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Languages Volume 38**

**Reference Grammar
of the Karo/Rawa
Language**

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Papua New Guinea

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ABBREVIATION CODES FOR REFERENCE GRAMMAR

abs	absolute	i	speaker included	Sent	sentence
acc	accompaniment		from the	seq	sequence
adj	adjective		previous clause	spec	specifier
adv	adverb		action	ss	same subject (medial verb)
af	affix	imp	imperative	Subj	subject
ag	agent	incl	inclusive	suf	suffix
App	appositional	ind	indefinite	sup	superlative
Asp	aspect	Indep	independent	T	temporal
Cl	clause	inst	instrument	top	topic
cli	climax	inten	intensifier	tr	transitive
compl	completive	IO	indirect object	v	verb
Conj	conjunction	loc	locative	1d	first person dual
cont	continuous action	mod	modifier	1pl	first person plural
Coor	co-ordinate	MV	medial verb	1s	first person singular
def	definite affix marker	n	noun	2d	second person dual
dem	demonstrative	neg	negative	2pl	second person plural
Dep	dependent	nom	nominalizer	2s	second person singular
des	desirative	num	number	3d	third person dual
ds	different subject (medial verb)	Obj	object	3pl	third person plural
du	dual	Phr	phrase	3s	third person singular
eg	example	pl	plural	~	alternating with
emp	emphasizer	pos	positive	>	becomes
e	speaker excluded from the previous clause action	poss	possessive	#	morpheme absence
For	formula	prom	prominence	/	or
ft	future tense	pron	pronoun	?	unknown
H	head	p rt	present tense		
		p t	past tense		
		qu	question		
		qual	qualifier		
		quan	quantifier		
		rel	relativizer		
		rpt	remote past tense		
		s	singular		

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 General Information

The Karo/Rawa language is a Papuan Language in the Gusap/Mot language family, located on both the northern and southern slopes of the Finisterre Mountains in the Madang Province of Papua New Guinea. The Rawa speakers are located on the Ramu Valley side of the Finisterres. Their villages vary from 3,500 feet to 7,000 feet in elevation; and the Karo speakers are located on the Rai Coast side of the range. Their villages range from sea level on the coast up to 5,000 feet in elevation. There are approximately 6000 Rawa speakers and 4000 Karo speakers in this language group. The Karo dialect is approximately 97% cognate with the Rawa dialect.

This data has been collected (from Nov 1973—July 1988) mostly from personal compilation of text materials; concordances; writers' workshops of native authored stories; elicited data from headmen and our translation team; and from texts procured with the tape recorder.

For this grammar paper, over 45 different texts have been examined. These texts include first and third person accounts of true experience stories, legends, origin stories, procedural texts, hortative texts, prayer discourse, descriptive texts, letters of correspondence, both autobiographical and biographical texts, as well as recent history texts. In procuring these texts, careful attention was made to include all kinds of people: young/old, literate/nonliterate, male/female, people from the Rawa I and II areas and from the Karo dialect as well.

For the first edition of our Grammar Essentials (May 30—June 24, 1977), our main language helper was Yunu Megu, from Tauta Village. Our technical consultants were Peter Siltzer, from the SIL Irian Jaya Branch; and Dr Robert Litteral and June Head, from the SIL Papua New Guinea Branch. For the Reference Grammar done in 1988, Dr Elaine M. Good from the SIL Pacific Area was our technical consultant.

In the vernacular text examples included in this paper, / means clause breaks and // means sentence breaks.

1.2 Brief Overview of the Karo/Rawa Language

The Rawa language has 24 letters in its alphabet consisting of six vowels: *a, e, i, o, oo,* and *u*; and eighteen consonants; *b, d, g, h, k, l, m, mb, n, nd, ng, ngg, p, r, s, t, w, and y.* The *oo* letter represents the backed /O/ phoneme or the [au] sound.

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In the Rawa dialect there are no voiced stops—only aspirated and unaspirated voiceless stops. Thus the *p, t, k* letters represent the aspirated voiceless stops and the *b, d, g* letters represent the unaspirated voiceless stops. The /*t*/ phoneme freely alternates with /*l*/ phoneme according to the speaker's discretion.

In the Karo dialect, the *b, d, g*, represent voiced stops. The Karo people tend to use a much higher percentage of the /*l*/ phoneme and the Rawa people use the /*t*/ phoneme more.

All the prenasalized stops *mb, nd, ng, ngg* and the vowel *oo*' each pattern together as a single phoneme.

Stress in the Karo/Rawa language is phonemic and therefore non-predictable. The primary stress always occurs on either the first or second syllable. The secondary stress occurs two syllables after the primary stress. In the example below, the primary and secondary stress will be capitalized to show where they occur and the syllables will be separated by a '.'.

(1)

<i>ga.NA.ye.Roo.te</i>	'he is deceiving them'
<i>WE.ngge.Re.ngge.re</i>	'to trip'

There are two basic syllable patterns: vowel (V) and consonant vowel (CV). In the initial syllable of a word, either V or CV may occur; elsewhere only CV. Two vowels may not occur contiguously in a word. In the examples below the words are divided into syllables with the use of a '.' and the functors are separated with a hyphen '-'.

(2)

V	CV
<i>U.</i>	<i>-te</i>
<i>go.down</i>	<i>-prt.3s</i>
'He is going down.'	

V	CV
<i>a.</i>	<i>wa</i>
'father'	

CV	CV	CV	CV	CV
<i>Ga.</i>	<i>na.</i>	<i>-ye.</i>	<i>roo.</i>	<i>-te.//</i>
<i>deceive</i>	<i>-them</i>	<i>-prt.3s</i>		
'He is deceiving them.'				

CV CV CV
bi. *yo.* *mi*
 'bad'

The sentence ordering of the Karo/Rawa language is S O V (subject object verb).

(3)

subj obj verb
Don si yo-ro maketi-no u-wo.//
 Don string.bag get-ss market-to go.down-pt.3s
 'Don got a string bag and went down to the market.'

Sentences tend to be rather lengthy. Verbs carry the principal semantic load of the clause.

(4) Text 85.1; Clauses 1-3:

				Verb	Verb	
<i>No</i>	<i>kuri-mi</i>	<i>bodaga-no</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>te-wero</i>	<i>e-ro/</i>	<i>si</i>
1s	before-int	little-loc	work	do-des	say-ss	string.bag
Verb	Verb			Verb		
<i>yo-ro/</i>	<i>duge</i>	<i>yo-ro/</i>	<i>kopi</i>	<i>ko-no</i>	<i>u -wo-no-wo.//</i>	
get-ss/	knife	get-ss/	coffee	garden-loc	go.down-pt-1s-rpt	

'Before, when I was little, I decided I wanted to do some work (so) I got (my) string bag, my knife, (and) I went down to the coffee garden.'

The verb final of the sentence has tense, person number, or aspect markers. For an example of the usual tense and person number on verb final, observe the final verb affixes in the preceding example four.

(5) Final Verb Completive Aspect Affix *-yingo*:

Ene ma ombu-yingo.//
 3s not come-compl
 'He did not come.'

The medial verbs connect the clauses together with same subject marker *-ro*; or different subject marker *-to-i* ~ *-too-e*; or the imperative *-ya* marker.

- (6) Same Subject Medial Verb Marker *-ro-*:

Ene sipedi yo-rol/ toonge-rol/ ko-no oore-wo.||
3s spade get-ss walk-ss garden-to go.up-pt.3s
'She got her spade, hiked and went up to her garden.'

- (7) Text 85.1; Clauses 64-66: Different Subject Medial Verb Marker *-to --i-* (speaker excluded from the previous clause action):

Ngundiro e-rol/ ene-ndo duge gura nu-noo-to-ni/
same say-ss/ 3s-ag knife another me-give-ds-3s.e/

ngu-nonggo nowoondo-ne mete-mi ingo-yingo.||
this-from stomach-1s good-very feel-compl

'She said that and gave me another knife and from that my stomach felt good again.'

- (8) Text 85.4; Clauses 33-35: Different Subject Medial Verb Marker *-too-e-* (speaker included in the previous clause action):

Nasiyoo-too-we, kokingo ye-to-ni ngu, no-ndo yo-rol/
warm.up-ds-1s.i hot put-ds-3s.e when 1s-ag get-ss

nombo dabemi-mo ye-yingo.||
ashes by.side-of put-compl

'I warmed it up, and when it became hot, I got it and put it by the side of the fireplace.'

- (9) Medial Verb Imperative Marker *-ya-*:

Yo-ya ombu.||
get-imp come
'Get it and come.'

When the different subject marker *-to -i-* (speaker excluded from the previous clause action marker), *-too -e-* (speaker included in the previous clause action marker) is used, the person number marker occurs second affix order with either the *-i-* or the *-e-* marker attached to it according to whether or not the speaker has been included in the previous clause action. Observe the medial verb different subject marker (*-to -i-*) when the speaker is excluded from the previous clause action, in example seven. In example eight, observe the different subject medial verb marker (*too-e-*) when the speaker is included in the previous clause action.

Extended noun phrases are used to introduce new material in a discourse. After that it will be referred to again with either a shortened form, a generic form, or a pronoun.

Suffix markers on nouns indicate: locative, possession, inclusion, agentivity, instrument, plurality, definite article, discourse prominence. Up to five suffix orders on nouns have been observed.

- (10) Text 85.15; Clause 46: Nouns displaying the following affixation: *-mu* ‘possession’, *-ngga* ‘definite article singular’, *-ku* ‘discourse prominence’, and *-woore* ‘locative’:

Asa era-marawesa eraya-ga-ku ngu
 ‘Then, 2-close.friends 2-def-prom that

boonge-mu-ngga-ku-woore u-wo-riyowo.||
 landslide-poss-def-prom-on.top.of go.down-pt-2d.rpt

‘Then the two very close friends went down on top of the landslide.’

- (11) Noun displaying the following affixation: *-ya* ‘accompaniment’, *-ndo* ‘agentivity’:

Oni-ndo Neyuro-ya mande e-wero.||
 man-ag Neyuro-incl words say-des
 ‘The man wants to talk with Neyuro.’

- (12) Text 85.1; Clauses 41-43: Noun displaying *-ne* ‘possessive’, and *-mbo* ‘instrument’:

Bibite-ro,| sendo-ro,| kondipo ke-ne-mbo mera se-we sa-yingo.||
 sit-ss, cry-ss all leg-1s.poss-inst ground dig-des go-compl

‘I sat down, cried, and dug out all the dirt (in the fireplace) with my foot.’

- (13) Noun displaying *-dodo* ‘plurality’:

Bare-dodo kuri kopi ko-no u-yingo.||
 woman-all already coffee garden-to go.down-compl
 ‘All of the women have already gone down to the coffee garden.’

Pronouns have fewer markers than nouns and only one suffix may be used on pronouns at a time. The pronominal suffix markers show possession, locatives, inclusion, agentivity, and emphatic (*ene -su nangge* ‘he only’).

- (14) Pronouns displaying *-ndo* 'agentivity' and *-no* 'locative':

No-ndo ge-no mande e-wero.||
1s-ag 2s-to words say-des
'I want to talk to you.'

- (15) Pronouns displaying *-ya* 'inclusive':

No-ndo ge-ya mande e-wero.||
1s-ag 2s-incl words say-des
'I want to talk with you.'

Note: Examples 14 and 15 show alternative ways of saying the same thing.

- (16) Pronouns displaying *-ro* and *-mu* 'possessive affixes':

Oone-ro-mu? No-ro-mu.||
who-poss-poss? 1s-poss-poss
'Whose is this? It's mine.'

- (17) Pronouns displaying *-so nangge* 'emphatic affix':

No-so nangge ngu ko te-wo-no.||
1s-emp only that work do-pt-1s
'I alone did that work.'

The third person singular pronoun *ngu* (also used as a demonstrative pronoun 'that') and the demonstrative pronoun *nga* 'this' are the exceptions to the other pronouns and the types of suffixes it may have. Even though *ngu* (third person singular) and *nga* are pronouns, they also may function as a noun because all of the noun suffixes may occur on it. The only pronominal suffix that *ngu* (3sing.) and *nga* 'this' do not use is the emphatic suffix.

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.

(18)

1. *u*
'go down'
2. *e*
'talk'
3. *oo*
'something'

Numerous words are composed of only one morpheme.

(19)

1. *ku*
'yam'
2. *ne*
'eat'

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3. *no*
'I'
4. *nu*
'bird'
5. *yo*
'get'

The majority of the words consist of a stem plus affixation.

(20)

1. *y-uto*
them-hit.prt.2sp
'hit them!'
2. *y-uroo-te-nggo*
them-hit-prt-3pl
'they are hitting (killing) them'
3. *yu-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 in 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.

(22)

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>sangga</i>
spear
'spear' 2. <i>doonge-ne</i>
eye-my
'my eyes' | <p><i>sangga-we</i>
spear-des
'to desire to spear'</p> <p><i>doonge-te</i>
look-prt.3s
'he is looking'</p> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| 3. | <i>engge</i>
fruit
'fruit' | <i>engge-wa</i>
maturing-ft.3s
'it will mature' |
| 4. | <i>engge-te</i>
fruit-prt.3s
'it has borne fruit' | <i>engge-wo</i>
fruit-pt.3s
'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	<i>-weroyi</i>

(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	± stem 3	± 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* = 'people'
man-boy-woman
2. *towi-kumba* = 'clothes'
material-wearing.apparel
3. *kumbe-ye-ro* = 'inside of pot'
pot-put-ss
4. *towi-dogoni* = 'policeman'
material-short'
5. *yo-ye* = 'fence in; contain'
get-put
6. *ari-ye* = 'it is dry'
dry-put
7. *yo-niningoo* = 'straighten'
get-straight

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8. *Si-ye-te.* = 'She is filling her string bag.'
 string.bag-put-prt.3s
9. *wata-ye* = 'to heap'
 pile-put
10. *ke-yo* = 'to track'
 leg-get
11. *ende-yo* = 'to walk'
 village-get
12. *u-r-oo-re* = 'to go down & up'
 go.down-go.up

Note: In example 12, because of the CV pattern, two vowels may not occur contiguously together (the *oo* phoneme patterns as one vowel). Thus the *u* and *oo* are an unallowable pattern; so the *r* is inserted in this compound word to conform to this restraint. Thus, *u* 'go down' plus *oo-re* 'go up' becomes *u-r-oo-re* 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* = 'his family'
 boy-daughter-3s poss
2. *nango-simoo-ngge* = '(all) your sons'
 sons-boy-2s.poss
3. *nambo-simoo-ngge* = '(all) your children'
 daughter-boy-2s.poss
4. *omu-kumundoo-ne* = 'my face'
 nose-mouth-1s.poss

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 kambini*
tree limb-3s.poss
‘tree limb’
2. *u -yi*
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.

(27)

1. *bo-ni*
pig-3s.poss
'his pig'
2. *ko -ni*
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)

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

(30)

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.

(31)

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	<i>-ne ~-gene</i>	<i>-nare</i>	<i>-nane</i>
Second	<i>-ge ~-ngge</i>		
Third	<i>-yi, -ngo, -wo, -ri, -ni, -yo, -#</i>	<i>-yari</i>	<i>-ye</i>

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 ~ -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, take the *-ne* marker.

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Some examples of class one nouns are:

(33)

BODY PARTS	KINSHIP	DIRECT ADDRESS
1. <i>omu-ne</i> nose-1s 'my nose'	2. <i>namu-ne</i> mother-1s 'my mother'	3. <i>namu</i> 'mother'
4. <i>kura-ngge</i> brain-2s 'your brain'	5. <i>awa-ngge</i> father-2s 'your father'	6. <i>awa</i> 'father'
7. <i>dapa-ge</i> head-2s 'your head'	8. <i>aha-ge</i> brother.in.law-2s 'your brother-in-law'	9. <i>aha</i> 'brother-in-law'
10. <i>gaki-ngoo</i> cheek-3s 'his cheek'	11. <i>namu-nare</i> mother-1d 'our mother'	<p style="text-align: center;">Flora</p> <p>12. <i>kambi-ni</i> branch-3s 'its branch'</p> <p>15. <i>u-yi</i> leaf-1s 'its leaf'</p> <p>18. <i>tanggo-ri</i> fruit-3s 'its fruit'</p>
13. <i>nomoo-ni</i> chest-3s 'his chest'	14. <i>namu-nane</i> mother-1p 'our mother'	
16. <i>boto-wo</i> knee-3s 'his knee'	17. <i>aha-gene</i> brother-in-law-1s 'my brother-in-law'	
19. <i>seme-#</i> hipbone-3s 'his hipbone'	20. <i>doboo-yari</i> friend-2/3d 'your/our friend'	
21. <i>metoo-yi</i> teeth-3s 'his teeth'	22. <i>doboo-ye</i> friend-2/3pl 'your/our friend'	
23. <i>more-yo</i> shoulder-3s 'his shoulder'		

4.1.1.3 Noun Class One Suffixes

1st	<i>-sumool-guri/-kada</i>	'pluralizers'
2nd	Possessive suffixes (See Chart 4 Noun Class One Possessive Suffixes)	
3rd	<i>-dodo</i>	'all'
	<i>-ngga</i>	definite article (singular) marker on discourse level
4th	<i>-ku</i>	discourse prominence (plural)
	<i>-mo ~ -no</i>	'to/at/in'
	<i>-mbo~-bo</i>	instrument/ agent
5th	<i>-nggo</i>	'from'
	<i>-ya</i>	accompaniment
	<i>-ro</i>	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 *na* 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 possessive. The only exception is *namu* 'mother' where the stem is different in all three possessive forms.

CHART 5

gloss	1s.poss	2s.poss	3s.poss
'mother'	<i>namu-ne</i>	<i>na-ngge</i>	<i>nemi-#</i>
'father'	<i>awa-ne</i>	<i>awa-ngge</i>	<i>ewe-yi</i>
'older sibling same sex'	<i>ba-ne</i>	<i>ba-ge</i>	<i>be-yi</i>
'male cousin' (male speaker)	<i>yaya-ne</i>	<i>yaya-ngge</i>	<i>yeye-yi</i>
'hipbone'	<i>sama-ne</i>	<i>sama-ngge</i>	<i>seme-#</i>

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*
1s-poss house
'my house'
2. *noore-ngo ko*
1p-poss garden
'our garden'
3. *ngu-ro bo*
3s-poss pig
'his pig'

(36) Examples of Class Two nouns:

1. *oni*
'man'
2. *yambo ya*
'church'

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3. *nggire*
'corn'
4. *simoo*
'boy'
5. *se*
'dog'
6. *dowi*
'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	<i>-ro</i>		'poss.'		
	<i>-kana</i>	?	possibly 'place/on '	eg.,	<i>oore -kana</i> road on 'on the road'
	<i>-mba</i>	?	possibly a dialect change from suffix <i>-mbo</i> as this has only been observed from the Rawa II area.		
	<i>-ga</i>		definite article (singular) discourse level		
2nd	<i>ko</i>	?	'on'		
	<i>-mu</i>		possession		
	<i>-ngga</i>		definite article (singular) discourse level		
3rd	<i>-no--mo</i>		'to/at/in'		

	<i>-ku</i>	plural discourse prominence
	<i>-ndo~-do</i>	subject/agent marker
4th	<i>-dodo</i>	'all'
	<i>-ya</i>	accompaniment
	<i>-nggo</i>	'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. *omi-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
1st person	<i>no</i>	<i>noore</i>	
2nd person	<i>ge</i>	<i>yari</i>	<i>ye</i>
3rd person	<i>ngu</i> <i>ene</i> <i>eke</i>	<i>eraga</i>	<i>garo</i>

4.2.1.1 Pronominal Affixation:

Pronouns have fewer markers than nouns and only one to two suffixes may occur contiguously on pronouns. The pronominal suffix markers show possession, locatives, accompaniment, agentivity, emphatic (*ene-su nangge* '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*
1s-poss
'mine'
2. *ene-ngo*
3s-poss
'his/hers/its'
3. *garo-ro*
3pl-poss
'their'
4. *ngy-ro*
3s-poss
'his/hers/its'
5. *ge-ngo*
2s 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.||*
1s-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 3s-poss-poss
'These sweet potatoes here are his.'
10. *Ge-ngo ko-no u-ro ko ombu-wa.||*
2s-poss garden-to go.down-poss again come-ft.3s
'She will go down to your garden and then come back again.'
11. *Ene-ngo ende-mo toonge-weroyi-mbo-ro u-te.||*
3s-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.||*
3s 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.||*
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.||*
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 *-mu* is used. Observe the previous example 38 sentence number 9 (*ngu-ro-mu* 'his').

4.2.1.3 Pronominal Locative Suffix (-no)

(39)

Ene no-no ombu-te.||
3s 1s-to come-prt.3s
'He is coming to me.'

4.2.1.4 Pronominal Accompaniment (-*ya*) and Agentivity Suffixes (-*ndo* ~ -*do*)

(40)

No-ndo ge-ya mande e-wero.//
1s-ag 2s-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.

(41)

1. *no-so*
i-excl
'I, myself'
2. *ngu-su*
3s-excl
'he, himself'
3. *yari-su*
2d-excl
'you (2), you (dual) yourselves'
4. *ge-su*
2s-emp
'you, yourself'
5. *noore-su*
1d/pl-emp
'we ourselves'
6. *ye-su*
2pl-emp
'you (all) yourselves'
7. *No-so sono-no 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?*//
2s-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.*//
1pl-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?*//
2pl-emp only Madang go.down-ft-2pl perhaps
'Are only you (plural) going down to Madang?'

4.2.1.6 Pronominal Plural Suffix (-dodo)

(42)

Garo-dodo yoruwo-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:

(43)

1. *nda*
'what/where'

Ngü nda?
That where
'Where is that?'

2. *ndawu-ga*
what-def.s
'what is it'

Ndawu -ga te-te?
what-def.s do prt.3s
'What is he doing?'

3. *ndawu-ga-ro*
what-def.s-poss
'why'

Ge 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?//
2s what-time-def.s-at again come-ft.2s
'When will you return again?'

5. *nda-no*
what to
'where'

Ene nda-no?
3s where-to
'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*
2s-who
'who are you?'

G-oone?//
2s-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 *ngu* 'that /there' occur as free form words and may take affixation according to its position in the sentence. The demonstrative pronoun *ngu* 'that /there' has the highest frequency of word usage in the Karo/Rawa language.

Ngu 'that/there' may occur with the same affixes that nouns take; however it usually takes no more than two affixes at one time. The *ngu* 'that/there' may occur as a noun in discourse when the proper name of the participant has been mentioned several

times and then the *ngu* '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/there' are:

-ro	possession
-ndo	subj. marker noun class 2
-ya	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 *nga* 'this/here' and *ngu* '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.

(44) 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
Boonge-mu ombu-weroyi suwo-ngga-ku-no ngu, no kumbe.
landslide-poss come-nom night-def.s-prom-in at 1s pan

8

yo-rol/ ngu-no rayisi ka-too-we de-do-ni ngu,| yo-rol/
 get-ss/ that-in rice cook-ds-1s.i done-ds-s.e when get-ss

9

10

koondo-mo moondo-ro ye-rol/ Teri-ro-mu ino-rol/
 dish-in pour-ss put-ss Terry-poss-poss give-ss

11

conj 12

ko Mariya-ro-mu ngu-ya ino-ro ngu, nenengo ne-too-we
 and Maria-poss-poss that-acc give-ss when 1s.poss eat-ds-s.i

13

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 *ngu* ‘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

48

49

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: Demonstrative 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

ngu-dodo oodoo-yel ngu-no boonge-mu-urungga ngu ombu-yingo.//
there-all be.ds-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 namo era-ga suwo-nonggo ko-no
do-ds-s.e papa mother two-def.s night-from garden-to

sa-ying-mu,/ ko suwoo-te-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-rol,
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 ngu (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 laugh-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 *ngu* ‘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.//
 3s-emp only come-prt.3s
 ‘He himself is coming.’

Demonstrative pronouns *nga* ‘this/ here’ and *ngu* ‘that /there’ may occur in both the pre-head and post-head slots of the Modified Noun Phrase and Locative Phrase; pre-head 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’.

Ngu 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-ro/ ooro-ro bibite-ro/ 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-wo.//
 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 1s-ag 2s-acc go.up-ss sleep-ft-1d-cli dem
 ‘Mother, I will go up with you and we will sleep (together there)!’

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 ooro-te.*//
that material-def.s 3s colour red-its blue yellow-its be-prt.3s
'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*
'easy'
14. *yanggangoo*
'strong'
15. *gakiwi*
'strong'
16. *mandoni*
'ripe'
17. *keta*
'new'
18. *owita*
'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 wenggurungo-yingo.*//
that something 3s crooked-compl
'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 3s 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 3s smart-3s big
'That man he is very smart.'

9. *Ge simoo-ye sono-ye-ro ene sugabo-dodo.//*
2s child-pl water-3pl-ss 3pl dirty-all
'You should wash your children because they are dirty.'
10. *Newende ngu ooga ngu-ro yanggango ye-te.//*
inside 3s 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.

(59)

1. *awu*
'up (far)'
2. *awe*
'up (close)'
3. *amu*
'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 3s 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 3s get-imp come
'Get that material over there and come!'
9. *Bare-ga amu ko-no ko te-to-ni kenoo-te-no.//*
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 3s straight only
'That road it is really straight.'
9. *Abu kande-yi ngu bodaga nangge.*//
baby hand-3s.poss 3s 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 detailed 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)

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2. *era-ya* 'two' (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.
3. *kabusa* 'three'
4. *namoraya* 'four'
5. *kande-gura* 'five' (hand-one)
6. *oni-bi* 'twenty' (man-dead)
7. *oni-bi-ga* 'one group of twenty'
(man-body-one)
8. *gumi* 'half'
9. *doobe* 'one stick of 100 ten *toea* coins'
10. *Ge mete muri 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 meeting-at came-prt-3pl
'Twenty two men came to the meeting.'
12. *Ge-do nga gumi bodaga nga yo!!!*
2s-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: 'one'	<i>guranangge</i>	Cardinal Numeral: <i>koretero</i>	'first'
'two'	<i>eraya</i>	<i>eraya-yi-ga</i> 2-its-def.s	'second'
'three'	<i>kabusa</i>	<i>kabusa-yi-ga</i> 3-its-def.s	'third'

4.4.9 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'

kuri
'before'

kuri-mi
before-int.
'long before'

mete
'good'

mete-mi
good-int
'very good'

Ngu uto-ngga ngu piru-mi oorengo.//
that rope-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 3s old-int very
 'That house is very very old.'

4.4.10 Adjective Affix Order

1st	<i>-sina</i>	'location of'
	<i>-woore</i>	locative 'on top of'
	<i>-ro</i>	possession
	<i>-mi</i>	intensifier
	<i>-mboro</i>	?
	<i>-roko</i>	locative 'that location/that mark '
	<i>-ga</i>	definite article (singular) discourse level
2nd	<i>-ngga</i>	definite article (singular) discourse level
	<i>-ko</i>	'on' ?
	<i>-mu</i>	possessive
3rd	<i>-ku</i>	many/plural -prominence discourse level
	<i>-no--mo</i>	'to/at/in'
4th	<i>-nggo</i>	'from'
	<i>-ya</i>	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 --no* '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:

<i>-no ~-mo</i>	‘to/at’
<i>-nonggo ~ -monggo</i>	‘from’
<i>-sina</i>	‘towards’
<i>-woore</i>	‘on top of’
<i>-ko</i>	? ‘on’ possibly
<i>-roko</i>	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.//*
1s-ag tree base-of 3s-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.//*
1s-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 bodaga de nombo 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. *Kootoori-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 put-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:

(65)

N

1. *ya-no*
house-to/in/at
'at the house'

N

2. *ya-nonggo*
house-from
'from the house'

N

3. *ya-sina*
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-te-ku ngu keno.||*
man house-towards be-prt.3s-rel 3s see
'Look at the man who is there towards the house.'

7. *U-ya duge ya-no ngu yo.//*
 go.down-imp knife house-to 3s get
 'Go down to the house and get the knife.'
8. *Nga si-ga nga ya-nonggo yo-wo-no.//*
 this string.bag-def.s 3s 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:

(66)

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-loc
'towards there'
8. *Duge kande-yi koondo-sina dowoo-ro oo doongo-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 oo ma doongo-wa-no.//*
1s 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 ooro-te.//*
there-towards that-to work-def.s be-prt.3s
'There is work over there.'

4.5.2.2 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 *-e* 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)'

Nu-ngga awe de-ga sangani-mo ooro-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. *amu*
'down (far)'
6. *andu*
'over (far)'

4.5.2.3 Go—Come Directions:

There are four 'go-come' verbs.

(68)

1. *U-te.//*
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.

(69)

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:

Ombu-te./
come-prt.3s
'He is coming.'

Maye-te.//
come/arrive-prt.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-te.//
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.2s-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: B = the other person:

1. A < B When B is coming towards A the speaker, the A speaker will say:

Ene no ombu-te.//
3s 1s come-prt.3s
'He is coming to me.'

The other person B will say:

No ombu-te-no.//
 1s come-prt-1s
 'I am coming.'

2. A > B > 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 oorowu/ u/ oore/ 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 > When a person B is following the speaker, speaker A will say:

Ene kootu ombu-te./
 3s 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/ u/ oore/ uroore/-te-no.//
 1s behind go.straight go.down go.up go.down.up-prt 1s
 '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 Temporal 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'

6. *naru*
'time'
7. *kuri*
'before'
8. *kuyowo*
'yesterday'
9. *Ge anangu oorowu.*//
you now go
'You go now.'
10. *Adaga kare Suga-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.*//
3s later-first Madang go.down-ft.3s
'Later on he will go down to Madang.'
12. *Ene kootu-yi-sina ko maye-wa.*//
3s later-poss-towards again come-ft.3s
'Later on he will come.'

4.7 Adverbs

Adverbs modify Verb Phrases and usually occur before verbs in clauses. Adverbs also occur in topic comment type sentences as the comment or predicate. They differ from nouns in that they fill a different slot on the clause level and take only very limited, if any affixation. The intensifier *-mi* marker may occur on them.

(71)

1. *sodedo*
'quickly'
2. *mete*
'good'
3. *mete-mi*
'good-int'
4. *gome*
'good'
5. *kowuri*
'heavy'

6. *gagiwi*
'strong'
7. *ngu-ndi-ro*
3s-same-poss
'same'
8. *biyomi*
'bad'
9. *yanggango*
'hard/strong'
10. *urungga*
'big'
11. *ko*
'again'

Note: When the word *ko* is used as an adverb before a verb, it means 'again'. When it is 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. *Ge ngu-ngga sodedo te.*//
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 oo ne-weroyi yaba-ga, ngu kowuri.*//
this spec eat-nom shelf-def.s 3s heavy
'This table for eating, it is heavy.'
15. *Nga oo-ga nga, ngu yanggango oorengo.*//
this spec-def.s here 3s strong very
'This is very strong.'
16. *Ngu digi-ga ngu, ngu gagiwi.*//
that stone-def.s there 3s hard
'That stone there, it is hard.'
17. *No ko ombu-wa-no.*//
1s again come-ft-1s
'I will come again.'

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 *-ku*.

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.
- C. Final 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.
- D. They can be the minimum constituent of a sentence.

Transitive 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:

(72)

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

Ene 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):

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 yomosiyo-wo-no.//
 1s bed make-ss house-in weed sweep-ss house straighten-pt-1s.
 'I made the bed, swept the house (and) straightened the house.'

4. Medial and final verb in imperative mood:

Ge oorowu-ya moo yo-ya ombu-ya ande-no ngu ye.//
 you go-imp taro get-imp come-imp over-to 3s 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 yomosiyo-te-no.//
 3s story write-ds-s.e 1s-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 3s 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.//
 3s before that work-def-s 3s do-finish-compl
 'He finished that work before.'

8. Final verb with the desirative aspect:

No ge-ya mande e-wero.//
 1s 2s-acc talk say-des
 'I want to talk with you.'

9. Final verb with the continuing aspect, tense and 3rd person number:

Ene oo ne-roroo-te.//
 3s spec eat-cont-prt.3s
 'He is continually eating.'

10. Interrogative Mood:

Ge nda-ru-te?//
 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:

CHART 7 INTRANSITIVE FINAL VERB AFFIXATION

+stem	±aspect	+tense	+Subject number			
			person	sing	du	pl
any intrans. stem	<i>-rora</i> 'past cont.'	past <i>-wo</i>	1st	<i>-no</i>	<i>-ro</i>	<i>-to</i>
	<i>-roroo</i> 'present cont.'	present <i>-te</i>	2nd & 3rd	#	<i>-ri</i>	<i>-nggo</i>
	<i>-roru</i> 'future cont.'	future <i>-wa</i>				
	<i>-muko</i> 'completive'		<i>-wingo--yingo</i> 'completive aspect' <i>-wero</i> '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-occur with tense and person number or with the final aspect.

te-muko-yingo. example 73 below
do-finish-compl
'he completely finished it.'

Te-muko-wo.
do-finish-prt.3s
'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 *-roro* 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-*
'sit down'
9. *ootooge-*
'get up/rise'
10. *sanggiri te-*
'cross'

11. *sore-*
'fall.down'
Intr V
12. *Ene sore -te.||*
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.'
Intr V
15. *Joseph were-weroyi yaba yoko-ro ootooge-ro ku ne-wo.||*
Joseph sleep-nom bed leave-ss get.up-ss yam eat-pt.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 | <i>sendoo-te-no</i>
cry-prt-1s
'I am crying' |
| 2s | <i>sendoo-te</i>
cry-prt.2/3s
'you are/he is crying' |
| 3s | same as 2s |
| 1d | <i>sendoo-te-ro</i>
cry-prt-1d
'we both are crying' |
| 1pl | <i>sendoo-t -to</i>
cry-prt-1pl
'we all are crying' |

2/3d *sendoo-te-ri*
cry-prt-2/3d
'you/ they both are crying'

2/3pl *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:

<i>-te</i>	present tense
<i>-wa</i>	future tense
<i>-wo</i>	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':

1s *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'

1d *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 'o' becomes 'oo' phoneme or the 'au' sound before the letter 't'.

2/3d *sendo-wo-riyowo*
cry-pt-2/3d-rpt
'you/they both were crying long ago'

2/3pl *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 *-riyowo* 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:	<i>ooroo</i>
Present tense 3s alternate form	<i>ori-yi</i> remain-3s

Note: this only occurs in the third singular.

Future/Past tense verb stem:	<i>oru</i>
Medially this verb stem becomes:	<i>oo</i>

(75)

No ya-no ooroo-te-no.//
1s 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.//
1pl house-in be-ft-1pl
'We will be in the house.'

Ene ngundiro oo-do-ni, no-ndo ko ombu-wo-no.//
 3s same be-ds-s.e 1s-ag again come-pt-1s
 'She remained that same way and I returned again.'

Stem Change

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 *weto* 'sleep'. 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 STEM CHANGES

	Imperative Mood	Indicative Mood	
		present	future / past
S	<i>uto</i> 'hit'	<i>uroo</i>	<i>ure</i>
T			
E	<i>muto</i> 'shoot'	<i>muroo</i>	<i>mure</i>
M			
S	<i>weto</i> 'sleep'	<i>wero</i>	<i>were</i>

(76)

1. *Ge uto!//*
 2s hit
 'You hit him!'
2. *Ge #-uroo-te.//*
 2s him-hit-prt.2s
 'You hit him.'
3. *Ge #-ure-wa.//*
 2s him-hit-ft.2s
 'You will hit him.'
4. *Weto!//*
 sleep
 'Sleep!'

- 5. *Weroo-te.*//
sleep-prt.3s
'He is sleeping.'
- 6. *Ene were-wo.*//
3s sleep-pt.3s
'He slept.'

Reduplication of Verb Tense Suffix:

Reduplication of verb tense suffix is infrequently used to convey a repetitive or continuing action. This is historical usage 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 continued 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: OBJECT PREFIX FORMS

Person Number	1s	2s	3s	plural
Object Prefix	<i>no-</i>	<i>go-</i>	<i>#-</i>	<i>yo-</i>

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

(78) Set 1s Examples of Object Prefix Transitive Verb:

1. *yo*
'get'
2. *ki*
'bite'
3. *uto*
'hit'
4. *muto*
'shoot'
5. *ino*
'give'
6. *Ene n-uroote.//*
3s me-hit
'He hit me.'
7. *Y-uto.//*
3pl-hit
'Hit them!'
8. *No buku g-unoo-wero.//*
1s book 2s-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 *go* and the *i* of the verb stem *ino* 'give' are dropped and the phoneme *u* is used instead.

9. *Buku #-ino!//*
book 3s-give
'Give the book to him!'
10. *Ene no-ki-te.//*
3s 1s-bite-prt.3s
'It is biting me.'
11. *Ginggani go-ki-te.//*
mosquito 2s-bite-prt.2s
'The mosquito is biting you.'
12. *Ginggani ki-te.//*
mosquito bite-prt.#
'The mosquito is biting him.'

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13. *Ginggani-ku yo-ki-te-nggo.*//
mosquito-pl.prom pl-bite-prt-3pl
'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:

CHART 10: PERSON-NUMBER OBJECT SUFFIXES

person	singular	plural
1st	- <i>nero</i> -	
2nd	- <i>gero</i> -- <i>nggero</i> -	- <i>yero</i> -
3rd	- <i>ngo</i> -	

(79)

1. *gana*
'deceive'
2. *yomosi*
'straightened'
3. *ooroowe*
'help'
4. *etu*
'show'
5. *erewe*
'hunt'
6. *owe*
'follow'
7. *sobo*
'wait'
8. *gosi*
'tie'

9. *daga*
'win over'
10. *woosoo*
'pull'
11. *towoo*
'try'
12. *sure*
'send/dispatch'
13. *dobi*
'pinch'
14. *Ene gana-nero-wo.//*
3s 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.//*
1pl deceive-3s-pt-1pl
'We deceived him.'
18. *No-ndo gana-yero-yingo.//*
1s-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. <i>Yeri ene ooro-ro ene-ngo nengguro yo-yingo.//</i> | | |
| Jerry | 3s go-ss 3s-poss shirt | get-compl |
| | 'Jerry went and got his shirt for him.' | |

- obj verb
2. *Neyuro de imboo-te.*//
Neyuro wood chop-prt.3s
'Neyuro is chopping firewood.'

- obj verb
3. *Yunu mbako ne-te.*//
Yunu sw.potatoes eat-prt.3s
'Yunu is eating sweet potatoes.'

Set III Irregular Transitive 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.

(81)

- obj verb
1. *No-ndo digi moore.*//
i-ag money have
'I have money.'
- obj verb
2. *Kuri no-ndo digi moore.*//
before 1s-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.

(83)

1. *Ombu-ya oo keno.//*
come-imp spec see
'Come and look.'
2. *Oorowu-ya abu yo-ya n-uno.//*
go-imp baby get-imp 1s.obj-give
'Go get the baby and give her to me.'
3. *No ombu-ro oo ne-wo-no.//*
1s come-ss spec eat-pt-1s
'I came (and) ate something.'
4. *Ene Tauta ende-mo ombu-ro bare-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 *-too*. 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 FORMS

+stem	+different subject	+subject person number	±clause conj. higher level
any verb stem	- <i>too</i>	speaker included - <i>we</i> = 1s - <i>re</i> = 1d - <i>ye</i> = 1pl	- <i>ga</i> 'sequence'
	- <i>to</i>	speaker excluded - <i>ni</i> = 2/3 s. - <i>ri</i> = 2/3 du - <i>yi</i> = 2/3 pl	

(84)

1. *ombu-to-ni oo 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.//
worship talk before finish do-pt.3s.
the worship service was already finished.'
4. *Ende-mo ya gura kuri ye-to-yi noore u-ro keno-woo-to.//*
village-in house a before make-ds-3pl.e 3pl 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-wo-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 Final Verbs

Final 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 *-ku* 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 *-ku* is used verb final. This is accompanied by a strong emotional stress on the *-ku* suffix marker.

(85) Text 85.3; Clause 85 -87: Climax Prominence *-ku!*

Ngu-ro ngu, noore komo oore-ro sa-woo-to-ku!!!
3s-poss that 1pl 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 1s 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-ro/ were-wa-ro-ku ngu!
mother-my 1s-ag 2s-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 2nd plural by the free pronoun. In the indicative mood the tense suffix influences the stem.

CHART 12: STEM CHANGE

	Imperative Mood	Indicative Mood	
		present	future/past
S T E	>-> <i>uto</i>	<i>uroo-te</i>	<i>ure-wa/wo</i>
M S	>-> <i>weto</i>	<i>weroo-te</i>	<i>were-wa/wo</i>

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-te-#*
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. These 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. *Ge nga-ngga ko ngu ko te-wo?// Kini.//*
2s this-def.s work 3s work do-pt.2s neg
'Did you do this work?' 'No.'
2. *Ngu ombu-wo?// Kini.//*
3s come-pt neg
'Did he come?' 'No.'
3. *Ge mbako moore?// Kini, mbako kini.*
2s 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'

3. *No watayi kini.//*
 1s 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.//*
 that man-def.s there 3s 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.//
 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 Mother (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.//
 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.//
 1s 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. <i>kowuri</i>	>	<i>kowuri kini</i>
heavy		heavy no
'heavy'		'light'

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2. *ingondudu* > *ingondudu kini*
smart smart no
'smart' 'dim witted'/'ignorant'
3. *kuniyingo* > *kuniyingo kini*
sharp sharp no
'sharp' 'dull'

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

(93)

No-ro ko kini.te-te.//
1s-poss work finish-prt.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.*//
3s-ag neg come-ft.3s
'She will not come.'
2. *Ngu-ndo ma ombu-wo.*//
3s-ag not come-pt.3s
'He did not come.'
3. *Ngu ma.*//
3s neg
'He doesn't (want to).'

Note: In the preceding 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)

1. Command:
ma!
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* 'not' occurs before the noun and *kini* 'no' always occurs after the noun. They may not co-occur.

(96)

1. *Nga sono ngu ma ne-weroyi.*
this water 3s 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:

1. *Ge ndawugaro ombu-te?// Kingo.//*
2s why come-prt.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'

4. *oo kingo urungga*
all nothing very
'not very much'
5. *Ene kingo ombu-te.||*
3s nothing come-prt.3s
'He came for no reason.'

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 *Yo* 'Yes':

1. *Ge ko-no u-wa?|| Yo / Yo, no ko-no u-wa-no.||*
2s garden-to go.down-ft.2 yes yes, 1s garden-to go.down-ft-1s
'Are you going down to the garden?' 'Yes.' (or) 'Yes, I am going down to (the) garden.'
2. *Ge 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*, 'true / 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:
Ngu-ro ngu, noore komo oore--ro sa-wooo-to-ku e-ro e-yingo!!!
 that-poss there 1pl must go.up-ss run-pt-1pl-cli say-ss say-compl
 ‘‘It was because 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-them-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 truly 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, mera biyomi uto-ro digi-debi
 3pl 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.||
 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. *Garu komo!*
 they emp
 ‘showing disapproval’

2. *Abu komo!*

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. This 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.

(101)

1. *Ge amoo e-te?//*

2s true say-prt.2s

'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 good very say-prt.3s True

'And he said that it 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. *oo*

'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 ooowo-yi Dorosa.//
 1pl ground a named-3s Dorosa
 ‘We have a ground named Dorosa.’

2. Text 85.8, Clause 1:

Mera gura ooowo-yi Dosiyaodo, oni gura
 ground a name-3s Dosiyaodo man a
ooowo-yi Bowungge Simbo ende-mo ori-yingo.//
 name-3s Bowungge Simbo village-at live-compl

‘In a ground named Dosiyaodo, 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 *oo* ‘specifier’ must precede it.

(104)

Ngu-ndo oo ne-te.//
 3s-ag something eat-prt.3s
 ‘He is eating something.’

Bine: 'Perhaps':

Bine 'maybe/perhaps' is used to make a Clause/Phrase indefinite by occurring in the verb posthead slot. *Bine* is one of the few words which may occur in this slot. It is used in questions 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.

(105)

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 mete-mi-ngga-do bine---* (AV.012 p.92)
man good-very-def.s-ag perhaps
'Perhaps (he is) a good man.'
4. *Biyomi ye-wa bine?||* (SB 16)
bad make-ft.3s perhaps
'Perhaps he will make it bad?'

4.9.4 Conjunctions

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

<i>ngundi</i>	'or'
<i>ko</i>	'and'
<i>asal arisalariya</i>	'then'
<i>ngu</i>	'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 ombu-wa-no.//
 tomorrow morning or afternoon perhaps 1s come-ft-1s
 'Tomorrow morning or perhaps in the afternoon I will come.'

The conjunction *ko* '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-to-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 *Arisalasa/ariya* 'then':

Ya wembu-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.'

Ngu Inter-Clausal Conjunction *Ngu* 'when/if/but':

The demonstrative *ngu* is also used as a conjunction on dependent clauses.

(110) Text 85.1; Clauses 31-35:

Ere-wero ooro-ro ombu-ro te-ro/ de nombo-ga-ku
hunt-des go-ss come-ss do-ss fire ashes-def-prom

pawango-ro ooro-ro/ ombu-ro te-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:

(111)

Ariya/ arisal asa
'therefore then.all right okay' --

Ngundiro/ ngandiro
'like.that like.this'

Ngundiro ngu-ro
same that-poss
'for this reason/ because of that'

Ngundiro ngu-ya
same that-acc
'along with this/ this also'

Ngu-ro ngu,
that-poss that
'about that,'

Ngu-no ngu,
that-in that
'in this,'

Ngu-nonggo ngu,
that-from there
'From that there,'

Ene/ 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-ro/ gunuwoo-yingo.//
therefore 3s 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

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

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

(113)

1. *Omukumundoo-ngo kombo kendiro momungo.*//
face-his moon same round
'His face is round, the same as the moon.'
2. Text 85.16; Clauses 143-147:
E-to-ni, no ngu-nonggo nenengo nowoondo-ne-monggo
say-ds-3s.e 1s that-from my stomach-my-from
ngu ngundiro ingo-yingo, ngu-ro ko ngundiro
that same know-compl that-poss again same
ma toonge-wa-no, e-ro ngundiro ingo-yingo.//
not leave-ft-1s say-ss same know-compl

'He 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-1pl.i-seq landslide-poss big-pl.prom up.far-to ground
osowoo-ro ngguyi ngu kondibo balusi kendiro ombu-yingo.//
break-ss noise 3s 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 nangge
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.

(114)

1. stem:

gura-nangge
one-only
'one'

Ehe, oni gura-nangge maye-te-ku!
Heh man one-only come-prt.3s-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:

ngundi-ro nangge (C.F. .002 p 274)
same only
'Because of that only.'

Ngundi-ro nangge, no-ndo sodedo-mangge ombu-yingo.//
same-poss only 1s-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)
1s-ag i-excl only
'only I myself'

No-ndo no-so nangge meye-te-no-ku.//
1s-ag 1s-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 2s 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/final 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.

(115)

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 3s 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*
2 2 of.2
'two groups of two each'
3. *kabusa kabusa kabusa*
3 3 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 *osiosi-yi*
'all of his male ancestors'
2. *ende* village *ende ende*
'villages'
3. *puri* mountain *puri puri*
'all of the mountains'
4. *sono* river/water *sono sono*
'all rivers / much water'

5.4 Verb Complexes

Continuation of Verb Action occurs in verb medial positions of the clause level by use of verb reduplication.

(118)

1. *ne-ro* > *ne-ro ne-ro*
eat-ss 'he continues to eat and eat'
2. *u-ro* > *u-ro u-ro*
go.down-ss 'he continues to go down'
3. *ombu-ro* > *ombu-ro ombu-ro*
come-ss 'he continues to come'

4. *engge-ro* > *engge-ro engge-ro*
fruit-ss 'it continues to produce fruit'
5. *oode* > *oode oode*
stay/is 'stayed and stayed'

5.5 Antonym Complexes

5.5.1 Verbal Antonyms

On 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.

(119)

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) Adjectival Antonyms:

- kuniyingo* > *kuniyingo kini*
sharp sharp no
'dull'
- kowuri* > *kowuri kini*
heavy heavy no
'light'
- ingondudu* > *ingondudu kini*
smart smart no
'dumb'

Nga duge-ga nga ngu kuniyingo 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 kotoori-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
 ‘fat’
2. *wimbu-yi core-yingo*
 bone-3s.poss come.up-compl
 ‘thin’
3. *ingodudu gome*
 think good
 ‘smart’

(122) Adjective with Adjective:

1. *metemi gome*
 good very
 ‘very good’
2. *awu oorengo*
 up.above intens
 ‘vow to God’
3. *ningguri biyomi*
 sweet bad
 ‘very sweet/ delicious’

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(123) Noun with a Noun:

1. *yambo ya*
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 Slot.

The enclitics on this phrase usually occur on the last post-head slot with the exception of the demonstrative pronoun in the final modifier slot. 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.

CHART 13: MODIFIED NOUN PHRASE

+Spec	+N Head	±Colour	±Qual	±Num	±Mod
poss.prn	any noun	colour	size/length adj.	Basic Nu.Ph.	dem.pron
dem.pron	question word		condition adj. character adj. distance/ direct adj shape adj. Intens Phr Adj.Complx Nominalized Negatives Complexes direction wd	Inter Num.Phr extended Num.Phr. <i>gura</i> 'another' <i>songoo</i> 'another'	poss.pron

(124)

1. *bo*
pig
'pig'
2. *Ge-ngo bo urungga, ngu-ndo no-ro ko yomburiyo-wo.//*
2s-poss pig big 3s-ag 1s-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 oorroo-te-ri.//
3pl-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'

5. *ngu Ko-ngga* (SC 23)
dem work-def.s
'This work'
6. *ko-yi yanggango biyomi* (SA 22)
work-3s.poss strong very
'very hard work'
7. *sono ma ne-weroyi* (RA 5)
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 *oo* 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-Ordinate Noun Phrase, then a pronoun may be added at any spot but does not usually occur at the Head final position.

CHART 14 CO-ORDINATE NOUN PHRASE.

±Summary	+N.H. num. 2-7	±Summary	±Dem
<i>oo</i> 'something'	noun pronoun Dep.Double Headed Noun Phrase	<i>oo</i> 'something'	<i>nga</i> <i>ngu</i>

- Note: 1) The Summary is optional and the pre-head and Post Head Summary tagmemes 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)

- oo nakango-weroyi, kandange-weroyi, yomosiyo-weroyi*
spec writing-nom reading-nom checking-nom
'(for) writing, reading and checking'
- 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'
- Widanu no Dipenare Gasama* (NA 3)
person 1s.pron. person person
'Widanu, I, Dipenare, Gasama'
- bo urumi plaua da nono*
pig oil flour sugar milk
'oil, flour, sugar, milk'
- 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 Co-ordinate 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	noun
compd. noun	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 musiyu*
water wash-nom place
'the washing place' or 'the shower'

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 *ngundiro* '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.

CHART 16 COMPARATIVE RELATOR -AXIS PHRASE:

+ Axis Head	+ Relator:
noun	<i>ngundiro</i> 'same'
Mod. N. Phr.	<i>ngundiro kini</i> 'different'
Dep. Double H. Phr.	<i>kendiro</i> 'like'
Co-ord. N. Phr.	<i>kendiro kini</i> '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 Emphatic Pronoun Phrase

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

(128)

1. *Adaga ene maye-wa.//*
today 3s come-ft.3s
'Today he will come'
2. *No ge-ya mande e-wero.//*
1s 2s-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 third person dual and plural, the emphatic marker occurs on the first pronoun.

(129)

1. *no-so nangge*
1s-emp only
'only I myself'
2. *ge-su nangge*
2s-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*
3pl 3s-emp only
'only they (pl.) themselves'

In the third person singular, the Head one slot is filled by the pronoun *ene* '3s' followed by the emphatic suffix *-su* and the word *nangge* 'only' (optional).

(131)

6. *ene-su nangge*
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.

(132)

7. *noore-su nangge*
1pl-emp only
'only we ourselves'
8. *noore-su*
1pl-emp
'we ourselves'
9. *One-ndo ombu-wa-nggo? Noore-su*
who-ag come-ft-3pl 1pl-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 final 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.

(133)

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.

(134)

3. *ya-ngga ngu*
house-def.s there
'that house there'
4. *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:

<i>biyomi</i>	'bad'
<i>urungga</i>	'big'
<i>oorengo</i>	'very/truly'
<i>amoo</i>	'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.

(135)

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

3. *urungga amoo*
big true
'very/truly big'
4. *amoo oorengo*
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-Headed Noun Phrase, they are complementary and in Intensifier Phrase the relationship is one of intensifying);
- 3) it fills the Qualifier Slot of the Modified Noun Phrase while the Dependent Double-Headed Phrase fills the Head Slot.

The Intensifier Phrase fills the Qualifier Slot 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

CHART 17: APPositionAL PHRASE

±Mod.:	+App. H.:	+Explan. H.:	±Mod.:
dem.pron. poss.pron	noun pron. Co-ord N.Phr. locative	noun pron. direction wd. Co-ord N. Phr. Emph.Pron.Phr. adj. locative	dem

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.

(135)

1. *noore, Neyuro Dawa,||*
1pl 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 ngu||*
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'

Norma R. and Donald F. Toland

namoraya

'four'

kande-gura

hand-one

'five' (hand-one)

oni-bi

man-body

'twenty' (man-dead)

oni-bi-ga

man-body-def.s

'one group of twenty'

The basic numeral 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.

(137)

gura gumi nangge

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:

<i>gura-nangge</i> one-only	‘one’
<i>era-ya</i> 2-acc	‘two’
<i>kabusa</i>	‘three’
<i>namoraya</i>	‘four’
<i>kande-gura</i> hand-one	‘five’

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

(139)

kande-gura gidembo gura-nangge
 hand-one plus one-only
 'one hand plus one' or '6'

kande-gura gidembo eraya
 hand-one plus 2
 'one hand plus two' or '7'

kande-gura gidembo kabusa
 hand-one plus 3
 'one hand plus three' or '8'

kande-gura gidembo namoraya
 hand-one plus 4
 'one hand plus four' or '9'

CHART 18: BASIC NUMBER PHRASE (NUMBER 1—9)

+ ±	(+Quantifier	±Connector)	±Head		±Mod	±Qual	±Size
	<i>kande-gura</i> hand-one 'one hand'	<i>gide-mbo</i> 'part-plus'	<i>gura-nangge</i>	1	<i>gide</i> 'part'	<i>gumi</i> 'half'	<i>bodaga</i> 'small'
			<i>eraya</i>	2			
			<i>kabusa</i>	3	<i>gura</i>		<i>urungga</i> 'big'
			<i>namoraya</i>	4	<i>songoo</i>		<i>gide</i> 'part'
			<i>kande-gura</i> hand-one	5	<i>-gumi</i> 'half'		<i>bobodi</i> '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 numeral conjunction *ke-gidemboro* 'leg plus' and whatever one of the basic numerals (1-4) that is needed.

(141)

kande eraya '10'
hand 2

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 '15'
hand 2 leg-def.s
'two hands and a leg'

For numerals 16-19, the term *kande eraya ke-ngga* '15' is used, plus one of two numeral 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'

gidemboro
plus
'plus'

The numerals 15-19 are:

(143)

kande eraya ke-ngga '15'
hand 2 leg-def.s
'two hand plus a leg'

kande eraya ke-ngga gidemboro gura-nangge '16'
hand 2 leg-def.s 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-gidemboro gura-nangge '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 eraya '17'
hand 2 leg-def.s leg-plus 2
'two hand plus a leg and two toes of another foot'

kande eraya ke-ngga ke-gidemboro kabusa '18'
hand 2 leg-def.s leg-plus 3
'two hand plus a leg plus three toes of another foot'

kande eraya ke-ngga ke-gidemboro namoraya '19'
hand 2 leg-def.s leg-plus 4
'two hand plus a leg plus 4 toes of another foot'

(144) Sentence using the numeral 7:

Oni kande-gura gide-boro eraya maye-yingo.!!
man hand-one more-plus 2 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
man-dead-def.s
'one group of 20'

oni-bi
man-dead
'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'.

(145)

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
= '20 + 13' or '33'

However, when the suffix *-ga* 'definite singular' is missing, then the number following it means 'a multiple of'.

(146)

oni-bi kabusa
man-dead 3
= '20 X 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 groups of 20 = 100'

oni-bi kande eraya
man-dead hand 2
'10 groups of 20 = 200'

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

(147)

1. *oni-bi-ga*
man-dead-def.s
'one 20'
2. *oni-bi kabusa gura kabusa*
man-dead 3 other 3
'3 groups of 20 + 3 = 63'
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 X 2 = 40'
7. *oni-bi eraya kabusa*
man-dead 2 3
'20 X 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 commodities. 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 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.

(148)

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. *doobe-ga 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* 'ten 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.

(150)

1. *doobe eraya*
stick 2
'two groups of ten kina' or '2 (10 kina) = 20 kina'
2. *doobe kande-gura gidemboro gura*
stick hand-one plus one
'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 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.

(151)

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'

2. *doobe eraya ngu-no oni-bi eraya kande eraya*
 stick 2 that-to man-dead 2 hand 2
 '2 (10 kina) and to that 2(2 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 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.

(152)

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 eraya 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 kina) + 10 (10 kina) plus 3 (10 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 kina) = 200 + 60 = 260 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.

(153)

1. *doobe eraya ngu-no tanggori kande eraya ko tanggori kande-gura*
stick 2 that-to fruit hand 2 and fruit hand-one
'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'
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 toea) = 70 toea'

Some of the numeral conjunctions which join these numbers are:

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

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 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 kina) = 210 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.

(155)

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

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 Directional Phrases occur in the Modifier 2 Slots.

CHART 19: LOCATIONAL PHRASE

± Pron. 1:	±			± Mod. 2:	± Pron. 2
± Mod. 2:	+Loc.H.	± Mod. 1	+Mod. 2:		
poss.pron dem. pron. prom phr	directionals	noun loc.wd.	adj. loc.wd.	Directional 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 Pronoun 1 and posthead Pronoun 2 slots, demonstrative pronouns optionally occur in one or the other but not both.
 - 3) The Locative enclitics occur on the final Locative/directional word of this phrase -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 posthead Modifier 2 Slot.

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.

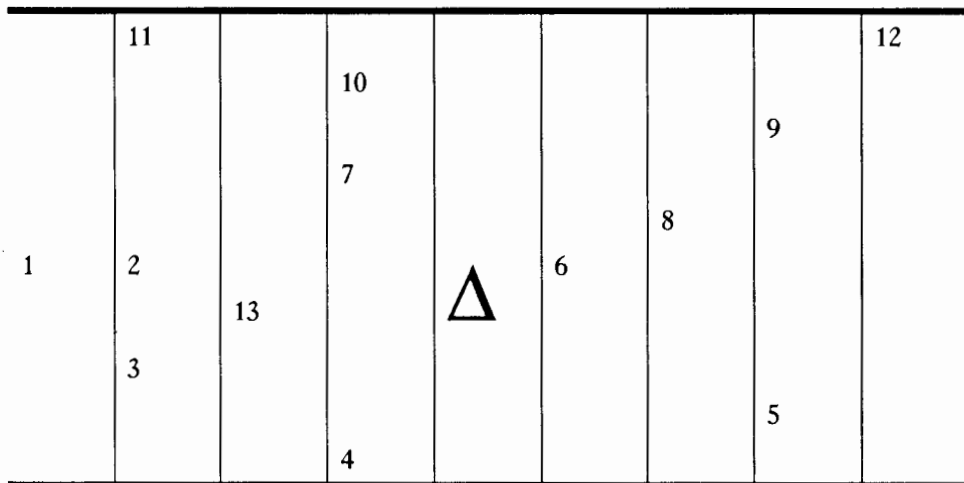
CHART 20: DIRECTIONAL PHRASE

+ Head:	± Specifier:
direction word	distance/elevation directional words
dem.pron.with loc. affixes	

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

CHART 21: DISTANCE AND 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 Δ) the following information was elicited and will be recorded below by the numbers indicated on this chart. 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.



(157) Direction Words

<i>awu</i>	'far up above'
<i>awe</i>	'close up above'
<i>andu</i>	'way over to the side'
<i>ande</i>	'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.

(158)

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 3s close
'it's close by on the righthand side'
7. *a1p1-sina*
up.near towards
'up above nearby'

8. *a1pl-sina andu*
up.near-towards over.far
'up a little and way further over'
9. *a1pl-sina awu*
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*
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:

- | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>u-te</i> | 'he is going down' |
| go.down-prt.3s | |
| <i>oore-te</i> | 'he is going up' |
| go.up-prt.3s | |
| <i>uroore-te</i> | '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.3s

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 'he is coming'
come-prt.3s

maye-te 'he is arriving'
arrive-prt.3s

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* 'he 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] >—> [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.
3s go.straight-prt.3s
'He is going (straight).'

Ene u-te.
3s go.down-prt.3s
'He is going down.'

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Ene oore-te.

3s go.up-prt.3s
'He is going up.'

Ene uroore-te.

3s go.down.up-prt.3s
'He is going down and up.'

3. [B] >—> [A] >—>

When a man [B] is hiking behind the speaker 'A', the speaker will say:

Ene kootu ombu-te.

3s behind come-prt.3s
'He is coming behind me.'

Depending on whether the man (B) is going straight, down, up, or down and up, the man (B) who is hiking behind the man 'A' would say:

No kootu oorowu-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 will ask:

Adaga ye maye-te-nggo-ku?

now 2pl arrive-prt-2pl-cli
'Have you arrived now?'

The reply will be:

Yo, adaga noore maye-te-to-ku!
 yes now 1pl 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: temporals	± Modifier Number Phrase	± Modifier: 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 ndadiro?* (DB 70)
time how.much
'what time (is it)?'
8. *naru guranangge*
time one
'one o'clock'
9. *kando naru Papuwa Nugini* (SC 4)
rest time Papua New.Guinea
'Papua 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 and Modifier Slots, plus an obligatory Head Slot and an optional post head tagmeme, Indefinite Slot. The Head Slot is filled by any verb, Elocution Verb Phrase or Desired Action 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. The Modified Verb Phrase differs from the Repetitive Verb Phrase and the Progressive 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 PHRASE

± Negative:	± Modifier	± Head:	± Indefinite:
<i>ma</i> 'not'	Intensifier Phr Adverb	Transitive v Intransitive v Elocution v Phr Desired Action v Phr	<i>bine</i> 'maybe/perhaps'

(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

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

This Double-Headed Phrase differs from the Repetitive Verb Phrase in that:

- 1) it only has the Double-Headed tagmemes 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 Desired Action second Head Slot must always take the verb *te-* 'do/work/make'.

6.15.1 Elocution Verb Phrase

The Elocution Verb Phrase consists of the first obligatory Head filled by elocution verbs such as: shout, call out, ask, cry out, etc. The second Head Slot may only occur with the verb *e* 'say/talk'. The Head 1 Slot has elocution verb stems as mentioned above. The verb stems do not take affixation in the Head 1 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 Head 1 Slot takes no affixation.

CHART 24 ELOCUTION VERB PHRASE:

+ Head 1:	+Head 2:
any elocution verb	<i>e-</i> 'say'
<i>meno</i> 'shout'	<i>e-</i> 'say'
<i>kira</i> 'pray/cry out/	<i>e-</i> 'say'
<i>mande</i> 'talk'	<i>e-</i> 'say'
<i>sumoo</i> 'ask'	<i>e-</i> 'say'
Note: Head 2 takes the usual verb medial /verb final affixes.	

(161)

1. *Metē ge oorowu-ya Yunu menō ē.*
good you go-imp Yunu call.out say
'Please go and yell out for Yunu.'
2. *Asa, adaga noore kira ē-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 sumoo ē-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 desiderative suffix *-wero* in place of tense, person suffixes plus Head 2 Slot filled by *te* '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 desiderative *-wero* suffix;
2. Head 2 is filled by only the verb *te*- 'do' plus the usual affixation.

CHART 25 DESIRED ACTION VERB

+ Head 1:	+ Head 2:
any verb plus desirative suffix <i>-wero</i>	<i>te</i> - 'do'

(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'

3. *u-wero te-to-yi* (BA.006 p. 588)
go.down-des do-ds-pl.e
'They want to go down-----'

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 Idiomatic 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 co-occurrence restrictions.

The following verbal units work together creating a new idiomatic meaning:

(163) Verb Stem *te* 'do'

Oni.oni te-te.
happy do-prt.3s
'He is happy.'

Ngundiro te-te.
same do-prt.3s
'He did the same.'

Ngundiro te-yingo.
same do-compl
'That's how he did it.'

(164) Verb Stem *kumoo* 'die'

Sayi kumoo-te.
sick die-prt.3s
'He is sick.'

No sayi urungga biyomi kumoo-te-no.//

I 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.'

Ogingo urungga ngoo-ro.

pain big hear-ss

'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.

CHART 26: PROGRESSIVE MOTION VERB PHRASE

+ Progressive:	± Qual:	± Locative:	+ Verb Head:
<i>yade</i> 'progressing'	<i>komo</i> 'truly'	Loc.Word/Phr.	Go/Come verbs
		App.Phr	<i>u</i> 'go.down' <i>oore-</i> 'go.up' <i>oorrowu-</i> 'go.straight' <i>ombu-</i> 'come' <i>maye</i> 'arrive' <i>toonge</i> 'depart'

(166)

1. *Yade u-ro.* (BR.012 p 627)
progressively go.down-ss
'He is progressively going down.'
2. *Yade.yade komo awu-no oore-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. *Yade.yade.yade.yade komo awu-no oore-ro ngu.* (AO.003)
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', *ngandiro* 'like this', or *guradiro* 'like others'; plus a medial verb.

CHART 27: SUMMARY VERB PHRASE

+ comparative word	+ medial verb form
<i>ngundiro</i> 'like that'	any medial
<i>ngandiro</i> 'like this'	verb form
<i>guradiro</i> 'like others'	

(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 newende-mo oo-ku
house break-ss go.down-ss house inside-of spec-prm
'They broke into the house, went inside, (and)

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 *te* ‘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,/ doboo-ge ngu-ya newende ye-yi
do-ss friend-your 3s-acc inside put-3s
and then you make your friend feel badly also.

Final Verb Summary + Generic Verb

ooro-yingo.// 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 *te* ‘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			
<i>Ngū newende-mo</i>	<i>ngu</i>	<i>paʷusi oo</i>		<i>kendi-ro oo</i>	
it	inside-of	that	pouch	something	something

Obj	Loc	Predicate
<i>ye-weroyi musiyō</i>	<i>ngu-no</i>	<i>te-yingo.//</i>
put-nom	space 3s-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	Predicate
<i>Sidu omu-yi-woore</i>		<i>manggo-wo-woore</i>	<i>ombu-wero.//</i>
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	Predicate
<i>Ngundi-ro suwootetoni mbako</i>		<i>gasiyo-yingo.//</i>
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	Time Wd		obj	V	V	Obj	V
<i>No</i>	<i>kuri-mi</i>	<i>bodaga-no</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>te-wero</i>	<i>e-ro/</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>yo-ro/</i>
I	before-inten	small-at	work	do-des	say-ss	string.bag	get-ss

Obj	V	Loc Phr		V final	
<i>duge</i>	<i>yo-ro/</i>	<i>kopi</i>	<i>ko-no</i>	<i>u-wo-no-wo.//</i>	
knife	get-ss	coffee	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.

(174)

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 Neg
Ari ma!
noise don't
'Shut up!'

(177) Text SB8:

Topic	Comment
<i>Digi ngu-ya kini.</i> //	
stone 3s-also no	
'The money too (is) gone.'	

(178) Text SB23:

Topic	Comment
<i>Ngu oo amana kowuri biyomi.</i> //	
that something new	heavy very
'(The) first time (it is) very hard.'	

(179) Text SC1:

Time	Topic	Comment
<i>Adaga nga dagoma sewendi po-no.</i>		
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 type 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.//
 pig walk-ss go-ds-s.e, man-ag kill-comp
 'As the pig ran out, the man killed him.'

- (181) Elicited: Dependent Clause Sentence Initial (no *ngu* ‘conjunction’)-
Simultaneous Action:

No ene-ngo ya-no ombu-too-we, oo ne-wo-nggo.//
I 3s-poss house-to come-ds-1s.i spec ate-pt-3.pl
‘As I came to their house, they were eating.’

- (182) Elicited: Dependent Clause Sentence Initial (no *ngu* ‘conjunction’)-
Simultaneous 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 *ngu* ‘conjunction’ is present as in the following examples:

- (183) Dependent Clause Sentence Initial—Conditional Action:

Sono-no ombu-to-ni ngu, no ma ombu-wa-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-we ne-wa-to.//
name here come-ds-s.e when 1s-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 either the *-ku ~-mu* 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 *-ku* versus the *-mu* is to be used.

In order to show examples of the two relative clause markers *-ku* --*-mu*, we will show examples of these in the following order:

-ku 'relative clause marker' after the:

-yingo 'completive aspect'

-tense and person number

-mu '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 *-ku*:

- (185) Text 85.5; Clauses 145-149: Completive Aspect Marker with Relative marker *-ku*:

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 *-ku*:

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.'

Two Relative Clauses; one with *-mu* and one with *-ku*:

- (187) Text NNK87.1; Clauses 13-18: Tense and Person Number Affixes with the Relative Affix *-mu* (cl 16) and *-ku* (cl 14):

13		14		
<i>Ngundi-ro e-ro ooro-ro, </i>	<i>kare</i>	<i>kembe-ga</i>	<i>kenoro-wa-ku, </i>	
same do-ss	got-ss	marsupial	landslide-def.s	see-ft-rel

15				
<i>ko mure-weroyi idi kini, kingo soru nangge yo-ro, </i>				
and shoot-nom	bow	not	nothing	light only get-ss

16				
<i>ooro-wu-wo-ro-mu ngu-ro Megeku-ndo soru ka-ro, </i>				
got-pt-3s.rpt-rel	that-poss	name-ag	light	cook-ss

17	18
<i>no-nu-no-ro, e-yingo. </i>	
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
<i>Ene ombu-ro, oo</i>	<i>yo-ro maye-yingo-ku, </i>	<i>ngu yo-ro, </i>	
3pl come-ss	something got-ss	arrive-compl-rel	that got-ss

95		96
<i>yaba oo ye-weroyi te-yingo-mu, ngu-no ye-yingo. </i>		
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*:

Oni.simoo.bare mbooro biyomi-mbo yo-yo-yingo-mu ngu-ya
 people spirit bad-inst them-get-compl-rel that-incl

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 97
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 kunawo 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 8
Arisa, no bodaga-no ko te-wo-no-mu,| ngu-ro mande
 all.right 1s 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 *-ku* or *-mu* 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 *-ku* ~ *-mu*. This differs from the other dependent clauses occurring sentence medial, because the completive form does not occur on them,—only in relative clauses.

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

E-ro/ no-ndo ya goodoo-yingo burukoku dowoo-ro,| ya goosoo-yingo.||
 say-ss 1s-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) Text Luke 1:7: Completive Aspect *-yingo* with No Relative Clause Marker: occurring after the noun phrase:

Irisabeti, ngu ninggoo te-yingo ngu-ro erambarisa eraya-ga
 Elizabeth she barren do-compl 3s-poss 2.married 2-def.s

ngu, ene simoonambo-yari kini.||
 that 3p 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 1s this talk something this-poss ask ask

oowooyingga te-ro muri bidodo ingor-ro yo-ro; asa, no mande
 many do-ss custom all hear-ss got-ss all.right 1s talk

nenengo oorengo kuri tunoo-te-yingo ngu, adaga nakangoo-te-no.||
 straight 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*:

Ge komo nowoondo-ge amoo yowoorengo-ni, oni ge doonge-ngge-mo dika-ro,|
 2s must stomach-2s truly turn-3s man 2s 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!!!
 when 3s 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 *-mu / -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 translated 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) Text 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 3s 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 Final 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		dependent clause	dep cl
<i>U-ro,/ de doogo-ni-ngga-ku ka-ro yoko-ro,/ ooro-ro,/</i>			
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
<i>kewa de-yi</i>	<i>imbo-ro,/</i>	<i>ombu-ro,/</i>	<i>ka-wo-no-wo./</i>
<i>kewa</i> 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 (-\).

Ka-wo-no-wo.//
cook-pt-1s-rpt
'I cooked.'

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 3s only
'That's all of my talk.'

(200) Text 85.2; Clauses 73-76: 3 Dependent Clauses in Sentence:

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

	Indep Cl	
<i>asa,</i>	<i>noore gudo</i>	<i>omo-wero sa-yingo.//</i>
then	1pl pandanus.nuts	search-des travel-compl

'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:

Dep Cl		Dep Cl		Dep Cl
<i>Ya-no</i>	<i>maye-ro, </i>	<i>ya goosoo-ro, </i>	<i>ya-no</i>	<i>u-ro, </i>
house-to	arrive-ss	house open-ss,	house-in	go.down-ss

Dep Cl		Dep Cl		Dep Cl
<i>si</i>	<i>oo-ku</i>	<i>ye-ro, </i>	<i>de ka-ro, </i>	<i>mbako</i>
string.bag	something-pl.prom	put-ss	fire	cook-ss
			sweet.potato	

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			Conj	Dep Cl			
<i>ka-ro</i>	<i>ne-ro</i>	<i>ngu,l</i>	<i>asa,</i>	<i>kare-ngga-ku</i>		<i>use-yi</i>	
cook-ss	eat-ss	when	then	marsupial-def.s-prom		stomach-3s.poss	

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

	Dep Cl				Indep Cl
<i>yoko-ro,l</i>	<i>kare</i>	<i>engge-ga-ku</i>		<i>ye-ro,l</i>	<i>asa, noore were-yingo,l</i>
finish-ss	marsupial	meat-def.s-prom		put-ss	then we sleep-compl

'We came 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 gutted 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:	<i>-te</i>	present
	<i>-wa</i>	future
	<i>-wo</i>	past tense

plus person number:

<i>-no</i>	1s
<i>-#</i>	2s
<i>-#</i>	3s
<i>-ro</i>	1d
<i>-lo</i>	1pl
<i>-ri</i>	2d and 3d
<i>-nggo</i>	2pl and 3pl

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

<i>-wo</i>	1s and 1d and 1pl
<i>-#</i>	2s
<i>-rowo</i>	3s
<i>ri --riyo --riyowo</i>	2d and 3d
<i>-riyowo</i>	2pl and 3pl

If tense and person number are not used on the final verb, then completive aspect *-yingo* ~-wingo; or desiderative aspect *-wero* is used. After the usual affixes on the final verb, a climax marker *-ku* 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 3s 1pl 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-ro| si yo-ro/
 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 1s-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.'

(206) Desirative Aspect:

No mande ge-no e-wero.//
1s talk 2s-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.//
Today 1s-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 1s.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 later man a 1s
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 1s-poss power-my that 2pl 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 1s
daga-neroo-te.// No enengo kirikiri oni nangge.//
 win-me-prt.3s 1s 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.

(212) Reason-Result: (Elicited)

No oodoro kumoo-ro ngu-ro oo ne-te-no.//
1s 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-to-ni ngu, no ma ombu-wa-no.//
rain-to come-ds-s.e if 1s not come-ft-1s
'If the rain comes, I will not come.'

(214) Factual: (Elicited)

No ene yeyoo-too-we, ebe ure-wo-nggo.//
1s them see-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 1s-give-compl that-poss 1s work not do-ft-1s
'If they don't give me my work pay, I will not work.'

(216) Manner: (Elicited)

Dasi-ndo enengo kopi doongo-wo-ku, ngundiro no ngu-ya kopi
Dasi-ag his coffee cut-pt-rel same 1s 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:

Ge 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-wo-ku-no, ngu-no bibite-wo-no.//
 1s 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 saporu nu-no-yingo, ngu-ndo de damoni doonge-te-no.//
 Dasi-ag axe 1s-give-compl 3s-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.

(223) Command (singular):

Uto!!!
hit
'Hit it!'

(224) Command (singular):

No-nu-no!!!
1s-give-to
(you singular) 'Give it to me!'

(225) Command (plural):

Mbako yo-ya ombu-yi!!!
sw.potato get-imp come-2pl
(You plural) 'Get 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?// Ge-ngo-mbo.//
 this pumpkin here stone how.much 2s-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?// (or) Desiyo ningguri?// Yo.//
 tapioca sweet perhaps tapioca sweet yes
 ‘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 ngundi de, bine?//
 up.above(far) far.over-to that what house perhaps or tree 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.

(231) Text 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) Text NR87.1; Clause 82-85: Rhetorical Question:

Ngu-ro ngu, no kowuri koorowoo-ro ombu-ro ombu-ro,| adaga
that-poss that 1s 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 3s burdens carry-ss talk
ngundiro-mu wiriko-ro,| ene-ngo newende-monggo ingoo-te?//
same-poss judge-ss 3s-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:

<i>ndawuga</i>	'what'
<i>ndawu naru-ngga-no</i> what time-def.s-at	'what time/ when'
<i>ndawugaro</i>	'why'
<i>one-ndo</i> who-ag	'who'
<i>one-ro-mu</i> who-poss-poss	'whose/ it belongs to whom'
<i>ndadiro</i>	'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) *Ndawugaro* ‘why’:

Yari ndawugaro ngundiro te-yingo?//
 2d 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 2pl-ag here-from cry.out loud do-cont-ds-pl.e hear-ss

Dep Cl

ino Sonomburu mera-no awu-nonggo ingo-ro,| ombu-te-no-ku nga,|
1s name ground up.far-from hear-ss come-prt-1s-cls here

Independent Cl

Independent Cl

e-ro e-wo-ro.//

say-ss say-pt.3s-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 clauses using the various medial clause markers and then just one independent clause sentence final. For an example of this normal sentence pattern, see Sentence Level example 200; Text 85.2; Clauses 131-143.

8.4.1 Linking 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) *-too ---e*, or medial verb different subject (speaker excluded from the previous clause action) *-to ---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.

(240) Text 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 1s water

meye-ro nu uto-ro wataye-ro oru-wo-no.//
watch-ss bird kill-ss heap-ss remain-pt-1s

‘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 *-to ---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

yo-mure-wero te-to-yi, ngu-ro no ombu-rol
pl.obj-shoot-des do-ds-pl.e that-poss 1s come-ss

129 Dependent Clause

130 Dependent Clause

noore-ngo ya kenoo-too-we,| ya goodoo-yingo te-yingo.//
1pl-poss house see-ds-s.i house close-compl do-compl

131 Independent Clause

'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:

<i>ngundi</i>	'or'
<i>ko</i>	'and'
<i>asa arisa ariya</i>	'then'
<i>ngu</i>	'when/but/if'

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

(242) Sentence Initial Connective Words:

<i>Ngu-no</i> that/there-in/to/at	'In that'
<i>Nga-no</i> this/here-in/to/at/here	'In this/ here'
<i>Ngu-ro</i> that-poss	'About that'
<i>Ngu-nonggo</i> that-from	'From that'
<i>Ngundiro-mu</i> Same-poss	'Same as that'
<i>Ene</i>	'However/but'
<i>Asa/ Arisa/ Ariya</i>	'All right/ then/ however/ but/ therefore'

(243) Sentence Initial Conjunction Phrases:

<i>Ngu-no ngu</i> that-in it,	'In that '
<i>Ngundiro ngu-ro</i> Same that-poss	'Because of that'
<i>Ngu-nonggo ngu</i> That-from it	'It was from that'
<i>Ngu-ro ngu</i> that-poss that	'Because of that'
<i>Ngundiro nangge</i> same only	'Besides that'

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 2s-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 that’:

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 1pl 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.’

(250) Text 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
 ‘Because of that, I had to remain there.’

(251) Text NNK87.2; Clause 7: Conjunction *ngu-nonggo ngu* ‘it was from that’:

Ngu-nonggo ngu, no nowoondo-ne samango-weroyi mande-ga,
 that-from that 1s stomach-my strengthen-nom talk-def.s
ngu-ndo no-ro ingondudu-ne yanggango te-yi-no-yingo.//
 3s-ag 1s-poss thoughts-my strong do-3s-give-compl
 ‘From that they gave me talk which strengthened my stomach which strengthened my thoughts.’

(252) Text 85.15; Clause 161: Conjunction *ngu-ro ngu* ‘because of that’:

Ngu-ro ngu, ene ya-no maye-ro/
 that-poss that 3d 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 nangge, doboo-ge-bo-ya ngundiro 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 verb *e* ‘say’ at the beginning and the ending of the quote. The verb *e* ‘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
<i>Awa-ndo gana-yero-ro,/ ngandiro e-wo-ro.//</i>		<i>"No ngu-ya ye-ndo</i>
papa-ag deceive-them-ss same say-pt.3s-rpt 1s that-incl 2pl-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

‘Say’ Verb

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 verb *e* ‘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 go1pl-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 1pl-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:

CHART 28: INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

Person/Number	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	<i>No</i>	<i>Noore</i>	
2nd	<i>Ge</i>	<i>Yari</i>	<i>Ye</i>
3rd	<i>Ngu</i> <i>Ene</i> <i>Eke</i>	<i>Eraga</i>	<i>Garo</i>

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	<i>No-ro</i>	<i>Noore-ngo</i>	
2nd	<i>Ge-ngo</i>	<i>Yari-ngo</i>	<i>Ye-ngo</i>
3rd	<i>Ngu-ro</i> <i>Ene-ngo</i> <i>Eke-#</i>	<i>Eraga-ro</i>	<i>Garo-ro</i>

- 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 substitute 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-wa-no.*
1s go.down-ft-1s
'I will go down.'
2. *Noore u-wa-ro.*
1d/p go.down-ft-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-ft-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.'

(260) Modified Noun Phrases

1. *Ge-ngo bo urungga, ngu-ndo no-ro ko yomuriyo-wo*
 2s-poss pig big 3s-ag 1s-poss garden ruin-pt.3s
 'Your big pig, he ruined my garden.'
2. *No-ro bo diri oowooyi ururu eraya-ga nga,*
 1s-poss pig brown very big two-def.s here
ngu-ndo ya goosingo-mo ooroo-te-ri.//
 3s/p-ag house underneath-in are-prt-3d
 'My two very big brown pigs here, they are underneath the house.'

(261) Co-ordinate Noun Phrases

Widanu no Depenare Gasama, noore-ndo¹ Sisimba-no u-yingo.
 name 1s name name 1pl-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 nangee.*
 who-subj go.down-ft 1s-emp only
 'Who will go down? Only myself.'
2. *One-ndo ombu-wa-nggo? Noore-su nangee.*
 who-ag come-ft-3pl 1d/pl-emp only
 'Who will be coming?' 'Only us.'

(263) Appositional Phrases

1. *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)
2. *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.

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(264) Locational Phrases

Noore-ngo ya-no, ene-ndo oo metemi ne-wa.
1d/pl-poss house-loc 3s-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 te-ro oru-woo-to-wo.*
1pl 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 sode-ye-ro ara-no*
1s quietly 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	±aspect	+tense	+Subject number			
			pers	sing.	du	pl
any verb stem	-rora past cont.	past <i>-wo</i>	1st	-no	-ro	-to
	-roroo present cont.	present <i>-te</i>	2nd & 3rd	#	-ri	-nggo
	-roru future cont.	future <i>-wa</i>				
	-muko completive		-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.
 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:

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

SET I: Transitive verbs that take object prefixes:

CHART 31: OBJECT PREFIX FORMS USED IN AGREEMENT

Person Number	1s	2s	3s	plural
Object Prefix	<i>no-</i>	<i>go-</i>	<i>#-</i>	<i>yo-</i>

- 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. *Ene n-uroo²-te.*
he 1s-hit-prt
'He hit 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 2s.obj-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-ni³ e-ro e-to-ni-gogo ngu,*
1pl 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 'o' 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 person-number marker only.

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'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.

CHART 32: FIRST ORDER OBJECT SUFFIX FORMS USED IN AGREEMENT

person	singular	plural
1st	<i>-nero-</i>	
2nd	<i>-gero--nggero-</i>	<i>-yero-</i>
3rd	<i>-ngo-</i>	

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. *oorooowe*
'help'
4. *etu*
'show'
5. *erewe*
'hunt'
6. *owe*
'follow'
7. *sobo*
'wait'
8. *gosi*
'tie'
9. *daga*
'win over'

10. *woosoo*
'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-woo-to.*
1pl deceive-3s.obj-pt -1pl
'We deceived him.'
18. *No-ndo gana-yero-yingo.*
1s-ag deceive-pl.obj-compl
'I deceived them.'
19. *Ngu-ndo ge yomburi-gero-wa-#.*
3s-subj 2s 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.'

SET 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
'eat'

(268)

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

(269)

Neyuro de imboo-te-#.
Neyuro wood.obj chop-prt-3s
'Neyuro is chopping firewood.'

(270)

Yunu mbako ne-te-#.
Yunu sw.potatoes.obj eat-prt-3s
'Yunu is eating sweet potatoes.'

Limited Subject Affixation

The verb *ange* 'to 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.

(271)

No-ndo koondo ange-ro ya-no ye-te-no.
 1s-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-#.
 3s-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.

(273)

1. *no-ndo digi moore.*
 1s-ag money have
 'I have money.'
2. *Kuri no-ndo digi moore.*
 before I-ag money got
 'I had money before.'
3. *Eme ngu-ndo digi moore.*
 later 3s-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.

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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 non-involvement for each medial verb.

CHART 33: MEDIAL VERB -SAME SUBJECT

+ stem	+ medial suffix
any verb stem	imperative- <i>ya</i> indicative- <i>ro</i>

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
1pl tree cut-ss forked.post cut-ss other pile put-ss put-ss

u-wa-to.
go.down-ft-1pl

'We will cut down a tree, cut forked posts (and) put the (posts) in a separate pile (then) go down.'

(275) Imperative Mood—Same Subject (YM87.10)

Ge de toongo-ya samango toongo-ya songo wata ye-ya
2s tree cut-ss.imp forked.post cut-ss.imp other pile put-ss.imp

ye-ya 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 subject	+ person number	± Sequence conj
any verb stem	first person <i>-too</i>	first person <i>-we = 1s</i> <i>-re = 1d</i> <i>-ye = 1p</i>	<i>-ga</i> 'sequence'
	non-first person <i>-to</i>	non-first person <i>-ni = 2-3s</i> <i>-ri = 2-3d</i> <i>-yi = 2-3pl</i>	

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 *-too* 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.'

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2. *Noore maye-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-too-ye ne-wo-nggo.*
1pl arrive-ds-1pl.i eat-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’, *-yi* ‘non-first person 3 or more’ which shows how many 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 eat-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.*
2pl arrive-ds-2-3pl.e 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 series of verbal actions without any noun phrase-verb agreement, noun phrases, pronouns 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 speaker 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)

Ombu-too-we, bibite-ro, e-too-ye, ka-to-ni,
come-ds.i-1s sit-ss talk-ds.i-1pl cook-ds.e-1s

'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-wo-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.

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Ka-ro...
Cook-ss

'I (made) a fire to cook then cooked all the taro on top of it. I cooked and...'

(281) Tail-Head different subject (WW85.2/149-152)

"*Adaga u-wa-ro, ngundi 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?"

*E-yingo*⁴. *E-to-ni, no-ndo*
say-compl. say-ds-2/3s, 1s-ag
'He said. He said (this and) I....'

9.1.4 Demonstratives

There are two demonstrative forms which play roles in discourse. Karo/Rawa speakers use the demonstrative form *ngu* to carry the meaning of distance in time, space, location and reference. The demonstrative form *nga* carries the meaning of nearness in time, space, location and reference. Of these two demonstrative forms the *ngu* 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, emphasizeers, and sentence connectors. Demonstrative Word Forms are as follows:

(282) *ngu* '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) *nga* ‘this/here/these’

Sono ndano? Nga.
 water where here
 ‘Where is the water? Here.’

When the Demonstrative *ngu* or *nga* are used as locative or directional words, they can take all of the locative/directional word suffixes.

ngu/nga-no ‘at that/this place’

ngu/nga-sina ‘toward that/this direction’

ngu/nga-woore ‘on top of that/this’

ngu/nga-nonggo ‘from that/this’

At discourse level *ngu-nonggo* and *nga-nonggo* 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-wo-riyowo.
 3s 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.

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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.

(286)

1. *Kabusa-ga ngu, garo-ndo ko-no ke-te-te-nggo.*
 three-def.s those 3pl-subj garden-loc work-do-pt-3pl
 ‘Those three, they are working in the garden.’
2. *Oore-ga nga, nga-no kar yomboriyo-yingo.*
 road-def.s here here-loc car wreck-compl
 ‘The road here, (is) where the car was wrecked.’
3. *Ya urungga ngu, kande-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,*
 1s-poss pig brown big very 2d-def.s these
 ‘These two very big brown pigs of mine,
ene-ngo ko yomboriyo-yingo.
 3s-poss garden destroy-compl
 destroyed his garden.’
5. *Koono moo mbako da nggire dowi, oo ngu*
 banana taro sweet.potato sugar corn pumpkin something these
 ‘Banana, taro, sweet potato, sugar, corn, pumpkin, these things,
no-ndo no-ro ko imi-wero.
 1s-subj 1s-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 ngundiro e-yingo.
 be-ds come-ss see-ss Neyuro-subj say-compl
 (and) Neyuro came, 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 truth.'

Demonstrative Pronouns 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)

1. *Ngu kande-ye dedare-sina*
 There hand-poss left-towards
 'There towards (the) left hand (side).'
2. *Ya beyi amu-woore ngu*
 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.

(289)

Ngu-no, andu-sina, ngu ooro-te-#.
 There-loc over.far-toward 3s 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.

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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. *Ngu* may indicate either a conditional clause or a clause with a previous action.

(290) Dependent Clause, Sentence Initial, Conditional Action—‘IF’

Sono-no ombu-to-ni ngu, no ma ombu-wa-no.
rain-to come-ds-s.e if 1s not come-ft-1s
‘If the rain comes, I will not come.’

(291) Dependent Clause, Sentence Initial—Previous Action—‘WHEN’

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

Demonstratives as Markers for Relative Dependent Clauses

Some Relative Clauses use the marker *ngu* as an extended use of this demonstrative form to connect clauses in discourse.

(292)

Naru piru-ngga-no no nga mande oo nga-ro sumoo sumoo
time long-def.s-for 1s his talk something this-poss ask ask
oowooyingga te-ro muri bidodo ingor-ro yo-ro; asa, no mande
many do-ss custom all hear-ss get-ss all.right 1s talk
nenengo oorengo kuri tunoo-te-yingo ngu, adaga
straight very before come.up-do-compl that now
nakangoo-te-no.//
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).’

9.1.4.4 Demonstratives at Discourse Level

The Demonstrative Pronoun forms *ngu* ‘that’ and *nga* ‘this’ are one of only two demonstrative free forms that may occur in a sentence after the usual suffixes on the final verb⁵. At the emotional high point of discourse, the final verb takes the suffix marker *-ku* ‘climax marker’ and the demonstratives *nga* or *ngu* 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 Prominence Marker. *-ku ngu/nga!*

1. *Nambo-ne, no oodooro kumoo-te-no-ku nga!!!*
 daughter-my, 1s 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 1s-ag 2s-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 primarily 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, *ngu* and *nga* 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 *ngu* or *nga* to give further emphasis.

Place *Ngungu-no* ‘At that/this (place)’

(294) (WW85.1/3-4)

Noore mera gura oowoo-yi Dorosa.//
 1pl ground another name-3s Dorosa
 ‘We have another area named Dorosa..’

⁵ The only other free form that may occur in the post final verb position besides *ngu* and *nga* is the word *bine* ‘perhaps’.

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Dorosa mera

<-----<

Ngu-no gudo yo-wero sa-wa-ro/

that-loc pandanus get-des walk-ft-1du

'We will walk there and get pandanus (nuts).'

(295) (WW85.3/1)

school

<-----<

sukuru-ga oowoo-yi Tauta Komuniti Sukuru, ngu-no...

school-def name-3s Tauta Community School, that-loc...

'the school named Tauta Community School, there...'

(296) (WW85.8,c1/26-31)

<-----<

Oore-ro ngu, asa, ngu-no ngu ene bo gedare-ga-ku sono
go.up-ss conj then that-loc dem 3s pig other-def-prom water

newende-mo ye-wo-ro-mu/ ngu keno-wo-ro-wo.//
inside-loc put-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.'

<-----<

Keno-ro/ ngu-no yoko-ro/ asa, ene Simbo ende ombu-wo-ro-wo.//
see-ss that-loc leave-ss then 3s 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-1pl.i 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 *ngundiro/ 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 2s-poss-instr work-3s do-ss
 'This work you yourselves

<-----<

ogingo ingo-ro oru-wa.// Ngundiro ngu-ro,
 pain feel-ss remain-ft same dem-poss
 did and felt the pain of it. Because of this,

ngundiro oo-ga ngu ootooge-ro, ariya,
 same something-one dem get.up-ss then
 this very thing you should raise up then, okay

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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 oo-ga ngu te-ro sa-te-nggo.||
dem something-one dem do-ss travel-prt 3pl
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

kowuri-ngga ngu, ge ooro-ro bibite-ro,| ko
problems-foc dem 2s go-ss sit.down-ss and
the problem it 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-143-150)

"Ge-do no-ndo beresu nga-no-ku oodo-ni|
2s-subj 1s-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 oo 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 *ngu* or *nga* occurs before *ngundiro/ ngandiro* it functions as the independent pronoun 'it' and carries the meaning 'it's like that' *ngu ngundiro*, or 'it's like this' *ngu ngandiro*.

(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 pl.obj-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 1s from.this
 They said this and from this talk

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<-----<

nenengo nowoondo-ne-monggo ngu ngandiro ingo-yingo.
mine stomach-1s.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 occurrences this connector form will refer back to the reason.

(303) (WW85.3/CL/21-25)

Noore-ndo boonge-mu ngguyi-ga ngu ingo-ro/
1pl-ag landslide-poss noise-one dem hear-ss
'We heard the noise of the ground breaking

>----->

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-ro/ Reyi oorowu-wero/
Madang-from come-ss Lae go-des
coming from Madang and going to Lae in the night.

ngu ingo-yingo.//
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 ngu, 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
 1pl-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 tree 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.
 1pl-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. Two of those systems (Independent Pronoun & Switch Reference) are used for identification and tracking of participants and one system (Demonstrative) is used for information

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cohesion of the overall tracking system. This paper has described the functions of these systems as follows:

The Independent Pronoun 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 *ngu* 'that/those/it' or *nga* 'this/these/it'. *Ngu* carries the meaning of far distance while *nga* carries the meaning of near distance. The demonstratives of this system provide cohesion by referring 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 Karo/Rawa texts used for this study, words with the base form *ngu* occurred 806 times and words with the base form *nga* occurred 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 *ngu* 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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pronouns is either the Definite Singular marker *-ngga ~ -ga*,⁶ or the Definite Plural marker *-ku*. The second affix (second order) on nouns and pronouns is the Prominence marker *-ku*. A third affix *-ku ngu*, occurs on the final verb of the sentence denotes the emotional peak (Climax) of the discourse .

9.2.2.1.1 Definite Affix:

Participants are tracked with the Definite affix marker *-ngga ~ -ga* for singular participants, and *-ku* for plural participants. Using the same text illustrated in the Setting, let's consider the following examples of these Definite affix markers.

(307) Text 85.2; Clauses 89-93; Singular Definite Affixes:

Kare kembe-ga de sangani-mo ori-yingo-mu keno-yingo.//
marsupial landslide-def.s tree on.top-of be-compl-rel saw-compl
'We saw the marsupial that was in the top of the tree located on the landslide.

Awa-ndo keno-ro e-yingo.// "Kare-ngga awei
Father-ag see-ss say-compl Marsupial-def.s up.above
Father saw it and said, "The marsupial -- up above there!"

e-ro" e-yingo.//
say-ss say-compl
he said.'

(308) Text 85.2; Clauses 44-46; Plural Definite Affix:

Asa, noore siyaki-ku yo-ro/ woodoo-riri oore-ro/
Then 3pl cargo-def.pl get-ss bridge-over go.up-ss

mera mete-mi-mo oore-yingo.//
ground good-inten-on go.up-compl

'Then we got our cargo, went over the bridge, and and on up to the good ground.'

In Clause 89-93, the Definite (singular) affix *-ga* on *kembe-ga* 'the landslide' indicates that the landslide has already been introduced to the audience in clause 89 of the main body of the discourse and it is now a definite thing.

⁶ The phonological variants of this morpheme are as yet unexplained though they probably vary according to the point of articulation of the preceding consonant.

kare kembe-ga de sangani-mo ori -yingo-mu
 marsupial landslide-def.s tree on.top-of be-compl-rel
 '1pl saw the marsupial that was located in the top of the tree'

It is being tracked in the discourse with this Definite marker *-ga*. The *-ngga* marker on *kare-ngga* 'the marsupial' is the Definite (singular) affix which alternates with *-ga*. In Clause 44-46, the plural Definite affix is *-ku* on the word *siyaki-ku* 'cargo'.

The Definite marker used on nouns/ pronouns that are the main participants, these markers are most generally found in the Main Body of the Discourse. In the Setting of the Discourse, when the main participants are being introduced for the first time, there are no Definite affix markers on them as in the following example:

(309) Text 85.1; Clause 1-3: Introduction of Main Participants/ Topics:

1
No kuri-mi bodaga-no ko te-wero e-ro / si yo-ro /
 1s before-inten little-loc work do-des say-ss string.bag get-ss
 'Before, when I little I decided I wanted to do some work (so) I got (my) string bag,

3
duge yo-ro / kopi ko-no u-wo-no-wo.//
 knife get-ss coffee garden-loc go.down-pt-1s-rpt
 my knife, and I went down to the coffee garden.'

In this text, the author introduced the main topic *duge* 'knife' with no affix markers.

Nouns may have the word *gura* 'a' or 'indefinite' after them when they are being introduced as in the following example:

(310) Text 85.2; Clauses 3, 16-17: Introduction of Main Participants/ Topics:

3:
Noore mera gura oowooyi Dorosa.
 we ground a named Dorosa
 '1pl have a ground named Dorosa.'

16-17:

Mera gura oowooyi Dorosa, / ngu mera-ngga ngu Nggimaya
 ground a name Dorosa, / that ground-def.s it Nggimaya

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sono omungo-sina oorowu-yingo.//
river head-towards go-compl

‘A ground named Dorosa, that ground it is located towards the head waters of the Nggimaya River.’

In Clause 3, the words *mera gura* ‘a ground’ is first mentioned without the Definite marker because in the beginning of the discourse, the speaker assumes the audience does not know what ground is being referred to.

After the participants have been introduced in the Setting of the Discourse, they are considered definite and are tracked throughout the Main Body of the Discourse using the Definite affix markers *-ngga ~ -ga* (singular) or *-ku* (plural) as in the previous text 85.2; Clauses 16-17. In this particular text, the author hadn’t mentioned the name of this ground since the third clause of the discourse, thus he re-introduced the name of this ground using the indefinite *gura* ‘a’ (*Mera gura oowooyi Dorosa*, ‘A ground named Dorosa,’) and then in Clause 17 referred to it using the *-ngga* Definite affix marker (*ngu mera-ngga ngu* ‘that ground it’).

Though in most text examples these affixes do not occur, in the Setting of some texts, the author uses these Definite affix markers as soon as the participant has been introduced in the text as in this example where the names of two close friends had been given. Then in the following phrase, they are referred to again using the Definite affix on the number word *era -ga* ‘two’.

(311) Text 85.15; Clause 1-2:

Dagoma naru 1929-1939 ngu-no te-yingo-mu, asa
year time date that-to do-compl-rel then
‘In that time between 1929-39,

Gawawi, Tooburi Udookeyingo, era-marawe-sa era-ga, ene...
name name 2-friends-? 2-def.s 3d
Gawawi and Tooburi Udookeyingo, the two close friends, they...’

In this previous text, the author first introduced the proper names of the two friends *Gawawi, and Tooburi Udookeyingo*, then when he referred to the two close friends again in the next phrase (*era-marawe-sa era-ga* ‘two close friends’), he used the *-ga* Definite (singular) affix because they were then ‘known’ to the audience.

In the Setting of a well known written story about when his Father had been paid to kill a woman; the author used the Definite affix marker *-ga* (*bare-ga* ‘woman-def.s’) from the very beginning of the Setting. Since the story was so well known, the author

assumed that the audience already knew about her and therefore he used the Definite affix from the onset of the Setting.

(312) Text 85.12; Clause 1:

Kuri-mi Bowungge-do bare-ga idi-bo
 Before-inten name-ag woman-def.s bow-instr

mure-yingo-mu ngu-ro e-wero.//
 shot-compl-rel that-poss say-des

‘I want to talk about the time before when Bowungge shot the woman with a bow.’

However, this is unusual as the Definite markers generally are tracking devices used for participants in the main body of the discourse.

9.2.2.1.2 Prominence Affixation:

There is a second order affix occurring on nouns and pronouns (*-ku*) used in conjunction with the Definite Affix to show the particular participant that is being emphasized. For singular participants the Definite affix plus the Prominence affix is: *-ngga-ku ~ -ga-ku*. For plural participants, the Definite affix plus the Prominence affix is incorporated into just one affix *-ku*. The following Clauses illustrate the combination of Definite affixes plus the second Prominence marker.

(313) Text 85.2; Clauses 47-51:

Oore-ro,| arisa, oore-ga-ku keyo-rol
 go.up-ss then trail-def.s-prom follow-ss
 ‘They went up and then followed the trail and

yade yade gudo-dodo mera-ngga-ku-no sa-wo-ro -wo.//
 cont cont nuts-all ground-def.s-prom-to travel-pt-1d-rpt
 hiked and hiked on to the ground where all the pandanus nuts were.

Sa-rol siyaki-ku ye-ro yoko-rol...
 travel-ss cargo-def.pl.prom put-ss finish-ss
 ‘They travelled there and when they had finished putting down their cargo...’

In this previous text, the words: *oore-ga-ku* ‘the trail’, *mera -ngga -ku -no* ‘to the ground’, *siyaki -ku* ‘all of our cargo’, all are important to the central topic of the discourse. When the full Definite and Prominence markers are used, the author is emphasizing these items as important.

41 42

kondibo ke-ne-mbo mera se-we sa-yingo.//
 all leg-1s-instr ground dig-des leave-compl
 and with my legs, I was digging in the ground (of the fireplace).

42 43

Sendo-ro sendo ro / ootooge-ro/
 cry-ss cry-ss get.up-ss
 I cried and cried as I got up

44

ko duge-ga-ku erewe-wo-no-wo.//
 again knife-def.s-prm hunt.for-pt-1s-rpt
 and started hunting for the knife again.

45

Ngu-ndo ngu de nombo-ga-ku se-ro/
 3s-ag dem fire ashes-def.s-prom dig-ss
 I dug out all the ashes from the fire,

46

de-ku toongo-yi / sa-to-ni yoko-rol
 fire-pl.prom cut-3s go-ds-3s.e leave-ss
 and removed the fire completely

47

ngu-nonggo duge-ga-ku keno-wo-no-wo.//
 that-from knife-def.s-prom see-pt-1s-rpt
 and then from doing that, I saw the knife.

48

Duge-ga-ku kenoo-too-wel
 knife-def.s-prom see-ds-1s.i
 When I saw the knife,

49

ngu de-yi gumi-ngga-ku de-muko-yingo.//
 when fire-3s part-def.s-prom fire-finish-compl
 I saw that the fire had completely cooked the handle of it.

the problem was resolved (Clause 65), her mother gave her another knife, Only during the time the problem was defined through to the resolution of the problem (Clause 28-57), did the word *duge* ‘knife’ have the *-ga-ku* Definite (singular) Prominence markers on them.

In this preceding text, other nouns of secondary significance to the story are marked by *-ga-ku ~ -ngga-ku* ‘Definite prominence markers’ as well. They are as follows:

(316) Clause 10:

de doogo-ni-ngga-ku
 firewood old-intens-def.s-prom
 ‘Old/dry firewood that she was getting’

Clause 19:
Gobiri-ku
 taro-pl.prom
 ‘The taro (plural)’

Clause 26:
si-ga-ku
 string.bag-def.s-prom
 ‘The string bag’ (singular)

These nouns are affixed to show the author’s intent of emphasizing these nouns in the preceding discourse. They are things which are important factors involved with the using, losing, and refinding of her knife.

In Clause 26, the author got her string bag, put it on her head and went to get her knife and discovered it was missing. In Clause 28, when the problem of the missing knife is discovered, the word *duge* ‘knife’ received the full Definite affix plus the Prominence marker *duge-ga-ku*. These affixes were retained until the problem is resolved in Clause 57.

During the search for the missing knife, only the nouns which are involved closely with the intensive search for the knife are affixed similarly. They are as follows:

(317) Clause 45:

de nombo-ga-ku
 fire ashes-def.s-prom
 ‘ashes from the fire’

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Clause 46:

de-ku

firewood-pl.prom

'firewood (plural)'

Clause 49:

de-yi

gumi-ngga-ku

wooden-3s.poss part-def.s-prom

'wooden handle (of knife)'

Some of the nouns in these clauses that are not affixed are:

doonge-ne

sono-yi

(clause 37)

eyes-15.poss water-it

'my tears'

ke-ne-mbo

mera

(clause 41)

foot-my-instr ground

'with my foot I dug out the ground'

9.2.2.1.3 Climax:

Within the Body of the Discourse, there is a point at which the speaker evidences the greatest emotion in the story (the Climax). At this point the final verb of the sentence occurs with its usual tense and aspect markers plus the affix *-ku* 'Climax marker', plus an optional free form demonstrative *ngu* or *nga* 'that' 'this' finally in the sentence. This is accompanied by a louder stress at the end of the sentence.

In one true experience story, a mountain came loose and crashed into the cliff plateau on the other side of a 100 foot ravine where a teacher and his family were residing. The climax occurred when she was explaining to her husband why she had just grabbed the baby and fled out the door and up to the headmaster's house in the middle of the night when it happened.

(318) Text 85.3; Clause 85 -87: Climax Prominence *-ku*

Ngu-ro ngu, noore komo oore-ro sa-woo-to-ku! //

it-poss that 3s must go.up-ss travel-pt-1pl-cli.prom

'It was because of that, that we had to leave!'

The following examples illustrate the climax of two other texts:

(319) Text 85.4; Clause 41: Climax Prom. *-ku nga!*

Nambo-ne, no oodooro kumoo-te-no-ku nga!//
 daughter-1s.poss 1s hungry die-prt-1s-cli.prom dem!//
 'My daughter, I am hungry!'

(320) 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 1s-ag 2s-incl go.up-ss sleep-ft-1d-cli.prom there
 'Mother, I will come up and sleep with you there!'

Though this *-ku* is the same form as the prominence marker which occurs on nouns or pronouns, observe that this Climax marker *-ku* generally occurs on the final verb.

The climax marker *-ku* with the free form demonstrative *ngu* 'that/there'~ *nga* 'this/here' may also occur on the end of a sentence with no regular verb as well. In the following example when the *-ku* 'climax marker' is used on the last noun of the sentence, it is the same form as the Definite affix and Prominence affix. The demonstrative *nga* 'here' and exclamation stress also occur here at the end of the sentence.

(321) Text 85.4; Clause 71: Comment Sentence Climax:

Oo-ku nggusi-ngga-ku nga!
 Something-pl.prom bamboo-def.s-cli here
 'The bamboo (is) here (but the pork is not inside)!'

Though we cannot prove that this *-ku* is the Climax marker and not the Prominence marker as discussed in Section B, its position in the sentence final, the following demonstrative and heavy stress are some evidence that this *-ku* is the Climax marker.

An unusual variant of the use of the Climax marker as the emotional high point of the text, is a discourse where the author does not use the Climax marker in the Main Body of his text. Instead, he chose to use it in the Setting and in the Closure to emphasize that he had written this story instead of it being only an oral discourse.

(322) Text WW86.2; Clause 1-2 (Setting); and 58-62 (Closure): An Unusual Use of the Climax Marker:

Clauses 1-2 Setting:

Ngu mata-ngga ngu-ya Gora-do e-to-ni,
 That legend-def.s that-also Gora-ag say-ds-s.e

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no-ndo nakango-wo-no-ku nga!
1s-ag write-pt-1s-cli here

'That legend also Gora gave (to me), (and) I wrote it here!'

Clauses 58-62 Closure:

Mata wenga ngu nangge.// Gora-do Naki-ro mata-ngga ngu
legend end 3s only Gora-og Nake-poss legend-def.s that

e-to-ni,/ nakango-ro ombu-ro/ wenga ngu yokoo-te-no-ku
say-ds-s.e write-ss come-ss end that finish-prt-1s-cli.prom

ngu!!!
3s

'This is the last of the legend. Gora told me the legend of Naki and I wrote it down right up to here and have finished it!'

After the climax of the discourse has been reached, there is a marked drop in the occurrence of the Definite and Prominence markers since the author/ speaker is then ready to finish his discourse with a few additional comments, evaluations and then conclude his discourse.

9.2.2.2 Sequence of Events in Discourse:

There are four ways that sequence of events are shown in the Rawa discourse: a) repetition of the final verb of the sentence in the following sentence (Tail-Head Verb Linkage); b) sentence initial connectors; c) sentence initial dependent clauses; d) and by use of Time Words or Phrases

9.2.2.2.1 Tail-Head Verb Linkage:

In the body of the Discourse, sequence of events is shown by repetition of the final verb of a sentence in the beginning of the following sentence (Tail-Head Verb Linkage), as in this example:

(323) Text 85.5; Clauses 30-36; Tail-Head Verb Linkage:

Ene no-ya e-to-ni,/ oore-yingo.// Oore-rol de ka-rol
3s 1s-incl said-ds-3s.e go.up-compl go.up-ss fire cook-ss

'She said for me (to come) and I went up (there). I went up there, made a fire,

namo-ndo yaba gide-roko we-do-ni/
 mother-ag bed other-area sleep-ds-3.s.e
 and while Mother slept on one side (of the fire),

no-ndo yaba gide-roko weto-rori-yingo.// Weto-roroo-too-wel...
 1s-ag bed other-area sleep-cont-compl sleep-cont-ds-1s.i
 I slept on the other side. I slept and...'

Tail-Head Verb Linkage is the most frequently used form of showing sequence progression in the body of a discourse. It does not usually occur in the setting or the closure. Due to the structure of the language which permits lengthy sentences, the repetition of the final verb in the following sentence (Tail-Head Verb Linkage), emphasizes and reinforces the action in sequence progression.

Absence of Tail-Head Verb Linkage shows a change from the sequence of one event following another, to show non-sequence material such as: background information, a comment or evaluation of some kind.

In the following example, the absence of the usual Tail-Head Verb Linkage is used to switch from the normal sequence of events in the discourse to a side comment before proceeding on to the next event.

(324) Text 85.12; Clauses 30-32:

Mure-ni kumoo-to-ni,| ene bare-ga-ku ngu-no yoko-ro/
 shoot-3s.poss die-ds-s.e 3s woman-def.s-prom there-to leave-ss
 'He shot her and she died, (then) he left the woman there

ene komo oriroko toonge-wo-ro-wo.//
 3s truly far.away go-pt-3s-rpt
 and went a very long way away (from there).

Ngu mera-ngga ngu oowoo-yi Sonomburu.
 That ground-def.s that name-its Sonomburu
 The name of the ground (where he went) is called Sonomburu.

Ene ngu-no oore-ro/...
 3s there-to go.up-ss
 He went up there...'

In this text, the author switched from the normal sequence of events to this additional comment: *Ngu mera-ngga ngu oowoo-yi Sonombur.* 'The name of the ground (where he

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went) is called Sonomburu'. He then proceeds on again without using the Tail-Head Verb Linkage in the sentence which followed.

9.2.2.2.2 Sentence Initial Connecting Words/ Phrases:

The second way that sequence progression is shown, is by use of sentence initial connecting words and phrases such as those in the following lists:

(325) Sentence Initial Connecting Words:

1. *Ngu-no* 'In that'
that/there-in/to/at
2. *Nga-no* 'In this/ here'
this/here-in/to/at/here
3. *Ngu-ro* 'About that'
that-poss
4. *Ngu-nonggo* 'From that'
that-from
5. *Ngundiro-mu* 'Same as that'
Same-poss
6. *Ene* 'However/but'
7. *Asa/ Arisa/ Ariya* 'All right/then/however/but/therefore'

(326) Sentence Initial Connecting Phrases:

1. *Ngu-no ngu* 'In that '
that-in it
2. *Ngundiro ngu-ro* 'Because of that'
Same that-poss
3. *Ngu-nonggo ngu* 'It was from that'
That-from it
4. *Ngu-ro ngu* 'Because of that'
that-poss that
5. *Ngundiro nangge* 'Besides that'
same only

These sentence initial connecting words and phrases refer to events specified in the preceding sentence. There are relatively few inner clausal conjunctions used in Rawa. Most of the connecting words used are on the sentence level and occur sentence initial.

- (327) Text 85.7; Clause 1-2: Connecting Word *Ngu -no* 'In that':

Mera gura oowoo-yi ngu Bigere.//
ground a name-3s.poss it Bigere
'The name of that ground is Bigere.'

Ngu-no ya ye-ro oru-wo-nggo.//
there-to house make-ss remain-pt-3pl
It was there that they made a house and lived.'

- (328) Text 85.4; Clause 75: Connecting Word *nga -no* 'to this/here'

Nga-no maye-to-ni ngu,
here-to come-ds-s.e when
'When he came here,'

- (329) Text NNK87.5; Clause 25: Connecting Word *ngu-ro* 'About that':

Ngu-ro ge-ngo-mbo ombu-ro,...
that-poss 2s-poss-ag come-ss
'About that you yourself come...'

- (330) Text 85.16; Clause 71: Connecting Word *Ngu-nonggo* 'From that':

Ngu-nonggo ko oore-ro toonge-weroyi nguyaya kini.//
there-from again go.up-ss leave-nom also not
'From there, there was no way to go up (outside) again.'

- (331) Text 85.4; Clause 7: Connecting Word *ngundi-ro-mu* 'Same as that':

Ngundi-ro-mu ngu-no oodoo-we
same-poss there-to remain-ds.1s.i
'It was like that when we lived there...'

- (332) Text NNK87.3; Clause 10: Connecting Word *Ngu-no ngu* 'In that it':

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

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

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- (333) Text 85.16; Clause 73: Connecting Word *Ngundiro ngu-ro* ‘Because of that’:

Ngundiro ngu-ro, komo ngu-no ori-yingo.//
 same dem-poss must there-to remain-compl
 ‘Because of that, I had to remain there.’

- (334) Text NNK87.2; Clause 7: Connecting Word *Ngu-nonggo ngu*, ‘It was from that’

Ngu-nonggo ngu, no nowoondo-ne samango-weroyi mande-ga,
 that-from that 1s stomach-my1s.poss strengthen-nom talk-def.s
 ‘From that they gave me talk which strengthened my stomach

ngu-ndo no-ro ingondudu-ne yanggango e-yi-no-yingo.//
 3s-ag my-poss thoughts-1s.poss strong do-3s-give-compl
 which strengthened my thoughts.’

- (335) Text 85.15; Clause 161: Connecting Word *Ngu-ro ngu* ‘Because of that’:

Ngu-ro ngu, ene ya-no maye-ro/...
 that-poss that 3d house-to come-ss
 ‘Because of that, the two of them came to the house,...’

- (336) Text NR87.1; Clause 25: Connecting Word *Ngundiro nangge* ‘Besides that’:

Ngundiro nangge, doboo-ge-bo-ya ngundiro 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,...’

As can be seen, many of these connectors are demonstrative type words or demonstratives plus affixes or demonstratives repeated. These forms are discussed in more detail in Don Toland, “Who’s Who in Rawa Discourse.”

Conjunctions such as: *ariya*, *arisa*, and *asa* ‘then/ therefore/ all right/ however’ may be used to mark Sequence Progression as in the following examples:

- (337) Text NR87.1; Clause 50: Conjunction Word *Ariya* ‘All right/ then/ however/ but/ therefore’:

Ariya, oo nga bidodo kenoo-te-to-ku ngu,/
 then something this all see-prt-1pl-cls if
 ‘Then if all that we see,

oo bidodo uto-ro yomburiyo-ro,|...
 something all hit-ss destroy-ss
 we hit and destroy,...

- (338) Text SD84.3; Clause 4: Conjunction *Arisa* ‘All right/ then/ however/ but/ therefore’:

Arisa, ngu-ndo ngu de-yi toongoo-te-no.||
 then 3s-ag that tree-3s cut-prt-1s
 ‘Then I cut the trees.’

- (339) Text NNK87.4; Clause 81: Conjunction *asa* ‘All right/ then/ however/ but/ therefore’:

Asa, gumi-ngga ngu owita sukulu-no,
 Then another-def dem young school-in
 ‘Then, another one is still in school yet.’

However, *ariya*, *arisa*, and *asa* ‘then/ therefore/ all right/ however’ are generally used to signal that a non sequence change is about to take place in the discourse.

In the example which follows, the author has been telling about his family. He had finished talking about his children and when he used the word *ariya* ‘all right/ now’ in the sentence initial position, he signaled that he had finished the current subject and was about to commence a new subject.

- (340) Text NNK87.4; Clause 96: Conjunction *Ariya* ‘all right/ now’ Used as a New Subject Signal:

Ariya, bare ngu Gomumu-nonggo yo-wo-no-mu
 now woman that Gomumu-from get-pt-1s-rel
 ‘Now about the wife that I got from Gomumu,

ngu-ro uri ngu kunawo onibi-ga,
 3s-poss pay 3s shell.beads 20-one
 the pay for her was twenty shell beads

ko bo-yi ngu kandegura gidemboro era-ya.||
 and pig-3s 3s five plus two-incl
 and seven pigs.’

(341) Text YM84.5; Clauses 1-3: Start of a New Subject:

Kuri-mi oorengo, oni doogo-ni gura
 Before-inten very man old-inten a
 'A very long time ago, an old man

osi-yi-mbo-ya nangge oode,
 grandson-3s.poss-instr-incl only remain
 lived with his grandchild alone

osi-yi simoo oore-ga, ngu-ndo e-yingo.//
 grandson-3s.poss boy young-def.s 3s-ag say-compl
 and his young grandson said,

"*Osi, noore era-ya nangge nga-no ooro-te-ro-ku*
 Grandfather 1pl 2-incl only here-to remain-prt-1d-cli.prom
 "Grandfather, there are only the two of us

nga!" e-yingo.// Arisa, osi-yi-mbo simoo oore-ga
 here say-compl then gr.father-3s-ag boy young-def.s
 here!" he said. Then his grandfather answered the youth

ngu-ro mande-ni e-yingo.//
 3s-poss talk-3s.poss say-compl
 with this talk.'

Thus we can see that these forms seem to be what we would call a 'new paragraph' in English.

As we might expect, the words ⁷ *Ariya*, *arisa*, and *asa* 'then/ now/ therefore/ all right/ however' also are used at the change from the Setting to the Main Body of the Discourse:

⁷ The conjunctions *ariya*, *asa*, and *arisa* 'then/therefore/ all right/however' are widely used throughout the Madang Province. It is according to speaker preference as to which of these will be used. When a speaker is nervous, he often will continually use one of these conjunctions as he is trying to figure out what next to say.

- (342) Text NNK87.4; Clause 3: Switching from Setting to Main Body of the Discourse:

Asa, ngu-ngga ngu ngandiro.
 All.right it-def.s dem same
 'All right, it is like this.'

Ariya, arisa, and *asa* 'then/ now/ therefore/ all right/ however' may also signal a change from the Main Discourse to the Closure as well as in this example:

- (343) Text NNK87.1; Clause 62-66: Switching From the Main Body of the Discourse to the Closure:

E -ro,/ ya-no oni oru-wo-nggo-ku,/ ene no ne-yo-ro,/
 say-ss house-to men be-pt-3pl-rel 3p 1s 1s.obj-see-ss
 'They said this (and) when the men who were in the house saw me,
oni.oni te-wo-nggo-ri.// Ariya, mande ngu nangge.//
 happy do-pt-3pl-rpt All.right talk that only
 they were happy. All right, that's all I have to say.'

In conversation, the use of these conjunctions *ariya*, *arisa*, and *asa* 'then/ therefore/ all right' can be used to indicate that a change is about to occur as well. When a person has been talking or just sitting for awhile in a house and he says *-asa / ariya/ arisa* "all right," this signals his time there is finished and he intends to leave.

9.2.2.2.3 Sentence Initial Dependent Clauses:

The third way sequence of events is shown in discourse is with a Dependent Clause sentence initial as shown in these examples:

- (344) Text YM87.12; Clauses 38-39: Sentence Initial Dependent Clause:

Yari ngundiro te-ro oodo ri ngu,/
 2d same do-ss remain ds.due conj
 'If you two do this, then
ene-ndo oo gura ngu-ya yari yu-no-wero ingo-ro.
 3s-ag something other dem-incl 2d pl.obj-give-des feel-ss
 he will desire to give you things.'

And then he proceeded to explain how this would work.

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(345) Text 85.5; Clauses 118-120: Dependent Clause—Sentence Initial:

Ene ngundiro e-to-ni,/ kone-nani-ngga-ku kumoo-yingo.//
3s same do-ds-s.e younger.sibling-our-def.s-prom die-compl
'She did that but our younger brother died (anyway).//

Kumoo-to-ni ngu, yo-ro,/ ya gingo-mo ye-yingo.//
die-ds-s.e when get-ss house cold-in put-compl
'When he died, they got (him) and put (him) in the morgue.'

Most sentence initial dependent clauses contain either examples of the Tail-Head Verb Linkage or a generic form. The verb *te-* 'to do' is a generic verb which reflects the same meaning as the final verb of the preceding sentence. In these two preceding text examples, YM87.12 and 85.5, the verb *te-* 'to do' has been used in a sentence initial Dependent Clause to refer to the final verb of the preceding sentence.

9.2.2.2.4 Time Words/ Phrases:

The fifth way of showing Sequence Progression in discourse, is by the use of Time Words/ Phrases in the Sentence Initial Position.

(346) Some of the Sentence Initial Time Words are:

1. *Kootuyisina* 'Later on'
2. *Sengetoni* 'Dawn'
3. *Eme* 'Later'
4. *Kuri* 'Before'
5. *Kuri-mi* 'Before'
before-intens
6. *Suwo-nonggo* 'Morning'
night-from
7. *Suwoo-te-to-ni* 'Afternoon'
night-do-ds-s.e
8. *Kuyowo* 'Yesterday'
9. *Adaga* 'Today/ now'

(347) Some of the Sentence Initial Time Phrases are:

1. *Eme-gogo* 'Later first'
later-first

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 2. | <i>Kuri-mi</i> <i>oorengo</i>
before-intens very | 'A long time ago' |
| 3. | <i>Naru gura-no</i>
time one-at | 'One day' |
| 4. | <i>Suwo-nonggo ngu-no</i>
night-from there-in | 'In the morning' |
| 5. | <i>Sambo-ro</i> <i>ngu</i>
noontime-poss when | 'When it was noontime' |

(348) Text 85.13; Clause 1-3: Time Words/ Phrases:

Kuri-mi *1982-83 ngu dagoma eraya-ga-no*
before-intens year that year 2-def.s-in
'Before during the two years (between) 1982-3,

ngu -no Kiyakowo e-te-nggo-kul
there-at name say-prt-3pl-rel
at the place they call Kiyakowo,

mera-ngga-no ngu-no noore-ngo ya ooro-te.//
ground-def.s-at that-at 1pl-poss house is-3s.prt
it was there at that ground we had our house.

Ngu-no-mu sambo-ro ngu,...
that-at-poss noontime-poss that
It was at that time at noontime, ...'

In this text, the initial time phrase in the beginning of the discourse (*Kuri-mi 1982-83 ngu dagoma eraya-ga-no* 'Before during the two years (between) 1982-3'), establishes the time the discourse took place. Then there is an anaphoric reference back to this in the beginning of the following sentence, plus an additional reference to the specific time of day (*Ngu-no-mu sambo-ro ngu*, 'It was at that time at noontime...').

9.2.3 Closure of the Discourse

The final part of the Discourse, the Closure, usually concludes the discourse with just one closing statement. The usual Closure is one of these following examples with the first one being the one that is most frequently used:

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1. *Mande ngu nangge.* (text 85.6)
talk that only
'That's all of my talk.'
2. *Ngu nangge* (text 85.8)
That only
'That's all.' This is a shortened form of the above example.
3. *Amoo* (text NNK87.5)
'True'
4. *No-ro mande ngu nangge.* (text NR87.1)
1s-poss talk that only
'That's all of my talk.'

If the Discourse is a written text instead of just an oral discourse, then the author generally includes his name and the name of his village as well in the Closure as in this example:

(350) Text 85.13; Clauses 46-47: Closure of a Written Discourse:

Mande ngu nangge.// No oowoo-ne Megu Nusisi Barimu-nonggo.//
talk it only 1s name-my Megu Nusisi Barimu-from
'That's all of my talk. I come from Barimu and my name is Megu Nusisi.'

In several Hortatory discourses, the author rather than ending his speech with any of the above Clauses, closed his statements with another parable or parting comment to his audience as in this example which follows:

(351) Text YM87.10; Clause 14-16: Hortatory Closure:

Ge nga-no nangge oodo-yi, no maye-ro ngu,
2s here-to only remain-ds.pl. 1s come-ss when
'If you remain here only, when I come,

asa, no nga-no ge ge-yo-wa-no.//
then 1s here-to you 2sobj-get-ft-1s
'then I will get you right here.'

In one Procedural text discussing bread making, the author ended his discourse with a closing admonition, 'If you do it this way, it will be very sweet.'

(352) Text DS82.2: Procedural Closure:

Ngundiro te-wa-ku ngu, ningguri biyomi gome.//
 same do-ft.3s-cli if sweet bad good
 'If you do it this way, it will be very sweet.'

9.3 Literacy Patterns Used in Discourse

In section 9.2, the patterns of tracking noun topics in a discourse and the use of tail-head verb linkage between sentences to show sequence progression are discussed. In this section, the various literary patterns or techniques that are used in Karo Rawa discourse to convey the desired message will be discussed.

9.3.1 Action-Result Pattern:

Hortatory discourse seems to make the most use of this action-result pattern. Dependent clauses in the beginning of the sentence are used to convey the action that the people have or have not been doing and then the remaining clauses of the sentence are used to convey the accompanying result of that action. Things like: "If you don't do ___, then this will happen to you. If you do do this, then the results will be ___." were used in abundance. Thus this literary pattern is used as an admonishing device and/or a teaching device.

(353) Text NR87.1 Neyuro's Hortatory Address to Tauta Congregation:

Clauses 23-31:

Ngundiro muri-ngga ngu yoo-nenengo-ro, ingo-ro ariya,
 same ways-def.s that 2pl-straighten-ss think-ss then
 'When you think about and straighten your ways, then

ge-ngo-mb doboo-ge nowoondoo-ge inoo-te.//
 you-poss-ins friend-your stomach-your give-prt.3s
 your stomach can be given to your friends.

Ngundiro nangge, doboo-ge-bo-ya ngundiro si-ye-ro
 same only friend-2s-ins-acc same string.bag-put-ss
 When you do this, your friends and you will be of one mind,

asa, ndadiro kowuri-ngga ombu-wa-ku/ ko ndadiro oo-ga
 then what burden-def.s come-ft.3s-rel work what spec-def.s
 and then whatever problems occur, and whatever work that we have,

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ombu-wa-ku ngu,| ombu-rol bibite-ro,| ngu-nonggo
come-ft.3s-rel conj come-ss sit-ss that-from
we will come and sit down, and from there

mande e-ro,| ngu oo-ga ngu yomosiyo-ro oorowu-wa-to.//
talk say-ss that spec-def.3 that straighten-ss go-ft-1pl
we will discuss it and straighten it all out.'

9.3.2 Repetition Pattern

Repetition is a useful literary emphasis pattern which is used quite freely in Rawa discourse. It has been noted in True Experience texts, Autobiographic texts, Letters of Correspondence, Hortative, Legends, and Descriptive texts. This literary pattern is used mainly to press a particular point that the author is wishing to convey to his listeners/readers.

In a written personal experience text (Text 85.3), the teacher's wife told of her extreme fright the night the mountainside broke loose and crashed into the cliff plateau that their house and school were located on. Throughout this discourse, she used repetition as her principle device to get across to her readers:

- the enormity of the huge landslide (In clauses 4,6,7,19, and 21, she referred directly and in other clauses she referred indirectly to 'the landslide coming.')
- the extent of the ensuing earthquake that occurred. (She repeated five times how badly it shook their house in the black of the night.)
- the enormity of her fright so much so that she became incoherent. She became so badly frightened that she grabbed her baby, ran blindly from the house in the middle of the night, stumbled over the rock border of her flower garden by her house and dashed for the headmaster's house that was up on higher ground. The following is the pattern for showing the enormity of her extreme fright.

Statement: grabbed baby and ran blindly from house, fell out of the door and tripped over the rocks.

Tail-Head Verb: echoed this

Explanation for behavior: couldn't think—forgot where the rocks were

Further Comment: dark—no light —couldn't think

Repeated first statement

Metaphor: fell about blindly as a blind pig does

Repeated: so scared—forgot about the rocks around garden

Tail-head Verbs: echoed same thoughts

Tail-head Verbs: echoed same thoughts

In another story, two men were such close friends that they called each other by the term *marawe-ne* 'my close friend.' The author telling this story pressed this point of their close friendship over the years by repeating this term 14 times in the discourse.

era-marawesa era-ga
2-close.friends 2-def
'The two close friends'

Also in the same text, the author made much use of repetition in the episode where he described the struggle that one of the two friends had trying to capture a cassowary. He repeatedly used the terms 'the cassowary was pulling him here and pulling him there' 'going and coming' to show how very tired and exhausted the man was becoming.

Thus repetition in discourse is used in the following ways to emphasize a given point:

- repeating same phrase or sentence.
- use of Direct Speech and then the event telling the same thing.
- use of the tail-head verb linkage which makes an echo again of what happened.
- use of repetition plus the topic climax marker *-ku nga/ngu* at the end of the sentence and change of intonation.
- stating the intentions first and then proceeding to say the same thing again as the participants actually did those things.

(354) In Autobiographical Text (NNK87.1; Clause 59-65)

Note: the amount of times it was repeated that 'he has come!'

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Ne-yo-ro e-wo-nggo-ri, // Ese, mete-mi oorengo
1s.obj-see-ss say-pt-3pl-rpt exclamation good-intens very
'They saw me (and) said. "Oh very good,

60

nango-nani maye-te-#-ku nga. // E-ro e-wo-nggo-ri. //
son-1pl.poss arrive-prt-3s-prom dem Say-ss say-pt-3pl-rpt
'our son, you have come!' "They said.

61

Ese, nango-nani-ngga-ku maye-te-#-ku nga. //
exclamation son-1pl-def-prom arrive-prt-3s-prom dem
'Heh, our son has come!'

62 63

E-ro, / ya-no oni oru-wo-nggo-ku, /
Say-ss house-loc man be-pt-3pl-rel
They said this, and when the men who were in the house

64

65

ene no ne-yo-ro, / oni.oni te-wo-nggo-ri. //
3s 1s 1s.obj-see-ss happy do-pt-3pl-rpt
saw me they were happy.

66

Ariya, mande ngu nangge. //
All, right talk dem only
Okay, my talk is finished.'

9.3.3 Rhetorical Questions Patterns:

Rhetorical questions are another literary pattern used in Rawa texts. This device is used mainly in Hortatory Text as a teaching device to cause his listeners/readers to think closely about their actions and their ways; but not necessarily to make an oral response to the query.

(355) In Hortatory Text (YM87.10), the author started out his discourse (written) to his son with a rhetorical question.

Ge nda-no oodo-yi no-ndo ge erewe-nggero-ro
2s where be-ds-pl.e 1s-ag 2s hunt-2s.obj-ss
'Where were you that I had to hunt

mera mera oore-ro ooroo-te-no?
 ground ground go.up-ss remain-prt-1s
 for you here and there?’

(356) In Hortatory Text(YM87.12, Clause 6-8):

Yari ndawu mande ingo-ro torige oru-wa-ri?
 2d what talk listen-ss quietly remain-ft-2d
 ‘What type of talk will you listen to in order to remain quiet?’

Oni onendo ngu mande-ga ngu yari etu-yero-wo?
 man who that talk-def that 2d teach-pl.obj-pt
 What man will teach you?’

Ye one-ro ya ye-wero sa-te-nggo-ku?
 2pl who-poss house make-des leave-prt-3pl-prom
 You left here in order to make whose house?’

9.3.4 Question and Answer Pattern

Often the use of a question got the listener’s attention and then a comment or teaching followed this to show them the right way it should be done.

The question and answer pattern is used in several types of texts. In one Autobiographical episode (NNK87.1), a question was used to establish the point of his discourse and then the rest of the discourse answered it. A Legend text (YM84.6) also used the same technique of starting with a question and then the rest of the text proceeded to answer that.

In an Explanatory Text (SD82.1), the author used questions to join together the entire thoughts of his discourse.

One Procedural Text (YM87.12), the author, in a written exhortation to his son and his son’s friend who were living in town, used a series of questions and replies that are almost like an allegory. He’s really saying to his son that if you are not eating and you’re hungry, why don’t you just come home with us and we’ll work together and your needs will be met. Notice the language he has used in this exhortation to his son.

(357) YM87.12, Clauses 44-57

Yari adaga ndare-wo-ri?//
 2d now where-pt-2d
 ‘Now where are the two of you going?’

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Noore ko-no ko te-ro ooroo-te-ro.//

1pl garden-at work do-ss be-prt-1d

We are working in our garden.

No-ndo ngu yari kingo sa-ro endeyo-ro yade

1s-ag that 2d nothing walk-ss go.around-ss cont

I would venture to say that you two will wander

ngu-nonggo maye-te-ri,| e-ro ngu-ro e-te-no.//

that-from come-prt-2d say-ss that-poss say-prt-1s

about before coming back.

Yari ko nda-sinanggo te-te-ri?//

2d work what-towards.from do-prt-2d

What side of the garden are you both working on?

Noore andu ko gidare-sina-nggo ko te-te-ro.//

1pl over.there work other-side-from work do-prt-1d

We both are working on the other side of the garden.

Yari oo ka-ro ne-ro, bine,| ko te-ro ooroo-te-ri?//

2d something cook-ss eat-ss perhaps work do-ss be-prt-2d

Are you both cooking, eating and working?

Kini, noore oo ma ka-ro ne-yingo.//

No 1pl something not cook-ss eat-compl

No, we are not cooking and eating.

Ngundiro ngu, ombu-ya,| de yo-ya oore-ri.//

Like that come-imp firewood get-imp go.up-2du

You come and bring some firewood with you.

No-ndo de ka-ro,| ngu-no mbako ka yu-noo-too-we-ga,|

1s-ag firewood cook-ss that-at sw.potato cook pl.obj-give-ds-1s.i-seq

I will make a fire and on this cook some sweet potatoes, give them to you and

ne-ya yanggango ye-ri.//

eat-imp strong make

you both can eat it and become strong.'

9.3.5 Preview Pattern

The use of previewing the intent and content of the story to be told is a literary pattern that is used often in discourse.

In one discourse describing our Ukarumpa staff house to his father in law back in the village, the author not only made use of this preview technique but also summarized it again at the end of his discourse as well.

This pattern was also used for emphasis in the True Experience Story (85.8) where a son told of his father's continual thievery of pigs and other things. He used this technique several times where he told what his father had done and then would go over it again later in his discourse for emphasis to reinforce the fact that his father had been a real rogue.

9.3.6 Parables

In the Autobiographic Text (NNK87.2, Clause 50-72) a parable was given to the Christian headman at Gomumu Village by a native evangelist. He used this comparison of what type of wood, large chunks of wood or small twigs, do you start a fire with? Which burns most quickly and catches on fire? As he responded to this, he realized the teaching concept he was trying to teach him about, was how to evangelize his people. That if he got the teenagers and young married people going for the Lord, then this would spread and catch on more easily with the older adults as well.

Parables as a teaching device to emphasize a point, were also used in written Exhortations as well (YM87.11 & YM87.13). In this text he used a parable of the proper way to build a fence in the garden. You must plan ahead and when you cut up trees in order to clear a garden, at that time, you sort and heap the types of wood you'll need for their intended use. This was used as a teaching device for his son to apply to his life.

In text YM87.13, again the author closed his exhortation with a teaching parable/allegory. This time he likened the teaching to his son leaving home in order to make a house and how men need to work together in order to get an adequate house built that's strong and durable. Again he's telling his son— "Hey, son, come home now and we'll work together and work through our differences."

9.3.7 Direct Speech Literary Pattern

Direct speech is a widely used device in discourse of all varieties.

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It is used to such an extent that in one text the author even used it to record his thoughts when he was a boy hunting by himself.

(358) True Experience Story (85.6)

Keno-ro yoko-ro / e-wo-no.// Eso, kare-ngga ngu
see-ss finish-ss say-pt-1s Ah marsupial-def dem
'I saw it and said, "Aha there is the marsupial

bibite-ro ooroo-te-ku, / e-ro / nasa-ngga yo-ro
sit-ss remain-prt.3.s-prom say-ss arrow-def get-ss
sitting there." and so

mudoo-we sore-yingo.//
shoot-ds.s.incl fall-compl
I shot it and it fell down.'

Note: the direct quote is enclosed by *e* 'say' verb with its appropriate affixes.

Direct Speech is used very successfully in discourse as a device for teaching a new concept, supplying needed background information, and as a learning tool.

It has been noted being used in the following types of texts: True Experience Texts (both first person and third person accounts), Autobiographical Texts, Origin Legends, Legend Texts, Teaching Texts, Explanatory Texts, Written and Exhortation Texts as well.

In an Origin Legend (YM84.5) the use of Direct Speech Device was used to:

- Relate the problem in the text.
- Start the incidents to resolve the problem.

In the Teaching Text YM84.8, on how strangers should be cared for when they arrive in the village, Direct Speech was used both as questions and as responses as well.

In the Explanatory Text YM84.9, three sets of Direct Speech are used to convey the type of thinking that existed on the part of the nationals at the time of Independence, September 16, 1975. This was a short text, but the entire text was made up of direct speech only.