## 2. Word Boundaries

A word in Rawa consists of one or more morphemes which cannot be broken down further without loss of meaning.

Word boundaries are determined by the following criteria:

- The various clitics that occur only word final: (present -past -future tense, person number, remote past tense, desirative or completive aspect; climax, definite, prominence affixes; relative clause affixes; medial verb affixes; locative affixes)
- Individual word stress and intonation.
(See Section 1.1 for more information on stress and intonation.)
- The emic feeling of the people as to the natural word boundaries. The Karo/Rawa people have an intuitive feel as to where the word breaks would be.

Some Karo/Rawa words consist of only one phoneme and may occur with no affixation.

1. $u$
'go down'
2. $e$
'talk'
3. 00
'something'
Numerous words are composed of only one morpheme.
(19)
4. $k u$
'yam'
5. ne
'eat'

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3. no
'I'
4. $n u$
'bird'
5. yo
'get'
The majority of the words consist of a stem plus affixation.
(20)

1. $y$-uto
them-hit.prr.2sp
'hit them!'
2. y-uroo-te-nggo
them-hit-prt-3pl
'they are hitting (killing) them'
3. $y u$-no
them-give
'give it to them!'
4. yu-noo-te-nggo
them-hit-prt-3p
'they are giving it to them'

## 3. STEMS

Simple stems composing the base or core of the word can be composed of as few as a single morpheme or many morphemes without affixation.
(21)

1. biyomi
'bad'
2. sanggiri
'angry'
3. momungo
'round'
4. oni
'man'
5. bare
'woman'

### 3.1 Derived Stems

Derived stems are words which when different affixes are added to it, change its normal usage and assume the position of its new function is the sentence.

### 3.1.1 Nouns Becoming Verbals

Nouns may be converted into verbs with the verbal tense affixes such as the following: -te (present tense) -wa (future tense) -wo (past tense) -we (desirative). The simple noun stem takes a verbal tense, may take person number as well and then it functions as a verb.

1. sangga

## sangga-we

spear
'spear'
2. doonge-ne
eye-my
'my eyes'
spear-des
'to desire to spear'
doonge-te
look-prt.3s
'he is looking'

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3.
engge
fruit
'fruit'
4. engge-te
fruit-prt.3s
'it has borne fruit'

## engge-wa

maturing-ft. 3 s
'it will mature'

## engge-wo

fruit-pt. 3 s
'it bore fruit'

### 3.1.2 Verbs Converted to Nouns-Nominalization

Verbs may also be nominalized. This is used in texts or speech when a foreign term (when no Karo/Rawa word is available for it) needs to be used but the speaker prefers to use a nominalized verb instead to describe it. These verbs occur as nouns, or as a descriptive adjective modifying the noun in the Modified Noun Phrase, Appositional Noun Phrase. The nominalizers consist of a verb plus the nominalizer-weroyi.

## CHART 1

| verb stem | nominalizer |
| :---: | :---: |
| any verb stem | -weroyi |

(23)

1. ne-weroyi (RA-3)
eat-nom
'kitchen'
2. sonowoo-weroyi (RA-14)
wash-nom
'wash basin'
3. keno-weroyi (RA-13)
look-nom
'view'
4. gimu-weroyi (RA-7)
bat3s-nom
'shower'
The preceding examples were taken from a text describing our three room staff house at our Linguistic Center to the man's father-in-law back in the village who hadn't seen it before. Things like showers, kitchen, table, windows, cupboards, etc. were all described using nominalizers where there wasn't an equivalent term in the vernacular.

### 3.2 Compound Stems

Compound stems are used freely in everyday speech and in text materials. New compound words are created when existing Karo/Rawa words are not adequate to describe a foreign situation. Compound stems have two or more core stems used together to make a new word with a different meaning. They may take affixes according to the noun or verb slot in which it is used. Those with verb affixation occur in the verb slot and those with noun affixation occur in the noun slots of the subject, object and locative slots on the clause level.

## CHART 2: COMPOUND STEMS

| + stem 1 | + stem 2 | $\pm$ stem 3 | $\pm$ affix |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| noun | noun | noun | noun affix |
| noun | verb |  | verb affix |
| noun | adj |  | noun affix |
| verb | verb |  | verb affix |
| adj/adv | verb |  | verb affix |
| verb | adj/adv |  | $\#$ |

(24)

1. oni-simoo-bare man-boy-woman
2. towi-kumba material-wearing.apparel
3. kumbe-ye-ro
pot-put-ss
4. towi-dogoni material-short'
5. yo-ye
$=\quad$ 'fence in; contain'
get-put
6. ari-ye
dry-put
7. yo-niningoo get-straight
8. Si-ye-te.
string.bag-put-prt.3s
9. wata-ye
pile-put
10. ke-yo
leg-get
11. ende-yo village-get
12. u-r-oore
go.down-go.up

Note: In example 12, because of the CV pattern, two vowels may not occur contiguously together (the 00 phoneme patterns as one vowel). Thus the $u$ and $o o$ are an unallowable pattern; so the $r$ is inserted in this compound word to conform to this restraint. Thus, $u$ 'go down' plus oore 'go up' becomes $u$-r-oore in a compound.

When compound nouns are either kinship or body parts, then there is an obligatory suffix possession marker at the end.

## CHART 3

| + stem 1 | + stem 2 | + poss |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| kinship word | kinship word | poss suffix |

(25)

1. simoo-nambo-ye boy-daughter-3s poss
2. nango-simoo-ngge sons-boy-2s.poss
3. nambo-simoo-ngge daughter-boy-2s.poss
4. omu-kumundoo-ne $=\quad$ 'my face'

## 4. Word Level

### 4.1 Nouns

Nouns are words that refer to objects, people, or entities relevant to the discourse. This relationship of a noun to its referent is a specific constant one.

Nouns may be divided into two classes on the basis of how they are possessed.

### 4.1.1 Noun Class One-Obligatorily Possessed Nouns

All body parts and kinship terms have an obligatory suffix marking possession. The exception would be when kinship terms are used in direct address-then the possession suffix marker is usually omitted.

This class of obligatorily possessed nouns differs from optionally possessed nouns in that:

- Possession is marked by an obligatory suffix.
- The plural suffix marker -sumoo, -guri, or -kada 'all' occur on class one nouns.

Historically flora words also took obligatory possession suffixation as well. Now however plant parts and animals optionally may retain the third person singular or plural possession suffixation.
(26)

1. de kambi-ni
tree limb-3s.poss
'tree limb'
2. $u-y i$
leaf-3s.poss
'leaves'
Cultural key words, such as bo 'pig' and ko 'garden', were historically obligatorily suffixed for possession. This is rarely used today except by a few of the older people.

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(27)

1. bo-ni
pig-3s.poss
'his pig'
2. $k o-n i$
garden-3s
'his garden'
Today bo 'pig' and ko 'garden/work' show possession by the use of a free possessive form as used in the class two nouns section 4.1.2.
(28)
3. ngu-ro bo

3s-poss pig
'his pig'
2. ngu-ro ko

3 s -poss garden
'his garden'
The Rawa word gabo 'dream' is also a class one noun as it is obligatorily suffixed for possession.
(29)
gabo-yi
dream-3s.poss
'his dream'

### 4.1.1.1 Noun Class One Suffixation

The first two orders of noun class one suffixation are:

- plural suffixes first order
- obligatory possession suffix second order.

Plural Suffixes (first order) that occur with Class One Nouns: in the examples below observe the first order plural suffixes on class one nouns.

1. bare-sumoo-ngoo
women-all-3s
'all (of) his wives'
2. nambo-sumoo-ngge
daughter-all-2s
'all (of) your daughters'
3. aha-guri-ne
brother.in.law-all-1s.poss
'all (of) my brothers-in-law'
4. dooboo-guri-ne
friend-all-1s.poss
'all (of) my friends'
5. wembu-kada-yi
bones-all-3s
'all (of) his bones'
The one exception that has been found is the use of -kada 'all' occurring with kiti 'dirt', a class two optionally possessed noun. Usually these plural markers occur only on class one obligatorily possessed nouns.
kiti-kada
dirt-all
'all the dirt'

### 4.1.1.2 Noun Class One Possession Suffixes (second order)

The suffixes for obligatory possession are second order markers and are listed in the chart below.

## CHART 4: POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

| Person | Singular | Dual | Plural |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| First | $-n e \sim-g e n e$ | $-n a r e$ | -nane |
| Second | $-g e \sim-n g g e$ |  |  |
| Third | $-y i,-n g o,-w o,-r i$, <br> $-n i,-y o,-\#$, | $-y a r i$ | $-y e$ |

Note 1: First person singular possessive suffix -gene has only been observed on specific kinship terms.
(32)

1. aha-gene
brother.in.law-1s.poss
'my brother-in-law'
2. kone-gene
younger.sibling-1s.poss 'my younger sibling'

Note 2: In the second person possessive suffix -ge $\sim$ ngge as to which ending may occur, this will need further research but it seems to agree with the previous consonant point of articulation.

Note 3: The third person possessive markers are morphologically determined according to its allomorphs. The \# or zero morpheme has only been observed on seme-\# 'his hipbone' and nemi-\# 'his mother'.

Other class one nouns, when first person possession is used, rake the -ne marker.

Some examples of class one nouns are:

| BODY PARTS | KINSHIP | DIRECT ADDRESS |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |

1. omu-ne
nose-1s
'my nose'
2. kura-ngge
brain-2s
'your brain'
3. dapa-ge
head-2s
'your head'
4. gaki -ngoo
cheek-3s
'his cheek'
5. nomoo-ni
chest-3s
'his chest'
6. boto-evo
knee -3s
'his knee'
7. seme-\#
hipbone-3s
'his hipbone'
8. metoo $-y i$
teeth -3 s
'his teeth'
9. more-yo
shoulder-3s
'his shoulder'
10. namu-ne
morher-1s
'my mother'
11. awa -ngge
father-2s
'your facher'
12. aha -ge
brother.in.law-2s
'your brother-in-law'
13. namu-nare
mother-1d 'our mother'
14. namu-nane
mother-1p
'our mother'
15. aha-gene
brother-in-law-1s
'my brother-in-law'
16. doboo-yari
friend-2/3d'
'your/our friend'
17. doboo-ye
friend-2/3pl
'your/our friend'
18. namu
'mother'
19. awa
'father'

## 9. $a h a$

'brother-in-law'

Flora
12. kambi-ni branch-3s 'its branch'
15. $u-y i$
leaf-1s
'its leaf'
18. tanggo-ri
fruit-3s
'its fruit'
1st -sumool-guril-kada 'pluralizers'
2nd Possessive suffixes (See Chart 4 Noun Class One Possessive Suffixes)
3rd -dodo ..... 'all'
-ngga definite article (singular) marker on discourse level
4th $\quad-k u$ discourse prominence (plural)
-mo~-no 'to/at/in'
-mbo~-bo instrument/ agent
5th -nggo 'from'
-ya accompaniment
-ro possessive

(34)

1. kame-sumoo-ye-mbo AT .007 p. 513
husband-pl-3pl -subj
'all of their husbands'
2. bare-yi-ga-ku-ndo
wife-his-def.s-prm-subj
'his one wife'
4.1.1.4 Noun Class One Irregular Stems

There are some irregular noun stems that occur in class one. For example in the kinship noun namu 'mother' (direct address), in the second person singular, the stem changes to just $n a$ and then the second person possessive marker -ngge is used (na-ngge 'your mother'). In the third singular, the entire stem changes to nemi 'his mother' and there is no possessive marker added to this stem. In most of the examples in the chart below there is a stem change only in the third person possusive. The only exception is namu 'mother' where the stem is different in all three possessive forms.

## (CHART 5

| gloss | ls.poss | $2 \mathrm{~s} . \mathrm{poss}$ | $3 \mathrm{~s} . \mathrm{poss}$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 'mother' | namu-ne | $n a-n g g e$ | nemi-\# |
| 'father' | awa-ne | $a w a-n g g e$ | $e w e-y i$ |
| 'older sibling same <br> sex' | $b a-n e$ | $b a-g e$ | $b e-y i$ |
| 'male cousin' (male <br> speaker) | $y a y a-n e$ | $y a y a-n g g e$ | $y e y e-y i$ |
| 'hipbone' | sama-ne | sama-ngge | seme-\# |

### 4.1.2 Noun Class Two Optionally Possessed Nouns

Class two nouns may optionally show possession by use of a free possessive pronoun form which precedes the noun head. This form is suffixed by a third person possessive form. (See section 4.2.1.2, Pronoun Possessive Suffixes). This is the most widely used type of possession. With the exception of kinship and body parts which require a possessive suffix, all other nouns are in this class two category.
(35) Free Possessive Pronoun Form Which Precedes the Noun Head:

1. no-ro ya

1 s -poss house
'my house'
2. noore-ngo ko

1 p -poss garden
'our garden'
3. ngu-ro bo

3 s -poss pig
'his pig'
(36) Examples of Class Two nouns:

1. oni
'man'
2. yambo $y a$
'church'
3. mggire
'corn'
4. simoo
'boy'
5. $\boldsymbol{s}$
'dog'
6. dоwi
'pumpkin'
7. bare
'woman/girl'
8. de
'tree/firewood/ fire'
9. towi
'material'
10. onisimoobare
'people'
11. nusako
'animal'
12. digi
'stone/money'
4.1.2.1 Noun Class Two Suffixes

| 1st | -ro |  | 'poss.' |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | -kana | ? | possibly 'place/on' | eg., | oore -kana road on 'on the road' |
|  | $-m b a$ | ? | possibly a dialect ch been observed from |  | uffix -mbo as this has only area. |
|  | -ga |  | definite article (singu | disc | e level |
| 2nd | $k o$ | ? | 'on' |  |  |
|  | -mu |  | possession |  |  |
|  | -ngga |  | definite article (singular) discourse level |  |  |
| 3rd | -no--m |  | 'ro/at/in' |  |  |


|  | -ku | plural discourse prominence |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | -ndo -do | subject/agent marker |
| 4th | -dodo | 'all' |
|  | -ya | accompaniment |
|  | -nggo | 'from' |
| (37) Examples of Noun Class 2 Suffixes: |  |  |
| 1. bare-ga AO . 002 p .86 woman-def.s 'one woman' |  |  |
| 2. core-ga road-def.s 'one road' |  |  |
| 3. Neyuro-ro person's name-poss 'Neuro's' |  |  |
| 4. oni -ro man poss 'the man's' |  |  |
| 4.2 Pronouns |  |  |

Pronouns are a class of words which also refer as nouns do. However in contrast to nouns, they are a small, closed set of words which do not have a constant relationship with their referents. Instead they may shift reference.

Pronouns differ from nouns in that:
A. They may refer to, or substitute for a noun.
B. They have only very limited expansion possibilities on the phrase level.

### 4.2.1 Personal Pronouns

Personal Pronouns may replace or refer to any noun. They are as follows:

## CHART 6

|  | singular | dual | plural |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Ist person | no | noore |  |
| 2nd person | ge | yari | ye |
| 3rd person | $n g u$ <br> $e n e$ <br> eke | eraga | garo |

### 4.2.1.1 Pronominal Affixation:

Pronouns have fewer markers than nouns and only one to two suffixes may occur contiguously on pronoums. The pronominal suffix markers show possession, locatives, accompaniment, agentivity, emphatic (ene-su nange 'he alone'), and plurality. The emphatic suffix may only occur on pronouns, not on nouns.

### 4.2.1.2 Pronouns Possession Suffix (-ngo ~ -ro)

Pronouns take possessor suffixes -ngo or -ro. All pronouns ending with front vowels take the suffix -ngo. All pronouns ending with mid or back vowels take the suffix -ro.
(38) Pronominal Possessor Suffixes -ngo~-ro:

1. no-ro

Is-poss
'mine'
2. ene-ngo

3 s -poss
'his/hers/its'
3. garo-ro

3 pl-poss
'their'
4. ngy-ro

3s-poss
'his/hers/its'
5. ge-ngo

2 s poss
'yours'(1s)
6. yari-ngo

2d-poss
'yours' (2d)
7. eraga-ro

3d-poss
'theirs' (3d)
8. No-ro ya-no ngu-no oru-wero.//

1 s -poss house-to there-in remain-des
'I want to remain in my house.'
9. Nga mbako nga ngu-ro-mu.//
this sw.potato here 3 s -poss-poss
'These sweet potatoes here are his.'
10. Ge-ngo ko-no u-ro ko ombu-wa.//

2 s -poss garden-to go.down-poss again come-ft. 3 s
'She will go down to your garden and then come back again.'
11. Ene-ngo ende-mo toonge-weroyi-mbo-ro u-te.//

3 s -poss village-to walk-des-instr-poss go.down-prt.3s
'He wanted to go to his village and so he went down.'
12. Ene yari-ngo ya-no u-te.//

3 s 2d-poss house-to go.down-prt.3s
'She is going down to your (both) house.'
13. Ngu oni-ngga era-ga-ro ko-no ko te -te./l
that man-def.s two-def.s-poss garden-to work do-prt.3s.
'That man is working in their (both) garden.'
14. Ene garo-ro ko-no u-ro ku se-te./l

3s 3pl-poss garden-to go.down-ss yam dig-prt.3s
'She went down to their (plural) garden and is digging yams.'
When the pronominal possessor suffix is used without a noun following it, then an additional possessive suffix $-m u$ is used. Observe the previous example 38 sentence number 9 ( $n g u$-ro-mu 'his').

### 4.2.1.3 Pronominal Locative Suffix (-no)

(39)

Ene no-no ombu-te.//
$3 \mathrm{~s} \quad 1 \mathrm{~s}$-to come-prt. 3 s
'He is coming to me.'
4.2.1.4 Pronominal Accompaniment (-ya) and Agentivity Suffixes (-ndo ~ - do)

No-ndo ge-ya mande e-wero.//
1 s -ag 2 s -acc talk say-des
'I want to talk to you'.
4.2.1.5 Pronoun Emphatic Suffixes: (-so ~ -su)

Pronouns also take -so and -su 'emphatic suffixes' to show that they themselves did that particular thing.

The suffix -so occurs only on first person singular pronouns and elsewhere -su occurs with all other pronoun forms. See Section 6.5, Emphatic Pronoun Phrase.

1. no-so
i-excl
'I, myself'
2. $n g u$-su

3 s -excl
'he, himself'
3. yari-su

2 d -excl
'you (2), you (dual) yourselves'
4. ge-su
$2 s$-emp
'you, yourself'
5. noore-su

1d/pl-emp
'we ourselves'
6. ye-su

2pl-emp
'you (all) yourselves'
7. No-so sono-mo ooro-ro, ko ombu-wo-no.//

1s-emp river-to go-ss, again come-pt-1s
'I alone went to the river and then came back again.'
8. Ge-s nangge ombu-wo?//

2 s -emp only come-pt.3s
'Was it only you who came?'
9. Ene-su nangge u-roore-te.//

3s-emp only go.down-go.up-prt.3s
'Only he went down and up.'
10. Noore-su nangge Ramu Suga-no u-wa-to.//

Ipl-emp only Ramu Sugar-to go.down-ft-1pl
'Only we will go down to the Ramu Sugar.'
11. Yari-su nangge kopi dange-ri.//

2d-emp only coffee pick-2d
'Only you two are picking coffee.'
12. Ye-su nangge Madang u-wa-nggo, bine?/l

2pl-emp only Madang go.down-ft-2pl perhaps
'Are only you (plural) going down to Madang?'
4.2.1.6 Prononinal Plural Suffix (-dodo)
(42)

Garo-dodo yoruwoo-yingo naru-no ombu-yingo.//
3pl-all meet-compl time-at come-compl
'They all came at the meeting time.'

### 4.2.2 Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative Pronouns function in place of nouns and also may occur with the pronoun possessive suffix marker ro as other pronouns do. There are two interrogative stems: nda 'what' and oone 'who'. These stems and their different forms and affixes are listed below:

1. nda
'what/where'
Ngu nda?
That where
'Where is that?'

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2. ndawu-ga
what-def.s
'what is it'
Ndawu -ga te-te?
what-def.s do prt.3s
'What is he doing?'
3. ndaधu-ga-ro
what-def.s-poss
'why'
(e) ndawu-ga-ro nga oomboonge-wo?
you what-def.s-poss this break-pt.2s
'Why did you break this?'
4. ndawu-naru-ngga
what-time-def.s
'what time/when'
Ge ndawu-naru-ngga-no ko ombu-wa?//
2 s what-time-def.s-at again come-ft. 2 s
'When will you return again?'
5. ncla-no
what to
'where'
Ene nda-no?
3s whereto
'Where is he?'
6. nda-diro
what-much
'how many/how much'
Digi nda-diro? //
stone what-much
'How much money is that?'
7. oone
'who'
Oone? $/ /$
who
'Who is it?'
8. g-oone

2 s -who
'who are you?'
G-oone?!/
2 s -who
'Who are you?'
Note: In the above sentence $8, g$-oone 'who are you', the $g$ - is a contraction for ge 'you' (2s).
9. oone-ndo
who-ag
'who' (subject)
Oone-ndo nga ko te-wo?!/
who-ag this work do-pt.3s
'Who did this work?'
10. oone-ro
who-poss
'whose'
Nga oone-ro ya?//
this who-poss house
'Whose house is this?'
11. oone-ro-mu
who-poss-poss
'whose is it'
Nga ya-ngga oone-ro-mu? //
this house-def.s who-poss-poss
'This house is whose?'

### 4.3 Demonstratives

Demonstrative pronouns nga 'this/ here' and $n g u$ 'that/there' occur as free form words and may take affixation according to its position in the sentence. The demonstrative pronoun $n g u$ 'that/there' has the highest frequency of word usage in the Karo/Rawa language.
$N g u$ 'that/there' may occur with the same affixes that nouns take; however it usually takes no more than two affixes at one time. The $n g u$ 'that/there' may occur as a noun in discourse when the proper name of the participant has been mentioned several

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times and then the $n g /$ 'that' would occur as a generic reference to that noun again and would take the appropriate noun affixation. The demonstrative ngu 'that' may take the following affixation: possession, location, accompaniment, agentivity, plurality, direction, definite article and prominence.

Suffixes occurring on Demonstratives nga 'this/here' and ngu 'that/chere' are:

| -ro | possession |
| :--- | :--- |
| -ndo | subj. marker noun class 2 |
| $-y a$ | accompaniment |
| -no ~mo | locative 'to' |
| -nggo | locative 'from' |
| -roko | locative 'that mark/place/location' |
| -woore | locative 'on top of' |
| -ngga | definite article (singular) discourse level |

Note: The suffixes used with the demonstratives $n g a$ 'this/here' and $n g u$ 'that/there' show that they are not only used as pronouns but they also may be used as nouns They have a considerably wider range of use than pronouns have.
(4) Text 85.15; Title of Story: Demonstrative Pronoun Possessive Suffix -ro:
Namb Ure-yingo Ngu-ro Mande-ni
cassowary kill-compl that-poss talk-it
'The Talk About the Killing of the Cassowary'
(45) Text 85.16; Clauses 148-149: Demonstrative Pronoun Locative Suffix -nonggo 'from':

Ko ngu-nonggo Dewuyi Katero era-ga Barimu ende-mo and that-from David Katero two-def.s Barimu village-in
oore-to-ri,/ no ko ma sosore-ro toong-yingo.//
go.up-ds-du.e 1s again not afraid-ss leave-compl
'And from that when David and Katero, the two of them, go up to Barimu again, I won't be afraid and run away.'
(46) Text 85.4; Clauses 7-13:Demonstrative Pronoun Locative suffix -no 'in':

7
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { Boonge-mu ombu-weroyi suwo-ngga-ku-no } & \text { ngu, no kumbe } \\ \text { landslide-poss come-nom night-def.s-prom-in at } & \text { ls pan }\end{array}$

$10 \quad 11$
koondo-mo moondo-ro ye-rol Teri-ro-mu ino-rol
dish-in pour-ss put-ss Terry-poss-poss give-ss
conj 12
13
ko Mariya-ro-mu ngu-ya ino-ro ngu, nenengo ne-too-we and Maria-poss-poss that-acc give-ss when 1 s.poss eat-ds-s.i

14
oru-woo-to-wo.//
be-pt-1pl-rpt
'At the time of the landslide in the evening, I got a pot and in that when I had cooked rice until it was done, I got it and put it ina dish, gave Terry his, and when I gave Maria hers also, I ate mine and we remained that way.'

Note: In the preceding text, clauses 7,8 , and 12 all have the dependent clause marker $n g u$ 'when'; Clause 8 has a demonstrative with a locative suffix -no 'in'; and clause 12 has the demonstrative with the accompaniment suffix -ya 'also'.
(47) Text 85.1; Clauses 47-50: Demonstrative Pronoun Agentivity Suffix -ndo, and Locative Suffix -nonggo 'from':

47
Ngu-ndo ngu de nombo-ga-ku se-rol de-ku toongo-yi that-ag dem fire ashes-def.s-prom dig-ss fire.pl-prom remove-its

50
sa-to-ni yoko-rol ngu-nonggo duge-ga-ku keno-wo-no-wo.// leave-ds-s.e finish-ss that-from knife-def.s-prom see-pt-1s-rpt
'For that (knife) I dug the ashes from the fireplace until they were all removed, and from that I saw the knife.'
(48) Text 85.3; Clauses 5-6: Denionstrative Pronoun Plurality Suffix -dodo 'all':

Ngu naru-no ngu, Mariya Dewuyi nambo-ni, ko Teri that time-at that Maria David daughter-his and Terry

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ngu-dodo oodoo-yel ngu-no boonge-mu-urungga ngu ombu-yingo.// there-all beds-pl.i that-at landslide-poss-big that come-compl
'It was at that time Maria David, his daughter, and Terry that we all were there when the big landslide came.'
(49) Text 85.16; Clauses 76-81: Demonstrative Pronoun Direction Locative Suffix -sina 'location' and Locative Suffix -nggo:

Te-to-ni, awa mamo era-ga suwo-nonggo ko-no do-ds-s.e papa mother two-def.s night-from garden-to
sa-ying-mu,l ko suwoo-le-to-ni ngu-sina-nggo
leave-compl-poss again night-do-ds-s.e that-location-from
gobiri se-rol siriyo-rol ko mbako se-ro siriyo-ro,l
taro dig-ss fill.string.bag-ss and sw.potato dig-ss fill-ss
de imboo-ro maye-yingo.//
wood chop-ss arrive-compl
'He did that and in the morning my parents, the two of them, left for the garden and in the afternoon return again and from that location they dug Chinese taro and put them in the string bag and dug sweet potatoes and put them into their string bag and returned home.'
(50) Demonstrative Pronoun Definite Singular Suffix -ngga:
nga-ngga nga
this-def.s here
'this (one) here"
ngu-ngga mgu(RA-38)
that-def.s there
'that (one) there'
(51) Text 85.16; Clauses 150-153:Demonstrative Pronoun Definite Singular Suffix -ga ~ -ngga plus the -ku 'Prominence Suffix':

Ngu-ngga-ku senge-to-ni doboo-kuri-ne-ku maye-to-yi ngu,/ that-def.s-prom dawn-ds-s.e friend-all-1s.poss-pl.prom arrive-ds-pl.e when
e-ro yomo-rol kawu-nani daro oore-yingo.//
say-ss langh-ss stomach-our pain go.up-compl
'And in that at dawn, when all of my friends arrived, we all talked and laughed about that until our stomachs hurt.'
'The pronominal emphatic suffix -so ~-su may not occur on $n g u^{\prime}$ 'that/there' as it does on the other pronouns. Instead the third personal pronoun ene is used with the emphatic suffix -su.
(52)

Ene-su nangge ombu-te.//
3 s-emp only come-prt.3s
'He himself is coming.'
Demonstrative pronouns $n g a$ 'this/ here' and $n g u$ 'that /there' may occur in both the pre-head and post-head slots of the Modified Noun Phrase and locative Phrase; prehead slot of the Appositional Phrase and Adjective Phrase; and post-head slot to the Co-ordinate Noun Phrase. When the demonstrative pronouns occur in the pre-head slot, they mean 'this' or 'that' but in the post-head slot they mean 'here' or 'there'.
$N g u$ also is used as a dependent clause marker meaning 'when, as, or if'.
(53) Text 85.1; Clauses 36-40: Dependent Clause Marker:

Ngu-no yoko-rol ooro-ro bibite-rol doonge-ne sono-yi
that-to finish-ss/ go-ss sit-ss eyes-1s.poss water-3s.poss
maye-to-ni ngu,/ duge-ga-ku-ro ingo-ro,/ sendo-wo-no-ש̌o.//
arrive-ds-s.e when knife-def.s-prom-poss think-ss/ cry-pt-1s-rpt
'I left that, went and sat down and when I thought about the knife, my eyes were filled with tears and I cried.'

On the discourse level, demonstrative pronouns may also occur sentence final in the verb post-head position when used as the high point or climax of a discourse. See section 9.1.2.4.
(54) Text 85.5; Clauses 24-25:

Namo-ne, no-ndo ge-ya oore-ro,/ were-wa-ro-ku ngu!// mother-my 1 s -ag 2 s -acc go.up-ss sleep-ft-1d-cli dem 'Mother, I will go up with you and we will sleep (together there)!'

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### 4.4 Adjectives

Adjectives are descriptive words which usually act as modifiers of nouns. The following are examples of adjectives: colour, size, length, condition, character, distance, shape and number.

### 4.4.1 Colour Adjectives

Colour adjectives often assume the 3rd person singular possessive suffix -yi at the close of the colour word stem. This is optional. These colour names are taken from the plant name that the colour is made from. Observe the following examples:
(55)

1. dori-yi
'red-its'
2. gadabi
'green'
3. koronggo-yi
'yellow-its'
4. sara-yi
'white-its'
5. dag-yi
'red-its'
6. mo-yi
'dark-its'
7. uringgi
'blue'
8. Ngu towi-ngga ngu kumu dago-yi, uringgi, koronggo-yi ooroo-te.// that material-def.s 3 s colour red-its blue yellow-its be-prt. 3 s 'That material it is the colour of red, blue, (and) yellow.'

### 4.4.2 Size /Length Adjectives

(56)

1. bodaga
'small'
2. songura
'small part'
3. piru
'long'
4. gumi
'half'
5. ootuwoo
'short'
6. oowooyingga
'plenty'
7. gide
'part'
8. bobodi
'tiny'
9. Ene mande bodaga e-wero.//

3s talk small say-des
'He has some talk he wants to say.'
10. Ngu oni-ngga ngu oni ootuwoo piru kini.//
that man-def.s there man short long not
'That man there is not long he's short.'
11. Oni oowooyingga oorengo yoruwoo-te-nggo.//
man many very meet-prt-3.pl
'Lots of men met together.'

### 4.4.3 Condition Adjectives

(57)

1. metemi
'good'
2. moogikete
'wet'
3. mesaranggo
'good'
4. ariyete
'dry'

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5. gome
'good'
6. soriyete
'dry'
7. biyomi
'bad'
8. kookingo
'hot'
9. ningguri
'sweet'
10, gingo
'cold'
11. kowuri
'heavy'
12. kuniyingo
'sharp'
13. ememangge
'casy'
14. yanggangoo
'strong'
15. gakivi
'strong'
16. mandoni
'ripe'
17. keta
'new'
18. ошіtа
'early/young'
19. dogoni
'old' (person)
20. kuri
'before/old'
21. momungoo
'round'
22. nenengoo'straight'
23. wengguru 'crooked'
24. buwoo'rotten'
25. Ngu ooga ngu wenngurungo-yingo.//
that something is cooked-oompl 'That is crooked.'
26. Omukumundoo-ngo kombo kendiro momungo.// face-his moon same round 'His face is as round as the moon.'
27. Ko-no nggire ngu engge owita.//garden-in corn 3 s fruit young'The corn in the garden is young yet.'
4.4.4 Character Adjectives
(58)

1. ingondudu
'smart'
2. sugabo
'dirty'
3. nenengoo
'straight'
4. yanggangoo
'strong'
5. urungga
'big'
6. ootuwo
'short'
7. metemi
'good'
8. Ngu oni-ngga ngu ingondudu-ni urungga.// that man-def.s 3 s smart-3s big 'That man he is very smart.'
9. (e simoo-ye sono-ye-ro athe sugabo-dodo.//

2 s child-pl water-3pl-ss 3 pl dirty-all
'You should wash your children because they are dirty.'
10. Newende ngu ooga ngu-ro yanggango ye-te.//
inside 3 s something that-poss strong put-prt.3s
'His stomach is strong inside.'

### 4.4.5 Distance/directional Adjectives

Directional adjectives are basically locative words but without the locative suffix markers.

Directionals are used in the Modified Noun Phrase and Appositional Phrase.

1. awu
'up (far)'
2. awe
'up (close)'
3. $a m u$
'down below (far)'
4. ame
'down below (close)'
5. andu
'far over'
6. ande
'over (close)'
7. Ngu oo-ga ngu awu sangani-mo.//
that something-def.s 3 s up.far on.top-of
"That is up above on top.'
8. Oorowu-ya towi ande-sina ngu yo-ya ombu!//
go-imp material over.close-location 3 s get-imp come
'Get that material over there and come!'
9. Bare-ga amu ko-no ko te-to-ni kenoo-te-no./l woman-def.s down.far garden-in work do-ds-s.e see-prt-1s 'I see the woman that is working far down below in her garden.'

### 4.4.6 Shape Adjectives

(60)

1. momungoo
'round'
2. pawangoo
'round'
3. nenengoo
'straight'
4. piru
'long'
5. ootuwo 'short'
6. bodaga 'small'
7. bimbiyingo
'crooked'
8. Ngu oore-ga ngu nenengo nangge.//
that road-def.s 3 s straight only
'That road it is really straight.'
9. Abu kande-yi ngu bodaga nangge.//
baby hand-3s.poss 3 s small only
'A baby's hand is very small.'
10. Ngu de-ga ngu kambi-ni bimbi-yingo.//
that tree-def.s there limb-3s crooked-compl
'That tree limb there is crooked.'

### 4.4.7 Number Adjectives

Number adjective words serve to modify the nouns in Modified Noun Phrases by showing how many or how much is involved. Below will be listed the basic number units but a derailed description of how numbers are formed, using these basic numbers, are described on the phrase level. (See section 6.9. Number Phrase formula).
(61)

1. gura-nangge
'one' (one-only)
2. era-ya
3. kabusia
4. namoraya
5. kande-gura
6. oni bi
7. oni-bi-ga
(man-body-one)
8. gumi
9. doobe
10. (e) mete muir kande-gura yo.//

2s okay orange hand-one
get
'It's all right to take five oranges.'
11. Oni oni-bi-ga era-ya ngu yoru-no maye-te-nggo.//
man man-body-one 2-acc that mecting-at came-prt-3pl
"Twenty two men came to the meeting.'
12. (ie-do nga gumi bodaga nga yo!/l

2 s -ag this part small here get
"Take this small part here!//

### 4.4.8 Cardinal Numerals

To change the regular numerals to cardinal numerals, with the exception of the first numeral, the -yi-ga (its-def.s) 'cardinal numeral suffix' is added. The numeral guranangge 'one' is the exception. Its cardinal numeral is koretero 'first'.
(62) Cardinal Numerals

Numeral:
guranangge eraya
'iwo'
'three'

Cardinal Numeral: koretero 'first'
eraya-yi-ga 'second' 2-its-def.s
kabusa-yi-ga 'third'
3-its-def.s
44.9 Intensifying Affix

This intensifying affix -mi 'very' may occur on such adjectives as 'long', 'good', 'bad', and 'old'.
(63)

```
piru
long'
piru-mi
long-int.
'very long'
ári
'before'
kuri-mi
before-int.
'long before`
mele
'good'
mele-mi
good-int
'very good'
Ngu uto-ngga ngu piru-mi oorengo.//
that tope-def.s 3s long-int very
'That rope is very long.'
```

Ngu oni-ngga ngu piru.//
that man-def.s 3s long
'That man is long.'
Ngu ya-nggu ngu kuri-mi oorengo.//
that house-def.s 3 s old-int very
'That house is very very old.'

### 4.4.10 Adjective Affix Order

| 1st | -sina | location of |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | -woore | locative 'on top of |
|  | -ro | possession |
|  | -mi | intensifier |
|  | -mboro | ? |
|  | -roko | locative 'that location/that mark ' |
|  | -ga | definite article (singular) discourse level |
| 2nd | -ngga | definite article (singular) discourse level |
|  | -ko | 'on' ? |
|  | -mu | possessive |
| 3rd | -kus | many/plural -prominence discourse level |
|  | -now-mo | 'to/at/in' |
| 4th | -nggo | 'from' |
|  | -ya | accompaniment |

### 4.5 Locatives and Directionals

Locative and Directional words indicate location, distance, position and elevation.

### 4.5.1 Locatives

Locatives consist of a locative stem, an optional third singular possessive, and a locative post position marker.

The most commonly used locative marker is -mo $-n o$ 'to/at/in'. These locative enclitics occur on such words as locative words, nouns, adjectives, pronoun, and even occasionally temporal words, according to position in the clause.

Locative Suffixes:
$-110 \sim-m 0$
-nonggo ~ -monggo
-sina
-woore
-ko
-roko
'to/at'
'from'
'towards'
'on top of'
? 'on' possibly
place/a point of reference
(64)

1. ori-roko
far-place
'far away'
2. dabemi-mo
side-at
'at the side'
3. kootu-yi-sina
behind-3s.poss-towards
'behind it'
4. newende-mo
inside-loc
'inside'
5. sanga-ni-mo
on.top-its -of
'on top of it'
6. damo-ni-mo
base-its-of
'by its base'
7. kewoo-roko
middle-from.mark
'middle'
8. No-ndo de damoni-mo ene-ngo nengguro-ga kenoo-too-we ooroo-te.// 1 s -ag tree base-of 3 s -poss shirt-def.s see-ds-1s.i be-prt.3s 'I see his shirt at the base of tree.'
9. No-ndo ya tangge-sina ngu-no oni-ngga keno-wo-no.// 1 s -ag, house edge-towards there-at man-def.s see-pt-1s
'I saw the man by the side of the house.'

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10. Duge boduga de numbo busare-sina oo-do-ni keno-wo-no.// knife small fire ashes side-towards be-ds-s.e see-pt-1s 'I saw the small knife by the side of the fireplace.'
11. Kuotoori-ga ya goosingo-mo ooroo-te.// chicken-def.s house under-in is-prt.3s
'The chicken is underneath the house.'
12. Koondo oo ye-weroyi ngu newende-mo ooroo-te.// dish spec pur-nom 3s inside-of is-prt.3s
"The dish is inside the cupboard.'
Nouns, pronouns, and adjectives may also be used as locatives as in the following examples:

N

1. $y a-n o$
house-to/in/at
'at the house'
N
2. ya-nonggo
house-from
'from the house'
N
3. $y a-\sin a$
house-towards
'towards the house'
Pro
4. eke-mo
it-to
'to it'
Adj
5. biyomi-sina
bad-towards
'towards the lefthand side'
6. Oni ya-sina ooroo-le-ku ngu keno.//
man house-towards be-prt. 3 s -rel 3 s see
'Look at the man who is there towards the house.'
7. (/-ya duge ya-no ngu yo.// go.down-imp knife house-to 3 s get
'Go down to the house and get the knife.'
8. Nga si-ga nga ya-nonggo yo-voo-no.//
this string.bag-def.s 3 s house-from get-pt-1s
'I got this string bag from the house.'

### 4.5.2 Directional Words

Directional words may occur in basically in the same slots as the locative words as listed in example (65). They also use the same postpositional suffixes except that they do not show possession, and the word stem is filled by a directional word. These directional words give specific directions as to the elevation, direction and distance from the speaker.

### 4.5.2.1 General Direction Words

Some general directional words are:
( 60 )

1. metemi-sina
good-towards
'towards the good hand' (right hand side)
2. koondo-sina
bowl-towards
'toward the bowl hand' (right hand side)
3. biyomi-sina
bad-towards
'toward the bad hand' (left hand side)
4. dedare-sina
left.hand-loc
'toward the side of the left hand'
5. de-sina
contracted form of example 4.
6. nga-sina
here-loc
'towards here'
7. ngu-sina
there-foc
'towards there'
8. Duge kande-yi koondo-sina dowoo-ro oo doongoo-te.//
knife hand-3s bowl-towards hold-ss spec cut-prt.3s
'He held the knife towards the righthand side and cut.'
9. No kande-ne de-sina-nggo mete 00 ma doongo-wa-no.//

Is hand-my left-towards-from good spec not cut-ft-1s
'I will not ( not able to ) cut this on my left hand side.'
10. Ngu-sina ngu-no ko-ngga ooroo-te.//
there-towards that-to work-def.s be-prt.3s
'There is work over there.'

## +.5.2.2 Distance/Elevation Directionals

There are specific directional words which indicate distance and elevation from the speaker. Those ending in $-u$ indicate the most distance from the speaker, and those ending in $-\ell$ indicates a lesser distance from the speaker.
(67) Specific Direction/ Elevation Words that Indicate Distance from the Speaker are:

Lesser distance (e final)

1. awe
'up (close)'
$N u-n g g a \quad$ awe de-ga sangani-mo ooroo-te.//
bird-def.s up.close tree-def.s on.top-of be-prt.3s
'The bird is close by, up there in the top of the tree.'
2. ame
'down (close)'
3. ande
'over there (close)'
Greater distance (u final)
4. awu
'up above (far)'

Oni-ngga awu puri-mo awu.//
man-def.s up.far mountain-on up.far
'That man is far up there on the mountain.'
5. am"
'down (far)'
6. andlu
'over (far)'
4.5.2.3 Go-Come Directions:
'There are four 'go-come' verbs.

1. |/-re.||
go.down-prt.3s
'He is going down.'
2. Oore-te.//
go.up-prt.3s
'He is going up.'
3. U-roore-te./
go.down-up-prt.3s
'He is going down and up.'
Note: The verb uroorete is a compound verb stem combining $u$ 'go down' and oore 'go up' with the $r$ between the two words to allow for the consonant vowel pattern in the language. This compound verb uroorete 'go down and up' is used when they are doing hiking or extensive travelling up and down in mountains.

Oorowu-te.//
go.straight-prt.3s
'He is going straight.'
Note: The verb oorowute 'go straight' is used when the distance is either seen by the eye to be straight or the distance is so great that the speaker is not sure whether the distance is up, down, or down and up. Only in these two instances is this verb 'go straight' used.

There are two 'come' verbs:

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Ombu-te./
come-prr. 3 s
'Ite is coming.'
Maye-te.//
come/arrive-prr.3s
'He is coming/arriving.'
'The most widely used 'come' verb is ombu 'come'.
When a person is a long ways away and has been seen by the speaker, the speaker would say:

Ene maye-le.//
3s arrive-prt.3s
'He is arriving.'
When a person has just arrived, the speaker would acknowledge him by saying:
Adaga ge maye-te-ku?//
now you arrive-prt. 2 s -cli
'Have you arrived?'
Yo, maye-te-no-ku.//
yes arrive-prt-1s-cli
'Yes, I have arrived.'
Use of 'Go/Come' verbs In Relation to the Speaker:
Again the use of which one of the four 'go' verbs that is to be used is determined by the direction the person is headed away or towards the speaker.
$A=$ the speaker: $\quad B=$ the other person:

1. $\mathrm{A}<\mathrm{B} \quad$ When B is coming towards A the speaker, the A speaker will say:

Ene no ombu-te.//
3 s is come-prt.3s
'He is coming to me.'
The other person $B$ will say:

No ombu-te-no.//
Is come-prt-1s
'I am coming.'
2. $A>B>\quad$ When a $B$ person is hiking in front of the $A$ speaker, the $A$ speaker will say, depending on the direction that $B$ is headed towards:

Ene oorowul ul oorel uroore-te./
3s go.straight go.down go.up go.down.up-prt.3s
'He is (either) going straight/ going down/ going up/ or going down and up.'
3. $B>A>\quad$ When a person $B$ is following the speaker, speaker $A$ will say:

Ene kootu ombu-te./
3 s behind come-prt.3s
'He is coming behind me.'
The other person B will say, depending on what direction they are headed:
No kootu oorowu/ ul oorel uroorel-te-no.//
1s behind go.straight go.down go.up go.down.up-prt is 'I am (either) going straight/ down/ up/ down and up.'

### 4.6 Temporals

Temporals specify time in a clause. They fill the time slot on the Clause level and the head slot of the ' emporal Phrase. Frequently temporals are a single word:
(70)

1. kootu-yi-sina
behind-3s.poss-towards
'later' ('behind'- Pidgin usage)
2. yangeni
'tomorrow'
3. eme
'later'
4. adaga
'today'
5. anangu
'now'

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6. naru'time'
7. kuri
'before'
8. kuyowo
'yesterday'
9. ('e anangu ..... oorowи.//
you now ..... go
'You go now.'
10. Adaga kare S'uga-no u-te.//
Today car Sugar-to go.down-prt.3s
'Today the car is going down to the Ramu Sugar.'
11. Ene eme-gogo Madang $u$-wa.//
3 s later-first Madang go.down-ft.3s
'l ater on he will go down to Madang.'
12. Ene kootu-yi-sina ..... ko maye-wa.//
3s later-poss-cowards again come-ft.3s
'Later on he will come.'
4.7 AdverbsAdverbs modify Verb Phrases and usually occur before verbs in clauses. Adverbs alsooccur in topic comment type sentences as the comment or predicate. They differ fromnouns in that they fill a different slot on the clause level and take only very limited, ifany affixation. The intensifier $-m i$ marker may occur on them.

1. sodedo
'quickly'
2. mete
'good'
3. mete-mi
'good-int'
4. gome 'good'
5. kowuri
'heavy'
6. gugiwi
‘strong'
7. ngu-ndi-ro

3s-same-poss
'same'
2. biyomi
'bad'
9. yanggango
'hard/strong'
10. urungga
'big'
11. ko
'again'
Note: When the word $k o$ is used as an adverb before a verb, it means 'again'. When it used as a noun, it means 'work'. When the word ko occurs before the verb te 'do', it is not used as an adverb but instead forms a new semantic verb unit meaning 'to work'.
12. (e) ngu-ngga sodedo te./l
you that-def.s quickly do
'Do that quickly.'
13. Nga bare-ga nga, ngu engge urungga biyo-mi.//
this woman-def.s here she meat big much-intens 'This woman here, she is very fat.'
14. Nga 00 ne-weroyi yaba-ga, ngu kowuri.//
this spec eat-nom shelf-def.s 3 s heavy
'This table for eating, it is heavy.'
15. Nga oo-ga nga, ngu yanggango oorengo.//
this spec-def.s here 3 s strong very
'This is very strong.'
16. Ngu digi-ga ngu, ngu gagiwi.//
that stone-def.s there 3 s hard
'That stone there, it is hard.'
17. No ko ombu-wa-no.//

Is again come-ft-1s
'I will come again.'

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### 4.8 Verbs

Verbs are inflected for: tense, mood, aspect, person number, change of subject, same subject, speaker included or excluded from previous clause action, object, relativity, and at the high point of the discourse, the final verb may also occur with the climax suffix $-k u$.

Verbs occur in the head slot of the Modified Verb Phrase, Double Headed Verb Phrase, Repetitive Verb Phrase, Progressive Motion Verb Phrase, Idiomatic Verb Phrase and in the predicate slot of Clauses.

Verbs differ from nonverbal words in that:
A. The verb predicate is the major constituent of all sentence types except the topic comment sentence.
B. They occur in the predication slot of the clause.
( $L$ linal and medial verbs have object, mood. tense and person number markers, aspect. Medial verbs have object, aspect, mode, change of subject with the speaker included from the previous clause action or with the speaker not included in the previous clause action. Nonverbals do not.
1). They can be the minimum constituent of a sentence.
'lransitive verbs take object suffixes, intransitive verbs never do. Both transitive and intransitive verbs occur with the same aspect, tense and subject markers. At least one verb occurs in the predicate of each clause (except in those clauses where only noun phrases occur in the predicate).

General examples of medial, and final verbs in indicative, imperative and interrogative moods are:

1. Final verb occurring with tense and person number (indicative mood):

> Eine Anutu-ro mande kandange-te.//
> 3s God-poss talk read-prt.3s
> 'He is reading God's Word.'
2. Final verb in the imperative mood-(singular form has no person number suffixation):

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Yamuko goodoo.//
door shut
'Shut the door.'
3. Medial verb shows serial action (indicative mood):

No yaba yomi-ro,/ ya-no so gasiyo-ro,/ ya yomosiyoo-wo-no.// is bed make-ss house-in weed sweep-ss house straighten-pt-is. 'I made the bed, swept the house (and) straightened the house.'
4. Medial and final verb in imperative mood:

Ce oorowu-ya moo yo-ya ombu-ya ande-no ngu ye.//
you go-imp taro get-imp come-imp over-to 3 s put
'You go, get the taro, come and put it over there.'
5. Medial verb showing different subject with speaker excluded from the previous medial clause action:

Ene mata nakangoo-to-ni no-ndo yomosiyoo-te-no.//
3s story write-ds-s.e 1 s -ag straighten-prt-1s
'He is writing a story and I am straightening it.'
6. Medial verb showing different subject with the speaker included in the previous medial clause action:

No so u-yi nakangoo-too-we ene muri ningguri winggoo-te.// 1s grass leaf-its write-ds-s.i 3 s citrus sweet squeeze-prt.3s 'I am writing a letter while he is squeezing the oranges.'
7. Final verb with 2 aspect suffixes (finish and completive aspects):

Ene kuri ngu ko-ngga ngu te-muko-yingo.// 3 s before that work-def-s 3 s do-finish-compl 'He finished that work before.'
8. Final verb with the desirative aspect:

No ge-ya mande e-wero.//
1s 2 s -acc talk say-des
'I want to talk with you.'
9. Final verb with the continuing aspect, tense and 3rd person number:

Ene 00 ne-roroo-te.//
3s spec cat-cont-prt.3s
'lle is continually eating.'
10. Interrogative Mood:
(e) nda-ru-re?!/
you where-go.down-prt.2s
'Where are you going?'

### 4.8.1 Intransitive Verbs

Intransitive verbs do not occur with objects. They may be affixed for aspect, tense, subject, mood, same subject, different subject, suffixation for speaker being included or excluded from the previous medial clause action, relativity, as well as the climax marker verb final. These affixes and their orders are listed in the following chart:

CIIAR'T 7 IN'TRANSITIVE FINAL, VERB AFFIXATION

| +stem | $\pm$ aspect | + tense |  | Subje | umb |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| any <br> intrans. <br> stem | -rora <br> 'past cont.' <br> -roroo <br> 'present cont.' <br> -rory <br> 'future cont.' <br> -muko <br> 'completive' | past <br> -wo <br> present -te <br> future <br> -wa | person | sing | du | pl |
|  |  |  | 1st <br> 2nd <br>  <br> 3rd | -no $\#$ | -ro $-\pi i$ | $\begin{aligned} & -10 \\ & -n g g o \end{aligned}$ |
|  |  | -wingo~-yingo 'completive aspect' -wero 'desirative aspect' |  |  |  |  |

Note 1: When tense and subject suffixes occur, the desirative or final completive aspect may not co-occur. The continuative aspect is optional, but may co-oceur with tense and person number or with the final aspect.
le-muko-yingo. example 73 below
do-finish-compl
'he completely finished it.'
Te-muko-wo.
do-finish-prt. 3 s
'He finished it completely.'
Note 2: In the completive aspect, the suffix -wingo occurs when the final stem vowel is rounded and -yingo occurs when the final stem vowel is unrounded.

Note 3: The past continuous aspect -rora or the completive aspect -muko are the only aspect (first affix order) that may co-occur with the completive aspect (second affix order).
(73) Intransitive Verb Stems:

1. $e$ -
'talk'
2. oore-
'go up’
3. toonge-
'take.leave’
4. sendo-
'cry'
5. weto-
'sleep'
6. ingo-
'think'
7. diga-
'stand up'
8. bibite-
'sic down'
9. ootooge-
'get up/rise'
10. sangginite-
'cross'

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11. sore-
'fall.down'
Intr V
12. Eine sore -te./l

3s fall.down-prt.3s
'He fell down.'
Intr V
13. Ene yaba-no bibite-te.//
she table-at sit-prt.3s
'She sat at the table.'
Intr V Intr V
14. Mariya merako-no ngu sore-ro nguro sendoo-te.//

Mariya ground-on 3s fall-ss because.of cry-prt.3s
'Maria fell down on the ground and because of this she cried.'
Incr V
15. Joseph were-weroyi yaba yoko-ro ootooge-ro ku ne-wo.//

Joseph sleep-nom bed leave-ss get.up-ss yam eat-pr.3s
'Joseph left his bed, got up and ate some yams.'
Conjugation of a Regular Intransitive Verb sendo 'cry' using the present tense -te.
1s sendoo-te-no cry-prt-1s
'I am crying'
2 s sendoo-te cry-prc.2/3s 'you are/he is crying'

3s same as 2 s
Id sendoo-te-ro cry-prt-1d 'we both are crying'

1 pl sendoo-t -to
cry-prt-1pl
'we all are crying'

## 2/3d sendoo-te-ri

cry-prt-2/3d
'you/ they both are crying'
$2 / 3 \mathrm{pl}$ sendoo-te-nggo
cry-prt-2/3pl
'you/ they all are crying'
Tense Markers
Tense occurs only in the final verbs and in the verb head slot of the relative clause. The following are the tense markers:

| $-t e$ | present tense |
| :--- | :--- |
| $-w a$ | furure tense |
| $-w o$ | past tense |

The remote past tense includes: -wo 'past tense marker', person number, and the various remote past markers as shown in the following conjugation of the verb sendo 'cry':
(74) Remote Past Tense of Intransitive verb sendo 'cry':

Is sendo-wo-no-wo.
cry-pt-i-rpt
'I was crying long ago'
2/3s sendo-wo-ro-wo
cry-pt-2/3s-rpt
'you/he was crying long ago'
Id sendo-wo-ro-wo
cry-pt-1d-rpt
'we both were crying long ago.'
Note: In the remote past tense, the second, third singular and the first person dual forms are the same. The context determines which person number is being referred to.

1pl sendo-woo-to-wo
cry-pt-1pl-rpt
'we all were crying long ago.'

Note: 'The Rawa phonemic pattern regulates that the phoneme ' 0 ' becomes ' $o 0^{\prime}$ phoneme or the 'au' sound before the letter ' $\%$ '.
$2 / 3 \mathrm{~d}$ sendo-wu-riyowo
cry-pt-2/3d-rpt
'you/they both were crying long ago'
$2 / 3 p 1$ sendo-wo-nggo-riyowo
cry-pt-2/3pl-rpt
'you/they all were crying long ago'
Note: In the remote past tense in the second and third person plural form, the -nyowo may be shortened to -ri or -riyo at the discretion of the speaker.

Irregular Intransitive Verb Stem ooroo 'to be/remain':

Present tense verb stem:
Present tense 3 s alternate form
ooroo
ori-yi
remain-3s

Note: this only occurs in the third singular.
Future/last tense verb stem: ..... ort
Medially this verb stem becomes: ..... 00

No ya-no ooroo-te-no.//
is house-in be-prt-1s
'I am in the house.'
Ene ya-no ori-yi.//
3s house-in be-3s
'He is in the house.'
Ene ya-no ooroo-te.//
3s house-in be-prt.3s
' He is in the house.'
Noore ya-no oru-wa-to.//
1 pl house-in be-ft-1pl
'We will be in the house.'
tine nyundiro oo-do-ni, no-ndo ko ombu-wo-no.//
3) same be-ds-s.e lis-ag again come-pt-1s 'She remained that same way and 1 returned again.'

Stem (hange
There are three verbs, two transitives and one intransitive, which exhibit the same changes in certain environments. 'The three verbs are: uto 'hit'; muto 'shoot'; and evto 'leep'. In this form they are in the imperative form. Their stem forms in the imperative and the indicative mood are listed in the following chart.

## Chart 8 : Verb S'tem Changes

| Imperative <br> Mood |  | Indicative Mood |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | present | future / past |
| S | uto 'hit' | uroo | ure |
| E | muto 'shoot' | muroo | mu'r |
| S | weto 'sleep' | wero | zurer |

(76)

1. (ie uto!/l

2s hit
'You hit him!'
2. (ie \#-uroo-te./I

2s him-hit-prr.2s
'You hit him.'
3. (ie \#-ure-wa.//

2s him-hit-ft.2s
'You will hit him.'
4. Weto!/I
sleep
'Sleep!'

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5. Weroo-te.|/
sleep-pro.3s
'He is sleeping.'
6. Ene were-wo.//

3 s sleep-pt. 3 s
'He slept.'
Reduplication of Verb 'I'ense Suffix:
Reduplication of verb tense suffix is infrequently used to convey a repetitive or continuing action. 'This is historical useage and is seldom used in today's speech.
(77) 'Text AU-014; page 536 (concordance):
te-roo-te-te-te-te .//
do-cont-prt-prt-prt-prt.3s
'he contimued on doing it'

### 4.8.2 Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs occur in the predicate slot of Transitive Clauses. Transitive verbs are sub-divided as follows:

Set 1s Those that take object prefixes
Set II Those that take object suffixes
Set III Those that take a free form object before the verb

### 4.8.2.1 Set I Transitive Verbs That Take Object Prefixes

Set I transitive verbs take the following object prefixes
CHART 9: ObJEC'T PREFIX FORMS

| Person <br> Number | 1 s | 2 s | 3 s | plural |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Object <br> Prefix | $n o-$ | $g o-$ | $\#-$ | $y o-$ |

Note: When the stem of the verb starts with a vowel, the final vowel of the object prefix is assimilated.

## (78) Set is Examples of Object Prefix Transitive Verb:

1. yo 'get'
$2 . k$
'bite'
2. 410
'hit'
3. muto
'shoot'
4. ino 'give'
5. Ene n-uroote.//

3s me-hit
'He hit me.'
7. $Y$-uto.//

3 pl-hit
'Hit them!'
8. No buku g-unoo-wero.//

Is book 2 s-give-des
'I want to give you the book.
Note: 'The verb inoo 'to give' does not assume the normal pattern for the object prefix. The $o$ of the prefix $g o$ and the $i$ of the verb stem ino 'give' are dropped and the phoneme $\boldsymbol{\omega}$ is used instead.
9. Buku \#-ino!//
book 3 s-give
'Give the book to him!'
10. Ene no-ki-te.//

3 s 1s-bite-prt.3s
'It is biting me.'
11. Ginggani go-ki-te.//
mosquito $2 s$-bite-prt.2s
'The mosquito is biting you.'
12. Ginggani ki-te.//
mosquito bite-prt.\#
"The mosquito is biting him.'

## 13. (jinggani-ku yo-ki-te-nggo.// mosquito-pl.prom pl-bite-prt-3pl <br> 'The mosquitos are biting them.'

4.8.2.2 Set II Transitive Verbs Object Suffixation

In Set II, the object suffix on transitive verbs always occurs in the first affix order before the tense affix.

The object suffix forms are as follows:

## CHAR'I 10: PERSON-NUMBER OBJECT SUFFIXES

| person | singular | plural |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1st | -nero- |  |
| 2nd | -gero-~-nggero- | -yero- |
| 3rd | -ngo- |  |

(79)

1. gana
'deceive'
2. yomosi
'straightened'
3. ooroowe
'help'
4. etu
'show'
5. erace
'hunt'
6. owe
'follow'
7. sobo
'wait'
8. gosi
'rie'
9. daga
'win over'
10. woosoo
'pull'
11. towoo
'try'
12. sure
'send/dispatch'
13. dobi
'pinch'
14. Ene gana-nero-wo.//

3 s deceive-1s-pt.3s
'He deceived me.'
15. Ene gana-gero-wo.//

3s deceive-2s-pt.3s
'He deceived you.'
16. Eraga-do erewe-nggeroo-wo-ri.//

3d-ag hunt-2s-pt-3d
'The two of them were searching for you.'
17. Noore gana-ngo-woo-to.//
lpl deceive-3s-pt-1pl
'We deceived him.'
18. No-ndo gana-yero-yingo.//

1 s -ag deceive-3pl-compl
'I deceived them.'

### 4.8.2.3 Set III Transitive Verbs With Free Form Object Word Before Verb

Other transitive verbs do not take an object prefix or object suffixation, but instead, take the free form object in the pre-verb head slot.
(80)

|  | obj | verb |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1. Yeri ene ooro-ro ene-ngo nengguro | yo-yingo.// |  |
| Jerry 3s go-ss 3s-poss shirt | get-compl |  |
| 'Jerry went and got his shirt for him.' |  |  |

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$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { obj verb } \\
\text { 2. Neyuro de imboo-te.// } \\
\text { Neyuro wood chop-prt.3s } \\
\text { Neyuro is chopping firewood.' } \\
\text { obj } \quad \text { verb } \\
\text { 3. Yunu mbako ne-te.// } \\
\text { Yunu sw.potatocs eat-pr. } 3 \mathrm{~s} \\
\text { 'Y'unu is eating sweet potatoes.' }
\end{gathered}
$$

Set III Irregular 'Iransitive Verbs:
'There are a few Set III transitive verbs which are irregular in that they either have no affixation or have very limited affixation.
'The verb moore 'have' takes no affixation but always occurs in the predicate slot and may take a free form object before the verb as other Set III transitive verbs do. Moore 'have' is the only known verb which takes no tense, person, or aspect markers. In this type of a transitive verb, when there is no tense and person number affixation shown on the verb, then a time word is always present to indicate past or future action. In the following example (81), there is no time word. This therefore indicates a present action has taken place. For this transitive verb, the object is indicated only by a noun.
obj verb

1. No-ndo digi moore./l
i-ag money have
'I have money.'
2. Kuri no-ndo digi moore.//
before 1 s -ag money get
'I had money before.'
obj verb
3. Eme ngu-ndo digi. moore.//
later 3s-ag money have.
'He will have money later.'

Another Set III transitive verb which takes only limited affixation is the verb ange 'to fill'. This verb may occur with aspect, tense, and only second and third singular person number on the final verb form. It also may occur with the medial verb markers. This is the only transitive verb that has been observed in this category.

```
1. (ie-do ang -te.//
    \(2 \mathrm{~s}-\mathrm{ag}\) fill-prt.2/3s
    'You are filling (it) up'
        verb -final
2 Ngu-ndo ange-yingo.//
    3 s -ag fill-comp
    'He filled it.'
```

    obj verb-med verb-final
    3. No-ndo koondo ange-ro ya-no ye-te-no.//
1 s -ag dish fill-ss house-in put-prt-1s
'I filled the dish (and) put it in the house.'
obj verb-final
4. Ene-ndo koondo ange-wo.//
$3 \mathrm{~s}-\mathrm{ag}$ dish fill-pt. 3 s
'She filled up the dish.'
obj verb-final
5. Ene-ndo koondo ange-va./|
3 s -ag dish fill-ft.3s
'She will fill up the dish.'

### 4.8.3 Medial Verbs

All Rawa verbs, both transitive and intransitive, may occur in either the medial or final form. We now look at the occurrence of verbs in medial positions and the affixes that occur in that position.

Medial verbs take two separate sets of suffixes:
Set I Same Subject Affixes
Set II Different Subject Affixes

### 4.8.3.1 Set I Same Subject Affixes

If a medial verb has the same subject as the final verb in a sentence, no subject marker occurs. However, the medial verb takes either the imperative suffix $-y a$ or the indicative suffix -ro.

1. Ombu-ya no keno.// come-imp spec see
'Come and look.'
2. Oorow"u-ya abu yo-ya n-uno.//
go-imp baby get-imp Is.obj-give
'Go get the baby and give her to me,'
3. No umbure oo ne-veo-no.//

Is come-ss spec eat-pt-1s
'I came (and) ate something.'
4. Ene Tauta ende-mo ombu-robare-yi yo-rol

3s Tauta village-to come-ss woman-his got-ss
Neyuro-ro ya-no u-yingo.//
Neyuro-poss house-in go.down-compl
'He came to the village of 'Tauta, got his wife, and they went to Neyuro's house.'

### 4.8.3.2 Set II Different Subject Affixes

When the subject of a medial verb differs from the subject of a verb in the previous clause, there are three orders of suffixes which occur.

In the first order there is an affix that shows there will be a change of subject. If the subject of the medial verb is second or third person, the form -to appears. If the subject of the medial verb is first person, the form is -100 . These markers show no distinction for person number.

The second order suffix shows both the person and number of the subject of the medial verb. As with the first order suffix, there is the distinction between whether or not the speaker has been included or excluded from the previous clause action (or first person versus second or third person).
Finally, there is an optional third order affix -ga which shows that the medial verb action must first occur before the next clause may take place.
'These affix forms and their meanings are given in the chart below:

## Chart 11: MEDIal VErb Different Subject Affix Fornis

| +stem | +different subject | +subject person number | $\pm$ clause conj. higher level |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| any verb stem | -100 | $\begin{gathered} \text { speaker included } \\ -w e=1 \mathrm{~s} \\ -r e=1 \mathrm{~d} \\ -y e=1 \mathrm{pl} \end{gathered}$ | -ga <br> 'sequence’ |
|  | -10 | $\begin{gathered} \text { speaker excluded } \\ -n i=2 / 3 \mathrm{~s} . \\ -n i=2 / 3 \mathrm{du} \\ -y i=2 / 3 \mathrm{pl} \end{gathered}$ |  |

(84)

1. ombu-to-ni 00 ne-wo-no
come-ds-3s.e spec eat-pt-1s
'He came while I was eating something.'
2. Ombu-too-1pl-ga oo ne-wo.//
come-ds-1s.i-seq spec eat-pt.3s
'When I came, he was eating something.'
3. Noore yoru-no ombu-too-re ngu, ngu naru-no
we meeting-to come-ds-1d.i when that time-at
'When we came to the meeting, at that time,
yambo mande kuri kini te-wo./l
worship talk before finish do-pr.3s.
the worship service was already finished.'
4. Ende-mo ya gura kuri ye-to-yi noore u-ro keno-zoo-to.// village-in house a before make-ds-3pl.e 3 pl go.down-ss see-pt-1pl 'We went down and saw a house that they had already made.'
5. Oni era-ya ooreko-no ombu-to-ri yeyo-reo-no.//
man 2 -indef road-on come-ds-3d.e see-pt-1s 'I saw the two men who were coming on the road.'

### 4.8.4 Pinal Verbs

Pinal verbs in the sentence may be either transitive or intransitive. They show continuing aspect (optional); tense, person number; or completive or desirative aspect; and at the high point of a discourse, the climax suffix $-k u$ may occur as well.

The transitivity of verbs (Sections 4.8.1 and 4.8.2); tense and person number (Section 4.8.1); and aspect [in the notes under Chart 7 Final Verb Affixation: (Section 4.8.1)] have already been discussed.

At the high point of a discourse, the climax affix $k u$ is used verb final. This is accompanied by a strong emotional stress on the $-k u$ suffix marker.
(85) Text 85.3; Clause 85-87: Climax Prominence -ku!

Ngu-ro ngu, noore komo oore-ro sa-woo-to-ku!//
3 s -poss that 1 pl must go.up-ss travel-pt-1pl-cli.prom
'It was because of that, that we had to leave!'
(86) Text 85.4; Clause 41: Climax Prom. -ku nga!

Nambo-ne, no oodooro kumoo-te-no-ku nga!// daughter-my 1 s hungry die-prt-1s-cli.prom dem 'My daughter, I am hungry!'
(87) Text 85.5; Clauses 24-25: Climax Prom. -ku ngu!

Namo-ne, no-ndo ge-ya oore-rol were-wa-ro-ku ngu! mother-my 1 s -ag 2 s -incl go.up-ss sleep-ft-1d-cli.prom there 'Mother, I will come up and sleep with you there!'

## STEM CHANGE

There are three verbs, two transitive and one intransitive, which exhibit the same stem changes in certain environments. 'The three verbs are: uto 'hit', muto 'shoot' and weto 'sleep'.

In this form they are in the imperative mood. The imperative is shown by absence of all affixation. 2nd singular is distinguished from 2 nd plural by the free pronoun. In the indicative mood the tense suffix influences the stem.

## CHAR'T 12: STEM CHANGE



1. ge uto!

2s hit
'you hit (him)!'
2. ge uroo-te-\#

2s hit-pr-2s
'you hit (him)'
3. ge ure-wa-\#

2s hit-ft-2s
'you will hit (him)'
4. weto!
'you sleep!'
5. weroo-le-\#
sleep-pr-3s
'he sleeps'
6. were-wo-\#
sleep-p-3s
'he slept'

### 4.9 Particles

Particles are smaller, but significant items that occur in the language; but, that do not rate on the level as nouns, verbs etc., and thus are grouped together under the main title of Particles. 'Ihese particles usually do not take affixation.

### 4.9.1 Negatives / Affirmatives

### 4.9.1.1 Negatives:

Negatives can be responses to questions; negate clauses; negate phrases; negate a noun; or may occur in the post position to an adjective as an antonym. The three negative words are: kini 'no', ma 'not' and kingo 'nothing'.

Kini 'No':
Kini 'no' is the negative word that is used most extensively throughout oral and written discourse. It may be used as a one word response to a yes/no question or to negate a word, a phrase, clause, or sentence.
(88) Yes/No Response to a Question:

1. (e nga-ngga ko ngu ko te-wo?// Kini.//

2s this-def.s work 3 s work do-pt.2s neg
'IDid you do this work?' 'No.'
2. Ngu ombu-wo?// Kini.//

3 s come-pt neg
'IId he come?' 'No.'
3. (í mbako muore?!l Kini, mbako kini.

2 s sw.potato have no sw.potato no
'Do you have any sweet potatoes?' 'No, there are no sweet potatoes.'
Kini 'no' may itself occur as the verb of a clause to mean 'is not' or 'does not exist' as in the previous Ex 88 , sentence 3 , and in the following examples.
(89) Kini 'no' Used as the Verb of a Clause:

1. Sono kini
water neg.
'(There is) no water'
2. Nga-no kini
here-at neg
'(It is) not here'

# 1. No watayi kini.// <br> is understand no 

'I don't know.'
4. Amoo oorengo kini!// Text NR87.1; Clause 123:
true very no
'Truly it is not!'
(90) Kini 'no' Negating a Noun:

1. Ngu oni-ngga ngu, ene simoo-ngo kini./l
that man-def.s there 3 s children-poss no
'That man there he has no children.'
Note: In the previous example, the kini 'no' is actually negating the comment of the topic / comment sentence.
2. Text 85.5; Clause 12-13: Negating a Noun:

Kuri-mi ngu-no ya kini, awa-ndo ngu-no oore-ro,/
before-inten there-at house no papa-ag that-to go.up-ss
namo-ro ya tookoo-dodo ye-yingo.ll
mama-poss house shelter-all make-compl
'A long time ago there wasn't a house so father went up there and made a house shelter for Mocher (to give birth to the baby).'
(91) Kini 'no’ Negating a Sentence:

1. Text 85.3; Clause 26-27:

Ngundiro ingo-ro sode-ye-too-ye ngu,/ ko kini./l same hear-ss ear-put-ds-1pl.i when work no 'When we heard that, we listened, but it was not.'
2. Text NR87.1; Clause 89:

No ngu te-weroyi ereremo kini.//
is that do-nom able no
'I am not able to do that.'
Kini 'no' also occurs after an adjective to negate the adjective and show the opposite (antonym).
(92)

1. Kowuri
heavy,

'heavy' $\quad$| kowuri kini |
| :--- |
| heavy no |
| 'light' |

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| 2.ingomduclu <br> smart | $>$ | ingondudu kini <br> smart no |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 'smart' |  |  |$\quad$| 'dim witted'/'ignorant' |
| :--- |

Kini 'no' is also used as part of a compound verb kini.te -te meaning 'not do/finished'.

No-ro ko kini.te-te.//
1s-poss work finish-pre.3s
'My work is finished.'
Ma 'Not':
Ma 'not' when used to negate a verb phrase means 'not' and occurs in the prehead verb slot. Often the verb is understood on the basis of the context in which it is used and thus only the ma 'not' is used.
(94) Negating a Verb:

1. Ngu-ndo ma ombu-wa.//

3 s -ag neg come-ft. 3 s
'She will not come.'
2. Ngu-ndo ma ombu-wo.//
$3 \mathrm{~s}-\mathrm{ag}$ not come-pt.3s
'He did not come.
3. Ngu ma.//
$3 s$ neg
'He doesn't (want to).'
Note: In the preceeding example the verb in this sentence is understood in the text context and therefore the ma 'not' is negating the verb.

Ma 'not' when used by itself or as a command means 'don't!'.
(95)
I. Command:
$m a!$
neg
'Don't!'
2. Ngu ma!
that don't!
'Don't do that!'
Ma is also used to negate a nominalized word whereas kini is normally used to negate all other nouns. Ma 'nor' occurs before the noun and kini 'no' always occurs after the noun. They may not co-occur.
( ${ }^{(6)}$ )

1. Nga sono ngu ma ne-weroyi.
this water 3 s neg drink-nom
'This water is not drinkable.'
2. sono kini
water no
'no water'
Kingo 'nothing':
Kingo 'nothing' is another type of negation. It occurs on: the sentence level as a single word response to a question; as modifying a noun; as a compound stem; or modifying a verb.
(97) Kingo 'nothing' Question Response:
3. Ge ndawugaro ombu-te?// Kingo.//

2s why come-prr.2s nothing
'Why have you come?' 'For no reason.'
2. ko kingo
work nothing
'no work'
3. se-kingo
stomach-nothing
'(my) stomach (is) empty'

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> 4. oo kingo urungga all nothing very 'not very much'

### 4.9.1.2 Affirmatives

'The affirmative word is yo 'yes'. It occurs in response to yes/no questions and may occur by itself or in a longer sentence.
(98) Affirmative $Y_{0}$ 'Yes':

1. (è ko-no u-ca?// Yo/ Yo, no ko-no u-wa-no.// 2 s garden-to go.down-ft. 2 yes yes, 1 s garden-to go.down-ft-1s 'Are you going down to the garden?' 'Yes.' (or) 'Yes, I am going down to (the) garden.'
2. (e mete ooroo-te? Yo, mete ooroo-te-noll

2s good are-prt.2s yes good be-prt-1s
'How are you?' 'Yes, I am fine.'

### 4.9.2 Emphatic Words

The emphatic words komo, 'must' and amoo, 'rue / truth', serve to emphasize the truth or acceptability of an action. Both of these words are very emotive.

Komo 'must / emphasis as true' is a particle which is not affixed and may occur after noun/noun phrases, pronouns, verb/verb phrases, and after sentence initial connectors in the sentence. When this word is used, it is a strong statement that it must be done or emphasizing that it is a true statement and that the speaker means what he said. In example three under the section on amoo below, the word komo is used to show strong emphasis that it was truly good and that he wasn't lying.
(99) Komo 'Must / Strong Emphasis':

1. Text 85.3; Clauses 48-49: Modifying a Pronoun: Noore komo ngu-woore kingo sore-ro sa-yingo.// we truly it-on.top nothing fall-ss leave-compl 'Truly we didn't just fall down and run away for no reason.'

2 Text 85.3; Clauses 85-86: Modifying a Pronoun:
.'gu-ro ngu, noore komo oore-ro sa-quoo-10-ku e-ro e-yingo!!l
that-poss there 1pl must go.up-ss run-pt-1pl-cli say-ss say-compl
"It was becanse of that, that we had to go up and run away!" she said.
3. Text 85.3; Clauses 107-112: Modifying a Noun Phrase:

Noore nga-no oo-doo-ye, nga-nonggo sukulu gura-no
we here-at be-ds-1pl.i here-from school a-to
sowe-yeroo-to-yi sa-ro ngu, ngu-no ootoo-ro nga mande-ga
send-chem-ds-3pl.e leave-ss if there-at be-ss this talk-def.s
nga komo e-ro ingo-roru-wa-no, e-ro e-yingo.//
3s traly say-ss think-cont-ft-1s say-ss say-compl
'"We are here now but when we are sent to another school and leave here, when we are there I surely will continue to think about this talk," she said.'
4. Text 85.14; Clauses 50-54: Modifying a verb phrase:

Ene ebe uto-ro, merd biyomi uto-ro digi-deth
3 pl together hit-ss ground bad hit-ss stones-sticks
kendumoo-to-ri, dooge-ro uto-ni komo, ene
bump-ds-3d.e break-ss hit.ds-3s.e truly they
ngu-no ebe kendu kendu te-ro oode./l
there-at together bump bump do-ss be
"They fought together, hit the ground, and sticks and stones hit them and really cut them up but they just continued to fight and to bump each other there.'
5. Text 85.16; Clause 69: Modifying a Sentence Initial Connector:

Ngundiro komo ya mundumi-mo nangge ori-yingo.//
same truly house corner-in only remain-compl
'And truly for that reason I remained in the corner of the house.'
Komo is also used as a mild reproof as well in conversational speech. Mothers often use this with children to let them know that they don't approve of their actions. When used in this fashion, it could also be just a happy response said with emotion as well. The context and the ensuing emotion given with this response leaves no doubt in the minds of the hearer as to just which response it is -pleased or displeased.
(100) Komo 'Showing Emotion or Emphasis:

1. Garo komo!
they emp
'showing disapproval'

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2. 1 bu komu!
baby emp
'showing affection as the mother holds up the baby and talks to him.'
Amoo 'true' is a particle word which serves to emphasize the truth of what has been said. It modifies nouns, pronouns, as an intensifier with adjectives, or as response sentence. 'Ihis word is used to emphasize and assure the listeners that it is not a lie but the truth. On the discourse level amoo 'true' can function as an alternate closing of a speech.

1. Oe amoo e-te? //

2s true say-pri2s
'Are you telling the truth?'
2. Yo, komo amoo. (Primer Story Lesson 20b)

Yes must really
'Yes, (that is) really true.'
3. Ese, komo gome metemi e-te.// Amoo.// (Primer Story Lesson 26b) And must grod very say-prt.3s True
'And he said that ic truly was good. Really!'
4. Ngu amoo.// (closing of a discourse)

It true
'It's true.'

### 4.9.3 Indefinites

Indefinites serve to convey indecision or merely generalities. Some of these words which convey this are:

1. gura
'another/a'
2. songo
'other'
3. no ngu-ndi

1s it-same
'I think--.'
4. 00
'something/specifier'
5. bine
'possibly / perhaps'

The words gura 'a' and songo 'other' are used to modify nouns. They often are used in the setting of a discourse when a participant or a subject is being introduced.
(102)

1. Text 85.2 Clause 3:

Noore mera gura oowoo-yi Dorosa.//
|p| ground a named-3s Dorosa
'We have a ground named Dorosa.'
2 Text 85.8, Clause 1:
Mera gura oowoo-yi Dosiyadodo, oni gura
ground a name-3s Dosiyadodo man a
oowoo-yi Bowungge Simbo ende-mo ori-yingo.//
name-3s Bowungge Simbo village-at live-compl
'In a ground named Dosiyadodo, in the village of Simbo lived a man named Bowungge.'
3. 'Term used in Rawa to mean Gentile:

Oni songo gura Yuda oni kini//
man other a Jewish man no 'another group of people (who are) not Jewish'

No ngundi 'I / I think' is used when the person is more or less thinking out loud and trying to come to some conclusion. This would usually be in the middle of his speech after he has made some opening comments.
(103)

No ngundi situwa-no oorowu-wa-no.//
1s or store-to go-ft-1s
'I think I will go to the store.'
Oo 'something':
If something is being done or eaten, it must be specifically named. If it isn't named, then $o o$ 'specifier' must precede it.

Ngu-ndo oo ne-te.//
$3 \mathrm{~s}-\mathrm{ag}$ something eat-prt.3s
'He is eating something.'

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Bine: 'Perhaps':
Bine 'maybe/perhaps' is used to make a Clause/Phrase indefinite by occurring in the verb posthead stot. Bine is one of the few words which may occur in this slot. It is used in guestions to ask whether or not something is good or bad. It may occur after a medial verb, noun, pronoun, adjective, or as a short response comment to a question.

1. Nda-naru-ngga-no ngu ombu-wa?/ Adaga bine yangeni bine.// what -time-def.s-at 3s come-ft.3s now perhaps tomorrow perhaps 'When will he come?' 'Now maybe (or) perhaps tomorrow.'
2. Mete bine? Biyomi bine? $/ /$ good perhaps? bad perhaps '(Is it) good possibly (or is it) bad perhaps?'
3. Oni mele-mi-ngga-do bine--- (AV.012 p.92) man good-very-def.s-ag perhaps
'Perhaps (he is ) a good man.'
4. Biyomi ye-w'd bine? // (SB 16)
bad make-ft.3s perhaps
'Perhaps he will make it bad?'

### 4.9.4 (Xmjunctions

Conjunction words are rarely used between medial clauses, or between a series of words in a list. Although there are some conjunctions that may occur between medial clauses, the principle useage occurs sentence initial as sentence connectors.
4.9.4.1 Inter-Clausal Conjunctions

Some of the inter clausal conjunctions are

| ngundi | 'or' |
| :--- | :--- |
| ko | 'and' |
| asal arisa/ariya | 'then' |
| ngu | 'when/but/if' |

Ngundi 'or' and ko 'and':
The conjunction ngundi 'or' is used when comparing two or more items.
(106)

> Yangeni suwononggo ngundi suwootetoni bine, no omburewa-no.// tomorrow morning or afternoon perhaps is come-ft-1s 'Tomorrow morning or perhaps in the afternoon I will come.'

The conjunction $k o$ 'and' is seldom used to connect medial clauses together or to connect a series of items. Instead there is a pause between items that are being mentioned in a series and therefore commas are put at those places to facilitate reading the text. With the extensive medial verb system that is used, the meaning is quite clear without many inter-clausal conjunctions.
(107) Primer Page 117; Absence of ko 'and' in a List of Items:

E-too-1pl-ga ingo-yi.// Duge, wate, si, kumbe, say-ds-1s.i-seq hear-3pl knife spoon string.bag pot
towi, kumba, koondo ino-yingo.// material clothes dish give-compl

I said that and they heard it. They gave a knife, wooden spoon, string bag, cooking pot, some material, clothes, dish.'
(108) ko 'and':
e-10-ni ngu ko oode yoko-rol say-ds-3s.e that and stay leave-ss 'he said it and then she left ---'
(109) Text 85.2, Clauses 58-64: Inter-Clausal Conjunction Arisalasalariya 'then':

Ya reembu-yi te-muko-ro, asa, awa ko duge house frame-its do-finish-ss then father again knife
yo-ro ooro-rol gudo u-yi toongoo-rol woosoo-ro get-ss go-ss pandanus leaf-its cut-ss pull-ss
ombu-rol ya-ngga-ku wiriyo-yingo.//
come-ss house-def-prom cover-compl
'When he had finished the frame of the house, then, father got his knife again, (and) went, cut some pandanus leaves, pulled them, came to the house (and) covered the roof of the house.'

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Ngu Inter-Clausal Conjunction $N g u$ 'when/if/but':
The demonstrative mgu is also used as a conjunction on dependent clauses.
(110) 'I'ext 85.1; Clauses 31-35:

Ere-wero ooro-ro ombu-ro te-rol de nombo-ga-ku humt-des go-ss come-ss do-ss fire ashes-def-prom
pusuango-ro ooro-rol ombu-ro le-ro ngu, ma keno-yingo. surround-ss go-ss come-ss do-ss when not see-compl

I wanted to hunt (for it) (and) came (and) went (here and there) and when I went and came to the fireplace, I still didn't see it.'
4.9.4.2 Inter Sentence Conjunctions and Connectors

Discourse Connectors are items which occur on the discourse level to connect a story or text together in a meaningful manner. These connectors occur sentence initial. Some such words are:

Anival arisal asa
'therefore then.all right okay' --
Ngundirol ngandiro
'like.that like.this’
Ngundiro ngu-ro
same that-poss
'for this reason/ because of that'
Ngundiro ugu-ya
same that-ace
'along with this/ this also'
Ngu-ro ngu,
that-poss that
'about that,'
Ngu-no ugu,
that-in that
'in this,'

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Ngu-nonggo ngu, that-from there
'from that there,'
Einel ene ngu-ya
however however that-acc
'now this also/ however, along with this'
(112) Sentence Initial Connectors

1. Text 85.7; Clauses 25-26:

Arisa, ene dogi-ga uto-rol gunurooo-yingo.//
therefore 3 s jew's.harp-def strum-ss nod-compl
"Therefore he strummed the jew's harp (and) nodded (his head in time with the music).'
2 'Text 85.11; Clause 30:
Ngu-nonggo ngu, Simarawe e-ro ooroo-te-ro.//
that-from there close.friend say-ss remain-prt-1d
'From that there, we both remained close friends.'
3. Text 85.12; Clause 10:

Asa, ngu ngandiro.//
okay it's this.same
'Okay, it's like this.'
Note: This whole sentence was used to connect the setting of the discourse to the main body of the discourse.
4. Text 85.15; Clauses 150-152:

Ngundiro ngu-ro, era-marawesa era-ya-ga-ku
same that-poss 2-friends 2-acc-def-prom
ngu-no yoko-ro ombu-wo-ri-yo.//
that-to leave-ss come-pt-2d-rpt
'Because of that, the two close friends, the two of them, left there and returned.'

### 4.9.5 Relators

Kelators ngundiro 'same' and kendiro 'like' are used to compare nouns, and may occur in the relator slot of the Comparative Relator-Axis Phrase. Nyundiro is also used extensively as a sentence initial connector whereas kerdiro only is used in a comparison capacity between two or more things. Kendiro is seldom used; but when

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comparisons are made, either relator word may be used according to the discretion of the speaker.

1. Omukumundoo-ngo kombo kendiro momungo.// face-his moon same round
'His face is round, the same as the moon.'
2. 'Text 85.16; (lauses 143-147:

E-to-ni, no ngu-nouggo nenengo nowoondo-ne-monggo
say-ds-3s.e is that-from my stomach-my-from
ugu ngundiro ingo-yingo, ngu-ro ko ngundiro
that same know-compl that-poss again same
ma toonge-q゙a-no, e-ro ngundiro ingo-yingo.//
not leave-ft-ls say-ss same know-compl
Ile said that and from that the same that I knew in my stomach that I would never again behave like that and run away, this same thing I thought.'
3. Text 85.3; Clauses 19-20:

Oo-doo-ye-ba, boonge-mu urungga-ku awu-no mera were-ds-Ipli-seq landslide-poss big-pl.prom up.far-to ground osowoo \%\% ugguyi ngu kondibo balusi kendiro ombu-yingo.// break-ss noise 3 s all plane like come-compl
'We were there during a huge landslide when the ground broke from far up above and it sounded like a plane was coming.'

### 4.9.6 Nangge 'only'

Nangge 'only' is used on the Discourse level at the closing of most stories.
Mande ngu nungge
talk 3s finish
'The talk is finished.' or 'That is all.'
It is used in the phrase level, in word level and even on the stem level as well. It is a very versatile word in its usage and. crops up in many places on the clause level. It may appear modifying a noun, pronoun, adverb, temporal, locative and always occurs immediately after the word it modifies.
I. stem:
gura-nangge
one-only
'one'
Ehe, oni gura-nangge maye-le-ku!
Heh man one-only come-prt. 3 s -cli
'Heh, one man is coming!'
2. modifying a noun:

Oni nangge ombu-te.//
man only come-prt.3s
'Only (the) man is coming.'
3. modifying an adverb:
ngundiro nangge (C.F..002 p 274)
same only
'Because of that only.'
Ngundi-ro nangge, no-ndo sodedo-mangge ombu-yingo.//
same-poss only 1 s -ag quickly-only come-compl
'For this reason only, I came quickly.'
4. modifying a pronoun:
no-ndo no-so nangge
(C.C. 012 p 275)
ls-ag i-excl only
'only I myself'

No-ndo no-so nangge meye-te-no-ku.//
1 s -ag 1 s -excl only arrive-prt-1s-cli
'Only I alone came.'
5. modifying a temporal:
adaga nangge (C.G. . 015 p 275)
now only
'only now'
Ndawu-naru-ngga-no ge maye-wo?// Adaga nangge.//
what-time-def.s-at 2 s arrive-pt.2s now only
'When did you arrive?' 'Just now.'

## 5. Word Complexes

Word Complexes are a special group of words which form a close semantic unit. They are not on the word level nor are they on the phrase level for these semantic units function together as complex units in slots on the phrase level. Thus an in-between level is needed between the word and phrase levels.

Complexes occur frequently and are manifested by units of adjectives, adverbs, and verbs. They each occur in their respective positions in the phrase level as adjectives in the modified noun phrase, adverbs in the modified verb phrase, and verbs in the medial/tinal predicate slot on the clause level.

### 5.1 Word Reduplication Intensifier Complexes

Words are often intensified by use of reduplication of the word several times.

1. piru piru piru
long long long
'very long'
2. sodedo sodedo sodedo
quickly quickly quickly
'very quickly'
Note: this device of word reduplication to intensify the meaning is not used very much by the young people today. They tend rather to use an adjective with another intensifier word in the post head slot as in the following example:

Nga oomanongoyingo nga, ngu ningguri biyomi!//
this bread here 3 s sweet very
'This bread is very delicious!'

### 5.2 Number Set Complexes

Number set complexes occur in the Number Slot of the modified noun phrase. They consist of reduplication of the first numeral thus denoting groups or multiples of the first numeral.
(116)

1. guranangge guranangge guranangge
one.group one of.one
'one group of one of each'
2. eraya eraya eraya

22 of. 2
'two groups of two each'
3. kabusa kabusa kabusa

33 of. 3
'three groups of three each'

### 5.3 Pluralization Complexes

The reduplication of nouns pluralizes them.
(117)

1. osi-yi
male.ancestor-3s.poss
2. ende
village
3. puri
mountain
4. sono
river/water

### 5.4 Verb Complexes

 of verb reduplication.(118)

| 1.ne-ro <br> eat-ss | $>$ | $n e-r o ~ n e-r o$ <br> 'he continues to eat and eat' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2.u-ro | $>$ | u-ro u-ro <br> go.down-ss |
| 'he continues to go down' |  |  |
| 3. ombu-ro |  |  |
| come-ss |  |  |$\quad>\quad$| ombu-ro ombu-ro |
| :--- |
| 'he continues to come' |

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\(\left.$$
\begin{array}{lll}\text { 4. } \begin{array}{lll}\text { engge-ro } \\
\text { fruit-ss }\end{array} & > & \begin{array}{l}\text { engge-ro engge-ro } \\
\text { 'it continues to produce fruit' }\end{array}
$$ <br>
5. oode <br>

stay/is\end{array} \quad>\quad $$
\begin{array}{l}\text { oode oode }\end{array}
$$\right]\)| 'stayed and stayed' |
| :--- |
| 5.5 Antonyin Complexes |

### 5.5.1 Verbal Antonyms

( )n certain verbs as keno 'look' and ingo 'to hear/understand', a reduplication of the verb produces the opposite in meaning or an antonym of the word used. Thus these two verbs meaning to 'look/understand', become the opposite 'to ignore what you see or hear'. 'These occur in verb medial position on the clause level. As demonstrated in section 7.2, verb reduplication can also mean a continuation of action as well. Thus context would determine in the case of the verbs: keno and ingo as to just which applies.

1. keno-ya > keno-ya keno-ya
look-imp 'ignore what you see'
2. ingo-ro $>$ ingo-ro ingo-ro
hear-ss 'he ignores what he hears'

### 5.5.2 Adjectival Antonym Complexes

The opposites of something are often described by use of the negative word kini 'no' which occurs after the adjective.

| (120) AdjectivalAntonyms: <br> kuniyingo <br> sharp | $>$ | kuniyingo kini <br> sharp no |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 'dull' |  |  |
| kowuri |  |  |
| heavy | $>$ | kowuri kini <br> heavy no |
| ingondudu <br> smart | $>$ | light' <br> ingondudu kini <br> smart no <br> 'dumb' no |

Nga duge-ga nga ngu kuniyingò kini.//
this knife-def.s here 3s sharp not
'This knife here it is dull.'
Nga abu-ga nga ngu kowuri kini.//
this baby-def.s here 3s heavy not
'This baby here is light.'
Ngu kootoori-ga ngu ingondudu-ni kini.//
that chicken-def.s there smart-3s.poss not
'That chicken there is dumb.'

### 5.6 Adjectival Complexes

Several descriptive words are grouped together in a close semantic unit to convey a new meaning. This occurs with several sets of possibilities; a noun with an adjective, an adjective with another adjective, or a noun with a noun.
(121): Noun with adj or noun with a noun:

1. engge urungga
substance big
'fac'
2. wimbu-yi core-yingo
bone-3s.poss come.up-compl
'thin'
3. ingodudu gome
think good
'smart'
(122) Adjective with Adjective:
4. metemi gome
good very
'very good'
5. awu oorengo
up.above intens
'vow to God'
6. ningguri biyomi
sweet bad
'very sweet/ delicious'

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(123) Noun with a Noun:

1. yambo $y a$
sing house
'church'
2. simoo oore
boy come.up
'young boy'
3. oni simoo bare men children woman 'people'

## 6. Phrases

Phrases are groups of words that together have one role or function in clauses.

### 6.1 Modified Noun Phrase

The Modified Noun Phrase is the main noun phrase occurring in the subject and object slots on the clause level. It consists of an optional Specific's pre-head slot, obligatory Head Slot filled by any noun or question word plus an optional; Colour post-head, Qualifier, Number and Modifier fixed post-head. This Modified Noun Phrase differs from the other noun phrases in that:

1) it contains more diversified modifiers than the others;
2) it contains the other smaller phrases and word complexes such as: the Intensifier Phrase, Adjective Complexes, Nominalized Negative Complexes in the Qualifier Slot and Number Phrase Formulas in the Number Slor.

The enclitics on this phrase usually occur on the last post-head slot with the exception of the demonstrative pronoun in the final modifier slor. These enclitics are optional. The pre-head demonstrative does not usually take affixes. The usual length of this noun phrase is quite often the pre-head slot, head slot and one to two more items.

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(CHART 13: MOIIFIED NOUN PHRASE

| +Spec | +NIIcad | $\pm$ Colour | $\pm$ Qual | $\pm$ Num | $\pm$ Mod |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| poss.prn | any noun | colour | size/length adj. | Basic $\mathrm{Nu} . \mathrm{Ph}$. | dem.pron |
| dem.pron | question word |  | condition adj. | Inter Num.Phr | poss.pron |
|  |  |  | character | extended |  |
|  |  |  | adj. <br> distance/ direct adj | Num.Phr. gura |  |
|  |  |  | shape adj | 'another' |  |
|  |  |  | shape adj. | songoo 'another' |  |
|  |  |  | Intens Phr |  |  |
|  |  |  | Adj. Complxs |  |  |
|  |  |  | Nominalized |  |  |
|  |  |  | Negatives Complexes |  |  |

(124)

1. 110
pig
'pig'
2. Ge-ngo bo urungga, ngu-ndo no-ro ko yomburiyo-wo.// 2 s -poss pig big 3 s -ag 1 s -poss garden ruined-pt.3s
'Your big pig, he ruined my garden.'
3. (elicited- not normally expanded thus far)

No-ro bo diri oowooyi ururu eraya-ga, nga
1s-poss pig brown big very 2 3s
ngu-nd ya goosingo-mo ooroo-te-ri.//
3 pl -ag house underneath-in be-prt-1d
'Our two very big brown pigs, they are underneath the house.'
4. ya dogo-ni gura (RA 26)
house old-3s.poss another
'another older house'
\& ngu Ko-ngga
dem work-def.s
"Ihis work'
6. ko-yi yanggango biyomi (SA 22)
work-3s.poss strong very
'very hard work'
7. sono ma ne-zeroyi
water not eat-nom
'non-drinkable water'
8. ko kowuri kini
work heavy no
'light work'
9. ngu yaba were-weroyi gura (RA 32)
dem bed sleep-nom another
'another bed for sleeping'
10. ya bodaga songoo
(RA 31)
house small another
'another small house'
11. oni nangge
man only
'only the man'
12. ko kingo
work nothing
'no work'

### 6.2 Co-ordinate Noun Phrase

The Co-ordinate Noun Phrase consists of an optional pre-head Summary slot, an obligatory sequential Noun Head and two optional post-head slots of Summary and Demonstratives. The Co-ordinate Noun Phrase occurs in the subject and/or object slots on the clause level. It differs from the Modified Noun Phrase in that:

1) it contains a multiple sequential Noun Heads;
2) little or no modification takes place;
3) the 00 Summary Slot is used considerably more.

Sequential Nouns are freely used in Rawa with no use of conjunctions. Conjunctions rarely occur except in number phrases.

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Four sequential items listed would be about the normal length optionally with a summary oo either pre-head or post-head final. When names of persons are the Noun Head in this Co-()rdinate Noun Phrase, then a pronoun may be added at any spot but does not usually oceur at the Head final position.

CHAR'I 14 CO-ORDINATE NOUN PHRASE.

| $\pm$ Summary | + N.H. num. 2-7 | $\pm$ Summary | $\pm$ Dem |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 00 <br> 'something' | noun <br> pronoun <br> Dep.Double lleaded <br> Noun Phrase | 00 <br> 'something' | $n g a$ |
| $n g u$ |  |  |  |

Note: 1) The Summary is optional and the pre-head and Post Head Summary tagmenes are mutually exclusive-only one may occur.
2) A pronoun may appear anywhere in the Noun Head Slot but not usually at the close of the sequence.
(125) (Trial Primer p. 115)

1. 00 nakango-weroyi, kandange-weroyi, yomosiyo-weroyi spec writing-nom reading-nom checking-nom '(for) writing, reading and checking'
2. duge wate si kumbe towi kumba koondo knife spoon string.bag sauce.pans material clothes dishes 'knife, spoon, string bag, sauce pans, material, clothes, dishes'
3. Widanu no Dipenare Gasama (NA 3) person ls.pron. person person
'Widanu, I, Dipenare, Gasama'
4. bo urumi plaua da nono
pig oil flour sugar milk
'oil, flour, sugar, milk'
5. koono moo mbako da nggire dowi oo ngu banana taro sweet.potato sugar corn pumpkin spec there 'banana, taro, sweet potato,sugar, corn, pumpkin, all of these'

### 6.3 Dependent Double-headed Noun Phrase

The Dependent Double-Headed Noun Phrase consists of two Noun Heads that form a close semantic unit creating a new meaning.

The Dependent Double-Headed Noun Phrase differs from the Modified Noun Phrase in that:

1) it contains two Heads that cannot be otherwise expanded,
2) it is a close semantic unit creating a new meaning.

The Dependent Double-Headed Noun Phrase occurs in the Noun Head of the Coordinate Noun Phrase and in the subject and object slots of the clause. Mostly this phrase is needed to describe a culturally foreign situation using the known Rawa language.

Chart 15 DEPENDENT DOUbLE-HEADED NOUN PHRASE:

| + N. H. 1: | + N. H. 2: |
| :--- | :--- |
| noun <br> compd. noun | noun <br> compd.noun |

(126)

1. omanongo-wingo use-kingo (SC 3) bread-compl stomach-nothing 'bread business'
2. bo urumi (DB 39)
pig grease 'oil'
3. ka-weroyi ya cook-nom house 'cook house' or 'kitchen'
4. sono gimuwoo-weroyi musiyo water wash-nom place 'the washing place' or 'the shower'

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### 6.4 Comparative Relator-axis Phrase

The Comparative Relator-Axis Phrase consists of an obligatory Axis Head filled by a noun; Modified Noun Phrase with very limited expansion; Dependent Double Headed Noun Phrase, a limited Co-ordinate Noun Phrase plus an obligatory Relator, filled by kendiro 'alike' or ngundire 'same'. 'The Relator slot may also include the above two Rawa words plus kini 'no' to negate the phrase. 'The Comparative Relator-Axis Phrase occurs in the subject and object slots of the clause level.

CIIART 16 COMPARATIVE REIATOR -AXIS PIIRASE:

| + Axis Head | + Relator: |
| :--- | :--- |
| noun | ngundiro 'same' |
| Mod. N. Phr. | ngundiro kini 'different' |
| Dep. Double Il. Phr. | kendiro 'like' |
| Co-ord. N. Phr. | kendiro kini 'not alike' |

(127)

## 1. mande ngundiro

talk same
2. nggire koono kendiro kini
corn bananas like no
'corn (and) bananas (are) not alike'

### 6.5 Lmphatic Pronoun Phrase

Pronouns (as listed in Section 4.2) may also occur in the head noun position as subject or object of the clause.

1. Adaga ene maye-wa.//
today 3 s come-ft. 3 s
'Today he will cone'
2. No ge-ya mande e-wero.//

1s 2 s-acc talk say-des
'I want to talk with you.'

Pronouns may be suffixed to show emphatic (i.e., as in 'I myself' in English). The first order suffix is -so ~-su 'emphatic' and then the word nangge 'only' (optional) is used.

The form -so 'emphatic' occurs only with the first person singular and -su elsewhere. Except for the chird person dual and plural, the emphatic marker occurs on the first pronoun.
(129)

1. no-so nangge

1 s-emp only
'only I myself'
2. ge-su nangge

2 s-emp only
'only you yourself'
3. yari-su nangge

2d-emp only
'only you two yourselves'
Whenever the third person dual or plural emphatic form is used, then the pronoun without any affixation occurs plus an obligatory phrase is added:
ene-su nangge
3pl-emp only
'only they themselves'
(130)
4. eraga ene-su

3d 3s-emp
'they (dual) themselves'
5. garo ene-su nangge

3 pl 3 s -emp only
'only they (pl.) themselves'
In the third person singular, the Head one slot is filled by the pronoun ene ' 3 s ' followed by the emphatic suffix -su and the word nangge 'only' (optional).
6. ane-su mangle

3s-emp only
'only he himself'
The word nangge 'only' is obligatory in the third person dual and plural; elsewhere it is optional. However, it is still mostly used whenever this emphatic form is present.
7. noore-su nangge
lpl-emp only
'only we ourselves'
8. noore-su

1 pl-emp
'we ourselves'
9. One-ndo ombu-wa-nggo? Noore-su
who-ag come-ft-3pl 1 pl-emp
'Who will be coming?' 'Just us'

### 6.6 Prominence Phrase

Demonstratives usually occur either in the initial or final position in the noun phrase. (See Section 4.3) However, they also may occur as a noun in the subject or object position on the clause level.

In the following example, the head demonstrative is suffixed with the -ngga definite singular' and is followed by a tinal demonstrative. Such a construction is highly emphatic and is used to reiterate the subject that is being discussed in a discourse. The form-ngga 'definite singular' is a discourse level suffix and will be discussed in Section 9.2.2.1.

1. nga -ngga nga

this-def.s here
'this one here'
2. ngu-ngga ngu
that-def.s there
'that one there'

This same emphatic construction may also occur with nouns and is used for emphasis on the discourse level.
3. ya-ngga ngu
house-def.s there
'that house there'
t. gumi-ngga ngu
room-def.s there
'that room there'
5. kabusa-ga ngu
three-def.s that
'that three'
6. oore-ga nga
road-def.s here
'the road here'

### 6.7 Intensifier Phrase

In addition to a single adjective/adverb in a modifier position, they may also occur with another word from the list which follows:

| biyomi | 'bad' |
| :--- | :--- |
| urungga | 'big' |
| oorengo <br> amoo | 'very/truly' |
| 'truly' |  |

The words biyomi 'bad', urungga 'big', oorengo 'very', and amoo 'truly' when used as an intensifier, the meaning is then changed to mean 'very'. When these words are used in the head slot of this phrase, they retain their original meaning. However, the word oorengo 'very' is only used as an intensifier.

1. biyomi urungga
bad very
'very bad'
2. urungga biyomi
big very
'very big'

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## 3. "rungga amoo

big true
'very/truly big'
4. amoo ourengo
true very
'very true'
The Intensifier Phrase differs from the Dependent Double-Headed Noun Phrase in that:

1) the fillers of the slots are different;
2) the relationship between the tagmemes is different (In Dependent Double-lleaded Noun Phrase, they are complementary and in Intensifier Plarase the relationship is one of intensifying);
3) it fills the Qualifier Sloc of the Modified Noun Phrase while the Dependent Double-Headed Phrase fills the Head Slot.

The Intensifier Phrase fills the Qualifier Slor of Modified Noun Phrase, the Modifier Slot of the Modified Verb Phrase and the Comment Slot of the Topic-Comment Clause.

### 6.8 Appositional Phrase

## CIIART 17: APPOSITIONAL, PHRASE

| $\pm$ Mod.: | +App. H.: | +Explan. H.: | $\pm$ Mod.: |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | noun | noun | dem |
|  | pron. | pron. |  |
|  | Coss.pron N.Phr. | direction wd. |  |
|  | locative | Co-ord N. Phr. |  |
|  |  | Emph.Pron.Phr. |  |
|  |  | adj. |  |
|  |  | locative |  |

Another noun or series of nouns may follow the head of a noun phrase with the function of making the referent of the noun more specific.

For instance, the noun may be followed by a proper noun to make the referent specific.

1. noore, Neyuro Dawa,//

1 pl Neyuro Dawa
'we, Neyuro (and) Dawa,'
2. ene-ngo kare, nggoni-ngga,//

3s-poss marsupial nggoni-def.s
'his marsupial, the nggoni,'
Or the proper names may occur in the head slot followed by a further explanation of them.
(136)
3. Nomi Don, era-ga-do,//

Norma Don, 2-def.s-ag
'Norma (and) Don, the two of them,'
4. Yoso Narembe, de ngul/
tree.type tree.type tree that
'Yoso, Narembe, trees,'
When this appositional phrase is used, there is a pause after the initial noun/pronoun in the head slot, and then a stronger intonation as the second further explanation is given.

### 6.9 Number Phrase

The basic numbers are: (See section 4.4.7)

```
gura-nangge
one-only
'one' (one-only)
era-ya
'two'
```

Note: The numeral eraya ' 2 ' is a general term for two of anything. When people are being referred to, if they both are known, then the term era-ga 'two definite article' is used.
> kabusa
> 'three'

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```
mamoraya
'four'
kunde-gura
hand-one
'five'(hand-one)
oni-bi
man-body
'twenty' (man-dead)
mni-bi-ga
man-body-def.s
'one group of twenty'
```

The basic numerial conjunctions which join all the combinations of numerals together are:
gidemboro 'plus'
ke-ngga
'leg'
leg-def.s
ke-gidemboro 'leg plus’
leg-plus
ke-ngga gidemboro 'leg plus'
leg-def.s plus
It is obvious from this list that higher numerals are formed by addition of words previously used and, many words may be used in the number position of the noun phrase.

However, besides the words used to designate the specified whole numerals, such things as the concept of gumi 'half' or gura / songoo 'part' or 'other' can be specified. Or an additional word such as: bodaga 'small', urungga 'big', or bobodi 'tiny', may occur with the quantity to show a whole number and the size of the remaining portion.
sura gumi nanyse
another half only
'another half only'
eraya gura gumi bodaga
2 another half small
'two and another small part'
The Karo Rawa numbering system is based on the counting of the two hands and two feet or the base unit of twenty.
(138)

```
oni-bi
man-body
'one man finished' or '20'
oni-bi-ga
man-body-def.s
'one group of 20'
```

Note that the suffix -ga 'definite singular' is a specific way of showing the fact that only one group of twenty is indicated.

### 6.9.1 Basic Number Phrase

The basic numerals are the numbers one to five:

| gura-nangge <br> one-only | "one' |
| :--- | :--- |
| era-ya <br> 2 -acc | 'two' |
| kabusa |  |
| namoraya | 'three' |
| kande-gura <br> hand-one | 'four' |

The numerals 6-9 consist of the word kande-gura 'hand one' or 'five', plus the numerial conjunction gidemboro 'plus', and one of the first four numerals as is needed.

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kunde-gura zidembioro gura-nangge
hand-one plus one-only
'one hand plus one' or ' 6 '
kande-pura gidemburo eraya
hand-one plus ..... 2
'one hand plus two' or '7'
kande-gura gidemboro kabusa
hand-one plus ..... 3
'one hand plus three' or ' 8 '
kande-gura gidemboro namoraya
hand-one plus ..... $+$
'one hand plus four' or '9'
CHART 18: BASIC NUMBER PIIRASE (NUMBER 1-9)

| $+ \pm$ | ( Quantifier | $\pm$ Connector) | $\pm$ Head | $\pm$ Mod | $\pm$ Qual | $\pm$ Size |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | kande gura hand-one 'one hand' | gide-mboro 'part-plus' | gura-nangge | gide 'part' | gumi 'half' | budaga 'small' |
|  |  |  | eraya |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | kabusa | gura |  | urungga 'big' |
|  |  |  | namoraya | songoo |  | gide <br> 'part' |
|  |  |  | kande-gura hand -one | $\begin{gathered} -g u m i \\ \text { 'half' } \end{gathered}$ |  | bobodi 'tiny' |

(140)

Oni kande-gura gideboro eraya maye-yingo.// man hand-one plus 2 arrived-compl
'Seven men arrived.'

### 6.9.2 Intermediate Number Phrase ( numerals 10-19)

The numeral ten consists of:

```
kande eraya
hand two
'two hands' or '10'
```

For the numerals 11-14, the tens unit kande eraya ' 2 hands' is used, plus the numerial conjunction $k e$-gidemboro 'leg plus' and whatever one of the basic numerals ( 1-4) that is needed.

| kande eraya hand 2 |  |  | '10' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| kande eraya | ke-gidemboro | gura-nangge | '11' |
| hand 2 | leg-plus | on-only |  |
| kande eraya | ke-gidemboro | eraya | '12' |
| hand 2 | leg-plus | 2 |  |
| kande eraya | ke-gidemboro | kabusa | '13' |
| hand 2 | leg-plus | 3 |  |
| kande eraya | ke-gidemboro | namoraya | '14' |
| hand 2 | leg-plus | 4 |  |

The numeral 15 consists of:

| kande eraya ke-ngga |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| hand 2 leg-def.s | '15' |
| 'two hands and a leg' |  |

For numerals 16-19, the term kande eraya ke-ngga ' 15 ' is used, plus one of two numerial conjunctions (according to the discretion of the speaker) is used plus whatever of the basic numbers $1-4$ that is needed.
(142) Numerial Conjunctions Needed area:
ke-gidemboro
leg-plus
'leg plus'

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> gidemboro
> 'plus 'plus'

The numerals $15-19$ are:
(1+3)

| kande eraya ke-ugga <br> hand 2 leg-def.s <br> 'two hand plus a leg' |  |
| :---: | :---: |
|  |  |
|  |  |
| kande eraya ke-ngga gidemboro gura-mangge | '16' |
| hand 2 leg-defs plus one-only |  |
| 'two hand plus a leg plus one' |  |
| kande eraya ke-ngga ke-gidemboro gura-nangge | '16' |
| hand 2 leg-def.s leg-plus one-only |  |
| 'two hand plus a leg plus one toe of another foot' |  |
| kande eraya ke-gidemburo gura-nanyge | '16' |
| hand 2 leg-plus one-only |  |
| 'two hand, a leg, plus one toe' |  |

Note: the above three ways to say the number ' 16 '. This is according to the discretion of the speaker.

kande eraya ke-ngga ke-gidemboro numorava '19' hand 2 leg-def.s leg-plus 4 'two hand plus a leg plus + toes of another foot'
(144) Scutence using the: numeral 7 :
()ni kande-gura gide-boro eraya mave-yingo.//
man hand-one more-phus ! arrived-compl
'Seven men arrived.'

### 6.9.3 Extended Number Phrase: (numerals 20 and above)

The Karo Rawa numbering system is based on twenty.

oni-bi-ga<br>man-dead-def.s<br>'one group of 20 '<br>oni-bi<br>man-dead<br>'20'

Note that the suffix -ga 'definite singular' is very significant in this counting system. If the -ga 'definite singular' is present, then the numeral following the twenty means 'in addition to' or 'one group of twenty plus any number from 1-19'.
oni-bi-ga kabusa
man-dead-def.s 3
$=$ ' $20+3$ ' or ' 23 '
oni-bi ga kande eraya ke-gidemboro kabusa
man-dead-def.s hand 2 leg-plus 3
$={ }^{\prime} 20+13$ ' or ' 33 '
However, when the suffix -ga 'definite singular' is missing, then the number following it means 'a multiple of'.
oni-bi $\quad$ kubusa
man-dead 3
$=' 20 \times 3=60$

Note that the construction in example 145 is the same as this previous example 146, except that the suffix -ga 'definite singular' is present. Thus the three after the twenty means 'in addition to', whereas in this last example 146, the three after the twenty means 'multiple of.

> oni-bi kande-gura man-dead hand-one $$
5 \text { groups of } 20=100 '
$$

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mi-bi kande ereyse
man-dead hand 2
$\cdot 10$ groups of $20=2000^{\prime}$
Note: the -ga 'definite singular' suffix is missing in the previous example and thus the number which occurs after is a multiple of the previous number.

Thus any number can made by using and combining these three sub phrases.
Whenever the number phrase uses a numerial conjunction of any kind, the number following this means 'in addition to'.

```
1. oni-bi-ga man-dead-def.s 'one 20 '
\begin{tabular}{llll}
2. & oni-bi & kabusa gurie kabusa \\
man-dead & 3 & other 3
\end{tabular}
' 3 groups of \(20+3=63\) '
```

Note: this same construction could be used without the numerial conjunction and it would still mean that the last number means 'in addition to the previous amount'.
3. oni-bi-ga
guranangge
man-dead-def.s 1
'one 20 plus one'/21'
4. oni-bi-ga kandegura gidemboro guranangge
man-dead-def.s 5 plus 1
'one group of $20+6=26$ '
5. oni-bi-ga kande eraya kengga gidembora guranangge
man-dead-def.s hand 2 leg plus 1
$' 20+16=36$ '
6. oni-bi eraya
man-dead 2
' $20 \times 2=40$ '
7. oni-bi eraya kabusa
man-dead 2
' $20 \times 2+3=43$ '
8. oni-bi kandegura
man-dead 5
' 20 X $5=100$ '

### 6.10 The Doobe Ten Kina Monetary System

With the cessation of trading items for commodities, the peoples of Papua New Guinea are now using more currency in exchange for commodicies. Thus the Karo Rawa people started their own indigenous money counting system based on the ten toea (similar to 10 cents) coin.

They group 100 ten toea coins in a stack and wrap them up. Each wrapped stack of 100 ten toea coins equals ten kina (equivalent to $\$ 10.00 \mathrm{US}$ ) and is called a doobe 'stick'.

Their monetary system based on the doobe 'stick', incorporates the principles of the counting system as can be seen below.

## doobe

stick
'stack of 100 ten toea coins wrapped up'

## doobe-ga

stick-def.s
'one group of 100 ten toea coins wrapped up'
The function of the -ga 'definite singular' here is the same as in the counting system where this suffix is used on the word 'twenty'.

> oni-bi-ga
> man-dead-def.s
> 'one group of 20 '

When the suffix -ga 'definite singular' is used on the monetary word doobe 'stick of ten kina', any number /number phrase which immediately follows it means 'in addition to'.
(149)
> 1. doobe-ga nangge stick-def.s only
> 'one group of ten kina'
> 2. doobe-ga kande-gura gidemboro namoraya
> stick-def.s hand-one plus 4
> 'one group of ten kina plus $9=19$ kina'

## 3. doobega kabusa

stick-def.s 3
'one group of 10 kina plus $3=13$ kina'
When the -ga 'definite singular' suffix is not present, then any number phrase immediately following the word doobe 'stick', means 'multiples of'.

The numbers of the monetary system are formed just like their counting system only everything is in relation to the doobe 'ren kina'. Thus to show the tens unit, the word doobe 'ten kina' is used with the number or number phrase following it being a multiple of ten kina. Any number / number phrase following this would be in addition to the previous sum.

1. doobe eraya
stick 2
'two groups of ten kina' or '2 (10 kina) $=20 \mathrm{kina}$ '
2. doobe kande-gura gidemboro gura
stick hand-one plus
' $6(10$ kina $)=60$ kina'
3. doobe kande eraya ke-gidemboro eraya
stick hand 2 leg-plus 2
' 12 ( 10 kina) $=120$ kina'
4. doobe kabusa ngu-no tanggori kande eraya
stick 3 that-to fruit hand 2
'3 ( 10 kina ) and to that add 10 (ten toea coins) $=31 \mathrm{kina}$ '
When the term oni-bi ' 20 ' is used after the conjunction ngu-no 'to that', it is referring to ' 20 ten toea coins or a 2 kina note' (equivalent to a 2 dollar bill). Thus any number or number phrase which follows after the oni-bi ' 20 ' is again a multiple of the 20 ; any number phrase which follows after the 20 with the suffix -ga 'definite singular', this then would be in addition to the 20 .

[^0]$\therefore$ doobe eraya ngu-no oni-bi eraya kande eraya
stick 2 that-to man-dead 2 hand 2
' 2 ( 10 kinia) and to that $2(2 \mathrm{kina})+10(10$ toea $)=25$ kina'
3. doobe kabusa ngu-no oni-bi namoraya
stick 3 that-to man-dead 4
' 3 ( 10 kina ) and to that 4 ( 2 kina ) $=38 \mathrm{kina}$ '
4. doobe kande-gura gidemboro namoraya ngu sangani-mo
stick hand one-plus 4 that on.top-of
oni-bi-ga ngu soweyoro
man-dead-def.s that join
'9 (10 kina) and on top of that join 1 (2 kina) $=92$ kina'

## Hundreds and Thousands Units

To get hundreds or thousands units, the doobe 'ten kina stick' plus the adjoining number phrase numerals are just repeated the appropriate amount of times.

1. doobe kande eraya doobe namoraya ngu-ya
stick hand 2 stick 4 that-acc
' 10 (ten kina) +4 ( 10 kina ) as well $=140$ kina'
2. doobe kande craya doobe namoraya ngu-no ko
stick hand 2 stick 4 that-to and
oni-bi eraya tanggori kande eraya
man-dead 2 fruit hand 2
' 10 ( 10 kina) +4 (ten kina) and to that add 2 ( 2 kina) plus 10 ( 10 toea coins) $=145$ kina'
3. doobe oni-bi-ga kande eraya doobe kabusa sangani-mo ngu-ya stick man-dead-def.s hand 2 stick 3 on.top-of that-acc ' $1(20)(10 \mathrm{kina})+10(10 \mathrm{kina})$ plus $3(10 \mathrm{kina})$ on top of that as well $=$ $200+100+30=330$ kina'
4. doobe oni-bi-ga doobe kande-gura gidemboro gura
stick man-dead-def.s stick hand-one plus one
' 1 (20) (10 kina) $+6(10 \mathrm{kina})=200+60-260 \mathrm{kina}$ '
Whenever just part of ten kina is being referred to, the word tanggori 'fruit' is used to refer to the amount of 10 toea coins left over.

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1. doobe eraya ngu-no tanggori kande eraya ko tanggori kande-gura stick ? hat-to fruit hand 2 and fruit hand-one $\cdot 2(10$ kina) and to that add $10(10$ toea coins) and $5(10$ toea coins $)=$ 20 kina +1 kina +50 toea $=$ kina $21.50^{\prime}$
2. doobe oni-bi-ga doobe eraya ngu-no oni-bi
eraya tanggori kande eraya stick man-dead-def.s stick 2 that-to man-dead 2 fruit hand 2
' 1 (20) (10 kina) +2 (10 kina) and to this add $2(2$ kina $)+10$ ( 10 toea)
$=200+20$ kina +4 kina +1 kina $=225$ kina'
3. tanggori kande-gura gidemboro eraya
fruit hand-one plus 2
'7(10 toca) $=70$ toca'
Some of the numerial conjunctions which join these numbers are:

| ko | 'and' |
| :--- | :--- |
| sangani-mo <br> on.top-of | 'on top of |
| saro saro | 'and heaped on that' |
| soweyoro | 'and joined' |
| tanggori | 'fruit' or 'toea coins' |
| ko tanggory <br> ngu-ya <br> that-acc | 'and fruit' or 'and toea coins' |
| ngu-no <br> that-to | 'also' |
| ngu | 'and to that' |

There are a few alternate ways of saying the same thing according to the discretion of the speaker.
(154)

1. doobe kande-gura gidemboro namoraya ngu sangani-mo
stick hand-one plus 4
oni-bi-ga ngu soweyoro
man-dead-def.s that join
9 ( 10 kina) and on top of that join $1(2$ kina $)=92$ kina'
2. doobe kande-gura gidemboro namoraya ngu saro saro oni-bi-ga stick hand-one plus 4 that heap heap man-dead-def.s
'9 (10 kina) and to that heap $1(2 \mathrm{kina})=92$ kina'
3. doobe oni-bi-ga
stick man-dead-def.s
' 1 (20) ( 10 kina ) $=200$ kina'
4. doobe-no nangge oni-bi-ga
stick-with only man-dead-def.s
'only 1 (20) (10 kina) $=200$ kina'
5. doobe oni-bi-ga doobe gura sangani-mo
stick man-dead-def.s stick another on.top-of
' 1 (20) (10 kina) and on top of that $1(10 \mathrm{kina})=210 \mathrm{kina}$ '
6. doobe oni-bi-ga doobe gura-nangge
stick man-dead-def.s stick one-only
'1 (20) (10 kina) $=210$ kina'
Thus without these people having studied algebraic formulas, they are using them!

### 6.11 Locational Phrase

Locative and Directional words indicate location, distance, position and elevation. Locative words as well as any noun, pronoun, adjective, or temporal occurring in the locative position, will assume the locative enclitic phrase final with one exception-a demonstrative pronoun may occur after the enclitic is used.

Locative/Directional words occur in the Locational Phrase, with the smaller Directional Phrase fitting into the modifier two slot of the Locational Phrase; in the Locative Appositional Phrase and in the location slot of the clause level.

1. kootu-yi-sina
behind-3s.poss-towards
'later’
2. dugoma sewendi po-no
year 70 4-in
'in the year 1974'
(SC 33)
(SC 1)

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The locative Phrase differs from the Directional Phrase in that:

1) five tagmemes occur;
2) greater range of modification may occur;
3) only noun or location words may occur in the Locative Head Slot whereas Direction Phrases occur in the Modifier 2 Slots.

CIIAR'T 19: LOCATIONAL PIIRASE

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Pron. $1:$ | $\pm$ Mod.2: | + Loc.11. | $\pm$ Mod. 1 | + Mod.2: | $\pm$ Pron.2 |
| poss.pron <br> dem. pron. <br> prom phr | directionals | noun <br> loc.wd. | adj. <br> loc.wd. | Directional <br> wd/Phr. | dem.pron. |

Note: 1) When a directional word occurs in the prehead Modifier 2 slots, it usually is just a direction word, not a phrase, and would not assume affixes.
2) In the prehead Pronoun1 and posthead Pronoun 2 slots, demonstrative pronouns optionally occur in one or the other but not both.
3) The lacative enclitics occur on the final Locative/directional word of this plarase -never on the final demonstrative pronoun.
(156)
3. ene-ngo ya-no

3s-poss house-in
'in his house'
4. ngu-ngga ngu amu ya beyi-woore (RA 38)
dem-def.s emp down.below house side-on.top.of
'that side house down below'
5. ya beyi amu-woore ngu
house side down.far-on.top dem
'that side house down below'
(Note: examples 4 and 5 are alternate ways of saying the same thing.)

```
6. ngu kande-ye dedare-sina (RA 32)
    dem hand-poss left-towards
    'there towards (the) left hand (side)'
7. ngu newende-mo (RA 20)
    dem inside-of
    'inside (of) it'
8. ya gumi-mo (RA 18)
    house half-in
    'in the room'
```


### 6.12 Directional Phrase

The Directional Phrase consists of an obligatory Head filled by a direction word plus an optional posthead specifier slot. This phrase occurs in the posthead Modifier 2 slot of the Locational Phrase.

The Directional Phrase differs from the Locational Phrase in that:

1) it is a close semantic unit and the Locational Phrase is not;
2) it has only two tagmemes with the Head slot being a direction word;
3) it is a smaller phrase occurring in the Locational Phrase poschead Modifier 2 Stot.

### 6.12.1 Elevation and Distance

This Directional Phrase enables the Rawa speaker to give precise information as to where something or someone is, in relationship to the location from the speaker's position. With the use of the Head and specifier Slots, elevation and distance are specified. The demonstrative pronoun with location affixes then becomes a directional word.

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(CIART 20: I)IREOIIONAI. PIRASE

| +llead: | $\pm$ Specifier: |
| :--- | :--- |
| direction word | distance/elevation <br> directional words |
| dem.pron.with <br> loc. affixes |  |

Note: 1. 'The Head Slot has the suffix -sina 'towards' or -roko 'location'.
2. 'I he Specifier Slot does not usually take affixation.

## (CHAR'I 21: I)IS'TANCE ANI) ELEVATION DIRECTIONS

Using the following chart of a house where the speaker and another person are located, (on the chart this house is represented by a $\Delta$ ) the following information was elicited and will be recorded below by the numbers indicated on this charr. This represents very mountainous terrain where the speaker is looking up the mountains, down the mountains, to the righthand side and to the lefthand side of the house where they are located. He is explaining where these other houses are located and is pointing to the place.


## Reference Grammar of the Karo/Rawa Language

(157) Direction Words

| awu | 'far up above' |
| :--- | :--- |
| awe | 'close up above' |
| andu | 'way over to the side' |
| ande | 'close by to the side' |

The combinations of these above direction words explain the elevation as well as the sideways position from the speaker's point of view. Since the speaker was pointing to the position as well, it was unnecessary to say whether it was on the righthand or lefthand side. To try to give the oral righthand or lefthand position as well as the direction of the exact location made very unnatural speech and thus wasn't something that they would say.

1. biyomi-sina andu
lefthand.side-towards over.far
'far over there on the lefthand side'
2. biyomi-sina ande
lefthand.side-towards over.close
'close by over on the lefthand side'
3. ande-sina amu
over.near-towards down.far
'over a little towards the side and further down below'
4. amu-sina amu
down.far-towards down.far
'down below and on further'
5. ande-sina ame
over.near-towards down.near
'over a little ways to the side and down a little'
6. metemi-sina ngu namoko
righthand.side-towards 3 s close
'it's close by on the righthand side'
7. alpl-sina
up.near towards
'up above nearby'

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8. alp-sina andu
up.near-towards over.far
'up a little and way further over'
9. alpl-sina aw'u
up.near-towards up.far
'up and way up more'
10. awu-sina
up.far-towards
'far up above'
11. oriroko awu
far.away up.far
'a long way up above'
12. oriroko awu andu
far.away up.far over.far
'a long way up above and far over to the side'
13. andu-sina andu andu
over.far-towards over.far
'way over to the side and further on yet'

Note: 'The $-e$ refers to 'close by', and the $-u$ refers to 'farther away' from the speaker.

### 6.12.2 Go/Come Direction

6.12.2.1 Go/Come Verbs:

The four 'Go' direction verbs are:
$u-t e$
go.down-prt.3s 'he is going down'
oore-te 'he is going up'
go.up-prt. 3 s
uroore-te 'he is going down and up'
go.down.up-prt.3s
Note: Uroore-te ('he is going down and up') is a compound verb using the verb $u$ 'go down' and the verb oore 'go up'. 'This is the general 'go' verb used when hiking up and down in these mountains.
oorowu-te 'he is going (straight)'
go.straight-prt. 3 s
Note: When the verb oorowu-te 'go straight' is used, the distance is either very close and can be seen to be straight ahead or the distance is very far away and the speaker is not sure whether their destination is up above or down below.
'The two 'come' direction verbs are:
ombu-te
come-prt. 3 s $\quad$ 'he is coming'

The most widely used 'come' verb is ombu-te 'he is coming'.
When a person is noticed a long ways away, the speaker will use the verb maye-te the is arriving'.
6.12.2.2 'Go/Come' Directions When Hiking on the Mountains:

1. A$]$

[B]
When a man [B] is coming towards the [A] speaker, the ' $A$ ' speaker will say:

| Ene | no-no | ombu-te-\#. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| he | me-to | come-prt-3s |

'He is coming to me.'
2. $[A]>\longrightarrow$
$[\mathrm{B}]>$
When a man [ $B$ ] is hiking in front of the speaker ' $A$ ', depending whether the man [ $B$ ] is going straight, up, down, or is going up and down, the speaker will say:

Ene oorowu-te.
3 s go.straight-prt.3s
'He is going (straight).'
Ene u-te.
3s go.down-prt.3s
'He is going down.'
Eile oore-te.
3s go.up-prt.3s
'lle is going up.'
Ene uroore-te.
3 s go.down.up-prt. 3 s
'Ile is going down and up.'
3. $[\mathrm{B} \mid>\longrightarrow$ $[A] \gg$
When a man [ $B$ ] is hiking behind the speaker ' $A$ ', the speaker will say:
Ene kootu ombu-te.
3 s behind come-prt.3s
'He is coming behind me.'
Depending on whether the man ( $B$ ) is going straight, down, up, or down and up, theman (B) who is hiking behind the man ' $A$ ' would say:
No kootu oorown-te-no.
I behind go.straight-prt-1s
'I am going (straight) behind him.'
No kootu u-te-no.
I behind go.down-prt-1s
'I am going down behind him.'
No kootu oore-te-no.
I behind go.up-prt-1s
'I am going up behind him.'
No kootu uroore-te-no.
I behind go.down.up-prt-1s
'I am going down and up behind him.'
When people have arrived from a long distance, the speaker with strong emotion willask:
Adaga ye maye-te-nggo-ku?
now 2 pl arrive-prt-2pl-cli
'Have you arrived now?'
'lhe reply will be:

Yo, adaga noore maye-te-to-ku!
yes now 1 pl arrive-prt-1pl-cli
'Yes, we have arrived now!'

### 6.13 Temporal Phrase

The Temporal Phrase consists of an obligatory Head Slot filled by a temporal/locative word plus two optional Post Head tagmemes: Modifier and Modifier 2 Slots. This Phrase would occur in the Temporal slot of the clause level. 'The Temporal Phrase is not usually expanded beyond just the Head Slot.

CHART 22 TEMPORAL PHRASE

| +Head: <br> temporals | $\pm$ Modifier <br> Number Phrase | $\pm$ Modifier: <br> adjective |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| loc. word | adjective |  |
|  | question word |  |

(159)

1. adaga
'now/ today'
2. yangeni
'tomorrow'
3. kuyowo
'yesterday'
4. kootu-yi-sina
behind-poss-towards
'later'
5. kootu-yi-sina
eme
(SC 33)
behind-poss-towards later
'later on'
6. eme gogo
later first
'later on'
```
7. naru mdadiro?(D) 70 )lime how.much
    'what time (is it)?'
```

8. maru guranangge
```time one'one o'clock'
```

9. kundo naru Papuwa Nugini
```(SC 4)
```

rest time Papua New.Guinea

```'l'apua New Guinean holiday'
```

10. sono mituku
```water time'rainy season'
```

11. kuri ..... (KA 46)
'before'
6.14 Modified Verb Phrase'The Modified Verb Phrase consists of two optional pre-head tagmemes, Negative andModifier Slots, plus an obligatory Head Slot and an optional post head cagmeme,Indefinite Slot. 'Ihe Itead Slot is filled by any verb, Elocution Verb Phrase or DesiredAction Phrase.

The Modified Verb Phrase occurs in the predicate slot final of the clause. In medial verbs, on the clause level, the Modifier and Indefinite tagmemes, of this Modified Verb Phrase rarely occur. 'l 'he Modified Verb Phrase differs from the Repeticive Verb Phrase and the I'rogressive Motion Verb Phrase in that:

1) this phrase is generally a more widely used phrase type in the Predicate Slot of the clause level;
2) the Indefinite Slot occurs only on this phrase type;
3) the Head Slot may be filled by the Elocution or Desired Action Phrase; or by any verb).

Chart 23 MODIFIED VERB Phirase

| $\pm$ Negative: | $\pm$ Modifier | $\pm$ Head: | $\pm$ Indefinite: |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ma <br> 'not' | Intensifier Phr | Transitive v | bine <br> 'maybe/perhaps' <br>  |
|  | Adverb | Intransitive v <br> Elocution v Phr <br> Desired Action v Phr |  |

(160)

1. yo-ro
(DA 9)
get-ss
'get'
2. ma ye-ro
(Ka 58)
neg put-ss
'not put'
3) ma mete te-to-ni (SB 24)
neg well do-ds-s.e
'he did not do (it) well'
4) sodedo sodedo uriyo-to-yi
(SC 29)
quickly quickly bring-ds-pl.e
'they brought it very quickly'
5) biyomi ye-wa bine (SB 16)
bad make-ft.3s indef
'will it (be) bad perhaps'
6) sumoo e-te-\# bine
ask say-prt-3s indef
'is he asking perhaps'

### 6.15 Double-Headed Verb Phrases

The Double-Headed Verb Phrase consists of two obligatory Head tagmemes plus the same optional prehead and posthead tagmemes as the Modified Verb Phrase. Thus this Double-Headed Phrase occurs in the Head Slot of the Modified Verb Phrase. The

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Double-Ileaded Phrase has two sub-types: the Elocution Verb Phrase and the Desired Action Phrase.

Ihis Double-Ileaded l'hrase differs from the Repetitive Verb Phrase in that:

1) it only has the Double-lleaded ragmemes in the Head Slots-no more may occur;
2) the second Head Slot in the Elocution Verb Phrase is always filled by e'say/talk' and the I esired Action second Head Slot must always take the verb te- 'do/work/make'.

### 6.15.1 Eloculion Verb Phrase

The Elocution Verb Phrase consists of the first obligatory Head filled by elocution verbs such as: shout, call out, ask, cry out, erc. The second Head Slot may only occur with the verbe 'say/talk'. 'The Ilead 1 Slot has elocution verb stems as mentioned above. The verb stems do not take affixation in the Head I Slot.

The Elocution Verb Phrase differs from the Desired Action Verb Phrase in that:

1. the Head 1 and 2 slots have different fillers;
2. the Ifead 1 Slot takes no affixation.

Charle 24 Eldoution VErb PIIRASE:

| + \|lead 1: | + Head 2: |
| :---: | :---: |
| any elocution verb | $e$ - 'say' |
| meno <br> 'shout' <br> kira <br> 'pray/cry out/ <br> mande <br> 'talk' <br> sumoo <br> 'ask' |  |
| Nore: Head 2 takes the usual verb medial perb final affixes. |  |

1. Mete ge oorowu-ya Yunu men e. good you go-imp Yunu call. out say 'Please go and yell out for Yunu.'
2. Asa, adaga noore kira e-te-to. all.right now we call.out say-prt-1.pl
'All right, now we are going to pray.'
3. Ene ngundiro te-to-ni, Yeri ko gura sumo e-wo.
he same do-ds-s.e Jerry again other ask say-pt.3s
'When he did that, Jerry asked some more questions.'

### 6.15.2 Desired Action Verb Phrase

The Desired Action Verb Phrase consists of the Head 1 Slot filled by any verb with the desirative suffix -wero in place of tense, person suffixes plus Head 2 Slot filled by $t e$ 'do' plus the usual affixation for either medial/final verb position of the clause.

This Desired Action Phrase differs from the Elocution Verb Phrase in that:

1. the Head 1 Slot is filled by any verb taking the desirative -were suffix;
2. Head 2 is filled by only the verb $t e$ - 'do' plus the usual affixation.

CHART 25 DESIRED ACTION VERB

| + Head $1:$ | + Head $2:$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| any verb plus <br> desirative suffix <br> -cero | $t e$ 'do' $^{\prime}$ |

(162)

1. mure-wero te-too-we
(DA 96)
shoot-des do-ds-s. i
'I want to shoot -...-.-'
2. ne-wero te-wo-ro-wo
(BM. 005 p .588 )
eat-des do-pt-1d-rpt
'We (dual) wanted to eat'

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$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 3. "wero te-to-yi (BA.00)6 p. 588) } \\
& \text { go.down-des do-ds-pl.e } \\
& \text { "they want to go down--..-' }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 6.16 Idiomatic Verb Phrase

The Idiomatic Verb Phrase consists of an optional pre-head Manner Slot plus two obligatory tagmemes: the Auxiliary Slot and the Head Slot. The Auxiliary Mod. and the Head may be separated by the Manner Slot. Usually the Manner Slot does not occur at all but when it does the usual position is between the Auxiliary and the Head Slot. This litiomatic Verb Phrase occurs in the Predicate Slot of both medial and final verb clauses.

The Idiomatic Verb Phrase differs from the Modified Verb Phrase in that:

1) the Auxiliary and the verb Head compose a closely knit unit creating a new idiomatic meaning;
2) the fillers of the Auxiliary and the verb Head are a closed set with definite cooccurrence restrictions.

The following verbal units work together creating a new idiomatic meaning:
(163) Verb Stem te 'do'

Oni.oni le-te.
happy do-prt.3s
'He is happy.'
Ngundire te-te.
same do-prt. 3 s
'He did the same.'

## Ngundire te-yingo.

same do-compl
'That's how he did it.'
(16t) Verb Sitem kumoo 'dic'
Sayi kumoo-te.
sick die-prt. 3 s
'He is sick.'

No sayi urungya bivomi kumoo-te-no.//
1 sick big bad die-prt-1s
'I am very sick.'
Oodoro kumoo-te.
hunger die-prt.3s
'He is hungry.'
Sono-ro kumoo-te.
water-poss die-prt.3s
'He is thirsty.'
(165) Verb Stem ingo 'hear/understand'

Gome.metemi ingoo-te.
good think-prt.3s
'She loves/likes him.'
Metemi ingoo-te-to.
good hear-prt-1.pl
'We are happy.'
$\begin{array}{ll}\text { Ogingo urungga } & \text { ngoo-ro. } \\ \text { pain big } & \text { hear-ss }\end{array}$
'We felt very tired.'

### 6.17 Progressive Motion Verb Phrase

In the Progressive Motion Verb Phrase, the verb head is always filled by a motion verb meaning 'go' or 'come' and the progressive tagmeme is always filled by the word yade (showing current progression) which may occur up to four times to show that the person is currently progressing from a long, long way. 'This phrase may also have a long series of locational phrases or appositional phrases used as locationals. These Locational phrases occur between the Qualifier and the Verb Head Slots.

The Progressive Motion Verb differs from the Modified Verb Phrase in that:

1) the Progressive slot is always filled by yade,
2) the Verb Head is always filled by motion verb meaning 'go' or 'come';
3) much embedding by Locational and or Appositional Phrases used as locationals may occur within this phrase.

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CHAR'1 26: PROCiRISSIVE MOTION VERB PIIRASE

| + Progressive: | $\pm$ Qual: | $\pm$ Locative: | + Verb Head: |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| yade 'progressing' | komo 'truly' | Loc.Word/Phr. App.Phr | Go/Come verbs |
|  |  |  | ```u 'go.down' oore- 'go.up' oorowu- 'go.straight' ombu- 'come' maye 'arrive' toonge 'depart'``` |

(160)

1. Yade
u-ro.
(BR.012 p 627)
progressively go.down-ss
'He is progressively going down.'
2. Yade.yade komo aweu-no vore-ro ngu
(AO.006)
progressively truly farther.up.above-to go.up-ss that
'He is going way up above there'
Note: the komo 'truly/must' is a word that is spoken to tell people that what you are saying is a fact' and not just a figment of your imagination. Thus it is hard to translate it into English.
3. Yadeyadeyadeyade komo awu-no vore-ro ngu.
progressively truly farther.up.above-to go.up-ss that
'He is really progressing, going farther and farther up above.'

### 6.18 Summary Verb Phrase

The Summary verb phrase is composed of a summary word such as: ngundiro 'like that/same', ngundiro 'like this', or guradiro 'like others'; plus a medial verb.

## Chart 27: Summary VERb PHRaSE

| + comparative word | + medial verb form |
| :--- | :--- |
| ngundiro <br> 'like that' <br> ngandiro <br> 'like this' <br> guradiro <br> 'like others' | any medial |

(167)Ngundiro 'like that'

Ye-to-ni ngu, asa, mindu sangani-mo ye-ro yuwoo-yingo.// make-ds-3s.e when then bark on.top-of put-ss roll.out-compl

Ngundiro yuwoo-roo-to-ni,
like.that roll.out-cont-ds-3s.e
'When it was made, then he put it on top of the bark and rolled it out. Continuing to roll it out -..--..'

This is a discourse feature and occurs in the beginning of the sentence. It is a device for summarizing what has already happened in the discourse and then drawing it together and continuing the sequence progression.

This is part of the Karo Rawa deictic system and acts as an anaphoric reference back to the participant in the final verb action of the previous sentence.

The medial verb in this summary verb phrase, may either be an echo of the final verb in the previous sentence (Tail-Head Verb Linkage) or the medial verb te 'do' may be used as a generic reference to the action of the final verb in the previous sentence.
(168) Text NR87.1; Clauses 65-68: te 'do' generic medial verb:

Ya usowoo-ro u-ro,/ ya neacende-mo oo-ku house break-ss go.down-ss house inside-of spec-prm
'They broke into the house, went inside, (and)

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> Final Verb of Sentence
> kondibo yomburimbari-yo-yingo.//
> all destroy-get-compl
> destroyed everything.

Comparative + Generic Verb te
Ngundiro te-wo-nggo-ku ngu, ariya, ndadiro te-wa-nggo? Same do-pt-3.pl-rel when then what do-ft-3.pl When that kind of thing had been done, what should you (plural) do?'
(169) 'Text NR87.1; Clauses 75-77: Guradiro 'other kinds' with the Generic verb le 'do':

E-ro, ngu doboo-ge newende ye-yi sanggiri say-ss that friend-your inside put-3s angry 'You talk and make your friend cross with you,
te-ro,/ duboo-ge ngu-ya newende ye-yi
do-ss friend-your 3 s -acc inside put-3s and then you make your friend feel badly also.

Final Verb Summary + Generic Verb
ooro-yinso.// Ge guradiro te-ro,/ ge-.-
go-compl you other.kinds do-ss 2s--
As you do these kinds of things, you --..-'
Note: In these examples, the $t e$ 'do' generic verb is echoing the final verb action of the previous sentence.

## 7. CLAUSES

Clauses have constituents in approximately the following order:
(Time/Location)(Subject Noun Phrase)(Object Noun Phrase) Verb Phrase.
A time (T) or location (Loc) constituent may also occur after the Subject Noun Phrase and a locative may also occur after the Object Noun Phrase.
(170) Text RA20: Locative Sentence Initial and also After the Object Position of the Clause:

Loc
Subj
Ngu newende-mo ngu pawusi oo kendiro oo it inside-of that pouch something same something

Obj Loc Predicate ye-weroyi musiyo ngu-no te-yingo.// put-nom space 3 s -in make-compl
'On the inside just like a pouch is made they made the space in the cupboard.'
(171) Text KS32: Locative After the Subject Position:
Subj Loc Loc $\quad$ mango-wo-woore
Sidu omu-yi-woore ombu-wero.//
blood nose-3s.poss-on.top.of mouth-3s.poss-on.top.of come-des
'Blood came from his nose and his mouth.'
(172) Text SD15: Time Phrase Sentence Initial:

Time Phr
Obj
Ngundiro suwootetoni mbako
Predicate
gasiyo-yingo.// same afternoon sweet.potato peel-comp 'That same afternoon they peeled the sweet potatoes.'
(173) 'Text 85.1; Clauses 1-4: 'Time Word After the Subject Position:

| S $\quad$ Time Wd |  | obj | V | V | Obj | V |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| No kuri-mi | bodaga-no ko | te-wero | e-rol | si | yo-rol |  |
| l before-inten small-at | work | do-des | say-ss | string.bag get-ss |  |  |

Obj V loc lhr $V$ final
duge yo-rol kopi ko-no u-wo-no-wo.//
knife get-ss coffec garden-to go.down-pt-1s-rpt
'A long time before, when I was little, I decided that I wanted to work so I got my string bag and my knife and went down to the garden.'

The Predicate is the only obligatory item in a clause. Whether or not an object noun phrase occurs, depends on the transitivity of the verb.

> Predicate
> $u$-ro
> go.down-ss
> 'went down and'
(175)

## Ombu

## come

'Come here'
There are also stative or equational clauses in which the Predicate consists of a negative, adjective, or noun phrase.

Thus this is a topic for further research as to the possible status of negatives and adjectives as verbals in the Karo Rawa language.
(176) Conversational Example:

Subj Nes
Ari ma!
noise don't
'Shut up!'
(im) Text SB8:
Topic Comment
Digi ngu-ya kini./l
stone 3 s -also no
'The money too (is) gone.'
(178) Text SB23:

Topic Comment
Ngu 00 amana kowuri biyomi./l
that somerhing new heavy very
'(The) first time (it is) very hard.'

## (179) Text SC1:

Time Topic Comment
Adaga nga dagoma sewendi po-no.
now this year 70 4-in
'Now here (it is) the year of 1974 .'

### 7.1 Dependent Clauses

There are several types of dependent clauses. The most commonly used dependent clauses occur sentence initial in medial verb clauses. However, any medial verbs with the appropriate markers constitute a dependent clause. Relative clauses are another rype of dependent clause which occur in after nouns or noun phrases, and also may occur before the noun head in noun phrases.

### 7.1.1 Sentence Initial Dependent Clauses

Dependent clauses sentence initial, occur with the usual medial verb affixes and if the meaning of the clause is 'when/if' then the conjunction ngu occurs in the final slot of this clause. The meaning of the conjunction ngu depends on the context of the discourse. It could be conditional action ('if')('when') depending on the context. In clauses denoting simultaneous action ('as'); they do not use the conjunction ngu but instead are joined together by the usual medial verb markers as in the example below.
(180) Elicited: Dependent Clause Sentence Initial-Simultaneous Action:

> Bo toonge-ro oorowu-to-ni, oni-ndo ure-yingo.ll pig walk-ss go-ds-s.e, man-ag kill-compl
> 'As the pig ran out, the man killed him.'

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(181) Elicited: Dependent (lause Sentence Initial (no ngu 'conjunction)Simultancous Action:

Vo ine-ngo ya-no ombu-too-we, oo ne-wo-nggo.//
1 . 3 s-poss house-to come-ds-1s.i spec ate-pt-3.pl
'As I came to their house, they were eating.'
(182) Wilicited: Dependent (lause Sentence Initial (no ngu) 'conjunction')Simultancous Action:

No rayisi kawoo-too-we, Don-ndo ko te-yingo.//
I rice cook-ds-1s.i Don-ag work do-compl
'As I was cooking rice, Don was working.'
Note: In simultaneous action in a medial dependent clause, there is no ngu 'conjunction'.

In both the conditional action and in the contiguous action dependent clauses, the $n g u$ 'conjunction' is present as in the following examples:
(183) Dependent (lause Sentence Initial-Conditional Action:

Sono-no ombu-to-ni ngu, no ma ombu-qua-no.//
rain-to come-ds-s.e if I not come-ft-1s
'If the rain comes, I will not come.'
(184) Dependent Clause Sentence Initial-Contiguous Action:

Dasi nga ombu-to-ni ngu, no-ndo oo ka-too-vee ne-wa-to.// name here come-ds-s.e when 1 s -ag spec cook-ds-s.i eat-ft-1.pl 'When Dasi comes, I will cook something and we will eat.'

### 7.1.2 Relative Dependent Clauses

Clauses may be used to give an additional specifying comment to a noun phrase (Relative Clauses). Relative clauses occur in the post position after nouns or noun phrases in the subject, object or indirect object slot of the sentence; and, they also occur in the noun phrase before the noun head. They differ completely from the medial verb dependent clauses in that they do not occur with the medial verb affixes. Instead, they take the usual final verb affixation (either the completive aspect -yingo, or the tense and person number affixes) with cither the $-k u \sim-m u$ relative clause markers. Relative clauses, when occurring within another dependent clause, the ngu 'conjunction' is used as well.

Further research will be needed to show the difference between when the relative clause marker $-k u$ verses the $-m u$ is to be used.

In order to show examples of the two relative clause markers $-k u \sim-m u$, we will show examples of these in the following order:
$-k u$ 'relative clause marker' after the:
-yingo 'completive aspect'
-tense and person number
$-m u$ 'relative clause marker' after the:
-yingo 'completive aspect'
-tense and person number
-\# 'absence of the relative clause marker' with:
-yingo 'completive aspect' after the noun head in a phrase -yingo 'completive aspect' occurring before the noun head in a phrase

Relative Marker $-k u$ :
(185) Text 85.5; Clauses 145-149: Completive Aspect Marker with Relative marker $-k u:$

Oore-rol ya-no ye-ro yoko-rol awa-ndo ooro-ro namo go.up-ss house-to put-ss finish-ss papa-ag go-ss mother
ye-yingo-ku rorowoo-ro mere se-yingo.//
put-compl-rel by.side.of-poss hole dug-compl
'He went up to the house (left his cargo) and went to the grave where he had buried mother and dug another grave beside hers.'
(186) Text Y2; line 1: Tense and Person Number Affixes with the Relative Affix $-k u:$

Ne oru-wo-nggo-ku, mera-ngga ngu oowooyi Guyusu.// they live-pt-3.pl-imb ground-def.s that name Guyusu 'The place where they lived, that ground is named Guyusu.'
'T'wo Relative Clauses; one with $-m u$ and one with $-k u$ :
(187) Text NNK87.1; Clauses 13-18: Tense and Person Number Affixes with the Relative Affix -mu (cl 16) and -ku (cl 14):

13
Ngundiro e-ro ooro-ro,/ kare kembe-ga kenoro-wa-ku,/ same do-ss go-ss marsupial landslide-def.s see-ft-rel
ko mure-veroyi idi kini, kingo soru nangge yo-ro,/ and shoot-nom bow not nothing light only get-ss

16
oorowu-wo-ro-mu ngu-ro Megeku-ndo soru ka-ro,/
go-pt-3s.rpt-rel that-poss name-ag light cook-ss
17 18
no-nu-no-ro,/ e-yingo.//
1s-give-1s-ss say-compl
'He did that, went and when he saw a marsupial by the landslide, he didn't have a bow to shoot him with only an unlighted torch so because of that he went and said to Megeku, "Light the torch and give it to me.""
(188) Text 85.16; Clauses 92-96; Completive Aspect -yingo with Relative Clause Marker -mu (cl 95) and -ku (cl 93):

92
93
94
Ene ombu-ro,/ oo yo-ro maye-yingo-ku,/ ngu yo-ro,/
3 pl come-ss something got-ss arrive-compl-rel that got-ss
95
96
yaba $00 \quad y e$-weroyi te-yingo-mu,/ ngu-no ye-yingo.// bed something put-nom do-compl-rel there-to put-compl
'They came and got all that they had arrived with and put it on the shelf that holds things.'

Relative marker -mu:
(189) Text Mark 1:32: Completive Aspect -yingo with Relative Clause Marker -mu:
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { Oni.simoo.bare mbooro biyomi-mbo yo-yo-yingo-mu ngu-ya } \\ \text { people } & \text { spirit bad-inst } & \text { them-get-compl-rel that-incl }\end{array}$
yo-yo-ro maye-wo-nggo-ri.//
them-get-ss arrive-pt-3.pl-rpt
'The people who had evil spirits they got them also and brought them.'
(190) Text NNK87.4; Clauses 96-97: Tense and Person Number Affixes with the Relative Affix -mu:

96
Ariya, bare ngu Gomumu-nonggo yo-wo-no-mu ngu-ro uri all.right woman that Gomumu-from get-pt-1s-rel that-poss pay ngu kunamo onibi-ga ko bo-yi ngu kande-gura gidemboro era-ya.// that shell.beads 20 -one and pig-3s that 5 -one plus 2 -incl.//
All right, the wife that I got from Gomumu, I paid 20 shell beads and 7 pigs for her.'
(191) Text NNK 87.1; Clauses 7-8: Tense and Person Number Affixes with the Relative Affix -mu:

7
Ansa, no bodaga-no ko re-wo-no-mu,/ ngu-ro mande all.right is little-to work do-pt-1s-rel that-poss talk
muri-ne-ngga-ku e-wero.//
custom-1s.poss-def.s-prom say-des
'Okay, the work that I did when I was little, that fashion I want to talk about.'
Relative clauses do not usually occur without the relative clause markers $-k u$ or $-m u$ as the final affix on the medial verb. However, some relative clauses when occurring with the completive aspect -yingo, do not take the relative clause marker $-k u \cdots-m u$. This differs from the other dependent clauses occurring sentence medial, because the completive form does not occur on them,-only in relative clauses.

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(192) Text NNK87.4; Clauses 24-25: Completive Aspect -yingo with No Relative Clause Marker: occurring after the noun phrase:

E-rol no-ndo ya goodoo-yingo burukoku dowoo-ro,/ ya goosoo-yingo.// say-ss 1 s -ag house close-compl barricade hold-ss house open-compl 'I said that, held the barricade that had shut the house and opened the house.'
(193) Texı Luke 1:7: Completive Aspect -yingo with No Relative Clause Marker: occuring after the noun phrase:

Irisabeti, ngu ninggoo te-yingo ngu-ro erambarisa eraya-ga
Elizabeth she barren do-compl 3 s -poss 2 .married 2 -def.s
ngu, ene simoonambo-yari kini.//
that $3 p$ children-3p.poss no
'Elizabeth, who was barren, when the two folks were married, they did not have any children.'

Relative clauses occurring within other dependent clauses which use the conjunction ngu:
(194) Text Luke 1:4: Completive Aspect -yingo with no Relative Clause Marker, but with the Dependent Clause conjunction ngu:

Naru piru-ngga-no no nga mande oo nga-ro sumoo sumoo time long-def.s-for 1 s this talk something this-poss ask ask ouwooyingga te-ro muri bidodo ingor-ro yo-ro; asa, no mande many do-ss custom all hear-ss got-ss all.right is talk nenengo oorengo kuri tunoo-te-yingo ngu, adaga nakangoo-te-no.// straighe very before come.up-do-compl that now write-prt-1s
'For a long time I have been asking and asking a lot about this talk and now I understand all these customs; all right, this completely true talk that came up before, I now write (about that).'
(195) Text NR87.1; Clauses 123-127: Tense and Person Number Affixes with the Relative Affix -ku Occurring with the Dependent Clause conjunction ngu:
(k komo nowoondo-ge amoo yowoorengo-ni, oni ge doonge-ngge-mo dika-ro,/ 2 s must stomach-2s truly turn-3s man 2 s eye-2s-before stand-ss
> ngu-nonggo Anut-ro mande e-te-ku that-from God-poss talk say-prt.3s-rel

## ngu,/ ene ingo-ya,/ ngu amoo oorengo ingo!// <br> when 3 s hear-imp that truly very hear

'You must truly become converted and when a man stands before your eyes and says the things that God has said, you hear him and truly listen to him!'

The affix -yingo 'completive aspect' may also occur before the noun head in a noun phrase. When this occurs, then the relative clause does not use the $-m u$ / -ku 'relative clause marker'. This is a device that is often used for the Karo Rawas to describe a term that is either foreign to their language and needs further explanation or as a device to fully explain away any possible ambiguity there might be between participants in a discourse. This is also used much more readily in a cranslated text that is unfamiliar to the listeners. When a relative clause occurs before the noun head in a noun phrase, the completive tense is used with no relative clause affixation.
(196) ' Cext Mark 2:6: Completive Aspect -yingo with No Relative Clause Marker occurring Before the Noun Head:

Anutu-ro mamana mande-ro etu-yero-yingo oni, ene bibite-ro God-poss law talk-poss instruct-them-compl man 3 s sat-ss oru-wo-nggo-ku, nowoondo-ye-mo ingondudu te-ro ingo-wo-nggo-ri.// remain-pt-3pl-rel stomach-their-in understand do-ss know-pt-3pl-rpt
'The men that teach them about God's laws, they that remained sitting there, were thinking these thoughts in their stomachs.'

### 7.2 Medial Verbs and linal Verbs in Clauses

Most clauses have the possibility of having not only a final verb but one or more medial verbs as well.
(197) Text 85.1; Clauses 11-15:
dep clause
U-ro,/ de doogo-ni-ngga-ku ka-ro yoko-ro,l ooro-ro,l go.down-ss wood old-3s-def.s-prom cook-ss finish-ss go-ss

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```
            dep clause dep clause indep clause
kewa de-yi imbo-ro,/ ombu-ro,/ ka-wo-no-wo./
kewa tree-3s chop-ss come-ss cook-pt-1s-rpt
```

'I went down, finished making a fire with dry wood, went, chopped some Kewa firewood, came and cooked it.'

Note: 1.) There are no intonation breaks between these medial serial verbs.
2.) The medial serial verbs take -ro as a suffix. However, in the above example the medial serial verb
ka-ro yoko-ro
cook-ss finish-ss
'completely cooked and--'
these two medial verbs function together as a semantic complex to describe the aspects of a particular action (See Section 5.0 Word Complexes Section: Sub Section 5.4 Verb Complexes: for further information on these types of medial verb semantic units.)
3.) In the last example on the last syllable of the final verb, there is a falling intonation (-1).

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Ka-wo-no-wo.// } \\
& \text { cook-pt-1s-rpt } \\
& \text { 'I cooked.' }
\end{aligned}
$$

## 8. SENTENCE LEVEL

Though in many cases sentences consist of only one independent clause, sentences may also include one or more dependent clauses.
(198) One Independent Clause Only:

U-te.//
go.down-prt.3s
'He is going down.'
(199) Text 85.1; Clause 66-67: One Independent Clause Only:

No-ro mande ngu nangge.//
1s-poss talk 33 only
'That's all of my talk.'
(200) Text 85.2; Clauses 73-76: 3 Dependent Clauses in Sentence:

Dep Cl
Sengetoni ootooge-to-ni,/ de ka-ro,/ mbako ka-ro ne-ro;l
dawn get.up-ds-s.e fire cook-ss sweet.potato cook-ss eat-ss

'When the dawn came up, we made a fire, cooked and ate some sweet potatoes;
then we searched for pandanus nuts and travelled around.'
(201) Text 85.2; Clauses 131-143: 10 Dependent Clauses in Sentence:


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Conj Dep Cl
ku-ro ne-ro mgu/ asa, kure-ngga-ku use-yi cook-ss eat-ss when then marsupial-def.s-prom stomach-3s.poss

Dep Cl
toongo-ro yo-ro,/kare-ngga-ku u-yi ka-ro,/ yomosiyo-ro cut-ss got-ss marsupial-def.s-prom fur-3s cook-ss straighten-ss

We cane to the house, opened the door, went down into the house, put down our cargo, made a fire, and when we had cooked and eaten some sweet potatoes, then we gutied the stomach of the marsupial, burned its fur, and completely straightened it up, put the meat of the marsupial in the string bag, and then we slept.'

The set of verb suffixes on a final verb as shown below, mark the end of a sentence in a discourse.

| tense: | $-t e$ | present |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | $-w a$ | future |
|  | $-\boldsymbol{w} 0$ | past tense |

plus person number:

| $-n 0$ | 1 s |
| :--- | :--- |
| $-\#$ | 2 s |
| $-\#$ | 3 s |
| $-r 0$ | 1 d |
| -10 | 1 pl |
| $-r i$ | 2 d and 3 d |
| $-n g g_{0}$ | 2 pl and 3 pl |

If the remote past tense is used, then this affix occurs after the other person number plus these remote past affix markers:

| $-w 0$ | 1 s and 1 d and 1 pl |
| :--- | :--- |
| $-\#$ | 2 s |
| $-r o w o$ | 3 s |
| ri-riyo | $\cdots$ riyowo |
| -riyumo | 2 d and 3 d |

If tense and person number are not used on the final verb, then completive aspect -yingo ~-wingo; or desirative aspect -wero is used. After the usual affixes on the final verb, a climax marker $-k u$ may occur in the suffix final position. This is used at the emotional high point of a discourse and is followed by an optional demonstrative pronoun ngu -nga 'that/this' and an obligatory strong emotional intonation as shown by an exclamation mark. The only other free form that may occur in the post final verb position is the word bine 'perhaps'.
(202) Text 85.3; Clauses 85-86: Verb Final Tense, person number, and Climax Marker -ku:

Ngu-ro ngu, noore komo oore-ro,/ sa-woo-to-ku!
that-poss 3 s 1 pl must go.up-ss walk-pt-1pl-cli
'It was because of that, that we had to go up (to the house of the headmaster) and we ran up there!'
(203) Text 85.1; Clauses 1-3: Remote Past Tense:

No kuri-mi bodaga-no ko te-wero e-rol si yo-rol
1s before-inten small-to work do-des say-ss string.bag get-ss
duge yo-ro,/ kopi ko-no u-wo-no-wo.//
knife get-ss coffee garden-to go.down-pt-1s-rpt
'A long time ago when I was small, I thought about doing some work, and I got my string bag and knife and went down to the coffee garden.'
(204) Text RW86.1; Clause 18: Verb Final with Tense, Person Number and the Free Form bine 'perhaps':

Nga-no ko ombu-wa, bine?//
here-to again come-ft." perhaps
'Will you come back here again perhaps?'
(205) Text 85.4; Clauses 33-35: Verb Final Completive Aspect:

Nasiyoo-too-we kokingo ye-to-ni ngu,/ no-ndo yo-ro,/ warm.up-ds-1s.i hot put-ds-s.e when $1 \mathrm{~s}-\mathrm{ag}$ get-ss
nombo dabe-mi-mo ye-yingo.//
ashes side-3s-of put-compl
'I warmed up (the pork) and when it became hot, I got it, and put it by the side of the fireplace.'

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(206) Desirative Aspect:

No mande ge-no e-wero.//
Is talk 2 s -with say-des
'I desire/want to talk with you.'
Sentences may be declarative, imperative, or interrogative.

### 8.1 Declarative Sentences

Declarative sentences are marked by a falling intonation on the last syllable of the sentence.
(207) Declarative Sentence:

Adaga no-ndo opis-no ko te-te-no./l
Today 1 s -ag office-in work do-prt-1s
'Today I am working in the office.'
There are various types of declarative sentences: reciprocal, reflexive, comparison, reason-result, conditional, factual, contrafactual, manner, response, purpose, place, time, instrument, and simultaneous. Although we have listed these sentences as different types of sentences, they are merely a purely semantic division not a grammatical division. They are given to show how these things are expressed in the Karo Rawa language.
(208) Reciprocal: (Elicited)

In the following reciprocal type sentence the word nangge 'only', with the word ebe 'together' gives the reciprocal semantics.

> Ene-ngo nangge ebe uroo-te-ri.//
> 3d-poss only together hit-prt-3d
> 'Those two are fighting each other.'
(209) Reflexive: (Elicited)

Nenengo n-uroo-te-no.//
1/2.poss 1 s.obj-hit-prt-1s
'I hit myself.'
(210) Text Mark 1:7: Comparison:

When comparisons are made, usually the word daga-neroo-te 'win over me' is used, or daga-te 'he wins'. This is a very useful term and makes comparisons very easy to use. In the following scripture text, there is the use of the term daga-neroo-te 'win over me' plus several sentences first explaining how the power of Jesus surpasses the power of John the Baptist.

| Ene mande ngandiro e-ro e-yingo.// Kootuyisina, oni gura no |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2s talk same say-ss say-compl lacer | man a | is |

ke-nero-ro ombu-wa. Ene ngu oni-ngga ngu yanggango-ni leg-me-ss come-ft.3s however that man-def.s that power-3s.poss
urungga oorengo.// No-ro yanggango-ne ngu ye ingoo-te-nggo.// big very 1 s-poss power-my that 2 pl know-prt-2pl

Ene ngu, ngu oni-ngga ngu-ro yanggango-ni ngu no
however that that man-def.s that-poss power-3s.poss that $1 s$
daga-neroo-te.// No enengo kirikiri oni nangge.//
win-me-prt.3s is his servant man only
'He (John) said this same talk. Later on a man will come after me. However, that man has much much power. You all know about my power. However, that man his power surpasses mine. I am only his servant.'

Another way to show comparison is with use of an intensifier after the form that is greater than the previous one.
(211) Comparisons: (Elicited)

Nga urungga, ene ngu-ngga, ngu urungga oorengo.//
this big however that-def.s 3s big very
'This is big, however that it is truly big.'
In the preceding example, the intensifier oorengo 'very' was used after the second word urungga 'big' and thus this states that it exceeds the first one by comparison.

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(212) Reason-Result: (Elicited)

N'o wodoro kumoo-ro ngutro oo ne-te-no.//
is hungry die-ss that-poss something eat-prt-1s
'I was dying of hunger so I ate something.'/ 'Because I was dying of hunger, I ate something.'

Note: there are no morphological forms to indicate reason and/or result. This comes from content and juxtaposition of clauses.
(213) Conditional: (Elicited)

Sono-no ombu-10-ni ngu, no ma ombu-wa-no.// rain-to crome-ds-s.e if is not come-ft-1s
'If the rain comes, I will not come.'
(214) Factual: (Elicited)

No ane yavoo-100-we, elve ure-wo-nggo.//
Is them sce-ds-s.i together fight-pt-3pl 'I saw them, they were fighting.'
(215) Contrafactual: (Elicited)

Ko uri-yi ma nu-no-yingo ngu-ro no ko ma te-wa-no.// Work pay-3s not 1 s -give-compl that-poss 1 s work not do-ft-1s 'If they don't give me my work pay, I will not work.'
(216) Manner: (Elicited)

Dasi-ndo entngo kopi doongo-wo-ku, ngundiro no ngu-ya kopi Dasi-ag his coffee cut-pt-rel same is that-incl coffee doonge-te-no.// cut-prt-1s
'I prune my coffee trees the same way that Dasi pruned his coffee trees.'
(217) Response to a Question:
(e rayisi Suga-no uriyo-wo? Yo.// (or) Yo, yo-wo-no.//
2s rice Sugar-at buy-pt.3s yes yes get-pt-1s
'Did you buy the rice at the Ramu Sugar?' 'Yes.' (or) 'Yes, I got it.'

Note: One or two word replies to a question are an acceptable response.
When a child is seen to be doing some unacceptable behavior, the mother's response will usually be:

> Ma! (or) Ngu ma!
> Don't That don't
> 'Don't!' (or) 'Don't do that!'
(218) Purpose: (Elicited)

No oowari uriyo-wero ombu-te-no.//
1s food buy-des come-prt-1s
'I came to buy food.' (or) 'I came because I wanted to buy food.'
(219) Place: (Elicited)

No Dasi-ndo bibite-ro oru-qvo-ku-no, ngu-no bibite-reo-no.//
is Dasi-ag sat-ss remain-pt-rel-at there-at sat-pt-1s
'I sat where Dasi was sitting before.'
(220) Time: (Elicited)

No Dasi kuri oru-wo-ku-no, ombu-wo-no.//
1s Dasi before be-pt.3s-rel-at come-pt-1s
'I came to the place that Dasi formerly had been.'
(221) Instrument: (Elicited)

Dasi-ndo saporo nu-no-yingo, ngu-ndo de damoni doonge-te-no.//
Dasi-ag axe 1 s -give-compl 3 s -ag tree base cut-prt-1s
'I cut the base of the tree with the axe that Dasi gave me.'
(222) Simultaneous: (Elicited)

Bo toonge-ro oorowu-to-ni, oni-ndo ure-yingo.//
pig walk-ss go-ds-s.e man-ag kill-compl
'As the pig ran out, the man killed him.'

### 8.2 Imperatives

Imperative sentences are always addressed to a hearer and give a command. A command is always accompanied by a strong, rising intonation on the primary stress of the final verb.

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(223) Command (singular):

Uto!//
hit
'Hit it!'
(224) Command (singular):

No-nu-no!//
1 s -give-to
(you singular) 'Give it to me!'
(225) Command (plural):

Mbako yo-ya ombu-yi!//
sw.potato get-imp come-2pl
(You plural) '(iet the sweet potatoes and come!'
Note: The imperative affix -ya occurs on medial verbs. On the final verb, when a command is given to just one person, only the verb stem occurs with no affixation. For commands given to several people, the plural person marker is used. Tense does not occur with the command form.

The polite imperative form includes the word mete 'good/please' which occurs sentence initial.
(226) Polite Command Form:

> Mete ge ya-no so gasiyo.//
> good 2s house-in weeds scrape
'It would be good if you would sweep in the house.' or 'Please sweep the house.'

### 8.3 Interrogatives

Interrogative sentences ask for information, for a yes-no type answer, or may be rhetorical. Interrogative words occur after the item being questioned in the clause; or, they may take the place of the noun in the subject position of the clause.

On all interrogative sentences, there is a rising intonation on the last syllable of the final word in the sentence.
(227) Information Question:

Nga dowi nga digi ndadiro?// Ce-ngo-mbo.// this pumpkin here stone how.much 2 s -poss-instr
'How much is this pumpkin here? It's up to you (you state the price).'
(228) Yes/No Response Question:

Desiyo ningguri, bine?//
tapioca sweet
perhaps (or) Desiyo ingguri?// Yo.// 'Is the tapioca sweet perhaps?' (or ) 'Is the tapioca sweet?' 'Yes.'

Yes/no Response questions have the same word order as declarative sentences except that the last syllable of the last word in the sentence has a rising intonation.
'The word bine 'perhaps' may occur after the final verb, after medial verbs, after nouns, adjectives or time words thus changing a declarative sentence to an interrogative. As in other interrogative sentences, the last syllable of the adverbial word bine 'perhaps', occurs with a rising intonation.
(229) Bine 'Perhaps' Sentence Medial \& Sentence Final:

Awu andu-no ngu ndawuga?!/ Ya bine mgundi de, bine?/l up.above(far) far.over-to that what house perhaps or uree perhaps 'Far up there and over more to the side, what is that?Is it a house perhaps or is it perhaps a tree?'
(230) Text RW86.1; Clauses 18-19: Bine ‘Perhaps’ Sentence Medial \& Sentence Final:

Nga-no ko ombu-wa, bine?// Mera gura-no bine toonge-wa? here-to again come-ft.2.s perhaps ground another-to perhaps travel-ft.2s 'Will you return here perhaps? Or will you travel to another area perhaps (to work)?'

Rhetorical Questions are used to provoke an audience to think about the values that the speaker is presenting. He is asking a question that is to be answered as a negative response in the listeners' mind. These rhetorical questions have the same form as the yes/no questions and the questions for information.

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## (231) 'I'ext NR87.1; Clause 139: Rhetorical Question:

Yisas bine, ngu muri biyomi ngu wemoo-ro yoko-wa?// Jesus perhaps these fashion bad that snuff.out-ss finish-ft.3s 'Is Jesus perhaps able to snuff out and finish these bad ways (of yours)?'
(232) T'ext NR87.1; Clause 82-85: Rhetorical Question:

Ngu-ro ngu, no kowuri koorowoo-ro ombu-ro ombu-ro,/ adaga that-poss that is burdens carry-ss come-ss come-ss now ene tabango oni gura one-ndo ene kowuri koorowoo-ro,/ mande however head man a who-ag 3 s burdens carry-ss talk
ngundiro-mu wiriko-ro,/ ene-ngo newende-monggo ingoo-te?// same-poss judge-ss 3 s-poss stomach-from hear-prt.3s
'About that, I have carried and carried your burdens, and now however who is the headman that will carry your burdens and make the same kind of judgements that come from the thoughts of his stomach?'

The question words used in Karo/Rawa are the following:
ndawuga
ndawu naru-ngga-no
what time-def.s-at
ndawugaro
one-ndo
who-ag
one-ro-mu
who-poss-poss
ndadiro
'what'
'what time/ when'
'why'
'who'
'whose/ it belongs to whom'
'how or how much/many'

Here are examples of their usage:
(233) Ndawuga 'what':

Nga ndawuga?!/
This what
'What is this?'
(234) Ndanarunggano 'when':

Ndawu-naru-ngga-no ko ombu-wa?//
what-time-def.s-at again come-ft.3s
'When will you come back again?'
(235) Ndawugare ' why':

Yari ndawugaro ngundiro te-yingo?//
2 d why same do-compl
'Why did you both do it that way?'
(236) Onendo 'Who':
(See example -- NR87.1: Clauses 82-84; under Rhetorical Questions)
(237) Ooneromu 'whose':

Nga oone-ro-mu?//
this who-poss-poss
'Whose is this?'
(238) Ndadiro 'how much':

Digi ndadiro?//
stone how.many
'How much money is this?'

### 8.4 Compound Sentences

Due to the structure of the medial verb system, compound sentences consist of dependent clauses using the usual medial verb affixation and a dependent clause on the final verb of the sentence. However, two or more independent clauses may occur when a direct quote is contained within a sentence. The final verb affixes occur both on the final verb of the direct quote and on the final verb of the sentence as well.
(239) 85.12; Clauses 58-61: Quotation Within a Sentence-2 Independent Clauses:

Dependent Cl
No ngu-ya ye-ndo nga-nonggo meno sambi te-roo-to-yi ngo-ro,/ 1s that-incl 2 pl -ag here-from cry.out loud do-cont-ds-pl.e hear-ss

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Independent Cl
1)ep Cl
ino Sonomburu mera-no awu-nonggo ingo-ro,/ ombu-le-no-ku nga,/
Is name ground up.far-from hear-ss come-prt-1s-cli here
Independent Cl
e-ro e-quo-ro.//
say-ss say-pt. 3 s -rpt
". I too heard you all from here loudly cry out and I heard you from all the way up
at Sonomburu ground and so I came here!" he said.'

Other than the above type of sentence, most sentences consist of lengthy dependent wanses using the various medial clanse markers and then just one independent clause sentence final. For an example of this normal sentence pattern, see Sentence Level example 200); 'lext 85.2; Clauses 131-143.

### 8.4.1 Iinking Clauses in Sentences

Clauses are linked together by: serial medial verbs -ro 'same subject' (See section 4.8.3.1); medial verb different subject (speaker included in the previous action) $-100--e$, or medial verb different subject (speaker excluded from the previous clause action) $-10--i$ (See section 4.8.3.2); inner clausal conjunctions; and or sentence initial connectors (See section 4.9.4.1 and .2).

Serial verbs consist of a series of medial verb actions with a pause between each action.
(2H0) T'ext Primer Page 137: Serial Medial Verbs -ro:

| Toonge-ro, namba bowera ye-ro oodo-ni/ no sono |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| walk-ss cassowary trap make-ss remain-ds.s.e | ls water |

'He travelled (and) remained making a cassowary trap (and) I watched by the river (and) killed( and) heaped birds.'

Note: 'There are several medial verbs which are a complex of two verbs which function together as a particular verb action. In the preceding example, ye-ro oodo-ni 'he remained making it' these two verbs actually specify the action and an aspect of the same action.

Dependent medial verb clauses with different subject (speaker included -too ---e and speaker excluded $-t 0 \cdots$--i from the previous clause action) are also ways clauses are joined together.
(241) Text 85.16; Clauses 127-131; and Clauses 143-146: Dependent Medial Verb Clause Showing Different Subject with Speaker Being Included or Excluded from the Previous Clause Action:

127 Dependent Clause
Suwo-nonggo Dewuyi, Katero, garo-do nga-no oore-rol night-from Dewuyi Katero 3pl-ag here-to go.up-ss

128 Dependent Clause 129 Dependent Clause
yo-mure-wero te-to-yi, ngu-ro no ombu-rol
pl.obj-shoot-des do-ds-pl.e that-poss 1 s come-ss
130 Dependent Clause
131 Independent Clause noore-ngo ya kenoo-too-we,/ ya goodoo-yingo te-yingo.// 1 pl -poss house see-ds-s.i house close-compl do-compl
'In the morning Dewuyi and Katero, they came up here desiring to give shots, and because of that, I came and saw our house and it was closed up.'

### 8.4.2 Conjunctions and Connectors

Conjunctions within clauses also connect clauses into sentences. Inner clausal conjunctions are used in sentences but not to a great extent in the Karo/Rawa language. (See section 4.9.4.1)

The inter clausal conjunctions are:

| ngundi | 'or' |
| :--- | :--- |
| ko | 'and' |
| asal arisalariya | 'then' |
| ngu | 'when/but/if' |

Yangeni suwononggo ngundi suwootetoni bine, no ombu-w-no.// tomorrow morning or afternoon perhaps is come-ft-1s 'Tomorrow morning or perhaps in the afternoon I will come.'

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(242) Sentence Initial Connective Words:
Ngu-no
'In that'
that/there-in/to/at
Ng'l-110
'In this/ here'
this/here-in/to/at/here
Ngu-ro
that-poss
Ngu-monggo
'From that'
that-from
Ngundiro-mu
'About that'
Same-poss
Ene
'However/but'
Asa/ Arisa/ Ariya
'All right/ then/however/ but/ therefore'
(243) Sentence Initial Conjunction Phrases:
Ngu-no ngu $\quad$ 'In that'
that-in it,

Ngundiro ngu-ro
Same that-poss
Ngu-nonggo ugu
That-from it
Ngu-ro ngu 'Because of that'
that-poss that
Ngundiro nangge
same only
Sentence initial connectives are widely used and serve to connect the sentences together in sequential progression on the discourse level.

Most of conjunctions used on the sentence level, occur sentence initial. These connectives usually refer back to previously mentioned events as in the following examples:
(244) Text 85.7; Clause 1-2: Conjunction ngu-no 'in that':

Mera gura oowoo-yi ngu Bigere.// Ngu-no ya ye-ro oru-wo-nggo.// ground a name-3s.poss 3s Bigere there-to house make-ss remain-pt-3.pl 'The name of that ground is Bigere. It was there that they made a house and lived.'
(245) Text 85.4; Clause 75: Conjunction nga-no 'to this/here'

Nga-no maye-to-ni ngu,/
here-to come-ds-s.e when
'When he came here,'
(246) Text NNK87.5; Clause 25: Conjunction ngu-ro 'about that':

Ngu-ro ge-ngo-mbo ombu-ro,/ that-poss 2 s -poss-ag come-ss
'About that you yourself come,---'
(247) Text 85.16; Clause 71: Conjunction ngu -nonggo 'from that':

Ngu nonggo ko oore-ro toonge-weroyi nguya kini.//
there from again go.up-ss leave-nom also not
'From there, there was no way to go up (outside) again.'
(248) Text 85.4; Clause 7: Conjunction ngundiro-mu 'same as chat':

Ngundiro-mu ngu-no oodoo-wel
same-poss there-to remain-ds.1s.i
'It was like that when we lived there,---'
(249) Text NNK87.3; Clause 10: Conjunction ngu-no ngu 'in that it':

Ngu-no ngu, noore noore-ngo Urungga oo Bidodo Simburi that-in that 1 pl 1pl-poss big something all boss

Simbu-nani, ngu-ro amoo ingoo-too-yel
Creator-our that-poss true know-ds-1.pl.i
'And in that, we can truly understand our Lord and Creator.'

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(250) 'T'ext 85.16; Clause 73: Conjunction ngundiro ngu-ro 'because of that':

Ngundiro ngu-ro, komo ngu-no ori-yingo.// same dem-poss must there-to remain-compl 'Hecause of that, I had to remain there.'
(951) 'I'ext NNK87.2; Clause 7: Conjunction ngu-nonggo ngu 'it was from that':

Ngu-mongg" ngи, no nowoondo-ne samango-weroyi mande-ga, that-from that is stomach-my strengthen-nom talk-def.s ngu-ndo no-ro ingondudu-ne yanggango te-yi-no-yingo.// 3 s -ag 1 s -poss thoughts-my strong do-3s-give-compl

From that they gave me talk which strengthened my stomach which strengthened ny thoughts.'
(252) 'l'ext 85.15; ( Clause 161: Conjunction ngu-ro ngu 'because of that':

Ngu-ro "gu, awe ya-no maye-rol that-poss that 3 d house-to come-ss
'Because of that, the two of them came to the house,--'
(253) 'Text NR87.1; Clause 25: Conjunction ngundiro nangge 'besides that':

Ngundiro nungge, doboo-ge-bo-ya mgundiro si-ye-ro,/ same only friend-2s-ag-incl same string.bag-put-ss 'Besides that you and your friends will be of one mind,--'

### 8.5 Quotations

Direct quotations have the verbe 'say' at the beginning and the ending of the quote. 'The verbe 'say' uses the appropriate medial or final affixation depending on the use in the sentence. Usually the beginning 'say' verb is at the end of the preceding sentence and then the direct quote starts the following sentence and is followed by the 'say' verb at the end of that sentence. However, sometimes the entire quote plus the beginning and ending 'say' verbs are all contained within the same sentence.
(254) 85.12; Clauses 56-61: Direct Quotation Sentence:
'Say' Verb Direct Quote
Awa-ndo gana-yero-ro,/ ngandiro e-wo-ro.// "No ngu-ya ye-ndo papa-ag deceive-them-ss same say-pt.3s-rpt 1 s that-incl $2 \mathrm{pl}-\mathrm{ag}$

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nga-nonggo meno sambi te-roo-to-yi ngo-ro,/ no Sonomburui mera-no here-from cry.out loud do-cont-ds-pl.e hear-ss I name ground
wu-nonggo ingo-ro,/ ombu-te-no-ku nga",/ e-ro e-wo-ro.// p.far-from hear-ss come-prt-1s-cli here say-ss say-pt.3s-rpt
'Father deceived them all when he said this. "From here I too heard you cry out loudly; I heard you from all the way up at Sonomburu ground and so I came here!" he said.'

Indirect quotes end with the verbe 'say' but don't use the 'say' verb in the beginning of the quote. This indirect form is rarely used and further investigation would show if the use of just the 'say' verb form at the close of the quote is merely another way of expressing a direct quote. In the following example the 'say' verb is not used at the close of the sentence preceding the quote. This place is marked by two ++signs.
(255) Text YM 84.9; Clauses 1-5: Indirect Quote:
Indipenisi mande-ga ngu ingo-ro,/ simoo bare-do ngandiro
independence talk-def.s that hear-ss men women-ag same

|  | InDir Quote |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ingo-yingo.++ | Adaga | golpl-yi | sarayi oni sa-to-yi,/ ende ururu |
| thought | now | skin-pl.poss white man leave-ds-pl.e town big |  |

'Say' Verb Clause
nga mera-ko nga noore-ngo yo-wa-to ene ngundiro e-wo-nggo-ri.// this ground-on this 1 pl -poss get-ft-1pl 3pl same say-pt-3pl-rpt
'The people heard the talk about Independence and they thought that, "Now that the white skinned people have left, we can get the ground in the big towns for us," they said this same thing.'

## 9. DISCOURSE LEVEL

### 9.1 Systems of Participant Tracking in Karo/Rawa Discourse

### 9.1.1 Introduction

In Karo/Rawa Discourse, the Independent Pronoun System, the Switch Reference System and the Demonstrative System are the three primary devices used to track participants. Karo/Rawa sentences tend to be long with many medial verbs. Pronouns track the participants through the sentence. After a participant has been introduced, he is tracked by the verb switch reference and pronominal systems. However, when there have been several clauses or verbs between the mention of the participant's name and/or the introduction of other participants or where it is not clear whom is being referred to, the a proper name, generic term, or noun is again used.

Within the Independent Pronoun System, independent pronouns and noun phrase/pronoun-verb agreement contribute to the flow and direction of information in regards to discourse participants.

Within the switch reference system, the use of tail-head linkage provides continuity for the medial verb switch reference system across sentence boundaries. The importance and frequency of this feature marking sequence progression in Karo/Rawa Discourse is discussed in Norma R. Toland, What's What in Rawa Discourse, 1988.

Within the Demonstrative System, the demonstrative forms provide cohesion by reference to distance in time, space and location. They also add emphasis to a specific participant and/or action in discourse.

### 9.1.2 Pronoun System and Discourse Tracking

### 9.1.2.1 Independent Pronouns:

The same set of independent Pronouns may replace or refer to nouns in subject, object and indirect object functions. The forms are as follows:

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## CHART 28: INIDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

| Person/Number | Singular | Dual | Plural |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1st | No | Noore |  |
| 2nd | Ce | Yari | Ye |
| 3rd | Ngu <br> Ene <br> Eke | Eraga | Caro |

Note: Eke is a historic form of third person singular rarely used by today's speakers. A related set of pronouns show possession. These forms are shown in Chart 29, below.

## CHART 29: PRONOUN POSSESSION SUFFIXES (-ngo -ro)

| Person / Number | Singular | Dual | Plural |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1st | No-ro | Noore-ngo |  |
| 2nd | Ge-ngo | Yari-ngo | Ye-ngo |
| 3rd | Ngu-ro <br> Ene-ngo <br> Eke-\# | Eraga-ro | Garo-ro |

Note 1. All pronouns ending with front vowels take the suffix -ngo. All pronouns ending with mid or back vowels take the suffix -ro.
2. Eke does not take a possessive marker but is followed by ngu-ro 'he/she/it poss' to show possession, i.e., Eke nguro 'His/her/its.'

Since possessive pronouns are only indirectly related to participant tracking in discourse, I will not discuss them further in this paper.
9.1.2.2 Independent Pronoun Uses:

Rawa Pronouns are a class of words which act as referents much the same as Nouns do. However, in contrast to nouns they are a small, closed set of words which do not
have a constant relationship with a specific referent. Instead they may shift reference. They identify persons, places, things and indicate which participants are involved with which actions throughout Karo/Rawa Language Discourse.

Pronominal affixes on verbs carry the burden of tracking participants within a clause once they have been introduced by a noun phrase or independent pronoun.

Because switch reference affixes can introduce confusion of participants, after a series of switch reference medial clauses have been used, the subject will again be identified by the use of an independent pronoun.

Independent pronouns are normally not used with medial verbs or imperative clauses.
9.1.2.3 Independent Pronoun Functions:

Karo/Rawa Independent Pronouns function as a subscitute for proper nouns and show location and possession. They substitute for nouns in Modified Noun Phrases, Appositional Phrases, Locational Phrases and function as the primary pronoun in Emphatic Pronoun Phrases at the phrase level. They substitute for nouns in the Noun Phrase-Verb Agreement Participant Tracking System at the clause/sentence/discourse level.
(256) Subject Pronouns

1. No u-ша-no.

1s go.down-ft-1s
'I will go down.'
2. Noore u-wa-ro.

1d/p go.down-fr-1d
'We (two) will go down.'
3. Noore u-wa-to.

1d/p go.down-ft-1p
'We (several) will go down.'
4. Ge u-wa-\#.

2s go.down-fr-2/3s
'You will go down.'
5. Yari u-wa-ri..

2d go.down-ft-2d
'You (two) will go down.'
6. Ye u-wa-nggo.

2p go.down-ft-2/3p
'You (several) will go down.'
7. Ene u-wa-H.

3s go.down-ft-2/3s
'He will go down..'
8 . like u-wa-\#.
3s go.down-ft-2/3s
'lle will go down.'
9. $\quad$ ggu u-wa-\#.

3s go.down-ft-2/3s
'It will go down.'
10. Eraga u-w'u-ni.

3 d go.down-ft-3d
'They (two) will go down.'
11. Garo $u$-wo nggo.

3p go.down-ft-2/3p
'They (several) will go down.'
(257) Imperative Form

GelYarilYe u-\#!
(any second person pronoun) go.down-imp
'You/You two/You all/ go down!'
(258) Possession

1. Noore-ngo ko urungga ooroo-te-to.

1pl-poss work big is-prc-1pl
'Our work is big.'
2. Ye no-ro mande ma ingo-te-nggo.

2 pl ls-poss talk neg hear-prt-2pl
'You aren't hearing (what) I'm saying.'
(259) Lucation

1. (e no-no ombu-\#!

2s 1s-loc come-imp
'You come to me!'
2. Noore-ndo ene-no mengguro ye-wero.

1pl-subj 3 s-loc dress put-des
'We want to put a dress on her.'

1. Ge-ngo bo urungga, ngu-ndo no-ro ko yomuriyo-zo

2 s -poss pig big $3 \mathrm{~s}-\mathrm{ag} \quad 1 \mathrm{~s}$-poss garden ruin-pt. 3 s
'Your big pig, he ruined my garden.'
2. No-ro bo diri oowooyi ururu eraya-ga nga, $1 s$-poss pig brown very big two-def.s here ngu-ndo ya goosingo-mo ooroo-te-ri.//
$3 \mathrm{~s} / \mathrm{p}-\mathrm{ag}$ house underneath-in are-prr-3d
'My two very big brown pigs here, they are underneath the house.'
(261) Co-ordinate Noun Phrases

Widanu no Depenare Gasama, noore-ndol Sisimba-no u-yingo. name 1 s name name 1 pl -subj name-loc go.down-comp 'Widanu, Depenare, Gasama (and) I, We went down to Sisimba.'
(262) Primary Pronoun in the Emphatic Pronoun Phrase

1. One-ndo u-wa? No-so nangge.
who-subj go.down-ft 1 s -emp only
'Who will go down? Only myself.'
2. One-ndo ombu-wa-nggo? Noore-su nangge. who-ag come-ft-3pl $1 \mathrm{~d} / \mathrm{pl}$-emp only
'Who will be coming?' 'Only us.'
(263) Appositional Phrases
3. Noore, Neyuro, Dawa omanongowingo ngu digi usekingo 1du/pl person person bread 3s money business
ko gura ooroo-te-ro.
work another be-prt-1d.
'We, Neyuro (and) Dawa, (have) bread as another kind of business to make money.' (SD84.2/cl-2)
4. Nomi, Don, era-ga-do etu-yero-woriyo-mu.// person person 3d-def.s-subj show-obj/pl-rpt-poss
'Norma, Don, the two of them, were our teachers.' (SD84.2/cl22)

1 In this example noore-ndo functions as an appositional pronoun.

Noore-ngo yatno, ene-ndo oo metemi ne-wa. $1 \mathrm{~d} / \mathrm{pl}$-poss house-loc 3 s -subj something good eat-ft
'At our house, he will eat good things.'
9.1.2.4 Pronouns At Clause/ Sentence/ Discourse Level

Pronouns substitute for nouns in the Noun Phrase-Verb Agreement Participant 'Tracking System at the clause/sentence/discourse level. They can identify the subject, object, possession, and location of each clause and sentence in discourse.

Noun Phrase/Pronoun-Verb agreement:
Both noun phrases and independent pronouns are in agreement with obligatory pronominal suffixes on verbs.

Both Subject-Final Verb Agreement, and Object-Final Verb Agreement track discourse participants. Verb Agreement does not show the indirect object or possession on the verb.

Subject-Verb Agreement:
Subject-Final Verb agreement tracks subject participants in simple sentence or very short discourse level.
(265) Examples of Subject-Final Verb Agreement:

1. Noore ngu himi-mo ka domu le-ro oru-woo-to-wo.

1 pl that light-at lime betelnut do-ss be-pt-1pl-rpt
'We were eating lime (and) betelnut by the lamp.' (WW85.3/16-17)
2. No torige solde-ye-ro ara-no

1s quiedly ear-3pl.poss-ss stay-1s
'I stayed silent.' (WW85.9/46)

## CHART 30: FINAL VERB AFFIXATION

(Suffixes Used in the Agreement System are Bold)

| +stem | $\pm$ aspect | +tense | +Subject number |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| any <br> verb <br> stem | -rora <br> past cont. <br> -roroo <br> present <br> cont. <br> -roru <br> future cont. <br> -muko completive |  | pers | sing. | du | pl |
|  |  | past <br> -wo <br> present <br> -le <br> future <br> -wa | $\begin{aligned} & 1 \mathrm{st} \\ & \\ & 2 \mathrm{nd} \\ & 8 \\ & 3 \mathrm{rd} \end{aligned}$ | -no \# | $-r o$ $-r i$ | -to $-n g g o$ |
|  |  | -ringo ~ -yingo completive aspect |  |  |  |  |

Note 1. When tense and subject suffixes occur, the desirative or final completive aspect may not co-occur.
2. The continuative aspect is optional, but may co-occur with tense and person number or with the final aspect.
3. When the completive or desirative aspect suffixes are used, no subject pronominal affixes occur. In this case, participants are tracked only by independent pronouns and the switch reference system.

## Object-Verb Agreement

In transitive sentences, object-verb agreement suffixes and prefixes identify which noun or pronoun is the object and tracks the object through the discourse. Transitive verbs are sub-divided on the basis of the object forms as follows:

Set I Verbs that take object prefixes:
Set II Verbs that take object suffixes:

Set III A very limited number of transitive verbs that take only a free form nomi/pronoun object before the verb, limited affixation, or no affixation.

## SE'T I: 'Transitive verbs that take object prefixes:

Char'r 31: Objec'l Prefix Forms Used In Agreement

| Person <br> Number | 1s | 2 s | 3 s | plura! |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Object <br> Prefix | . | $n o-$ | go- | $\#$ |

Note 1. When the stem of the verb starts with a vowel, the final vowel of the object prefix is assimilated as shown in examples 3-8 below.
2. Following the final verb subject marker form, zero morpheme marks third singular object on Set I Transitive Verbs as shown in examples.
(266) Examples of Object Prefix Transitive Verbs:

1. \#-ki-\#!

3s.obj-bite-imp
'You bite it!'
2. \#-uto-\#!

3s.obj-hit-imp
'You hit him/it!'
3. \#-muto-\#!
'You shoot him/it!'
4. \#-ino-\#!

3s.obj-give-imp
'You give (it) to him/her!'
5. Fine $n$-urou ${ }^{2}$-te.
he 1 s -hit prt
'He hin me
6. No buku g-unoo-wero.I book 2s.obj-give-des
'I want to give you the book.'
7. No buku \#-ino-wero
1s book 3s.obj-give-des
'I want to give him the book.'
8. Buku \#-ino-\#!book 3s.obj-give-2s.imp'You give the book to him!'
9. Y-uto-\#!
3pl-hit-imp
'Hit them!'
10. Ene no-ki-te-\#.
it 1s.obj-bite-prt-3s
'It is biting me.'
11. Ginggani go-ki-te-\#.
mosquito 2 s .0 bj -bite-prt-3s
'The mosquito is biting you.'
12. Ginggani \#-ki-te-\#.
mosquito 3s.obj-bite-prt-3s
'The mosquito is biting him.'
13. Ginggani-ku ..... yo-ki-te-nggo.mosquito-pl.prom pl.obj-bite-prt-3.pl'The mosquitos are biting them.'
14. Noore Anutu-ndo y-ure-ni ${ }^{3}$ e-ro e-to-ni-gogo ngu,1 pl God-subj pl.obj-kill-ds.3s say-ss say-ds-3s-first that
$y$-ure-wa-\#.
pl.obj-kill-ft-3s

2 The verb ino 'to give' does not assume the normal pattern for the object prefix. The ' 0 ' of the prefix go and the ' $i$ ' of the verb stem ino 'give' are dropped and the phoneme ' $u$ ' is used instead.

3 The different subject marker -to is sometimes dropped from the medial verb forms of mure 'shoot' and ure 'hit/kill' and the switch reference is signaled by the personnumber marker only.
'If God has thoughts of killing us, he said first, (then) he will kill us.' (WW85.3/89-91-Direct Speech

SET II: The object suffixes on transitive verbs always occur in the first affix order before the tense or aspect affix.

CHAR'T 32: FIRST ORDER ObJECT SUFFIX FORMS USED IN AGREEMENT

| person | singular | plural |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1st | -nero- |  |
| 2nd | -gero-~nggero- | -yero- |
| 3rd | -ngo- |  |

Note: All pronouns ending with front vowels take the suffix -nggero. All pronouns ending with mid or back vowels take the suffix -gero.
(267) Examples-'Transitive Verbs With Object Suffixation:

1. gana
'deceive'
2. yomosi
'straightened'
3. ooroowe
'help'
4. $e t u$
'show'
5. erewe
'hunt'
6. owe
'follow'
7. sobo
'wait'
8. gosi
9. daga
'win over'

## 10. 000s00

'pull'
11. towoo
'try'
12. sure
'send/dispatch'
13. dobi
'pinch'
14. Ene gana-nero-wo-\#.

3s deceive-1s.obj-pt-3s
'He deceived me.'
15. Ene gana-gero-wo-\#.

3s deceive-2s.obj-pt-3s
'He deceived you.'
16. Eraga-do erewe-nggeroo-wo-ri.

3d-ag hunt-2s.obj-pt-3d
'The two of them were searching for you.'
17. Noore gana-ngo-wao-to.

1pl deceive-3s.obj-pt-1pl
'We deceived him.'
18. No-ndo gana-yero-yingo.

1 s -ag deceive-pl.obj-compl
'I deceived them.'
19. Ngu-ndo ge yomburi-gero-wa-\#.

3 s -subj 2 s ruin-2s.obj-ft-3s
'He will ruin you. '(If he isn't a Christian)
(Sara Ltr/56)
20. Namo-ne kawuyidodo Gomumu nga-no maye-ro nga-no mother-1s.poss pregnant village.name here-loc arrive-ss here-loc
no bisi-nero-yingo.
1s birth-1s.obj-compl
'My mother was pregnant (and when she) arrive here at Gomumu, here (she) gave birth to me.'

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## SIET III: 'Transitive Verbs That Are Irregular.

A very limited number of transitive verbs take only a free form noun/pronoun object before the verb, limited subject affixation, or no affixation.

Free Form Object Verbs
The three free form object forms are:

```
yo
'get'
imbo
'chop'
ne
'cat'
```

(268)

Yeri ene ooro-ro ene-ngo nengguro yo-yingo.//
Jerry 3 s go.ss 3 s-poss shirt.obj get-compl
'Jerry went and got his shirt for him.'
(269)

Neyuro de imboo-te-\#.
Neyuro wood.obj chop-pre-3s
'Neyuro is chopping firewood.'
(270)

Yunu mbako me-te-\#.
Yunu sw.potatocs.obj eat-prt-3s
'Yumu is eating sweet potatoes.'

## Limited Subject Affixation

'Ihe verb ange 'ro fill' may occur with aspect, tense, and only second and third singular person number on the final verb form. It also may occur with the medial verb markers.

No-ndo koondo ange-ro ya-no ye-te-no.
is-subj dish fill-ss house-in put-prt-1s
'I filled the dish (and) put it in the house.'
(272)

Ene-ndo koondo ange-wa-\#.
$3 \mathrm{~s}-\mathrm{ag}$ dish fill-ft-3s
'She will fill up the dish.'

## No Affixation Verb

The verb Moore 'have' is the only known verb which takes no tense, person, or aspect markers. In this type of a transitive verb, when there is no tense and person number affixation shown on the verb, then a time word is always present to indicate past or future action. No time word will indicate present tense. The object is marked by a noun.

1. no-ndo digi moore. 1 s -ag money have 'I have money.'
2. Kuri no-ndo digi moore.
before l-ag money got
'I had money before.'
3. Eme ngu-ndo digi moore.
later 3 s -ag money have
'He will have money later.'
At the present level of research, no way of predicting which verb will be in which set, either phonological or morphological, has been found.

### 9.1.3 Switch Reference System

The Rawa speaker/writer, as in most Papuan languages, relies on the system of the medial verbs to do detailed tracking of discourse participants. The forms used for the switch reference are only used on the medial verbs. The Rawa final verbs use only the Noun Phrase/Pronoun-Verb Agreement System which is discussed in section 9.1.2.4.

In the Rawa medial verb system, the device of switch reference carries information such as person number, modality (indicative verses imperative), same or different participants of the next verb action, and the speaker involvement or noninvolvement for each medial verb.

## CHART 33: MEDIAL, VERB -SAME SUBJECT

| + stem | + medial suffix |
| :---: | :--- |
| any <br> verb <br> stem | imperative-ya |

If the medial verb is not marked with forms that show a change of subject, then it will have one of two markers indicating only modality. When the verb is in the indicative mood, the marker is -ro. When the verb is in the imperative mood, the marker is -ya.

Consider the following examples:
(274) Indicative Mood-Same Subject
Noore de toongo-ro samango toongo-ro songo wata ye-ro ye-ro
Ipl tree cut-ss forked.post cut-ss other pile put-ss put-ss
u-wa-to.
go.down $-\mathrm{ft} \cdot \mathrm{l} \mathrm{pl}$
'We will cut down a tree, cut forked posts (and) put the (posts) in a separate pile (then) go duwn.'
(275) Imperative Mood-Same Subject (YM87.10)

Ge de toungo-ya samango toongo-ya songo wata ye-ya
$2 s$ tree cut-ss.imp forked.post cut-ss.imp other pile put-ss.imp
$y e-y a \quad u$-\#.
put-ss.imp go.down-imp
'You will cut down a tree, cut forked posts (and) put the (posts) in a separate pile (then) go down.'

The form of the different subject and person number marker of the medial verb indicates the number of people involved in the medial verb action and the involvement or non-involvement of the speaker.

## CHART 34: MEDIAL VERB—DIFFERENT SUBJECT

| + stem | + different <br> subject | + person number | $\pm$ Sequence conj |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| any <br> verb <br> stem | first person $-t 00$ | first person $\begin{aligned} & -w e=1 \mathrm{~s} \\ & -r e=1 \mathrm{~d} \\ & -y e=1 \mathrm{p} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text {-ga } \\ & \text { 'sequence' } \end{aligned}$ |
|  | non-first person -to | non-first person $\begin{aligned} & -n i=2-3 \mathrm{~s} \\ & -r i=2-3 \mathrm{~d} \\ & -y i=2-3 \mathrm{pl} \end{aligned}$ |  |

Note 1. The optional third order affix -ga which shows that the medial verb action must first occur before the next clause may take place.

The -foo indicates that the speaker was included in the clausal action. With the first person marker, a different set of person number markers -we 'first person singular', -re 'first person dual inclusive', -ye 'first person, 3 or more inclusive' indicates the number of people the speaker is involved with in this verb. These person-number markers only occur in conjunction with the speaker inclusive change of subject marker.

Consider the following:
(276) Person-number-first person

1. No maye-too-we ne-wo-to.

I arrive-ds-1s.i eat-pt-1pl
'I arrived, (and) we ate.'
2. Noore mayr-too-re ne-wo-to.

1pl arrive-ds-1d.i eat-pt-1pl
We two arrived, (and) we all (more than two) ate.'
3. Noore maye-100-ye ne-wo-nggo.

1pl arrive-ds-1pli ear-pt-3pl
We (3 or more) arrived, (and) they (three or more) ate.'
On the other hand, the -to indicates that the speaker is not included as a subject in the present action.

If -to occurs, will also be a different set of person-number markers -ni 'non-first person singular', -ri 'non-first person dual', $-y i$ 'non-first person 3 or more' which shows how mans people other than the speaker were involved in the previous action.
(277) Person-number-non-first person

1. Ge maye-to-n ne-wo-to.

2s arrive-ds-2-3s.e cat-pt-1pl
'You arrived, (and) we (3 or more) ate.'
2. Yari maye-to-ri ne-wo-to.

2d arrive-ds-2-3d.e eat-pt-1pl
'You two arrived, (and) we (3 or more) ate.'
3. Ye maye-to-yi ne-wo-to.

2 pl arrive-ds-2-3ple eat-pt-1pl
'You ( 3 or more) arrived, (and) we (3 or more) ate.'
This aspect of the medial verb system makes it possible to track the speaker's involvement in a serics of verbal actions without any noun phrase-verb agreement, uoun phrases, punouns or demonstratives.

Consider this example:
(278)

> Ombu-too-we', ka-to-ni, ne-too-ye, were-to-ni, come-ds.i-1s cook-ds.i-1pl ds.i-1d sleep-ds.e-1s
> 'The speake1 came, another person cooked, speaker ate with two other people, one of the others went to sleep
e-too-re, sa-wo-no.
talk-ds.i-1d walk-pt-1s
while the speaker and the remaining person talked, after which the speaker walked (left).'

Within a particular sentence or discourse, medial verbs may show either same or different subject affixation.

For example:
(279)

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\text { Ombu-too-we, } & \text { bibite-ro, e-too-ye, } & k a-t o-n i, \\
\text { come-ds.i-1s } & \text { sit-ss } & \text { talk-ds.i-1pl } \\
\text { cook-ds.e-1s }
\end{array}
$$

'The speaker came and sat down; the speaker and two others talked; one of the others cooked;
ne-too-ye, were-to-ni, e-too-re, yomo-ro,
eat-ds.i-1d sleep-ds.e-1s talk-ds.i-1d laugh-ss
the speaker ate with two other people; one of the others went to sleep; the speaker and the remaining person talked and laughed;
sa-שo-no.
walk-pt-1s
the speaker walked (left).'

## Tail- Head Linkage

To accommodate the continuity of the reference system at sentence junctures, the average Rawa speaker will frequently begin a new sentence with an echo verb that is the same base form as the final verb of the previous sentence. This echo verb will have the medial verb affixation that show the hearer whether or not the subjects of the next verb will be the same or different. This device for keeping track of subject participants is called tail-head linkage. It is primarily used to mark same or different subject participants, to remind the hearer of the subject participants of the previous sentence, the previous action and allows for sequence of action to be marked in the same sentence.
(280) Tail-Head same subject (WW85.1/21-24)

De urungga ka-ro ngu sangani-woore gobiri-ku ka-wo-no-wo. Fire big cook-ss that up.high-on.top taro.type-all cook-pt-1s-rpt.

Ka-ro...
Cook-ss
I (made) a fire to cook then cooked all the taro on top of it. I cooked and...'
(281) 'lail-Ilead different subject (WW85.2/149-152)
"Adaga u-wa-ro, ugundi nga-no oru-wa-ro, bine?"
Now go.down-ft-1du or here-at be-ft-1d perhaps "Will we go down now or perhaps stay here?"

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { E-yingo }{ }^{4} \text {. } \quad \text { - } 10-n i \text {, no-ndo } \\
& \text { say-compl. say-ds-2/3s, } 1 \mathrm{~s}-\mathrm{ag}, \\
& \text { lle said. He said (this and) l..... }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 9.1.4 Demonstratives

There are two demonstrative forms which play roles in discourse. Karo/Rawa speakers use the demonstrative form $n g \boldsymbol{u}$ to carry the meaning of distance in time, sprace, location and reference. The demonstrative form $n g a$ carries the meaning of nearness in time, space, location and reference. Of these two demonstrative forms the $n g u$ is used the most frequently.

### 9.1.4. 1 Demonstrative Functions:

Demonstrative Pronouns are used throughout Karo/Rawa Discourse in the following ways: modifiers, specifiers, clause level markers, deixis, emphasizers, and sentence connectors. Demonstrative Word Forms are as follows:
(282) $n g u$ 'that/there/those/it's/given that'

Ngu amoo.
that true
'That's true.'

4 When the completive or desirative aspect suffixes are used, no subject pronominal affixes occur. In this case, participants are tracked only by independent pronouns and the switch reference system.
(283) $n g a$ 'this/here/these'

Sono ndano? Nga.
water where here
'Where is the water? Here.'
When the Demonstrative $n g u$ or $n g a$ are used as locative or directional words, they can take all of the locative/directional word suffixes.
ngu/nga-no 'at that/this place'
$n g u / n g a-s i n a$ 'toward that/this direction'
ngu/nga-woore 'on top of that/this'
ngulnga-nonggo ' from that/this'
At discourse level $\boldsymbol{n g} \boldsymbol{u}$-nonggo and $\boldsymbol{n g} \boldsymbol{a}-\boldsymbol{n o n g g o}$ refer the hearer/reader back to previous events in the discourse.

There are two demonstrative forms that function as comparative words at word level.
(284) Ngundiro 'Like that/those' (WW85.8/cl,54-55)
Dowoo-ro kekande-yi gosiyo-ro bo ngundiro mera kuri
Hold-ss leg.hand-3s.poss tie-ss pig like.those ground old
gosiyo-yingo.
tie-compl
'(He) held his legs and hands (and) tied (him) like pigs used to be tied on the ground.'
(285) Ngandiro 'Like this/these'

Ene ngu-no oode, ngandiro te-vo-riyomo.
3 s there-loc is like.this do-pt-2d.rpt
'They (2) remained there (and) did (lived) like this.'

### 9.1.4.2 Demonstratives at Phrase Level

At the phrase level demonstrative pronouns serve in the following phrase functions: as modifiers; as an indefinite noun; as an emphasizer.

Demonstratives function as modifiers in noun phrases. When a demonstrative pronoun occurs phrase initial, it modifies the noun and when it occurs phrase final, it additionally emphasizes the noun phrase.

1. Kabusa-ga ngu, garo-ndo ko-no ke-te-te-nggo. three-def.s those 3 pl -subj garden-loc work-do-pt-3pl " Those threc, they are working in the garden.'
2. Oore-ga nsa, nga-no kar yomboriyo-yingo. road-def.s here here-loc car wreck-compl "I'he road here, (is) where the car was wrecked.'
3. Ya urungi!a $n g u$, kunde-ye dedare-sina, house big there hand-3s.poss left-toward "There on the lefthand side of the big house, ngu yaba were-weroyi gura ooroo-te. (RA 23) there bed sleep-nom another be-pt there is another bed for sleeping.'
4. No-ro bo diri oowooyi ururu eraya-ga nga, 1 s -poss pig brown big very $2 d$-def.s these "These two very big brown pigs of mine,
ene-ngo ko yomboriyo-yingo.
3 s -poss garden destroy-compl
destroyed his garden.'
5. Koono mon mbako da nggire dowi, 00 ngu banana taro sweet.potato sugar corn pumpkin something these 'Banana, taro, sweet potato, sugar, corn, pumpkin, these things, no-udo no-ro ko imi-wero. 1 s -subj 1 s -poss garden plant-des
I want to plant in my garden.'
6. Ngu kare, nggoni-ngga, Mari tanggori ne-ro That marsupial nggoni-def.s tree.type fruit eat-ss "That marsupial, the nggoni, was eating Mari fruit oodo-ni ombu-ro keno-ro, Neyuro-ndo ugundiro e-yingo. be-ds cone-ss see-ss Neyuro-subj say-compl (and) Neyum canc, saw (it and) said like that,
"Kare-ngga ngu," e-yingo. Marsupial-def there say-compl "There's the animal," (he) said.'

Demonstratives Function As An Indefinite Noun In The Head Of A Noun Phrase. (287)

1. Nga-ngga nga, amoo mande oorengo. this-def.s here true talk really/completely
'This here (is) really the truth.'
2. Ngu-ngga ngu, amoo mande oorengo. that-def.s there true talk really/completely
'That there (is) really the truch.'
Demonstrative Prounouns can optionally occur both initial or final to the Primary Noun of a Locational Phrase but never at the same time. When a demonstrative pronoun occurs phrase final, it functions to emphasize the phrase.
(288)
3. $\mathrm{Ng} u$ kande-ye dedare-sina

There hand-poss left-towards
'There towards (the) left hand (side).'
2. Ya beyi amu-woore $n g u$
house side down.far-towards there
'Further down toward the side of the house there.'
Demonstrative Pronouns may function as an indefinite noun for the primary direction word in Directional Phrases.

Ngu-no, andu-sina, ngu ooroo-te-\#. There-loc over.far-toward 3 s be-pt-3s
'There, on further over, is where its at.'
'The demonstrative forms ngundiro 'like that/those' and ngandiro 'like this/these' function as indefinite nouns before the primary medial verb in a Summary Verb Phrase. The primary function of the Summary Verb Phrase is that of discourse connector as discussed in more detail under Cause-Effect.

### 9.1.4.3 Demonstrative Forms At Clause/ Sentence Level

Forms identical to the demonstrative forms discussed above occur as conjunctions in sentence initial dependent clauses.

At the very end of sentence initial dependent clauses, Karo/Rawa speakers use ngu to function as a conjunction. $N g u$ may indicate either a conditional clause or a clause with a previous action.
(29) Dependent Clause, Sentence Initial, Conditional Action-'IF'

Sono-no omlıи-to-ni ngu, no ma ombu-wa-no. rain-to conc-ds-s.e if is not come-ft-1s
'If the rain comes, I will not come.'
(291) Dependent Clause, Sentence Initial--Previous Action-'WHEN'

Dasi nga ombu-10-ni ngu, no-ndo oo ka-too-we, ne-wato name here come-ds-s.e when 1 s -ag spec cook-ds-s.i eat-ft. 1 pl 'When Dasi comes, I will cook something and we will eat.'

## Demonstratives as Markers for Relative Dependent Clauses

Some Relative Clauses use the marker $n g u$ as an extended use of this demonstrative form to connect clauses in discourse.
(292)

'For a long time I have been asking and asking a lot about this talk and now I understand all these customs; all right, this completely true talk that came up before, I now write (about that).'

### 9.1.4.4 Demonstratives at Discourse Level

The Demonstrative Pronoun forms $n g u$ 'that' and $n g a$ 'this' are one of only two demonstrative free forms that may occur in a sentence after the usual suffixes on the final verb ${ }^{5}$. At the emotional high point of discourse, the final verb takes the suffix marker -ku 'climax marker' and the demonstratives nga or $\boldsymbol{n g u}$ may optionally occur after the final verb. When this occurs, it further emphasizes the climax of the discourse and is always accompanied by a strong intonation on the final demonstrative.
(293) Climax Prominance Marker. -ku ngu/nga!
> 1. Nambo-ne, no oodooro kumoo-te-no-ku nga!/l daughter-my, is hungry die-prt-1s-cli.prom dem 'My daughter, I am hungry!' (Text 85.4; Cl 41 )
2. Namo-ne, no-ndo ge-ya oore-rol were-wa-ro-ku ngu! mother-my 1 s -ag 2 s -incl go.up-ss/ sleep-ft-1d-cli.prom dem 'Mother, I will come up and sleep with you there!' (Text 85.5; Clauses 24-25)

In this function, demonstrative forms are being used primarly in an emphatic sense. (For more detail on this see Norma R Toland,What's What in Rawa Discourse, 1988).

## Demonstrative Discourse Connectors

Acting as connectors in discourse, $n g u$ and $n g a$ may occur as various complex forms as they track places, times and cause-effect in discourse.

Discourse connectors will most frequently refer back to previous statements. These forms may be followed by the forms $n g u$ or $n g a$ to give further emphisis.
Place Ngu/nga-no 'At that/this (place)'
(294) (WW85.1/3-4)

|  |  |  | vi |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | ground | anoth | name-3s |

'We have anocher area named Dorosa..

5 The only other free form that may occur in the post final verb position besides ngu and $n g a$ is the word bine 'perhaps'.

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## Dorosa mira

<-----
Ngu-no guido yo-wero sa-wa-rol
that-loc pandanus get-des walk-ft-1du
We will walk there and get pandanus (nuts).'
(295) (W WV5.3/1)
school
<-----
sukuru-ga oowoo-yi Tanta Komuniti Sukuru, ngu-no... schooldef name-3s Ceuta Community School, that-loc... 'the school named 'lauta Community School, there...'
(296) (WW85.8, $\mathrm{c} / 26-31$ )
<--......--
Oore-ro ngu,l usa, ngu-no ngu ene bo gedare-ga-ku sono go.up-ss conj then that-loc dem 3 s pig other-def-prom water newende-mo ye-wo-ro-mul gu keno-wo-ro-wo.// inside-loc pur-pt-3s-poss dem look-pt-3s-rpt
'When he went up on top, okay, it was there that he saw part of the pig inside the water.
$<-\cdots---$
Keno-rol ngu-no yoko-rol asa, ene Simbo ended ombu-wo-ro-wo.// sects that-loc leavers then 3 s Simbo village come-pt-3s-rpt He saw it and left there, then, he came to Simbo village.'

## 'Time Ngu/nga naru-no 'At that/this time'

Demonstratives referring to time are often used sentence initial to help the hearer/reader better understand how time is affecting the participants movement in discourse. 'This Demonstrative Complex referring to time is frequently used in discourse settings at the beginning of each story or major event line.
(297) (WW85.3/1)

Kuri-mi dagoma 1983, ngu naru-no, before-inten year 1983 that time-at
'Before (in the) year 1983, at that time,'
(298) (WW85.3/4-5)

Oodoo-ye, ngu naru-no suwo gura-no boonge-mu urungga be-1plif that time-at night other-at landslide-poss big
ombu-yingo.//
come-compl
'We were there (and) a time in the night (a) big landslide came.'
<----------<
Ngu naru-no ngu, Mariya, Dewuyi nambo-ni, At that-time there Maria David daughter-poss
'At that time, Maria, David's daughter...'

## Cause-Effect

Demonstrative form ngundirol ngandiro ngu-ro 'Because of that/this', functions as sentence a connector that connects an effect to a previous cause in discourse.
(299) (NR87.1,cl/53-58)

Ngu ko ge-ngo-mbo ko-yi te-rol dem work 2 s -poss-instr work-3s do-ss
'This work you yourselves

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ogingo ingo-ro oru-wa.// Ngundiro ngu-ro, } \\
& \text { pain feel-ss remain-ft same } \\
& \text { did and felt the pain of it. Because of this, }
\end{aligned}
$$

ngundiro oo-ga ngu ootooge-ro,/ ariya,
same something-one dem get.up-ss then
this very thing you should raise up then, okay
ururu bobodi ngu oo-ga ngu-ro oni.oni te-ro,/
big small dem something-one dem-poss happy do-ss you who are big and those who are small should be happy

```
ngu 00-ga ugu te-ro sa-le-nggo.//
```

dem something-one dem do-ss travel-prt 3 pl
about the things they doing continually.
<---.....------ $<$

Ngundiro ngu-ro, adaga ngu, ngu Same dem-poss now dem dem Because of this, right now, that's

```
k0wuri-ngga nsu, ge ooro-ro bibite-ro,/ ko
problems-foc dem 2s go-ss sit.down-ss and
the problemit is, and what are you going to sit down and
ndadiro te-wa?//
what do-ft
do (about it)?'
```


## Other Uses As Connectors In Discourse

In the following example the two words in the form Ngundiro ngu-ro switch word order. In this order, the phrase means 'it's like that' which functions as a summary of the previous statement.
(300) (WW85.15/cl-14.3-150)

```
" \({ }^{\text {Ce-do no-mdo beresu nga-no-ku oodo-ni/ }}\)
2 s -subj \(1 \mathrm{~s}-\mathrm{subj}\) wild.fowl here-loc-rel be-3s.e
"You say that I have the wild fowl her,
<-------------->
ngu-ro ngundiro e-te-\#?"//
dem-poss same say-pt-3s
are you saying those things?"
Gawawi-ngo ngundiro e-yingo.//
Gawawi-poss same.as.that say-compl
Gawawi said it that way.
```

E-to-ni ngu/ ene-ngo moonde-yari-mo doongete-wo-riyo-mu,/
Say-ds-3s.e dem 3s-poss skin-2d-loc see-pt-2d.rpt-poss
He said that (and) the two of them looked at their bodies
namba-bo 00 yomburiyo-ro yoko-ro,/ komo toonge-yingo.//
cassowary-subj something destroy-ss quit-ss,/ truly leave-compl (and) the cassowary had messed up everything (and) left, really gone.'
(301) (NNK87.1/cl.20-21)

Nga-no oni simoo bare doonge-ye-mo ge ngu mine.
There-loc people eye-pl.poss-loc 2s dem headman.
'In the eyes of the people here you are the headman (Kate).


Ngu-ro muri ngandiro,
Dem-poss meaning like.this
Which means this:
ge simoobare-ro tabango korete-yingo nga, e-yingo.
2s people-poss head first-compl dem say-compl you are really the peoples' primary leader, (he) said.'

When the demonstrative $\boldsymbol{n g} \boldsymbol{u}$ or $\boldsymbol{n g} \boldsymbol{a}$ occurs before $\boldsymbol{n g}$ undirol $\boldsymbol{n g}$ andiro it functions as the independent pronoun 'it' and carries the meaning 'it's like that' ngu ngundiro, or 'it's like this' $\boldsymbol{n g} \mathbf{u} \boldsymbol{n g}$ andiro.
(302) (WW85.15,cl/141-147)

Ngu ene Sut Marasin, oni ene sayi mambu oni
'That 3s shot medicine man 3s sick sore man
ngu nangge yu-no-wero endeyoo-te-nggo-ku ngu,
that only plobj-give-des walk-pt-3pl-prom emp
They told me that they came around to give shots of medicine only to sick people.
e-ro e-yingo. E-to-ni, no ngunonggo
talk-ss talk-compl talk-ds.e-1s is from.this
They said this and from this talk

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<-...-.---.--
nenengo nowoondo-ne-monggo ngu ngandiro ingo-yingo. mine stomach-Is.poss-from it same.this understand-compl it was like this (I) really understood in my heart.

Nguro ko ngandiro ma toonge-wa-no, e-ro ngundiro dem.poss work same.this neg run.away-ft-1s talk-ss same.that For that work I won't run away, like that
ingo-yingo.
knew-compl
I thought.'
In example (303), we see an example of the discourse connector referring forward to the reason why the participant thought as they did. In most occurances this connector form will refer back to the reason.
(303) (WW85.3/CL/21-25)
Noore-ndo boonge-mu ngguyi-ga ngu ingo-ro/
lpl-ag landslide-poss noise-one dem hear-ss
'We heard the noise of the ground breaking

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>--------->
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ngu ngandiro ingo-yingo.// Barusi-ngga bine suwo-no
dem this.same hear-compl plane-foc perhaps night-loc
(and) we had this thought. Maybe it's a plane
Madang-nonggo ombu-rol Reyi oorowu-werol
Madang-from come-ss Lae go-des
coming from Madang and going to Lae in the night.
ngu ingo-yingo./l
dem hear-compl
(and we) thought this.'

## Summary Verb Phrase

'The Summary Verb, Phrase functions as a discourse connector. In this phrase, the demonstrative-like forms ngundiro or ngandiro are used as an indefinite noun and occur before the verb. It is used sentence initial to verify continuation of the previous sentence action.
(304) ngundiro + Medial Verb (WD87.1/78-80)

Ye-to-ni ugu, asa, mindu sangani-mo ye-ro make/put-ds-3s when/rel okay bark on.top-of make/put-ss
'When it was made, okay (then he) put it on top of bark
yuwoo-yingo.// Ngundiro yuwoo-roo-to-ni, roll.out-compl like.that roll.out-cont-ds-3s.e (and) rolled it out. Continuing to roll it like that,
piru uto ngundiro te-yingo.
long rope like.that do-compl
it made it like a long rope.'
(305) (WW85.3/cl-28-35)

Noore-ndo ya oru-woo-to-ku
1 pl -subj house be-pt-1pl-rel
'When we were in our house
ngu kondibo imimi yo-yingo. Ngundiro te-to-ni, 3s everything shook put-compl Like.that ds-3s.e it really got to shaking eveything. As it was doing this,
awu-no mera digi de oo urungga-ku ombu-ro
above.far-loc ground rock tee something big-pl come-ss
lots of ground, rock, trees (and) things came (from) above
sukul-no mera uto-ro te-yingo. Ngundiro te-ro, school-loc ground hit-ss do-compl Like.that do-ss (and) hit the school grounds. As it did that,
noore-ngo ya-ngga-ku imimi urungga oorengo yo-yingo. 1 pl-subj house-def-prm shook big truly get-compl our house really truly got to shaking badly.'

### 9.1.5 Summary

We have seen from the discussion in this paper that in Karo/Rawa Discourse there are three principle systems that are directly involved with participant tracking. T'wo of those systems (Independent Pronoun $\&$ Switch Reference) are used for identification and tracking of participants and one system (Demonstrative) is used for information
whesion of the overall tracking system. This paper has described the functions of these systems as follows:

The Independent Promoun System is used to track subject and object participants within sentences. Both noun phrases and independent pronouns are in agreement with obligatory pronominal affixes on verbs. These affixes carry the main burden of identifying and tracking participants.

The Switch Reference System is used to track the number of participants in each clausal action. The Switch Reference System also tracks the speaker/writer's involvement or non involvement in the clausal action through the use of a switch referent marker and different set of participant number markers. Tail-Head Linkage is also part of the switch reference system and shows continuity of the reference system across sentence boundaries.

The Demonstrative System is by far the most complex of the three systems because of the variety of functions that occur on the word, phrase, clause, sentence and discourse level. 'The system is based on the demonstrative forms $n g u$ 'that/those/it' or $n g{ }^{\prime}$ 'this/these/it. $N \mathbf{g} u$ carries the meaning of far distance while $\boldsymbol{n g} \boldsymbol{a}$ carries the meaning of near distance. 'The demonstratives of this system provide cohesion by refering to already mention places and locations.

The demonstratives also add emphasis to a specific participant and/or action.
(On the discourse level, these demonstrative forms also function as a reference system. They either refer back to a previous event or refer forward to an event about to take place.

The Summary Verb Phrase which includes a complex demonstrative form, is used as a discourse connector. In this function it is used initially in sentences to verify continuation of the previous sentence action at the beginning of a new sentence.

It should be noted that in a word count of the $45 \mathrm{Karo} /$ Rawa texts used for this study, words with the base form $n g u$ occured 806 times and words with the base form $n g a$ occured 83 times. This is largely due to the fact that Karo/Rawa Speakers view present time as a very short period of only a couple of hours and near distance as one or two meters. Thus, most objects, times, and places would be at further distance and be referred to by the $n g u$ form.

### 9.2 General Feature of Karo Rawa Discourse

Rawa discourse is composed of three major components: The Setting; The Main Body of the Discourse; and The Closure of the Discourse.

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[^0]:    1. doobe-ga oni-bi eraya kande eraya
    stick-def.s man-dead 2 hand 2
    $' 1(10$ kina $)+2(2$ kina $)+10(10$ toea $)=15$ kina'
