS 3s spoil-3sS
'The canoe broke, it's spoiled/no good.'
(48) Ara'a ho'u-ha, era a-'a feha-mo-ha.
canoe break-3sS 3s make-3sO spoil-?-3sS
'The canoe broke, he made it and it got spoiled.'
(49) Ara'a era ore ho'u-ra, era namaia. canoe 3s NEG break-IRR 3s good
'The canoe is not broken, it's good.'
(50) Aru-ro ara'a ama ho'u-mo-ha. man-ERG canoe hit break-?-3sS
'The man hit the canoe and broke it.'
(51) Ao ma-na aiparo ere-amu-he-a'e?

2s come-? pig see-3sO-2sS-Q
'Did you come and see the pig?'
(52) Ona lo'u-ma, hina-m-enu narakau ne-i-enu. go village-LOC arrive-?-1p food eat-?-1pS
'Going to the village, we will arrive and eat.'
(53) Aru evera am-amu-ha evera ona-ha.
man dog hit-3sO-3sS dog go-3sS
'The man hit the dog, and the dog went.'
Juxtaposition is also used for adversative and comparative sentences. In these sentences there is some point of opposition between the two clauses: in (54-55) the first clause is positive while the second is negative; in (56) the first clause is irrealis while the second is realis; and in the comparative (57) there is opposition between the adjectives hi'ivira 'big' and paka'u 'small'.
(54) Evera-ro no-vere aiparo au-ha, oki-'a o-vere ore-'ea.
dog-ERG 1 s -POSS pig kill-3sS one-? 2 s -POSS NEG-thing
'The dog killed my pig but not yours.'
(55) Nao epa-ma ona-ena oki-'a ao ore ona-ra.

1s bush-LOC go-ls one-? 2 s NEG go-IRR
'I went to the bush, but you didn't go.'
(56) Nu'u aiparo au-ra-veha s'e-'enu-ma li'o-ha.

1p pig kill-IRR-when try-1pS-when run.away-3sS
'We tried to kill the pig, but it ran away.'
(57) No-vere aiparo era hi'ivira, era-vere aiparo paka'u.

1s-POSS pig 3s big 3s-POSS pig small
'My pig is big, his pig is small./My pig is bigger than his.'
The conjunctions pe 'and' and kape 'and' are used to show sequential action, as shown in (5863 ). The subject agreement marker is optional on the first verb when the subject of the two clauses is identical.
(58) Aru evera am-amu kape ona-ha.
man dog hit-3sO and go-3sS
'The man hit the dog and went.'
(59) Aru aiparo amu kape na-ha.
man pig get:3sO and eat-3sS
'The man got the pig and ate it.'
(60) Amu-'e-pe faha-ma o'i-amu-e!
get:3sO-IMP-and platform-LOC put-3sO-IMP
'Get it and put it on the table!'
(61) Nu'u amu-'enu-pe faha-ma o'i-amu-'enu.

1p 3sO-lp-and platform-LOC put-3sO-1p
'We got it and put it on the table.'
(62) Ona aiparo ere-amu-e-pe ma-n-e.
go pig see-3sO-IMP-and come-?-IMP
'Go see the pig and come back.'
(63) Era Kereva-ma ona-kape narakau enaea-ha.

3s Kerema-LOC go-and food buy-3sS
'He went to Kerema and bought food.'
The conjunction $o$ 'or' is used for alternative sentences, as in (64-65).
(64) Ao Kereva-ma ona-ra o lo'u-ma ve'i-ra?

2s Kerema-LOC go-IRR or village-LOC sit-IRR
'Are you going to Kerema or staying in the village?'
(65) Ao Kereva-ma ma'i-ra o ore-'ea?

2s Kerema-LOC go.down-IRR or NEG-thing
'Are you going down to Kerema or not?'
Reason-result sentences consist of two juxtaposed clauses. The reason clause begins with ipi 'reason/because'. Either of the two clauses may come first as shown in (66), but when the reason clause comes first as in (66b) it is marked by a sharp rise in intonation at the end of the clause. There is no such intonational marking when the result clause is first, as in (66a).
a. Era narakau
one na-ra-ha ipi era eka-ka.
3s food NEG eat-IRR-3sS reason 3s sick-3sS
'He cannot eat because he is sick.'
b. Ipi era eka-ka, era narakau one na-ra-ha.
reason 3 s sick-3sS 3s food NEG eat-IRR-3sS
'Because he is sick, he cannot eat.'
Time clauses are marked by the locative suffix -ma as in (67-70). Since -ma normally occurs with noun phrases (see section 4.2.1), this analysis claims time clauses are treated as nominalisations.
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { Aru ona-ha-ma mono evera } & \text { am-amu-ha. } \\ \text { man go-3sS-LOC boy dog } & \text { hit-3sO-3sS }\end{array}$
'When the man went, the boy hit the dog.'
(68) Napara-ro sia-ne-ha-ma ona-'ena.
father-ERG send-1sO-3sS-LOC go-1sS
'When father sent me I went.'
(69) Era-ro mini la'i-ha-ma isi-ha.

3s-ERG bird shoot-3sS-LOC fall-3sS
'When he shot the bird it fell.'
(70) Era-ro ma-na-ra-ha-ma nao aika'u haua-nana.

3s-ERG come-?-IRR-3sS-LOC is now afraid-?
'When he comes, I will be afraid.'
When the event referred to in the time clause has not yet occurred, as in (70), the verb is in the irrealis mood.

Contrary-to-fact conditional clauses begin with ape 'for' and end with the conjunction lo'erama, as shown in (71-72). I am analysing the final -ma of lo'erama as the locative suffix; I am treating conditional clauses, like time clauses, as nominalisations.
(71) Ape nao lare li'i lo'era-ma, nao kivi-'ena-pe-ra-ra.
for 1 s day remaining then-LOC is work-1sS-and-IRR-IRR
'If I had time, I would have done it.'
(72) Ape era-ro one ma-na lo'era-ma, aiparo ere-amu-kape-ra-ra.
for 3 s -ERG NEG come-? then-LOC pig see-3sO-and-IRR-IRR
'If he would have come, he would have seen the pig.'
Some verbs take sentential objects. One such verb is ore 'to know', as illustrated in (73).
(73) a. Era ore-ha kere'a-ma ona-ra-ha.

3s know-3sS path-LOC go-IRR-3sS
'He knows where to go.'
b. Nao ore-'ena kere'a-ma ona-nao.

1s know-lsS path-LOC go-1s
'I know where to go.'

## 4. Phrases

Three types of phrases are described in this section: noun phrases, adverb phrases, and intensifier phrases.

### 4.1 Noun Phrases

Common noun phrases have the structure in (74).
(74) (Demonstrative)(Place)(Noun) Noun (Adjective)(Numeral)(Limiter)
'Place' refers to a nationality, village, or ethnic group, as illustrated in (75-76).
(75) ripi aru

Uriri aru'u
Lau aru
(76) Dem Place Noun Adj Num
e'a Uriri aru-'u vori-vori a'uka
that Uriri man-PL big-PL two
'those two Uriri leaders'
Other examples of adjectives of quality are given in (77).
(77) aru hi'jvira 'big man'
evera paka'u 'small dog'
Noun-noun constructions are used in two ways. First, as illustrated in (78), the first noun can function as an adjective, specifying a quality of the head noun. Second, as illustrated in (79), the construction can be a partitive construction in which the first noun indicates the whole and the second noun indicates the part. Structurally there is no difference between these two uses of nounnoun constructions.
(78) aiparo narakau
lo'u evera 'village dog'
(79)
$\begin{array}{ll}\text { oharo ore } & \text { 'tree' } \\ \text { aro u'umo } & \text { 'head hair' }\end{array}$

The only limiter is uma' $i$ which has the sense of 'the very' or 'exactly' as illustrated in (80).
(80) pani'ira uma'i 'just tomorrow'
aiparo uma'i 'the very pig'

Possessive noun phrases have the structure in (81).
(81) NP Possessor $v e r$ NP $_{\text {Possessed }}$

Generally the possessor is a concrete entity as in (82a,d,e), but the possessor can be abstract, as in ( $82 \mathrm{~b}, \mathrm{c}$ ). A possessive noun phrase can also be embedded as the possessed noun phrase in a larger possessive noun phrase, as illustrated in (82e). A possessive noun phrase may also be the noun phrase in an adverbial phrase, as in (82d).
a. mono vere aiparo
b. ma'uri vere ae
'the boy's pig'
c. aika'u vere testimoni
'today's testimony'
d. nu-vere maiena-ma 'in front of us'
e. no-vere naora-vere fa'ari 'my mother's bilum'

The possessive morpheme -vere also occurs in other constructions which I do not fully understand. In the paraphrases in (83a,b), vere occurs with the one form of the agreement suffix, but not with the other, as shown by the ungrammatical forms in ( $83 \mathrm{c}, \mathrm{d}$ ).
a. Erahe ara'a oki-vere kivi-a-'ani.
$3 \mathrm{p} \quad$ canoe one-POSS work-3sO-2/3pS
'They are making one canoe.'
b. Erahe ara'a oki kivi-amu-'ani.

3p canoe one work-3sO-2/3pS
'They are making one canoe.'
c. *Erahe ara'a oki kivi-a-'ani.

3p canoe one work-3sO-2/3pS
d. *Erahe ara'a oki-vere kivi-amu-'ani.

3p canoe one-POSS work-3sO-2/3pS
Noun phrases can be conjoined by la as in (84), or by juxtaposition as in (85). Use of the conjunction la is more common when only two noun phrases are conjoined.
(84) Robbin la Jeremiah la Kereva-ma ona-'ani.

Robbin and Jeremiah and Kerema-LOC go- $2 / 3$ pS
'Robbin and Jeremiah went to Kerema.'
(85) Robbin, Jeremiah, Jon, erahe Kereva-ma ona-'ani.

Robbin Jeremiah John 3p Kerema-LOC go-2/3pS
'Robbin, Jeremiah, and John went to Kerema.'
Relative clauses occur before the head of the relative clause. There is no overt noun phrase in the relative clause which is coreferential with the head noun phrase; neither is there any anaphoric pronoun in the relative clause. The head noun phrase can be the subject of the main clause as in (86-87), or the object of the main clause, as in (88-89).
(86) No-vere aiparo au-ha aru ua'i Kereva-ma ona-ha. 1s-POSS pig kill-3sS man someone Kerema-LOC go-3sS
'The man who killed my pig went to Kerema.'
(87) Ë'a faura hasi'avai-ha aiparo uma'i epa-ma li'o-ha. that garden ruin-3sS pig very bush-LOC run.away-3sS
'The very pig that ruined that garden ran away to the bush.'

Nao no-vere | aiparo | autha | aru | uani | ere-amu-'ena. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Is | ls-POSS | pig | kill-3sS | man |
| somebody | see-3so-1sS |  |  |  |

'I saw the man who killed my pig.'

| Nao | no-vere | faura | hasi'avai-ha | aiparo | uma'i |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| lat-'ena. |  |  |  |  |  |
| ls | ls-POSS | garden | ruin-3sS | pig | very |
| kill-1sS |  |  |  |  |  |

'I killed the very pig that ruined my garden.'
In (86-89) the head noun phrase is coreferential with the implied subject of the relative clause. I have not been able to find any examples of relative clauses in which the head noun phrase is coreferential with an implied object. Attempts to elicit such examples have resulted in conjoined sentences, as in (90).
(90) Nao ê'a faura ere-amu-'ena, aiparo-ro hasi'avai-'amu-ha.

1s that garden see-3sO-1sS pig-ERG ruin-3sO-3sS
'I saw the garden that the pig spoiled.'

### 4.2 Adverb Phrases

Adverb phrases include phrases indicating location, time, or manner.

### 4.2.1 Locative Phrases

The unmarked locative suffix is -ma. The meaning of -ma depends on the semantics of the noun and verb in the clause. With verbs of motion like ava 'to go up' and wä't 'to go down', -ma indicates the goal of motion, as illustrated in (91-92).

```
Era uo-ma
ava-ha.
    3s mountain-LOC go.up-3sS
```

'He went up the mountain.'
(92) Nao Kereva-ma wał'-ena.

1s Kerema-LOC go.down-1sS
'I'm going down to Kerema.'
With verbs of position like $v e$ ' $i$ 'to sit/stay' or lea 'to stand', -ma indicated the unmarked position for the particular noun. For a noun like faha 'platform/table' the unmarked position would be on the surface; therefore, faha-ma means 'on the table'. For a noun like faura 'garden' which refers to an area of land the unmarked position would be in or at the area; therefore, faura-ma means 'at/in the garden'. Similarly, with a verb of position uo-ma means 'at the mountain'.

With verbs of motion mape indicates the source of motion, as illustrated in (93-95).
(93) Era êa mape ama'u-ha.

3s house from come.out-3sS
'He came out of the house.'
(94) Era uo mape wà'i-ha.

3s mountain from go.down-3sS
'He came down the mountain.'
Nao Kereva mape ava-'ena.
'I am coming up from Kerema.'
Both source and goal can be indicated with verbs of motion, as illustrated in (96).
(96) Nao lo'u mape Kereva-ma wẩ $\mathfrak{l}$-ena.

Is village from Kerema-LOC go.down-1sS
'I am going down from the village to Kerema.'
The locative suffix -ma can be augmented with various positional particles to further specify location, as shown in (97).

| faha fe'u-ma | 'under the table' |
| :---: | :---: |
| ea lue-ma | 'in the house' |
| éa maima-ma | 'beside the house' |
| Ea maiena-ma | 'in front of the house' |
| éa poe-ma | 'outside the house' |
| ela ho'e-ma | 'near the house' |
| éa apa-ma | 'behind the house' |
| éa ho'e-ma | 'near the house' |
| éa apa-ma | 'behind the house' |
| èa au-ma | 'on the house' |
| ěa U'uka moha fihi-ma | 'between the two ho |

Many of these positional particles are body parts. For example, maiena is 'forehead', poe is 'side', apa is 'back', and fihi refers to the 'middle' fingers, that is, the ones next to the thumb. The other particles apparently have no synchronic meaning. While these particles are generally used with verbs of position, they can be used with verbs of motion, as illustrated in (98).
(98) Era ěa lue-ma ure-ha.

3s house in-LOC go-3sS
'He went into the house.'

### 4.2.2 Time Phrases

Basic time phrases and the time words they are built from are listed in (99).


| apa sioro | 'next year' |
| :--- | :--- |
| manera sioro | 'last year' |

The word for 'month', fuia, also means 'moon'; the word for 'year', sioro, also means 'dry season' (November through January).

### 4.2.3 Manner

There are a few manner phrases. The instrumental is marked by the general locative suffix -ma. (100) akiva-ma 'with a knife'

Accompaniment is marked by moha.
(101) a. ahara moha 'with the (his) brother'
b. oharo moha 'with the tree'

This morpheme is also used in the expression for between in (97) above. The expression in (101b), oharo moha, occurred in one text in the clause 'Cuscuses sit in trees'. Its usage here may reflect a perception that the tree accompanies the cuscus (opossum) in general.

### 4.3 Intensifier Phrases

There are two ways to intensify an adjective or an adverb. The first, the suffix -ao 'very', has been found in only one phrase.
(102) Éa ho'ema'ao 'very near the house'

The second, ha'eka 'very', is used extensively.
(103) ekakau himiri ha'eka 'very many things'
aiparo hi'ivira ha'eka 'very big pig'

## 5. Words

### 5.1 Verbs

All verbs take subject agreement suffixes (SAS) which agree with the subject in person and number. These affixes are listed in section 6.1. The third plural SAS can be used in place of the third singular SAS with third singular subjects, as shown in (104b); the third singular SAS cannot be used with third plural subjects, as illustrated in (104c).
(104) a. Aru oki lea-ha.
man one stand-3sS
'One man is standing.'
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { b. Aru oki lea-'ani. } \\ \text { man } & \text { one } & \text { stand-3pS }\end{array}$
'One man is standing.'
c. *Aru a'uka lea-ha.
man two stand-3sS
In addition to SAS's, transitive and ditransitive verbs take object agreement suffixes (OAS) which agree with the object in person and number. These affixes are listed in section 6.1. The OAS
occurs between the verb root and the SAS. The third singular OAS is optional, as illustrated in (105).
(105) a. Evera-ro no-vere aiparo au-amu-ha.
dog-ERG 1 s -POSS pig kill-3sO-3s
'The dog killed my pig.'
b. Evera-ro no-vere aiparo au-ha.
dog-ERG 1s-POSS pig kill-1sS
'The dog killed my pig.'
The OAS agrees with the indirect object (goal), not the direct object (patient), for the ditransitive verb ini 'to give', as shown in (106).
(106) a. Era aiparo oki ofe ini-e-ha.

3s pig one 2 p give-2pO-3sS
'He gave you (pl) one pig.'
b. Era aiparo himiri nao ne-ni-ha.

3s pig many is give-1sO-3sS
'He gave me many pigs.'
There are no tense distinctions in Kaki Ae. Instead, there is a general distinction between realis and irrealis. Realis is unmarked, while -ra marks irrealis. The use of the irrealis mood has been outlined above. In simple sentences it generally marks either future action or negation. When it marks a future action it occurs before the SAS, as illustrated in (107).
(107) Era pani'ira na-ra-ha.

3s tomorrow eat-IRR-3sS
'Tomorrow he will eat.'
When it occurs in a negative sentence, the SAS does not occur.
(108) Era evera ore am-amu-ra.

3s dog NEG hit-3sO-IRR
'He did not hit the dog.'
There is at least one occurrence of the irrealis that I cannot explain.
(109) Nao ara'a feha-ra ere-amu-'ena.

1s canoe spoil-IRR see-3sO-1sS
'I saw the rotten canoe.'
Most other morphemes which appear as verbal suffixes in the texts are conjunctions which occur word-finally. It is unclear whether these are part of the verb or separate words, as I have not found criteria on which to make consistent word breaks. One other morpheme which occurs word internally is $-m$, as shown in (110).
(110) Opa haima ika la'u-m-enu-pe, r'i-m-enu-ma...
first bush self clean-?-1pS-and burn-?-1pS-LOC
'First we clear the bush, when it is cleared...'
This morpheme appears to have a habitual connotation. It is used consistently in this one procedural text, but even the same story teller does not use it in another procedural text.

Reduplication is occasionally used to indicate continuous aspect, as shown in (111).
(111) ...nane oki veri-veri...
fish one pull-CONT
'...they keep pulling in fish...'
At least one verb, $a$ 'to get', takes different forms with singular and plural objects.
(112) a 'get (sg)' o'a 'get (pl)'

Either form can be used with a plural object, but only a can be used with a singular object.
(113) a. Nao aiparo oki a-'ena.
ls pig one get-1sS
'I got one pig.'
$\begin{array}{clll}\text { b. }{ }^{*} \text { Nao } & \begin{array}{l}\text { aiparo } \\ \text { 1s }\end{array} & \begin{array}{l}\text { okig }\end{array} & \begin{array}{l}\text { o'a-e-'ena. } \\ \text { one }\end{array} \\ \text { get-3pO-1sS }\end{array}$
c. Nao aiparo himiri a-'ena.
ls pig many get-1sS
'I got many pigs.'
d. Nao aiparo himiri o'a-e-'ena.
ls pig many get-3pO-1sS
'I got many pigs.'
At least one verb, ini 'to give', takes different forms with first person versus nonfirst person objects.
(114) ne 'give (me/us)' ini 'give (you/he/she/them)'

This verb also takes a slightly different set of OAS's than do other verbs; this is discussed further in section 6.1.

The morpheme ehera 'hungry' can be used as either a verb, as in (115a), or as a noun, as in (115b).
(115) a. Nao ehera-ne-ha.

1s hungry-1sO-3sS
'I am hungry.'
b. Nao nane ehera-ro o'a-ne-ha.
ls fish hungry-ERG get-1sO-3sS
'Fish hunger got me./I am hungry for fish.'

### 5.2 Nouns

The only noun morphology is differentiation of singular and plural. The most general way to form plurals is by using the suffix -voro. This affix can be used on human nouns, as in (116a), animate nouns, as in (116b), inanimate nouns, as in (116c), and even mass nouns, as in (116d). In the case of mass nouns, -voro means 'much'.
(116) Singular

| a. à'u | a'uvoro | 'woman' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| aru | aruvoro | 'man' |
| aruă'u | aruâ'uvoro | 'person' |

a. a'u arua'u aruă'uvoro

| b. aiparo | aiparovoro <br> evera <br> everavoro | 'pig' <br> mini |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| nane |  |  |
| nanivoro | 'bird' |  |

A second way to form plurals is by using the affix -fe. This affix can be used with most kinship terms, as shown in (117).

| (117)Singular <br> napara | Plural <br> naparafe | 'father' |
| :---: | :--- | :--- |
| naora | naorafe | 'mother' |
| onera | onerafe | 'sister' |
| ahara | aharafe | 'brother' |
| laira | lairafe | 'aunt' |
| anaure | anaurefe | 'uncle' |
| nomara | nomarafe | 'in-law' |

At least two kinship terms cannot take the affix -fe. Instead they have separate plural forms, as shown in (118). Both of these terms can be used as common nouns ('boy' and 'girl') or as kinship terms ('son' and 'daughter').

Singula
mono
muru

Plural
moroua 'son, boy'
murua'u 'daughter, girl'

Finally, there is at least one noun that forms the plural by reduplication.
(119) aua 'child' aua'aua 'children'

Although most, if not all, nouns have plural forms, the singular form is generally used, as illustrated in (120).
(120) ... aua erahe ore naora era kapora koare mape ma-ha. child 3p know mother 3s fishing trip from come-3sS
'...the children know the mother will come from the fishing trip.'

## 6. Morpheme Categories

### 6.1 Verbal Agreement Suffixes

The use of subject agreement suffixes (SAS) and object agreement suffixes (OAS) is discussed in section 5.1. The set of SAS's is listed in (121).

| -'ena | 'first singular' |
| :--- | :--- |
| -he/ke | 'second singular' |
| -ha/ka | 'third singular' |
| -'enu | 'first plural' |
| -'ani | 'second/third plural' |

Most verbs take -hel-ha with second and third singular subjects; a minority take -kel-ka. No verbs take -hel-ka or -kel-ha.

The OAS's are listed in (122).


I have not found any conditioning factors for the alternation in the third singular OAS.
One verb, ini 'to give', takes a slightly different set of OAS's, as listed in (123).

| (123) | -ni |
| :---: | :--- |
| -'e | 'first singular' |
| $-\emptyset$ | 'second singular' |
| -ni'ua | 'third singular' |
| -e | 'first plural' |
|  | 'second/third plural' |

The $e$ in the regular set of first person OAS's corresponds to $i$ in the OAS's for the verb ini 'to give'; the regular third singular OAS -amu/a corresponds to - $\varnothing$. As noted in section 5.1, the OAS's generally agree in person and number with the indirect object for the ditransitive verb ini 'to give'. When the direct object is plural, however, the first plural OAS is -nu'üa instead of -ni'ua, while the first singular OAS remains -ni, as shown in (124).
(124) ne-ni-'ani 'they gave them to me'
ne-nu'ua-'ani 'they gave them to us'

### 6.2 Verb Roots

Verb roots are classified by whether they can be used in intranstive, transitive, or ditransitive clauses. As noted in section 3.1.1, some verbs can be used in more than one type of clause. Verbs are also classified as to the form of the second and third singular SAS they take (see section 6.1).

### 6.3 Personal Pronouns

There are six pronouns distinguished by person (first, second, and third) and number (singular and plural). There are no distinct dual forms, nor is there a distinction between inclusive and exclusive.

| (125) nao | $' 1 s '$ | nu'u | $' 1 p$ ' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ao | $' 2 s$ ' | ofe | $' 2 p$ ' |
| era | $' 3 s$ ' | erahe | $' 3 p$ ' |

The possessive forms are derived from these basic forms by adding the possessive suffix -vere. The ao diphthong in the first and second singular forms is reduced to $o$, and the first plural form $n u$ 'u is shortened to $n u$.

| novere | '1s' | nuvere |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| overe | ' 2 s ' | ofevere |
| eravere | '3s' | erahevere |

The ergative forms are derived from the basic forms by adding the ergative suffix -ro. The ao diphthong in the first and second singular forms is reduced to $a$, the first plural form $n u ' u$ is shortened to $n u$, and the final $e$ in the second and third plural forms becomes $o$.

| (127) naro | $' 1 s$ ' | nuro | $' 1 p$ ' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| aro | $' 2 s$ ' | oforo | $' 2 p$ ' |
| eraro | $' 3 s$ ' | erahoro | $' 3 p$ ' |

### 6.4 Demonstrative Pronouns

There are three demonstrative pronouns which refer to the distance of the object from the speaker. All three can be used adverbially (here/there/yonder) or adjectivally (this/that/yond).
(128)

| ne'e | 'here/this' |
| :--- | :--- |
| ehe/e'a | 'there/that' |
| éa'ehe'a/vehe'a | 'yonder/yond' |

### 6.5 Interrogative Pronouns

The basic interrogative pronouns are listed in (129).

| (129)naero <br> ena'i/enena'i | 'who' |
| :--- | :--- |
| enaha'u | 'what' |
| ene(ipi)veha | 'when' |
| ka'a-ma | 'why' |

### 6.6 Nouns

Nouns are divided into classes on the basis of which affix they take to form plurals. For more discussion, see section 5.2.

### 6.7 Adjectives

Adjectives can be divided into two classes: those which occur before the noun and those which occur after the noun. As outlined in section 4.1, the adjectives which occur before the noun are adjectives of nationality or place of origin, while those that occur after the noun are adjectives of quality. Adjectives of quality denote colour as in (130a), quantity as in (130b), size or dimensions as in (130c), or quality as in (130d).
epor
e'ero
'black'
nano
'white'
o'u
'yellow'
viro
'green'
'red'
b. himiri
'many'
hoi
pirari
kau'ara
'few'
'few'
'some'
c. hi'ivira
'big'
paka'u
'small'
veivei
'long'
au 'short'
d. $a n i$
'old'
moea 'old'
apai
'young'
oera
mehau
'heavy'
kine
kaora
'ripe'
'unripe; not heavy'

| namaia | 'good' |
| :--- | :--- |
| feha | 'bad (with sores)' |
| hove'a | 'correct' |
| no'a | 'straight' |
| lohoru | 'round' |
| fa'ifa'i | 'wet' |
| hara'o | 'dry' |
| hahe'a | 'warm' |
| hahu'u | 'cold' |
| eani | 'left (side)' |
| haune | 'right (side)' |

### 6.8 Numerals

The counting system is based on 'two' and 'five', as shown in (131).


The words for 'five' and 'ten' are based on upu 'arm, hand' and oka' $i$ 'side'.

## Work Papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics,

 University of North Dakota Session1995 Volume 39
Editor: J. Albert Bickford

