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Santa Barbara

A Grammar of Karo, Tupí (Brazil)

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree

of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Linguistics

by

Nilson Gabas, Jr.

Committee in charge:

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September 1999

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September 1999

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September 23, 1999

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I wish to express my thankfulness to Rosivane, for her patience, understanding and friendship.

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v

For the Arara

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1995	Phonetic Correlates of Stress in Yup'ik. Santa Barbara Working Papers in Linguistics 7:1-13. Santa Barbara, United States.
1999	Estudo Fonológico da Língua Arara de Rondônia. Lincom Studies in Native American Linguistics 31. Munchen, Germany.
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Topic areas:

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Studies in Morphology
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Studies in North American Indian Languages
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Studies in Discourse

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Studies in Phonology

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Studies in Syntax

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ABSTRACT

A GRAMMAR OF KARO, TUPÍ (BRAZIL)

by

Nilson Gabas, Jr.

The Karo language is spoken by approximately 150 Arara Indians in the state of Rondônia, in the southwest part of the Amazon region, in Brazil. It is genetically affiliated with the Ramarama branch of the Tupi family, one of the largest families of languages in South America. Karo is supposedly the sole language of its branch.

The Arara Indians used to call themselves *iʔə rap* (from *iʔə* 1ST PERSON INCLUSIVE pronoun, plus *tap* ASSOCIATIVE) 'ourselves, us', and are known to have lived in their present location from time immemorial. They have been in contact with the surrounding white population since the 1940's, and although the majority of them are bilingual in Portuguese, they use the Karo language exclusively among themselves for communication.

Prior to my work, nothing was known about the Karo language except for a few wordlists published by ethnologists (Horta Barbosa 1945; Levi-Strauss 1950; Nimuendaju 1925, 1955; Rondon 1948; Schultz 1955; Vitor Hugo 1959).

Some of the main typological features of Karo include a) a complex interplay of segments and suprasegmentals at the phonetic and phonological levels; b) an extensive internal and external array of morphophonemic processes; c) a fairly simple morphology, with only a few derivational and inflectional processes, no case or gender marking on nouns; d) a relatively strict order of

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elements (determiners, adjectives, nouns, verbs, postpositions, etc.) within constituents (noun, verb, adverbial and postpositonal phrases); e) a relatively strict SOV word order; and f) a fairly rich inventory of particles with different grammatical functions such as noun classification and evidentiality.

This dissertation is arranged in a fairly intuitively progression of linguistic complexity, moving from the smaller linguistic units, the sounds, to the larger units of morphology and syntax. In the last three chapters I deal with three grammatical systems found in Karo, the classifier system, the ideophone system, and the evidential system.

Chapter 1 provides an overview of the language, the sociolinguistic situation, as well as a brief history and cultural analysis of the group, the number of fieldtrips undertaken and information about the data collected.

In Chapter 2 a description of Karo phonetics and phonology is provided. It includes a description of the consonantal and vocalic segments of Karo, its syllabic patterns, processes of nasal spreading, assimilation processes, patterns of stress placement, and tone.

The morphology of Karo is described in Chapter 3. It includes a description of the word classes of Karo, its affixes (both inflectional and derivational), clitics, and processes of nominalization and compounding.

Chapter 4 deals with the syntax of Karo. First, in section 4.1, I present and describe the types of simple sentences found in the language (basic declarative, focused declarative, interrogative, and imperative sentences). Then, in section 4.2, I describe the major predicate types which occur in the language. In section 4.3 I describe the Karo phrases (noun phrase, verb phrase, postpositional phrase and adverbial phrase) and their constituents. Following the description of phrases I account for the way tense is marked in the language (in section 4.4) and the

syntactic processes of negation (in section 4.5). In section 4.6 I describe the process of reported speech, and in the last section of the chapter, section 4.7, I describe the processes of clause combinations: clause chaining and three types of subordination, 1) time, 2) purpose and 3) cause.

In the last three chapters of the dissertation I describe three different grammatical systems found in Karo: the classifier system, in Chapter 5; the ideophone system, in Chapter 6; and the evidential system, in Chapter 7.

In Chapter 5 I account for the formal and semantic properties of the classifier system, examining them in the light of available typologies of noun classification.

In Chapter 6 I provide an analytical background of the linguistic literature on ideophones, followed by a description of ideophones of Karo from the phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic and discourse points of view. At the end I provide a (partial) list of 100 ideophones found in the language.

In Chapter 7 I first provide an overview of the literature on evidentials, and then describe the evidentials of Karo formally and semantically.

Finally, in the Epilogue I bring together the main characteristics of the language, relating them to current typologies of languages in general and of Amazonian languages in particular.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1SG	FIRST PERSON SINGULAR
2SG	SECOND PERSON SINGULAR
3SG	THIRD PERSON SINGULAR
3SG.FEM	THIRD PERSON SINGULAR FEMININE
3IMP	THIRD IMPERSONAL
3R	THIRD COREFERENTIAL (WITH SUBJECT)
1PL.INCL	FIRST PERSON PLURAL INCLUSIVE
1PL.EXCL	FIRST PERSON PLURAL EXCLUSIVE
2PL	SECOND PERSON PLURAL
3PL	THIRD PERSON PLURAL
1SG.POSS	FIRST PERSON SINGULAR POSSESSIVE
2SG.POSS	SECOND PERSON SINGULAR POSSESSIVE
3SG.POSS	THIRD PERSON SINGULAR POSSESSIVE
3SG.FEM.POSS	THIRD PERSON SINGULAR FEMININE POSSESSIVE
3R.POSS	THIRD COREFERENTIAL (WITH SUBJECT) POSSESSIVE
1PL.INCL.POSS	FIRST PERSON PLURAL INCLUSIVE POSSESSIVE
1PL.EXCL.POSS	FIRST PERSON PLURAL EXCLUSIVE POSSESSIVE
2PL.POSS	SECOND PERSON PLURAL POSSESSIVE
3PL.POSS	THIRD PERSON PLURAL POSSESSIVE
ABESS	ABESSIVE
ABL	ABLATIVE
ADESS	ADESSIVE
ADVZ	ADVERBIALIZER
ALL	ALLATIVE

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ASSOC	ASSOCIATIVE
AUX	AUXILIARY
AUX.FUT	FUTURE AUXILIARY
CAUS	CAUSATIVE
CL.BDS	CLASSIFIER, BUNCH:DIFFERENT SOURCE
CL.BSS	CLASSIFIER, BUNCH:SAME SOURCE
CL.CCV	CLASSIFIER, CONCAVE OR CONVEX
CL.CYLB	CLASSIFIER, CYLINDRICAL:BIG
CL.CYLM	CLASSIFIER, CYLINDRICAL:MEDIUM
CL.CYLS	CLASSIFIER, CYLINDRICAL:SMALL
CL.FEM	CLASSIFIER, FEMININE
CL.FLAT	CLASSIFIER, FLAT
CL.RD	CLASSIFIER, ROUND
CL.TFLAT	CLASSIFIER, THIN FLAT
COM	COMITATIVE
COMIT	COMITATIVE CAUSATIVE
COP	COPULA
DAT	DATIVE
DEM	DEMONSTRATIVE
DISP	DISPERSIVE
EMPH	EMPHATIC
EVID	EVIDENTIAL
FUT	FUTURE
GER	GERUND
IND1	INDICATIVE 1
IND2	INDICATIVE 2

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INESS	INESSIVE
INSTR	INSTRUMENTAL
INTERR	INTERROGATIVE
IPASS	IMPERSONAL PASSIVE
LOC	LOCATIVE
NEG	NEGATIVE
NOMZ	NOMINALIZER
OPT	OPTATIVE
PAST	PAST
PL	PLURAL
POSS	POSSESSIVE
REC	RECIPROCAL
REFL	REFLEXIVE
RPAST	REMOTE PAST
SIMIL	SIMILITIVE

MAP OF BRAZIL IN SOUTH AMERICA (KARO VILLAGE SHOWN)

South America

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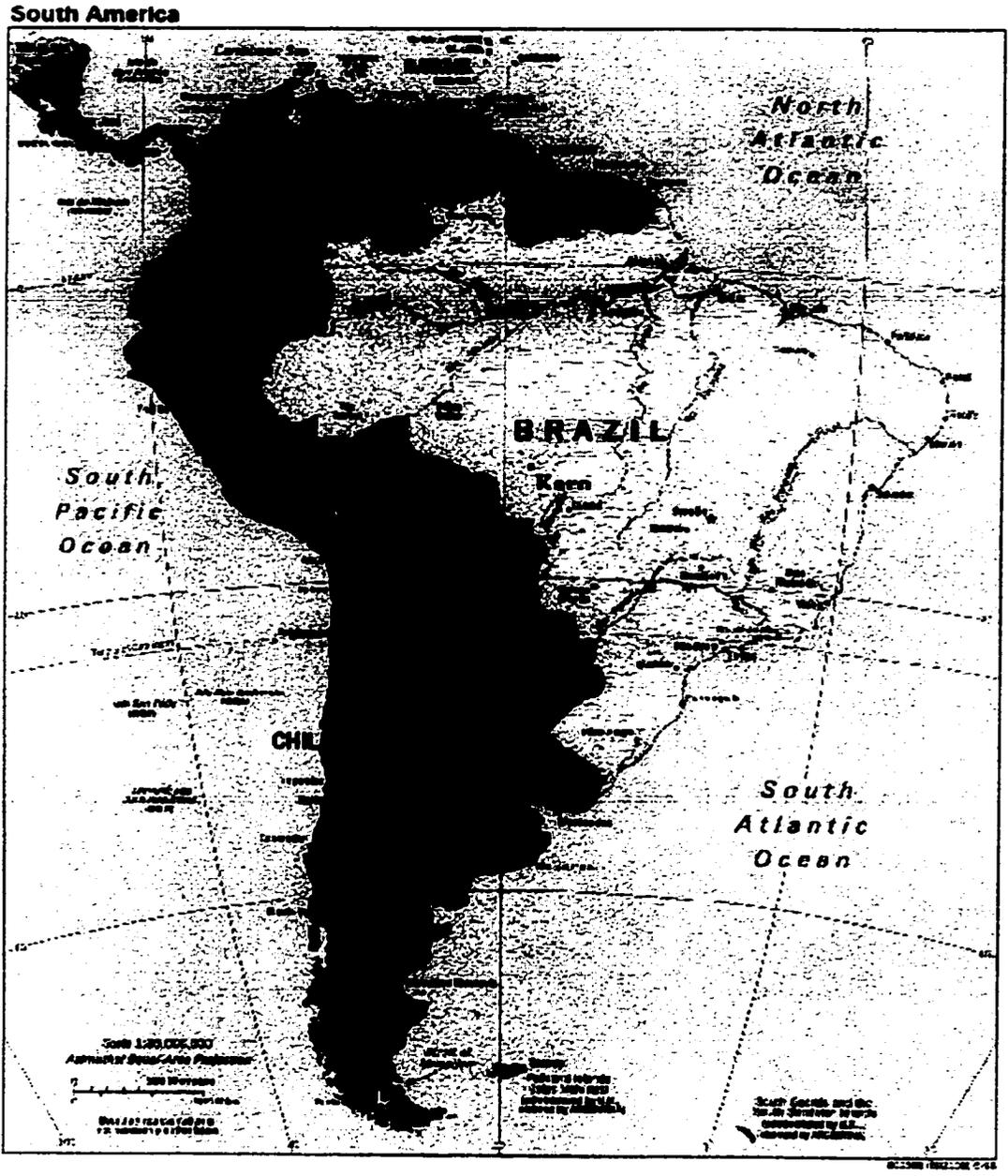
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE KARO LANGUAGE

Karo is an Amazonian language spoken by approximately 150 Arara
Indians, in the state of Rondônia, Brazil.

Genetically, Karo has been classified as part of the Ramarama branch of
the Tupi family, together with three other languages, Ramarama, Urukú and
Urumí, given as extinct (Rodrigues 1964). Recently, however, a preliminary study
has shown that Karo might be the sole member of its branch, and that the different
languages considered its sisters might be, in fact, Karo itself, which was labeled
differently by different researchers at different times (Gabas, to appear).

Apart from wordlists published by some ethnologists (the same ones who
labeled *Karo* differently) in the beginning and middle of this century (Horta
Barbosa 1945; Lévi-Strauss 1950; Nimuendaju 1925, 1955; Rondon 1948;
Schultz 1955; Vitor Hugo 1959), no systematic linguistic research has been done
previously on Karo.

1.2 THE TUPI LANGUAGES

The Tupi family is one of the largest language families in South America,
with ten different branches: Arikem, Aweti, Juruna, Mawe, Munduruku, Monde,
Purubora, Ramarama (where Karo belongs), Tupari and Tupi-Guarani. Of these,
the Tupi-Guarani branch is the best known, probably because it contains the
majority of languages of the family: approximately 55 out of the 80 Tupi
languages are classified as Tupi-Guaranian.

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A few studies dealing with languages outside of the Tupi-Guarani branch are also available, among them some descriptive grammars (cf. Moore 1984 for the Gavião language; Crofts 1973 for the Mundurukú language), dictionaries (cf. Landin 1983 for Karitiana; Fundação Nacional do Índio 1977 for Mundurukú; Bontkes 1985 for Suruí) collections of texts (cf. Burum 1977, 1978, 1979 for Mundurukú), and a number of published as well as unpublished works (cf. Crofts 1985, Comodo 1981, and Rodrigues 1980 for Mundurukú; Graham and Harrison 1978 for Mawé; van der Meer 1981, 1982, 1983 for Suruí; Rodrigues 1966 for Cinta-Larga; Rodrigues 1990, 1995 for Xipáya; Galúcio 1996, 1997, Hanke, Swadesh & Rodrigues 1958 for Mekéns; Landin 1983, 1984, 1988, Landin and Landin 1973, Landin 1987, 1989, and Storto 1993, 1994, 1997a, 1997b, for Karitiana; Gabas 1998, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1994 for Karo; Moore 1984, 1985, 1989 for Gavião; Fargetti 1992 for Jurúna; Braga 1992 for Makurap).

For comparative and historical analysis of grammatical aspects of these languages, however, the quantity of the studies available is still far from adequate (cf. Moore 1994, an overview of Tupi syntax). It may be hoped that such analysis will become a reality in the near future, when more descriptions of languages beyond the Tupi-Guarani branch become available.

1.3 HISTORY OF THE GROUP

Although the Arara presently share their reservation (the Área Indígena Igarapé de Lourdes) with the Gavião and some Zoró Indians, both scientific and non-scientific reports show that they have always lived around that area.

The Arara were contacted by Western society in the late 1940's during the rubber expansion into the northwestern part of Brazil. As a result of the contact, many died of diseases carried by the rubber explorers and settlers.

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The estimated number of Arara at contact was 600 people. This number had dropped considerably, to approximately 50, just two decades later. After contact, the remaining Arara either left to live in the cities or were brought to work on 'seringais' (rubber fields).

It was only in the mid-1960's that an employee of the now extinct Serviço de Proteção ao Índio, SPI, (the Brazilian Bureau of Indian Affairs) started the process of 'retribalization' of the Arara, bringing them to live in the area that is now their reservation. The Gavião and Zoró Indians came to join them shortly afterward.

By 1987, when I began fieldwork, the 100 Arara Indians living in the village were highly 'deculturated' and dependent on goods from the city. Traditional rituals, dances and music are rarely performed anymore, and foreign cultural items, activities, cuisine and religion have been incorporated into their society.

As for their economic resources, the Arara depend in part on natural products gathered from the reservation (rubber, fruits, Brazil nut, manioc flour, etc.) and on crafts (bows, arrows, baskets, earrings, necklaces, etc.). Most of their income, however, comes from lumbering.

1.4 CULTURAL OVERVIEW

The type of contact established with the Arara (unplanned, with no health care), and the historical situation (their "extraction" from their villages in order to participate in the process of rubber expansion) seem to have contributed to the lack of scientific studies of this group, either anthropological, linguistic or of any other nature. As a consequence, many of the traditions of the Arara have been lost, such as several spiritual rituals and regulatory orations.

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Nevertheless, the people still remember some myths, sporadically sing their songs and practice a special kind of oratory, where two leaders (usually the spiritual leader and the chief) talk simultaneously, with one paraphrasing the other.

For subsistence, the Arara still manage to plant their crops of manioc, sweet potato, corn, papaya, pineapple and several kinds of bananas. Recently, they have also started to plant rice and sometimes beans, though not very successfully.

Besides the crops they also gather several types of fruits from the forest, especially cocoa, açai, cupuaçu, muruci, jatobá, caju, patuá, and several other kinds not known to me.

Recently, the Arara have begun to raise cows as an alternative means of subsistence. Generally, apart from sporadic losses due to jaguars and snakes, their herds are growing, and they seem to be successful in this endeavor.

The Arara also hunt and fish. Almost all hunting is now done with firearms instead of the traditional bows and arrows, though some rodents are still hunted with bows and arrows. The hunt, however, is becoming increasingly rare due to the heavy machinery used to gather wood and to the increase of pasture for the cattle. People are growing increasingly dependent on the city for their food, not only for meat but also oil, sugar, salt, rice, beans, sweets, etc.

Fishing still seems to be a lively activity among the Arara. Traditional as well as non-traditional ways of fishing are used, depending on the season. In the dry season (June through November), when the water level of the streams is low, bows and arrows are used. The tradition of fishing by poisoning the water with a special type of vine (the "timbó") is also maintained. Due to the extensive killing of all types of aquatic animals, as well as baby fish, this technique is used more

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rarely. In the rainy season, especially at the beginning, when the added turbulence of the water dirties the streams, fish lines and fish sticks are used.

By 1987 the Karo people lived in a single village, strategically located next to the end of a road to the closest city, Ji-Paraná. Even though their houses were no longer being built in the traditional way, they still carried the rough elements of a traditional house: the type of wood used, the way the logs were put together, and the roof of palm fronds.

In addition to their houses in the main village, all family groups also had temporary houses (or, as they call them, *colocações*) in the heart of the reservation, where they gather rubber and Brazil nuts. Sudden visits to the main village are not uncommon, however, especially in case of disease.

After 1987 there was a split within the Arara community, with the removal of the leader, who left with his family group to found another village.

Recently, with the decision of the shaman (and his family group) to live away from the other two villages, a three-way split has occurred. Although the reason for his move is apparently unknown, it is possible that he decided not to take sides in the dispute over power and went to live in a neutral place.

Only the first village is recognized bureaucratically by Fundação Nacional do Índio, FUNAI (the Brazilian Bureau of Indian Affairs), as an Indian Post and is entitled to the three basic elements of a Post: a permanent position and residence for a FUNAI employee, a teacher and a nurse.

Missionaries from the New Tribes Mission are also present a few meters across the creek which serves as a natural boundary between the reservation and a farm. Although their main goal is evangelical, they also serve as care providers to the Indians by trading goods, offering health care, and serving as mediators in economic transactions.

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From approximately 100 in 1987, the Arara population increased to about 150 in 1995. This was due chiefly to an improvement in the quality of the medical assistance provided to the Indians by FUNAI and (probably) the missionaries.

1.5 THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION

The long years of contact with the surrounding white population did not keep the Arara people from speaking Karo in their communities. Children still use Karo as their primary language for communication, and Portuguese is used exclusively as a language of contact. Except for three Indians who were raised in the "seringais", away from contact with other Arara Indians, all Arara speak Karo. Older Arara Indians understand Portuguese, though they do not speak it. Younger generations of the Arara are bilingual in Portuguese (probably as consequence of their frequent trips to the closest cities), and a few male Arara also understand the Gavião-Zoró language, due to inter marriage which is relatively infrequent. Among these Arara is my best consultant, Mário Jorge, who married a Gavião Indian and usually spends part of the year with the Gavião and the other part with the Arara. All of their five children are bilingual in Karo and Gavião and also have a good understanding of Portuguese.

Only a few loan words from Portuguese are employed by the Arara, generally words for items introduced via contact, like *enxada* 'hoe', *carro* 'car', *caminhão* 'truck', *bicicleta* 'bicycle', etc. Over the past years, however, a tendency towards using kin terms borrowed from Portuguese has been increasing among the children, especially the words for 'mother' *mamãe*, 'father' *papai*, 'uncle' *titio* and 'aunt' *titia*.

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As for dialectal differences, at least two dialects seem to have been spoken in the past by different clans, the Arara ('Macaw') clan and the Urubu ('Vulture') clan, also known as Pé-Preto ('Blackfoot'). Presently, only one family is reported to belong to the Vulture clan, and the dialectal differences between the members of this family and the rest of the Arara community, if any, seem to have disappeared[1].

1.6 FIELDTRIPS

Since the beginning of my research with the Karo language, in 1987, seven fieldtrips have been undertaken. The period of each fieldtrip is given below:

1st fieldtrip:	June - August of 1987
2nd fieldtrip:	April of 1990
3rd fieldtrip:	August - September of 1990
4th fieldtrip:	July - August of 1992
5th fieldtrip:	July - August of 1993
6th fieldtrip:	July - September of 1994
7th fieldtrip:	October - December of 1995

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[1] Although no differences between the Vulture family and the rest of the Arara community were found, a few differences among the Arara themselves seem to exist, at least in specific words. For example, while some speakers say [wirup] for 'food', others say [wirap]. [pirudn] 'round' can also be heard as [pirõn], etc.

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1.7 THE DATA

The material on which this grammar is based comes from two different styles: elicited data and naturally occurring data (conversations, narratives, myths, telling of dreams, etc.). Elicited data were used mostly in the beginning of the research, and as I moved on to a better understanding of the language more and more of the second type of data was collected and analyzed.

I have recorded about 150 hours of elicited data, taken notes in 13 notebooks, and recorded approximately 120 hours of natural data, of which 1/3 is just roughly transcribed (not analyzed) and 1/5 is transcribed and analyzed[2].

A profile of the consultants I have had a chance to work with is as follows:

Chiquito	male	born approximately in 1945
Manoel	male	born approximately in 1940
Carlão	male	born approximately in 1965
Mário Jorge	male	born approximately in 1965
Pereira	male	born approximately in 1970
Yarõk	male	born approximately in 1975
Wãk-wãk	male	born approximately in 1970
Rute	female	born approximately in 1980
Rosa	female	born approximately in 1975
Marli	female	born approximately in 1970

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Besides these consultants, several other members of the community have also participated in the recording of myths and conversations, especially the members of the family of Mário Jorge.

The equipment used to make the recording was all analog. Except for the first fieldtrip, in which I used a Uher recorder, in all subsequent fieldtrips I used either a Sony Walkman Professional or a Marantz tape recorder. Almost all recordings were stereophonic. In one occasion the stereo microphone broke, and in another the stereo plug of the recorder also broke, recording only in monophonic mode.

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[2] The analysis of transcribed data I refer to comprises the process of understanding the exact meaning of all morphemes (including literal translations) and grammatical patterns. This is a long process which averages 10-15 hours of analysis for each hour transcribed.

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CHAPTER 2

PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

As in other Tupian languages, the most salient characteristic of Karo at the levels of phonetics and phonology is a heavy interplay between segmental and suprasegmental factors. As I will shown below, suprasegmentals like tone and stress relate to the structure of the sounds and syllables in remarkable ways.

I will first present the inventory of the phonetic and phonological segments (consonants and vowels, respectively) followed by a description of their variants and the respective environments in which they occur. Examples showing crucial distinctions among consonantal and vocalic phonemes also will be provided. In section 2.2 I will characterize the syllable patterns. Rules of nasalization spread will be given in section 2.3, and the processes of external sandhi will be presented in section 2.4[3].

Although tone and stress are phenomena necessarily mentioned in the discussion of consonants and vowels, in section 2.1, the processes of stress placement and tone, including tone spreading, will be described in detail in the last two sections, 2.5 and 2.6, respectively.

2.1 PHONETIC SEGMENTS

The consonantal and vocalic phonetic segments of Karo are presented below. The transcription of these segments follows Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996).

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[3] The processes of *internal sandhi*, because of their specificity with relation to the word class in which they occur, will be presented in Chapter 3 when I describe the word classes of Karo.

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2.1.1 CONSONANTS

The following phonetic consonants were found in Karo:

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
stops	p pː pˀ	t tː tˀ	c cː	k kː kˀ	ʔ
	b			g	
nasal	m mᵇ ᵇm	n nᵈ ᵈn		ŋ ŋᵍ ᵍŋ	
flap		ɾ ɾ̃			
fricative	β		ç	ɣ	h
approximant	w w̃		y ỹ		

Table 1. Consonantal segments[4]

The following table represents the consonantal phonemes of Karo:

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	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
stop	p	t	c	k	ʔ
	b	r[5]		g	
nasal	m	n		ŋ	
fricative					h[6]
approximant	w		y		

Table 2. Consonantal phonemes

The phonetic alternations of the consonantal phonemes are explained below.

The pairs [b]:[β] and [g]:[ɣ] are in free variation in onsets of unstressed syllables after vowels.

['yaba] ~ ['yaβa] 'rodent (sp.)'

[aga'ya] ~ [aɣa'ya] 'cocoa'

[c] and [ç] are in free variation.

---

[5] The phoneme /r/ is represented in the chart in sequence with the voiced stops /b/ and /g/ because they form a natural phonological group, even though they are not a phonetically coherent group. For phonological and morphological reasons, /r/ is being considered as the voiced counterpart of the voiceless stop /t/, as /b/ and /g/ are the (natural) voiced counterparts of the voiceless stops /p/ and /k/, respectively. Furthermore, treating /b/, /r/ and /g/ as natural phonological counterparts of the voiceless /p/, /t/, /k/ has several precedents among other Tupian languages (Rodrigues, p.c.).

[6] It is important to mention that /h/ is not a frequent phoneme as compared to the others.

['caᵈn] ~ ['çaᵈn]   'fire'

['cõn] ~ ['çõn]   'cat'

[e'c:ɛt˺] ~ [e'çɛt˺]   'your name'

The phonetic segments of the voiceless stop series, [p]:[p:]:[p˺]; [t]:[t:]:[t˺]; [c]:[c:]; [k]:[k:]:[k˺], alternate as follows:

- long segments [p:], [t:], [c:], [k:] occur as the onsets of stressed syllables.

  [i't:i]   'deer'

  [mo'p:ik˺]   'guan (sp.)'

  [i'c:i]   'water'

  [ko'k:õ]   'hawk'

- unreleased segments [p˺], [t˺], [k˺] occur as word-final codas.

  [ma'k:ap˺]   'peanut'

  [pɛ'wít˺]   'honey, sweet'

  [maʔ't:ɛk˺]   'palm tree (sp.)'

- non-aspirated segments [p], [t], [c] and [k] occur elsewhere.

  [para'mit˺]   'spider'

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[maʔˈpɛ]   'gourd'

[ˈtikˑ]   'mosquito'

[naʔˈtɔ]   'tapir'

[ˈcə̃n]   'cat'

[naʔˈcəkˑ]   'hole'

[ˈkaro]   'macaw'

[caʔˈkĩn]   'monkey (sp.)'

The phonetic segments of the nasal series, [m]:[mᵇ]:[ᵇm]; [n]:[nᵈ]:[ᵈn]; [ŋ]:[ŋᵍ]:[ᵍŋ], alternate as follows:

- post-denasalized segments [mᵇ], [nᵈ], [ŋᵍ] occur on stressed syllable onsets before oral vowels.

  [naʔˈmᵇɨ]   'wasp (sp.)'

  [anaˈnᵈa]   'pineapple'

  [maˈŋᵍɔtˑ]   'again'

- pre-denasalized segments [ᵇm], [ᵈn], [ᵍŋ] occur on word-final codas of stressed syllables after an oral vowel.

  [aʔˈpɛᵇm]   'otherwise'

  [ˈkɛᵈn]   'to sleep'

  [ˈpéᵍŋ]   'white man'

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- plain nasal segments [m], [n], [ŋ] occur elsewhere.

[ameˈkːɔ]	ˈjaguar'
[anaˈnᵈa]	ˈpineapple'
[maˈʔip̚]	'log'
[naˈcːɛy]	ˈgrazing ground'
[ˈmə̃r̃õ]	ˈcapibar'
[ˈnə̃m]	ˈbreast'
[iˈyõm]	ˈfather'
[ˈcə̃n]	ˈcat'
[ˈtẽŋ]	ˈto fly'

The phonetic segments of the approximant series, [r]:[r̃]; [w]:[w̃]; [y]:[ỹ], alternate as follows:

- [w̃] and [ỹ] occur adjacent to nasal vowels.

[oˈw̃ə̃]	ˈmother'
[ˈtə̃w̃]	ˈfar'
[ˈw̃ĩn]	'to kill'
[ˈnə̃ỹa]	'corn'
[iˈỹõm]	ˈfather'
[ˈỹə̃ỹ]	'tooth'

15

- [r̃] occurs between nasal vowels in unstressed syllables preceded by stressed syllables:

  ['kə̃r̃ə̃m]   'hummingbird'

  ['mə̃r̃õ]   'capibar'

  ['pə̃r̃ə̃m]   'tree (sp.)'

- [w], [y] and [ɾ] occur in all other environments.

  [kɨɾɨ'wɛp˺]   'butterfly'

  [wə'wə]   'fan'

  ['yaw]   'ray'

  [i'yɔ]   'bat'

  [naʔ'wəy]   'monkey'

  [ya'yɔ]   'armadillo (sp.)'

  ['paɾat˺]   'fish (sp.)'

  [a'ɔɾɔ]   'parrot'

  [eɾe'r̃ẽt˺]   'peacock'

  [awa'r̃ə̃]   'bird (sp.)'

  [ko'r̃ẽ]   'wood (sp.)'

Crucial distinctions regarding specific features (voicing, manner and point of articulation) can be seen in the following examples:

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Voicing:

/p/ : /b/ = /abipe/ [abiˈpɛ] 'his lip' vs.

/acibe/ [aciˈbɛ] 'root'

/t/ : /r/ = /matet/ [maˈtːɛt˺] 'yesterday' vs.

/korét/ [koˈɾét˺] 'bird (sp.)'

/k/ : /g/ = /wakãya/ [waˈkːɔ̃ỹa] 'rodent (sp.)' vs.

/mãygãra/ [mɔ̃ỹˈgɔ̃ɾa] 'snake'

Manner of articulation:

/p/ : /m/ = /pako/ [paˈkːɔ] 'fish (sp.)' vs.

/makap/ [maˈkːap˺] 'peanut'

/nãp/ [ˈnɔ̃p˺] 'wasp (sp.)' vs.

/nãm/ [ˈnɔ̃m] 'breast'

/t/ : /n/ = /tãw/ [ˈtɔ̃w̃] 'far' vs.

/nãk/ [ˈnɔ̃k˺] 'mouth'

/ʔit/ [ˈʔit˺] 'small' vs.

/wĩn/ [ˈw̃ĩn] 'to kill'

17

| /k/ : /ŋ/ = | /ká?/ | ['ká?] | CL.CCV | vs. |
| | /ŋa/ | ['ŋᵍa] | 3SF.FEM | |

| | /mẽk/ | ['mẽk˺] | 'to smear' | vs. |
| | /tẽŋ/ | ['tẽŋ] | 'to fly' | |

| /p/ : /w/ = | /pɨy/ | ['pɨy] | 'lazy' | vs. |
| | /wɨy/ | ['wɨy] | 'to leave' | |

| | /capə/ | [ca'pːə] | 'penis' | vs. |
| | /wəwə/ | [wə'wə] | 'fan' | |

| /h/ : /?/ = | /nahek/ | [na'hɛk˺] | 'fontanel' | vs. |
| | /ma?ɨp/ | [ma'?ɨp˺] | 'log' | |

| | /ihyãy/ | [ih'ỹə̃ỹ] | 'piranha' | vs. |
| | /pi?ti/ | [pi?'ti] | 'heavy' | |

| /c/ : /y/ = | /cú/ | ['cú] | 'big' | vs. |
| | /yɯ/ | ['yɯ] | 'blood' | |

| | /cã/ | ['cə̃] | 'bitter' | vs. |
| | /iyã/ | [i'ỹə̃] | 'Brazil nut' | |

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Point of articulation:

/ʔ/ : /k/ =   /pɨʔ/   ['pɨʔ]   'CLASSIFIER' vs.

              /tɨk/   ['tɨk˺]   'pick'

              /maʔip/   [ma'ʔip˺]   'log'   vs.

              /makap/   [ma'kːap˺]   'peanut'

/c/ : /t/ =   /can/   ['caᵈn]   'to pluck'   vs.

              /tan/   ['taᵈn]   'to beat'

              /ici/   [i'cːi]   'water'   vs.

              /iti/   [i'tːi]   'deer'

/c/ : /k/ =   /nacap/   [na'cːap˺]   'hair'   vs.

              /makap/   [ma'kːap˺]   'peanut'

              /naco/   [na'cːɔ]   'plantation field'

              /pako/   [pa'kːɔ]   'fish (sp.)'

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2.1.2 VOWELS

Karo has the following vocalic (oral and nasal) phonetic segments:

	front	central	back
high	i ī	ɨ	u
mid-high	e ẽ	ə ə̃	o õ
mid-low	ɛ		ɔ
low		a	

Table 3. Vocalic segments (oral and nasal)

The vocalic phonemes of Karo are as follows:

	front	central	back
high	i ī	ɨ	u
mid	e ẽ	ə	o õ
low		a ā	

Table 4. Vocalic phonemes (oral and nasal)

The rules that account for the occurrence of [e]:[ɛ] and [o]: [ɔ] as

allophones of the phonemes /e/ and /o/, respectively, are:

- [e] occurs in high-tone syllables[7]:

[ko'rét˺]	/korét/	'guan (sp.)'
['péᵍŋ]	/péŋ/	'non-Indian'
['wét˺]	/wét/	'to cry'

---

[7] High tone is marked with the acute symbol; low tone is left unmarked.

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- [ɛ] occurs in unstressed syllables and in low-tone stressed syllables:

[amɛˈkːɔ]	/ameko/	'jaguar'
[pɛˈwitˀ]	/pewit/	'honey'
[koˈrɛᵇm]	/korem/	'also'
[maʔˈpɛ]	/maʔpe/	'gourd'

- [o] occurs in high-tone syllables and in unstressed syllables:

[oˈw̃ẽ]	/owẽ/	'baby'
[moˈcːay]	/mocay/	'possum'
[ˈtóy]	/tóy/	'to disappear'
[ˈmᵇóá]	/móa/	'tortoise'

- [ɔ] occurs in low-tone stressed syllables:

[paˈkːɔ]	/pako/	'fish (sp.)'
[naʔˈtɔ]	/naʔto/	'tapir'
[ˈmᵇɔkˀ]	/mok/	'rope'

The distribution of the phonetic segments [e]:[ɛ] and [o]:[ɔ] shows that their occurrence is not conditioned by segmental factors but by suprasegmental ones. Roughly, while **high tone** seems to favor the occurrence of the higher vowels, [e] and [o], **stress** seems to favor the occurrence of the lower vowels [ɛ] and [ɔ].

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It is worth mentioning that in the linguistics literature only consonantal segments have been reported to interact with tone (cf. Hyman & Schuh 1974, Hyman 1973, 1975). In Karo, **vocalic** segments do interact with tone, a fact which may be unusual.

The examples below show crucial phonological distinctions among pairs of vowels:

| /i/ : /e/ = | /iti/ | [i'tːi] | 'somebody came' | vs. |
| | /ite/ | [i'tːɛ] | 'uncle' | |

| | /wip/ | ['wip˺] | 'cooked' | vs. |
| | /wep/ | ['wɛp˺] | 'I do not know' | |

| /ɨ/ : /ə/ = | /kɨy/ | ['kɨy] | 'truth' | vs. |
| | /kəy/ | ['kəy] | DATIVE | |

| | /tin/ | ['ti^{d}n] | 'to burn' | vs. |
| | /tən/ | ['tə^{d}n] | 'to walk' | |

| /ə/ : /a/ = | /kəy/ | ['kəy] | DATIVE | vs. |
| | /kay/ | ['kay] | AUX.FUTURE | |

| | /apəy/ | [a'pːəy] | 'grandmother' | vs. |
| | /aʔ-pay/ | [aʔ'pay] | 'he died' | |

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/u/ : /o/ =	/up/	['up˥]	'red'	vs.
	/op/	['ɔp˥]	`papaya'	
	/naʔtup/	[naʔ'tup˥]	'end'	vs.
	/naʔto/	[naʔ'tɔ]	'tapir'	
/i/ : /ĩ/ =	/win/	['wiᵈn]	`to feed'	vs.
	/wĩn/	['w̃ĩn]	`to kill'	
	/tati/	[ta't:i]	'to bring'	vs.
	/kotĩ/	[ko't:ĩ]	`one'	
/e/ : /ẽ/ =	/aʔ-pey-a/	[aʔ'pɛya]	'do it'	vs.
	/aʔ-pẽy-a/	[aʔ'pẽỹa]	`step on it'	
	/korét/	[ko'rét˥]	`guan (sp.)'	vs.
	/carẽk/	[ca'rẽk˥]	`slow'	
/a/ : /ã/ =	/kap/	['kap˥]	'fat'	vs.
	/kãp/	['kə̃p˥]	`delicious, tasteful'	
	/paʔpan/	[paʔ'paᵈn]	'to fall'	vs.
	/pãpã/	[pə̃'p:ə̃]	`yam (sp.)'	

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/o/ : /õ/ =   /yakoy/   [yaˈkːɔy]   'to sweat'   vs.

              /yakõy/   [yaˈkːõỹ]   'to dive'

              /mok/   [ˈmᵇɔk˺]   'thin rope'   vs.

              /mõy/   [ˈmõỹ]   'powder'

2.2 SYLLABIC PATTERN

Four types of syllables occur in the words of Karo: open syllables CV and V, and closed syllables VC and CVC. There is a general tendency for closed syllables to occur word-finally, preceded by one or two open syllables. (It is rare for a word to contain more than three syllables.) Closed syllables can precede open syllables only if the coda consonant is a glottal stop /ʔ/.

Below I provide examples of each possible sequence of syllables, open-open, open-closed, closed-open, and closed-closed. Syllabic units are separated by dots.

Open-open:

/ya.mo.mõ/   'chameleon'

/ka.ʔa/   'house'

/a.o.ro/   'parrot'

/i.yo/   'bat'

/mó.a/   'tortoise'

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/cõ.a.be/	'bow'
/a.me.ko/	'jaguar'
/ó.ra/	'music'
/a.ʔi/	'sloth'

Open-closed:

/pe.wiṭ/	'honey'
/í.gip/	'aunt'
/cõ.aṭ/	'slippery'
/i.iṭ/	'to squeeze'
/ca.ro.gĩn/	'smoke, cloud'
/a.tĩŋ/	'worm'
/pe.ĩn/	'to ripe off'
/ma.pɔy/	'rainbow'
/na.cey/	'plantation field'

Closed-open[8]:

/maʔ.pe/	'gourd'
/kaʔ.to/	'2PL'
/iʔ.ke/	NEGATIVE PARTICLE
/aʔ.ti/	'he came'

---

[8] The open syllable of a sequence closed-open must always be CV. If it were otherwise an open syllable with no onset (only V), nothing would prevent the coda of the preceding closed syllable to become its onset, forming thus a sequence (C)V + CV.

/ku.ruʔ.cɯ/	ʿsaliva'
/yaʔ.cī/	ʿbad odor'
/ko.roʔ.pe/	ʿsnake (sp.)'
/yaʔ.mo/	ʿsweet potato'

Closed-closed:

/aʔ.pem/	ʿotherwise'
/iʔ.net/	'wait!'
/naʔ.pɨt/	'path, road'
/caʔ.wət/	ʿthorn'
/peʔ.tik/	ʿpotato'
/paʔ.pan/	ʿto fall down'
/maʔ.wɨt/	ʿman'
/a.yaʔ.nãp/	ʿbranch'
/naʔ.yop/	ʿleaf'

Words with just one syllable are also possible:

Open:

/tī/	ʿshame'
/cú/	ʿbig'
/ŋa/	3SG.FEM
/pe/	CL.FLAT
/ɨ/	'jenipapo'

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Closed:

/péŋ/	'white man'
/tik/	'mosquito'
/tap/	3PL
/pɨy/	'lazy'
/up/	'red'
/ap/	'house (of animals)'
/ip/	'fish'
/ék/	'inside'

While there are no restrictions on the occurrence of vowels at the V position, the consonants /c/, /b/, /r/ and /g/ occur exclusively as syllable onsets. /b/, /r/ and /g/ also occur exclusively word-medially.

2.3 NASAL SPREADING

Two types of nasalization spread occur in Karo, one obligatory and the other optional.

Obligatorily, nasalization spreads from an underlying nasal vowel of a stressed (penultimate) syllable through the last syllable of a word (L → R) if the onset of this last syllable is either /r/ or /g/[9]. The nasalization spreads not only to the vowel but also to the /r/ and /g/ consonants as well, which become [r̃] and [ŋ], respectively.

---

[9] I did not find any example in the data where a syllable begins with /b/.

27

/cĕrat/	[ˈcĕrɜt˺]	ʼsmoothʼ
/mãro/	[ˈmãɾõ]	ʻcapibarʼ
/mẽgan/	[ˈmẽŋɜ̃n]	ʻto smearʼ
/cĩgan/	[ˈcĩŋɜ̃n]	ʻto arrangeʼ

Optionally, a vowel becomes nasalized between two non-final nasals.

/maŋot/	[mɜ̃ˈŋᵍɔt˺]	~	[maˈŋᵍɔt˺]	ʻagainʼ
/anana/	[anɜ̃ˈnᵈa]	~	[anaˈnᵈa]	ʻpineappleʼ
/yamomõ/	[yamõˈmõ]	~	[yamoˈmõ]	ʻchameleonʼ
/mani/	[mɜ̃ˈni]	~	[maˈni]	ʻmaniocʼ

If the penultimate syllable does not have a nasal consonant as its onset, then the nasalization spread does not occur:

| /erenĩ/ | [ereˈnĩ] | ʻwood (sp.)ʼ |
| /kanã/ | [kaˈnã] | ʻthingʼ |

2.4 PHONOLOGICAL ASSIMILATION

Phonological assimilation of specific features is a widespread phenomenon in Karo. Some phonemes easily assimilate the features of other phonemes both word-internally and at word boundaries.

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Internal assimilations occur with noun, verb and adjective roots, involving basically a change in either voice or manner of articulation of the voiceless stops /p/, /t/ or /k/. Depending on the surrounding environment, /p/, /t/ and /k/ become respectively, /b/, /r/, /g/ or /m/, /n/, /ŋ/. The complete description of these changes, due to the specificity with relation to the word classes in which they occur, will be provided in Chapter 3, section 3.1, where I describe the word classes of Karo.

External alternations occur extensively in Karo[10]. They involve changes of the voiceless stops /p/, /t/ and /k/ both word-initially and word-finallly. With a few exceptions, these alternations are conditioned by an association of segmental factors (the position of specific vowels and consonants) plus a suprasegmental factor (the occurrence vs. non-occurrence of stress) in strings of words.

The phonological changes affect the voiceless stops /p/, /t/ and /k/ as a group in a similar fashion. Roughly speaking, three patterns of change were found: 1) /p/, /t/ and /k/ change to /b/, /r/ and /g/, respectively, before or after vowels or glides; 2) /p/, /t/ and /k/ change to /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/, respectively, either word-initially or word-finally. Word-initially, they change to /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ after a word which ends with a nasal consonant. Word-finally, they change to /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ if they are preceded by a nasal vowel nucleus and followed by a word with a nasal consonant at the word-initial position; and 3) /p/ and /k/ change to /b/ (or /h/) and /g/, respectively, if they occur in a word-final stressed syllable with an oral vowel nucleus followed by a word with a nasal consonant in the word-initial position. Each of these patterns of change is described below.

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[10] The description provided in this section is representative of only certain groups of speakers within the Karo community. No exhaustive survey was made with respect to possible phonological alternations presented here.

29

1a) /p/, /t/ and /k/ change to their voiced counterparts /b/, /r/ and /g/ in word-final position before vowels or glides.

/p/, /t/, /k/ → /b/, /r/, /g/ / __ # V or G(lide)

/p/:

[*war* *iyõm* ***ib***   *an*]

wat   *iyõm* *ip*   *at-t*

1SG   father fish   bring.IND1

'my father brought a fish'

[***cawab***   *wɨy*]

cawap   *wɨy-t*

sun   go.out-IND1

'the sun rose'

[***naʔcab***   *yatep*]

naʔcap   *yatep*

head.hair   fall(ADJ.)

'fallen head hair'

30

/t/[11]:

[ma ʔwɨ   ameko   roy]

maʔvɨ   ameko   top-t

man   jaguar   see-IND1

'the man saw the jaguar'

[maʔwɨ   yét   toy]

maʔvɨ   yét   top-t

man   this   see-IND1

'the man saw this one'

[õn   ŋorér   wĩn]

õn   korét   wɨ-n

1SG   bird   kill-IND1

'I killed a/the bird (sp.)'

---

[11] No change of /t/ to /r/ happens when /t/ is followed by the glide /y/ in an unstressed syllable. In such cases, an epenthetic /n/ occurs between /t/ and /y/. Examples are:

(1)	õn	mewít	**nyegat**	(2)	õn	aʔcegat	**nyané**
	õn	pewít	yega-t		õn	aʔ-cega-t	yané
	1SG	honey	search.for-IND1		1SG	3SG-turn.off-IND1	first
		'I searched for honey'				'I turned it off first'	

31

/k/:

[ma ʔteg   i ʔke]

ma ʔtek   i ʔke

palm.tree   NEG

ʼitʼs not (a) palm tree (sp.)ʼ

*[õn   **yaracewag**   ya ʔti   nãn]*

õn   yaracewak   ya ʔti   nã-n

1SG   wild.dog   like   COP-IND1

ʼI like the wild dogʼ

*[yate   **na ʔcəg**   wew]*

yate   na ʔcək   wew

pig   nose   large

ʼpigʼs large noseʼ

1b) /p/, /t/ and /k/ change to their voiced counterparts /b/, /r/ and /g/ in word-initial position after vowels or glides.

/p/, /t/, /k/ → /b/, /r/, /g/ / V or G # __

32

/p/:

[óra **becép**]

óra   pecép

song   ugly

'ugly song'

[oyakōy   **bãttem**]

o-yakōp-t   pãt=tem

1SG=dive-IND1   beautiful=ADVZ

'I dove beautifully'

[pew   **bɔt**]

pew   pɔt

wound   lots.of

'lots of wounds'

/t/:

māygãra   **roba**   at   towɨya

māygãra   top-a   aʔ=ʔe-t   to=wɨy-a

snake   see-GER   3SG=AUX-IND1   3R=leave-GER

'He left to see the snake.'

33

[ar   inãw   **rati**]

at   inãw   tati-t

3SG   bird   bring-IND1

`he brought a bird (sp.)'

[i ʔnõ   gəy   rə]

i ʔ-nõ   kəy   tə

1PL.INCL=one.of   DAT   EVID

`for one of us, they say'

/k/:

[oti   **gán**]

o=ti-t   kán

1SG=come-IND1   RPAST

`long ago I came'

[iyãy   **gõm**]

i=yãy   kõm

3IMP=tooth   like

`like a tooth'

[yaw   **gõam**]

yaw   kõam

ray   also

`ray too'

34

2a) /p/, /t/, /k/ change to their nasal counterparts /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ word-initially

after a word ending with a nasal consonant.

/p/:

iyõm ***mãt***

iyõm *pãt*

father beautiful

`beautiful father'

koran ***map***

koran *pap*

fish   CL.CYLB

`fish (sp.)'

/t/:

kãram   ***natia***

kãram   *ta-ti-a*

hummingbird COM-take-GER

`Bring the hummingbird!'

haran   ***narap***

haran   *tarap*

monkey   spotted

`spotted monkey (sp.)'

35

/k/:

iyōm **ŋōm**

iyōm **kōm**

father SIMIL

'like father'

okun **ŋǐ**

o=kun **kǐ**

1SG=belly   white

'my white belly'

2b) /p/, /t/, /k/ change to their nasal counterparts /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ word-finally in a
   syllable with a nasal vowel nucleus followed by a word beginning with a nasal
   consonant.

/p/, /t/, /k/ → /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ / ṽ __ # N

nãm *nakǎ*

nǎp *nakǎ*

bee   head

'head of (the/a) bee (sp.)'

epãn   **mãm** *ahyə*

e=pãt   *mãm* *ahyə*

2SG=beautiful X   INTERR

'Are you good/alright?'

a ʔwã́ŋ   *na ʔto wĩn*

a ʔ=wãk   *na ʔto wĩ-n*

3sg=sick   tapir   kill-IND1

'He, being sick, killed the tapir.'

3) /p/ and /k/ change to /b/ and /g/, respectively, if they occur in a word-final stressed syllable with an oral vowel as its nucleus, followed by a word beginning with a nasal consonant.

/p/, /k/ → /b/, /g/ / V __ # N

cób   *mawɨ́ya*

cóp   *ma-wɨ́y-a*

fly   CAUS-go.out-GER

'make the fly leave' (frighten it!)

wagag   *naká*

wagak   *naká*

bird   head

'bird's (sp.) head'

      Furthermore, if the syllable with the nasal consonant is also stressed, /p/ does not change to /b/ but to /h/ instead. (This same rule also applies when the onset of the last syllable also begins with the glides /w/ and /y/.)

37

$$/p/ \rightarrow /h/ \ / \ V \_\_ \# \ N_{(+stress)} \ ^{12}:$$

maʔwḭtah   *mõm*   *wḭy*

maʔwḭtap   *mõm*   *wḭy-t*

man   ASSOC only   leave-IND1

'only men left'

naʔyoh   *nõ*

naʔyop   *nõ*

leaf   one.of

'one of the leaves'

ocorah   *wét*

o-corap   *wé-t*

1SG=girlfriend   cry-IND1

'my girlfriend cried'

wayo   **bah**   *yu*

wayo   *bap*   *yu*

alligator   CL.CYLB   blood

'blood of (an) alligator'

---

[12] I did not find any example where /p/ changes to /h/ before /ŋ/.

2.5 STRESS

Stress occurs basically on the last syllable of Karo words. Less frequently, it occurs on penultimate syllables. These occurrences are predictable in terms of segmental and suprasegmental factors.

2.5.1 SEGMENTAL CONDITIONING OF STRESS PLACEMENT

From the segmental point of view, stress can be predicted by the onset of the last syllable: if it is a voiced stop consonant, /b/, /r/ or /g/, then the stress shifts one syllable to the left.

/yaba/	['yaba]	'rodent (sp.)'
/cobi/	['cobɨ]	'hook'
/pibeʔ/	/'pibɛʔ/	'foot'
/pábeʔ/	/'pábeʔ/	'hand'
/aoro/	[a'ɔrɔ]	'parrot'
/kirik/	['kirik˺]	'green'
/waro/	['˚waro]	'snail'
/mãro/	['mə̃r̃õ]	'capibar'
/karo/	['karo]	'macaw'
/were/	['wɛrɛ]	'frog'
/yuri/	['yuri]	'tatoo'
/macirup/	[ma'cːirup˺]	'bird (sp.)'
/cirip/	['cirip˺]	'bird (sp.)'

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/yogo/	['yɔgɔ]	'eel'
/cego/	['cɛgo]	'monkey (sp.)'
/tágip/	['tágip̚]	'bow'
/ígip/	['ígip̚]	'aunt'
/cigi/	['cigi]	'spot'
/mɔga/	['mɔga]	'mouse'
/ecigun/	[ɛ'cːiguᵈn]	'ant-eater (sp.)'
/iʔcogo/	[iʔ'cɔgɔ]	'quati (sp.)'
/manogon/	[ma'nᵈógoᵈn]	'rabbit (sp.)'

If the onset of the last syllable is of any other kind rather than /b/, /r/ or /g/ then the stress falls on the last syllable.

/peon/	[pɛ'ɔᵈn/	'skin'
/mopik/	[mo'pːik̚]	'bird (sp.)'
/matek/	[ma'tːɛk̚]	'palm tree (sp.)'
/kuruʔcu/	[kuruʔ'cu]	'saliva'
/pako/	[pa'kːɔ]	'fish (sp.)'
/yaʔo/	[ya'ʔɔ]	'lizard (sp.)'
/yaʔmo/	[yaʔ'mᵇɔ]	'yam (sp.)'
/anana/	[ana'nᵈa]	'pineapple'
/maŋot/	[ma'ŋᵍɔt̚]	'again'
/nahɛk/	[na'hɛk̚]	'fontanel'

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| /kiriwep/ | [kiɾiˈwɛp˺] | 'butterfly' |
| /koyo/ | [kɔˈyɔ] | 'crab' |

A few exceptions to this segmental rule occur. In these exceptions, the last syllable is stressed instead of the penultimate one, violating the rule which establishes stress on penultimate syllables beginning with /b/, /r/ or /g/.

/acibe/	[aciˈbɛ]	*[aˈcːibɛ]	'root'
/kiribop/	[kiɾiˈbɔp˺]	*[kiˈɾibɔp˺]	'frog (sp.)'
/pobo/	[pɔˈbɔ]	*[ˈpɔbɔ]	'owl'
/korem/	[koˈɾɛᵇm]	*[ˈkɔɾɛᵇm]	'also'
/miririy/	[miɾiˈɾiy]	*[miˈɾiɾiy]	'toad (sp.)'
/koran/	[koˈɾaᵈn]	*[ˈkɔɾaᵈn]	'fish (sp.)'
/pirun/	[piˈɾuᵈn]	*[ˈpiɾuᵈn]	'round'
/pagon/	[paˈgɔᵈn]	*[ˈpagɔᵈn]	'friend'
/cagap/	[caˈgəp˺]	*[ˈcagəp˺]	'dish'
/yogoy/	[yoˈgɔy]	*[ˈyɔgɔy]	'breath'

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2.5.2 SUPRASEGMENTAL CONDITIONING OF STRESS PLACEMENT

Stress is also affected by nasalization and tone. In the first case, the underlying nasal vowel of an ultimate or penultimate syllable is automatically stressed, regardless of the type of onset of the last syllable[13].

Ultimate syllable stress:

/iyã/	[i'ỹə]	'Brazil nut'
/cokõy/	[co'k:õỹ]	'parrot (sp.)'
/ma?õ/	[ma'?õ]	'ant (sp.)'
/aya?nãp/	[aya?'nãp˺]	'branch'
/ya?cĩ/	[ya?'cĩ]	'bad odor'
/cigã/	[ci'gə̃]	'bone'

Penultimate syllable stress:

/wakãya/	[wa'k:ə̃ỹa]	'rodent (sp.)'
/ĩya/	['ĩỹa]	'bird'
/yogõyom/	[yo'gõỹõm]	'beard, moustache'
/mãygãra/	[mə̃ỹ'gə̃r̃ə̃]	'snake'
/cimãran/	[ci'mə̃r̃ə̃n]	'snake (sp.)'
/kõnam/	['kõnə̃m]	'crazy'
/catõwa/	[ca't:õw̃ə̃]	'fish (sp.)'

---

[13] There seems to be just one underlying nasal vowel per word in Karo. Furthermore, Karo does not have words with nasal vowels as the nucleus of the penultimate syllable and voiceless stop consonants as the onset of the last syllable, e.g. *[pãki], *[yõca], *[tẽpan], etc. The presence of such words would have the effect of clashing the segmental and suprasegmental rules of stress placement.

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Stress is also affected by tone: a syllable with high pitch is automatically stressed. Only one underlying high pitch occurs per word. This type of conditioning interacts with the two other types in the following ways:

A. **conditioning by nasality**: high pitch never occurs in a syllable of a word which also contains another syllable with an underlying nasal vowel (e.g. *['pákã], *['wétã], etc.);

B. **segmental constraints**: high pitch also never occurs in a penultimate syllable if the onset of the ultimate syllable has a voiceless stop /p/, /t/, /c/, /k/, /ʔ/ (e.g. *['tápɪkˀ], *['cékə], etc.)

Examples of words with high pitch are[14]:

/yogá/	[yo'gá]	'egg'
/korét/	[ko'rétˀ]	'guan (sp.)'/'fowl'???
/napía/	[na'pːía]	'ant (sp.)'
/móa/	['móá]	'turtle (sp.)'
/pewít/	[pɛ'wítˀ]	'sweet'
/nayúa/	[na'yúá]	'ant's house'
/wíup/	['wíúpˀ]	'native, non-domesticated'

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[14] The phonetic convention I use to mark pitch is: high pitch : [´]; mid pitch : [¯]; low pitch : unmarked.

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2.6 PITCH

Three levels of pitch occur phonetically in Karo words: high, mid and low. Of these, only high and low are phonologically contrastive; mid pitch is the phonetic realization of low pitch in stressed syllables.

Since high, mid and low pitches do not rise or fall during their production, the pitch system of Karo can be categorized as a 'register level pitch system' (Pike 1948).

Furthermore, the fact that only high and mid pitches occur in stressed syllables, and that high and mid pitches are also used to distinguish the meanings of words make Karo a 'pitch-accent' language (Hyman 1975).

Some pairs of words distinghishable only by means of differences in pitch are:

| /pɛ̃n/ | ['pɛ̃n] | 'to open' | vs. |
| /pɛ̃n/ | ['pɛ̃n] | 'to step' | |

| /cán/ | ['cá^{d}n] | 'to wash' | vs. |
| /can/ | ['ca^{d}n] | 'to pluck' | |

| /tóy/ | ['tóy] | 'to disappear' | vs. |
| /toy/ | ['tɔy] | 'to see' | |

The examples below show the occurrence of low pitch in unstressed syllables and mid and high pitches in stressed syllables:

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/maʔpe/	[maʔ'pē]	'gourd'
/parato/	[para'tːɔ]	'armadillo (sp.)'
/ameko/	[ame'kːɔ]	'jaguar'
/yogá/	[yo'gá]	'egg'
/pewít/	[pɛ'wít˺]	'honey'
/korét/	[ko'rét˺]	'fowl'

It thus can be observed that from the strict phonological point of view, only three sequences of pitch occur in Karo:1) (low-)low-low, 2) (low-)low-high and 3) (low-)high-low:

low-low:

/naʔwɔy/	[naʔ'wɔ̄y]	'monkey (generic)'
/wayo/	[wa'yɔ̄]	'alligator'
/paramit/	[para'mīt˺]	'spider'

low-high:

/korét/	[ko'rét˺]	'guam (sp.)'
/cagá/	[ca'gá]	'eye'
/yogá/	[yo'gá]	'tongue'

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high-low:

/kãram/	['kɜ̃rɜ̃m]	'hummingbird'
/napía/	[na'pːíá]	'ant (sp.)'
/móa/	['mᵇóá]	'tortoise'

2.6.1 TONE SPREADING

The high or mid tone of a penultimate syllable of a word in Karo spreads rightwards to the last syllable (L → R) if the onset of this last syllable is a voiced segment V, /b/, /r/, /g/, /w/, /y/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/.

/napía/	[na'pːíá]	'ant (sp.)'
/yaba/	['yā̄βā̄]	'rodent (sp.)'
/pãram/	['pɜ̃rɜ̃m]	'wood (sp.)'
/karo/	['kā̄rō̄]	'macaw'
/yogo/	['yɔ̄gɔ̄]	'eel'
/káwan/	['káwán]	'be fat'
/moriya/	[mo'rĩȳā̄]	'bead'
/a-ma-kõma/	[ama'kːõmá]	'make it warm/warm it!'
/a-ma-pãna/	[ama'pːɜ̃ná]	'make it beautiful!'
/pãŋan/	['pɜ̃ŋɜ̃n]	'to give'

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2.6.2 PHONETIC PROPERTIES OF TONE

In order to check the measures of each syllable type with relation to their tone, a sample of 140 words was taken from four different young male consultants and digitized using the software CECIL. Two different patterns were investigated: 1. the absolute measure of tone for each type of syllable (low, mid and high) and 2. the absolute measure of change in tone from one type of syllable to another (from low to mid; from low to high)[15].

Given the fact that tone patterns varied substantially depending upon the phonetic environment (where differences in vowel quality and differences in stress interfere with the production of higher or lower tones[16]), the measures for each type of tone - low, mid and high - are presented in a range. These are:

LOW:	109 - 128 Hz
MID:	117 - 146 Hz
HIGH:	146 - 172 Hz

The average range of tone transition from one syllable type to another was:

LOW → MID:	15 Hz
LOW → HIGH:	33 Hz

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[15] Due to the stress patterns seen before (in section 2.5) and to the tone spreading processes (seen in section 2.6.1), there are no occurrences of sequences high-mid, mid-low or high-low within simple words in Karo. Two possible exceptions could be the words [tá:gip̉], 'bow' and [ĩ:gip̉], 'aunt. brother (female speaking)', respectively, in which the high tone of the first syllable does not spread to the following syllable, even though the /g/-type onset is among the ones which allow the spreading of the high tone. These exceptions might be explained when we recognize that these words might be lexicalized forms of a sequence of two morphemes, ták plus ʔip and ik plus ʔip.
[16] High vowels carry intrinsically higher pitch when compared to lower vowels, and stressed syllables also tend to have higher pitch as compared to unstressed syllables.

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CHAPTER 3

MORPHOLOGY

From a typological point of view, Karo can be characterized as mildly synthetic and fusional. It does not exhibit intricate arrays of morphemes: noun phrases are not marked for case, verbs do not have person marking, etc. Only a few inflectional and derivational affixes occur, and a handful of clitics. The morphological processes that occur are a few types of nominalization, two types of causation, a process of adverbialization, and compounding.

The content of this chapter is as follows. In section 3.1 I present the word classes, discussing their occurrence as bound or free forms. In sections 3.2 and 3.3 I describe the affixes and clitics of Karo, respectively, and the phonological alternations associated with them. In section 3.4 I discuss the processes of nominalization and finally, in section 3.5, I describe the way compounds are formed.

3.1 WORD CLASSES

Nine classes of words occur in Karo: 1) pronouns, 2) nouns, 3) verbs, 4) auxiliaries, 5) adjectives, 6) postpositions, 7) adverbs, 8) particles and 9) ideophones[17]. Verbs, adjectives, auxiliaries, postpositions and inalienable nouns have in common the fact that they must *always* be preceded by an argument, either a pronoun, a personal clitic or an alienable noun.

Below I describe each of these classes and provide the necessary evidence which helps categorize a given word as belonging to one class or another.

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[17] Even though ideophones are considered a separate class of words, I will describe their occurrences and particulars in a separate chapter, given their complexity.

3.1.1 PRONOUNS

Four classes of pronouns occur in Karo: personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, interrogative pronouns and demonstrative pronouns.

Personal pronouns are used to mark ergative arguments of transitive verbs (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.1.4 on Case marking and grammatical relations). The personal pronouns of Karo are presented in Table 5 below.

Person / Number	1	2	3	3 feminine
SG	õn	ẽn	at	ŋa
PL (INCL)	i?tə	ka?to	tap	
(EXCL)	té			

Table 5 Karo free personal pronouns

A set of possessive pronouns is used with alienable nouns. (See Genitive Constructions in Chapter 4, section 4.3.1.2.) This set is probably derived historically from the juxtaposition of the set of personal clitics (see section 3.3.3 below) plus the possessive marker *at*, which could have been an inalienable noun with a general meaning of 'thing'. (Examples of possessive pronouns are provided in Chapter 4, section 4.3.1.1, in the description of noun phrase constituents.)

Person / Number	1	2	3	3 feminine
SG	wat	et	at	ŋaat
PL (INCL)	i?yat	karowat	tabat	
(EXCL)	te?et			
IND1EF	yat=			

Table 6 Karo possessive pronouns

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Two interrogative pronouns occur in Karo: *nãn* 'who, what' and *kĩgomã*
'which'. *nãn* occurs at the beginning of the clause, and is used as noun (phrase)
substitute of any function (core and oblique).

nãn   iket

nãn   i=ket

who   3IMP=sleep

'Who slept?'

nãn   mãygãra   wĩn

nãn   mãygãra   wĩ-n

who   snake   kill-IND1

'Who killed the snake?'

nãn   ẽn   itop

nãn   ẽn   i=top

who   2SG   3IMP=see

'Who/what did you see?'

nãn   bihmãm   ekerap

nãn   pihmãm   e=ket-ap

who   COMIT   2SG=sleep-IND2

'With whom did you sleep?'

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The interrogative pronoun *kigomɔ* is used jointly with a noun (phrase). It also occurs at the beginning of clauses. The function of *kigomɔ* is to request more (precise) information about the noun to which it refers. *kigomɔ* may also occur in core or oblique function[18].

kigomɔ	*ip*	*pay*			
kigomɔ	*ip*	*pap-t*			
which	fish	die-IND1			

'Which kind of fish died?'

kigomɔ	*ɨya*	*ẽn*	*iwĩ*		
kigomɔ	*ɨya*	*ẽn*	*i=wĩ*		
which	bird	2SG	3IMP=kill		

'Which kind of bird did you kill?'

kigomɔ	*iyá*	*naká*	*mã*	*at*	*yate*	*wĩm*
kigomɔ	*iyá*	*naká*	*mã*	*at*	*yate*	*wĩ-m*
which	stone	head	INSTR	3SG	pig	kill-IND2

'With which knife did he kil the pig?'

Both interrogative pronouns, *nãn* and *kigomɔ*, can be used with the interrogative particle *ahyə* in general information questions.

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[18] I have not found occurrences of *kigomɔ* in ergative (agentive) function.

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nãn   *ahyə*   *mẽr*   *ã*

nãn   *ahyə*   *mẽt*   *ã*

who   INTERR   here   X

˙What is this here?'

nãn   *ahyə*

nãn   *ahyə*

who   INTERR

˙What (happened)?; What/who is it?'

kɨgomɔt   *(+ noun)*   *ahyə*   *(mẽr*   *ã)*

kɨgomɔt   *(+ noun)*   *ahyə*   *(mẽt*   *ã)*

which   (...)   INTERR   (here   X)

˙Which kind of (...) (is this one here)?'

Three demonstrative pronouns occur in Karo: *yét* ˙this (close to speaker)',
tɔt ˙that (close to hearer)', and *yeket* ˙that (far from speaker + hearer)'. All three
may occur in either core or oblique function. The demonstrative pronouns are
further discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.3.1.1, on noun phrase constituents.

3.1.2 NOUNS

Nouns in Karo are not inflected for number, gender or case. For this
reason, few morphological criteria are available to distinguish them from the other
word classes. The bulk of the criteria comes, then, from syntax and semantics.

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Nouns are prototypically recognizable by being arguments of intransitive verbs, transitive verbs, auxiliaries and other nouns.

ma ʔwɨ   *para ʔkɔt*

ma ʔwɨ   *para ʔkɔk-t*

man   come.back-IND1

`The man came back.'

ma ʔpɔy   *ici*   *téy*

ma ʔpɔy   *ici*   *tép-t*

woman   **water** boil-IND1

`The woman boiled the water.'

apɔy	*ŋa*	*ʔet*	*topaba*	*mɨy*	*mãm*
apɔy	*ŋa*	*ʔe-t*	*to=pap-a*	*mɨy*	*mãm*
grandmother CL.FEM		AUX-IND1	3R=die-GER	long.ago	X

`Grandmother died a long time ago.'

Most nouns can appear in possessive constructions, which can be either inalienable or alienable. Inalienably possessed nouns include mostly body parts, whereas alienably possessed free nouns include kin terms, handmade items, etc. Nouns denoting unpossessible entities never appear in possessive constructions. Unpossessible nouns are generally elements of nature, such as *cawap* `sun`, *wen* `moon`, *amãn*, `rain`, *mapɔy* `rainbow`, etc.

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Inalienable possession is shown by the simple juxtaposition of a noun
(phrase) or a possessive pronominal proclitic representing the possessor.
Alienable possession is shown by a noun phrase followed by the possessive
marker *at* or an independent possessive pronoun representing the possessor.
(Genitive constructions will be fully discussed and described in Chapter 4, section
4.3.1.2.)

INALIENABLE POSSESSED NOUNS:

with possessive clitics	with full nouns
opía	*na ʔwəy bía*
o=pía	*na ʔwəy pía*
1SG=liver	monkey liver
'my liver'	'monkey's liver'
enaká	*wayo naká*
e=naká	*wayo naká*
2SG=head	alligator head
'your head'	'alligator head'
a ʔkun	*owẽ gun*
aʔ=kun	*owẽ kun*
3SG=belly	baby belly
'his/its belly'	'baby belly'

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ALIENABLE POSSESSED NOUNS:

with possessive pronouns			with full nouns			
wat	ka ʔa		agóa ʔpər	at	ka ʔa	
wat	ka ʔa		agóa ʔpət	at	ka ʔa	
1SG.POSS	house		shaman	POSS	house	
'my house'			'shaman's house'			

et	tágip		Noep	at	tágip
et	tágip		Noep	at	tágip
2SG.POSS	bow		Noep	POSS	bow
'your bow'			'Noep's bow'		

Nouns and pronouns may be followed by the associative particle *tap*. (Associative constructions are described in section 3.1.7 below).

Kokō *rap*
Kokō *tap*
Hawk ASSOC
'the Hawk people'

ma ʔpəy *rap*
ma ʔpəy *tap*
woman ASSOC
'women (a woman and other women)'

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aʔcot   *tap*

aʔcot   *tap*

3SG=seed   ASSOC

'its seeds'

tabat   *tap*

tabat   *tap*

3PL.POSS   ASSOC

'theirs (things)'

iʔə   *rap*

iʔə   *tap*

1pl.incl   ASSOC

'ours (things), us'

Nouns are also the only class of words which can be modified by an adjective. Adjectives are further described in section 3.1.5.

maʔwñ   *cú*

maʔwñ   *cú*

man   big

'big man'

ma ʔpəy	*becép*
ma ʔpəy	*pecép*
woman	ugly

'ugly woman'

kɨrɨwep	*pãt́*
kɨrɨwep	*pãt́*
butterfly	beautiful

'beautiful butterfly'

3.1.3 VERBS

Verbs in Karo are also not morphologically rich, but the few affixes which occur, together with syntactic criteria, are enough to distinguish them from the other classes of words, including auxiliaries.

Verbs are typically sentence-final elements which take modal suffixes. The moods distinguished in Karo will be discussed in section 3.2.1 below. Verbs also take derivational voice prefixes, a fact which distinguishes them from auxiliaries. As we will see below, auxiliaries also take modal suffixes but cannot take voice prefixes.

Verbs are further subcategorized into transitive and intransitive. The distinction is morphological as well as semantic. Morphologically, whereas transitive verbs can appear with the impersonal passivizer *pe-*, intransitive verbs cannot. Intransitive verbs, on the other hand, can take the causatives *ma-* and *ta-*, whereas transitives cannot. Semantically, only one argument is necessary to fulfill the requirements of intransitive verbs, whereas transitive verbs require two arguments.

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Even though it cannot be considered a criterion for distinguishing intransitive from transitive verbs, it is worth mentioning that a few intransitive verbs include specification of number as part of their meaning. If the argument is singular, one verb is used, whereas if it is plural, another verb is employed.

ken	*oken*	*vs.*	*takéran*
ket-t	*o=ket-t*		*tap=kérat-t*
sleep-IND1	1SG=sleep-IND1		3PL=sleep-IND1
'to sleep'	'I slept.'		'They slept.'

para?kɔt	*abara?kɔt*	*vs.*	*karocira?kɔt*
para?kɔ-t	*a?=para?kɔ-t*		*karo=cira?kɔ-t*
come.back-IND1	3SG=come.back-IND1		2PL=come.back-IND1
'to come back'	'He came back.'		'You (PL) came back.'

pe?cín:	*ebe?cín*	*vs.*	*tekori*
pe?cíi-t	*e=pe?cíi-t*		*te=kori-t*
run-IND1	2SG=run-IND1		1PL.EXCL=run-IND1
'to run'	'You ran.'		'We ran.'

wét:	*ŋawét*	*vs.*	*taperi*
wé-t	*ŋa=wé-t*		*tap=peri-t*
cry-IND1	3SG.FEM=cry-IND1		3PL=cry-IND1
'to cry'	'She cried.'		'They cried.'

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One last point worth discussing is the word class status of the copula *nã*
Even though *nã* has a predicative meaning and takes the same set of modal
suffixes as any other verb or auxiliary, it behaves differently from verbs by not
accepting any derivational (voice) prefixes. It also differs from auxiliaries in
sometimes taking one argument and other times two, whereas auxiliaries always
take only one argument.

3.1.4 AUXILIARIES

The term 'auxiliary' has a specialized sense in Tupian linguistics:
auxiliaries in Tupian languages do not necessarily co-occur with a lexical verb.

Auxiliaries in Karo are similar to intransitive verbs, in that both require a
single argument and take the same set of modal suffixes. (One exception is the
auxiliary *wa ʔye* which does not take any modal suffix.) They differ, nevertheless,
in having no obvious lexical meaning, except in reported speech, where one of the
auxiliaries, *ʔe*, retained its original meaning 'to say/do'). Auxiliaries also differ
from verbs in not taking derivational (voice) prefixes. If an auxiliary occurs in a
clause-chaining construction with a lexical verb, it appears in the finite form,
marked by the indicative suffix *–t* or *–p* ; the lexical verb appears in the non-finite
form, marked by the gerund suffix *–a*.

Three auxiliaries have been found in Karo: *ʔe*, *wa ʔye* and *kap*. Of these,
only *ʔe* and *kap* are inflected for mood. *ʔe* and *wa ʔye* are used with affirmative
meaning in indicative clauses. One of their functions is to introduce important
referents into discourse. The examples below come from an account of the Pear
Film.

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mỹ		mãm	péŋ	ʔep	toʔwa
mỹ		mãm	péŋ	ʔe-p	to=ʔe-a
long.ago	X		white.man	AUX-IND2	3R=AUX-GER

'Long ago there was a white man.'

mɔy	maʔpɔy	ŋa	waʔye
mɔy	maʔpɔy	ŋa	waʔye
so	woman	CL.FEM	AUX

'So, there was a woman.'

kanãy	abagon		nap	waʔye
kanãy	aʔ=pagon	tap		waʔye
then	3PL=friend	ASSOC		AUX

'Then there were his friends.'

The future auxiliary *kap* is used in indicative clauses. If any other transitive or intransitive verb co-occurs with *kap* it appears in the gerund form. (The future auxiliary *kap* is fully discussed in chapter 4, section 4.4.2.1.)

aʔwero	toba	okay
aʔ=wero	top-a	o=kap-t
3SG=speech	see-GER	1SG=AUX.FUT-IND1

'I will listen to him.'

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kõm	iʔkay		Kabirera	wĩa	iʔkõna
kõm	iʔ=kap-t		Kabirera	wĩ-a	iʔ=kõna
how	1PL.INCL=AUX.FUT-IND1		Kabirera	kill-GER	1PL.INCL=EMPH

'How will we kill Kabirera?'

tenaʔwara	reʔkay
teʔ=naʔwat-a	teʔ=kap-t
1PL.EXCL=leave-GER	1PL.EXCL=AUX.FUT-IND1

'We will leave.'

nãn	mihmãm	ekab	eyaʔwara
nãn	pihmãm	e=kap-ap	e=yaʔwat-a
who	COMIT	2SG=AUX.FUT-IND2	2SG=leave-GER

'With whom you will leave?'

kanãy	iʔkap		aʔwĩa
kanãy	iʔ=kap-ap		aʔ=wĩ-a
then	1PL.INCL=AUX.FUT-IND2		3PL=kill-GER

'Then we will kill it.'

3.1.5 ADJECTIVES

Adjectives in Karo constitute an open class whose prototypical occurrence is in a noun phrase after the head noun. (A complete description of NP constituents is provided in Chapter 4, section 4.3.1.)

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Adjectives differ from verbs in not taking modal suffixes or derivational voice prefixes. A few intransitive verbs, nevertheless, have been derived from adjectives with the modal suffixes –t, –p and –a.

kap	'fat'	kap + t	→	kay	'to be fat'
up	'red'	up + t	→	uy	'to be red'
yakõp	'hot'	yakõp + t	→	yakõy	'to be hot'
picorop	'hungry'	picotop + t	→	picori	'to be hungry'
pát	'beautiful'	pát + t	→	pán	'to be beautiful'
picot	'naked'	picot + t	→	picon	'to be naked'
pewit	'sweet'	pewit + t	→	pewin	'to be sweet'
wãk	'sick'	wãk + t	→	wãt	'to be sick'
pitẽk	'cold'	pitẽk + t	→	pitẽgat	'to be cold'
ca?yõk	'sour'	ca?yõk + t	→	ca?yõgat	'to be sour'

Adjectives (but not nouns) can serve as the basis for adverbs derived with the adverbializer enclitic =tem. The enclitic =tem is discussed in section 3.3.2.)

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maʔpəy   aʔoy   *ʔittem*

maʔpəy   aʔ=top-t   *ʔit=tem*

woman   3SG=see-IND1 **little=ADVZ**

'The woman saw him/it briefly.'

at   aʔpiy   **gahmõmnem**

at   aʔ=piy-t   **kahmõm=tem**

3SG   3SG=wait.for-IND1   **quiet=ADVZ**

'He waited for him quietly.'

õn   wat   tap   yaʔi   nãn   **cúrem**

õn   wat   tap   yaʔi   nã-n   **cú=tem**

1SG   1SG.POSS   ASSOC like   COP-IND1   **big=ADVZ**

'I like mine (family, personal things) very much.'

The adjectives of Karo also differ from nouns in not constituting nuclei of noun phrases, and in never being associated directly with determiners.

3.1.6 ADVERBS

Adverbs constitute a closed class of items which do not appear with any inflectional or derivational affixes, and do not serve as bases from which any other lexical items may be derived. They typically appear at the ends of clauses or in initial focus position. They generally indicate manner, place or time. Manner adverbials are the most abundant. They are derived from adjectives and, as such, form an open (sub)class of words.

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cãrem	'bitterly'
cúrem	'very much'
maŋaptem	'delayedly, longly'
cahmərəptem	'wisely'
kãptem	'deliciously'
pãttem	'beautifully', 'nicely'
ʔittem	'shortly'
carẽktem	'slowly'
cehmãktem	'weakly'
kahmõmnem	'calmly'
wɨnnem	'crookedly'

Among the manner adverbs are numerals. (As we shall see in Chapter 4, section 4.3.4, numerals in Karo are constituents of Adverbial Phrases and not of Noun Phrases.)

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kofĩrem	'one'
cagáro komnem	'two'
pagon nóptem	'three'
pagon nopэttem	'four'
pagon bayrem	'five'
pa?piktem	'many'

Place adverbials constitute a closed subclass, and include the following:

mẽt	'here'
tɔt	'there (close to speaker)'
meŋik	'there'
mẽm nu	'very far away'

Finally, time adverbials also form a closed subclass, with items such as:

matet	'yesterday'
mĩn	'today'
cãk mãm	'tomorrow'
tẽna	'now'
kanãy	'after'
miy mãm	'long ago'

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3.1.7 PARTICLES

Cross-linguistically, the class of particles is generally defined negatively, i.e., the class of words that are not part of any other word class. Karo does not seem to be an exception. Particles in Karo share important characteristics which also distinguish them from other words in a negative way. They do not, for instance, appear with any inflection or derivation. They are also not derived from any other word class. They do not take nouns as arguments, nor can they be modified by adjectives.

While it seems intuitively transparent that particles form a different category from nouns, verbs, adjectives, auxiliaries and adpositions, it is not obvious how particles differ from adverbs.

Particles form a separate class from adverbs in Karo for distributional as well as semantic reasons. Distributionally, adverbs form a coherent category and always occur either at the beginning or at the end of clauses (or sentences). Particles are not as coherent. They can be subcategorized into different subclasses (depending on their function, which is not always transparent), and have different distributions depending on their subclass. The subclass of classifiers, for example, occurs exclusively inside the noun phrase. The evidentials occur in most cases at the end of clauses (or sentences), but a few may occur also in the middle of the noun phrase.

Semantically, while it is always true that adverbs in Karo have transparent meanings (the usual meanings associated with manner, place and time which serve to modify a proposition), the exact meanings of particles are difficult to determine. Particles in Karo are used to perform a variety of functions. One set of particles is used in noun categorization, and forms the group of classifiers (see Chapter 5). Another set is used as evidentials (see Chapter 7). Particles are also

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employed to mark negation (*i?ke*, *yahmãm* and *taykit* described in Chapter 4, section 4.5), interrogation (*ahyə* described in Chapter 4, section 4.1.2), and association (*tap*).

The associative (ASSOC) particle *tap* occurs with common nouns, proper nouns and possessive pronouns. It has the function of categorizing a set of entities associated with a particular referent as belonging to a temporary group. It differs from the set of classifiers of Karo in that the semantic categorization of the associative does not depend on any intrinsic property of the entities. Nonetheless, *tap* shares a distributional feature with the classifiers: in the presence of an adjective, *tap* also occurs twice in the noun phrase, once after the noun to which it refers, and again after the adjective, in concord (cf. this and other features of classifiers in Chapter 5 below). This feature of the associative particle can be seen by comparing the examples below where, in the first example, the associative follows a noun which is not modified by an adjective, whereas in the second it follows a noun which is modified by an adjective[19].

ma?pəy	**rah**	*mõm*	*ikérat*
ma?pəy	**tap**	*mõm*	*i=kérat*
woman	ASSOC only	3IMP=sleep

'Only the women slept.'

---

[19] The phonological alternations that occur with the consonants /t/ and /p/ of the particle *tap* follow the same changes presented in Chapter 2, section 2.4, for /t/'s and /p/'s in the same positions.

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ma ʔpɔy	rap	pát	tah	mõm	ikérat
ma ʔpɔy	tap	pát	tap	mõm	i=kérat
woman	ASSOC beautiful		ASSOC only	3IMP=sleep	

'Only the beautiful women slept.'

The associative particle also differs from the plural marker =*to ?*
semantically. While the associative is employed to refer to the multiplicity of
different entities somehow related to the noun with which it occurs, the plural is
used to refer to the multiplicity of the **same** entity. In other words, the associative
particle is used to group together (or associate), for some reason, referents
necessarily distinct from each other, whereas the plural marker is used to refer to
a group of the same referent.

This distinction can be better illustrated by comparing the pair of
examples below, where the use of the associative refers necessarily to the
heterogeneity of somebody's belongings, either animate, such as his/her relatives,
or inanimate, such as personal items (e.g. a hammock, pots, pans, bows, arrows,
etc.). The use of the plural marker, on the other hand, refers to the uniqueness of
somebody's group of the same thing (in the case in question, houses).

wat	tap	cf.	wat	ka ʔa	ʔa ʔto ?
wat	tap		wat	ka ʔa	ʔa ʔ=to ?
1SG.POSS	ASSOC		1SG.POSS	house	CL.RD=PL

'My relatives, stuff/things.'   'My houses.'

3.1.8 POSTPOSITIONS

Postpositions in Karo differ from verbs by not taking inflectional (modal) suffixes, or derivational (voice) prefixes. They differ from adverbs and particles by taking an argument as their complement. They differ from nouns by not appearing with any of the noun modifiers (adjectives, classifiers, the plural clitic, the associative particle, etc.) and not serving as arguments of predicates. They differ from adjectives by not taking the adverbializer =*tem*, and by not occurring inside noun phrases: a postposition forms a phrase on its own, which canonically occurs after (or, when focused, before) the clause.

Twelve different postpositions were found in Karo. Eleven of them have identical distribution and are used to add an oblique (i.e. non-required) argument to a clause. (See Chapter 4, section 4.3.3 on Postpositional Phrases for more details and full exemplification of oblique case markers in Karo.)

	POSTPOSITION	MEANING	TRANSLATION
1.	kɔy	DATIVE	'at'
2.	mã	INSTRUMENTAL	'with'
3.	ʔerem	DISPERSIVE	'through'
4.	peʔ	LOCATIVE	'in/on'
5.	kõm	SIMILATIVE	'like'
6.	pihmãm	COMITATIVE	'with'
7.	ʔay	ABLATIVE	'from'
8.	pik	ALLATIVE	'to'
9.	pɔt	INESSIVE	'inside'
10.	pikop	ABESSIVE	'close to, outside'
11.	pem	ADESSIVE	'close to, at (a place)'

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The twelfth postposition, *kõna*, is used for emphatic purposes. *kõna* has the same distributional properties as other postpositions: it cannot receive any verbal inflection or derivation; it takes one argument as their complement; it does not occur with any noun modifier; it does not serve as argument of predicates; and, finally, it does not take the adverbializer *=tem*). It differs from the other eleven, however, in taking only core arguments as complements, and in having the possibility to occur also *before* the verb phrase.

Any core argument can be emphasized: the single argument of an intransitive verb or predicate adjective, or either argument of a transitive verb. A full description of the occurrences of *kõna* is provided in Chapter 4, section 4.3.3 on Postpositional Phrases.

EMPHASIS ON THE ARGUMENTS OF A TRANSITIVE VERB: ERGATIVE ARGUMENTS

owagon	*oyakay*	*tokõna*
o=pagon	*o=yakap-t*	*to=kõna*
1SG=friend	1SG=push-IND1	3R=EMPH

'My friend pushed me.'

õn	*ip*	*?ĩy*	*okõna*
õn	*ip*	*?ĩp-t*	*o=kõna*
1SG	fish	catch-IND1	1SG=EMPH

'I caught the fish'

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EMPHASIS ON THE ARGUMENTS OF A TRANSITIVE VERB: ABSOLUTIVE ARGUMENTS

ma ʔpɔy	bãt	tokõna	at	ipị̃y
ma ʔpɔy	pãt	to=kõna	at	i=pị̃y-t
woman	beautiful	3R=EMPH	3SG	3IMP=wait.for-IND1

'It was **a beautiful woman** whom he waited for.'

móa	rokõna	ẽn	ibe ʔt m̃		ahyɔ
móa	to=kõna	ẽn	i=pe ʔt ñ-t		ahyɔ
tortoise	3R=EMPH	2SG	3IMP=roast-IND1		INTERR

'Was it **a/the tortoise** that you fried?'

EMPHASIS ON THE (ABSOLUTIVE) ARGUMENT OF INTRANSITIVE VERBS

ma ʔwñ	pekey	tokõna
ma ʔwñ	pekep-tto=kõna
man	be.handicap	3R=EMPH

'**The man** is handicapped.'

a ʔvét	tokõna
a ʔ=wé-t	to=kõna
3SG=cry-IND1	3R=EMPH

'**He** cried.'

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EMPHASIS ON THE ARGUMENT OF A PREDICATE ADJECTIVE CONSTRUCTION

taraptem **õn** **okõna**

tarap=tem **õn** *o=kõna*

spotted=ADVZ 1SG 1SG=EMPH

'I am spotted.'

cúrem *at* *tokõna*

cú=tem *at* *to=kõna*

big=ADVZ 3SG 3R=EMPH

'He is big.'

caropaptem *gaʔo* *garo=kõna*

caropap=tem *kaʔo* *karo=kõna*

sad=ADVZ 2PL 2PL=EMPH

'You (PL.) are sad.'

3.2 AFFIXES

Only a few inflectional and derivational affixes occur in Karo. In the two following subsections I provide a complete description of these affixes, their functions, and a full characterization of the processes of internal sandhi triggered by their occurrence.

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3.2.1 INFLECTIONAL AFFIXES

Inflectional affixation in Karo is limited to predicates (verbs, auxiliaries and copulas). Only three **suffixes** occur, *-t*, *-p* and *-a*. The first two suffixes represent the mood categories of indicative (indicative I and indicative II), and the last suffix represent the mood category of gerund.

3.2.1.1 INDIICATIVE –T [20]

The indicative (IND1) suffix *-t* is used in statements. It occurs exclusively in main clauses when the order of the elements is SOV (the typical word order in Karo), and is the most used modal suffix. It has two allomorphs, /-t/ and /n/. The allomorph /-n/ occurs after verb roots ending in nasal vowels and /-t/ occurs in all other environments.

õn	mãygãra	wĩn	təgana	pe?	cf.
õn	mãygãra	wĩ-n	təgana	pe?	
1SG	snake	kill-IND1	there	LOC	

'I killed the snake there.'

at	towirup	ʔot	cúrem		cf.
at	to=wirup	ʔo-t	cú=tem		
3SG	3R=food	eat-IND1	big=ADVZ		

'He ate his own food a lot.'

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[20] It should be emphasized that the term 'indicative' is employed here in the absence of a better label, and should not be interpreted in opposition to 'imperative' and/or 'interrogative', as is commonly found in other languages around the world.

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oya ʔwan		át	mãm			cf.
o=ya ʔwat-t		át	mãm			
1SG=leave-IND1		day	X			

'I left during the day.'

õn	ma ʔwň		at	ka ʔa	toy		cf.
õn	ma ʔwň		at	ka ʔa	top-t		
1SG	man		POSS	house	see-IND1		

'I saw the man's house.'

The allomorph /-t/ of the indicative suffix –t may also trigger internal phonological alternations in the roots with which it occurs when these root end in /p/, /t/, /k/, nasal stop (N) or /y/. The changes are the following:

1. /p/ + /-t/ → /y/, with two phonetic realizations, [y] in roots with final stress, and [i] in roots with penultimate stress

top + t	→ toy	'to see'
yakõp + t	→ yakõy	'be.hot'
pap + t	→ pay	'to die'

cérop + t	→ céri	'to be cured'
picorop + t	→ picori	'to be hungry'
cahmərəp + t	→ cahməri	'to be dizzy/drunk'

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2. /t/ + /-t/ → /n/, with two phonetic realizations, [n] after a nasal vowel, and [ᵈn] after an oral vowel

ya?wat + t → ya?wan 'to come back'

ket + t → ken 'to sleep'

ot + t → on 'to be born'

pãt + t → pãn 'to be beautiful'

3. /k/ + /-t/ → /gat/

pitẽk + t → pitẽgat 'to be cold'

pepak + t → pepagat 'to wake up'

nok + t → nogat 'to eat (intr.)'

4. N + /-t/ → /n/

pẽm + t → pẽn 'to step'

peĩn + t → peĩn 'to be torn/ripped'

pãŋ + t → pãn 'to give away'

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5. /y/ + /-t/ → /y/

wiy + t   → wiy   'to go out'
piy + t   → piy   'to wait'

3.2.1.2 INDICATIVE –P

The indicative suffix –p (IND2) is also used in statements. It occurs in main clauses when the order of one of its elements, either a noun phrase, a postpositional phrase or an adverbial phrase appears in focus position, at the begining of the clause. (Focus constructions are discussed in detail in Chapter 4, section 4.1.1.2.)

–p has three allomorphs, /-p/, /-ap/ and /-m/. The allomorph /-p/ occurs in verb or auxiliary roots ending in vowels; the allomorph /-ap/ occurs in verbs or auxiliaries which end in consonants; and the allomorph /m/ occurs in verb roots ending in nasal vowels (there are no auxiliaries in Karo which end in nasal vowels).

cúrem   at   towirup   ʔop

cú=tem   at   to=wirup   ʔo-p

big=ADVZ   3SG   3R=food   eat-IND2

'A lot, he ate his own food.'

át   mãm   oyaʔwarap

át   mãm   o=yaʔwat-ap

day   X   1SG=leave-IND2

'During the day I left.'

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maʔvɨ	at	kaʔa	õn	itop
maʔvɨ	at	kaʔa	õn	i=top-**ap**
man	POSS	house	1SG	3IMP=see-**IND2**

'It was the white man's house what I saw.'

təgana peʔ	õn	mãygãra	wĩm
təgana peʔ	õn	mãygãra	wĩ-**m**
there LOC	1SG	snake	kill-**IND2**

'It was there that I killed the snake.'

The allomorphs /-p/ and /-m/ are not involved in any type of phonological alternation. They simply occur after verb (or auxiliary) roots ending, respectively, with an oral or a nasal vowel.

kə + p	kəp	'to walk'
ʔo + p	ʔop	'to eat'
capé + p	capép	'to beat'

pẽ + m	pẽm	'to step'
wĩ + m	wĩm	'to kill'

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The allomorph /–ap/ is involved in the following changes:

1. A final /t/ or /k/ of verb roots changes to /r/ or /g/, respectively, before /-ap/. (This is a regular voicing alternation that occurs at the word boundary level, involving voiceless consonants.)

pe?cit + ap	pe?cirap	'to run'
ya?wat + ap	ya?warap	'to leave'
picot + ap	picorap	'to be naked'

nok + ap	nogap	'to eat'
pepak + ap	pepagap	'to wake up'
pitĕk + ap	pitĕgap	'to be hot'

2. A final /p/ of verb or auxiliary roots causes the /a/ of /-ap/ to drop and is fused with the remaining /p/;

pap + ap	pap	'to die'
yakop + ap	yakop	'to sweat'
pep + ap	pep	'to be tidy'

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3.2.1.3 Gerunds

The gerund (GER) suffix –*a* is often used in clause combining to mark a non-finite clause with the same subject as the finite clause (Chapter 4). The presence of -*a* causes the voiceless stops /p/, /t/ and /k/ of the verbs to be voiced, changing them to their corresponding counterparts, /b/, /r/ and /g/.

top + a	→ toba	'see'
pap + a	→ paba	'die'
yakop + a	→ yakoba	'sweat'

ket + a	→ kera	'sleep'
ya?wat + a	→ ya?wara	'leave'
cát + a	→ cára	'wash'

wãk + a	→ wãga	'be sick'
pitẽk + a	→ pitẽga	'be hot'
citók + a	→ citóga	'urinate'

-*a* is also employed in imperatives and in nominalized forms of verbs:

e=ker-a

e=ket-a

2SG=sleep-GER

'Sleep!'

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a ʔ=tob-a

a ʔ=top-a

3SG=see-GER

'Watch it!'

e=bepag-a

e=pepak-a

2SG=wake.up-GER

'Wake up!'

o=ker-a   *kanã*

o=ket-a   *kanã*

1SG=sleep-GER   NOMZ

'My place to sleep.'

3.2.2 DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES

Six derivational **prefixes** occur with verbs. Five of these prefixes have a clear valence changing function and can, for this reason, be regarded as the **voice system** of Karo. The prefixes are: *ma-* simple causative (CAUS); *ta-* comitative causative (COM); *pe-* impersonal passive (IPASS); *to-* reciprocal (REC); and *mãm-* reflexive (REFL). The sixth prefix, *pe ʔ-*has the meaning of optative (OPT) and it could be considered part of the voice system only in purely positional grounds.

These prefixes occur immediately preceding the verb root. They are described and exemplified in the following subsections.

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3.2.2.1 THE SIMPLE CAUSATIVE

Simple causative constructions occur with almost any intransitive verb but rarely with transitive ones. In causative constructions, a semantic initiator causes a secondary agent to perform or experience some action or state.

õn   amaken

õn   a ʔ=ma-ket-t

1SG   3SG=CAUS-sleep-IND1

'I made it/him sleep.'

et   owã   emakət

et   owã   e=ma-kə-t

2SG   mother   2SG=CAUS-walk-IND1

'Your mother made you walk.'

ŋa   omacopˑn

ŋa   o=ma-copˑ-t

3SG.FEM   1SG=CAUS-be.fat-IND1

'She made me be fat.'

The causative prefix ma- does not undergo any change itself, but may cause the same alternations conditioned by the pronominal clitics: ma- causes the /p/ or /k/[21] of a following intransitive verb to change to its voiced counterpart /b/ or /g/, in an unstressed syllable.

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[21] I did not find examples of polysyllabic intransitive verbs beginning with /t/ in an unstressed syllable.

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at   amabara ʔkət

at   a ʔ=ma-para ʔkə-t

3SG   3SG=CAUS-come.back-IND1

'He made it/him come back.'

õn   emaberopit   ŋakəy

õn   e=ma-peropi-t   ŋa=kəy

1SG   2SG=CAUS-pinch-IND1   3SG.FEM=DAT

'I made you pinch her.'

agóa ʔpət   amagahmõm   nãn

agóa ʔpət   a ʔ=ma-kahmõm   nã-n

shaman   3SG=CAUS-be.quiet   COP-IND1

'The shaman made him/it calm down.'

Otherwise there is no change.

õn   amapəri

õn   a ʔ=ma-pər əp-t

1SG   3SG=CAUS-empty-IND1

'I emptied it.'

at   amati

at   a ʔ=ma-ti-t

3SG   3SG=CAUS-come.IND1

'He made him/it come.'

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õn   amaken

õn   a?=ma-ket-t

1SG   3SG=CAUS-sleep-IND1

'I put him/it to sleep.'

3.2.2.2 THE COMITATIVE CAUSATIVE

Comitative causative constructions are marked by means of the prefix *ta-*.
They occur primarily with intransitive verbs but have been found on occasions
with transitives. They differ from simple causative constructions in that the
semantic initiator, in addition to causing the secondary agent to perform or
experience an action or state, also **performs** or **experiences** the action or state
he/she/it initiates.

wat   owã   orakɔt

wat   owã   o=ta-kɔ-t

1SG.POSS   mother   1SG=COM-walk-IND1

'My mother made me walk, walking with me.'

õn   wat   awe   rabitẽy

õn   wat   awe   ta-bitẽp-t

1SG   1SG.POSS   brother   COM-cross-IND1

'I made my brother cross, crossing with him.'

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ŋa	toat	owẽ	tanogat

ŋa	toat	owẽ	ta-noga-t

3SG.FEM	3r.POSS	baby	COM-eat-IND1

'She fed her baby, eating with it.'

ta- may both undergo and/or trigger phonological changes. The initial /t/ of the prefix *ta-* changes to /r/ after vowels (either oral or nasal) or glides. /t/ changes to /n/ after nasal consonants.

After vowels:

õn	wat	owé	**raken**

õn	wat	owé	**ta-ket-t**

1SG	1SG.POSS	baby	COM-sleep-IND1

'I put my baby to sleep, sleeping with it.'

õn	aʔ=**rati**

õn	aʔ=**ta-ti-t**

1SG	3SG=COM-come.IND1

'I brought him/it.'

After glides:

ẽn	yaw	rati

ẽn	yaw	ta-ti-IND1

2SG	ray	COM-come-IND1

'You brought the ray.'

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at   *mɨ̀rɨ̀rɨ̀y*   *ramoy*

at   *mɨ̀rɨ̀rɨ̀y*   *ta-mop-t*

3SG   toad   COM-dive-IND1

˙He dove with the toad.'

After nasal consonants:

agóaʔpɔt   *et*   *iyɔ̃m*   *nakõy*

agóaʔpɔt   *et*   *iyɔ̃m*   *ta-kõp-t*

shaman   2SG.POSS   father   COM-be.hot-IND1

˙The shaman warmed your father (warming himself).'

cãn   *nakɔga*

cãn   *takɔk-a*

cat   COM-walk-GER

˙Walk the cat!'

ʔɨ̃rɨŋ   *nakɔga*

ʔɨ̃rɨŋ   *ta-kɔk-a*

girl   COM-walk-GER

˙Walk the (little) girl!'

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ta- can also trigger changes on a following intransitive verb if the first syllable of the verb is unstressed. In these cases, the changes also involve the phonemes /p/ and /k/[22], which become voiced.

wat	*awe*	*orabitẽy*		
wat	*awe*	*o=ta-pitẽp-t*		
1SG.POSS	brother	1SG=COM-cross-IND1		

'My brother crossed with me.'

ŋa	*toat*	*owẽ*	*ragahmõm*	*nãn*
ŋa	*toat*	*owẽ*	*ta-kahmõm*	*nã-n*
3SG.FEM	3R.POSS	child	COM-be.quiet	COP-IND1

'She calmed her child and calmed down herself.'

3.2.2.3 THE IMPERSONAL PASSIVE

The impersonal passive *pe-* occurs with transitive verbs, adding passive meaning. No agent is grammatically possible.

The initial voiceless phoneme /p/ of the prefix *pe-* changes to its voiced counterpart /b/ if the preceding element (a clitic or a noun) ends in a glide or an unrounded vowel.

---

[22] I did not find examples of polysyllabic intransitive verbs beginning with /t/ in an unstressed syllable.

After glides and unround vowels:

oyãy	*bemeŋãn*
o=yãy	*pe-meŋã-n*
1SG=tooth	IPASS-be.dirty-IND1

'My tooth got dirty.'

taykit	*yaw*	*be*	*bewĩa*
taykit	*yaw*	*peʔ*	*pe-wĩ-a*
NEG	ray	CL.FLAT	IPASS-kill-GER

'Isn't the ray going to get killed?'

taykit	*aʔĩ*	*bekĩga*
taykit	*aʔĩ*	*pe-kĩk-a*
NEG	sloth	IPASS-catch-GER

'Did the sloth get caught?'

If the preceding element ends with a round vowel /p/ changes to /w/.

boi	*ʔet*	*towaʔpara*	*towewĩ-a*
boi	*ʔe-t*	*to=paʔpat-a*	*to=we-wĩ-a*
OX	AUX-IND1	3R=fall-GER	3R=IPASS-kill-GER

'The ox fell and got killed.'

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Finally, if the preceding element ends with a nasal consonant, /p/ changes to /m/.

cīm   mema ʔwaba

cīm   pe-ma ʔwap-a

meat   IPASS-fry-GER

'The meat got fried.'

The alternations triggered by *pe-* are the same as those triggered by both causatives *ma-* and *ta-*. If the following element begins with /p/ or /k/[23] in an unstressed syllable, then /p/ and /k/ change to their voiced counterparts, /b/ and /g/, respectively.

abebe ʔ ɨra

a ʔ=pe-pe ʔ ɨ-a

3SG=IPASS-roast-GER

'It got roasted.'

abegahmõm   nã

a ʔ=pe-kahmõm   nã-a

3SG=IPASS-be.quiet COP-GER

'It got quiet/calmed down.'

---

[23] I did not find examples of polysyllabic intransitive verbs beginning with /t/ in an unstressed syllable.

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3.2.2.4 THE REFLEXIVE

Reflexivity in Karo is marked by the reflexive prefix *mãm* and is used with transitive as well as with intransitive verbs. In reflexive constructions with transitive verbs, *mãm* is preceded by a personal clitic which is also coreferential with the subject of the clause.

õn   omãmnoy

õn   o=mãm-top-t

1SG   1SG=REFL-see-IND1

'I saw myself.'

at   tomãmwĩn

at   to=mãm-wĩ-n

3SG   3R=REFL-kill-IND1

'He/it killed him/itself.'

In reflexive constructions with intransitive verbs, reflexivity occurs between its only argument, the subject of the clause, and another argument in the oblique (generally the dative case marking) form. The reflexive prefix is then attached to the dative marker, preceded by the personal clitic coreferential to the subject.

owakán   omãmkǝy

o=wakán-n   o=mãm-kǝy

1SG=be.angry-IND1   1SG=REFL-DAT

'I am angry at myself.'

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aʔwero	wɨy	tomãmkɔy
aʔ=wero	wɨ-y	to=mãm-kɔy
3SG=speech	go.out-IND1	3R=REFL-DAT

'He spoke to himself.'

3.2.2.5 THE RECIPROCAL

Reciprocity is marked by attaching the reciprocal prefix *ro-* to the root of transitive verbs. In reciprocal constructions, *ro-* is always preceded by a personal clitic coreferential with the person of the subject of the clause.

tap	toroyapít
tap	to=ro-yapí-t
3PL	3R=REC-kill-IND1

'They killed each other.'

kaʔto	karorocapét	ahyɔ
kaʔto	karo=ro-capé-t	ahyɔ
2PL	2PL=REC-beat-IND1	INTERR

'Did you beat each other?'

3.2.2.6 THE OPTATIVE

Optative constructions are marked by the prefix *peʔ-* which may be attached to intransitive and transitive verbs as well as to auxiliaries. The semantic function of an optative construction is that of signaling 'a speech act by which the speaker grants permission to a 2nd or 3rd person, as in "let him come in" (...)'

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(Bybee 1985:166). In this sense, optatives imply the involvement of a semantic agent, even though they do not change the formal argument structure of the verb.

pe?- both undergoes and triggers phonological changes. The initial /p/ of *pe?* changes to /w/ after a round vowel, to /b/ after an unround vowel or glide, and to /m/ after a nasal consonant.

After vowels:

owe?ŋen

o=pe?-ket-t

1SG=OPT-sleep-IND1

'Let me sleep.'

abe?ŋət

a?=be?-kə-t

3SG=OPT-walk-IND1

'Let him/it walk.'

After glides:

na?wəy   *be?ŋət*

na?wəy   *pe?-ŋə-t*

monkey   OPT-walk-IND1

'Let the monkey walk (free)!'

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inãw   be ʔnogat

inãw   pe ʔ-noga-t

curassow   OPT-eat-IND1

'Let the curassow eat!'

After nasal consonants:

kãram   me ʔnẽy

kãram   pe ʔẽp-t

hummingbird OPT-fly-IND1

'Let the hummingbird fly!'

cãn   me ʔŋen

cãn   pe ʔ-ket-t

cat   OPT-sleep-IND1

'Let the cat sleep!'

tĩŋ   me ʔŋət

tĩŋ   pe ʔ-kə-t

worm   OPT-walk-IND1

'Let the worm go (free)!'

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The changes triggered by *pe ʔ-* consist of the nasalization of the first consonant of the following transitive or intransitive verb in stressed syllables. The consonants involved are, again, /p/, /t/ and /k/, which change to their homorganic nasal consonants /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/, respectively.

/p/ → /m/

õn	abe ʔmẽn	cf.		õn	a ʔpẽn
õn	a ʔ=pe ʔ-pẽ-t			õn	a ʔ=pẽ-t
1SG	3SG=OPT-step-IND1			1SG	3SG=step-IND1
'Let me step on it/him.'				'I stepped on it/him.'	

/t/ → /n/

õn	abe ʔnoy	cf.		õn	a ʔtoy
õn	a ʔ=pe ʔ-**top-t**			õn	a ʔ=top-t
1SG	3SG=OPT-**see**-IND1			1SG	3SG=see-IND1
'Let me see it/him.'				'I saw it/him.'	

/k/ → /ŋ/

owe ʔŋət	cf.		okət	
o=pe ʔ-kə-t			o=kə-t	
1SG=OPT-walk-IND1			1SG=walk-IND1	
'Let me walk.'			'I walked.'	

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If the element following the optative prefix *pe ʔ-* begins with a vowel (or a glottal stop + a vowel) , an epenthetic /n/ appears between *pe ʔ-* and the vowel.

õn	ip	*pe ʔniy*	*cf.*	õn	ip	*ʔiy*
õn	ip	*pe ʔ-niy-t*		õn	ip	*ʔiy-t*
1SG	fish	OPT-catch-IND1		1SG	fish	catch-IND1

'Let me catch a/the fish.'   'I caught a/the fish.'

abe ʔnan	*cf.*	*a ʔan*
a ʔ=pe ʔ- ʔat-t		*a ʔ= ʔat-t*
3SG=OPT-fall-IND1		3SG=fall-IND1

'Let it/him fall.'   'It/he fell.'

3.3 CLITICS

Clitics in Karo are distinguished from affixes by their distribution. While affixes occur exclusively with a given class of word (like the causative prefix *ma-*, which occurs specifically with the class of intransitive verbs), clitics occur with larger constituents than words (like the personal clitics which occur in noun phrases, verb phrases, postpositional phrases, etc.).

Karo contains the following clitics: 1) a plural marker *=toʔ,* 2) an adverbializer *=tem,* 3) a set of personal markers, and 4) a nominalizer *ko=.* In the remainder of this section I will describe and exemplify their occurrences, except for the nominalizer *ko=,* which will be discussed in section 3.4 on nominalization.

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3.3.1 THE PLURAL =*to?*

Prototypically, the plural enclitic =*to?* occurs at the end of noun phrases, with scope over the whole construction [(pro)nominal argument plus its modifiers].

ka?aro?

ka?a=to?

house=PL

'houses'

vs.

ka?a   ?a?to?

ka?a   ?a?=to?

house   CL.RD=PL

'houses'

vs.

wat	*ka?a*	*?a*	*pık=to?*
wat	*ka?a*	*?a?*	*pık=to?*
1SG.POSS	house	CLR	rest.of=PL

'the rest of my houses'

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The initial /t/ of =to? alternates with /r/ when the preceding element ends with a vowel or glide or to /n/ if it ends with a nasal consonant.

inakáro?

i=naká=to?

3IMP=head=PL

`heads'

ināwro?

ināw=to?

curassow=PL

`curassows'

wat naʔwɜyro?

wat naʔwɜy=to?

1SG.POSS monkey=PL

`my monkeys'

kãramno?

kãram=to?

hummingbird=PL

`hummingbirds'

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cibekonno?

cibekon=to?

vulture=PL

`vultures`

tuŋno?

tuŋ=to?

mortar=PL

`mortars`

=*to?* also occurs in a few lexicalized constructions, where the plurality of the referent(s) is somehow intrinsic[24]. In the examples below, =*to?* is part of the lexicalized word, and does not occur at the end of the noun phrase, its prototypical place of occurrence.

pi	*vs.*	*piro*	*vs.*	*piro*	*cú*	*(cf. *ka?a=ro cú)*
pi		*pi=to?*		*pi=to?*	*cú*	
foot		foot=PL		foot=PL	big	
`foot`		`feet`		`big feet`		

---

[24] Usually, the lexicalized items refer to body parts such as `nostrils`, `feet`, `arms`, `ears`, `legs`, `hands`, etc.

3.3.2 THE ADVERBIALIZER =*tem*

The enclitic =*tem* occurs in three different types of constructions. The most frequent occurrences of =*tem* are with adjectives. These are also the constructions where a clear function of adverbialization occurs. In these constructions, an adverb is derived from an adjective plus =*tem*. Adverbs derived from adjectives occur in indicative sentences, either initially or finally. Like other adverbs, they occur sentence-initially when an auxiliary is present, and sentence-finally in sentences with indicative verbs:

oken	*cúrem*
o=ket-t	*cú=tem*
1SG=sleep-IND1	big=ADVZ
'I slept a lot.'	cf.

cúrem	*wep*	*okera*
cú=tem	*o=ʔe-p*	*o=ket-a*
beautiful=ADVZ	1SG=AUX-IND2	1SG=sleep-GER
'I slept a lot.'		

ŋa	*o ʔoy*	*maŋaptem*
ŋa	*o=top-t*	*maŋap=tem*
3SG.FEM	1SG=see-IND1	long=ADVZ
'She watched me for a long time'		cf.

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maŋaptem	*ŋaap*	*otoba*
maŋap=tem	*ŋa=ʔe-p*	*o=top-a*
delayed=ADVZ	3SG.FEM=AUX-IND2	1SG=see-GER

'For a long time she watched me.'

The second type of construction where *=tem* occurs seems to be a variant of the derived construction described above, only with a different function. In this construction, an adjective plus *=tem* occurs clause-initially followed by a (pro)noun or noun phrase. These constructions function as predicate adjectives. No mood marker occurs, and no further adjunct, except for another derived adverb, is possible.

cárarem	*õn*
cára=tem	*õn*
long=ADVZ	1SG

'I am tall.'

kắptem	*at*	*ahyə*
kắp=tem	*at*	*ahyə*
delicious=ADVZ	3SG	INTERR

'Is it delicious ?'

pắttem	*ma ʔpəy*
pắt=tem	*ma ʔpəy*
beautiful=ADVZ	woman

'The woman is beautiful.'

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pãttem	_cúrem_	_wat_	_owé_	_tap_
pãt=tem	_cú=tem_	_wat_	_owé_	_tap_
beautiful=**ADVZ**	big=**ADVZ**	1SG	child	ASSOC

'My children are big and beautiful.'

In the last type of constructions involving =_tem_, =_tem_ is attached to the end of a transitive or intransitive verb, after the indicative mood marker /-t/. Although it is clear that the final construction with =_tem_ has an adverbial distribution, its exact meaning is not yet fully understood. My consultants suggest that the use of =_tem_ in these constructions adds a meaning of 'seeminglyness'. In the examples from spontaneous speech, these constructions with =_tem_ are always followed by the auxiliary ʔe in the finite form.

When =_tem_ is attached to a transitive verb, the subject of this verb is omitted, and the object can be in any person/number.

otoyrem	_at_
o=to-y=tem	_aʔ-ʔe-t_
1SG=see-IND1=**ADVZ**	3SG.AUX-IND1

'He/it is pretending to be watching me.'

When =_tem_ is attached to an intransitive verb, the subject of this verb is always marked by a personal clitic coreferential with the subject of the auxiliary.

okennem	_wet_
o=ke-n=tem	_o=ʔe-t_
1SG=sleep-IND1=**ADVZ**	1SG=AUX-IND1

'I am pretending to be sleeping.'

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The initial /t/ of =*tem*, may change to its voiced or nasal counterparts, /r/ and /n/, depending on context.

/t/ changes to /r/ after vowels or glides:

/cú/ + /=tem/	/cúrem/	['cúrɛᵇm]	·big'
big + ADVZ			

/cá̃/ + /=tem/	/cárem/	['cɔ́rɛᵇm]	'bitter'
bitter + ADVZ			

/pɨy/ + /=tem/	/pɨyrem/	['pɨyrɛᵇm]	'lazy'
lazy + ADVZ			

/tá̃w/ + /=tem/	/tá̃wrem/	['tɔ̃w̃rɛᵇm]	'far'
far + ADVZ			

/t/ changes to /n/ after nasal consonants.

/pemẽm/ + /=tem/	/pemẽmnem/	[pe'mẽmnᵈɛᵇm]	·straight'
straight + ADVZ			

/cagáro kõm/ + /=tem/	/cagáro kõmnem/	[ca'gáro 'kõmnᵈɛᵇm]	'two'
two + ADVZ			

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/kĩn/ + /=tem/   /kĩnnem/   ['kĩnnᵈɛᵇm]   ˙hard˙

hard + ADVZ

/win/ + /=tem/   /winnem/   ['wɨᵈnnᵈɛᵇm]   ˙curved˙

curved + ADVZ

/cawərəŋ/ + /=tem/   /cawərəŋnem/   [ca'wərəŋnᵈɛᵇm]   ˙deep˙

deep + ADVZ

/puruŋ/ + /=tem/   /puruŋnem/   ['puruŋnᵈɛᵇm]   ˙deep (eye)˙

deep + ADVZ

After voiceless stops it remains unaltered.

/kap/ + /=tem/   /kaptem/   ['kaptɛᵇm]   ˙fat˙

fat + ADVZ

/pãt/ + /=tem/   /pãttem/   ['pãtːɛᵇm]   ˙beautiful˙

beautiful + ADVZ

/wãk/ + /=tem/   /wãktem/   ['w̃ãktɛᵇm]   ˙sick˙

sick + ADVZ

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3.3.3 PERSONAL CLITICS

A class of personal clitics occur with nouns, verbs, adjectives, auxiliaries, postpositions and a copula. The clitics which occur with verbs and auxiliaries represent the absolutive case, used to mark the single argument of intransitive verbs or auxiliaries, and the patients of transitive verbs. They are in opposition to the class of free pronouns, which represent the ergative case, and are used exclusively to mark agent arguments of transitive verbs. Two sets of personal clitics occur in Karo: those in the first set are used to make reference to an entity in the world, while those in the second set establish coreference with a grammatical subject.

A personal clitic is always the first element in the phrase (noun phrase, verb phrase or postpositional phrase). It is in complementary distribution with lexical nominals in the same function. The two sets of personal clitics of Karo are distinguished only in the third person. The set of referential pronominal clitics presents three types of distinction in third person: 1) a distinction between third person and third person feminine in the singular; 2) a distinction between third person singular and plural; and 3) the presence of a third person impersonal. In the set of coreferential pronominal clitics all these distinctions are lost, and only one form for the third person occurs.

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Person / Number	1	2	3	3 feminine
SG	o=	e=	aʔ=	ŋa=
PL (INCL) (EXCL)	iʔ= té=	karo=	tap=	
IND1EF	i=			

Table 7. Karo referential clitics

Person/ Number	1	2	3
SG	o=	e=	
PL (INCL) (EXCL)	iʔ= té=	karo=	to=

Table 8. Karo coreferential clitics

The phonological changes caused by the personal clitics involve the phonemes /p/, /t/ and /k/ of the first syllable of the word to which they are attached. This first syllable must be unstressed, otherwise no changes occur.

1) /p/ changes to /w/ following round vowels and to /b/ following non-round vowels.

/o= + penaoy/ /owenaoy/ [owɛna'ɔy] 'I danced.'

/e= + penaoy/ /ebenaoy/ [ɛbɛna'ɔy] 'You danced.' cf.

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| /o= + pãn/ | /opãn/ | [o'pːãn] | 'I am well.' |
| /e= + pãn/ | /epãn/ | [e'pːãn] | 'You are well.' |

2) /t/ and /k/ change to /r/ and /g/, respectively, after any type of vowel.

| /o= + tati/ | /orati/ | [ora'tːi] | 'brought me' | |
| /e= + tati/ | /erati/ | [εra'tːi] | 'brought you' | cf. |

| /o= + toy/ | /otoy/ | [o'tːɔy] | 'saw me' |
| /e= + toy/ | /etoy/ | [e'tːɔy] | 'saw you' |

| /o= + kuru?cu/ | /oguru?cu/ | [oguru?'cu] | 'my saliva' | |
| /ŋa= + kuru?cu/ | /ŋaguru?cu/ | [ŋaguru?'cu] | 'her saliva' | cf. |

| /o=kun/ | /okun/ | [o'kːuᵈn] | 'my belly' |
| /ŋa=kun/ | /ŋakun/ | [ŋa'kːuᵈn] | 'her belly' |

Examples of the occurrence of personal clitics in Karo with verbs, adjectives, auxiliaries, postpositions and copula can be seen below.

WITH TRANSITIVE VERBS:

ameko otoy

ameko o=top-t

jaguar 1SG=see-IND1

'The jaguar saw me.'

at   ecapét   *ahyə*

at   e=capé-t   *ahyə*

3SG   **2SG=beat-IND**1   INTERR

'Did he beat **you**?'

ōn   a ʔoy

ōn   a ʔ=top-t

1SG   **3SG=see-IND**1

'I saw **it/him**.'

WITH INTRANSITIVE VERBS:

oya ʔkoy

o=ya ʔkop-t

1SG=sweat-IND1

'**I** sweat.'

eya ʔi

e=ya ʔi-t

2SG=climb.down-IND1

'**You** climbed down.'

a ʔken

a ʔ=ket-t

3SG=sleep-IND1

'**He** slept.'

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WITH ADJECTIVES:

õn	a ʔpap	toy
õn	aʔ=pap	top-t
1SG	3SG=dead	see-IND1

'I saw **him/it dead/hurt**.'

maʔvï	aʔkïrïk	ʔan
maʔvï	aʔ=kïrïk	ʔat-t
man	3SG=green	bring-IND1

'The man brought **the green one**.'

WITH AUXILIARIES:

tocitóga	aʔkay
to=citók-a	aʔ=kap-t
3R=urinate-GER	3SG=AUX.FUT-IND1

'**He** will go urinate.'

kanãy wep[25]	okera
kanãy o=ʔe=p	o=ket-a
then 1SG=AUX-IND1	1SG=sleep-GER

'Then **I** slept.'

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WITH POSTPOSITIONS:

owakán	a ʔkəy
o=pakát-t	a ʔ=kəy
1SG=be.angry-IND1	3SG=DAT

'I am angry at **him/it**.'

maʔwá	yaʔwan	ŋapik
maʔwá	yaʔwat-t	ŋa=pik
man	leave-IND1	3SG.FEM=ALL

'The man left with **her**.'

wat	iyõm	ip	ʔíy	owihmãm
wat	iyõm	ip	ʔíy-t	o=pihmãm
1SG.POSS	father	fish	catch-IND1	1SG=COM

'My father caught a/the fish with **me**.'

WITH COPULA:

mãygãra	cú	a ʔñãn
mãygãra	cú	a ʔ=nã-n
snake	big	3SG=COP-IND1

'**It** is a/the big snake.'

---

ma ʔpɔy	*pãt*	*ŋanãn*
ma ʔpɔy	*pãt*	*ŋa=nã-n*
woman	beautiful	3SG.FEM=COP-IND1

'**She** is a/the beautiful woman.'

péŋ	*a ʔnãn*
péŋ	*a ʔ=nã-n*
white.man	3SG=COP-IND1

'**He** is a/the white man.'

3.4 NOMINALIZATION

Verbs, verb phrases and whole clauses can be nominalized in Karo[26]. With the exception of the nominalization of verbs by means of the suffix -ap (see below), all nominalized verbs show a non-finite form with the gerund suffix -a.

The suffix -ap is applied to transitive and intransitive verbs to yield agentive nominals. -ap has three allomorphs, /-p/, /-m/ and /-ap/. They occur, respectively, after a vowel, a nasal vowel, and a consonant. When /ap/ occurs after /p/ the /a/ falls and the remaining /p/ is fused with the /p/ of the verb root; when it occurs after /t/ and /k/, the /t/ and /k/ change to /r/ and /g/, respectively.

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[26] There is no special nominalization construction for adjectives. When the concept conveyed by an adjective is to be nominalized, (as in English 'the beauty') the adjective is used in connection with the noun *kanã*, the final construction meaning 'Adjective + thing', as in the examples below:

kanã	pãt	and	kanã	cú
kanã	pãt		kanã	cú
thing	beautiful		thing	big
'beautiful thing'			'big thing'	

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ʔo	'to eat'	ʔo + p	→	ʔop	'eater'
capé	'to beat'	capé + p	→	capép	'beater'
wé	'to cry'	wé + p	→	wép	'crier'
kə	'to walk'	kəp + p	→	kəp	'walker'
wĩ	'to kill'	wĩ + p	→	wĩm	'killer'
pipẽ	'to make'	pipẽ + p	→	pipẽm	'maker'
top	'to see'	top + ap	→	top	'seer, watcher'
yakap	'to throw'	yakap + ap	→	yakap	'thrower'
pip	'to drill'	pip + ap	→	pip	'driller'
penaop	'to dance'	penaop + ap	→	penaop	'dancer'
cát	'to wash'	cát + ap	→	cárap	'washer'
cat	'to step'	cat + ap	→	carap	'stepper'
peʔtɨt	'to roast'	peʔtɨt + ap	→	peʔtɨrap	'roaster'
peʔcɨt	'to run'	peʔcɨt + ap	→	peʔcɨrap	'runner'
kɨk	'to hold'	kɨk + ap	→	kɨgap	'holder'
yek	'to search'	yek + ap	→	yegap	'searcher'
nok	'to eat'	nok + ap	→	nogap	'eater'
pək	'to burn'	pək + ap	→	pəgap	'burner'

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Transitive and intransitive verbs can also be nominalized by the particle *kanã*, 'thing', yielding place nouns.

o=kera	***kanã***
o=ker-a	***kanã***
1SG=sleep-GER	**NOMZ**

'My place to sleep.'

wat	*ip*	*Ɂɨ̀ya*	***kanã***
wat	*ip*	*Ɂɨ̀y-a*	***kanã***
1SG	fish	catch-GER	**NOMZ**

'My place to catch fish.'

kanã is also used to nominalize verb phrases as absolutive arguments of the verb 'to like', yielding terms for actions[27].

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[27] *kanã* is also found in a few lexicalized items containing an absolutive argument and a transitive or intransitive verb in the participle form. The function of *kanã* in these items, nevertheless, seems not to be of a nominalizer, but of a regular noun (*kanã* in Karo is a noun which means 'thing').

yãy	cob	it	kanã
yãy	cop	it	kanã
tooth	dirt	clean	thing
'dental floss'			

iɁnok	kanã
iɁ=nok	kanã
1PL.INCL=eat	thing
'restaurant'	

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õn   aʔwīa   kanā   yaʔi   nān
õn   aʔ=wī-a   kanā   yaʔi   nã-n
1SG   3SG=kill-GER   NOMZ   like   COP-IND1
'I like to kill it.'

õn   wat   mok   pe   cára   kanā   yaʔi   nān   iʔke
õn   wat   mok   peʔ   cát-a   kanā   yaʔi   nã-n   iʔke
1SG   1SG.POSS   cotton   CL.FLAT   wash-GER   NOMZ   like   COP-IND1   NEG
'I do not like to wash my clothes.'

ẽn   ekera   kanā   yaʔi   nān   ahyə
ẽn   e=ket-a   kanā   yaʔi   nã-n   ahyə
2SG   2SG=sleep-GER   NOMZ   like   COP-IND1   INTERR
'Do you like to sleep?'

kaʔo   karowéya   kanā   yaʔi   nān
kaʔo   karo=wé-a   kanā   yaʔi   nã-n
2PL   2PL=cry-GER   NOMZ   like   COP-IND1
'You (PL.) like to cry.'

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In the last type of nominalization, the clitic *ko=* nominalizes a whole clause as the absolutive argument of the verb 'to perceive'[28]. Although *ko=* is a proclitic and attaches to the verb 'to see' in the indicative form, its scope is over the preceding clause, whose verb is in the gerund form. This can be seen in the example below, where the clause [amãn an] 'the rain fell/falls' takes the non-finite form [amãn ?ara] and is nominalized by *ko=* to be the argument of 'to see'. Notice that it is the verb 'to see' which takes the finite form (by taking the indicative mood marker).

õn	*amãn*	*ara*	*gotoy*
õn	*amãn*	*at-a*	*ko=top-t*
1SG	rain	fall-GER	NOMZ=see-IND1

'I saw the rain falling.'

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[28] That *ko=* is a nominalizer and not a complementizer can be seen in the following examples, where the nominalized clause with *ko=* occurs as the argument of a postposition, and not as complement of a perception verb.

owirup	tëy	kokɔy	okap	ocagɔpto	cára	koãm
o=wirup	tëp-t	ko=kɔy	o=kap-ap	o=cagɔp=to?	cát-a	koãm
1SG=food	boil-IND1	NOMZ=DAT	1SG=AUX.FUT-IND2	1SG=dish=PL	wash-GER	also

'While my food boils I will go wash my dishes too.'

Furthermore, *ko=* seems to serve also as the nominalizer of adverbs. Although this function of *=ko* is not yet well understood, one example of such nominalization is:

matet	kokoãm	ocagɔpto?	?et	toyawiga
matet	ko=koãm	o=cagɔp=to?	?e-t	to=yawik-a
yesterday	NOMZ=also	1SG=dish=PL	AUX-IND1	3R=be.dirty-GER

'My things are like they were yesterday, dirty.'

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In the example below the same process happens with the nominalized clause [ŋa paba] 'she died':

Júnior ŋa	pa	gotoy	ahyə
Júnior ŋa	pap-a	ko=top-t	ahyə
Júnior 3SG.FEM	die-ger	NOMZ=see-IND1	INTERR

'Did Júnior see her die?'

3.5 COMPOUNDING

Compounds in Karo involve combinations of a noun plus an adjective, a noun plus an intransitive verb, or a noun plus another noun. Compound constructions are not easily distinguishable from simple sequences of [N + Adj.] and [N + N] in noun phrases and of [N + V] in intransitive clauses. Intervening material seems to be the only evidence which serves to differentiate one type of construction from another. Adjectives and classifiers are the two classes of words which operate as intervening material.

The compounding of a noun plus adjective ([N + Adj.]) yields either a noun or an adjective. [N + Adj.] noun compounds are mostly employed to name animal or plant species. The only evidence which shows that this sequence is actually a noun comes from the fact that although an adjective may be used *after* the compound to qualify the final referent, it cannot be used *between* the components noun and adjective.

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iti	*op*	*cf.*	*iti*	*op*	*cú*	*but* * *iti cú op*
iti	*op*		*iti*	*op*	*cú*	
deer	red		deer	red	big	
'red deer'			'big red deer'			

korét	*capõt*	*cf.*	*korét*	*capõt*	*pãt*	*but* * *korét pãt capõt*
korét	*capõt*		*korét*	*capõt*	*pãt*	
bird	purple		bird	purple	beautiful	
'bird (sp.)'			'beautiful bird (sp.)'			

cego	*bɨk*	*cf.*	*cego*	*bɨk*	*kãp*	*but* * *cego kãp bɨk*
cego	*pɨk*		*cego*	*pɨk*	*kãp*	
monkey	black		monkey	black	delicious	
'black monkey'			'delicious black monkey'			

[N + Adj.] adjective compounds are few in number. Evidence that sequences like these are truly compounds comes from the fact that a classifier cannot occur after the noun.

páro	*pɨy*	*cf.*	* *páro*	*pe?*	*pɨy*
páro	*pɨy*		*páro*	*pe?*	*pɨy*
hands	lazy		hands	CL.FLAT	lazy
'sloth'			'sloth'		

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cagáro	mɔrɔp	cf.	* cagáro	?a?	mɔrɔp
cagáro	mɔrɔp		cagáro	?a?	mɔrɔp
eyes	hazy		eyes	CL.RD	hazy
'drunk'			'drunk'		

Only a few compounds consisting of a noun plus an intransitive verb ([N + Intr.V]) seem to occur in Karo. All compounds found so far employ the same verb, wɨy 'go out'. The resulting construction is still an intransitive verb which takes an absolutive argument, like any other intransitive verb (óra 'music' + wɨy 'to sing'; ora 'feces' + wɨy 'to defecate'; wero 'speech' + wɨy 'to speak'). In these constructions, an adjective may occur after the argument of the verb but cannot occur inside the [N + Intr.V] sequence.

ma?pɔy	óra	wɨy
ma?pɔy	óra	wɨy-t
woman	music	go.out-IND1

'The woman sang.'   cf.

ma?pɔy	bãt	óra	wɨy
ma?pɔy	pãt	óra	wɨy-t
woman	beautiful	music	go.out.IND1

'The beautiful woman sang.'   but

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* maʔpəy	óra	bãt	wɨy
maʔpəy	óra	pãt	wɨy-t
woman	music	beautiful	go.out.IND1

'The woman sang beautiful music.'

In compounds of the type [N + N] an alienable noun generally occurs first, followed by an inalienable noun. The final noun is a regular alienable noun. Combinations of two bound nouns are also possible, although not very common. The two types of intervening material help characterizing these compounds:

Classifiers: An indication that a sequence of [noun + noun] is a compound and not a genitive construction, is when a classifier occurs *between* the two nouns. As I will describe in Chapter 5, the normal position for a classifier in genitive constructions is after the sequence [noun + noun], not between the two nouns. The classifier in this 'normal' position has scope over the whole (final) construction, not over one noun or another alone. This is illustrated in the examples below.

wayo	naká	**bap**	cf.	*wayo	**bah**	naká
wayo	naká	**pap**		wayo	**pap**	naká
alligator	head	**CL.CYLB**		alligator	**CL.CYLB**	head
'alligator head'				'alligator head'		

classifier of wayo 'alligator': *pap*
classifier of naká 'head': *káʔ*

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kɨrɨwep	*tem*	*cɨʔ*	cf.	***kɨrɨwep**	*cɨʔ*	*tem*
kɨrɨwep	*tem*	*cɨʔ*		*kɨrɨwep*	*cɨʔ*	*tem*
butterfly	wing	CL.TFLAT		butterfly	CL.TFLAT	wing

'butterfly wing'   'butterfly wing'

classifier of kɨriwep 'butterfly': *peʔ*

classifier of tem 'wing': *cɨʔ*

When the classifier occurs *between* the two nouns, it indicates that a compound is formed. The resulting construction is still a noun, and tends to be a lexicalized expression whose meaning is not the sum of its parts.

mok	***peʔ***	*caki*	cf.	***mok**	*caki*	*peʔ*
mok	***peʔ***	*caki*		*mok*	*caki*	*peʔ*
cotton	**CL.FLAT**	piece		cotton	piece	CL.FLAT

'cloth'   'piece of cotton'

wayo	*bap*	*ci*	cf.	***wayo**	*ci*	*bap*
wayo	*pap*	*ci*		*wayo*	*ci*	*pap*
alligator	CL.CYLB	water		alligator	water	CL.CYLB

'alligator soup'   'alligator soup'

Adjectives: The occurrence of adjectives helps to determine the status of compounds in a negative way. As I will demonstrate when describing the internal structure of noun phrases, in Chapter 4, section 4.3.1 below, adjectives may occur after any noun in a noun phrase.

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opábe	*cigá*
o=pábe	*cigá*
1SG=hand	blister

'my hand blister' cf.

opábe	***cú***	*cigá*
o=pábe	***cú***	*cigá*
1SG=hand	**big**	blister

'my [big hand] blister' cf.

opábe	*cigá*	***cú***
o=pábe	*cigá*	***cú***
1SG=hand	blister	**big**

'my big [hand blister]'

Therefore, when it is not possible for an adjective to occur inside a [N + N] sequence, there is evidence that this sequence is a compound.

wirik	*kanã*	*vs.*			*wirik*	*kanã*	*cú*	*but*	***wirik cú kanã***
wirik	*kanã*				*wirik*	*kanã*	*cú*		
edible	thing				edible	thing	**big**		
'edible thing'					'big edible thing'				

ip	*cahyoy*	*vs.*			*ip*	*cahyoy*	*kĩ*	*but*	***ip kĩ cahyoy***
ip	*cahyoy*				*ip*	*cahyoy*	*kĩ*		
fish	dog				fish	dog	white		
'dog fish'					'white dog fish'				

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CHAPTER 4

SYNTAX

In this chapter I describe the types of sentences, phrases, predicates, the three forms of clause modifications and combinations which occur in Karo. First, in section 4.1, the types of simple sentences are presented and described. Simple sentences in Karo include declarative (DECL), interrogative (INTERR) and imperative (IMP). Then, in section 4.2, the types of predicates are described. In section 4.3, the four types of phrases which occur in Karo, noun phrase, verb phrase, postpositional phrase and adverbial phrase are described. In sections 4.4 and 4.5, tense marking and negation are presented and described. In section 4.6 I describe the process of reported speech, and finally, in section 4.7 the types of clause combinations that occur in Karo, clause chaining and subordination, are described.

4.1 SIMPLE SENTENCES

Three basic types of sentences occur in Karo: 1) declarative (DECL), 2) interrogative (INTERR), 3) imperative (IMP) They are described and exemplified in the next subsections.

4.1.1 DECLARATIVE SENTENCES

Declarative sentences are the most common sentences in Karo. Depending on the position of the elements in the sentences, they are divided into two groups: the group with a strict SOV order, called basic declaratives, and the group with one of its elements focused, called focused declaratives.

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4.1.1.1 BASIC DECLARATIVES

Declarative sentences in Karo have a strict SOV order. They may have one or two arguments (depending on the type of the predicate) and a verb or auxiliary as its required constituents. One postpositional phrase and one or more adverbial phrases may also occur as complements.

The main verb or auxiliary in a declarative sentence may take any of the mood suffixes discussed in chapter 3 section 3.2.1. Examples of declarative sentences with different mood markers are:

at	toat		kaʔaʔ	ʔaʔ	pẽn
at	toat		kaʔaʔ	ʔaʔ	pẽ-t
3SG	3R.POSS		house	CL.RD	make-IND1

'He made his own house.'

kanãy	at	toat		kaʔa	ʔaʔ	pẽya[29]
kanãy	at	toat		kaʔa	ʔaʔ	pẽ-a
then	3SG	3R.POSS		house	CL.RD	make-GER

'Then he (went and) made his own house.'

at	toat		kaʔa	ʔaʔ	pẽ	mãm
at	toat		kaʔa	ʔaʔ	pẽ	mãm
3SG	3R.POSS		house	CL.RD	make	X

'He is making his own house.'

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4.1.1.2 FOCUSED DECLARATIVES

From a strictly formal point of view, focusing in Karo is a process whereby any constituent of a basic declarative sentence appears at the front of the sentence instead of occurring in its unmarked position. Functionally, focusing is used for contrastive purposes. The elements which can be focused for contrast are either nominal arguments or clause complements.

4.1.1.2.1 NOMINAL ARGUMENT FOCUSING

In argument focusing, the arguments of a transitive or an intransitive verb are contrasted with another argument in the discourse. Different types of change occur depending on the grammatical function of the argument, whether absolutive or ergative. Below I describe each of these changes separately.

FOCUSING OF ABSOLUTIVES

When the argument to be contrasted is originally an absolutive argument, the impersonal clitic *i*= remains on the main transitive or intransitive verb. The mood suffix of the main predicate also undergoes specific changes, depending on the type of verb, whether transitive or intransitive.

In intransitive focus constructions, the verb appears in the unmarked form.

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[29] An epenthetic /y/ occurs between a final vowel of a verb root and the gerund mood marker –*a*.

agóaʔpət   *iket*   cf.

agóaʔpət   *i=ket*

shaman   3IMP=sleep

'The shaman (was the one who) slept.'

        agóaʔpət   *ken*

        agóaʔpət   *ket-t*

        shaman   sleep-IND1

        'The shaman slept.'

at   *ibaʔpat*   cf.

at   *i=paʔpat*

3SG   3IMP=fall.down

'He (was the one who) fell down.'

        abaʔpan

        aʔ=paʔpat-t

        3SG=fall.down-IND1

        'He fell down.'

In transitive focus constructions, the verb appears in the indicative mood, but with the following allomorphs: /-p/ ~ /-ap/ ~ /-m/. /-p/ occurs in verb roots which end in oral vowel; /-ap/ occurs in verb roots which end in consonants, and /-m/ occurs in verb roots which end in nasal vowels.

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wayo	*gãp*	*ar*	*i?op*	*cf.*
wayo	*kãp*	*at*	*i=?o-p*	
alligator	tasty	3SG	3IMP=eat-IND2	

'(It is) a tasty alligator (that) he ate.'

ar	*wayo*	*gãp*	*?ot*
at	*wayo*	*kãp*	*?o-t*
3SG	alligator	tasty	eat-IND1

'He ate a tasty alligator.'

wat	*owã*	*ŋa*	*õn*	*ibɨyap*	*cf.*
wat	*owã*	*ŋa*	*õn*	*i=pɨy-ap*	
1SG.POSS	mother	CL.FEM	1SG	3IMP=wait.for-IND2	

'(It is) my mother (who) I waited for.'

õn	*wat*	*owã*	*ŋa*	*pɨy*
õn	*wat*	*owã*	*ŋa*	*pɨy-t*
1SG	1SG.POSS	mother	CL.FEM	wait.for-IND1

'I waited for my mother.'

mãygãra	*cú*	*ẽn*	*iwĩm*	*ahyə*	*cf.*
mãygãra	*cú*	*ẽn*	*iwĩ-m*	*ahyə*	
snake	big	2SG	3IMP=kill-IND2		INTERR

'Was it the/a big snake that you killed?'

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ēn	māygāra	cú	wĩn	ahyə
ēn	māygāra	cú	wĩ-n	ahyə
2SG	snake	big	kill-IND1	INTERR

'Did you kill the/a big snake?'

FOCUSING OF ERGATIVES

When the argument to be contrasted is ergative, it occurs first in the sentence, followed by the impersonal clitic *i=* and the auxiliary *ʔe*[30] in the indicative mood. A second clause, containing the absolutive argument (either in the pronominal or in the lexical form) and the transitive verb in the gerund mood, follows the auxiliary. Since the ergative argument of this second clause is coreferential with the subject of the auxiliary, it is omitted.

maʔvĩ	yet		[Ø	māygāra	roba]
maʔvĩ	i=ʔe-t		[Ø	māygāra	top-a]
man	3IMP=AUX-IND1		[Ø	snake	see-GER]

'(It was) the man (who) saw the snake.'

maʔpəy	bāt	yet		[Ø	opĩya]
maʔpəy	pāt	i=ʔe-t		[Ø	o=pĩy-a]
woman	beautiful	3IMP=AUX-IND1		[Ø	1SG=wait.for-GER]

'(It was) the beautiful woman (who) waited for me.'

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4.1.1.2.2 Clause complement Focusing

When an adverb or postposition phrase is in focus, the /-p/ indicative occurs in the verb or auxiliary (cf. chapter 3, section 3.2.1.2).

cãk	mãm	okap	cĩm	ʔóa
cãk	mãm	o=kap-ap	cĩm	ʔó-a
tomorrow	X	1SG=FUT.AUX-IND2	meat	eat-GER

'Tomorrow I will eat meat.'

ʔĩttem	õn	aʔtop
ʔĩt=tem	õn	aʔ=top-ap
small=ADVZ	1SG	3SG=see-IND2

'Briefly I saw it/him.'

wat	kaʔa	ʔa	peʔ	web	aʔpɨya
wat	kaʔa	ʔaʔ	peʔ	o=ʔe-p	aʔ=pɨy-a
1SG.POSS	house	CL.RD	LOC	1SG=AUX-IND2	3SG=wait.for-GER

'(It was) at my house (that) I waited for him/it.'

et	kaʔa	ʔa	peʔ	at	epɨyap
et	kaʔa	ʔaʔ	peʔ	at	e=pɨy-ap
2SG	house	CL.RD	LOC	3SG	2SG=wait.for-IND2

'(It was) at your house (that) he waited for you.'

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[30] The impersonal proclitic i= takes the non-syllabic form /y/ when it occurs before a verb or auxiliary which begins with a vowel.

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By contrast, when the adverbial or postpositional phrase occurs in its basic order at the end of the clause, the /-t/ indicative occurs.

cīm	ʔoa	okay	cãk	mãm
cīm	ʔo-a	o=kap-t	cãk	mãm
meat	eat-GER	1SG=FUT.AUX-IND1	tomorrow	X

'I will eat meat tomorrow.'

õn	aʔoy	ʔittem
õn	aʔ=top-t	ʔit=tem
1SG	3SG=see-IND1	small=ADVZ

'I saw it/him briefly.'

aʔpiya		wet	wat	kaʔa	ʔa	peʔ
aʔpiy-a		o=ʔe-t	wat	kaʔa	ʔaʔ	peʔ
3SG=wait.for-GER		1SG=AUX-IND1		1SG.POSS	house	CL.RD	LOC

'I waited for him/it at my house.'

at	epiy		et	kaʔa	ʔa	peʔ
at	epiy-t		et	kaʔa	ʔaʔ	peʔ
3SG	2SG=wait.for-IND1		2SG	house	CL.RD	LOC

'He waited for you at your house.'

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4.1.2 INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES

Two types of interrogative constructions occur in Karo: yes-no questions and information questions. Each of these types is described in the subsections below.

4.1.2.1 YES-NO QUESTIONS

Yes-no questions are marked by the particle *ahyə*, with no change in the pitch contour of the clause. The form of the verb in yes-no questions is always finite, marked with the indicative mood suffix *-t* or *-p*. The position of the interrogative particle depends on the information requested. If the information is expressed by the whole clause, the interrogative particle occurs at the end of the clause.

eken	*ahyə*
eket-t	*ahyə*
2SG=sleep-IND1	INTERR
'Did you sleep?'	

eken	*máttem*	*ahyə*
eket-t	*pát=tem*	*ahyə*
2SG=sleep-IND1	beautiful=ADVZ	INTERR
'Did you sleep well?'		

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eken	wat	manikap	pe?	bắttem	ahyə
eket-t	wat	manikap	pe?	pát=tem	ahyə
2SG=sleep-IND1	1SG=POSS	hammock	LOC	beautiful=ADVZ	INTERR

`Did you sleep well in my hammock?'

If one constituent of a clause is questioned, that element is put in focus position at the beginning of the clause and followed by the interrogative particle.

If information about the ergative argument is requested, the interrogative particle occurs immediately after it.

ēn	ahyə	béŋ	noy
ēn	ahyə	péŋ	top-t
2SG	INTERR	white.man	see-IND1

`Was it you who saw the white man?'

mɨ̃rɨ̃rɨ̃y	ahyə	imaterãn	nãnin
mɨ̃rɨ̃rɨ̃y	ahyə	i?=ma-terã-t	nãnin
toad	INTERR	1PL.INCL=CAUS-go.astray-IND1	EVID

`Was it the toad who really made us get lost?'

If information about the absolutive argument is requested, the argument itself plus the interrogation particle are focused, and the verb takes the (non-finite?) unmarked form with the third impersonal clitic attached to it.

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péŋ	***ahyə***	*ẽn*	*itop*[31]
péŋ	***ahyə***	*ẽn*	*itop*
white.man	**INTERR**	2SG	3IMP=see

'Was it the white man that you saw?'

ẽn	***ahyə***	*ikeɾ*[32]
ẽn	***ahyə***	*i=ket*
2SG	**INTERR**	3IMP-sleep

'Was it you who slept?'

Finally, adverbial elements can also be questioned. A postpositional phrase or an adverbial phrase is questioned by being focused at the beginning of the clause and followed by the interrogative particle. The verb in these cases takes the /-p/ indicative mood suffix.

pãttem	***ahyə***	*ekerap*
pãt=tem	***ahyə***	*e=ket-ap*
beautiful=ADVZ	**INTERR**	2SG=sleep-IND2

'Did you sleep well?'   (lit. 'Is it well that you slept?')

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[31] If information was requested upon the whole proposition, the form of the sentence would be:

ẽn	*péŋ*	*toy*	***ahyə***
ẽn	*péŋ*	*top-t*	***ahyə***
2SG	white.man	see.IND1	**INTERR**

'Did you see the white man?'

[32] The form of the question for requesting information upon the whole clause would be:

eken	***ahyə***
e=ket-t	***ahyə***
2SG=sleep-IND1	**INTERR**

'Did you sleep?'

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wat	manikap	pe?	*ahyə*	ekerap
wat	manikap	pe?	*ahyə*	e=ket-ap
1SG.POSS	hammock	LOC	**INTERR**	2SG=sleep-IND2

'Did you sleep in my hammock?'   (lit. 'Was it in my hammock that you slept?')

4.1.2.2 INFORMATION QUESTION

Information questions are marked by interrogative pronouns, listed below.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

kiganape	where?
kiganapət	from where?
kigope	when?
kõm	how?
kõm igu	how much?
nãnã	why?

Interrogative pronouns occur at the beginning of the clause, which is always finite, marked with the indicative modal suffix. The interrogative particle *ahyə* may co-occur with the interrogative pronouns, immediately following them, but this occurrence is not obligatory. Examples of each of the interrogative pronouns are below. In all but *nãnã* 'why' questions, the *-p* indicative suffix is used.

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kiganape   *(ahyǝ)*   *ekerap*

kiganape   *(ahyǝ)*   *e=ket-ap*

which.place (INTERR)   2SG=sleep-IND2

`Where did you sleep?'

kiganapǝt *(ahyǝ)*   *at*   *etop*

kiganapǝt *(ahyǝ)*   *at*   *e=top-ap*

from.where (INTERR)   3SG   2SG=see-IND2

`From where did it see you?'

kigope   *(ahyǝ)*   *ekap*   *eyaʔwara*

kigope   *(ahyǝ)*   *e=kap-ap*   *e=yaʔwat-a*

when   (INTERR)   2SG=AUX.FUT-IND2   2SG=come.back-GER

`When will you come back?'

kõm   *(ahyǝ)*   *mãygãra*   *etóp*

kõm   *(ahyǝ)*   *mãygãra*   *e=tó-p*

how   (INTERR)   snake   2SG=bite-IND2

`How did the snake bite you?'

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kõm	*(ahyə)*	*igu*	*ẽn*	*ip*	*yapít[33]*
kõm	*(ahyə)*	*igu*	*ẽn*	*ip*	*yapí-t*
how	(INTERR)	many	2SG	fish	bowshot-IND1

'How many fish did you shoot with a bow?'

nãnã	*(ahyə)*	*agóa ʔpət*	*óra*	*wɨy*	*maŋaptem*
nãnã	*(ahyə)*	*agóa ʔpət*	*óra*	*wɨy-t*	*maŋap=tem*
why	(INTERR)	shaman	music	go-IND1	long=ADVZ

'Why did the shaman sing for so long?'

4.1.3 IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

Only one type of imperative construction occurs in Karo. The verb in imperative constructions always takes the modal form of the gerund (suffix *-a*). The absolutive argument is the only argument morphologically marked.

Marking of the addressee depends on transitivity. In intransitive commands, the absolutive addressee is specified by a second person proclitic, singular or plural.

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[33] In some occurrences of the interrogative pronoun *kõm igu*, *kõm* and *igu* are kept apart, *kõm* occurring at the beginning and *igu* occurring at the end of the clause. It is not yet well understood why this happens. Some examples are:

kõm	*(ahyə)*	*et*	*péŋ*	*yapía*	*igu*
kõm	*(ahyə)*	*e=ʔe-t*	*péŋ*	*yapí-a*	*igu*
how	(INTERR)	2SG=AUX-IND1	white.man	bowshot-GER	many

'How many men did you shoot (with a bow)?'

kõm	*at*	*ip*	*yapía*	*igu*
kõm	*aʔ=ʔe-t*	*ip*	*yapí-a*	*igu*
how	3SG=AUX-IND1	fish	bowshot-GER	many

'How many fish did he shoot (with a bow)?'

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ewɨya   *karowɨya*

e=wɨy-a   *karo=wɨy-a*

2SG=leave-GER   2PL=leave-GER

'Leave!'   'Leave (you PL.)!'

ekera   *karokérara*[34]

e=ket-a   *karo=kérar-a*

2SG=sleep-GER   2PL=sleep-GER

'Sleep!'   'Sleep (you PL.)!'

In transitive commands, the ergative addressee is generally unspecified (because it is recoverable from context), and the absolutive is indicated by either a pronominal clitic or a full noun phrase. If it is necessary to distinguish between the second person singular and plural, a free pronoun is employed at the end of the clause, in apposition.

taptoba   *(ēn / kaʔo)*

tap=top-a   *(ēn / kaʔo)*

3PL=see-GER   (2SG / 2PL)

'Watch them!'

---

[34] As discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.1.3, some intransitive verbs change their form when they occur with arguments in the plural, either pronominal or lexical noun phrases.

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owirup	tɨra	(ẽn / kaʔo)
o=wirup	tɨ̃-a	(ẽn / kaʔo)
1SG=food	cook-GER	(2SG / 2PL)

'Cook my food!'

yét	maʔpəy	bãt	toba	(ẽn / kaʔo)
yét	maʔpəy	pãt	top-a	(ẽn / kaʔo)
this	woman	beautiful	see-GER	(2SG / 2PL)

'Watch this beautiful woman!'

wat	manikap	peya	(ẽn / kaʔo)
wat	manikap	pe-a	(ẽn / kaʔo)
1SG.POSS	hammock	make-GER	(2SG / 2PL)

'Make my hammock!'

4.2 MAJOR PREDICATE TYPES

Predicates in Karo can be either verb phrases or predicate adjective constructions. Verb phrases consist of an auxiliary, an intransitive verb, or a transitive verb plus absolutive. (Verb phrases are described in section 4.3.2 below.)

kanãy	yét	péŋ	[ʔet]
kanãy	yét	péŋ	[ʔe-t]
then	this	white.man	[AUX-IND1]

'Then this white.man said/did.'

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ma ʔv n̯   *[ken]*

ma ʔv n̯   *[ket-t]*

man   [sleep-IND1]

'The man slept.'

ōn   *[a ʔwero*   *toy]*

ōn   *[a ʔ=wero*   *top-t]*

1SG   [3SG=speech   hear-IND1]

'I heard him.'

Predicate adjective constructions consist of an adjective (with the adverbializer =*tem*) plus a noun phrase. No overt verb or copula is employed (as occurs, for example, in English 'He *is* nice', or Portuguese 'Ele *é* legal'). The predicate in these constructions appears first in the clause, followed by the argument that is qualified.

cárarem   *ōn*

cára=tem   *ōn*

tall=ADVZ   1SG

'I am tall.'

cúrem   *wat*   *ka ʔa*   *ʔa*

cú=tem   *wat*   *ka ʔa*   *ʔa*

big=ADVZ   1SG.POSS   house   CL.RD

'My house is big.'

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pãttem	*et*	*owẽ*	*rap*
pãt=tem	*et*	*owẽ*	*tap*
beautiful-ADVZ	2SG.POSS	child	ASSOC

'Your children are beautiful.'

Other types of functional predicates such as predicate nominal, predicate locative, existentials and possessive predicates are not conveyed by special constructions in Karo.

Predicate nominals have almost the same structure of any transitive declarative clause. They differ in not occurring with a transitive verb but with the copula *nã* instead.

kopɔt	*to*	*wecéb*	*a?nãn*
kopɔt	*to*	*pecép*	*a?=nã-n*
animal	PL(?)	ugly	3SG=COP-IND1

'He/it is an ugly animal.'

Predication of locatives in Karo are expressed by a regular intransitive verb of movement, *kɔ* 'to walk', *yakõy* 'to dive', etc., or position *ya* 'to be stood', etc., plus an oblique noun phrase with the locative case marker *pe?*.

Antônio	*yãn*	*ka?a*	*?a*	*na?ot*	*pe?*
Antônio	*yã-n*	*ka?a*	*?a?*	*na?ot*	*pe?*
Antônio	be.stood-IND1	house	CL.RD	top.of	LOC

'Antônio is on the top of the house.'

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Existential predication in Karo is also conveyed by a regular intransitive verb of movement or position plus a locational adjunct (noun phrase + locative case marker *pe ?*).

tik	*wán*	*ahyə*	*et*	*ka ?a*	*?a*	*pe ?*
tik	*wát-t*	*ahyə*	*et*	*ka ?a*	*?a*	*pe ?*
mosquito	fly-IND1	INTERR	2SG.POSS	house	CL.RD	LOC

'Are there mosquitoes in your house?' (lit. 'Does mosquito fly in your house?')

Possessive predication is expressed by using the intransitive verb kə 'to walk'.

õn	*wat*	*ka ?a*	*?a*	*kət*	*cagáro*	*kõmnem*
õn	*wat*	*ka ?a*	*?a*	*kə-t*	*cagáro*	*kõm=tem*
1SG	1SG.POSS	house	CL.RD	walk-IND1	two	X=ADVZ

'I have two houses.' (lit. 'My two houses walk.')

at	*toat*	*makãri*	*rakət*
at	*toat*	*makãri*	*ta-kə-t*
3SG	3SG.POSS	necklace	COMIT-walk-IND1

'He has a necklace.' (lit. 'He walks with his necklace.')

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4.3 PHRASES

Clauses (or sentences) in Karo are formed basically from noun phrases and verb phrases. Adverbial phrases and postpositional phrases may also occur optionally. In this section, each of these types of phrases is described in detail.

4.3.1 NOUN PHRASES

Noun phrases in Karo occur as arguments of auxiliaries, intransitive and transitive verbs, postpositions, and predicate adjective constructions. Below I give a list of each of the constituents of a noun phrase, and in sections 4.3.1.2 and 4.3.1.3 I provide a description of genitive constructions and noun phrase associations, respectively. In the last section of the chapter, section 4.3.1.4, I deal with case marking and grammatical relations.

4.3.1.1 NOUN PHRASE CONSTITUENTS

A noun phrase in Karo may have the following constituents, given in their normal relative order[35]:

1. Demonstrative or Possessive pronoun
2. Noun (or proper noun)
3. Classifier
4. Adjective
5. Evidential
6. Plural marker

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[35] Numerals do not occur inside the noun phrase but rather as adjuncts, in adverbial phrases.

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In principle, none of the above constituents is obligatory, except for the category of Noun. Demonstratives, possessive pronouns and classifiers can function as nominals. It is rare to find more than two constituents besides the noun occurring in a noun phrase. Below I describe individually the occurrences of the constituents that may enter a noun phrase.

DEMONSTRATIVE OR POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

The categories of demonstrative and possessive pronouns were already discussed in section 3.1.1 above. Some additional examples are below.

[yét   péŋ]   *pa ʔpan*

[yét   péŋ]   *pa ʔpat-t*

[DEM   white.man]   fall-IND1

'This man fell.'

kanãy [yét]   ʔet   *tocaropaba*

kanãy [yét]   ʔe-t   *to=caropap-a*

then   [DEM] AUX-IND1   3R=be.sad-GER

'Then this (white man) was sad.'

[wat   owẽ]   *wét*

[wat   owẽ]   *wé-t*

[1SG.POSS   child]   cry-IND1

'My child cried.'

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[karoat]	*yān*	*i?ke*	*tẽna*
[karoat]	*yã-t*	*i?ke*	*tẽna*
2PL.POSS	be.IND1	NEG	now

'Yours (your animals) are not at home now.'

NOUNS

Nouns in Karo are either alienable or inalienable (cf. section 3.1.2 above). Alienable nouns occur usually once in a noun phrase. When two alienable nouns occur. they form either a possessive construction or a compound (cf. section 3.5 on compounds). In possessive constructions, the first noun is the possessor and the second noun the item possessed. A possessive marker. *at*, always occurs between them.

ma?wn̄	*at*	*tágɨp*
ma?wn̄	*at*	*tágɨp*
man	POSS	bow

'man's bow'

agóa?pɔt	*at*	*ka?a*	*?a?*
agóa?pɔt	*at*	*ka?a*	*?a?*
shaman	POSS	house	CL.RD

'shaman's house'

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maʔpɔy	*at*	*manikap*
maʔpɔy	*at*	*manikap*
woman	POSS	hammock

'woman's hammock'

A noun phrase may also contain one or more inalienable noun. When two (or more) inalienable nouns occur they are in a relation of modification to each other, and the rightmost inalienable noun is the head noun. Since the resulting two nouns are still an inalienable noun, they must be preceded either by an alienable noun or by a possessive clitic pronoun.

Furthermore, even though it could be possible, in principle, for an inalienable noun to occur preceding an alienable noun, this does not occur for semantic reasons. Inalienable nouns in Karo are items which generally refer to body parts and, thus, cannot possess alienable items such as 'house', 'hammock', 'bow', 'arrow', etc.

aʔpábe	*cigá*
aʔ=pábe	*cigá*
3SG=hand	blister

'the blister on his hand (his hand blister)'

tanaká	*peon*
tap=naká	*peon*
3PL=head	skin

'the skin of their heads'

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onakɨra   *cop*

o=nakɨra   *cop*

1SG=ear   dirt

'the dirt of my ear'

Finally, a mixture of alienable and inalienable nouns may occur in a noun phrase. In these cases, the relation established is one of possession. Free nouns precede bound nouns and indicate the possessor.

mãygãra   *capóp*   *pɨʔ*

mãygãra   *capóp*   *pɨʔ*

snake   tail   CL.CYLS

'tail of a snake'

agóaʔpɔt   *nakã*

agóaʔpɔt   *nakã*

shaman   head

'shaman's head'

owẽ   *nakɨra*   *cop*

owẽ   *nakɨra*   *cop*

child   ear   dirt

'the dirt of the ear of the child'   cf.

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war	owẽ	nakɨra	cop
wat	owẽ	nakɨra	cop
1SG.POSS	child	ear	dirt

'the dirt of the ear of my child'   cf.

ite	at	owẽ	nakɨra	cop
ite	at	owẽ	nakɨra	cop
uncle	POSS	child	ear	dirt

'the dirt of the ear of my uncle's child'

CLASSIFIERS

A complete description of the occurrences of classifiers, with examples, is given in chapter 5.

mɜy maʔpɜy ŋa	ʔet	at	chapéu ká?	tiga	ɨgana	pe?
mɜy maʔpɜy ŋa	ʔe-t	at	chapéu ká?	tik-a	ɨgana	pe?
then woman CL.FEM	AUX-IND1	3SG.POSS	hat	CL.CCV	throw-GER	ground LOC

'Then the woman threw his hat on the floor.'

ADJECTIVES

Adjectives in Karo are a class formed exclusively by bound forms which are always preceded either by a noun or by a clitic pronoun. It is rare for more than two adjectives to occur, and there are no special constructions with either comparative or superlative meaning.

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ma ʔpɘy   **pãt**

ma ʔpɘy   **pãt**

woman   **beautiful**

'beautiful woman'

ma ʔɨp **cakot**

ma ʔɨp **cakot**

wood **chopped**

'chopped wood'

A personal clitic may also occur in place of the head noun. When this happens, the adjective modifies the personal clitic, and together they may represent arguments of intransitive verbs, transitive verbs, auxiliaries, postpositions, and predicate adjective constructions:

owicorop   *ken*

o=picorop   *ket-t*

1SG=**hungry** sleep-IND1

'I slept hungry (or, better: 'I-hungry slept').'

a ʔwãk   *toba*   *agóa ʔpɘt*   *ʔet*

a ʔ=wãk   *top-a*   *agóa ʔpɘt*   *ʔe-t*

3SG=**sick**   see-GER   shaman   AUX-IND1

'The shaman went to see him-sick.'

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kanãy	*a ʔpap*	*ʔet*	*towec ɨ̃ra*
kanãy	*a ʔ=pap*	*ʔe-t*	*to=wec ɨ̃-a*
then	3SG=hurt	AUX-IND1	3R=run-GER

'Then it-hurt ran.'

abakán	***a ʔpap***	*kɔy*
a ʔ=pakát-t	***a ʔ=pap***	*kɔy*
3SG=be.angry-IND1	**3SG=hurt**	DAT

'He was angry at the hurt one.'

pecéptem	***a ʔtarap***
pecép=tem	***a ʔ=tarap***
ugly=ADVZ	**3SG=spotted**

'He/it-spotted (with spots) is ugly.'

EVIDENTIALS

Evidentials in Karo constitute a category which basically occurs at the level of the sentence, i.e., they are constituents of sentences. A few evidentials, nevertheless, also occur at the level of the noun phrase, following the head noun (or pronoun). The class of evidentials in Karo is fully discussed in chapter 6.

at	*topɔ*	*a ʔwĩn*
at	*topɔ*	*a ʔ-wĩ-n*
3SG	EVID	3SG=kill-IND1

'He was seen to have killed it.'

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pagon nóptem   nakõm nap   tə

pagon tóp=tem   nakõm tap   tə

three X=ADVZ   kid   ASSOC EVID

'three kids, they say'

In the example below the noun phrase is repeated at the end of the sentence, for the sake of explicitness on the part of the speaker.

məy **péŋ**   Ɂet   kohmãy   Ɂerem tokɔga,

məy **péŋ**   Ɂe-t   kohmãy   Ɂerem to=kɔk-a

then **white.man**   AUX-IND1   top   DISP   3R=walk-GER

'Then (I saw that) the white man was walking through the top (of the tree),

tomanẽ   mãŋa   tə,

to=manẽ   mãŋ-a   tə

3R=whole   show-GER   EVID

'him entirely, they say'

péŋ   tə

péŋ   tə

white.man   EVID

the white man, they say.'

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PLURAL

Occurrences of the plural marker =*to?* were discussed in chapter 3, section
3.3.1 above.

kanãy	*pén*	*?ep*	*toat*	*mok*	*pero?*	*cára*	*ici*	*pe?*
kanãy	*pén*	*?e-p*	*toat*	*mok*	*pe?=to?*	*cát-a*	*ici*	*pe?*
then	white.man	AUX-IND2	3R.POSS	clothe	CL.FLAT=PL	wash-GER	river	LOC

'Then the white man was washing his clothes in the river.'

4.3.1.2 GENITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Two types of genitive constructions occur in Karo, inalienable and
alienable. In inalienable possessive construction the inalienable noun can be
possessed directly by either a possessive pronominal clitic or an alienable noun.

ocãp	*iti*	*cãp*
ocãp	*iti*	*cãp*
1SG=leg	deer	leg
'my leg'	'deer's leg'	

ekap	*yate*	*gap*
ekap	*yate*	*kap*
2SG=fat	pig	fat
'your fat'	'pig's fat'	

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acagá			*aoro*	*cagá*	
acagá			*aoro*	*cagá*	
3SG=eye			parrot	eye	
'his/its eye'			'parrot's eye'		

In alienable possessive construction the alienable noun can be possessed by either a possessive pronoun or by another alienable noun, in which case the possessor *at* occurs between the two alienable nouns.

wat	*ka ʔa*		*ma ʔwɨ*	*at*	*ka ʔa*
wat	*ka ʔa*		*ma ʔwɨ*	*at*	*ka ʔa*
1SG.POSS	house		man	POSS	house
'my house'			'man's house'		

er	*ici*		*ma ʔpəy*	*at*	*ici*
et	*ici*		*ma ʔpəy*	*at*	*ici*
2SG.POSS	water		woman	POSS	water
'your water'			'woman's water'		

at	*tágɨp*		*agóa ʔpət*	*at*	*tágɨp*
at	*tágɨp*		*agóa ʔpət*	*at*	*tágɨp*
3SG.POSS	bow		shaman	POSS	bow
'his bow'			'shaman's bow'		

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4.3.1.3 ASSOCIATION OF NOUN PHRASES

Strictly speaking, no conjoining of noun phrases in Karo is grammatically possible. Association of noun phrases are done, nevertheless, by other means. Depending on the function of the nouns to be associated, different types of constructions are used. If the associated nouns are the subject of a transitive or intransitive verb (i.e., the ergative arguments of a transitive verb, or the absolutive argument of an intransitive verb), only one of the nouns occurs as core argument. The other noun occurs as an oblique argument of the same verb, and is marked with the postpositional comitative case marker *pihmãm*.

at	*ip*	*ʔɨy*		*Naʔkɨ*	*pihmãm*
at	*ip*	*ʔɨy-t*		*Naʔkɨ*	*pihmãm*
3SG	fish	catch-IND1		Naʔkit	COMIT

'He and Naʔkit caught the fish.' (lit.: 'He caught the fish with Naʔkit')

owakán	*matet*	*wat*	*iyõm*	*pihmãm*	*(towakára)*
o=pakát-t	*matet*	*wat*	*iyõm*	*pihmãm*	*(to=pakát-a)*
1SG=be.angry-IND1	yesterday	1SG.POSS	father	COMIT	(3R=be.angry-GER)

'My father and I were angry yesterday.'

If the nouns represent the object (absolutive) argument of a transitive verb, they occur in separate clauses with the same verb repeated. One of the forms of the verb is finite and the other is non-finite. The particle *kõam*, 'also', occurs at the end of the second, non-finite clause.

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at	īya	wĩn	kokō	wīa	kõam
at	īya	wĩ-t	kokō	wī-a	kõam
3SG	bird	kill-IND1	hawk	kill-GER	also

'He killed a/the bird and the hawk.'

If the associated nouns are in a Predicate Nominal construction, the second noun occurs in the oblique form, with the SIMILATIVE case marker *kõm*.

agóaʔpɔt	cú	aʔnãn		Cabirera	kõm
agóaʔpɔt	cú	aʔ=nã-n		Cabirera	kõm
shaman	big	3SG=COP-IND1		Cabirera	SIMIL

'He and Cabirera are big shamans.' (lit.: 'He is a big shaman, like Cabirera.'

If the associated nouns are oblique arguments, they are both marked with the same case marking postposition, followed by the particle *koãm*, 'also'.

kaʔtay at		naʔvɔy	kɔy	aʔi	kɔy	kõam
kaʔtay aʔ=ʔe-t		naʔvɔy	kɔy	aʔi	kɔy	kõam
shoot 3SG=AUX-IND1		monkey	DAT	sloth	DAT	also

'He shot (arrows) at the monkey and at the sloth also.'

Finally, if the associated nouns are in a possessive construction, the second noun, regardless of whether the possession is alienable or inalienable, is marked by the particle *koãm*, 'also'.

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maʔwɨr	at	pewit,	ŋaat	pewit	koãm
maʔwɨ	at	pewit,	ŋaat	pewit	koãm
man	POSS	honey,	3SG.FEM.POSS	honey	also

'the man's honey, and her honey also'

opábe?,	epábe?	koãm
o=pábe?,	e=pábe?	koãm
1SG=hand	2SG=hand	also

'my hand, and your hand also'

4.3.1.4 CASE MARKING AND GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

There is a clear distinction among core and oblique arguments in Karo with respect to the different grammatical roles they perform in relation to their predicates (i.e., transitive and intransitive verbs and auxiliaries). Core arguments (either lexical noun phrases or pronominals) are required, and occur before their predicates. Oblique arguments, on the other hand, are not required. They occur canonically after their predicates, and they are always marked with a postposition. (See section 4.3.3 below on postpositional phrases.)

Among the core arguments there is no overt case marking on full noun phrases, and their order in the clause is relatively fixed (cf. section 4.3.1.4). The only argument of one-argument predicate clauses (those with an intransitive verb or an auxiliary) occur at the beginning of the clause:

maʔpay	ken
maʔpay	ket-t
woman	sleep-IND1

'The woman slept.'

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ĩya   *tẽy*

ĩya   *tẽp-t*

bird   fly-IND1

'The bird flew.'

ma ʔvⁱ   *ʔet*   *matet*

ma ʔvⁱ   *ʔe-t*   *matet*

man   AUX-IND1   yesterday

'The man (did something) yesterday.'

When two full noun phrases co-occur in transitive clauses, they both precede the transitive verb. Their role is indicated only by word order: the first noun is the semantic agent (the grammatical ergative argument) and the second is the semantic patient (the grammatical absolutive argument) of the clause. If the position of the nouns is changed, the meaning of the whole clause is also changed.

iyõm   *wat*   *awe*   *capét*

iyõm   *wat*   *awe*   *capé-t*

father   1SG.POSS   brotherbeat-IND1

'Father beat my brother.'

wat   *awe*   *iyõm*   *capét*

wat   *awe*   *iyõm*   *capé-t*

1SG.POSS   brotherfather   beat-IND1

'My brother beat father.'

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Case distinctions are indicated, nevertheless, by the different ways in which non-lexical arguments are represented: ergatives are marked by a set of free pronouns, while absolutives are marked by a set of pronominal clitics. The free pronouns and the pronominal clitics are in complementary distribution with lexical noun phrases.

oken		cf.	owara ʔkət
o=ket-t			o=para ʔkə-t
1SG=sleep-IND1			1SG=go.back-IND1
'I slept.'			'I went back.'

ma ʔwn	ken	cf.	a ʔ=ken
ma ʔwn	ket-t		a ʔ=ket-t
man	sleep-IND1		3SG=sleep-IND1
'The man slept.'			'He/it slept.'

agóa ʔpət	para ʔkət	cf.	abara ʔkət
agóa ʔpət	para ʔkə-t		a ʔ=para ʔkə-t
shaman	go.back-IND1		3SG=go.back-IND1
'The shaman went back.'			'He/it went back.'

õn	ameko	toy	cf.	ameko otoy
õn	ameko	top-t		ameko o=top-t
1SG	jaguar	see-IND1		jaguar 1SG=see-IND1
'I saw the jaguar.'				'The jaguar saw me.'

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õn	a ʔoy	cf.		at	otoy
õn	a ʔ=top-t			at	o=top-t
1SG	3SG=see-IND1			3SG	1SG=see-IND1
'I saw it/him.'				'It/he saw me.'	

On relatively rare occasions, the reference of a pronoun or a clitic may be elaborated with an appositive noun phrase. In the following example, the subject of the sentence 'he' is restated as 'this man', probably to avoid ambiguity, since several other third person singular participants were under discussion at the time.

mǝy,

mǝy

then

'Then,

a ʔva ʔye,

a ʔ=wa ʔye

3SG=AUX

he,

yét *ma ʔwi,*

yét *ma ʔwi*

this **man**

this man,

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toat,

toat

3R.POSS

to his own,

toat	*páy*	*gəy*	*roʔwa.*
toat	*páy*	*kəy*	*to=ʔe-a*
3R.POSS	other	DAT	3R=AUX-GER

his own other.

towagon	*gəy.*
to=pagon	*kəy*
3R=friend	DAT

His own friend.'

Finally, from the strict point of view of case marking, it is not possible to say that Karo has a subject category for lexical noun phrases in simple clauses. There is no special marking on full noun phrases, and the pronominal marking system does not follow a nominative-accusative pattern. Since all arguments occur preverbally, it is not possible to determine whether the single argument of an intransitive clause should be paired with the agent or the patient of a transitive clause. Thus, word order does not provide a strong argument for the presence of a grammatical subject.

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Subjects occur, nevertheless, as an actual category in Karo at the cross-clause level, both in clause chaining and in subordination. (A detailed description of how subjects emerge in each of these types of clause combination is provided in sections 4.7.1 and 4.7.2, respectively, below.)

4.3.2 VERB PHRASES

Verb phrases in Karo are predicates based on an auxiliary, an intransitive verb, or a transitive verb. (These are the only three classes of words in Karo which are inflected for mood.) Adverbial phrases and postpositional phrases which occur at the ends of clauses, are not structurally part of verb phrases.

õn	[er	iyõm	noy]$_{VP}$	[matet]$_{Adv.P}$
õn	[et	iyõm	top-t]	[matet]
1SG	[2SG.POSS	father	see-IND1]	[yesterday]

'I saw your father yesterday.'

The fact that adverbial phrases and postpositional phrases do not occur inside verb phrases can be seen in the examples below. Both can be negated independently in a focus construction before the nuclear clause.

[tɔr	iʔke]$_{Adv.P}$	õn	[aʔtop]$_{VP}$
[tɔt	iʔke]	õn	[aʔ=top-ap]
[there	NEG]	1SG	[3SG=see-IND2]

'It was not there that I saw it/him.'

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[mĩn mãm i ʔke]_Adv.P   péŋ   [yowarap]

[mĩn mãm i ʔke]   péŋ   [yowat-ap]

[now X NEG]   white.man   [leave-IND2]

'It was not now that the white man left.'

The few constituents which may occur in a verb phrase are listed and discussed below, in order of occurrence.

1. Noun phrase
2. Verb (transitive or intransitive) or Auxiliary
3. Tense marker
4. Negative particle

Noun phrases occur as constituents of verb phrases only when the verb is transitive. The fact that transitive verbs plus their absolutives form a constituent can be seen in the fact that they may appear together at the beginning of sentences in negative focus constructions.

agóa ʔpɔ́   [mãygãra   roy   iʔke]

agóa ʔpɔ́   [mãygãra   top-t   iʔke]

shaman   [snake   see-IND1   NEG]

'The shaman did not see the snake.'   cf.

[mãygãra   toba   iʔke]   agóa ʔpɔ́   ʔet

[mãygãra   top-a   iʔke]   agóa ʔpɔ́   ʔe-t

[snake   see-GER   NEG]   shaman   AUX-IND1

'Not seeing the snake was what the shaman did.'

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In negative focus constructions with intransitive verbs, by contrast, the absolutive noun phrase does not appear at the beginning of the sentence. Instead of the noun phrase, a pronominal clitic is used. This pronominal clitic is always coreferential with the person of the absolutive argument of the auxiliary.

maʔvñ	ken	iʔke		cf.
maʔvñ	ket-t	iʔke		
man	sleep-IND1	NEG		

'The man did not sleep.'

[to=kera	iʔke]	maʔvñ	ʔet
[to=ket-a	iʔke]	maʔvñ	ʔe-t
[3R=sleep-GER	NEG]	man	AUX-IND1

'It was not sleeping that the man did.'

The verb or auxiliary is the only obligatory constituent of a verb phrase. Their morphology is restricted to the occurrence of an inflectional modal suffix and a few derivational prefixes (cf. Chapter 3, section 3.2.2). Examples of verb phrases containing intransitive verbs, transitive verbs and auxiliaries are below.

aʔken

aʔket-t

3SG=sleep-IND1

'He slept.'

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agóa ʔpɔt   **wɨy**

agóa ʔpɔt   **wɨy-t**

shaman   **leave-IND1**

'The shaman left.'

õn   *mãygãra*   *toy*

õn   *mãygãra*   *top-t*

1SG   snake   see-IND1

'I saw a/the snake.'

kanãy **péŋ**   *ʔet*   *(...)*

kanãy **péŋ**   *ʔe-t*

then   **white.man**   AUX-IND1

'Then, the white man (...).'

Verb phrases can also contain tense markers. Two past tense markers, *co* 'simple past' and *kán* 'remote past', and two types of future particles, *yat* and *iga*, both meaning 'simple future', occur as tense markers in Karo. (Tense markers are discussed in detail in section 4.4.)

õn   *epɨy*   *co*

õn   *epɨy-t*   *co*

1SG   2SG=wait.for-IND1   **PAST**

'I waited for you'

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owaʔpan	*aʔpẽya*	**gán**
owaʔpat-t	*aʔpẽy-a*	**kán**
1SG=fall.down-IND1	3SG=step-GER	RPAST

'I fell stepping on it long ago'

õn	*omẽn*	*meropir*	**yar**	*iʔke*
õn	*o=mẽn*	*peropi-t*	**yat**	*iʔke*
1SG	1SG=husband	pinch-IND1	FUT	NEG

'I will not pinch my husband.'

péŋ	*yaʔ̃*	*toat*	*mok*	*peʔ*	*cán*	**iga**
péŋ	*yaʔ̃-t*	*toat*	*mok*	*peʔ*	*cát-t*	**iga**
white.man	go.down-IND1	3R.POSS	clothe	CL.FLAT	wash	FUT

'The white man will go down (to the river) to wash his clothes.'

Verb phrases are negated by two different particles, *iʔke* and *yahmãm*. Both particles appear at the end of the verb phrase. Negation is fully discussed in section 4.5 below. Some additional examples of verb phrases containing negation are:

õn	*péŋ*	*yati*	*nãn*	*iʔke*
õn	*péŋ*	*yati*	*nã-n*	*iʔke*
1SG	white.man	like	COP-IND1	NEG

'I do not like the white man.'

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tap táy nãn i?ke

tap táy nã-n i?ke

3PL few COP-IND1 NEG

'They are not few.'

te ?yoy i?ke tãwrem

te ?=yop-t i?ke tãw=tem

1PL.INCL=live-IND1 NEG far=ADVZ

'We do not live far.'

ewét yahmãm

e=wé-t yahmãm

2SG=cry-IND1 NEG

'Do not cry!'

ip ?ỷya a?kay yahmãm

ip ?ỷy-a a?=kap-t yahmãm

fish catch-GER 3SG=AUX.FUT-IND1 NEG

'He will not catch a fish'

Evidentials occur at the end of the verb phrase, following other constituents, if any is present. (Evidentials are fully described in Chapter 7.)

at mãygãra wĩn menə

at mãygãra wĩ-t menə

3SG snake kill-IND1 EVID

'It is wondered whether he killed the snake.'

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at	mãygãra	wĩn	**nãnin**
at	mãygãra	wĩ-t	**nãnin**
3SG	snake	kill-IND1	EVID

'He really killed the snake.'

at	mãygãra	wĩn	**tə**
at	mãygãra	wĩ-t	**tə**
3SG	snake	kill-IND1	EVID

'He killed the snake, they say.'

at	mãygãra	wĩn	**igã**
at	mãygãra	wĩ-t	**igã**
3SG	snake	kill-IND1	EVID

'He must have killed the snake.'

at	mãygãra	wĩn	**coke**
at	mãygãra	wĩ-t	**coke**
3SG	snake	kill-IND1	EVID

'He clearly killed the snake (but nobody saw the dead snake).'

wat	owẽ	ŋa	kət	yat	iʔke	**menə**
wat	owẽ	ŋa	kə-t	yat	iʔke	**menə**
1SG.POSS	baby	CL.FEM	walk-IND1	FUT	NEG	EVID

'I wonder whether my baby girl will not walk.'

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4.3.3 POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASES

Two types of postpositional phrases occur in Karo. One type is used to add an oblique (non-required) argument to the clause; the other type is used for emphatic purposes, exclusively with core arguments. Postpositional phrases of both types occur either clause-finally (in basic SOV clauses) or clause-initially (in focus constructions). They differ, nevertheless, in the fact that postpositional phrases with *kōna* can also occur clause-medially, sentence-initially and/or sentence-finally, when emphasis is on the subject of the clause or sentence.

The postpositional phrases which mark oblique cases consist of two elements: a noun phrase and one of a the eleven postpositions. (The complete list of postpositions was given in chapter 3, section 3.1.8.)

abakán	***ekɔy***
a ʔ=pakát-t	*e=kɔy*
3SG=be.angry-IND1	2SG=DAT

'He is angry at you.'

péŋ	*a ʔwīn*	***tágiʜ***	***mã***
péŋ	*a ʔ=wī-t*	***tágiʜ***	***mã***
white.man	3SG=kill-IND1	bow	INSTR

'the white man killed it with a/the bow.'

a ʔwiy	*naco*	*ʔerem*
a ʔwiy-t	*naco*	*ʔerem*
3SG=go-IND1	forest	DISP

'He went through the forest.'

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oken		pén	at	ka?a	?a?	pe?
oket-t		pén	at	ka?a	?a?	pe?
1SG=sleep-IND1		white.man	POSS	house	CL.RD	LOC

'I slept at the white man's house.'

pecéptem	ên	et	iyôm	ŋŏm
pecép=tem	ên	et	iyôm	kŏm
ugly=ADVZ	2SG	2SG	father	SIMIL

'You are ugly like your father.'

ŋabenaoy	abihmãm
ŋa=penaop-t	a?=pihmãm
3SG.FEM=dance-IND1	3SG=COMIT

'She danced with him.'

na ʔwəy	ya ʔi	ma ʔip	ʔay
na ʔwəy	ya ʔi-t	ma ʔip	ʔay
monkey	go.down-IND1	tree	ABL

'The monkey went down from the tree.'

əg	ina ʔwara	a ʔpik
ək	i?=na ʔwat-a	a ?=pik
let's	1PL.INCL=leave-GER	3SG=ALL

'Let's leave (go out) to him/it.'

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ip	cú	gæt	icí	bæt

ip	cú	kə-t	icí	pæt

fish	big	walk-IND1	water	INESS

'The big fish swam in the water.'

paramu	ʔa	owikop

paramu	e=ʔe-a	o=pikop

sit.down	2SG=AUX-GER	1SG=ABESS

'Sit down next to me!'

ci	baʔpe	bem	wep	owaraʔkəga

ci	paʔpe	pem	o=ʔe-p	o=paraʔkək-a

water	edge	ADESS	1SG=AUX-IND2	1SG=go.back-GER

'I went back to the edge of the river.'

The postpositional phrases which mark emphatic arguments employ the postposition *kōna*. The noun (or noun phrase) to be emphasized is marked coreferentially in the postpositional phrase by a pronominal argument which is attached to kōna. Depending on the grammatical function of the argument to be emphasized, the postpositional phrase may occur in different places in the clause. If the emphasized noun is the subject (ergative argument of a transitive clause or

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absolutive argument of an intransitive clause), the postpositional phrase occurs at the end of the clause, or immediately after the subject[36].

õn	ip	ʔɨy	okõna
õn	ip	ʔɨp-t	o=kõna
1SG	fish	catch-IND1	1SG=EMPH

'I caught the fish.'

õn	okõna	ip	ʔɨy
õn	o=kõna	ip	ʔɨp-t
1SG	1SG=EMPH	fish	catch-IND1

'I caught the fish.'

ŋa	tokõna	icɨ	an	yat	aʔkəy
ŋa	tokõna	icɨ	at-t	yat	aʔ=kəy
3SG.FEM	3R=EMPH	water	bring-IND1	FUT	3SG=DAT

'She will bring water to him/it.'

oken	okõna
o=ket-t	o=kõna
1SG=sleep-IND1	1SG=EMPH

'I slept.'

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[36] In the examples I have, transitive and intransitive verbs seem to behave differently according to the type of the modal marker they take. Transitive verbs seem to take the indicative marker, whereas intransitive verbs seem to take the gerund marker.

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õn	okõna	okera
õn	o=kõna	o=ket-a
1SG	1SG=EMPH	1SG=sleep-GER

'I slept.'

Emphatic postpositional phrases can also occur at the ends of sentences when the emphasized argument is the subject.

wəɲnem	[mɨrɨrɨ̇y	ʔet]	[iʔpéya]
wəŋ=tem	[mɨrɨrɨ̇y	ʔe-t]	[iʔ=pé=a]
far=ADVZ	[toad	AUX-IND1]	[1PL.INCL=confuse=GER]

'From afar, the toad confuses us,

[iʔca	macahmərəba]	rokõna
[iʔ=ca	ma-cahmərəp-a]	to=kõna
[1PL.INCL=eye	CAUS-haze-GER]	3R=EMPH

making our sight hazy.'

On the other hand, if the noun to be emphazised is the transitive absolutive (i.e. the patient of a transitive clause), the postpositional phrase occurs at the beginning of the clause. In these cases, the impersonal pronominal marker *i=* occurs attached to the transitive verb root.

ip	tokõna	õn	yɨ̇y
ip	to=kõna	õn	i=ʔɨ̇y-t
fish	3R=EMPH	1SG	3IMP=catch-IND1

'Fish I caught.'

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4.3.4 ADVERBIAL PHRASES

Adverbial phrases in Karo can be classified into four types: 1) time (e.g. yesterday, long ago, etc.), 2) manner (e.g. beautifully, poorly, etc.), 3) place (e.g. here, over there, etc.) and 4) quantification (one, once, two, twice, many times, etc.). More than one adverbial phrase may occur in a clause. The fact that they are independent adverbial phrases, and not components of a single larger adverbial phrase, can be seen in the examples below, where one (and only one) adverbial phrase can be focused. Other adverbial phrases must remain in their canonical position, at the end of the clause.

oyãn	*mẽganape*	*mĩn*			
oyã-n	*mẽganape*	*mĩn*			
1SG=be-IND1	**here**	**now**			

'I live here now.'

at	*péŋ*	*wĩn*	*paʔpiktem*	*mỳ*	*mãm*
at	*péŋ*	*wĩ-n*	*paʔpik=tem*	*mỳ*	*mãm*
3SG	white.man	kill-IND1	**many=ADVZ**	**long.ago**	**X**

'He killed many men long ago.'

mẽganape	*õn*	*ameko*	*top*	*matet*
mẽganape	*õn*	*ameko*	*top-ap*	*matet*
here	1SG	jaguar	see-IND2	**yesterday**

'Here I saw the/a jaguar yesterday.'

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pecéptem	*ʔep*	*mĩn*
pecép=tem	*ʔe-p*	*mĩn*
ugly=ADVZ	(2SG)AUX-IND2	now

'In an ugly way you did (it) now.'

An adverbial phrase may contain the following constituents:

1. Adverb (or Adverb + *mãm*)

2. Negative particle

3. Emphatic particle

In the majority of cases, the adverb (or the adverb plus the particle *mãm*[37]), is the only constituent of an adverbial phrase:

wat	*apɘy*	*ŋa*	*pepat*	*cɘk*	*mãm*
wat	*apɘy*	*ŋa*	*pepak-t*	*cɘk*	*mãm*
1SG.POSS	grandmother	CL.FEM	wake.up-IND1	**early**	X

'My grandmother woke up early.'

õn	*aʔoy*	*páttem*
õn	*aʔop-t*	*pát=tem*
1SG	3SG=see-IND1	**beautiful=ADVZ**

'I saw it nicely.'

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[37] The meaning of the particle *mãm* is not yet completely understood.

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agóa ʔpət	*péŋ*	*wĩn*	**pa ʔpiktem**
agóa ʔpət	*péŋ*	*wĩ-n*	**pa ʔpik=tem**
shaman	white.man	kill-IND1	**many=ADVZ**

'The shaman killed many white men.'

The negative and/or the emphatic particles occur only in cases where the adverb is in focus. In these cases, the whole adverbial phrase occurs focused at the beginning of the clause.

tẽna	*iʔke*	*ma ʔpəy*	*ici*	*arap*
tẽna	*iʔke*	*ma ʔpəy*	*ici*	*at-ap*
now	NEG	woman	water	bring-IND2

'It was not now that the woman brought water.'

páttem	*iʔke*	*ap*	*towerowɨya*
páttem	*iʔke*	*a ʔ= ʔe-p*	*to=werowɨ-a*
beautiful	NEG	3SG=AUX-IND2	3R=speak-GER

'It was not beautifully that he spoke.'

matet	*iʔke*	*rokõna*	*Petɨp*	*ʔep*	*towetõa*
matet	*iʔke*	*to=kõna*	*Petɨp*	*ʔe-p*	*to=petõ-a*
yesterday	NEG	3R=EMPH	Petip	AUX-IND2	3R=tell-GER

'It was not yesterday that Petip told it (the story).'

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In non-emphatic occurrences of adverbial phrases, the negative particle occurs inside the verb phrase, and the adverb occurs alone. The clause, then, has a different meaning:

maʔpəy	icɨ	an	iʔke	**rẽna**
maʔpəy	icɨ	at-t	iʔke	**tẽna**
woman	water	bring-IND1	NEG	**now**

'The woman did not bring water now.'

aʔwero	wɨy	iʔke	**bãttem**
aʔ=wero	wɨy-t	iʔke	**pãt=tem**
3SG=speech	go-IND1	NEG	**beautiful=ADVZ**

'He did not speak beautifully.'

Petɨp	petõn	iʔke	**matet**
Petɨp	petõ-n	iʔke	**matet**
Petip	tell-IND1	NEG	**yesterday**

'Petip did not told (the story) yesterday'

Sequences of adverbial phrases may occur in various orders, and may include different subtypes of adverbials (place, manner, time).

maʔwɨt	ip	ʔɨy	**matet**	**cagárokõmnem**
maʔwɨt	ip	ʔɨy-t	**matet**	**cagárokõm=tem**
man	fish	catch-IND1	**yesterday**	**two=ADVZ**

'The man caught two fish yesterday.'

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ma ʔwǐ	ip	ʔǐy	cagárokõmnem	matet
ma ʔwǐ	ip	ʔǐy-t	cagárokõmnem	matet
man	fish	catch-IND1	two=ADVZ	yesterday

'The man caught two fish yesterday.'

ar	atati		ba ʔpiktem	meŋǐk	to	
at	a ʔ=ta-ti-t		pa ʔpik=tem	meŋǐk	to	
3SG	3SG=COM-go-IND1		lots.of=ADVZ	there	X	

'He brought lots of it over there.'

Postpositional phrases usually occur immediately after the verb phrase. As a group, adverbial phrases thus tend to occur at the ends of clauses.

war	owã	ŋa	bakán	okɔy
wat	owã	ŋa	pakát-t	o=kɔy
1SG=POSS	mother CL.FEM		angry-IND1	1SG=DAT

'My mother was angry at me.'

war	owã	ŋa	bakán	okɔy	matet
wat	owã	ŋa	pakát-t	o=kɔy	matet
1SG=POSS	mother CL.FEM		angry-IND1	1SG=DAT	yesterday

'My mother was angry at me yesterday.'

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war	owã	ŋa	bakán	okɔy...
wat	owã	ŋa	pakát-t	o=kɔy
1SG=POSS	motherCL.FEM		angry-IND1	1SG=DAT

˙My mother was angry at me...

...matet	péŋ	at	kaʔa	ʔa	pe?
matet	péŋ	at	kaʔa	ʔaʔ	pe?
yesterday	white.man	POSS	house	CL.RD	LOC

... yesterday at the white man's house.'

4.4 TENSE

Tense in Karo is marked only analytically. Past tense is marked by two particles and future is marked by two particles and one auxiliary. None of these markers is obligatory in the sentences of Karo. Their presence serves to reinforce the past or future occurrence of an event or state. In the sections below I describe each of these tenses in detail.

4.4.1 PAST

Two particles are employed in Karo to signal that an action or state occurred in the past, with the present moment as the point of reference: *co*, used for actions in the recent or simple past, and *kán*, used for actions in the remote or mythological past. The cut-off point for the use of one or another particle seems to be vague. Examples of *kán* were found to describe situations occurring 10-15 years before, a century earlier, and in mythic times.

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púŋ	*wet*			**co**
púŋ	*o=ʔe-t*			**co**
shoot	1SG=AUX-IND1			**PAST**

'I shot.'

eken		*ahyə*	**co**	*bãttem*
e=ket-t		*ahyə*	**co**	*pãt=tem*
2SG=sleep-IND1		INTERR	**PAST**	beautiful=ADVZ

'Did you sleep well?'

õn	*ĩriŋ*	*macéri*		**gán**
õn	*ĩriŋ*	*ma-céri-t*		**kán**
1SG	girl	CAUS-heal-IND1		**RPAST**

'I healed the girl (long ago).'

co and *kán* may co-occur with semantically compatible time adverbials.

iyõm	*ŋen*		**co**	**matet**
iyõm	*ket-t*		**co**	**matet**
father	sleep-IND1		**PAST**	**yesterday**

'father slept yesterday'

iʔyat	*yaʔmo*	*ci*	*káʔ*	*ʔor*	*iʔke*	**werem**	**ŋán**
iʔyat	*yaʔmo*	*ci*	*káʔ*	*ʔo-t*	*iʔke*	**werem**	**kán**
1PL.INCL	sweet.potato	water	CL.CCV	eat-IND1	NEG	**firstly**	**RPAST**

'In the beginning we did not eat sweet potato soup.'

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toto	*ibetõ*	**mɨ̇y**	**mãm**	**ŋán**
toto	*i=betõ*	**mɨ̇y**	**mãm**	**kán**
grandfather	3IMP-tell	**long.ago**	X	RPAST

'It was grandfather who told (the story) long ago.'

Only the past marker *co* was found to co-occur with future markers, meaning a future with reference to the past. Two types of futures occur with *co*, the auxiliary future *-kap* and the particle *yat*.

war	*icɨ*	*ʔara*	**okay**		*co*
wat	*icɨ*	*ʔat-a*	**o=kap-t**		*co*
1SG.POSS	water	bring-GER	1SG=AUX.FUT-IND1	PAST

'I was going to bring my water.'

iyõm	**ikap**		*towenaoba*	*co*
iyõm	**i=kap-ap**		*to=penaop-a*	*co*
father	3IMP=AUX.FUT-IND2	3R=dance-GER	PAST

'Dad was going to dance.'

õn	*cɨm*	*yegat*	**yat**	*co*
õn	*cɨm*	*yega-t*	**yat**	*co*
1SG	meat	hunt-IND1	FUT	PAST

'I was going to hunt.'

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õn	owirap	tĩn	yat	co
õn	o=wirap	tĩ-t	yat	co
1SG	1SG=food	cook-IND1	**FUT**	**PAST**

'I was going to cook my food.'

It is common in Karo to find occurrences of both past markers in the same clause[38]. In all of the cases found so far, the simple past marker *co* occurs before the remote past marker *kán*.

wat	kaná	rakɔga	wet	co	kán
wat	kaná	takɔk-a	o=ʔe-t	co	kán
1SG.POSS	thing	COMIT-walk-GER	1SG=AUX-IND1	**PAST**	**RPAST**

'I had my things long ago.'

õn	opit		mɔy	mãm	co	kán
õn	o=pi-t		mɔy	mãm	co	kán
1SG	1SG=perforate-IND1	long	X	**PAST**	**RPAST**

'I took the vaccine long ago'

4.4.2 FUTURE

There are three different ways in which future time is indicated in Karo: 1) by means of a future auxiliary *kap*, 2) by means of a particle *yat*, and 3) by means of another particle *iga*.

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[38] I am not certain of the specific meaning of this type of occurrence besides the clear past meaning.

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4.4.2.1 THE FUTURE AUXILIARY *KAP*

The future auxiliary *kap* is employed to indicate that an event is about to occur ('immediate or proximate future'). *kap* occurs with the /-p/ and /-t/ indicative moods, under the usual circumstances: /-p/ is used when an element of the clause is put into focus, and /-t/ is employed in all other environments.

In constructions with the auxiliary *kap*, the verb which specifies the main action or event (either a transitive or intransitive verb) always occurs in a separate clause and takes the non-finite form of the gerund. (*kap* forms a verb phrase on its own.)

Like other constructions involving dependent clauses, future constructions with *kap* show behavioral evidence of a subject category. The subject of the future auxiliary is always coreferential with the subject of the associated full verb. The marking of the subject of the non-finite verb is expressed with a special coreferential proclitic if the verb is intransitive, and omitted if the verb is transitive.

In the first type of construction, the intransitive verb in the gerund form occurs first, followed by a Noun Phrase + AUXILIARY FUTURE, which receives the indicative mood marking.

tokera	[ma ʔwɨ	cú]	kay
to=ket-a	[ma ʔwɨ	cú]	kap-t
3R=sleep-GER	[man	big]	AUX.FUT-IND1

'The big man is going to sleep.'

```
┌──────────────────────┐
│                      ▼
owɨya                  okay

o=wɨy-a                o=kap-t

1SG=leave-GER          1SG=AUX.FUT-IND1
```

'I am going to leave.'

In cases where the verb is transitive, a personal proclitic is also attached to it, but it marks the absolutive argument of the sentence. The ergative argument, which is always coreferential with the person of the subject of the future auxiliary, is omitted.

```
   ┌────────────────────────────────────────┐
   │                                        ▼
(Ø)    mãygãra    wĩa      [wat      owẽ]   kay

(Ø)    mãygãra    wĩ-a     [wat      owẽ]   kap-t

(Ø)    snake      kill-GER [1SG.POSS child] AUX.FUT-IND1
```

'My son is going to kill a/the snake.'

```
   ┌──────────────────────┐
   │                      ▼
(Ø)    aʔoba     cúrem      aʔkay

(Ø)    aʔ=toba   cúrem      aʔ=kap-t

(Ø)    3SG=see-IND1 big=ADVZ 3SG=AUX.FUT-IND1
```

'He is going to see it well.'

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Future constructions with *kap* may also be negated with the negative particle *i?ke*. In these cases, the negative particle occurs in the clause which contains the non-finite verb (either intransitive or transitive).
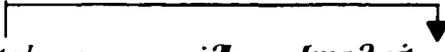
```
┌──────────────────────────┐
│                          ▼
tokera          i?ke    [ma?wít       cú]      gay

to=ket-a        i?ke    [ma?wít       cú]      kap-t

3R=sleep-GER NEG  [man             big]     AUX.FUT-IND1
```
'The big man is not going to sleep.'

```
┌──────────────────────┐
│                      ▼
owíya           i?ke    okay

o=wíy-a         i?ke    o=kap-t

1SG=leave-GER         NEG    1SG=AUX.FUT-IND1
```
'I am not going to leave.'
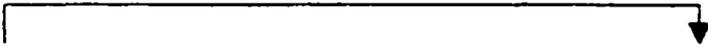
```
  ┌───────────────────────────────────┐
  │                                   ▼
(Ø)     mãygãra     wía      i?ke    [war       owé]    gay

(Ø)     mãygãra     wí-a     i?ke    [wat       owé]    kap-t

(Ø)     snake       kill-GER   NEG    [1SG.POSS     child]  AUX.FUT-IND1
```
'My son is not going to kill a/the snake.'

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(Ø)	*aʔoba*	*iʔke*	*cúrem*	*aʔkay*
(Ø)	*aʔ=top-a*	*iʔke*	*cú=tem*	*aʔ=kap-t*
(Ø)	3SG=see-IND1	NEG	big=ADVZ	3SG=AUX.FUT-IND1

'He is not going to see it well.'

4.4.2.2 THE FUTURE PARTICLE *YAT*

The second type of future is marked by the particle *yat*, which is employed to mark simple future. In constructions with *yat*, the main verb or auxiliary takes the indicative mood form. *yat* then occurs at the end of the clause.

ameko cú	*yaʔwan*	*yat*
ameko cú	*yaʔwat-t*	*yat*
jaguar big	leave.IND1	FUT

'The big jaguar will leave.'

õn	*aʔoy*	*yat*
õn	*aʔop-t*	*yat*
1SG	3SG=see-IND1	FUT

'I will see him/it.'

yat also occurs referring to nouns in noun phrases, meaning [future N].

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wat	kaʔa	ʔa	yat
wat	kaʔa	ʔaʔ	yat
1SG.POSS	house	CL.RD	FUT

'My future house.'

aʔcey	ɲa	yat
aʔ=cey	ŋa	yat
3SG=wife	CL.FEM	FUT

'his future wife'

The future particle *yat* may also occur with the negative particle *iʔke*. In these cases, the latter particle follows the former.

ameko cú	yaʔwan	nyat	iʔke
ameko cú	yaʔwat-t	yat	iʔke
jaguar big	leave.IND1	FUT	NEG

'The big jaguar will not leave.'

õn	aʔtoy	yar	iʔke
õn	aʔ=top-t	yat	iʔke
1SG	3SG=see-IND1	FUT	NEG

'I will not see him/it.'

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4.4.2.3 THE FUTURE PARTICLE *IGA*

The last type of future employs the particle *iga*, and is used to mark simple future exclusively in negative-interrogative clauses[39]. In these clauses, the negative particle *taykit* occurs first, followed by the transitive or intransitive verb in a finite form with indicative marking.

taykir	*at*	*aʔoy*	*iga*
taykit	*at*	*aʔ=top-t*	*iga*
NEG	3SG	3SG=see-IND1	FUT

'Isn't he going to see it/him?'

---

[39] I have found a few examples where *iga* is also employed in complex sentences with purposive meaning (cf. the examples below), but at present I do not have knowledge of this use in other types of complex clauses (temporal and/or cause). Some of the few examples I found are:

oyaʔvara	*okay*	*oken*	*iga*	*or*
o=yaʔvar-a	*o=kap-t*	*o=ket-t*	*iga*	
1SG=leave-GER	1SG=FUT	1SG=sleep-IND1	FUT	

'I am going to leave to sleep'

oyaʔwan	*nyat*	*oken*	*iga*
o=yaʔwat-t	*yat*	*o=ket-t*	*iga*
1SG-leave-IND1	FUT	1SG=sleep-IND1	FUT

'I will leave to sleep'

oyaʔvara	*okay*	*aʔoy*	*iga*	*or*
o=yaʔwar-a	*o=kap-t*	*aʔ=top-t*	*iga*	
1SG=leave-GER	1SG=FUT-IND1	1SG=sleep-IND1	FUT	

'I am going to leave to see him/it'

oyaʔwan	*nyar*	*aʔoy*	*iga*
o=yaʔwat-t	*yat*	*aʔ=top-t*	*iga*
1SG-leave-IND1	FUT	3SG=see-IND1	FUT

'I will leave to see him/it'

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taykir	a ʔken		iga
taykit	a ʔ=ket-t		iga
NEG	3SG=sleep-IND1		FUT

'Isn't he going to sleep?'

4.5 NEGATION

Negation in Karo is marked by means of three different particles, *i ʔke*, *yahmãm*, and *taykit*. Each particle occurs with a different type of clause and is described in detail in the subsections below.

4.5.1 THE NEGATIVE PARTICLE *I ʔKE*

The negative particle *i ʔke* is the most frequent. It appears in declarative and future clauses. In declarative clauses, *i ʔke* occurs in different places of the clause, depending on the scope of the negation. When its scope is over ergative or absolutive noun phrases, adverbial phrases, or postpositional phrases, these phrases occur in focus position at the beginning of the clause followed by the negative particle *i ʔke*. The different occurrences of *i ʔke* with different types of constituents in a clause are described in the items below.

1) When the scope of negation is over the whole clause (or proposition), the negative particle occurs after the verb phrase:

oken	i ʔke
oket-t	i ʔke
1SG=sleep-IND1	NEG

'I did not sleep.'

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ar	*otoy*	*iʔke*
at	*o=top-t*	*iʔke*
3SG	1SG=see-IND1	NEG

'He/it did not see me.'

2) When the scope of negation is over the ergative argument, the negative particle occurs immediately after it, at the beginning of the clause:

[õn	*iʔke]*	*mãygãra*	*roy*
[õn	*iʔke]*	*mãygãra*	*top-t*
[1SG	NEG]	snake	see-IND1

'It wasn't me who saw the snake.'

[ar	*owẽ*	*rab*	*iʔke]*	*ewirup*	*ʔot*
[at	*owẽ*	*tap*	*iʔke]*	*e=wirup*	*ʔo-t*
[3SG.POSS	child]	ASSOC	NEG	2SG=food	eat-IND1

'It wasn't his children who ate your food.'

3) When the scope of negation is over the absolutive argument, the absolutive argument appears in focus position at the beginning of the clause followed by the negative particle *iʔke*. The verb (transitive or intransitive) takes the impersonal proclitic *i=* and the unmarked form:

[mãygãra	*iʔke]*	*õn*	*itop*
[mãygãra	*iʔke]*	*õn*	*itop*
[snake	NEG]	1SG	3IMP=see

'It wasn't the/a snake that I saw.'

[naʔo cú   iʔke]   at   iwĩ

[naʔo cú   iʔke]   at   iwĩ

[tapir big   NEG]   3SG   3IMP=kill

'It wasn't a big tapir that he killed.'

[ẽn   iʔke]   ŋa   icát

[ẽn   iʔke]   ŋa   i=cát

[2SG   NEG]   3SG.FEM   3IMP=wash

'It wasn't you that she washed.'

[õn   iʔke]   at   icapé

[õn   iʔke]   at   icapé

[1SG   NEG]   3SG   3IMP=beat

'It was not me that he beat.'

[maʔpəy   pãt   iʔke]   iyaʔwat

[maʔpəy   pãt   iʔke]   i=yaʔwat

[woman   beautiful   NEG]   3IMP=leave

'It wasn't the beautiful woman who left.'

[õn   iʔke]   iket

[õn   iʔke]   iket

[1SG   NEG]   3IMP=sleep

'It wasn't me who slept.'

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4) When the scope of negation is over the postpositional phrase, this phrase appears in focus position at the beginning of the clause followed by the negative particle. The auxiliary ʔe with the –p indicative mood occurs after the [postpositional phrase + NEG], followed by a transitive or intransitive verb in the gerund form. The subject of the auxiliary is coreferential with the subject of the transitive or intransitive verb:

owakán	iʔke	ekəy
o=pakát-t	iʔke	e=kəy
1SG=be.angry.IND1	NEG	2SG=DAT

'I am not angry with you.'   cf.

[ekəy	iʔke]	wep	owakára
[e=kəy	iʔke]	o=ʔe-p	o=pakát-a
[2SG=DAT	NEG]	1SG=AUX-IND2	1SG=be.angry-GER

'It is not with you that I am angry'

ōn	aʔoy	iʔke	at	kaʔa	ʔa	peʔ
ōn	aʔ=top-t	iʔke	at	kaʔa	ʔaʔ	peʔ
1SG	3SG=see-IND1	NEG	3SG.POSS	house	CL.RD	LOC

'I did not see him/it at his house.'   cf.

[at	kaʔa	ʔa	peʔ	iʔke]	wep	aʔoba
[at	kaʔa	ʔaʔ	peʔ	iʔke]	o=ʔe-p	aʔ=top-a
[3SG.POSS	house	CL.RD	LOC	NEG]	1SG=AUX-IND2	3SG=see-GER

'It was not at his house that I saw him/it.'

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5) When the scope of negation is over the adverbial phrase, the adverbial phrase is also focused, and the same changes described above for the postpositional phrase occur:

pắttem	*i?ke*	*web*	*okera*[40]		
pắt=tem	*i?ke*	*o=?e-p*	*o=ket-a*		
beautiful=ADVZ	NEG	1SG=AUX-IND2	1SG=sleep-GER		

'It was not nicely that I slept.'

mekõm	*i?ke*	*i?yat*	*kotigap*	*m?y*	*mãm*
mekõm	*i?ke*	*i?yat*	*kotiga-p*	*m?y*	*mãm*
like.this	NEG	1PL.INCL	say-IND2	long.ago	X

'It is/was not like this that ours (relatives) use to tell in old times.'

6) In predicate adjective constructions, when the scope of negation falls on the whole predication, the negative particle occurs immediately after the Adjective + Adverbializer:

pắttem	*i?ke*	*õn*
pắt=tem	*i?ke*	*õn*
beautiful=ADVZ	NEG	1SG

'I am not beautiful.'

---

[40] A construction with similar meaning where no auxiliary occurs is:

oken	*i?ke*	*pắttem*
oket-t	*i?ke*	*pắt=tem*
1SG=sleep-IND1	NEG	beautiful=ADVZ

'I did not sleep nicely/well.'

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pa ʔpiktem	i ʔke	war		owẽ	rap
pa ʔpik=tem	i ʔke	wat		owẽ	tap
many=ADVZ	NEG	1SG.POSS		child	ASSOC

'My children are not many (children).'

On the other hand, when the scope of negation falls on the noun described, the noun is put into focus, followed by the negative particle and the adjective + adverbializer:

ar	i ʔke	páttem		cf.	*páttem at i ʔke
at	i ʔke	pát=tem			
3SG	NEG	beautiful=ADVZ			

'It is not him who is beautiful.'

war	owẽ rab	i ʔke ba ʔpiktem		cf.	*pa ʔpiktem wat owe tap i ʔke
wat	owẽ tap	i ʔke pa ʔpik=tem			
1SG.POSS	child ASSOC	NEG many=ADVZ			

'It is not my children who are many.'

7) Finally, when the negation occurs in a predicate nominal construction, the negative particle occurs at the end of the predicative noun phrase:

ma ʔpɔy	i ʔke	a ʔnãn
ma ʔpɔy	i ʔke	a ʔ=nã-n
woman	NEG	3SG=COP-IND1

'He/it is not a woman/female.'

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| péŋ | mecéb i ʔke | a ʔnãn |

| péŋ | pecép i ʔke | a ʔnã-n |

| white.man | ugly | NEG | 3SG=COP-IND1 |

'He is not an ugly white man.'

In future clauses, *i ʔke* also occurs in different places, depending on the type of future marker. (A complete description of future markers was provided in section 4.4.2 above.)

When *i ʔke* is in a future clause with the auxiliary future *kap*, it occurs at the end of the non-finite verb phrase.

| okera | i ʔke | okay |

| o=ket-a | i ʔke | o=kap-t |

| 1SG=sleep-GER | NEG | 1SG=AUX.FUT-IND1 |

'I am not going to sleep.'

| cĩm | cára | i ʔke | a ʔkay |

| cĩm | cát-a | i ʔke | a ʔ=kap-t |

| meat | wash-GER | NEG | 3SG=AUX.FUT-IND1 |

'He is not going to wash his prey.'

When *i ʔke* is in a future clause with the future particle *yat*, it occurs immediately after *yat*.

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aʔvɨy		yat	iʔke	
aʔ=wɨy-t		yat	iʔke	
3SG=go.out-IND1		FUT	NEG	

'He will not go out.'

õn	aʔoy	yat	iʔke	páttem
õn	aʔ=top-t	yat	iʔke	pát=tem
1SG	3SG=see-IND1	FUT	NEG	beautiful=ADVZ

'I will not see it/him nicely.'

4.5.2 THE NEGATIVE PARTICLE *YAHMÃM*

The negative particle *yahmãm* is employed in imperatives and information questions.

In imperative clauses, the main verb takes the indicative mood form and the negative particle follows it. (In unmarked imperative clauses the verb appears in the gerund form.)

ewét	yahmãm
e=wé-t	yahmãm
2SG=cry-IND1	NEG

'Don't cry!'

karokéran	yahmãm
karo=kérat-t	yahmãm
2PL=sleep-IND1	NEG

'Don't sleep (you PL.)!'

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ayowan	yahmãm
aʔ=yowat-t	yahmãm
3SG=leave-IND1	NEG

'Don't leave it.'

cĩm	yegat	yahmãm	tẽna
cĩm	yek-at	yahmãm	tẽna
meat	look.for-IND1	NEG	now

'Don't hunt now!'

In information questions, the negative particle occurs after the main verb or auxiliary, which appears in the indicative mood[41]:

kõm	ar	otoy	yahmãm
kõm	at	o=top-t	yahmãm
how	3SG	1SG=see-IND1	NEG

'How (come) he did not see me?'

kõm	péŋ	ʔet	nyahmãm	apik
kõm	péŋ	ʔe-t	yahmãm	aʔ=pik
how	white.man	AUX-IND1	NEG	3SG=ALL

'How (come) the white man did not go with him/it?'

---

[41] Some speakers seem to employ the gerund form –a on the verb of the second clause as in:

kanape	wep	omatia	yahmãm
kanape	o=ʔe-p	o=ma-ti-a	yahmãm
here(?)	1SG=AUX-IND2	1SG=CAUS-go-GER	NEG

'I did not come here.'

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When an auxiliary plus a transitive or intransitive verb co-occur in question information clauses, they are both marked with the indicative mood marker, but the auxiliary has the allomorph /-p/.

kɨganape	*ap*		*naʔo roy*		*yahmãm*
kɨganape	*aʔ=ʔe-p*		*naʔo ʈop-ʈ*		*yahmãm*
where	3SG=AUX-IND2		tapir	see-IND1	NEG

'Where did he not see the tapir?'

kɨganape	*ep*		*eken*		*yahmãm*
kɨganape	*e=ʔe-p*		*e=keʈ-ʈ*		*yahmãm*
where	2SG=AUX-IND2		2SG=sleep-IND1		NEG

'Where did you not sleep?'

4.5.3 THE NEGATIVE PARTICLE *TAYKIT*

The last type of negative marker is the particle *taykit*, which is used in yes/no questions. In these constructions, *taykit* occurs at the beginning of the clause, and the main verb appears in the gerund form.

taykir	*iʔwirup*		*toba*
taykit	*iʔ=wirup*		*ʈop-a*
NEG	1PL.INCL=food		see-GER

'Aren't/weren't (you) watching our food?'

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taykir	*ekera*		*et*		*ka?a*	*?a*	*pe?*
taykit	*e=ket-a*		*et*		*ka?a*	*?a?*	*pe?*
NEG	2SG=sleep-GER		2SG.POSS		house	CL.RD	LOC

'Weren't you sleeping at your house?'

taykit	*péŋ*	*ekiga*	
taykit	*péŋ*	*e=kiga-a*	
NEG	white.man	2SG=hold-GER	

'Isn't/wasn't the white man holding you?'

taykit may also co-occur with the future marker *iga*, producing:

taykit	*eyamoy*	*iga*
taykit	*e=yamoy-t*	*iga*
NEG	2SG=bathe-IND1	FUT

'Aren't you going to bathe?'

taykit	*ebia?an*	*iga*	*mɨrɨrɨy*	*kɔy*
taykit	*e=pia?at-t*	*iga*	*mɨrɨrɨy*	*kɔy*
NEG	2SG=be.afraid-IND1	FUT	toad	DAT

'Aren't you going to be afraid of the toad?'

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4.6 Reported speech

Only direct speech occurs in Karo. Direct speech is marked by a noun phrase, which specifies the speaker, followed by ʔe 'to say/do' in the indicative mood form. The sequence NP + ʔe occurs at the end of the quotation, generally in a separate intonation break. A postpositional phrase or an adverbial phrase may also occur following the sequence [NP + ʔe].

mɔy	yét	maʔpɔy	ŋa		waʔye	cán	nã	makɨra,
mɔy	yét	maʔpɔy	ŋa		waʔye	cán	nã	ma-kɨ-a
then	this	woman	CL.FEM		AUX	fire	CL	CAUS-fire-GER

'"Then this woman started a fire",

war	iyõm	ʔet	(okɔy	matet)
wat	iyõm	ʔet	(o=kɔy	matet)
1SG.POSS	father AUX-IND1		(1SG=DAT	yesterday)

my father said (to me yesterday).'

4.7 Clause combining

Clauses in Karo can be combined in two ways to form a sentence: 1) by juxtaposition of two or more clauses (clause chaining) and 2) by a complex construction of two clauses where one is more dependent on the other (subordination).

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Clause chaining differs from subordination in two ways: 1) clause chaining does not employ clause connectors, whereas clause subordination does; 2) chained clauses always share the same subject, whereas subordination may involve different subjects.

Clause chaining itself differs from serial verb constructions in two ways: 1) the different clauses being combined correspond to different events and not to a single event, a feature of clause chaining and not of verb serialization, and 2) there is a clear boundary among the clauses being combined (indicated by modal suffixes attached to the verbs or predicates), whereby a clause can be easily recognized as finite in oppositon to other non-finite clauses. (Finite clauses take the indicative modal suffix –t while non-finite clauses take the gerund modal suffix –a.)

4.7.1 CLAUSE CHAINING

Two or more clauses in Karo may be conjoined to form a sentence. The number of clauses in a sentence can be measured by the number of predicates with modal suffixes. Thus, an argument (either nominal or pronominal) plus an auxiliary alone may form a clause, since the auxiliary has a modal suffix attached to it[42].

Only one of the conjoined clauses has finite verbal morphology, which is indicated by the presence of the indicative suffixes –t or –p on the verb or auxiliary. Other clauses, if more than one is present, are non-finite, and their verbal morphology carries the gerund suffix –a. Generally, finite clauses appear last in the chain.

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[42] Further evidence that only these two constituents form a clause comes from the fact that they can stand alone and show the same syntactic behavior as other simple clauses.

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Clause chaining, furthermore, exhibits a clear grammatical nominative-accusative pattern. In order for conjoined clauses to occur in Karo they **must** share the same subject: non-finite clauses always have the same subject as finite clauses, whether intransitive or transitive. (When there is a change in subject, another, new, clause is started, and its predicate is in the finite form.)

There are two ways in which the same subject of a non-finite clause in Karo clause chaining is marked. If the non-finite clause is *intransitive*, its (absolutive) subject is marked by the special set of coreferential pronominal clitics, whereas if the non-finite clause clause is *transitive*, the (ergative) subject is omitted. The sentence below exemplifies both ways of marking same subjects in clause chaining.

Ø	ci	ba?pe	mawiga,			
Ø	ci	pa?pe	ma-wik-a			
Ø	water	edge	CAUS-be.dirty-GER			

'(He) dirtied the edge of the water,'

Ø	ci	minirĩ	?a	mõm	mawiya,
Ø	ci	minirĩ	?a	mõm	ma-wiy-a
Ø	water	bubble	CL.RD	only	CAUS-go.out-GER

'(he) made the water bubbles to come up,'

Ø	ŋaramãya,
Ø	ŋa=ta-mãy-a
Ø	3SG.FEM=COMIT-bring-GER

'(he) took her (in),'

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Ø   ŋaʔóa,

Ø   ŋa=ʔó-a

Ø   3SG.FEM=eat-GER

'(he) ate her,'

toyãy ʔa binõ ya,

to=yãy ʔaʔ pinõ ya-a

3R=tooth CL.RD noise leave-GER

'(he) cracked his own teeth'

at.

aʔ=ʔe-t

3SG=AUX-IND1

'He (the alligator) did.'

A mixture of clause chaining and subordination (see section below on subordintation) may also occur in Karo sentences.

iʔtə	maʔpəy	ŋa	cet	maʔã	iʔke	nãnin,
iʔtə	maʔpəy	ŋa	cet	maʔã-a	iʔke	nãnin
1PL.INCL	woman	CL.FEM	name	call-GER	NEG	EVID

'We really cannot call the woman's name,

naco	ʔerem	ye		kanãp	iʔkəga
naco	ʔerem	i=ʔe		kanãp	iʔ=kək-a
forest	DISP	1PL.INCL=AUX		TIME	1PL.INCL=walk-GER

'when we walk through the forest.'

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4.7.2 SUBORDINATION

Two clauses may also combine in such a way that one clause is dependent (or subordinated) on another. In Karo, subordination is a process whereby a connection between two clauses is established, where one (dependent) clause bears some sort of circumstantial relation with another (main) clause. There is always a connector (conjunction) to mark the relation of dependency, and the verb in the subordinate clause is always non-finite.

Three types of circumstantial relations can be differentiated among Karo clauses[43], marked by three types of connectors 1) time, marked with *kanãp* 'after, while, when'; 2) purpose, marked with *nãt* 'in order to/for'; and 3) cause, marked with *yɔye* 'because'.

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[43] I have found a few examples of a possible fourth type of subordination, marked with *wetik*, *yatik* or simply *tik*. Its precise meaning remains undetermined. (It may be a conditional subordinator.) In these examples, I observed little formal distinction between main (finite) and subordinate (non-finite) clauses, since the predicates in both are marked with the same indicative modal suffix –*t*:

abakán	ekɔy	[ɲatoy	tik	toʔwa]
aʔ=pakát-t	e=kɔy	[ɲa=top-t	tik	to=ʔe-a]
3SG=be.angry-IND1	2SG=DAT	[3SG.FEM=see.IND1	X	3R=AUX-GER]

'He would be angry at you because/if? you did not (come to) see her'

owakán	ekɔy	téna	[otoy	tik	wa]
o=pakát-t	e=kɔy	téna	[o=top-t	tik	o=ʔe-a]
1SG=be.angry-IND1	2SG=DAT	now	[1SG=see.IND1	X	1SG=AUX-GER]

'I would be angry at you if? you did not (come to) see me'

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4.7.2.1 TIME

Constructions which express a temporal relation between events in a sentence are marked by the subordinator *kanãp*. This relation can be either simultaneous (e.g. 'while/when doing this s/he did that') or sequential (e.g. 'after doing this s/he did that'). The verb in the subordinate clause always takes the gerund form, while that in the main clause can take either the indicative or the unmarked form.

oya ʔwan	a ʔkera	kanãp
o=ya ʔwat-t	a ʔ=ket-a	kanãp
1SG=leave-IND1	3SG=sleep-GER	TIME

'I left when he slept.'

õn	a ʔtop	mãm	at	towirap	ʔo	kanãp
õn	a ʔ=top	mãm	at	to=wirap	ʔo	kanãp
1SG	3SG=see	X	3SG	3R=food	eat.GER	TIME

'I stayed watching it/him while he ate his food.'

As in clause chaining, when the clauses in complex sentences share the same subject, the subject of the dependent clause is expressed in a special way. Absolutive subjects of intransitive clauses are represented by special coreferential clitics[44].

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[44] Although at first sight this type of marking could be thought as a switch-reference system, in fact it is not. When different subjects occur they do not occur in clause a chain, but in different sentences.

200
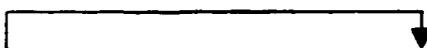
péŋ   ya ʔwan   *[towéya   kanãp]*

péŋ   ya ʔwat-t   *[to=wé-a   kanãp]*

white.man   leave-IND1   [3R=cry-GER   TIME]

'The white man left when he cried.'
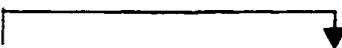
õn   a ʔwĩn   *[owepak-a   kanãp]*

õn   a ʔ=wĩ-n   *[o=pepak-a   kanãp]*

1SG   3SG=kill   [1SG=wake.up-GER   TIME]

'I killed it/him when I woke up.'

Ergative subjects of transitive clauses are not overtly specified in the subordinate clause at all.
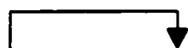
wĩt   wĩaw   a ʔwa ʔye   *[Ø   at   chapéu ká?   to   kanãp]*

wĩt   wĩaw   a ʔ=wa ʔye   *[Ø   at   chapéu ká?   top   kanãp]*

whistlewhistle3SG=AUX   [(3SG)   3SG.POSS   hat   CL.CCV   see   TIME]

'He whistled when he saw his hat.'
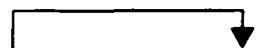
õn   a ʔwĩn   *[Ø   a ʔ=to   kanãp]*

õn   a ʔ=wĩ-t   *[Ø   a ʔ=top   kanãp]*

1SG   3SG=kill-IND1   [(3SG)   3SG=see   TIME]

'I killed it/him when I saw it/him.'

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When the subjects are not coreferential, either a new overt subject (with transitive verbs) or a normal, non-coreferential pronominal clitic (with intransitive verbs) occurs.

↓   ↓

owe ?c ̇n   *[at*   *oto*   *kanãp]*

o=pe ?c ̇n-t   *[at*   *o=top-a*   *kanãp]*

1SG=run-IND1 [3SG   1SG=see-GER TIME]

'I ran when he/it saw me.'

↓   ↓

mõm *a?wa?ye*   *[péŋ*   *manẽ* *ya*   *kanãp]*

mõm *a?=wa?ye*   *[péŋ*   *manẽ* *ya-a*   *kanãp]*

look 3SG=AUX   [**white.man** whole stand.up-GER TIME]

'He looked when the man entirely stood up.'

↓   ↓

ŋa   *otoy*   *i?ke* *[okera*   *kanãp]*

ŋa   *o=top-t*   *i?ke* *[o=ket-a*   *kanãp]*

3SG.FEM   3SG=see-IND1 NEG [1SG=sleep-GER   TIME]

'She did not see me when I slept.'

↓   ↓

õn *a?toy*   *[agóa?pǝt* *a?wĩ*   *kanãp]*

õn *a?=top-t*   *[agóa?pǝt* *a?=wĩ*   *kanãp]*

1SG 3SG=see-IND1 [**shaman**   3SG=kill-GER TIME]

'I saw it/him when the shaman killed it/him.'

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4.7.2.2 PURPOSE

In purposive constructions, the event represented in the subordinate clause serves as the purpose for the event represented in the main clause. The purposive clause is marked by the conjunction *nãt* and occurs after the main clause. The verb in a purposive clause is unmarked for mood. The auxiliary *ʔe* also occurs at the end of the whole sentence, in the gerund form. The subject of this auxiliary is always coreferential with the subject of the main clause.

aʔti	[Ø	toat	macaʔii	wĩ	nãt	toʔwa]
aʔti-t	[Ø	toat	macaʔii	wĩ	nãt	to=ʔe-a]
3SG=come.IND1	[(3SG)	3SG.POSS	animal	kill	PURP	3R=AUX-GER]

'He came to kill his animals.'

oyaʔwan	[ocaʔyõk	nãt	wa]
o=yaʔwat-t	[o=caʔyõk	nãt	o=ʔe-a]
1SG=leave-IND1	[1SG=be.drunk	PURP	1SG=AUX-GER]

'I left to get drunk.'
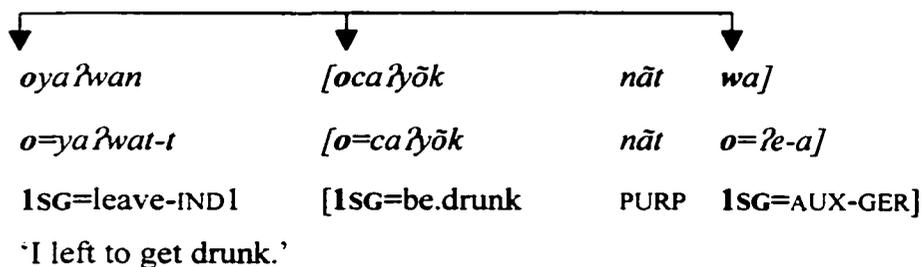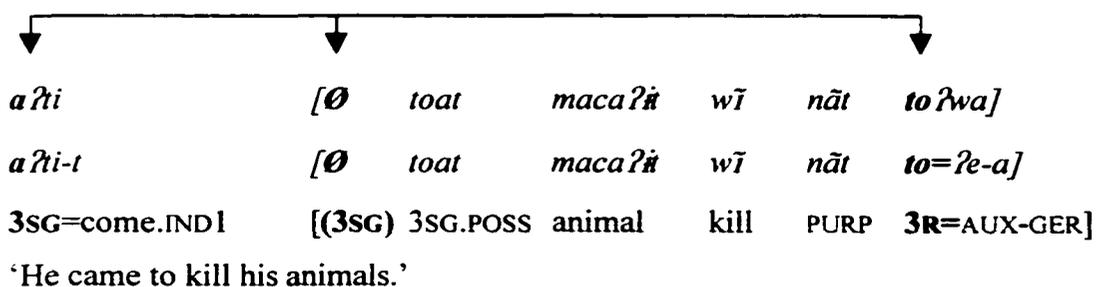
In some other cases, it may happen that the purposive clause occurs first in the sentence, when highlighting is desired. In these cases, the purposive clause is the main clause, since its verb shows the indicative verb mood, and the other clause is the dependent, since its verb occurs in the gerund form and has the special coreferential clitic pronoun.

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```
 ┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
 │                                     ▼
[ at      toat      maca?ñ      wĩn      nãt]     totia

[ at      toat      maca?ñ      wĩ-n     nãt]     to=ti-a

[3SG      3SG.POSS  animal      kill-IND1  PURP]   3R=come-GER
```
'(In order) to kill his animals he came.'
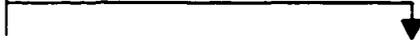
```
 ┌────────────────────────────┐
 │                            ▼
[oken              nãt]      oca?yõga

[o=ket-t           nãt]      o=ca?yõk-a

[1SG=sleep-IND1    PURP]     1SG=be.drunk-GER
```
'(In order) to sleep I got drunk.'

Purposive constructions follow a nominative-accusative pattern. When the subject of the purposive and the subject of the other clause are coreferential, they are marked in a special way: coreferential subjects of transitive clauses are omitted, and coreferential subjects of intransitive clauses are marked by a special set of pronominal clitics.
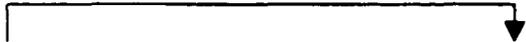
```
 ┌───────────────────────────────┐
 │                               ▼
at      toat      cĩm   nati       [∅    a?cá      nãt    to?wa]

at      toat      cĩm   tati       [∅    a?cá      nãt    to?wa]

3SG     3SG.POSS  meat  bring-IND  [(3SG)  3SG=wash  PURP   3R=AUX-GER]
```
'He brought his hunt to wash it.'

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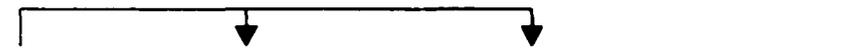
```
┌──────────┬──────────────┐
           ▼              ▼
abe ʔc ɨn     [noorawa    nãt     to ʔwa          rãwrem]

abe ʔc ɨt-t   [to=orawa   nãt     to=ʔe-a         tãw=tem]

3SG=run-IND1 [3R=defecate PURP   3R=AUX-GER     far=ADVZ]
```

'He ran to defecate far away.'

As is the case with subordination by time, in subordination by purpose, when the subjects are not coreferential, either a new overt subject (in case of a transitive verb) or a non-coreferential pronominal clitic (in case of an intransitive verb) occurs.

```
 ▼                                    ▼
õn     ŋa          tati             [ẽn     ŋato      nãt    wa]

õn     ŋa          ta-ti            [ẽn     ŋa=top    nãt    o=ʔe-a]

1SG    3SG.FEM     COMIT-come-IND1  [2SG    3SG=see   PURP 1SG=AUX-GER]
```

'I brought her so that you could see her.'

```
 ▼                          ▼
ma ʔwɨt   owin            [owɜy          nã     nãt     to ʔwa]

ma ʔwɨt   o=wit-t         [o=wɜy         nã     nãt     to=ʔe-a]

man       1SG=feed-IND1   [1SG=grow.up   COP    PURP    3R=AUX-GER]
```

'The man fed me so that I would grow up.'

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ebe ʔcɨn	[wat	iyõm	eto	nãr	a]
ebe ʔcɨn	[wat	iyõm	eto	nãt	ʔa]
2SG=run-IND1	[1SG.POSS FATHER		2SG=see	PURP	2SG=AUX-GER]

'You ran so that my father could see you.'

4.7.2.3 CAUSE

Causal constructions in Karo are formed with the conjunction *yɔye*[45]. In these constructions the event specified by the semantically dependent clause represents the cause of the event expressed in the main clause. The clauses of causal constructions remain formally more independent of each other than those of the subordinate constructions. This can be seen in the examples below, where no formal distinction between finite vs. non-finite clause is shown, since they both carry the same indicative mood marker.

oya ʔwan	iʔke	ye	[amãn yat]
o=ya ʔwat-t	iʔke	ye	[amãn ya-t]
1SG=leave-IND1	NEG	CAUSE	[rain fall-IND1]

'Because it rained, I did not leave.'

õn	ŋabean	ye	[ŋa	oya ʔi	nãn]
õn	ŋa=beat-t	ye	[ŋa	o=ya ʔi	nã-n]
1SG	3SG.FEM=marry-IND1	CAUSE	[3SG.FEM	1SG=like	COP-IND1]

'Because she liked me, I married her'

---

[45] *yɔye* is pronounced in casual speech as *ye*.

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In the majority of the examples in my corpus, nevertheless, the semantically dependent clause in cause constructions does not occur sentence-finally (as in the examples above), but rather at the beginning of the sentence. In fact, in these examples, three clauses occur. The first clause, marked with the indicative mood –t, is the cause clause. The second clause, also marked with the indicative mood –t, is the clause where the subject of the sentence is specified. (It seems to have only a grammatical meaning.) And finally, the third clause, marked with the gerund mood –a, expresses the (re)action intended.

[wawwaw	*bay]*	*ye*	*ŋaʔet*		*toyaʔwara*
[wawwaw	*pap-t]*	*ye*	*ŋa=ʔe-t*		*to=yaʔwat-a*
[dog	die-IND1]	CAUSE	3SG.FEM=AUX-IND1		3R=leave-GER

'Because the dog died, she left.'

[ar	*otoy]*	*ye*	*wer*		*oweʔcïra*
[at	*o=top-t]*	*ye*	*o=ʔe-t*		*o=peʔcïï-a*
[3SG	1SG=see-IND1]	CAUSE	1SG=AUX-IND1		1SG=run-GER

'Because he/it saw me, I ran.'

[ŋaken]		*yəye*	*wer*		*oyaʔwara*
[ŋa=ket-t]		*yəye*	*o=ʔe-t*		*o=yaʔwat-a*
[3SG.FEM=sleep-IND1]		CAUSE	1SG=AUX-IND1		1SG=leave-GER

'Because she slept, I left.'

Because I have no examples of cause constructions in which the absolutive argument of the *main* clause is coreferential with the absolutive argument of the *dependent* clause, it was not possible to establish a general pattern of grammatical relations for this type of construction.

CHAPTER 5

THE CLASSIFIER SYSTEM

Karo has a system of classifiers which occur with nouns in noun phrases. In Table 9 below I present the small set of Karo classifiers with the semantic categories to which they belong, their approximate meanings, and morphological glosses. In subsections 5.1 and 5.2, I describe the formal and semantic properties of Karo classifiers, discussing these properties in the light of current typological proposals. Section 5.3 deals with discourse properties of classifiers.

	CLASSIFIER	CATEGORY	MEANING (APPROXIMATE)	MORPH. GLOSS
1.	*pap*	shape	cylindrical, big	CL.CYLB
2.	*ʔɨp*	shape	cylindrical, medium	CL.CYLM
3.	*pɨʔ*	shape	cylindrical, small	CL.CYLS
4.	*peʔ*	shape	flat	CL.FLAT
5.	*cɨʔ*	shape	thin flat	CL.TFLAT
6.	*ʔaʔ*	shape	round	CL.RD
7.	*káʔ*	shape	concave or convex	CL.CCV
8.	*kap*	arrangement	bunch, same source	CL.BSS
9.	*maʔ*	arrangement	bunch, different source	CL.BDS
10.	*ɲa*	gender	feminine	CL.FEM
11.	*nã*[46]	?	?	—

Table 9: The classifiers of Karo

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[46] *nã?* was found to occur with two nouns, 'fire' and 'manioc'. Its meaning remains unknown.

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Some examples of nouns with their correspondent classifiers are:

pap

məga pap	'rat (sp.)'
makara pap	'heron'
parat pap	'fish (sp.)'
paramit pap	'spider'
macõm pap	'shrimp'
maʔpe pap	'basket'
ite pap	'uncle'

ip

motogo ʔip	'monkey (sp.)'
ĩya ʔip	'bird'
imo ʔip	'fish (sp.)'
mate ʔip	'fruit (sp.)'
wáya ʔip	'spoon'
toto ʔip	'grandson'

píʔ

cãp píʔ	'leg'
wakãya píʔ	'rodent (sp.)'
kãram píʔ	'hummingbird'
cawãy píʔ	'fish (sp.)'

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maʔip píʔ	'handle of an axe'
capop píʔ	'tail'

peʔ

magoyapan peʔ	'wild dog'
cibekon peʔ	'vulture'
yaw peʔ	'river ray'
kiriwep peʔ	'butterfly'
pá peʔ	'hand'
pí peʔ	'foot'
koya peʔ	'crab'

cíʔ

wɔwɔ cíʔ	'hand fanner'
tem cíʔ	'wing'
naʔyop cíʔ	'leaf (also: 'money')'

ʔaʔ

naʔto ʔaʔ	'tapir'
wãm ʔaʔ	'bird (sp.)'
ip nakãra ʔaʔ	'fish (sp.)'
koya ʔaʔ	'crayfish'
op ʔaʔ	'papaya'

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wen ʔaʔ	'moon'
kaʔa ʔaʔ	'house'
icagá ʔaʔ	'eye'
móa ʔaʔ	'turtle (sp.)'

káʔ

yaracewak káʔ	'wild pig'
pecía káʔ	'bird (sp.)'
yomĩt káʔ	'palm tree (sp.)'
makóp káʔ	'light bulb'
maʔẽ káʔ	'pot/pan'
yomã káʔ	'thigh'
matek káʔ	'palm tree (sp.)'

kap

ʔõt kap	'caterpillar'
makap kap	'peanut'
iya kap	'gravel'
pĩu kap	'maraca'
yãy kap	'tooth'
yoʔkĩ kap	'palm tree (sp.)'

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ma?

ma?ta ma?	'bean'
cici ma?	'mosquito (sp.)'
koropía ma?	'edible root (sp.)'

ŋa

corap ŋa	'girlfriend'
cey ŋa	'wife'
owã ŋa	'mother'
toto ŋa	'granddaughter'
apəy ŋa	'grandmother'
anãt ŋa	'sister'

nã?

cán nã?	'fire'
mani nã?	'cooked manioc'

5.1 FORMAL PROPERTIES

From a strictly formal point of view, the classifiers of Karo can be categorized as belonging to the class of particles, although it is possible to recognize a nominal or pronominal origin for some of them. *?a?* is also a free noun which means 'fruit', and *ŋa* is also the third person singular feminine pronoun. The phonological and morphological evidence used to establish this categorization is provided below.

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PHONOLOGY: Classifiers in Karo carry their own stress and, in some cases high pitch (cf. in Table 9 eg. 3, 5 and 7).

The phonological alternations that occur with the classifiers in Karo are similar to those of other words. In these, an initial voiceless stop consonant becomes voiced following the vowel of a preceding word. Furthermore, the initial vowel of a particle, noun, verb or adjective causes the voiceless consonant at the end of a preceding word to be voiced.

MORPHOLOGY: No affixation can occur with classifiers in Karo. Classifiers, as well as other particles, do not participate in any process of inflection or derivation.

As is usual in classifier languages, not all nouns in Karo are classifiable. The non-classifiable nouns seem to fall into one of the following categories:

1) intrinsically shapeless referents, like liquids: icɨ 'water', -yu[47] 'blood', -cik 'urine', kuru?cu 'saliva', etc., or powdery substances, like -mõy 'powder', igana 'dirt', etc.;

2) referents whose shape is not perceived as unique or stable, like cimĩto 'shadow', carogĩn 'cloud, smoke', -piru 'footprint', -caki 'slice, piece', cĩm 'meat', -pacop 'paste', -pe?wap 'mash', -wirap 'food', -mõy 'dust, powder', - cɔk 'hole', etc.;

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[47] Nouns marked by a dash are inalienably possessed and thus require either a noun or a personal clitic before them. Nouns without the dash mark mean that they are alienably possessed and do not need anything preceding them to occur freely.

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3) body parts, or things somehow connected to the body, like -capɔ 'penis', -cere 'vagina', -cigã 'bone', -mot 'body hair', -naʔcap 'head hair', -ʔora cɔk 'anus', -naʔcɔk 'nostril', -ʔora 'excrement', -wero 'speech', -ce 'smell', etc.;

4) elements of nature, like anaɲot 'wind', amãn 'rain', caʔwap 'sun', mapɔy 'rainbow';

6) abstract nouns, like oracece 'soul, spirit', toto 'God', etc.;

7) verb and adjective nominalizations[48], like magopi ʔop 'tick eater', macaʔit top 'domestic animal watcher', etc.

A noteworthy property of the classifiers in Karo is the fact that, since their occurrences are always associated with a (very) specific characteristic of the nouns with which they occur, there is no general default classifier, as is found in other classifier systems. Generally speaking, classifiers in Karo are not obligatory. Their occurrence is always associated with a (very) specific characteristic of the referent with which they occur.

Classifiers in Karo occur exclusively inside the noun phrase, in three basic types of constructions: a) with a head noun [N + CL]; b) in genitives [N + N + CL]; and c) in compounds [N + CL + N]. In sections 5.1.1, 5.1.2 and 5.1.3 below I give a complete description of each of these types, respectively.

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5.1.1 Head nouns

The prototypical occurrence of classifiers in Karo is after the head noun of a noun phrase.

wayo	**bap**	*mãygãra*	**bap**
wayo	**pap**	*mãygãra*	**pap**
alligator	CL.CYLB	snake	CL.CYLB
'alligator'		'snake'	

ĩya	**ʔĩp**	*wáya*	**ʔĩp**
ĩya	**ʔĩp**	*wáya*	**ʔĩp**
bird	CL.CYLM	spoon	CL.CYLM
'bird (general)'		'spoon'	

icãp	**píʔ**	*icapop*	**píʔ**
i=cãp	**píʔ**	*i=capop*	**píʔ**
3IMP=leg	CL.CYLS	3IMP=tail	CL.CYLS
'leg'		'tail'	

ibeon	**meʔ**	*ipá*	**beʔ**
i=peon	**peʔ**	*i=pá*	**peʔ**
3IMP=skin	CL.FLAT	3IMP=hand	CL.FLAT
'skin'		'hand'	

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[48] One exception I found was *cĩm maʔwa-p peʔ* 'frying pan', which has the classifier *peʔ*, used for flat objects.

na ʔyop   ci̧ʔ

na ʔyop   ci̧ʔ

leaf   CL.TFLAT

'leaf (also: money)'

wəwə   ci̧ʔ

wəwə   ci̧ʔ

fanner CL.TFLAT

'hand fanner'

karo   ʔa ʔ

karo   ʔa ʔ

macaw CL.RD

'macaw'

icagá   ʔa ʔ

i=cagá   ʔa ʔ

3IMP=eye   CL.RD

'eye'

inãk   ká ʔ

i=nãk   ká ʔ

3IMP=mouth   CL.CCV

'mouth'

ma ʔẽ   gá ʔ

ma ʔẽ   ká ʔ

pan   CL.CCV

'pan'

makap kap

makap kap

peanut CL.BSS

'peanut'

iyã̧y   gap

i=yã̧y   kap

3IMP=tooth   CL.BSS

'teeth'

ma ʔla   ma ʔ

ma ʔla   ma ʔ

bean   CL.BDS

'beans'

cici̧   ma ʔ

cici̧   ma ʔ

mosquito   CL.BDS

'mosquito'[49]

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[49] These mosquitos are found always in swarms.

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ma ʔpɜy	*ŋa*		*icey*	*ŋa*	
ma ʔpɜy	*ŋa*		*i=cey*	*ŋa*	
woman	**CL.FEM**		3IMP=wife	**CL.FEM**	
'woman'			'wife'		

mani	***nã ?***		*cán*	***nã ?***	
mani	***nã ?***		*cán*	***nã ?***	
manioc	**CL**		fire	**CL**	
'manioc'			'fire'		

5.1.2 GENITIVES

Classifiers can also occur in genitive constructions, if the head noun is classifiable. In these constructions, the classifier occurs after the sequence [N + N$_{head}$], and has its scope over the resulting [N + N$_{head}$] construction, not over the first or second noun alone.

This fact can be seen by comparing the examples below, where the classifier used to refer to 'alligator' and 'honey-eater' is the same, *pap*, whereas the classifiers used to refer to the final genitive constructions 'mouth of alligator' and 'mouth of honey-eater' are different. In the first case the classifier used is *pap*, in conformity with the shape of the mouth of an alligator, and in the second case the classifier used is *ká?*, in conformity with the shape of the mouth of a honey-eater[50].

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[50] *ká?* is also the classifier for 'mouth' alone.

wayo	*nãk*	***pap***
wayo	*nãk*	***pap***
alligator	mouth	CL.CYLB

'mouth of (an) alligator'

ei	*nãk*	***ká?***
ei	*nãk*	***ká?***
honey-eater	mouth	CL.CCV

'mouth of (a) honey-eater'

It is also very common that a classifier referring to the whole genitive construction matches the classifier of the head noun. This can be explained by the fact that the semantic properties of the whole genitive construction usually coincide with the semantic properties of the head noun. One example is the second of the two examples above, where the classifier of the final genitive construction, *ká?*, is the same used for 'mouth' alone. Other examples are below:

wayo	*yogá*	***be?***
wayo	*yogá*	***pe?***
alligator	tongue	CL.FLAT

'tongue of (an) alligator'

where the classifier of *wayo* is *pap*, and the classifier of *yogá* is *pe?*

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wayo	*nakɨra* **be?**
wayo	*nakɨra* **pe?**
alligator	ear **CL.FLAT**

'ear of (an) alligator'

where the classifier of *wayo* is *pap*, and the classifier of *nakɨra* is *pe?*

añ	*nãk*	**ká?**
añ	*nãk*	**ká?**
sloth	mouth	**CL.CCV**

'mouth of (a) sloth'

where the classifier of *añ* is *?a?*, and the classifier of *nãk* is *ká?*

Furthermore, in some other cases, the classifier employed in the genitive construction is equivalent to the classifier of the first noun alone. In these instances, it can be assumed that the semantic classification of the referent is somehow identified with the semantic property of the referent of the first noun.

kãram	*nãk*	**pí?**
kãram	*nãk*	**pí?**
hummingbird	mouth	**CL.CYLS**

'mouth of (a) hummingbird'

where the classifier of *kãram* is *pí?*, and the classifier of *nãk* is *ká?*,

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kãram   *yogá*   **bî?**

kãram   *yogá*   **pî?**

hummingbird tongue **CL.CYLS**

'tongue of (a) hummingbird'

where the classifier of *kãram* is *pî?*, and the classifier of *yogá* is *pe?*,

karo   nãg   *a?*

karo   nãk   *?a?*

macaw mouth **CL.RD**

'mouth of (a) macaw'

where the classifier of *karo* is *?a?*, and the classifier of *nãk* is *ká?*,

karo   *yogá*   *?a?*

karo   *yogá*   *?a?*

macaw tongue **CL.RD**

'tongue of (a) macaw'

where the classifier of *karo* is *?a?*, and the classifier of *yogá* is *pe?*.

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Finally, when the head noun is not classifiable, the sequence [N + N$_{head}$] does not take any classifier[51].

wayo   biru

wayo   piru

alligator   footprint

'footprint of (an) alligator'

ameko ?ora

ameko ?ora

jaguar excrement

'excrement of (a) jaguar'

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[51] Some speakers do employ the classifier of the modifying noun in these constructions.

wayo	biru	**bap**
wayo	piru	**pap**
alligator	footprint	**CL.LONG.BIG**
'footprint of (an) alligator'		

ameko	?ora	**?a?**
ameko	?ora	**?a?**
jaguar	excrement	**CL.ROUND**
'excrement of (a) jaguar'		

kãram	wirap	**pi?**
kãram	wirap	**pi?**
hummingbird	food	**CL.LONG.SML**
'hummingbird's food'		

parato	cɔk	**pe?**
parato	cɔk	**pe?**
armadillo	hole	**CL.FLAT**
'hole of (an) armadillo (sp.)'		

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kāram	*wirap*
kāram	*wirap*
hummingbird	food

'hummingbird's food'

parato	*cɔk*
parato	*cɔk*
armadillo	hole

'hole of (an) armadillo (sp.)'

5.1.3 COMPOUNDS

Compounds in Karo always involve the conjunction of two nouns or noun roots. In compounds, a classifier occurs between the two nouns, where the second noun is also the head of the construction: [N + CL + N$_{head}$]. The first noun in a compound must be classifiable, though the second (head) noun need not be. This seems to account for the fact that it is always the classifier of the first noun which enters the compound construction, and has its scope over the first noun alone and not over the whole construction.

ñɯ	***bap***	*ci*
ñɯ	***pap***	*ci*
açaí	**CL.CYLB**	water

'açaí wine'

cat	**pap**	caki
cat	**pap**	caki
log	**CL.CYLB**	piece

'wood piece (piece of wood)'

nãya	**gap**	pe ʔwap
nãya	**kap**	pe ʔwap
corn	**CL.BSS**	mash

'corn mash'

Finally, when an adjective occurs in any of the three types of constructions above, the classifier also occurs obligatorily after the adjective, in concord[52].

a) with head nouns:

wayo	**bap**	cú	**bap**
wayo	**pap**	cú	**pap**
alligator	**CL.CYLB**	big	**CL.CYLB**

'big alligator'

ĩya	ʔɨ̃p	pãr	ɨ̃p
ĩya	ʔɨ̃p	pãt	ʔɨ̃p
bird	**CL.CYLM**	beautiful	**CL.CYLM**

'beautiful bird'

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[52] I found only rare cases where two adjectives occur in a row, referring to the same noun.

maʔpɔy	ŋa	pãra	ŋa	cú	ŋa
maʔpɔy	ŋa	pãt	ŋa	cú	ŋa
woman	CL.FEM	beautiful	CL.FEM	big	CL.FEM

'beautiful and big woman'

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icãp	*pí?*	*cára*	*bí?*
i=cãp	*pí?*	*cára*	*pí?*
3IMP=leg	**CL.CYLS**	long	**CL.CYLS**
'long leg'			

ibeon	*me?*	*kĩn*	*me?*
i=peon	*pe?*	*kĩn*	*pe?*
3IMP=skin	**CL.FLAT**	hard	**CL.FLAT**
'hard skin'			

naʔyop	*cí?*	*cú*	*cí?*
naʔyop	*cí?*	*cú*	*cí?*
leaf	**CL.TFLAT**	big	**CL.TFLAT**
'big leaf'			

karo	*?a?*	*pãr*	*a?*
karo	*?a?*	*pãt*	*?a?*
macaw	**CL.RD**	beautiful	**CL.RD**
'beautiful macaw'			

i-nãk	*ká*	*becép*	*ká?*
i-nãk	*ká?*	*pecép*	*ká?*
3IMP=mouth	**CL.CCV**	ugly	**CL.CCV**
'ugly mouth'			

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makap	**kap**	*cú*	**gap**
makap	**kap**	*cú*	**kap**
peanut	**CL.BSS**	big	**CL.BSS**

'big peanut'

maʔta **maʔ**	*kãp*	**maʔ**
maʔta **maʔ**	*kãp*	**maʔ**
bean **CL.DS** delicious		**CL.BDS**

'delicious beans'

maʔpəy	**ŋa**	*pãra*	**ŋa**
maʔpəy	**ŋa**	*pãt*	**ŋa**
woman	**CL.FEM**	beautiful	**CL.FEM**

'beautiful woman'

mani	**nãʔ**	*cú*	**nãʔ**
mani	**nãʔ**	*cú*	**nãʔ**
maniocCL		big	CL

'big manioc'

b) in genitive constructions:

wayo	*nãk*	**pap**	*cú*	**bap**
wayo	*nãk*	**pap**	*cú*	**pap**
alligator		mouth **CL.CYLB**	big	**CL.CYLB**

'big alligator mouth'

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ei	*nãk*	*ká?*	*cú*	*gá?*
ei	*nãk*	*ká?*	*cú*	*ká?*

honey-eater mouth CL.CCV   big CL.CCV

'big mouth of (a) honey-eater'

wayo	*yogá*	*be?*	*cára*	*be?*
wayo	*yogá*	*pe?*	*cára*	*pe?*

alligator   tongue CL.FLAT   long CL.FLAT

'long tongue of (an) alligator'

kãram	*nãk*	*pí?*	*?ĩ*	*pí?*
kãram	*nãk*	*pí?*	*?ĩ*	*pí?*

hummingbird mouth CL.CYLS   small CL.CYLS

'small mouth of (a) hummingbird'

karo	*nãg*	*a?*	*pĩg*	*a?*
karo	nãk	?a?	pĩk	?a?

macaw mouth CL.RD black CL.RD

'black mouth of (a) macaw'

c) in compounds:

i̇u	*bap*	*ci*	*kãp*	*pap*
i̇u	*pap*	*ci*	*kãp*	*pap*

açaí CL.CYLB   water delicious   CL.CYLB

'delicious açaí wine'

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cat	pap		cakɨ	wɨ̃	map
cat	pap		cakɨ	wɨ̃	pap
log	CL.CYLB		piece	curved	CL.CYLB

'curved piece of wood'

nãya	gap	peʔwap	paʔpik	kap
nãya	kap	peʔwap	paʔpik	kap
corn	CL.BSS	mash	lots.of	CL.BSS

'lots of corn mash'

When these formal properties of Karo are examined in the light of the current typologies of noun classification, especially the typology of noun classes vs. noun classification proposed by Dixon (1986), it appears that Karo does not seem to belong to either type.

Roughly speaking, Dixon establishes a set of criteria which can be used to distinguish noun classes (as a grammatical category which occurs prototypically with Bantu languages) from noun classification (as a lexico-syntactic phenomenon which includes numeral classifiers). Three criteria are proposed, a) size, b) realization, and c) scope.

According to the first criterion, *noun class* systems are those in which all nouns are grouped into a smaller number of classes, each noun necessarily belonging to one specific class. *Noun classifier* languages, on the other hand, have the opposite characteristics of presenting a richer number of classifiers (over 100 being common), allowing some nouns not to be classifiable, as well as allowing some other nouns to be classifiable in more than one way. The Karo classifier system seems to fit into his second type of languages, except that it contains a small inventory of classifiers.

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The second criterion postulates that *noun classes* are closed grammatical sets, usually coded by means of affixes or clitics, whereas *noun classifiers* are always free forms. By this criterion, Karo fits into the second type perfectly.

The last criterion postulates that the marking of *noun classes* 'is never entirely within the noun word' but spread 'concordially to some other words in the sentence' (1986:106). *Classifiers*, on the other hand, are restricted in their occurrence to the 'noun phrase in which they co-occur with the specific noun' (1986:107). According to this last criterion, nevertheless, Karo should be characterized as a *noun class* language instead of a *classifier* language since, as we have seen in the description above, when an adjective in Karo modifies a noun plus its classifier, the same classifier occurs obligatorily after the adjective as well, in concord.

5.2 SEMANTIC PROPERTIES

Following the typology established by Allan 1977, it is possible to recognize three types of semantic properties conveyed by the classifiers of Karo: shape, arrangement and gender[53].

Shape seems to be the most prominent feature of the three. In Karo, a classifier is employed to refer to the most prominent **form** or **format** of the referents as they are found in nature[54]. As can be seen in Table 9 above, seven out of the 11 classifiers which occur in Karo (*pap*, *ʔip, piʔ, peʔ, ciʔ, ʔaʔ,* and *káʔ*) pertain to the shape of the referent they classify.

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[53] The semantic property of 'gender' is labeled 'material' in Allan's typology. The difference is merely terminological, not empirical.

[54] The category of shape in Karo does not refer, as is usual to occur with other classifier languages, to the number of dimensions of the referents, one vs. two vs. three dimensions. This can be seen, for example, with the classifier *ʔaʔ* 'round', which occurs with referents perceived as having either one dimension (such as 'moon', 'eye', etc.), two dimensions (such as 'coin', 'turtle', etc.) or three dimensions (such as 'papaya', 'house', etc.).

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The category of **arrangement** refers to the way in which referents occur intrinsically arranged in nature. In Karo, only referents which are arranged in bunches are classifiable, according to two different perspectives, 1) those items which are found in bunches grouped together by means of a common source (in which case the classifier *kap* is employed), and 2) those items which are found in bunches without being tied by a common source (in which case the classifier *ma?* is used).

Gender is used to refer to female referents, particularly with kin terms (cf. ma?pəy 'woman', -cey 'wife', owã 'mother', apəy 'grandmother', etc.).

Furthermore, following Denny (1976) and his characterization of the use of classifiers as establishing a physical, social or functional interaction with the nouns to which they refer, the classifiers of Karo can be characterized as establishing primarily a **physical** interaction with their nouns. Nine out of the 11 classifiers of Karo refer to physical properties of the nouns, either shape or arrangement. A type of **social** interaction is also represented in Karo and is conveyed by the tenth known classifier, *ŋa* 'feminine'[55]. **Functional** interaction, as the third possible kind of interaction recognized by Denny, is not a property of Karo classifiers.

An interesting semantic characteristic of the Karo classifier system is the fact that a given noun may co-occur with a variety of classifiers. The alternatives have the effect of either highlighting different characteristics of the referent of the noun with which they occur or changing their reference. In the first case, there always seems to be an interaction between the two semantic forms of physical categorization, arrangement and shape, in which the reference can be made by

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[55] Here I am considering the classifier ŋa 'feminine' to represent a **social** type of interaction since gender distinctions seem to fall, in one way or another, into social distinctions.

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focusing on either the first or the second. When the focus is on **arrangement** the resulting effect is that of plurality of the referent.[56] When the focus is on **shape**, the resulting effect is on the singularity of the referent.

a) highlighting different aspects of nouns:

opá	**gap**	*cf.*	*opá*	**gá?**	
o=pá	**kap**		*o=pá*	**ká?**	
1SG=hand	CL.BSS		1SG=hand	CL.CCV	
'(all) my fingers'			'my (one) finger'		

iyã	**gap**	*cf.*	*iyã*	**ʔa?**	
iyã	**kap**		*iyã*	**ʔa?**	
Brazil.nut	CL.BSS		Brazil.nut	CL.RD	
'Brazil nuts in their shell'			'one Brazil nut'		

oyãy	**gap**	*cf.*	*oyãy*	**gá?**	
o=yãy	**kap**		*o=yãy*	**ká?**	
1SG=tooth	CL.BSS		1SG=tooth	CL.CCV	
'(all) my teeth'			'my (one) tooth'		

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[56] The semantic plurality conveyed by the two arrangement classifiers, *kap* and *ma?*, should be kept distinct from morphological plurarity, marked by the enclitic *=to?*.

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b) changing reference:

iyá	*gap*	*cf.*	*iyá*	*be?*	*cf.*	*iyá*	*?a?*	
iyá	*kap*		*iyá*	*pe?*		*iyá*	*?a?*	
stone	**CL.BSS**		stone	**CL.FLAT**		stone	**CL.RD**	
'gravel'			'digging stick'			'stone'		

were	*be?*	*cf.*	*were*	*bǐ?*
were	*pe?*		*were*	*pǐ?*
frog	**CL.FLAT**		frog	**CL.CYLS**
'toad'			'frog'	

ipá	*be?*	*cf.*	*ipá*	*gap*	*cf.*	*ipá*	*gá?*
i=pá	*pe?*		*i=pá*	*kap*		*i=pá*	*ká?*
3IMP=hand	**CL.FLAT**		3IMP=hand	**CL.BSS**		3IMP=hand	**CL.CCV**
'hand'			'fingers'			'(one) finger'	

It is also possible, on the other hand, for two classifiers to co-occur with a single noun. This has been observed especially with the classifiers *pap* and *?a?*, used in this exact sequence to refer to a mixed shape of long and round referents.

ca?wǝt	*pab*	*a?*
ca?wǝt	*pap*	*?a?*
thorn	**CL.CYLB**	**CL.RD**
'thorn (sp.)'		

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mok	**_pab_**	**_a?_**
mok	**_pap_**	**_?a?_**
cotton	**CL.CYLB**	**CL.RD**

'hip ornament (made of cotton)'

paya	**_bab_**	**_a?_**
paya	**_pap_**	**_?a?_**
palm.tree	**CL.CYLB**	**CL.RD**

'chest ornament (made of palm tree leaves)'

5.3 DISCOURSE PROPERTIES

Studies dealing with the discourse properties of classifiers are almost non-existent, probably because very little is known on the subject.

In Chafe (1994) we find a discussion of the the role of classifiers in languages where they do not occur as an obligatory category. Chafe suggests that the occurrence vs. non-occurrence of classifiers can be explained in terms of the importance of the referents in discourse. According to him, important referents tend to be introduced into the discourse by means of a N + CL construction, and to be subsequently mentioned by the use of a CL. Unimportant referents tend to be introduced by means of a noun and be mentioned subsequently by a pronoun.

Further research in Karo needs to be conducted in order to determine whether the same principles govern the discourse use of classifiers in Karo.

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CHAPTER 6

THE IDEOPHONE SYSTEM

Karo has a set of words that should be regarded as forming a separate class from regular nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, particles and conjunctions. The words of this set have several properties that they share with other word classes, but not exclusively. From the point of view of semantics, they are similar to verbs, in the way their meanings convey descriptions of actions or states, but they are not subject to the same derivational or inflectional processes as regular verbs or auxiliaries. From the point of view of morphology, they are closely related to particles, since they show no internal morphological structure, but they do not have the same syntactic distribution as particles in the language. Still from the point of view of morphology, they could be regarded as somehow related to verbs or adjectives, given that they receive the adverbializer clitic =tem, but, again, they do not show the same properties as regular verbs or adjectives. From the point of view of syntax, they show the same patterns of distribution in Karo clauses in a great number of cases as adverbs. But not in *all* cases, a fact that distinguishes them from adverbs. The facts just mentioned seem to justify the appropriateness of considering this class of words, given their coherence and independence, as a separate word category. For typological reasons, we will call them ideophones.

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6.1 BACKGROUND

Ideophones are usually defined as a class of words of onomatopoeic form which have their own sound system different from the overall phonetic and phonological systems of the language in which they occur. Ideophones are also thought to be inherently salient semantically.

Although all languages seem to have expressions that could, at first sight, be regarded as ideophones, not all languages have ideophones as a grammatically consistent category.

The occurrence of ideophones was first noticed and described in African languages (cf. Doke 1935; Fivaz 1963; Moore 1969; Newman 1968; Samarin 1965, 1967, 1970a, 1970b, 1971a, 1971b, 1972). Later descriptions of ideophone systems also included a few Asian languages, such as Japanese (cf. Hirose 1989; Ono 1984), Korean (cf. Kim 1977; Lee 1992; Martin 1962; You 1989), Semai (cf. Diffloth 1976), and Telugu (cf. Selvam 1988). It is mostly within African languages, however, that ideophones are known to be a widespread phenomenon (cf. Awoyale 1981; Childs 1988; Courtenay 1976; Fordyce 1978, 1983; Hutchison 1989; Johnson 1975; Kulemeka 1993; Kunene 1972; Moshi 1993; Mphande and Rice 1989; Noss 1986; Ottenheimer and Primrose 1990; Von Staden 1974; Weakley 1973 among others).

The general characteristics of ideophones among these languages are, nevertheless, very diverse. Descriptions of ideophone systems are highly contestable and still an arena of debate. Some authors, for example, still dispute basic principles, such as whether ideophones should be considered a separate class of speech (cf. Awoyale 1981; Kunene 1972) or a subclass of adverbs (cf. Doke 1935; Ottenheimer and Primrose 1990) or even a subclass of adjectives (cf. Okonkwo 1974).

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Given this controversy, a comparison between the phenomenon of ideophones and other grammatical subsystems like evidentials or classifiers shows that we are still far from a comprehensive understanding of their typology, function, historical development and cognitive basis. This will only be achieved when the research on the subject incorporates more descriptions from a variety of languages around the world.

6.2 THE IDEOPHONES OF KARO

Ideophones in Karo form an open class of words with verbal meanings. The full range of properties of Karo ideophones is described below from the point of view of phonetics/phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and discourse, respectively. As I hope will become clear, the properties of the ideophones presented below will serve as grounds for characterizing them as a class of words apart from other classes of words in Karo. For the sake of exemplification, I provide a non-exhaustive list of Karo ideophones at the end of the chapter.

6.2.1 PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

It is commonly observed that the class of ideophones possesses phonetic and phonological characteristics that distinguish them from other word classes in the languages in which they occur. Karo is no exception. Although the majority of the phonetic elements that are used to form other classes of words are also used to form the ideophones, one specific sound found so far does not. There could be more than one, nevertheless, not yet registered in my records. The symbol used for this sound and its description are as follows:

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[t͡ʙ̥] : voiceless dental bilabial stop with bilabial trill release

This sound occurs in an ideophone which has the meaning of 'jump', as in:

ʧp̃u   ameko ʔet

ʧp̃u   ameko ʔe-t

jump   jaguar AUX-IND1

'The jaguar jumped.'

Another important phonetic/phonological characteristic of ideophones in Karo is the fact that it is only in this class of words that sequences of two consonants are allowed to occur in the same syllable. Although this is not a widespread phenomenon in the Karo community, several speakers of Karo do have a tendency to omit the first vowel in bisyllabic sequences if the second syllable begins with /r/. The resulting form is a monosyllabic element with an initial Cr cluster. Thus, ideophones like parak ['parak̚] 'perforate', or mĩrik ['mĩrik̚] 'pinch', are usually pronounced as ['prak̚] and ['mrik̚], respectively[57].

6.2.2 MORPHOLOGY

From the point of view of morphology, an important characteristic of ideophones in Karo is the fact that they do not receive inflectional markers. In fact, they do not participate in any derivational processes characteristic of verbs, nouns and adjectives. Ideophones do not receive any of the modal markers that verbs and auxiliaries do (IND1ICATIVE –t and –p or GERUND –a); they do not

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[57] This shortening in syllable structure does not occur when the ideophone begins with either /w/ or /y/.

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receive any personal proclitics as verb phrases or noun phrases do; they do not receive any of the valence changing prefixes that verbs do (CAUSATIVE *ma-*, COMITATIVE CAUSATIVE *ta-*, IMPERSONAL PASSIVIZER *pe-*, OPTATIVE *peʔ-* , RECIPROCAL *mãm-* or REFLEXIVE *toro-*); and do not occur with any clitics (PLURAL *=toʔ*, ASSOCIATIVE *=tap*)[58].

A further important characteristic of ideophones in Karo is the fact that they allow reduplication of their roots. This is a process exclusive to the class of ideophones. The meaning achieved by reduplication of ideophones is one of iteration of the action or state being described. It should be noted that reduplication is a characteristic shared by ideophone systems in other languages of the world, with the same meaning as in Karo. As examples of reduplication, consider the pair of sentences below:

púŋ	*wet*		*péŋ*	*kəy*
púŋ	*o=ʔe-t*		*péŋ*	*kəy*
shoot	1SG=AUX-IND1		white.man	DAT

`I shot the white man once.'   cf.

puŋ	*púŋ*	*wet*	*péŋ*	*kəy*
puŋ	*púŋ*	*o=ʔe-t*	*péŋ*	*kəy*
shoot	shoot	1SG=AUX-IND1	white.man	DAT

`I shot the white man several times.'

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[58] The one exception is the clitic *=tem* which can in fact occur with some ideophones.

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tuy	*Babesáya*	*ŋa*	*ʔet*	*yate*	*taʔwara*
tuy	*Babesáya*	*ŋa*	*ʔe-t*	*yate*	*taʔwat-a*
pull	Babesáya	CL.FEM	AUX-IND1	pig	bring-GER

'Babesáya brought the pig by pulling it once.'   cf.

tuy	*tuy*	*Babesáya*	*ŋa*	*ʔet*	*yate*	*taʔwara*
tuy	*tuy*	*Babesáya*	*ŋa*	*ʔe-t*	*yate*	*taʔwat-a*
pull	pull	Babesáya	CL.FEM	AUX-IND1	pig	bring-GER

'Babesáya brought the pig by pulling it repeatedly.'

Although ideophones frequently occur as the first element in Karo clauses, and are thus immune to phonological alternations, they can also occur internally and show the same changes observed in other classes of words. Roughly speaking, voiceless stops change to voiced stops after vowels or glides, and to nasal stops after nasal consonants.

6.2.3 SYNTAX

From the point of view of syntax, the category of ideophones in Karo occur in all sentence types, clause modifications (NEGATION and FUTURE), and clause combinations (clause chaining and subordination). In almost all cases, they occur accompanied by an auxiliary (either *ʔe, kap* or *waʔye*) and its argument. The only three types of constructions in which ideophones do not occur with an auxiliary are: 1) in negative imperative clauses, where the ideophone occurs alone with the negative marker *yahmãm*; 2) in nominalizations, where the ideophone occurs with the nominalizers *kanã* or *ko=*; and 3) in time subordinate clauses, where the ideophone occurs with the conjunction *kanãp*.

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A further syntactic feature of ideophones in Karo is the fact that they can co-occur with 'normal' verbs of related meaning.

A detailed description of these occurrences is given below.

6.2.3.1 IN SIMPLE CLAUSES

In simple clauses, ideophones occur with the auxiliary ʔe in the indicative or in the unmarked form of the verb[59]. It is the first element in the clause, which may also have a postpositional phrase or an adverb phrase occurring at the end.

wéy   wet   tágɨp   peʔ

wéy   o=ʔe-t   tágɨp   peʔ

stretch 1SG=AUX-IND1   bow   LOC

'I stretched the bow.'

weri   weri   at   cahwíptem

weri   weri   aʔ=ʔe-t   cahwíp=tem

paddle paddle 3SG=AUX-IND1   fast=ADVZ

'He paddled very fast.'

wen   wen   we   mãm

wen   wen   o=ʔe   mãm

write   write   1SG=AUX   X

'I am writing.'

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[59] As we will see below, ideophones also occur with the auxiliary ʔe in the gerund mood, in other types of clauses.

6.2.3.2 IN INTERROGATIVE CLAUSES

Ideophones pattern differently in yes-no questions and information questions.

6.2.3.2.1 YES-NO QUESTIONS

In yes-no interrogatives, the ideophone occurs in different places depending upon the scope of the interrogation. When its scope is over the whole proposition (sentence), the ideophone occurs in its prototypical place, at the beginning of the sentence, followed by the auxiliary *ʔe* in the indicative mood, followed by the interrogative particle *ahyə*. If a postpositional phrase and/or an adverb phrase are present, they occur only after the interrogative particle.

púŋ	*at*	*ahyə*		
púŋ	*aʔ=ʔe-t*	*ahyə*		
shoot	3SG=AUX-IND1	INTERR		

'Did he shoot?'

cut	*cut*	*ʔet*	*ahyə*	*ŋakəy*
cut	*cut*	*e=ʔe-t*	*ahyə*	*ŋa=kəy*
kiss	kiss	2SG=AUX-IND1	INTERR	3SG.FEM=DAT

'Did you kiss her?'

When the scope of interrogation is over the subject, then the subject nominal occurs first, followed by the interrogative particle, followed by the ideophone plus the impersonal pronominal clitic which is attached to the auxiliary *ʔe* in the unmarked form.

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at	ahyə	úe	úe	ye
at	ahyə	úe	úe	i=ʔe
3SG	INTERR vomit	vomit		3IMP=AUX

'Was it him who vomited?'

ēn	ahyə		púŋ	ye
ēn	ahyə		púŋ	i=ʔe
2SG	INTERR		shoot	3IMP=AUX

'Was it you who shot?'

6.2.3.2.2 INFORMATION QUESTIONS

In interrogatives that request information, the interrogative pronoun occurs first in the sentence, followed by the ideophone plus the third person coreferential pronominal clitic *to=* attached to the auxiliary *ʔe* in the gerund mood.

nān	oturum	toʔva
nān	oturum	to=ʔe-a
who	climb.down	3R=AUX-GER

'Who climbed down?'

nān	ŋərəŋ	toʔva
nān	ŋərəŋ	to=ʔe-a
who	turn.over	3R=AUX-GER

'Who turned his head over?'

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6.2.3.3 IN NEGATION

In clauses with ideophones, the negative particle *i?ke* may occur in different places, depending on the scope of negation. If it is over the whole clause, it occurs after the sequence [ideophone + AUX].

kãy	*kãy*	*wet*		*i?ke*
kãy	*kãy*	*o=?e-t*		*i?ke*
scratch	scratch	1SG=AUX-IND1		NEG

'I did not scratch myself.'

If what is being negated is the action represented by the ideophone, then the ideophone occurs first in the clause, followed by a coreferential clitic pronoun attached to the auxiliary *?e* in the gerund form, plus the negative particle, followed once again by the auxiliary *?e* in the indicative form and its only argument (either pronominal or nominal).

púŋ	*wa*	*i?ke*	*wet*
púŋ	*o=?e-a*	*i?ke*	*o=?e-t*
shoot	1SG=AUX-GER	NEG	1SG=AUX-IND1

'(What) I did (was) not shoot(ing).'

If the scope of negation is over the subject, then the subject nominal (either a pronoun or full noun phrase) occurs at the beginning of the clause, in focus position, followed by the negative particle. The ideophone then follows plus the auxiliary *?e* in the gerund form. The argument marked in the auxiliary is in its pronominal form and is always coreferential with the argument in focus.

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ma ʔwħ	iʔke	cok	cok	to ʔwa
ma ʔwħ	iʔke	cok	cok	to=ʔe-a
man	NEG	grind	grind	3R=AUX-GER

'It was not the man who ground (it).'

õn	iʔke	púŋ	wa
õn	iʔke	púŋ	o=ʔe-a
1SG	NEG	shoot	1SG=AUX-GER

'It was not me who shot.'

6.2.3.4 IN IMPERATIVES

Imperative sentences with ideophones are formed simply by putting the ideophone first in the clause, followed by the second person pronominal clitic (either in the singular or in the plural) which is attached to the auxiliary *ʔe* in the gerund form. A postpositional phrase or adverbial phrase may also occur at the end of the clause.

puŋ	púŋ	karo ʔwa
puŋ	púŋ	karo=ʔe-a
shoot	shoot	2PL=AUX-GER

'(You PL.) shoot!'

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kãy	kãy	ʔa		et		kaʔa	ʔa	peʔ
kãy	kãy	e=ʔe-a		et		kaʔa	ʔa	peʔ
scratch	scratch	2SG=AUX-GER		2SG.POSS		house	CL.RD	LOC

'(You sg.) scratch (at your house)!'

Combinations of ideophones plus regular transitive or intransitive verbs may also occur in imperatives. In these cases, the 'normal' verb occurs first, in the gerund form, followed by the ideophone plus a second person pronominal clitic (again, in the singular or plural), attached to the auxiliary ʔe in the gerund form.

aʔwĩa		púŋ	ʔa
aʔ=wĩ-a		púŋ	e=ʔe-a
3SG=kill-GER		shoot	2SG=AUX-GER

'Kill it by shooting!'

6.2.3.5 IN FUTURE CLAUSES

Ideophones may occur with two types of future markers, the auxiliary *kap* 'immediate future', and the particle *yat* 'future'. In both cases the ideophone is the first element in the clause.

In clauses with the auxiliary future *kap*, the ideophone is followed by *kap* and its argument (either in the pronominal or in the nominal form), then by the intransitive verb 'go' and its argument. The argument of the verb 'go' is always in the pronominal form, and it is also coreferential with the argument of the auxiliary *kap*. A postpositional phrase or an adverbial phrase may occur at the end of the clause.

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iyȟ	*okay*		*o ʔa*	*ecáp*	*píȟo?*	*pe?*
iyȟ	*o=kap-t*		*o=ʔe-a*	*e=cáp*	*píʔ=to?*	*pe?*
pinch	1SG=AUX.FUT-IND1		1SG=go-GER	2SG=leg	CL.CYLS=PL	LOC

'I will pinch both your legs.'

In clauses with the particle *yat*, the ideophone is followed by the auxiliary *ʔe* and its only argument (either in the pronominal or in the nominal form). The future particle occurs after the auxiliary, which appears in the unmarked form.

ué	*ué*	*we*	*yat*
ué	*ué*	*o=ʔe*	*yat*
vomit	vomit	1SG=AUX	FUT

'I will vomit.'

6.2.3.6 IN MIXED TYPES OF CLAUSES

Ideophones in Karo may also occur in clauses that mix the categories of future, negation, imperative and interrogation. The possible combinations are: [FUTURE + NEGATION], [IMPERATIVE + NEGATION], and [INTERROGATION + FUTURE].

6.2.3.6.1 FUTURE + NEGATION

Both types of futures, immediate and simple future, can occur in a negative clause with an ideophone. The type of the negative marker also changes according to the kind of future. In immediate futures, the negative particle used is

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yahmām. In these clauses, the ideophone occurs first, followed by the auxiliary *ʔe* in the gerund form with a pronominal clitic attached to it. This pronominal clitic is always coreferential with the person of the argument of the future auxiliary *kap*, which occurs immediately following the auxiliary *ʔe*. The last item in the clause is the negative particle.

púŋ	*wa*		*okay*		*yahmām*	
púŋ	*o=ʔe-a*		*o=kap-t*		*yahmām*	
shoot	1SG=AUX-GER		1SG=AUX.FUT-IND1		NEG	

'I will not shoot.'

ŋit		*toʔwa*		*aʔkay*		*yahmām*
ŋit		*to=ʔe-a*		*aʔkay*		*yahmām*
stand.up		3R=AUX-GER		3SG=AUX.FUT-IND1		NEG

'He will not stand up.'

In simple futures, the negative particle used is *iʔke*. In these clauses, the ideophone also occurs first, followed by the auxiliary *ʔe* in the indicative mood form. The argument of the auxiliary *ʔe* can be either pronominal or nominal. After the auxiliary the future particle *yat* occurs, followed by the negative particle *iʔke*.

púŋ	*wet*		*yat*	*iʔke*
púŋ	*o=ʔe-t*		*yat*	*iʔke*
shoot	2SG=AUX-IND1		FUT	NEG

'I will not shoot.'

cok	cok	ma ʔpəy	ʔet		yat	i ʔke
cok	cok	ma ʔpəy	ʔe-t		yat	i ʔke
grind	grind	woman	AUX-IND1		FUT	NEG

'The woman will not grind.'

6.2.3.6.2 IMPERATIVE + NEGATION

Negative-imperative clauses are formed simply by the juxtaposition of the ideophone plus the negative particle *yahmãm*. No personal marking (either proclitic or pronominal) or auxiliary occurs.

muturum	yahmãm
muturum	yahmãm
jump	NEG

'Don't jump!'

6.2.3.6.3 INTERROGATIVE + FUTURE

Both types of interrogatives, yes-no question and information request, appear in future clauses with an ideophone. I have recorded only one type of future, immediate future, in these clauses.

In yes-no questions, the ideophone occurs first, followed by the interrogative particle *ahyə* and by two auxiliaries, the future auxiliary *kap* in the indicative form with its only argument (in either its pronominal or nominal form), and the auxiliary *ʔe* in the gerund form with a pronominal clitic which is always coreferential with the person of the future auxiliary. The scope of the interrogation is over the action represented by the ideophone.

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púŋ	ahyə	ekay	e ʔa
púŋ	ahyə	e=kap=t	e=ʔe-a
shoot	INTERR	2SG=AUX.FUT-IND1	2SG=AUX-GER

'Are you going to shoot?'

In information request questions, the interrogative pronoun occurs first in the clause, followed by the future auxiliary *kap* in the unmarked form with the impersonal proclitic *i=* attached. The ideophone then occurs after the future auxiliary, followed by the auxiliary *ʔe* in the gerund form, and with a pronominal proclitic that is always coreferential with the argument of the future auxiliary.

nãn	ikap		púŋ	púŋ	to ʔwa
nãn	i=kap		púŋ	púŋ	to=ʔe-a
who	3IMP=AUX.FUT		shoot	shoot	3R=AUX-GER

'Who is going to shoot?'

6.2.3.7 IN NOMINALIZATIONS

An ideophone can be nominalized either by the particle *kanã* or by the clitic *ko=*. In the examples found in my corpus, a nominalized ideophone with *kanã* occurs as the absolutive argument of clauses with the predicate 'to like' and as the oblique argument of a postpositional phrase.

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õn	púŋ	kanã	yaʔti	nãn
õn	púŋ	kanã	yaʔti	nã-n
1SG	shoot	NOMZ	like	COP-IND1

'I like to shoot (shooting).'

õn	aʔoy	púŋ	kanã	peʔ
õn	aʔ=top-t	púŋ	kanã	peʔ
1SG	3SG=see-IND1	shoot	NOMZ	LOC

'I saw him at his shooting (place).'

A nominalized ideophone with *ko=*, on the other hand, occurs as the absolutive argument of a transitive verb, as in:

õn	cá	cá	kotoy
õn	cá	cá	ko=top-t
1SG	step	step	NOMZ=hear.IND1

'I heard steps.'

6.2.3.8 In focus constructions

Either an adverbial phrase or a postpositional phrase can appear in initial focus position with an ideophone. In these cases, the auxiliary *ʔe* occurs twice in the clause. It occurs first with the –p indicative mood form after the initial focused phrase and before the ideophone. Then it occurs again, in the gerund mood form, after the ideophone. The argument of this second occurrence of the auxiliary *ʔe* is in its pronominal form and is always coreferential with the argument of the first occurrence of *ʔe*.

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mẽt	_wep_		_púŋ_	_wa_
mẽt	_o=ʔe-p_		_púŋ_	_o=ʔe-a_
here	1SG=AUX-IND2		shoot	1SG=AUX-GER

'Here I shot.'

mẽt	_ap_		_púŋ_	_toʔwa_
mẽt	_aʔ=(ʔe)-p_		_púŋ_	_to=ʔe-a_
here	3SG=(AUX)-IND2		shoot	3R=AUX-GER

'Here he shot.'

kaʔa	_ʔa_	_peʔ_	_ap_	_kãy_	_kãy_	_toʔwa_
kaʔa	_ʔaʔ_	_peʔ_	_aʔ=ʔe-p_	_kãy_	_kãy_	_to=ʔe-a_
house	CL.RD	LOC	3SG=AUX-IND2	scratch	scratch	3R=(AUX)-GER

'At the house he scratched.'

6.2.3.9 IN COMBINATIONS OF CLAUSES

Ideophones also occur in clause chaining and subordinate clauses. In clause chaining, the clause with an ideophone always occurs with the auxiliary _ʔe_, which can be either in the indicative (finite) or in the gerund (non-finite) mood. Both can be seen in the examples below.

ameko	_aʔkigat_		_tpu_	_toʔwa_
ameko	_aʔ=kiga-t_		_tpu_	_to=ʔe-a_
jaguar	3SG=catch-IND1		jump	3R=AUX-GER

'The jaguar caught it/him (by) jumping.'

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tpu   _ameko_ _ʔet_   _aʔkiga_

tpu   _ameko_ _ʔe-t_   _aʔ=kik-a_

jump   jaguar AUX-IND1   3SG=catch-GER

'The jaguar jumped (and) caught(ing) it.'

Ideophones can also occur in subordinate clauses with the time subordinator _kanãp_[60]. In these clauses there is no auxiliary. Only the ideophone plus the subordinator _kanãp_ form the subordinate clause.

_õn_   _aʔoy_   _ué_   _ué_   _kanãp_

_õn_   _aʔ=top-t_   _ué_   _ué_   _kanãp_

1SG   3SG=see-IND1 vomit vomit when

'I saw him vomiting.'

oken   _kãy_   _kãy_   _kanãp_

o=ket-t   _kãy_   _kãy_   _kanãp_

1SG=sleep-IND1   scratch   scratch   when

'I slept scratching.'

onaká   _yakõy_   _wen_   _wen_   _kanãp_ _cúrem_

o=naká   _yakõp-t_   _wen_   _wen_   _kanãp_ _cú=tem_

1SG=head   be.hot-IND1   write   write   when   big=ADVZ

'My head gets hot when I write too much.'

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[60] I have not registered, in my database, any occurrences of ideophones in subordinate sentences with the subordinators _nãt_ PURPOSIVE, and _yaye_ REASON.

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6.2.4 SEMANTICS

A purely semantic definition of ideophones does not seem to be useful, since they form a class which is practically impossible to specify precisely. Ideophones have meanings equivalent to 'normal' verbs in the language in which they occur, including Karo, but they do not behave morphologically or syntactically like other verbs. Actually, it is not unusual for an ideophone to co-occur with a corresponding verb, generally to emphasize its meaning. Examples of ideophones and verb roots with similar meanings in Karo are:

at   otoy   cf.   mõm   at   (okəy)

at   o=top-t   mõm   a?=?e-t   (o=kəy)

3SG   1SG=see-IND1   look   3SG=AUX-IND1   (1SG=DAT)

'He/it saw me.'   'He/it saw (me).'

õn   a?yamón   cf.   kahyep   wet   (a?kəy)

õn   a?=yamót-t   kahyep   o=?e-t   (a?=kəy)

1SG   3SG=miss-IND1   miss   1SG=AUX-IND1

(3SG=DAT)

'I missed him/it.'   'I missed (him/it).'

õn   a?tigat   cf.   ka?mep   wet   (a?kəy)

õn   a?=tiga-t   ka?mep   o=?e-t   (a?=kəy)

1SG   3SG=throw-IND1   throw   1SG=AUX-IND1 (3SG=DAT)

'I threw him/it.'   'I threw (him/it).'

a ʔóy		cf.	*yép*	*at*
a ʔ=tóp-t			*yép*	*a ʔ= ʔe-t*
3SG=disappear-IND1			disappear	3SG=AUX-IND1
'He/it disappeared.'			'He/it disappeared.'	

Some examples of co-occurrences of ideophones with the corresponding regular verbs are:

mɔy	*a ʔwa ʔye*	*totia*	*oyuruŋ*	*a ʔwa ʔye*	
mɔy	*a ʔ=wa ʔye*	*to=ti-a oyuruŋ*		*a ʔ=wa ʔye*	
then	3SG=AUX	3R=come-GER		come	3SG=AUX
'Then he came.'					

onoroŋ	*at*		*tocit*	*pa ʔpara*
onoroŋ	*a ʔ= ʔe-t*		*to=cit*	*pa ʔpar-a*
fall	3SG=AUX-IND1		3R=cover	fall.down-GER
'He fell from his bike.'				

tɨk	*tɨk*	*at*		*toat*	*wirik*	*kanã*	*tɔga*		*tɔ*
tɨk	*tɨk*	*a ʔ= ʔe-t*		*toat*	*wirik*	*kanã*	*tɔk-a*		*tɔ*
pluck	pluck	3SG=AUX-IND1	3R.POSS		food	thing	pick-GER		EVID
'He was picking his pears, they say.'									

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mɔy	mõm	aʔwaʔye	yét	kanã	cit	toba
mɔy	mõm	aʔ=waʔye	yét	kanã	cit	top-a
then	look	3SG=AUX	this	thing	cover	see-GER

'Then he looked and saw this basket.'

Ideophones are generally characterized as onomatopoeic in nature, a characteristic not shared by other classes of words, but this is not true of all cases. In Karo, a few ideophones do have obvious onomatopoeic properties (e.g. *púŋ* 'shoot', *wĩ wĩaw* 'whistle used to call people}, etc.), but for the majority, a connection to sound is less obvious.

Another important characteristic of ideophones in Karo is the fact that, in the majority of cases, their meanings are quite specific. Some ideophones are used exclusively to refer to someone turning the head back (ŋərəŋ 'turn the head back'), or to the arrow perforating the body of someone (parak 'perforate somebody with arrow'). It is also important to stress that ideophones in Karo do not have the characteristics of sound symbolism in its conventional definition, i.e., no one-to-one correlation between sound and meaning was found to occur in the ideophones of Karo, as was reported to exist, for example, in a cousin language of Karo, Guarani (Langdon 1994).

A last semantic characteristic of ideophones in Karo involves the choice a speaker has between an ideophone and a regular transitive verb. A preliminary analysis of the data has shown that the choice seems to affect the argument structure of clauses in that it provides a functional alternative to syntactic antipassive constructions. Generally speaking, if the semantic patient of a clause

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is to be included in the predicate as a core argument, a transitive verb, which allows for two arguments, is the appropriate choice. But, in cases where the semantic patient, for one reason or another, is not in core position, an ideophone with an auxiliary plus its only argument becomes the other available choice. In the examples below, if the semantic patient is mentioned at all, it is done by means of a postpositional phrase indicating oblique case.

at	otoy	cf.		mõm	ʔat	(okəy)
at	o=top-t			mõm	aʔ=ʔe-t	(o=kəy)
3SG	1SG=see-IND1			look	3SG=AUX-IND1	(1SG=DAT)

'He/it saw me.' 'He/it saw something/(me).'

õn	aʔyamon	cf.		kahyep	wet	(aʔkəy)
õn	aʔ=yamot-t			kahyep	o=ʔe-t	(aʔ=kəy)
1SG	3SG=miss-IND1			miss	1SG=AUX-IND1	(3SG=DAT)

'I missed him/it.' 'I missed something/(him/it).'

õn	aʔtigat	cf.		kaʔmep	wet	(aʔkəy)
õn	aʔ=tiga-t			kaʔmep	o=ʔe-t	(aʔ=kəy)
1SG	3SG=throw-IND1			throw	1SG=AUX-IND1	(3SG=DAT)

'I threw him/it.' 'I threw something/(him/it).'

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6.2.5 DISCOURSE

Descriptions and analyses of the discourse features of ideophones in the linguistic literature are almost non-existent (cf. Childs 1994:196). The predominant idea, nevertheless, is that the use of ideophones is correlated with a high degree of expressiveness. This seems to be the true in the case of Karo.

In Karo, a preliminary comparative analysis shows that ideophones tend to occur more frequently in narrative than in conversation. This is probably what we would expect if we take into consideration the fact that narratives are more highly structured than everyday conversations (Chafe 1980; Singer 1990). Evaluative and expressive mechanisms (in the sense of Labov 1972) tend to be used more frequently in narratives, since narrators seem to be naturally more pressured to "make a point" when telling a story than someone would when participating in a conversation. In this sense, ideophones would tend to be used by speakers as a means to bring attention to specific events in their narratives, because they express these events in special, colorful ways.

Although this analysis is merely preliminary, the point to be made is that systematic studies which describe and explain possible differences in the occurrence of ideophones in different genres are not found in the literature.

Further studies also need to be conducted regarding other discourse (or pragmatic) features of ideophones in Karo, among them:

1) Are they restricted to certain types of discourse genre (such as conversations, narratives)?;

2) Is there any correlation between the use of ideophones and social factors such as sex, age and degree of integration into the dominant population (speakers of Portuguese)?;

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3) To what extent is there individual variation in the use of ideophones by Karo speakers?; and

4) What types of variation exist among speakers of Karo and speakers of other genetically related languages?

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6.2.6 List of ideophones in Karo (partial)

IDEOPHONE		MEANING
1.	ayam	'yawn'
2.	cagam	'noise of eating'
0.	caraŋ	'light match'
4.	círup	'walk fast'
5.	cok	'crush (in mortar)'
6.	cőn	'kick'
7.	cõn	'poke (without tip)'
8.	curuŋ	'light (paper, fire)'
9.	érom	'lick'
10.	eʔniyãm	'blow baby's nose'
11.	i	'shout'
12.	it	'call (someone by 'ssss')'
13.	kahmi	'kill prey and it stays quiet'
14.	kãm	'hold'
15.	kamari	'brake'
16.	kãn	'sing'
17.	kap	'shoot arrow'
18.	kaw	'chew'
19.	kãy	'scratch'
20.	kaʔcuruŋ	'get in (smoothly)'
21.	kaʔmɨk	'poke hole with arrow'

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22.	ka?pet	'fart'
23.	ka?pew	'throw sand'
24.	ka?pot	'jump'
25.	ka?tan	'throw (stone at house)'
26.	ka?tik	'brake'
27.	konõŋ	'turn'
28.	korot	'pull (hair, feather)'
29.	kot	'swallow (liquid)'
30.	kururut	'pull with (fishing) line'
31.	kət	'cut'
32.	kɨw	'cut'
33.	ma	'slap (to kill insects on the body)'
34.	mãn	'tie up'
35.	mari	'thresh'
36.	ma?	'beat'
37.	ma?ã	'beat (with stick, hand)'
38.	mi	'hatch'
39.	mõm	'look'
40.	morap	'touch/shuffle (things)'
41.	moŋ	'hold'
42.	mĩrik	'pinch'
43.	məŋ	'nod'
44.	mɨk	'drill'

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45.	nay	'bite'
46.	noŋ	'poke (with tip)'
47.	nuw	'thunder noise'
48.	ñim	'blink'
49.	nɨ	'push'
50.	ohyuŋ	'dive'
51.	omuw	'fall (heavy object)'
52.	omɨk	'poke hole'
53.	onoroŋ	'fall down'
54.	onuru	'fall (tree)'
55.	opɨw	'fall'
56.	oton	'fall (light object)'
57.	oturum	'climb down'
58.	oyarap	'go down'
59.	parak	'perforate somebody w/ arrow'
60.	paramu	'sit down'
61.	pãŋ	'cut'
62.	pegat	'stick'
63.	poroŋ	'get in'
64.	pu	'blow (at fire)'
65.	put	'fart'
66.	puŋ	'shoot'
67.	pĩp	'blow'

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68.	pəgəp	'climb up'
69.	pɨk	'punch, step with the heel'
70.	t͡pu	'jump'
71.	tan	'beat (finger on table)'
72.	tãn	'cut (wood)'
73.	tay	'pull (strongly)'
74.	tãŋ	'drop'
75.	tẽŋ	'beat on wood'
76.	tuk	'beat'
77.	tuy	'pull'
78.	tuŋ	'pound (in mortar)'
79.	wãy	'waive'
80.	wé (owé)	'vomit'
81.	weret	'cut (hair)'
82.	wirup	'sweep'
83.	wi	'bend'
84.	wen	'write'
85.	məy	'stop'
86.	əya	'burp'
87.	wĩm	'whistle'
88.	wəri	'dig'
89.	wərəŋ	'spin'
90.	wɨk	'go down'

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91.	wiga	'shake (head)'
92.	yap	'pull down'
93.	yara	'saw'
94.	yok	'copulate'
95.	ī	'blow (nose)'
96.	īm	'smell'
97.	ʔu	'bee noise'
98.	ŋit	'get up'
99.	ŋuran	'swallow'
100.	ŋərəŋ	'turn the head back'

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CHAPTER 7

THE EVIDENTIAL SYSTEM

Karo has a rich system of phrase- or sentence-final particles which are used to convey evidentiality. In this chapter I first provide some background on evidentials, and then describe and categorize the main semantic properties of the evidential system of Karo.

7.1 BACKGROUND

Roughly, evidentiality can be described as the linguistic way in which a speaker conveys the source and/or reliability of the information or knowledge s/he possesses. In its strict sense, the label refers only to the source of information or knowledge acquired through some sort of evidence. In a broader sense, however, evidentiality also includes the speaker's attitudes towards the information or knowledge, qualifying the reliability of information communicated in four primary ways: 1) by specifying the source of information; 2) by conveying the degree of precision with which the information is communicated; 3) by specifying the degree to which the information fits with the speaker's view of reality; and 4) by rendering expectations concerning its reliability (Mithun 1986).

It was only recently, with the publication of a special volume on evidentiality (based on a symposium held in Berkeley in 1981), that the phenomenon of evidentiality was examined from a cross-linguistic perspective (Chafe and Nichols 1986). Among the important points raised in this volume was the realization that evidentiality is not a unified category, in that evidentials bear close relationships with other categories such as tense, aspect and especially mood, and evidentiality can be expressed formally in a variety of forms, such as

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affixes, particles, auxiliaries and whole predicates, even within a single language. In discussing the properties of evidentials in Karo I will take the papers in Chafe & Nichols (1986) and elsewhere (Hoff 1986; Palmer 1986; Barnes 1984; Givón 1982; Wierzbicka 1996) as a basis.

7.2 THE EVIDENTIAL SYSTEM OF KARO

The evidential system of Karo consists of a set of particles which are not obligatory. They tend to occur at the ends of clauses, and the precise number of evidentials and their meanings are still under investigation. Eleven evidentials have been identified so far. They are used to qualify the information provided by speakers in two different ways: 1) by *specifying the modes* in which the information is conveyed (modes of knowing), and 2) by *qualifiying the trustworthiness* of the information conveyed (reliability). Seven evidentials fall in the first category. Of these, three deal with evidence per se (visual, hearsay and evidence which was lost or is not available), other three deal with inference (either based on evidence, on expectation, or on a familiar pattern), and the last evidential deals with belief. The other four evidentials fall under the category of reliability, and are used to characterize the speaker's judgement of the information provided as highly probable, fairly probable, improbable. Highly probable information is further subdivided into two subcatetories according to its assessment: it can be highly probable because it is based on some sort of evidence, or it can be highly probable even though it is not based on any evidence.

Below I give a list of the evidentials of Karo with their category, subcategory, specification and approximate gloss.

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Evidential	Category	Subcategory	Specification	Gloss
1. **topɔ**	mode of knowing	evidence	visual	be.seen
2. **tɔ**	mode of knowing	evidence	hearsay	they say
3. **coke**	mode of knowing	evidence	lost evidence	clearly
4. **aket**	mode of knowing	inference	from evidence	must
5. **igã**	mode of knowing	inference	from expectation	must
6. **memã**	mode of knowing	inference	from pattern	be.supposed
7. **iʔkiy**[61]	mode of knowing	belief		I guess
8. **manã**	reliability	+ probability	with no evidence	obviously
9. **nãnin**	reliability	+ probability	with evidence	really
10. **menɔ**	reliability	+- probability		wonder
11. **pɔ**	reliability	- probability		maybe

The specific circumstances of use of each of these evidentials, and examples of their occurrence are provided below.

topɔ: when the information conveyed is known by visual experience;

péŋ	*ʔet*	***topɔ***	*toat*	*macaʔi̧*	*wĩa*
péŋ	*ʔe-t*	***topɔ***	*to=at*	*macaʔi̧*	*wĩ-a*
white.man	AUX-IND1	**be.seen**	3R=POSS	pet	kill-GER

'(It was seen that) the white man killed his pet.'

(used in a situation where the speaker went to the white man's house and saw him killing his pet)

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[61] Some consultants use the form *aʔkiy* instead.

tɔ: when the information conveyed comes from/is attributed to someone

       else's speech;

ayaʔwan   *tɔ*

aʔ=yaʔwat-t   *tɔ*

3SG=leave-IND1   **they say**

'(It is said that) he left.'

(used in a situation where the speaker had been told by someone else that the

person in question had left)

coke: used when the information conveyed is based on evidence which was lost

       (or is unavailable);

at   *mãygãra*   *wĩn*   **coke**

at   *mãygãra*   *wĩ-n*   **coke**

3SG   snake   kill-IND1   **clearly**

'He clearly killed the snake.'

(used when the speaker knew that the person in question had killed the snake,

which somehow disappeared from the place it was killed)

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aket: used when the information conveyed comes from inference which is based on some sort of evidence:

péŋ	a ʔvĩn	**aket**
péŋ	a ʔ=wĩ-n	**aket**
white.man	3SG=kill-IND1 **must**

'The white man must have killed it.'

(used in a situation where it was known by the speaker that the white man had gone in the forest overnight to hunt and came back with his prey, but neither the speaker nor anybody else saw him killing it)

igã: used when the information conveyed comes from inference which is based on expectation:

tokera	at	**igã**
to=ket-a	a ʔ= ʔe-t	**igã**
3R=sleep-GER	3SG=AUX-IND1	**must**

'He must have gone to sleep.'

(used when the speaker kept waiting for a person for a long time, it was late at night, and the person did not show up. So, the speaker concludes that the person might have gone to sleep)

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memã: used when the information conveyed comes from inference which is based

on a known pattern;

aʔken	***memã***
aʔ=ket-t	***memã***
3SG=sleep-IND1	**be.supposed**

'I suppose he is sleeping.'

(used in a situation where the speaker knew that the person in question was
sleeping before)

iʔkiy: used in a situation where the fact(s) described/talked about come(s) from

belief, without necessarily any supporting evidence;

aʔken	*iʔkiy*
aʔ=ket-t	*iʔkiy*
3SG=sleep-IND1	**guess**

'It is possible that he is sleeping/slept.'

(used when the speaker was simply wondering about what might have happened
to someone else)

manā: used in a situation where what is being described/talked about by the
speaker is highly possible to occur/have occurred. but which is not based
on any sort of evidence, but on experience;

at	a ʔvīn	iga	**manā**
at	aʔ=wī-n	iga	**manā**
3SG	3SG=kill-IND1	FUT	**obviously**

'He will most likely kill it'

(used in a situation where the speaker saw a person petting an animal so hard that
he could eventually kill it)

nānin: used in a situation where what is being described/talked about by the
speaker is highly possible to occur/have occurred. based on some sort of
evidence;

ōn	a ʔoy	**nānin**	kán
ōn	aʔ=top-t	**nānin**	kán
1SG	3SG=see-IND1	**really**	RPAST

'I really saw him long ago.'

(used in a situation where the speaker had seen somebody (mythological creature)
when she was almost sleeping)

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menɔ: used in a situation where what is being described/talked about is possible

to have occurred:

maʔpɔy	ŋa	ʔet	at	chapéu	káʔ	tiga	menɔ
maʔpɔy	ŋa	ʔe-t	at	chapéu	káʔ	tiga-a	menɔ
woman	CL.FEM	AUX-IND1	3SG.POSS	hat	CL.CCV	throw-GER	**wonder**

'Would it be that the woman threw his hat.'

(used in a situation where it was not clear what caused a person's hat to be thrown
away)

pɔ: used in a situation where what is being described/talked about is less

probable;

at	aʎvĩn	pɔ
at	aʔ=wĩ-n	pɔ
3SG	3SG=kill-IND1	**maybe**

'Maybe he killed it.'

(used in a situation where one person used to complain about a semi-domesticated
animal which would often come to his house and make a mess, so the speaker
wondered whether this person killed the animal or not)

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7.2.1 SYNTACTIC CONTEXTS OF OCCURRENCES

Evidentials in Karo were found to occur at the end of clauses as well as inside noun phrases. In the latter type of occurrence, only four evidentials were found to occur: *menɔ, nãnin, topɔ* and *iʔkɨy.* They occur in noun phrases qualifying the information about the head noun and the proposition. It is often the case that the evidential which occurs inside the noun phrase also occurs at the end of the clause. The circumstances under which these occurrences take place remain unknown.

ẽn	ahyɔ	**menɔ**	kanã	tayãn		**menɔ**
ẽn	ahyɔ	**menɔ**	kanã	ta-yã-t		**menɔ**
2SG	INTERR	**wonder**	thing	COM-be.standing-IND1		**wonder**

'Are you really the one who has many things?'

péŋ	**nãnin**	aʔvĩn	**nãnin**
péŋ	**nãnin**	aʔ=wĩ-n	**nãnin**
white.man	**really**	3SG=kill-IND1	**really**

'It was really the white man who killed it/him.'

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péŋ	topɔ	toat	maca?ǐ		nõ	wǐn
péŋ	topɔ	toat	maca?ǐ		nõ	wǐ-n
white.man	be.seen	3R.POSS	pet		one.of	kill-IND1

'The white man was seen to have killed one of his own pets.'

péŋ	i?kǐy	aʔvǐa	wet
péŋ	i?kǐy	aʔ=wǐ-a	o=?e-t
white.man	guess	3SG=kill-GER	1SG=AUX-IND1

'The white man is supposed to have killed it/him'

All eleven Karo evidentials occur in different types of constructions: 1) declarative clauses; 2) information questions; 3) focus constructions; 4) focus + negation constructions; 5) predicate adjective constructions; and 6) predicate nominal constructions.

IN DECLARATIVE CLAUSES:

mǐrǐrǐy	imatẽran	nãnin	toʔwa
mǐrǐrǐy	i=matẽra-t	nãnin	to=?e-a
toad	3IMP=CAUS-go.astray-IND1	really	3R=AUX-GER

'The toad would certainly make people get lost.'

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IN INFORMATION QUESTIONS:

kõm	a ʔcet		menɔ
kõm	a ʔ=cet		menɔ
how	3SG=name		**wonder**

'I wonder what his name is.'

IN FOCUS CONSTRUCTIONS:

nãn	mã	at	a ƛvĩm	menɔ
nãn	mã	at	a ʔ=wĩ-m	menɔ
what	INSTR	3SG	3SG=kill-IND2	**wonder**

'I wonder with what he killed it/him.'

IN FOCUS + NEGATION CONSTRUCTIONS

péŋ	iʔke	a ƛoy	tə
péŋ	iʔke	a ʔ=top-t	tə
white.man	NEG	3SG=see-IND1	**they say**

'It is said that it was not the white man who saw it/him.'

IN PREDICATE ADJECTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

pãttem		at	topə
pãt=tem		at	topə
beautiful=ADVZ		3SG	**be.seen**

'I saw that he/it is beautiful.'

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In predicate nominal constructions

agóa ʔpɔt	*a ʔnãn*	**igã**
agóa ʔpɔt	*a ʔ=nã-n*	**igã**
shaman	3SG=COP-IND1	**must**

'He must be the shaman.'

7.2.2 Evidential sequences

A last and interesting characteristic of Karo evidentials is the fact that they may co-occur with each other. It seems to be possible for as many as three evidentials to co-occur. Not all eleven evidentials co-occur freely, and when they do there seems to be a special order that must be followed. (The restrictions may be semantically based.).

7.2.2.1 Co-occurrences of two evidentials

Evidentials from the two categories, 'mode of knowing' and 'reliability', seem to interrelate in all possible logical ways.

The table below represents the possible and non-possible sequences of two evidentials. The pairs consist of an initial member from the leftmost column followed by a second item identified in the row across the top. A check mark indicates that the given sequence is allowed. An asterisk indicates that the sequence is not possible. Blank boxes identify sequences not collected from a consultant or present in the corpus.

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	MODE OF KNOWING							RELIABILITY			
	EVIDENCE			INFERENCE			BELIEF	RELIABILITY			
↳	topɔ	tɔ	coke	aket	igã	memã	iʔkiy	manã	nãnin	menɔ	pɔ
topɔ	—	√	*		√		*		√	*	
tɔ	*	—	*		*		*		*	*	*
coke	*	*	—		*		*		*	*	*
aket	*	√	*	—	√	√	*	*	√	?	*
igã	*	*	*		—		*		*	*	*
memã						—					
iʔkiy	*	√	√		√		—		*	√	*
manã								—			
nãnin	*	√	√	√	√		√		—	*	*
menɔ	*	*	*	√	*		*		*	—	*
pɔ		√	√		*		*		√	√	—

Table 10. Co-occurrences of two evidentials in Karo

From the information available in the table above, it is possible to state that all four logical types of co-occurrences of evidentials within different categories and subcategories are possible: 1) [mode of knowing] + [mode of knowing], 2) [mode of knowing] + [reliability], 3) [reliability] + [mode of knowing], and 4) [reliability] + [reliability]. Furthermore, whereas there seems to be a high number of sequences of evidentials of the type [mode of knowing + mode of knowing] and [reliability + mode of knowing] (8 occurrences each type out of 21), the other two types of sequences, [mode of knowing + reliability], and [reliability + reliability] occurred only five times, three occurrences for the first type, and two occurrences for the latter type.

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More remains to be discovered about the details of the system, especially scope relations among evidentials in sequence.

Below are examples of sequences of two evidentials obtained in an interview with a consultant[62].

1. aket igã   **inference from evidence + inference from expectation**
                [mode of knowing]   [mode of knowing]

péŋ   aʔvĩn   **aket   igã**

péŋ   aʔ=wĩ-n   **aket   igã**

white.man   3SG=kill-IND1 **must   must**

`The white man must have been killing/beating it/him`

2. aket memã   **inference from evidence + inference from pattern**
                [mode of knowing]   [mode of knowing]

péŋ   aʔvĩn   **aket   memã**

péŋ   aʔ=wĩ-n   **aket   memã**

white.man   3SG=kill-IND1 **must   be.supposed**

`The white man must have supposedly killed it/him.`

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[62] In the interview, the consultant said the sequences were utterly possible, but I do not have actual examples of their occurrences in natural texts/conversations. I am also not certain about their precise translations.

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3. iʔkiy tɔ   **belief**   **+**   **they say evidence**

                    [mode of knowing]   **[mode of knowing]**

owekuy	*nān*	*iʔkiy*	*tɔ*
o=pekuy	*nā-n*	*iʔkiy*	*tɔ*
1SG=dream	COP-IND1	**I.guess**	**they say**

'I guess it is said that I had a dream'

4. aket nānin   **inference from evidence + high probabiliby with evidence**

                    [mode of knowing]   **[reliability]**

péŋ	*aƛvīn*	**aket**	**nānin**
péŋ	*aʔ=wī-n*	**aket**	**nānin**
white.man	3SG=kill-IND1	**must**	**really**

'The white man must really have killed it/him.'

5. topɔ nānin   **visual evidence**   **+ high probability with evidence**

                    [mode of knowing]   **[reliability]**

ayaƛwan	*topɔ*	*nānin*
aʔ=yaƛwat-t	*topɔ*	*nānin*
3SG=leave-IND1	**be.seen**	**really**

'It was seen that he really left.'

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6. iʔkɨy menɔ   belief   +   medium probability

                    [mode of knowing]   [reliability]

kõm   at   iʔkɨy   menɔ

kõm   aʔ=ʔe-t   iʔkɨy   menɔ

how   3SG=AUX-IND1   I.guess   wonder

'I wonder how he might have done it?'

7. nãnin aket   high probability with evidence + inference from evidence
                    [reliability]   [mode of knowing]

péŋ   aʔvm   nãnin aket

péŋ   aʔ=wī-n   nãnin aket

white.man   3SG=kill-IND1 really must

'The white man really must have killed it.'

8. nãnin coke   high probability with evidence + lost evidence
                    [reliability]   [mode of knowing]

õn   aʔoy   nãnin coke

õn   aʔ=top-t   nãnin coke

1SG   3SG=see-IND1 really clearly

'I really just saw him/it.'

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9. nānin igā   **high probability with evidence + inference from expectation**

                    [reliability]   [mode of knowing]

aya ʔʷan   ***nānin igā***

a ʔ=ya ʔʷat-t   ***nānin igā***

3SG=leave-IND1   **really must**

'He really must have left.'

10. menɔ aket   **medium probability +**   **inference from evidence**

                    [reliability]   [mode of knowing]

péŋ   *a ʔʷīn*   *menɔ*   *aket*

péŋ   *a ʔ=wī-n*   *menɔ*   *aket*

white.man   3SG=kill-IND1 **wonder**   **must**

'It is wondered whether the white man must have killed it/him' (when the killing is certain but not seen)'

11. nānin tɔ   **high probability with evidence**   **+ they say evidence**

                   [reliability]   [mode of knowing]

amān yat   ***nānin tɔ***

amān yat   ***nānin tɔ***

rain   fut   **really they say**

'They say that the rain will really fall (or: They really say that the rain will fall.)'

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12. pɔ coke   low probability   +   lost evidence

                     [reliability]   [mode of knowing]

aʔken   **pɔ**   *coke*

aʔ=ket-t   **pɔ**   *coke*

3SG=sleep-IND1   **maybe**   **clearly**

'Clearly he may have slept.'

13. nãnin menɔ   high probability with evidence   + medium probability

                     [reliability]   [reliability]

kõm   co   iʔyat   *ip   ʔiy*   ***nãnin   menɔ***

kõm   co   iʔyat   *ip   ʔiy-t*   ***nãnin   menɔ***

how   PAST 1PL.INCL   fish catch-IND1   **really   wonder**

'I really wonder how we catch a fish.'

14. pɔ menɔ   low probability   +   medium probability

                     [reliability]   [reliability]

aʔken   **pɔ**   ***menɔ***

aʔ=ket-t   **pɔ**   ***menɔ***

3SG=sleep-IND1   **maybe**   **wonder**

'It is wondered whether he is sleeping.'

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7.2.2.2 Co-occurrences of three evidentials

The list of occurrences of three evidentials in sequence should, in principle, be longer than the list of two evidentials, given all the logical possibilities of combinations. It is shorter, nevertheless, because 1) I did not make an exhaustive list of all possible occurrences of three evidentials for evaluation by consultants, and 2) speakers probably do not use three evidentials very often.

The sequences of three evidentials found so far involve only two types of sequences of evidential categories: [reliability] + [reliability] + [mode of knowing] and [reliability] + [reliability] + [reliability].

1) menɔ   iʔkiy   coke

    [reliability]   +   [reliability]   +   [mode of knowing]
    medium probability   belief   lost evidence
    'I wonder. belief. clearly that...'

2) menɔ   iʔkiy   igã

    [reliability]   +   [reliability]   +   [mode of knowing]
    medium probability   belief   inference from expectation
    'I wonder, belief, should...'

3) menɔ   iʔkiy   tɔ

    [reliability]   +   [reliability]   +   [mode of knowing]
    medium probability   belief   they say
    'I wonder, belief, it is said that...'

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4)   pɔ   menɔ   igã

[reliability]   +   [reliability]   +   [mode of knowing]

low probability   *medium probability*   *inference from expectation*

'Maybe. I wonder, should...'

5)   menɔ   ʔkiy   nãnin

[reliability]   +   [reliability]   +   [reliability]

medium probability   *belief*   *high probability with evidence*

'I wonder, belief, really...'

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EPILOGUE

The present grammar is meant to be a contribution to the study of Amazonian languages in general, and the Tupian languages in specific.

Although research regarding the Karo language is far from complete, some of the features of the language may enrich our understanding of the typology of Amazonian languages. Of special interest, in order of presentation in the grammar, are the following characteristics:

1) As the reflex of a heavy interplay between segments and suprasegmental factors. vowels in Karo seem to interact with tone in ways not previously documented before (Fromkin 1978; Hyman 1973. 1975; Hyman and Schuh 1974). High tone appears to raise the mid vowels to [e] and [o], which appear otherwise as [ε] and [ɔ].

2) Karo can be classified as mildly synthetic, and its verbal morphology consists of only a set of 3 inflectional modal suffixes and a set of 5 derivational prefixes. Pronominal clitics can occur as verbal arguments, but they are in complementary distribution with lexical noun phrases. Previous reports noted the richness of verbal morphology in Amazonian languages in general (Payne 1990).

3) Different grammatical patterns emerge in different parts of the grammar. An ergative-absolutive pattern occurs in imperatives, focus constructions, yes-no questions, independent and clitic pronouns, and negative focus constructions. A nominative-accusative pattern (that is, a recognizable subject category) occurs in clause-chaining, emphatic constructions, associated noun phrase constructions, future clauses with the auxiliary kap, and time and purpose subordinations.

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Although the motivations for the occurrence of ergative-absolutive patterning in *all* the systems above is not yet well understood (imperatives, for example, emerge from the grammaticization of *immediacy of involvement* (cf. Mithun and Chafe 1999)), the motivation for the occurrence of the *subject* category in all the nominative-accusative systems is explained in terms of the grammaticization of *starting points* (cf. Chafe 1994).

4) Karo does not seem to conform to the types of classifier languages proposed by Allan 1977: it is *not* a numeral, concordial, predicative (verb-incorporated) or intra-locative classifier language, but a *noun classifier* language. Furthermore, Karo cannot easily be classified as a classifier language according to Dixon's 1986 criteria: two of the criteria classify Karo as a classifier language, and another criterion classifies it as a noun class language. These facts, nevertheless, when taken altogether, seem to conform to the typology of Amazonian languages in general: they cannot be easily classified as one discrete type or another (Craig (ms.), 1986a, 1986b, 1992 ; Payne 1987; Derbyshire and Payne 1990; Aikhenvald 1994).

5) The intricate system of ideophones could be thought of as a powerful linguistic tool for expressing *discourse salience*. Although more research must be completed in this area, a preliminary analysis of Karo narratives and conversations points in this direction. Furthermore, the fact that ideophone constructions are intransitive, and that they sometimes serve as substitutes for regular transitive verbs, may explain the non-existence of antipassives in Karo (cf. Cooreman 1994).

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I hope that with the present work I will be able to contribute to our still unfolding understanding of Amazonian linguistics, especially of the Tupian (non-Tupi-Guaranian) languages of Brazil.

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