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A GRAMMAR OF KARO BATAK, SUMATRA

Geoff Woollams



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*Bujur melala.
Mejuah-juah kita kerina!*

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 GENERAL BACKGROUND

Karo Batak is a Western Austronesian language spoken in northern Sumatra, (Dyen 1965:26). The term 'Batak' (Viner 1979:90) who inhabit the greater part of the hinterland of the province of North Sumatra (*Sumatera Utara*), in the centre of which is located Lake Toba. Each of these groups has its own distinctive language, social organisation and history. The Toba Batak, occupy the island of Samosir in Lake Toba, west of the lake, have been the subject of much anthropological and linguistic study for more than a century. Their language was first brought into prominence with H.N. van der Tuuk's classic grammar of 1864, *Tobasche Spraakkunst* (since translated into English, the last half-century large numbers of Toba Batak have emigrated in all directions, establishing sizeable communities along the east coast of North Sumatra, Java, dispersion and extensive social mobility, with 'Toba Batak'. with West Sumatra, the Simalungun Batak, migrating Toba Bataks. The same phenomenon has occurred with the Pakpak Batak, west and south-west of Lake Toba. varying degrees fluent in Toba Batak as well as their own mother tongue.

The Karo Batak live to the north-west of Lake Toba, square kilometres, roughly between 3° and 3°30' north latitude, and 98° and 98°30' east latitude. Karoland comprises two main areas:

- (a) The Karo highlands, administrative centre is the town of Kabanjahe. Highland Karo territory extends southwards into *Kabupaten Dairi* (in particular the *kecamatan*s or sub-districts of Taneh Pinem and Tiga Lingga), *Kabupaten Simalungun*.
- (b) The Karo lowlands, topographically uppermost) sub-districts of *Kabupaten Langkat* and *Kabupaten Deli-Serdang*. This area extends from the Karo plateau down to around the villages of Bohorok, Purba, *Karo Jahe* (i.e. downstream Karo).

The highlands are regarded as the original homeland and cultural centre of the Karo people. There, the language is less subject to external influences, and kinship ties and traditional life are still strongly maintained. Most highland Karo practise small-scale agriculture, producing rice and vegetables for their own consumption, as well as a variety of cash crops, notably fresh fruit and vegetables, for regional and international markets. The lowland settlements in Langkat and Deli-Serdang regencies are more oriented towards plantation agriculture such as rubber and palm oil. The lowland Karo are also much more subject to coastal Malay influence, often embracing Islam, and sometimes abandoning their patrilineal names and allowing contact with their highland cousins to lapse. Many Karo have also settled in the provincial capital of Medan, some 78 kilometres or two hours by road from Kabanjahe, which has resulted in an inevitable attenuation of both their linguistic 'purity' and their cultural ties with the highlands. Being raised in a multicultural Indonesian-speaking urban environment, where they comprise only 4% of the population, many first-generation Medan-born Karonese no longer use Karo when speaking with their parents, and readily admit to being less proficient than they would like to be, on those occasions when they visit the ancestral village.

On the basis of figures provided by the Statistics Office of the Province of North Sumatra,¹ the total Karo population of North Sumatra in 1984 was estimated at nearly 570,000 (this and the following figures have been rounded out to the nearest thousand). This total can be broken down regionally as follows:

(a) Karo Highlands:	Kabupaten Karo	226,000
	Kabupaten Dairi	19,000
	Kabupaten Simalungun	3,000
	Total	248,000
(b) Karo Lowlands:	Kabupaten Langkat	125,000
	Kabupaten Deli-Serdang	141,000
	Total	266,000
(c) Municipality of Medan		55,000
	Overall total	569,000

Besides proficiency in their own language, the most important mark of one's identity as a Karonese is the clan name. All Karo people belong to one or other of the five patrilines or *merga*: Karo-karo, Ginting, Tarigan, Sembiring and Perangin-angin. Each of these clans contains between 13 and 18 sub-clans, there being a total of 83 sub-clans in all (Singarimbun 1975:74; Tamboen 1952:64). These clans and sub-clans are distinctively Karo, but in many cases are readily relatable to clans from the other Batak groups, particularly the Simalungun and Pakpak. Indeed, one's ethnic (and sub-ethnic) identity as a Batak is established by one's clan name; thus Tarigan and Sembiring are identifiably Karo, Saragih and Damanik are Simalungun, Bancin and Berutu are Pakpak, and so on. In those instances where the same clan name exists for different groups, this is always carefully explained when introducing oneself. Thus one says: "I am a Karo Purba" or "I am a Simalungun Purba". Even non-Karos who wish to participate in Karo society are assigned patrilineal and matrilineal clan

¹ Budiharto (pers.comm.)

names, as anything more than superficial day-to-day interaction without such coordinates of social reference is practically impossible.

The term 'Batak' is not much used for self-description by the Karo people, except to help outsiders locate them in the ethnic web of Indonesia. Amongst themselves, and to other Bataks, they simply call themselves *kalak Karo* or *orang Karo* (Karo and Indonesian respectively, meaning 'the Karo people'). They call their language *cakap Karo* (in Karo) or *bahasa Karo* (in Indonesian). Unlike their Pakpak and Simalungun neighbours, they have not been either culturally or linguistically overwhelmed by Toba Batak influence. Apart from the very old and the very young, most Karo also speak Indonesian, the national language, which is the medium of education and mass communication.

Singarimbun's (1975) ethnography provides an excellent account of the workings of Karo society. The complexities of the kinship system cannot be summarised here, but brief mention will be made of certain kinship terms, in so far as they occur in many of the examples in this description of the language. The term *sənina* refers to clan mates or siblings of the same sex; *turang* is used to refer to or address clan mates of the opposite sex. These are usually glossed in subsequent chapters simply as 'brother' or 'sister', in accordance with the context from which the examples are derived. The terms *kalimbubu* and *anak beru* refer to a reciprocal relationship which in anthropological literature may be rendered approximately as 'wife givers' and 'wife takers' respectively, although as Singarimbun (1975:111) cautions, this translation is in many respects misleading. Where these terms occur below, they are usually glossed as 'in-laws'. In view of the large vocabulary the Karo possess for kinship reference and address, and the multiplicity of foci which these terms can designate (Singarimbun 1975:202-206), it has not always been practical to present the most literal or precise gloss in English. Instead, I have usually opted for an English term within the same general domain of meaning. Thus, for example, the terms *bapa* (meaning inter alia 'father's brother'), *mama* ('mother's brother') and *bəŋkila* ('father's sister's husband') are all glossed simply as 'uncle', without regard to the important distinctions that they convey in Karo society.

1.2 LINGUISTIC AFFILIATIONS AND RELATED SPEECH VARIETIES

Following Voorhoeve (1955:9), the Batak languages may be divided into two mutually unintelligible groups: the Northern, which comprises Karo, Pakpak and Alas, and the Southern, which includes Toba, Angkola and Mandailing. Voorhoeve places the geographically intermediate Simalungun as linguistically midway, though in a more recent study, Adelaar (1981) concludes that Simalungun is more closely related to the Southern group.

It remains an open question as to how many of these different Batak tongues ought to be regarded as distinct languages, as opposed to dialects of the one language. Against the north-south grouping adopted above is the reality that a line of mutual intelligibility may be traced between adjacent languages in the chain from north to south. Yet the fact that each of the groups recognises and asserts its identity on the basis of clan names and social organisation suggests that sociocultural factors play a role equally as important as linguistic ones in determining where dialects end and new languages begin. In many ways the issue of the Batak linguistic divisions seems to parallel the case of the Scandinavian dialect continuum.

Karo is most closely related to its three neighbouring languages: Alas to the west (across the provincial border, in Aceh Tenggara), Pakpak to the south, and Simalungun to the east. A comparison of 207 basic vocabulary items from Karo and these adjacent languages yields cognate percentages of 76, 81 and 80 respectively. With Indonesian/Malay, which it borders on the north, the percentage of shared basic vocabulary is only 30%. Karo and Toba are not mutually intelligible. Foley (1983) groups two other local speech forms, Kluet and Singkil, together with the northern Batak dialects, but in the absence of adequate information about these, little more can be established for the moment concerning their interrelationships.

Although no objective measures have been made of the degree or nature of mutual intelligibility between Karo and its closest linguistic neighbours in the northern group, informants' reports generally suggest that Karo is more easily understood by speakers of Alas and Pakpak than the reverse. The reasons for this are more likely to be socially and politically motivated rather than linguistically based, as the Alas and Pakpak communities are both minorities who have been subject to pressure from sometimes very dominant immigrant groups. It is only within the last decade that the Pakpak Christian Church, for instance, has conducted its services in Pakpak, instead of Toba Batak. The Karo, on the other hand, have no such recent experience of cultural domination by others,² and attach great prestige to the use of and competence in their own language.

Dialect differences are found within Karo itself, although not to the extent of hindering mutual comprehension. At worst, such differences may give rise to amusement or teasing. Tarigan and Tarigan (1979:3) identify three major dialects: the Karo Gunung-gunung dialect, spoken in the highlands west of Munte; the Kabanjahe dialect, spoken in the east of the highlands; and the Jahe-jahe dialect, spoken in those areas of Karoland in *Kabupaten Deli-Serdang* between Medan and the highlands. They do not mention to which (if any) of these varieties the speech of the Karo inhabitants of *Kabupaten Langkat* belongs.

Although my own data on this score are not comprehensive, some general observations about the dialect situation are tentatively offered here. A survey of key variants suggests that a bundle of isoglosses converge to form a major boundary between the eastern and western dialects, following a more or less straight line which runs from north-north-east to south-south-west between (but not including) the towns of Binjai in *Kabupaten Langkat* and Sidikalang in *Kabupaten Dairi*. The differences between these main dialects are almost exclusively phonological and lexical.

Phonologically the western dialect is mostly characterised by either a lowering or fronting of vowels found in the eastern dialect. These correspondences are as follows:

- (i) eastern Karo: word-final closed syllable containing /u/
western Karo: word-final closed syllable containing /o/

For example:

/waluh/	eight	/waloh/
/kərahung/	throat	/kərahong/
/mbur/	fat	/mbor/

² This is not to deny the importance of Indian influences of as far back as a millennium ago, which have left their distinctive linguistic and cultural imprint (see Edwards McKinnon 1987).

- (ii) eastern Karo: word-final closed syllable containing /i/
western Karo: word-final closed syllable containing /ə/

For example:

/sitik/	a little	/sitək/
/kəntisik/	for a moment	/kəntisək/
/malir/	to flow	/malər/

- (iii) many eastern dialect words containing /u/ or /ə/ have western dialect counterparts with /i/

For example:

/məluhe/	hungry	/məlihe/
/bəntuha/	rainbow	/bəntiha/
/ndəhər/	near	/ndihər/

- (iv) word-final diphthongs in eastern Karo have corresponding word-final monophthongs in (highlands) western Karo

For example:

/ndiganai /	when? (past)	/ndigane/
/jaun/	corn	/jon/
/ndaun/	far	/ndoh/

Some lexical differences accompanying this phonological variation are:

(eastern)		(western)
/mbərtik/	pawpaw	/pərtik/
/sudu/	coconut shell	/bərku/
/kiam/	run	/giam/
/tualah/	coconut	/taalah/

At the level of morphology, fully reduplicated words in the eastern dialect have partially reduplicated corresponding forms in the western dialect (§3.9.9):

/gawah-gawah/	stroll	/gagawah/
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No significant syntactic variation between the eastern and western dialects has been observed.

Within this major scheme, other sub-dialects may be identified, again on the basis of particular phonological or lexical items. For example, the terms for 'grandfather' and 'grandmother' are respectively *nini bulaŋ* and *nini tuduŋ* in the eastern dialect, *bolaŋ* and *(n)ondoŋ* in the lowlands western dialect (in Langkat), and *laki* and *nini + (clan name)* in the highlands western dialect. The Singalur Lau dialect, spoken in the south-west corner of Karoland around Tiga Binanga, Kuta Buluh and Tiga Lingga, characteristically fronts word-final /a/ to [ɛ] or [æ] (e.g. *juma* /juma/ [jumɛ] 'field'). Within the eastern dialect, speakers in the south-easternmost region (most notably around the village of Cingkes in *Kabupaten Simalungun*) tend to diphthongise word-final /e/ and /o/, such that *bage* /bage/ 'like that' becomes [bagai], and *rimo* /rimo/ 'citrus' becomes [rimau]. Dialectal variation is sometimes localised to the village level. For instance, the speech of people from Bintang Meriah in

Kecamatan Kuta Buluh is regarded as sounding distinctively different from that of people in surrounding villages.

Within this largely uncharted network of variation, the highland eastern dialect seems to be implicitly regarded as the 'standard' variety of Karo by many speakers. This conclusion is grounded in the reality that at the centre of this region lies the town of Kabanjahe, the administrative and commercial hub of *Kabupaten* Karo, and the local centre for access to education at the upper secondary level and beyond. Furthermore, young Karo people from the western regions who come to study in Kabanjahe or Medan quickly learn to adapt their speech to the eastern variety, in order to avoid being teased about their rural accent. This study is based primarily upon data from the highland eastern dialect; other varieties referred to or which appear in examples are usually noted.

1.3 PREVIOUS STUDIES OF THE KARO LANGUAGE

The activities of Dutch missionaries and educators at the turn of the century (Pedersen 1970:131-141) saw the production of the first Karo-Dutch dictionary in 1907 by M. Joustra, who in addition to his interest in the local language and literature, published a great many articles on various facets of everyday Karo life (Tarigan & Tarigan 1979:16 ff.) He was followed by another missionary, J.H. Neumann, who likewise contributed much to the documentation of Karo anthropological matters, as well as translating the Bible, producing a grammar of the language (1922), and compiling a new Karo-Dutch dictionary (posthumously published in 1951) which superseded Joustra's earlier work. Neumann's grammar, like so many other studies of Indonesian languages at that time, was more devoted to morphological rather than syntactic aspects of the language. Nevertheless it is a thorough and reliable work. His dictionary remains an indispensable and as yet unsurpassed source of lexical and morphological information.

More recent contributions to the study of the Karo language have nearly all borne the name of Henry Guntur Tarigan, himself a Karo who has also written voluminously on neighbouring Simalungun. A review of his works up to 1972 is provided by Chambert-Loir in *Archipel* (1974). Despite their profusion, Tarigan's early studies on Karo and his subsequent collaborative work with Djago Tarigan (1979) are characterised by a rather repetitive approach and often superficial analyses.³

A later grammar (Yusmaniar et al. 1987) commissioned by the National Center for Language Development (Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa) provides little information beyond that contained in Tarigan and Tarigan (1979), whilst a Karo-Indonesian

³ In their treatment of Karo phonology, Tarigan and Tarigan completely overlook the vocoid [u] which, as is argued in §2.2.4, has full phonemic status. Neumann (1922:8) had earlier drawn attention to the sound, opting to interpret it as a long schwa. The most serious shortcomings in Tarigan and Tarigan's description of syntax concern the failure to acknowledge that Karo is primarily a predicate-initial language, together with the lack of any account of the dominant role played by passive constructions. Much of Tarigan's work on Karo seems overly concerned with attempting to fit Karo data into the (often inappropriate) analytic frameworks proposed by the American structuralists of the 1950s and 1960s.

dictionary in the same series (Siregar et al. 1985) remains disappointingly deficient when compared to Neumann's work published thirty-five years earlier.⁴

1.4 KARO LITERATURE

Despite the existence of an indigenous script (a legacy of earlier Indian influence; see Parkin (1978:ch.5) and §2.6.1 below), the Karo had no established written literary tradition in precolonial times. Some traditional folktales were published by the early Dutch missionaries and educators (Voorhoeve 1955:14; Joustra 1904), but little subsequent material appears to have been made available in print until the 1960s.

Recent decades have seen a steady increase in the number of publications in the Karo language, inspired by the initiatives of scholars such as Masri Singarimbun (1960) and Henry Guntur Tarigan (1965). A separate list of Karo language publications is provided in the Bibliography at the end of this grammar. The works listed therein fall mainly into the following categories: traditional folktales, modern short stories and novels, clan histories, descriptive and prescriptive texts on *adat* (= traditional law and customs), school texts and readers, poems, proverbs, songs and translations of the Bible. All of the above constituted an important part of the corpus upon which this grammar is based.

Besides such written works, oral literary traditions continue to flourish. These take various forms, such as short rhyming quatrains called *nduŋ-nduŋen* (analogous to the Malay *pantun* genre), lamentations or *bilag-bilag* (Tarigan & Tarigan 1979:9,10) and ceremonial songs called *kateneng-kateneng*, which are accompanied by traditional music (Sembiring 1987). As well, a growing number of audio plays (*drama Karo*) on cassette tapes is available in local music stores alongside collections of both traditional music and the latest Karo popular hits.

1.5 METHODOLOGY AND OBJECTIVES

This study is based primarily upon information collected on the Karo language during three periods of fieldwork in North Sumatra: January-June 1976, August-December 1984 and December-January 1989. During the first field trip I lived in the small town of Brastagi in the Karo highlands, where my efforts were mainly directed at acquiring as much proficiency as I could in the language itself and at collecting as much information as possible for subsequent analysis back in Australia. Upon my return home, much of the stimulation and momentum acquired in the field was regrettably lost due to the competing demands of full-time employment and family responsibilities. However, despite the lengthy interval away from Karoland until the second visit, I remained fortified by copious amounts of written and recorded data to work on, as well as being fortunate to have access to a number of Karo speakers in Australia, mostly students undertaking post-graduate study. Besides this I remained in touch through regular correspondence with Karo friends and informants back in North Sumatra.

⁴ Apart from numerous omissions and mistranslations, this dictionary contains no entries beginning with 'ng-'. Moreover, within its 248 pages, there are virtually no entries which record more than one morphological derivative per headword.

By the time of my second and third visits to the field, I had established a good many hypotheses about the language as well as acquired a passable fluency in it, such that I was able to conduct most of my subsequent inquiries monolingually in Karo. On those occasions I also had the opportunity to travel to a number of different parts of Karoland and do some preliminary studies on dialect differences. Apart from collecting a substantial number of publications in the language (see Bibliography), I was able to assemble a large corpus of data from my observations and recording of speech in a variety of everyday situations.

The aim of this study is to describe the phonological, morphological and syntactic structures of Karo Batak. In analysing the data I have adopted an eclectic approach rather than attempt to align myself with any particular theoretical persuasion. Although the general foundation employed here is structuralist (in many respects identifiable as an attenuated version of tagmemic analysis, minus the extreme formalism), I have attempted to borrow insights from other approaches when these seem better suited to describe the facts at hand. Some issues of theoretical significance have emerged from this study, such as the interplay between voice and aspect marking in the transitive system of Karo, but I have been motivated more by the objective of describing and explaining how the structures of Karo work, rather than attempting to support any particular theoretical position. It is my hope that the conclusions arrived at in this study may be of some assistance to others wishing to use Karo for communicative purposes.

For ease of reference, this description is organised into seven chapters as follows: Chapter 2 deals with the phonological system, Chapter 3 deals with the morphology, Chapter 4 describes noun phrases and prepositional phrases, Chapter 5 looks at non-transitive clauses, Chapter 6 describes transitive clauses, Chapter 7 describes aspects of clause-level syntax common to all clause types, and Chapter 8 provides an account of the ways in which clauses combine with each other. When, as often happens, phenomena from different levels of the language converge and interact, then a good deal of cross-referencing will be found. Despite the fact that there is no separate chapter devoted to the study of Karo discourse by itself, information about the discourse significance of particular constructions is provided together with the description of the relevant forms.

With the exception of Chapter 2, each of the language examples presented is accompanied by an interlinear gloss, plus a rendering into idiomatic English. Although an attempt is made to keep them as uniform as possible, the interlinear glosses sometimes vary to suit the demands of the discussion. In most instances they provide a morpheme-by-morpheme account, but where larger constituents need to be identified, this is indicated using the appropriate symbols and parentheses. Apart from the special orthographic conventions adopted here to distinguish the different phonological values represented by the grapheme 'e' (see §2.6.2), the format of the Karo language examples reflects the orthographic practices employed by native speakers. Thus morpheme breaks within the word are not indicated in the vernacular examples, but are marked by the use of a full stop in the interlinear gloss. The full stop also serves to join together a number of words which collectively refer to a single form in the vernacular, where Karo-English morpheme correspondences are not readily expressible, for example, *perlahangna* 'the.not.being.the.case.of'. In vernacular examples the hyphen serves to indicate reduplicated forms (see §3.9); in those cases where such forms have a single meaning, no corresponding morpheme break is indicated in the interlinear gloss.

Abbreviations and other symbols employed in the description are now described in the following section.

1.6 ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

A	answer	ORD	ordinal
ABIL	abilitative	P	predicate
ACT	active	PART	interrogative particle
ADJ/adj.	adjective	PASS	passive
ADVS	adversative	PERF	perfective marker
ADV	adverb	Phr	phrase
APP	apposition	PL	multiplicity of event
AUX	auxiliary	POSS	possessive
BE	the existential verb <i>lit</i>	PP	prepositional phrase
C	consonant	PREP/prep.	preposition
CAUS	causative	PROG	progressive
COMP	complement	P-S	predicate-subject
CONF	rhetorical question marker	PURP	purpose
CONJ/conj.	conjunction	Q	question
DAT	dative	Qf	quantifier
Deg	degree	QUOT	quotative
DES	descriptive	RC	relative clause
DET	determiner	REL	relative
EMPH	emphatic	REP	repetitive
EXCL	exclamative	RHET	rhetorical question marker
FREQ	frequentative	S	subject
H	head	SC	subordinate clause
HORT	hortatory	s.th.	something
IMP	imperative	s.o.	someone
INSTR	instrumental	SOF	softener
INTER	interrogative	S-P	subject-predicate
INTRO	introductory particle	STAT	stative
INV	involuntary	V	vowel
INTENS	intensive	VB/v.	verb
ITER	iterative	[X]	X is a phone
LINK	copulative particle	/X/	X is a phoneme
LOC	locative	{X}	X is a morpheme
MAN	manner	{∅}	zero morpheme
MEAS	measure	(X)	X is optional
NEG	negative	*X	X is ungrammatical
NP	noun phrase	X:Y	X is expounded by Y
Num	numeral/number	X ---> Y	X is rewritten as Y
NMS	nominaliser	X <--- Y	X derives from Y
O	object	X ~ Y	X and Y alternate freely

Other minor conventions such as the use of asterisks following forms, and the use of underlining, boldface and italics, are associated with a number of different meanings and are explained in those sections where they occur.

CHAPTER 2
PHONOLOGY

This chapter describes the phonological system of Karo. Non-segmental features of stress, length and intonation are described first (§2.1), followed by a comprehensive account of the 24 segmental phonemes (17 consonants and 7 vowels) in §2.2. Then follows a description of the syllable types and distribution of phonemes (§2.3), morphophonemics (§2.4), extrasystemic phonology (§2.5) and finally a brief discussion of the orthography (§2.6).

2.1 NON-SEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY

2.1.1 STRESS

Stress in Karo is predictable and therefore non-phonemic. The following sections describe in turn: word stress, phrase stress, vocative stress and irregular stress.

2.1.1.1 WORD STRESS

Word stress normally falls on the penultimate syllable of the word. It is indicated with [ˈ].

/jəlma/	[jəlˈma]	person
/karo/	[kářo]	Karo
/nande/	[nánde]	mother
/pəkpək/	[pəˈpəʔ] ⁵	hit
/idarami/	[idářámi]	be sought
/idaramina/	[idářamína]	be sought by him

If the penultimate syllable is open and contains /ə/, stress usually shifts to the last syllable:

/madəm/	[mədəm]	sleep
/ndəkah/	[ndəkáh]	long time
/pəti/	[pəti]	box
/bəbərə/	[bəbərə́]	mother's clan
/pərləgo/	[pərləgó]	dry season

However, this stress shift does not occur under either of the following conditions:

(i) if the final syllable begins with a velar nasal /ŋ/ or velar fricative /h/:

/ləŋa/	[ləŋa]	not yet
/rəŋit/	[rəŋitʰ]	mosquito

⁵ Contra Neumann's (1922:10) observation, echoed by Adelaar (1981:2), that word stress on doubled root morphemes falls equally on both syllables, in modern-day Karo stress placement on doubled root morphemes is perfectly regular (i.e. on the penultimate syllable).

/mətəŋət/	[mətəŋət̚ ^o]	careful
/ŋənəhən/	[ŋənəhən]	to see
/kəlsəhən/	[kəlsəhən]	to gasp

(ii) if the final syllable contains the suffixes *-i* or *-en*:

/nimpəti/	[nimpéti]	to extinguish
/məŋkəti/	[məŋkəti]	to enter
/bagəsən/	[bagésən]	deeper
/pihərən/	[pihə́rən]	harder

2.1.1.2 PHRASE STRESS

Word stress is replaced by stronger stress on the last word of a phrase. This is indicated by [ˈ]. Phrase stress may also be accompanied by a slight lengthening of the vowel, unless it is /ə/ (§2.1.2 (iii)):

/i rumah/	[i rùmah] ~ [i rù:mah]	at the house
/i rumah pəŋulu/	[i rùmah pəŋùlu]	at the headman's house

2.1.1.3 VOCATIVE STRESS

Vocative stress is a particular kind of phrase stress, whereby a word or phrase used vocatively is strongly stressed on the last syllable.⁶ The vowel may be lengthened as well.

/nande!/	[nandè] ~ [nandè:]	O mother!
/karo!/	[kařò] ~ [kařò:]	Grandma Karo!
/bayu!/	[bayù] ~ [bayù:]	Hey, young girl!
/nini bulaŋ!/	[níni bulàŋ]	O grandfather!

2.1.1.4 IRREGULAR STRESS

Around ten words have been found which, from a purely synchronic perspective, exhibit irregular stress placement, nearly always on the final syllable. However, when viewed from other perspectives, their failure to conform to the regularities of the system described above may be seen to be systematic:

- (i) One case, /bage/ [bagé] 'like that, thus' is a contraction of preposition plus demonstrative pronoun /bagi e/ [bági è], with the stronger phrase stress dominant over word stress after the process of contraction.

⁶ Tarigan and Tarigan (1979:84) claim that stress is phonemic as it can distinguish meaning, citing as an example [báyu] 'weave' versus [bayú] 'young girl'. Their failure to recognise the role of vocative stress here is compounded by their failure to distinguish homophones. In fact the second word *bayu* can occur with stress on its penultimate syllable when used non-vocatively, as in /orati bayu ah/ [oràti báyu àh] 'Ask that girl'.

(ii) Two instances of irregular stress, /ndərbih/ [ndərbih] 'yesterday' and /dərək/ [dəřə?] ~ /bərək/ [bəřə?] 'can', are variants of regular forms: /rəbi/ [řəbi] and /dorək/ [dořə?] ~ /borək/ [bořə?].⁷

(iii) Six cases of words with stressed final syllable are highly marked for use in interpersonal interaction and as such may be regarded as containing a vocative or semi-vocative element of meaning:

/ənta/	[əntá]	Give it here!
/əndi/	[əndí]	Here, take it!
/œ/	[oé] ~ /ue/ [ué]	yes
/kuga/	[kugá] ~ /uga/ [ugá]	What's it like? How?
/dage/	[dagé]	well, then; so, in that case
/andiko/	[andikó] ⁸	(exclamation of surprise, fear)

(iv) Only /əŋgo/ [əŋgó] already remains unexplained.

2.1.2 LENGTH

Vowel length is predictable and therefore not phonemic. The conditions under which a vowel is lengthened are as follows:

(i) when it occurs root finally and that root is suffixed with *-en* (§2.4.1.10):

/uli/	+	/-ən/	→	/uliən/	[ulí:n]	better
/rana/	+	/-ən/	→	/ranaən/	[raná:n]	discussion

(ii) when it occurs in a monosyllabic word bearing phrase stress (§2.1.1.2). Compare *man* 'eat' in (a) and (b), and *man* 'for' in (c):

(a) /əŋgo kam man/	[əŋgò kam mà:n]	Have you eaten?
(b) /aku la put man bian/	[áku la put:ř° man bian]	I don't like to eat dog.
(c) /tulan enda man bian/	[tulan ènda man bian]	This bone is for the dog.

Likewise compare *das* 'top' in (d) and (e):

(d) /i ja sitama tas enda	i das/	
[i ja siřáma řas ènda	i dà:s]	
Where should we put this bag?	On top.	
(e) /i das ləmari/	[i das ləmàři]	On top of the cupboard.

These facts militate against Adelaar's (1981:2) conclusion that Karo possesses a set of long vowel phonemes. The argument that vowel length is distinctive on the basis of examples such as *man* 'for' versus *ma:n* 'eat' is only valid as long as the latter receives phrase stress,

⁷ This is also the case for certain other forms, such as /ndəhər/ [ndəhəř] 'near', which has a regular variant /ndihər/ [ndihəř], although the stress placement on this word can be accounted for by the statement in §2.1.1.1 (i).

⁸ Neumann's dictionary lists this as a probable corruption of /nandeku/ 'my mother', in which case it is clearly vocative in origin.

but cannot be sustained by examples (b) and (c), where the two words are phonetically identical in unstressed position.⁹

- (iii) The stressed vowel in a word bearing phrase stress may be lengthened for emphasis:

/jəŋəŋən kalak e kərina/	[jəŋa:ŋən kála? e kərina]	They were all <i>flabbergasted</i> .
/ku darat/	[ku dɑ:raʔ ^o]	Put it <i>outside</i> .
/aku/	[a:ku]	<i>Me!</i>

When that stressed vowel is /ə/, vowel lengthening is not possible. The following consonant is lengthened instead (§2.4.1.5):

/mægərmət kal/	[mægə̃r:məʔ ^o kal]	very meticulous
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In the case of a monosyllabic word, which is automatically lengthened under phrase stress, emphasis results in extra lengthening of the vowel:

/la lit!/	[la li::ʔ ^o]	I don't have any!
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2.1.3 INTONATION

Intonation is phonemic, as it may be the sole distinguishing feature between two utterances of identical segmental material. Karo possesses a rich repertoire of intonation contours which can be superimposed upon the same utterance to seek confirmation, express assertion, doubt, disbelief, contradiction, rebuke and the like. A comprehensive account of intonation is beyond the scope of this study, but minimally a distinction is made here between simple declaratives and yes/no questions. In the following examples, four pitch levels are posited: [1] low, [2] low-mid, [3] high-mid, and [4] high.

The declarative contour is characterised by a fairly level low-mid pitch [2] falling to low [1] utterance finally:

<i>ku juma ia</i>	22221	He has gone to the fields.
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The yes/no interrogative contour begins at a slightly higher pitch than the declarative, pitch [3], rises to its highest pitch level [4] on the syllable which first receives phrase stress, then drops sharply to pitch [2] and rises again to [3] utterance finally:

<i>ku juma ia</i>	34223	Has he gone to the fields?
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2.2 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

There are 24 segmental phonemes in Karo, comprising 17 consonants and 7 vowels, as illustrated in Table 2.1.

⁹ It must also be noted that by virtue of its prepositional status, *man* 'for' is never stressable.

TABLE 2.1: SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

CONSONANTS					
	labial	alveo-dental	palatal	velar	glottal
obstruents:					
voiceless	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>	
voiced	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>g</i>	
nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ŋ</i>	
fricatives		<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
lateral		<i>l</i>			
vibrant		<i>r</i>			
semi-vowel	<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>		
VOWELS					
	front	central	back		
high	<i>i</i>	<i>ɨ</i>	<i>u</i>		
mid	<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>		
low		<i>a</i>			

The following section lists each of the segmental phonemes, describes their allophones, and states the distribution of the allophones if there is more than one.

2.2.1 CONSONANTS

2.2.1.1 VOICELESS STOPS

/p/	[p]	voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop, before vowels and utterance initially	
		/pɑgi/	[pɑgi] tomorrow
		/ipən/	[ipən] tooth
	[p ^o]	unreleased voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop, before consonants and utterance finally	
		/təptəp/	[təp ^o təp ^o] every
		/ŋasup/	[ŋasup ^o] willing
/t/	[t]	voiceless unaspirated dental stop, before vowels and utterance initially	
		/tiga/	[t̪iga] market
		/ate/	[át̪e] liver
	[t ^o]	unreleased voiceless unaspirated dental stop, before consonants and utterance finally	
		/mitpit/	[mit̪ ^o pit̪ ^o] tightly closed
		/tongat/	[t̪ ^o ŋat̪ ^o] little boy
	[t̪ ^o]	unreleased voiceless unaspirated interdental stop, occurring in free variation with [t ^o] utterance finally	
		/rubat/	[r̪úbat̪ ^o] ~ [r̪úbat̪ ^o] fight

/k/	[k]	voiceless unaspirated velar stop, before vowels, and utterance initially		
		/kaka/	[káka]	older sibling
		/bəŋkila/	[bəŋkíla]	uncle
	[ʔ]	voiceless glottal stop, before consonants, and utterance finally		
		/naktak/	[náʔtaʔ]	fall
		/tiknari/	[tʰnáʔi]	shortly

As described above, in normal rapid speech the voiceless stops /p,t,k/ have unreleased allophones preceding consonants and utterance finally. In slow, deliberate speech however, the stops are sometimes released.

2.2.1.2 VOICED STOPS

/b/	[b]	voiced bilabial stop		
		/bəne/	[bənÉ]	lost
		/rubat/	[rúbaʔ ^o]	fight
/d/	[d]	voiced alveolar stop		
		/duŋ/	[dúŋ]	finished
		/ŋuda/	[ŋúda]	young
/g/	[g]	voiced velar stop		
		/galaŋ/	[gálaŋ]	large
		/pagit/	[págit ^o]	bitter

2.2.1.3 AFFRICATES

/c/	[c]	voiceless alveopalatal grooved affricate		
		/ciger/	[cígəʔ]	noon
		/lacina/	[lacína]	chilli
		/ŋəncə/	[ŋénca]	only
/j/	[j]	voiced alveopalatal grooved affricate		
		/jauŋ/	[jáuŋ]	corn
		/məjile/	[məjíle]	beautiful
		/kəɾja/	[kəɾja]	feast

2.2.1.4 NASALS

/m/	[m]	voiced bilabial nasal		
		/məhamat/	[məhámaʔ ^o]	respectful
		/mərim/	[məʔim]	fragrant
		/ləmbam/	[ləmbam]	swollen

/n/	[ŋ]	voiced dental nasal, preceding /t/		
		/bəntuħa/	[bəŋtúħa]	rainbow
		/ənta/	[əŋt̪a]	give it to me
	[n]	voiced alveolar nasal, occurs elsewhere		
		/nini/	[níni]	grandparent
		/əndi/	[əndí]	here, take it
		/nəhən/	[nə́hən]	to see
/ŋ/	[ŋ]	voiced velar nasal		
		/ŋadi/	[ŋádi]	to stop
		/bəŋkau/	[bəŋkáu]	meat
		/norŋ/	[nɔ́rŋ]	to push

2.2.1.5 FRICATIVES

/s/	[s]	voiceless alveolar grooved fricative		
		/sudu/	[súdu]	coconut shell
		/isaŋ/	[ísaŋ]	chin
		/mbagəs/	[mbágəs]	deep
/h/	[h]	voiceless glottal fricative		
		/hamatən/	[hamátəŋ]	more respectful
		/kəmuħən/	[kəmúħən]	right side
		/tualah/	[tuálah]	coconut
	[χ]	voiceless velar fricative, occurring in free variation with [h] syllable finally		
		/siwah/	[síwəχ] ~ [síwah]	nine
		/bəluh/	[bəlúχ] ~ [bəlúh]	clever
		/təhndu/	[tə́χndu] ~ [tə́hndu]	you know

2.2.1.6 LATERAL

/l/	[l]	voiced alveolar lateral		
		/lalap/	[lálap°]	always
		/kundul/	[kúndul]	sit

2.2.1.7 VIBRANT

/r/	[r̄]	voiced alveolar trill		
		/ridi/	[r̄ídi]	to bathe
		/dibəru/	[dibə́r̄ú]	woman
		/mbiar/	[mbiár̄]	afraid

[ɾ]	voiced alveolar flap, occurs in free variation with [r] syllable initially	
/rəŋit/	[rəŋit̚°] ~ [rəŋit̚]	mosquito
/mərim/	[məɾim] ~ [məɾim]	fragrant
/ndəhara/	[ndəhára] ~ [ndəháfa]	wife

2.2.1.8 SEMI-VOWELS

/w/	[w]	voiced unrounded labiovelar non-syllabic vocoid
/wari/	[wáfi]	day
/wili/	[wíli]	wild pig
/mərawa/	[məɾáwa]	angry
/tiwən/	[t̚íwən]	knee
/y/	[y]	voiced palatal non-syllabic vocoid
/ya/	[yá]	okay
/ayo/	[áyɔ]	face
/mbayu/	[mbáyɔ]	to weave
/sayəp/	[sáyəp̚°]	to set off a trap

2.2.2 VOWELS

Karo has two front vowels, two back vowels and three central vowels. Front and back vowels are relatively higher (= tense) in open syllables and relatively lower (= lax) in closed syllables. In addition, the vowels /i/, /o/ and /u/ exhibit a type of vowel harmony, whereby they are lowered in a stressed open syllable immediately preceding an occurrence of the same (lax allophone of the) vowel in a closed syllable. These facts are described and illustrated in detail below:

/i/	[i]	high tense front unrounded vocoid, occurs in open syllables
/ipən/	[ípən]	tooth
/wili/	[wíli]	wild pig
/bəŋkila/	[bəŋkíla]	uncle
[ɪ]		high lax front unrounded vocoid, occurs in closed syllables, and in stressed open syllables immediately preceding a closed syllable containing [ɪ]
/pagit/	[págit̚°]	bitter
/minter/	[mínt̚əɾ]	straightaway
/sitik/	[sít̚it̚°]	a little
/e/	[e]	mid tense front unrounded vocoid, occurs in open syllables
/lepak/	[lépaʔ]	wrong
/nipe/	[nípe]	snake

[ɛ]	mid lax front unrounded vocoid, occurs in closed syllables, and in free variation with [e]		
	/enda/	[énda]	this
	/petpet/	[péɪ° pɛɪ°]	kind of cicada
	/mejile/	[məjɪle] ~ [məjɪle]	beautiful
	/mate/	[máte] ~ [máte]	dead
/ʉ/ [ʉ]	high tense backed central unrounded vocoid		
	/dum/	[dúɪm]	full
	/pərwɪh/	[pəřwúh]	manner of coming
	/karabum/	[kařabuɪn]	late afternoon
	In unstressed syllables /ʉ/ is generally replaced by /ə/. (See §2.2.4 for a more comprehensive treatment of /ʉ/.)		
/ə/ [ə]	mid lax central unrounded vocoid, schwa		
	/mədəm/	[mədəm]	sleep
	/pəřəh/	[pəřəh]	to wring out
	/kəbən/	[kəbən]	rice granary
/a/ [a]	low lax central unrounded vocoid		
	/asa/	[ása]	as much as
	/manjaranjar/	[mánjařánjař]	slowly
/u/ [u]	high tense back rounded vocoid, occurs in open syllables		
	/tuhu/	[túhu]	true
	/pitu/	[pítu]	seven
[ʊ]	high lax back rounded vocoid, occurs in closed syllables and in stressed open syllables immediately preceding a closed syllable containing [ʊ]		
	/pultak/	[púltaʔ]	to rise (of the sun)
	/əmbun/	[əmbun]	cloud
	/dukutdukut/	[dúkuɪ° dúkuɪ°]	grass
	/gutul/	[gútul]	naughty
	/tutus/	[tútus]	earnest
/o/ [o]	mid tense back rounded vocoid, occurs in open syllables		
	/ope/	[ópe]	before
	/pinarŋko/	[pináŋko]	thief
	/bobo/	[bóbo]	above, top
[ɔ]	mid lax back rounded vocoid, occurs in closed syllables, and in a stressed open syllable immediately preceding a closed syllable containing [ɔ]		
	/mombak/	[mɔmbaʔ]	to drift
	/colok/	[cólɔʔ]	matches
	/perkolorŋkolorŋ/	[pəřkólɔŋkólɔŋ]	traditional musicians

2.2.3 PHONEMIC CONTRASTS

The following minimal pairs establish the phonemic status of phonetically similar segments:

/p/ - /b/	/pagi/	tomorrow	/bagi/	like
/t/ - /d/	/kuta/	village	/kuda/	horse
/k/ - /g/	/pake/	wear	/page/	paddy rice
/m/ - /n/	/amak/	mat	/anak/	child
/n/ - /ŋ/	/bulan/	moon	/bulan/	male headdress
/m/ - /b/	/man/	eat	/ban/	make
/b/ - /w/	/bisbis/	mucus in the eye	/wiswis/	rags
/s/ - /c/	/sudu/	coconut shell	/cudu/	warm oneself
/t/ - /c/	/tuak/	rice wine	/cuak/	small piece torn off
/c/ - /j/	/cuak/	small piece torn off	/juak/	follower, henchman
/t/ - /j/	/tuak/	rice wine	/juak/	follower, henchman
/d/ - /j/	/sada/	one	/saja/	just
/t/ - /r/	/tawa/	laugh	/rawa/	anger
/d/ - /r/	/adi/	if	/ari/	is it not so?
/l/ - /r/	/nali/	rope	/nari/	from
/l/ - /d/	/ləŋa/	not yet	/dəŋa/	still
/k/ - /h/	/nakan/	cooked rice	/nahan/	this afternoon
/i/ - /e/	/pagi/	tomorrow	/page/	paddy rice
/i/ - /u/	/bibi/	aunt	/bubuw/	stupid, dumb
/i/ - /u/	/bibi/	aunt	/bubu/	fish trap
/u/ - /u/	/bubuw/	stupid, dumb	/bubu/	fish trap
/u/ - /ə/	/pəruw/	manner of coming	/pərəh/	to wring out
/ə/ - /a/	/kəri/	depleted	/kari/	later
/ə/ - /e/	/kəna/	be struck by	/kena/	you (plural)
/ə/ - /o/	/sərana/	the difficulty	/sorana/	his voice
/a/ - /e/	/bəna/	beginning	/bəne/	lost
/a/ - /o/	/baba/	bring	/bobo/	above
/a/ - /u/	/baba/	bring	/bubu/	fish trap
/o/ - /u/	/bobo/	above	/bubu/	fish trap

2.2.4 THE VOWEL /u/

Although its phonemic status vis-à-vis neighbouring vowels /i/, /u/ and /ə/ has been established by minimal pairs (§2.2.3), some discussion of the vowel /u/ is warranted here, especially as this analysis is at variance with other descriptions of the same phenomenon, and in view of the interplay between /u/ and /ə/ as mentioned in §2.2.2.

Neumann (1922:8) notes a phonetic difference between [ə] (which he terms “pepet”) and the [u] sound found in mostly monosyllabic words such as *tek* ‘believe’, *seh* ‘arrive’, *ser* ‘hot to the taste’, *ben* ‘afternoon’ and *mel* ‘soft’. Such words, he remarks, “could almost have been transcribed with *eu*”, but were instead represented orthographically with *e*. A following note by Adriani on the same page of Neumann’s grammar concludes that the sound is a long schwa, length being an inherent feature of the monosyllabic stem (though the conditioning factor of phrase stress is not explained). In Neumann’s dictionary (1951),

entries with this vowel are distinguished by parenthetical forms containing an *ö*, representing the vowel found in German *schön*. Neither Tarigan and Tarigan (1979) nor Yusmaniar et al. (1987) make special mention of this vocoid in their descriptions, simply including words known to contain the phone [ʊ] amongst their lists of forms with /ə/.

In his comparative study of Batak dialects, Adelaar (1981:2) evidently bases his analysis of a twelve-vowel system for Karo (six short-long pairs) on information from the earlier available literature. Although he does express some uncertainty about the phonemic status of Neumann's /ö/, he appears to accept the existence of a long schwa as phonemically distinct from /ə/, on the basis of two minimal pairs found in Neumann's dictionary.¹⁰

Against this background the following facts can be reported regarding the nature and occurrence of /ʊ/ in modern Karo:

- (1) It is of limited frequency. Neumann's dictionary records around forty root words containing the sound.¹¹ Informants whom I consulted from a number of areas were only able to confirm about twenty-five of these still in current use.
- (2) Since it occurs in significantly fewer words than the other vowels, it naturally has a more limited distribution. It does not occur word initially, for example, and with three exceptions, in citation form is always found in a stressed closed syllable. In 12 out of 25 instances it occurs in independent morphemes of CVC structure, in another four cases in monosyllabic roots prefixed with *me-*, and in five of the remaining cases it is followed by /h/. As all of the lexemes in which /ʊ/ occurs are contentives rather than functors, it has a very high potential for occurrence in words which bear phrase stress. For example:

- | | | |
|-------|--|---------------------------------------|
| (i) | <i>Enggo kam reh?</i>
[əŋɡó kam r̥ù:h] | Have you come?
(used in greetings) |
| (ii) | <i>La terteki aku kam.</i>
[la t̥əʔt̥ù:ki áku kà:m] | I can't believe you. |
| (iii) | <i>Raga enda enggo dem.</i>
[f̥áɡa ènda əŋɡo d̥ù:m] | This basket is full. |

¹⁰ Of the minimal pair /pəʂəl/ 'to push on the belly of a woman in labour, to accelerate the birth' versus /pəʂuɪ/ 'kind of leaf', only the second was known to my informants, /pəʂuɪ/ being a leaf possessing various medicinal qualities.

The other citation, /gəŋ/ 'to have lost and start again, in a boys' game called *panta*' versus /ɡuŋ/ 'kind of deer trap', is questionable in two respects. First, the format of the entry of this root word on page 114 of the dictionary - GENG (göng) - is not suggestive of a pronunciation difference between the two (in fact three) lexemes listed therein. It is not at all clear why Adelaar deduced that the first was pronounced differently from the second, as the pronunciation guide ('göng') precedes both. Secondly, while there is a word /ɡuŋ/ meaning 'to set or reset elements in a game, or equipment (such as a trap)', the meaning cited in Neumann regarding 'a kind of deer trap' was unknown to my informants. I suspect there is in fact only one word /ɡuŋ/ which, as explained in this description, is articulated as /gəŋ/ when unstressed.

¹¹ With the various affixational possibilities afforded by a productive derivational morphology, the actual number of different words in which it occurs would be between double and treble that number. It may also be noted that Neumann does not indicate a number of uncontentious cases of [ʊ], for example /bəntuɦa/, which he records as [bəntəɦa].

In unstressed syllables, however, it is usually replaced by /ə/:

- (iv) *Bapa si reh ndai.* It was Father who came.
[bàpa si řəh ndài]
- (v) *Ula tekindu kai gia nina.* Don't believe a word he says.
[ula təkìndu kài gia nina]
- (vi) *Terdemindu kang kam?* Can you fill it?
[təřdəmìndu kaŋ kàm]

Although such data seem suggestive of a possible complementary relationship between [u] and [ə], none of the hypotheses which postulate [u] as a stressed or lengthened variant of /ə/ holds up under close examination.¹² The account of length in §2.1.2 shows that this is a predictable and therefore not phonemic feature of the language.

Most crucially, instances of contrast in identical and analagous environments are of sufficient number to establish a phonemic difference between /u/ and /ə/.

- (3) This alternation between /u/ and /ə/ in unstressed syllables is not an unusual phenomenon in North Sumatran languages. Durie (1985b:38) reports that “unstressed vowels in Acehnese are particularly unstable”, and that (1985b:27) “unstressed [u] tends towards [ə] in its pronunciation”. Nababan (1981:27) states that in Toba Batak “the weaker the stress a vowel gets the more the articulation tends to shift to a central position, without, however, ever reaching the central position of a schwa”. Indeed in Karo, tendencies towards centralisation are observable in many alternating pairs:

/sinuan/	~	/sənuan/	crops
/sinanγγəl/	~	/sənanγγəl/	troubles
/papagi/	~	/pəpagi/	early in the morning
/kal/	~	/kəl/	very
/dorək/	~	/dərək/	able
/məluŋun/	~	/məluŋən/	lonely

The verb *reh* in the progressive construction is frequently found alternating with prefix *er-*:

/rəh dəkahna/	~	/ərdəkahna/	the longer...
---------------	---	-------------	---------------

Some of the forms marked in Neumann's dictionary as containing /u/ (or in his notation, [ō]), are, according to my informants, articulated either with an unequivocal schwa, or another, non-central vowel:

NEUMANN		MY INFORMANTS	
(n)tjöt	[ncét ^o]	~	[ncit ^o] to sting
sentö	[sén ^o tə]		to walk abreast
tanggö	[tǎŋgə]	~	[tǎŋge] potable sap

¹² For instance there are numerous cases of stressed syllables containing [ə] which do not become [u].

A number of words with /w/ also have common variants:

/məluhe/	~	/məlihe/	hungry
/bəntuwa/	~	/bəntiha/	rainbow
/nduwəhər/	~	/ndihər/	nearby

- (4) A final observation may be made concerning the possible impact of literacy upon the phoneme /w/. Although I have not measured this statistically, my recordings of informants speaking extemporaneously generally appear to contain more easily discernible instances of /w/ than do the recordings of people reading written texts aloud. This is purely impressionistic but seems to be reflective of the lack of distinction made in the orthography, where the grapheme *e* carries a triple functional load: /e/, /w/ and /ə/.

In summary, these observations suggest a phoneme in a state of instability, perhaps decay, though it must be noted that there are no detectable differences here in the speech of young versus old speakers. Nevertheless the loss of many words containing the sound, the alternation of the sound with schwa or some other vowel, and the non-distinctive representation of the sound in the orthography, may be contributing to a rearrangement of the vowel inventory in Karo.

2.3 SYLLABLE TYPES AND PHONEME DISTRIBUTION

2.3.1 SYLLABLE TYPES

A phonemic syllable consists of an obligatory nucleus filled by a single vowel, and may also contain up to two consonants preceding and one consonant following the nucleus. Six syllable types are thus possible:

V	/i-nəm/	to drink	/i-a/	he, she
CV	/ma-te/	die	/kə-ti/	depleted
CCV	/ndə-ha-ra/	wife	/nda-i/	previously
VC	/im-pal/	cousin	/ki-am/	run
CVC	/suŋ-kun/	ask	/jam-bur/	meeting house
CVCC	/ndər-bih/	yesterday	/ŋgus-gus/	teledu

2.3.2 MORPHEME STRUCTURE

Root morphemes in Karo are typically disyllabic, although monosyllabic, trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic forms also occur:

1 syllable:	/i/	at	/kam/	you
2 syllables:	/en-da/	this	/pi-ah/	as a result
	/pək-pək/	hit	/təŋ-ko/	steal
3 syllables:	/ru-bi-a/	animal	/kən-ti-sik/	shortly
4 syllables:	/ka-di-o-la/	regret	/ka-lin-ca-yo/	kind of flower

All syllable types can occur anywhere within morphemes except for CCV and CCVC which are found only morpheme initially.¹³

2.3.3 WORD STRUCTURE

The structure of words is the same as that for morphemes, except that, in addition, the expansion of roots through affixation and cliticisation can yield words of up to eight syllables in length:

4 syllables:	/i-ba-han-na/ /ŋə-ro-a-hi/	he made to carry a child (in a sling)
5 syllables:	/i-lu-pa-kən-ndu/ /kə-ŋa-su-pən-ku/	you forgot my willingness
6 syllables:	/ku-pa-la-pa-la-i/	I strive
7 syllables:	/si-nu-an-si-nu-an-na/	his crops
8 syllables:	/i-pə-ga-jah-ga-jah-kən-ndu/	you exaggerate

The distribution of syllable types in words parallels that for morphemes, with one exception: CCV is found word finally, only in the case of the enclitic pronoun *-ndu* /ndu/ '(by) you; your' attached to a root ending in a consonant:

/i-ŋət-ndu/	you remembered
/ru-mah-ndu/	your house

2.3.4 DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMES WITHIN THE SYLLABLE

This section describes the patterns and limitations of occurrence of phonemes in syllables, morphemes and words.

2.3.4.1 CONSONANTS

2.3.4.1.1 SINGLE CONSONANTS

All consonants may occur initially and medially in words, although instances of word-initial /h/, /w/ and /y/ are comparatively rare:

/hio/	(opening particle used in traditional narratives)
/harŋken/	more respectful
/harhar/	bright, clear
/wili/	wild pig
/ya/	okay? how about that?

¹³ Tarigan and Tarigan (1979:81) and Adelaar (1981:2), following Neumann (1922:7), posit CCV and CCVC morpheme medially (e.g. /ta-nda/ 'sign', /bo-ŋgal/ 'to list, lean to one side', /ti-ŋgə/ 'hear', /sum-pit/ 'rice sack'). In this description the syllable break is interpreted as occurring *between* the medial nasal and the following stop. This interpretation is consistent with the observation that non-central vowels in closed syllables are relatively lower or lax in their articulation, as is indeed the case with the above examples: /sum-pit/ [súm-pit̚], /bon-gal/ [bón̚gal]. An additional problem for the morpheme-medial analysis is that special clusters would need to be recognised as occurring only in that position. For instance, /-mp-/, as in /sumpit/, never occurs morpheme initially.

All consonants except voiced stops, affricates and semi-vowels can close syllables.

The semi-vowels /w/ and /y/ may not occur adjacent to /u/ and /i/ respectively in the same word.

2.3.4.1.2 CONSONANT CLUSTERS

Consonant clusters are found only word initially and word medially.

Word-initial consonant clusters are found only within syllables of the type CCV(C), which themselves occur only word initially. The first member of the cluster is always a nasal which is homorganic with the following obstruent. The second member of the cluster may be any obstruent except /p/. Such clusters are found in both roots and derivatives. In the former case they almost always occur in lexemes designating flora and fauna, or temporals:

/mbərtik/	pawpaw
/ndukur/	large turtledove
/ndərbih/	yesterday
/bunga ncole/	type of flower
/ŋgara/	second day of the Karo calendar

Otherwise such clusters are morphemically segmentable into prefix *N-* plus root:

/mbue/	/m-	+	bue/	many
/ntabəh/	/n-	+	tabeh/	tasty
/ŋkarat/	/ŋ-	+	karat/	bite

Word-medial consonant clusters occur only across syllable boundaries. The high propensity for many Karo morphemes to be formed by reduplication of a monosyllable, coupled with a productive array of affixes and enclitic pronoun forms which are attached to roots, gives rise to a multitude of combinations of consonants across syllable boundaries word medially. Table 2.2 lists the combinatorial possibilities.

The following structural limitations apply:

- All word-medial consonant clusters are biconsonantal, except for
 - the combination /-Cnd-/, resulting from the enclitic pronoun *-ndu* '(by) you, your' when attached to a word ending in a consonant:

/sabahndu/	your rice field
------------	-----------------
 - the combination /-rmd-/ occurring in /ərndəhara/ to have a wife, which results from prefix *er-* + *ndehara* 'wife'.
- Because of the syllable structure constraint on voiced stops, affricates and semi-vowels occurring syllable finally, these cannot occur as the first member of a cluster. The only candidates for first member of a cluster are thus: /p,t,k,m,n,ŋ,s,l,r,h/.
- Semi-vowels cannot occur as the second member of a cluster, i.e. */-Cw-/, */-Cy-/.
- /s/ cannot be followed by another fricative or affricate, i.e. */-sh-/, */-sc-/, */-sj-/.

5. Geminate clusters occur with voiceless stops, nasals, /s/ and /r/. Only four instances have been recorded of a geminate cluster within the morpheme:

/-pp-/	/appuŋ/	grandfather
/-kk-/	/bakkəŋ/	clumsy
/-rr-/	/murri/	fastidious
/-ŋŋ-/	/ŋəŋŋəŋ/	snarl

In all other cases gemination occurs across morpheme boundaries, as a result of affixation or cliticisation with personal pronouns:

/-tt-/	/adatta/	our traditional law
/-kk-/	/majəkkən/	establish
/-mm-/	/kurummu/	your cheek
/-nn-/	/inəhənnə/	he saw
/-ss-/	/pədassa/	too fast

Non-phonemic geminate consonant clusters also occur in the language; these are described in §2.4.1.5.

6. Occurrence of /h/ as second member of a cluster is rare, with only three cases recorded:

/-rh-/	/harhar/	bright
/-lh-/	/həlhə/	dim
/-mh-/	/hələmhələm/	dim

7. The following combinations have not been recorded, though in view of other combinatorial possibilities in Karo, there appears to be no underlying phonetic rationale blocking their occurrence: /-pb-/ , /-pŋ-/ , /-lr-/ , /-nh-/ , /-hŋ-/.

TABLE 2.2: WORD-MEDIAL CONSONANT CLUSTERS

The down column indicates the first member of the cluster, the row across lists the second member; '+' indicates that the cluster occurs, '-' that it does not.

	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>
<i>p</i>	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
<i>t</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
<i>k</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
<i>m</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
<i>n</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
<i>ŋ</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
<i>r</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
<i>l</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
<i>s</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
<i>h</i>	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-

2.3.4.2 VOWELS

2.3.4.2.1 SINGLE VOWELS

All vowels are found in all syllable types except for /ʊ/ which occurs only in CV and CVC.

All vowels are found in stressed and unstressed syllables, except for /ʊ/ which is normally replaced by /ə/ in unstressed syllables (§2.2.4).

2.3.4.2.2 VOWEL CLUSTERS

At the phonemic level, vowel clusters in Karo occur only across syllable boundaries. Table 2.3 lists the possible combinations of vowels within words. Many of the combinations which occur are the result of affixation.

TABLE 2.3: VOWEL CLUSTERS

The down column lists the first member of the cluster, the row across lists the second member. '+' indicates that a sequence occurs, '-' indicates that it does not occur; '++' means that a vowel sequence occurs within the morpheme.

	<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ʊ</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>i</i>	+	+	-	+	++	++	++
<i>e</i>	+	-	-	+	++	++	-
<i>ʊ</i>	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
<i>ə</i>	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
<i>a</i>	++	-	-	+	-	++	-
<i>u</i>	++	++	-	+	++	+	++
<i>o</i>	+	++	-	+	++	-	-

A distinction may be made between vowel sequences which occur morpheme internally and those which occur at morpheme boundaries as a result of affixation or cliticisation.

Only the following vowel sequences are found within the morpheme:

(a) front vowel preceding:

<i>/-ia-/</i>	<i>/ia/</i>	he, she
<i>/-iu-/</i>	<i>/kiuŋ/</i>	myna bird
<i>/-io-/</i>	<i>/cio/</i>	to shelter
<i>/-ea-/</i>	<i>/sea/</i>	not
<i>/-eu-/</i>	<i>/leuh/</i>	type of banana

(b) back vowel preceding:

<i>/-ui-/</i>	<i>/məsui/</i>	sore
<i>/-ue-/</i>	<i>/mbue/</i>	many
<i>/-ua-/</i>	<i>/suan/</i>	to plant
<i>/-uo-/</i>	<i>/uo/</i>	pheasant
<i>/-oe-/</i>	<i>/œ/</i>	yes
<i>/-oa-/</i>	<i>/ərdoah/</i>	carry a child in a sling

(c) central vowel preceding:

/-ai-/	/kai/	what?
/-au-/	/lau/	water

Other combinatorial possibilities and restrictions are now noted:

1. /u/ has not been recorded adjacent to another vowel except in the word /bʊbʊən/ 'more stupid' (bʊbʊ + suffix -ən).

2. /ə/ commonly occurs as second member of a vowel sequence (via suffix -ən) but very rarely as first member. The only three examples recorded all involve prefix *pe-*:

/pəiŋətəkən/	to remind
/pəəmpətəkən/	fourth
/pəatan/	to allow to join in

3. Geminate vowel clusters are rare, occurring only as a result of cliticisation or prefixation:

/siŋətəkən/	we remind
/pəəmpətəkən/	fourth
/kuupahi/	I pay

4. /i/ is commonly found as first member of a sequence via the prefix *i-* or as second member via the suffix *-i*:

/iidah/	to be seen
/iətəh/	to be known
/ŋaloi/	to reply
/nesei/	to untangle

5. Affixation also permits longer sequences of vowels to occur, with up to four in a row being recorded:

3-vowel cluster:	/piui/	to knead, mix
4-vowel cluster:	/siueən/	to acknowledge each other

Many of the combinations of vowels described above exhibit particular phonetic manifestation, such as diphthongisation, lengthening and elision. These morphophonemic processes are described in the following section.

2.4 MORPHOPHONEMICS

Section 2.4.1 describes the regular addition, loss, or replacement of segments conditioned by phonological factors. Grammatically-conditioned morphophonemic processes are described in the next chapter (§3.3). Free (non-conditioned) variation is described in §2.4.2.

2.4.1 PHONOLOGICALLY-CONDITIONED MORPHOLOGICAL VARIATION

2.4.1.1 /y/ INSERTION

A sequence of two vowels with a front vowel preceding may be punctuated with a phonemically non-distinctive /y/. This occurs morpheme internally, at morpheme boundaries, and at word boundaries within the phrase:

/se/	[séa]	~	[séya]	not
/kiniuliən/	[kiniulí:n]	~	[kiniyulí:n]	beauty
/ibas doni enda/	[íbas dóniyènda]			in this world

This insertion of /y/ is sometimes reflected in non-standard orthographic practice:

<i>galuh si leuh</i>	~	<i>galuh si leyuh</i>	a kind of banana
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2.4.1.2 /w/ INSERTION

A sequence of two vowels with a back vowel preceding may be separated with a phonemically non-distinctive [w]. This occurs morpheme internally as well as across word boundaries within the phrase:

/ue/	[ué]	~	[uwé]	yes
/doah/	[dóah]	~	[dówah]	carry a child in a sling
/dibəru e/	[dɪbəʁu é]	~	[dɪbəʁuwé]	that woman

2.4.1.3 GLOTTAL STOP INSERTION

Glottal stop is inserted between two identical vowels at a word boundary:

/bide e/	[bídeʔé]			that fence
/adi ipakénndu/	[ádiʔipakénnɔdu]			if you use
/ula ambəkkən/	[úlaʔambəʔkən]			don't throw

2.4.1.4 /ə/ INSERTION

Schwa is optionally added to the beginning of a word starting with a consonant cluster whose second member is a voiceless stop (i.e. /nt-/ or /ŋk-/). (The cluster /mp-/ does not occur word initially.)

/ntərəm/	[ŋtəʔərəm]	~	[əŋtəʔərəm]	many
/ŋkahe/	[ŋkáhe]	~	[əŋkáhe]	go downstream

This occurrence of schwa is non-phonemic because there are some speakers who do not pronounce it in this environment. By contrast, many words exist beginning with a (non-elidable) schwa followed by a nasal plus voiceless stop (e.g. /əntək/ 'fornicate').

2.4.1.5 GEMINATION OF CONSONANTS

Phonetic geminate clusters may occur in disyllabic words with an open first syllable containing /ə/. In such cases the gemination of the medial consonant in effect closes the first

syllable, with resultant regular placement of stress on the penultimate (i.e. in this case the first) syllable:

/təbu/	[tə́b-bu]	sugarcane
/gəjek/	[gə́j-jəʔ]	noisy
/bəsʊr/	[bəs-sʊɾ]	satiated, full
/dələŋ/	[dəl-ləŋ]	mountain
/ləŋa/	[ləŋ-ŋa]	not yet

Interestingly, in cases of a voiced medial obstruent, speakers may either simply double that voiced obstruent, or they may replace its first occurrence with a corresponding voiceless stop:

/təbu/	[tə́b-bu]	~	[tə́p ^o -bu]	sugarcane
/gəjek/	[gə́j-jəʔ]	~	[gə́t ^o -jəʔ]	noisy

Consonant gemination is confined to situations where the speaker is carefully and distinctly articulating the word in isolation, either for the sake of clarity (such as in response to a linguist's query) or emphasis (for instance "[I can't eat any more now,] I'm full!").¹⁴

2.4.1.6 ELISION OF /h/

Word-initial /h/ is normally dropped but in a few unpredictable cases it is retained

{herga}	/ərga/	price (c.f. /məhərga/ expensive)
{hado}	/adoən/	suffering from insanity (c.f. /məhado/ crazy)
{huli}	/uli/	beauty (c.f. /məhuli/ beautiful)

Compare:

{haŋke}	/haŋkeən/	more respectful
{hantu}	/hantuən/	more fierce

2.4.1.7 ELISION OF VOWELS

Vowels are often elided in fast speech, as described below. The following observations apply to segments within the same phrase:

- (i) /ə/ is lost immediately following a vowel, across a morpheme or word boundary:

/la kuətəh/	[la kuʔəh]	I don't know
/siəmpoən/	[sɪmpò:n]	marry each other
/si əŋgo lawəs/	[sɪŋgo ləwəs]	those who have already gone
/lalap ma əmpo/	[ləlap ^o mampò:]	remains unmarried

- (ii) /i/ is dropped in the environment /s_t/ across a morpheme boundary:

/sitandaən/	[stəndə:n]	know each other
/situhuna/	[stuhuna]	in fact

¹⁴ Tarigan and Tarigan (1979:78) note this phenomenon but make no mention of its relatively low frequency and its particular communicative function.

(iii) /a/ is elided when followed by /e/:

/asa e/	[ase]	as much as that
/i kuta enda/	[i kuɬɛnda]	in this village

(iv) a sequence of two identical vowels across a morpheme boundary results in reduction to one:

/pəmpatkən/	[pəmpət̪kən]	fourth
/kuupahi/	[kupahi]	I pay

2.4.1.8 DIPHTHONG PRODUCTION AND REDUCTION

Sequences of two vowels with a central vowel occurring as the first member (i.e. /ai/ and /au/) are diphthongised, that is, characterised by a single syllabic peak. This is less discernible when the sequence occurs word finally, as the accentuation of the first member of the sequence accords with regular stress placement on the penultimate syllable:

/ndai/	[ndái]	before
/mbau/	[mbáu]	smelly

In word-medial position however the diphthongisation is more evident, with the sequence itself receiving a single syllabic peak. In this position, the diphthong is commonly replaced by a monophthong, /e/ or /o/:¹⁵

/irawaina/	[irawáina] ~ [irawéna]	he scolded
/ndauhsa/	[ndáhsa] ~ [ndóhsa]	too far

Diphthongs are also often produced in words containing the sequence /-aw -/. Such diphthongs are also subject to replacement:

/lawəs/	[lávəs] ~ [lávus]	go
/ipəlawəsna/	[ipəlavəsna] ~ [ipəlavəsna] ~ [ipəlavəsna]	he made to go away
/mawənmawən/	[mávənmávən] ~ [mavənmavən] ~ [mavənmavən]	sometimes

This appears to occur only on a word-by-word basis, as some morphemes containing the sequence do not alter:

/kawəs/	[kávəs]	*[kaus]	left-hand side
/məlawən/	[məlavən]	*[məlavən]	late

2.4.1.9 VOWEL LOWERING AT WORD BOUNDARIES

Word-final /i/ and /e/ are lowered to /ɪ/ and /ɛ/ when followed immediately by a word beginning with a consonant cluster. In such cases the nasal of the cluster is interpreted as closing the previously open syllable of the preceding word:

¹⁵ There is some dialectal variation here, with speakers in the south-eastern region of Karoland (around the village of Cingkes) characteristically emphasising diphthongs (e.g. /bage/ 'like that' is [bagái] instead of [bagé]). By contrast the regular absence of diphthongs (and replacement by monophthongs) is a distinguishing feature of speakers of the Singalur Lau dialect (e.g. /jaun/ 'corn' is [jɔŋ]).

/ise ndai/	[ísendái]	who before
/si mbaru/	[simbáru]	which is new

2.4.1.10 SCHWA ASSIMILATION AND VOWEL LENGTHENING

When a root ending in a vowel is suffixed with *-en*, the schwa of the suffix assimilates to that preceding vowel, yielding a phonetically long vowel:¹⁶

/lala + -ən/	→	/lalaən/	→	[lalá:n]	more
/rana + -ən/	→	/ranaən/	→	[raná:n]	discussion

When a front or back vowel is followed by *-en*, that vowel is not only lengthened but also lowered to its lax allophone, in accordance with the following:

- (a) closure of the final (phonemic) syllable with the nasal /n/;
- (b) the principle of vowel harmony affecting the penultimate syllable as described in §2.2.2, thus:

/duri + -ən/	→	/duriən/	→	[durí:n]	breadfruit
/gule + -ən/	→	/guleən/	→	[gulé:n]	vegetables

Vowel length is clearly perceptible when such words occur in citation form or otherwise receive phrase stress. However, in unstressed positions in normal rapid speech, vowel length is not normally phonetically distinctive. Similarly, stress placement is regular, on the penultimate (phonemic) syllable, though it may be auditorily perceived as falling on the final syllable.

2.4.2 FREE MORPHOLOGICAL VARIATION

2.4.2.1 LOSS OF SYLLABLES

A number of words have free variants which involve the loss of the first syllable. These are mostly nouns and function words:

/tinali/	~	/nali/	rope
/tinaruh/	~	/naruh/	egg
/binururɯ/	~	/nururɯ/	fish
/erko/	~	/ko/	you
/gəlah/	~	/lah/	(hortatory particle)
/əntah/	~	/tah/	maybe
/kəmpak/	~	/pak/	towards
/adi/	~	/di/	if

Dropping the initial syllable of personal names and kinship terms is very common when such words are used vocatively:

/jaməs/	~	/məs/	James
/rasita/	~	/sita/	Rasita

¹⁶ This contradicts the claim by Tarigan and Tarigan (1979:69) that /ə/ cannot occur adjacent to another vowel.

/agi/	~	/gi/	little brother/sister
/nibularŋ/	~	/nibular/	grandfather
/kaka tua/	~	/katua/	oldest brother/sister

Certain set phrases also exhibit reduced variants in speech:

/la bo dalih/	→	/lo dalih/	it doesn't matter
/kenca dage/	→	/əncage/ ~ /ənce/	after that
/bagi enda/	→	/bagenda/	like this
/kentsik nari/	→	/tiknari/	shortly

2.4.2.2 CONSONANTAL ALTERNATION

This variation is quite limited, occurring only in a handful of words. It always involves two consonants characterised by the same manner of articulation. The more common alternant is listed first:

/banci/	~	/danci/	can
/borək/	~	/dorək/	can
/timai/	~	/pimai/	wait
/i bas/	~	/i bah/	inside
/barusjahe/	~	/baruhjahe/	Barusjahe

2.4.2.3 VOWEL ALTERNATION

All vowels except /e/, when unstressed, have been recorded fluctuating with a central vowel. This variation occurs strictly on a word-by-word basis.

/sinuan/	~	/sənuan/	plants
/malir/	~	/malər/	to flow
/dalin/	~	/dalan/	road
/ruh/	~	/rəh/	to come
/kal/	~	/kel/	very
/papagi/	~	/pəpagi/	in the morning
/məluŋun/	~	/məluŋən/	lonely
/dorək/	~	/dərək/	can

Fluctuation between /u/ and /o/ is also attested. In some cases this reflects a dialect difference:

/galuh/	banana	(eastern dialect)
/galoh/	banana	(western dialect)

In other instances the variation is totally free and occurs throughout the whole of Karoland:

/œ/	~	/ue/	yes
/ola/	~	/ula/	don't

2.4.2.4 METATHESIS

Instances of this are comparatively limited in number, mostly involving the first syllable:

/erdan/	~	/rədan/	steps
/iɲani/	~	/ɲjani/	to look after
/kentsik/	~	/təŋkisik/	a short while
/lepak/	~	/pelak/	wrong

Older speakers sometimes replace the prefix *er-* with *re-* (§3.3.2.2).

2.5 EXTRASYSTEMIC PHONOLOGY

There are significant sounds in Karo which do not conform to the regularities of the system described above. Such sounds are found in loan words, onomatopoeic forms, interjections and exclamations, and ideophones used for calling to animals.

2.5.1 LOAN WORDS

With few exceptions Karo speakers are also fluent in their national language, Indonesian, which constitutes the richest source of loan words. At all levels – lexicon, syntax, morphology and phonology – Karo and Indonesian share a great many features, so that Indonesian words are frequently and easily assimilated into Karo speech. A comparison of the phoneme inventories of both languages reveals that Karo possesses all the vowel sounds of Indonesian, but lacks the palatal nasal /ɲ/ and the fricatives /f, v, z, s/. Borrowings containing these sounds are normally adapted to the phonemic (and where necessary, morphological) system, although some speakers maintain the ‘original’ pronunciation. The following examples show the adaptation and pronunciation of Indonesian borrowings into Karo:

<i>menyelamatkan</i>	→	/nələmatkən/	[nələmát ^o kən]	to save
<i>raja penyelamat</i>	→	/raja pənələmat/	[r ^á ja pənələmát ^o]	the lord who is saviour
<i>masyarakatnya</i>	→	/masarakatna/	[masafakát ^o na]	the community
<i>gizi</i>	→	/giji/	[gíji] ~ [gízi]	nutrition

Novel consonant clusters are often introduced without change:

<i>traktor</i>	→	/traktor/	[t ^r á ^ʔ t ^ʔ ɔ ^r]	tractor; to plough
<i>klon</i>	→	/klon/	[kló:n]	clone
<i>plastek</i>	→	/plastek/	[plást ^ʔ e ^ʔ]	plastic bag

Geminate vowel clusters, which in Indonesian are punctuated by a glottal stop, are absorbed by lengthening in Karo:

<i>kebudayaan</i>	→	/kəbudayan/	[kəbudayá:n]	culture
<i>perumpamaan</i>	→	/pərupaman/	[pə ^r umpamá:n]	simile

The area of personal names is a particularly fertile domain for novel phonetic segments and combinations, with Christian and Moslem Karonese alike drawing heavily upon external cultural and religious sources: [zakéus] *Zakeus*, [f^rída] *Frida*, [alb^ét^h] *Albert*, [r^áxman] *Rachman*, [r^údɔlf] *Rudolf*.

Other anomalous phoneme combinations, usually involving significant lengthening of segments, are found in:

2.5.2 ONOMATOPOEIC FORMS

[t̪uuuuuuuɿ°]	(sound of flute)
[t̪aɾ̪ɾ̪ɾ̪ɾ̪]	(sound of lightning)
[siuuuuuu]	(sound of wind)

2.5.3 EXCLAMATIONS AND INTERJECTIONS

[āāāāāā]	(expressing agreement and/or approval)
[iyiyiyiyi]	(expressing fear)
[?ih?]	(expressing surprise, shock)

2.5.4 ANIMAL CALLS

[kúɾ̪ɾ̪ɾ̪na]	(to call chickens)
[nduaaaaanduá?]	(to call pigs)

2.6 ORTHOGRAPHY

2.6.1 THE BATAK ALPHABET

The Bataks are one of the few peoples of Indonesia who possess their own alphabet, based on a South Indian Pallavan script (Gonda 1973). Slightly-differing variants of the script exist for Toba, Simalungun, Angkola/Mandailing, Dairi and Karo Batak, and are described in detail elsewhere (Van der Tuuk 1971, Chapter 1; Siahaan 1964:116 ff.; Nababan 1981:141-143). Essentially these alphabets are syllabaries which, depending upon the language, consist of between 17 and 20 characters (*induk surat* or 'mother letters') each representing a consonant plus the vowel /a/, with smaller, diacritic-like symbols (*anak ni surat* or 'child letters') which can alter the vowel quality, add a velar nasal to the end of the syllable, or cancel the vowel altogether. In the past, the use to which these alphabets were put was limited mainly to works written by medicine men on matters of magic, astrology and divination, with the texts inscribed on concertina-like bark books and occasionally on bamboo cylinders (Voorhoeve 1961).

Nowadays, as Nababan (1981:xvii) notes, "this alphabet has no practical value any more, [but] is still taught in Junior High Schools as a cultural feature". Indeed this observation holds true for the Karo, who despite their obvious pride in this aspect of their cultural heritage, have for the most part no practical competence whatsoever in the use of the early alphabet (see also Tarigan & Tarigan (1979:11)).

2.6.2 PRACTICAL ORTHOGRAPHY

Dating from the studies of the Dutch missionaries Joustra and Neumann early this century, Karo has been written in the Latin alphabet, with the current standard now reflecting the

1972 *Ejaan Yang Disempurnakan* promulgated by the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia.

The consonant phonemes are written as they appear in Table 2.1, except for /ŋ/ which is represented as *ng*. The letters *a*, *i*, *o* and *u* represent the vowels /a,i,o,u/ respectively. The letter *e* bears a triple functional load, representing /e/, /ɯ/ and /ə/. This poses no problems at all for literate Karo, who readily recognise the relatively limited number of words containing /e/ and /ɯ/.

In order to assist non-Karo-speaking readers in distinguishing these three vowels in this description, the following modifications have been made:

/ə/ will henceforth be represented by *e*,

/e/ will be represented by *é*, and

/ɯ/ by *ë*.

It is stressed that this is a departure from the usual orthographic practice, for the sake of clarity in this description only, and is not intended as a recommendation for change to established conventions.

CHAPTER 3

MORPHOLOGY

This chapter describes the morphemic composition of words in Karo. Typically this involves the addition of affixes to roots and stems, though other word formation processes such as reduplication and compounding are found.

3.1 TERMINOLOGICAL PRELIMINARIES

The complexities inherent in establishing a universal definition of the notion of 'word' are well-recorded in linguistic literature (Lyons 1968:194 ff.; Pike & Pike 1977:111). Even within the one language, it is often the case that no single criterion or set of criteria can be applied to identify and define all those structural units one wishes to call 'words'.

In this chapter the term WORD will be used in the sense of 'grammatical word' (Pike & Pike 1977:113; Matthews 1974:32), as distinct from the notion of 'phonological word'. For instance, the utterance /*rumahta*/ is a single phonological word, with characteristic stress on the penultimate syllable (§2.1.1.1), but is grammatically a sequence of two elements, *rumah* 'house' and *-ta* 'our', the latter morpheme being a clitic form of the first person plural (inclusive) pronoun *kita*. Since the construction *rumahta* 'our house' (including the addressee), expounds a noun phrase (§4.1) analogous to *rumah kami* 'our house' (excluding the addressee), it is analysed as consisting of two grammatical words, not one.

CLITICS are a special subset of words; they are monomorphemic, unstressable forms which never occur freely but are phonologically bound to an adjacent word. As the above example shows, they affect the stress placement of the word to which they are attached. Karo has only two sets of clitics:

- (i) the personal pronoun agentive and possessive forms, *ku-*, *-ku*, *-ndu*, *-mu*, *-na/-sa*, *si-* and *-ta*¹⁷ – agentive clitic pronouns expound clause level slots (§6.3.1), whereas possessive clitic pronouns expound the possessive slot of the noun phrase (§4.1.4);
- (ii) the operators *nge* (§7.4.5.2.9) and *me* (§7.4.5.3.4) which, upon loss of their vowel under certain environmental conditions, merge phonologically with an adjacent word.

AFFIXES are similar to clitics, in that they are also phonologically bound forms, but differ in that their structural domain is restricted to word formation. In the simplest cases, affixes combine with ROOTS to form words (e.g. *baba* 'carry' + *-en* '(nominaliser: undergoer)' = *baban* 'burden, load'). However, since this resultant construction is itself capable of being further affixed to create a verb, as in *er-* '(verbaliser)' + *baban* 'load' =

¹⁷ This description is therefore at variance with the analysis by Verhaar (1984a:3,4) of analogous structures in Indonesian, wherein he classifies clitic pronouns as affixes.

erbaban 'to carry a load, to be burdened', then it is also necessary to distinguish the level of STEM, intermediate between ROOT and WORD.

STEMS are normally constructions consisting of roots plus affixes, but may also include reduplicated roots, compounds, and even phrases. In essence, a stem is a construction which has the potential for – and expectation of – further expansion via affixation. Although it is possible for a morpheme to be simultaneously a root, a stem and a word,¹⁸ the term STEM is used in this description to refer to some (usually complex) element which figures in a further morphological process. Recursion or layering of stems within stems is possible, and indeed common, in Karo.

ROOTS are forms which are morphemically unanalysable.¹⁹ They differ from affixes principally in that they constitute an open class (whereas affixes are a closed set), and in that they are themselves capable of being affixed. Structurally, a root constitutes the 'core' of a word. Semantically, roots carry the basic lexical information which is systematically modified by affixes. Most roots are freely occurring forms, but many are also bound.

3.2 WORD CLASSES AND ROOT CLASSES

Words may be classified according to many different criteria. As this description of Karo is focused ultimately on the way in which words combine to form larger strings of meaning – phrases, clauses and sentences – then the criterion of syntactic distribution is adopted as the primary means of defining word classes or 'parts of speech'. Accordingly, the following classes may be distinguished (their defining syntactic characteristics will be described later in full, at the appropriate places in the overall description):

1. Nouns
2. Transitive verbs
3. Intransitive verbs
4. Adjectives
5. Prepositions
6. Conjunctions
7. Operators
8. Exclamations, interjections and responses

Classes 1 - 4 are typically 'open', in the sense that there is an unlimited number of items which belong to them. By contrast, Classes 5 - 8 have finite membership, and are considered to be 'closed'. This statement needs to be qualified by the observation that within the major classes there are certain subclasses which have limited membership: for example, pronouns, demonstratives and numerals, which on syntactic grounds are most conveniently grouped with nouns, have a limited number of members which can be exhaustively listed.

The appropriateness of this syntactically-motivated classification is reinforced by regularities in morphological processes, principally affixation. For example, the suffix *-en*

¹⁸ See, for example, Percival (1981:52).

¹⁹ This statement could be amplified to include the qualification 'at least from a synchronic perspective'. Thus forms which are probably the result of derivation via now petrified affixes are to be considered simply as roots (§3.7.10).

has four different but predictable function-meaning combinations depending upon the class of word to which it is attached:

1. with nouns, *-en* generally means 'affected by...'
2. with transitive verbs, *-en* derives 'undergoer' nouns
3. with intransitive verbs, it signifies plurality or multiplicity
4. with adjectives, it marks comparative degree

Affixes are thus sensitive to the word-class membership of a given stem or root. As will emerge from the detailed account of individual affixes below, some affixes combine in special ways with certain subclasses, such as numerals and pronouns.

As the majority of roots are able to occur freely as exponents of syntactic constructions, then the classification of words according to the above scheme also extends to roots. There is however one important class of roots which lies outside this syntactic grouping: bound forms which need affixation of some kind before they can occur in constructions above the word level. Following Verhaar (1984a:2, 1984b:28) these will be labelled "precategoryals". Longacre (1964:102) regards such roots as unclassifiable. However, apart from the limitation stated above, they pose no particular analytical problems. In most cases they can be putatively assigned to an established word class by analogy with other (free) roots which share the same derivational potential. The majority of precategoryal roots in Karo occur with either an intransitive verb or adjectival derivational prefix, and, in so far as their lexical content can be determined, have meanings typical of intransitive verbs and adjectives. Where identification of a precategoryal root is necessary in the following account, this will be marked by enclosing the gloss in parentheses, for example, *dabuh* '(fall)'

Despite the general tendency for words (including roots) to belong to one and only one class, dual categorial membership is possible. It is not uncommon for verbs (both roots and derivatives) to function as prepositions or conjunctions: e.g. *séh* 1. (v.) 'to arrive, reach', 2. (prep.) 'as far as, until'; *iban* 1. (v.) 'to be made', 2. (conj.) 'because'. Some adjectives can double up as prepositions: *ndeher* 1. (adj.) 'close', 2. (prep.) 'near (to)'. Ambiguity may result from the one form having two different but homophonous derivatives (e.g. *bergeh* can be either *bergeh* 'cold' (adj.) + *-en* 'comparative' = 'colder', or *bergeh* 'cold' (noun) + *-en* 'adverse effect' = 'suffering from the cold, feeling cold'). As usual, contextual clues serve to disambiguate such forms.

Determining the precise form of a root in Karo is normally not problematical: free roots are of course obvious, as are precategoryals when stripped of their affixes. However, a number of common lexical items are represented by doublets, each occurring with its own array of affixes. These include:

<i>inem, pinem</i>	(drink)
<i>alem, palem</i>	(cool; healed)
<i>aler, paler</i>	(flow)
<i>maté, paté</i>	die
<i>eteh, beteh</i>	know
<i>nembeh, tembeh</i>	angry
<i>anak, danak</i>	child

When derivatives involving such items appear in examples below, they are accompanied only by the form of the root immediately relevant to that particular derivative.

3.3 AFFIXATION: AN OVERVIEW

3.3.1 TYPES

Affixes in Karo include prefixes (e.g. *er-*), suffixes (e.g. *-ken*), infixes (e.g. *-in-*) and circumfixes (e.g. *er...-ken*). Infixes are always attached to the first syllable of the stem.

3.3.2 FORMS

Karo has more than sixty different morphemes which are realised as affixes. Yet the total number of different affix forms in the language is 21. This means that a number of different morphemes are manifested wholly or partially by the same morphs. For example, as described in §3.2, the suffix *-en* represents four different morphemes. It also occurs in a number of circumfixes: the verbalisers *ke...-en*, *ter...-en*, *si...-en*, and the nominalisers *peN...-en*, *per...-en*, *ke...-en*, *kini...-en*. In all cases the suffix alternates between */-en/* and */-n/*, according to a regular morphophonemic rule. Rather than repeatedly describing this process for each of the morphemes in which such an affix occurs, a single statement is provided here to account for the allomorphic changes such forms regularly undergo. Any special variations which pertain only to a particular morpheme are described later, together with the individual account of that morpheme. Those recurrent forms for which a general morphophonemic statement is given are as follows.

3.3.2.1 *N-*

In general terms this is a homorganic nasal which assimilates to the place of articulation of the stem-initial consonant to which it is prefixed: {*m-*} before bilabial stops, {*n-*} before dental, alveolar and palatal obstruents and fricatives, and {*ng-*} before velar stops. There are five different morphemes realised by *N-*, which in this description are differentiated from each other by means of a superscript number, for example, *N¹-*. Two of the five morphemes realised by *N-* are entirely homophonous, differing only in terms of paradigmatic versus derivational function. Grouping this pair together according to formal identity, we may still distinguish four different prefixes which are very similar but not entirely identical in form. They in fact differ slightly from each other in terms of: (a) their replacive effect upon the stem-initial consonant (which is sometimes elided and sometimes not), and (b) their form preceding a stem-initial vowel. These differences are set out in full in Table 3.1. As the table shows, the array of allomorphs for each of these morphemes differs, with at least two differences between any two arrays. Each array is comprehensively described and illustrated in the main text below (§3.4 - §3.8) together with any exceptions to the norms reflected in Table 3.1. It is also evident from the table that, morphologically, intransitive verbs are something of a mixed bunch, exhibiting features of both transitive verbs and adjectives.

TABLE 3.1: THE DIFFERENT FORMS OF PREFIX N-

stem-initial phoneme	N ¹ - (transitive verb)	N ² - (intransitive verb)	N ³ -/N ⁵ - (adjective)	N ⁴ - (measure noun)
<i>p</i>	<i>m-</i> (<i>p</i>)	<i>m-</i> (<i>p</i>)	<i>m-</i> (<i>p</i>)	<i>mp-</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>m-</i> (<i>b</i>)	<i>mb-</i>	<i>mb-</i>	<i>mb-</i>
<i>t</i>	<i>n-</i> (<i>t</i>)	<i>n-</i> (<i>t</i>)	<i>nt-</i>	<i>nt-</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>nd-</i>	<i>nd-</i>	<i>nd-</i>	<i>nd-</i>
<i>c</i>	<i>nc-</i> , <i>n-</i> (<i>c</i>)	<i>n-</i> (<i>c</i>)	-	<i>nc-</i>
<i>j</i>	<i>nj-</i>	-	<i>nj-</i>	-
<i>s</i>	<i>n-</i> (<i>s</i>)	<i>n-</i> (<i>s</i>)	-	-
<i>k</i>	<i>ngk-</i> , <i>ng-</i> (<i>k</i>)	<i>ngk-</i>	<i>ng-</i> (<i>k</i>)	<i>ngk-</i>
<i>g</i>	<i>ngg-</i>	<i>ngg-</i>	<i>ngg-</i>	<i>ngg-</i>
<i>l</i>	<i>nge-</i>	<i>nge-</i>	-	-
<i>r</i>	<i>nge-</i>	<i>nge-</i>	-	-
<i>h</i>	-	<i>nge-</i>	-	-
<i>m</i>	<i>nge-</i>	-	-	-
<i>n</i>	<i>nge-</i>	-	-	-
<i>ng</i>	-	-	-	-
<i>w</i>	-	-	-	-
<i>y</i>	-	-	-	-
vowel	<i>ng-</i>	<i>ng-</i> , <i>m-</i>	<i>m-</i>	-

- Key: 1. *m-* (*p*) : before stem-initial /*p*/, *N-* becomes *m-* and /*p*/ is elided
 2. *mp-* : before stem-initial /*p*/, *N-* becomes *m-* and /*p*/ is retained
 3. - : no recorded instances of *N-* occurring before that phoneme

3.3.2.2 *er-*

This prefix has two allmorphs: {*r-*} when attached to a stem beginning with a vowel, and {*er-*} elsewhere:

<i>impal</i>	---->	<i>rimpal</i>
<i>até</i>	---->	<i>raté</i>
<i>endé</i>	---->	<i>rendé</i>
<i>dalan</i>	---->	<i>erdalan</i>
<i>nehen</i>	---->	<i>ernehen</i>
<i>sagu</i>	---->	<i>ersagu</i>

(Exception: *uga* ----> *eruga*, not **ruga*)

In the speech of some older informants, {*er-*} fluctuates with {*re-*} in certain words.²⁰ This is a sporadic phenomenon:

²⁰ Tarigan and Tarigan (1979:93) state that this is simple free variation. Informants whom I consulted totally rejected free variation on many items.

<i>ernehen</i>	=	<i>renehen</i>
<i>ertapinken</i>	=	<i>retapinken</i>
<i>erbaju</i>	=	<i>rebaju</i>

The prefix *er-* does not occur with stems beginning with /r/.

3.3.2.3 *per-* AND *te-*

These prefixes are reduced to *pe-* and *te-* respectively when attached to a stem which begins with /r/. Otherwise they remain intact.

<i>méla</i>	---->	<i>perméla</i>
<i>idah</i>	---->	<i>teridah</i>
<i>berkat</i>	---->	<i>perberkat</i>
<i>dareh</i>	---->	<i>terdareh</i>
<i>cirem</i>	---->	<i>percirem</i>
<i>seribu</i>	---->	<i>terseribu</i>
<i>rampus</i>	---->	<i>perampus</i>
<i>riah</i>	---->	<i>teriah</i>
<i>ridi</i>	---->	<i>peridi</i>
<i>ranaken</i>	---->	<i>teranaken</i>

In a very small number of cases, the reduced form of the prefix occurs when the second syllable of the stem begins with /r/:

<i>turah</i>	---->	<i>peturah</i>
<i>ngerana</i>	---->	<i>pengerana</i>
<i>sereh</i>	---->	<i>tesereh = tersereh</i>

3.3.2.4 *-sa*

This suffix manifests a number of different morphemes including the enclitic form of the third person pronoun. Following a dental stop or nasal, *-sa* is usually manifested as {-*ca*}, whilst elsewhere it is {-*sa*}:

<i>muat</i>	---->	<i>muatca</i>
<i>melket</i>	---->	<i>melketca</i>
<i>ngenehen</i>	---->	<i>ngenehenca</i>
<i>man</i>	---->	<i>manca</i>
<i>meteh</i>	---->	<i>metehsa</i>
<i>galang</i>	---->	<i>galangsa</i>

There is some interesting variation to this pattern. Whether the {-*ca*} allomorph is actually realised as described above depends upon the lexical identity of the *-sa* morpheme concerned. For example, *-sa* is normally realised as {-*sa*}, irrespective of the phonological environment, when it manifests the excessive degree marker in the adjective paradigm (§3.4.3.4).

3.3.2.5 *-en*

This suffix has two allomorphs: {-*en*} following a stem-final consonant, and {-*Vn*} following a stem-final vowel, 'V'. In the latter case the schwa of the suffix assimilates to the preceding vowel, yielding a phonetically long vowel (§2.4.1.10). This is not indicated orthographically.

<i>pedas</i>	--->	<i>pedasen</i>	
<i>inem</i>	--->	<i>inemen</i>	
<i>rana</i>	--->	<i>ranan</i>	[rana:n]
<i>gogo</i>	--->	<i>gogon</i>	[gogo:n]
<i>uli</i>	--->	<i>ulin</i>	[ulɪ:n]

3.3.3 FUNCTIONS

In this description, affixes are classified according to their function. Primarily a distinction exists between paradigmatic and derivational affixes. Paradigmatic (or inflectional) affixes do not change the lexical identity of the stem to which they are attached. Their function is to fit the stem for use in a syntactic frame, for example, voice marking for transitive verbs, or predicative and degree marking for adjectives. By contrast, derivational affixes create new words; that is, they change the lexical identity of the stem to which they are attached. This usually involves a change in categorial status (e.g. from noun to verb, or vice versa), but in a number of cases the resultant form belongs to the same word class as the stem from which it is derived. For example, the circumfix *per-...-en* derives collective nouns from other noun stems: *nini* 'grandparent' ---> *perninin* 'the grandparents' (§3.7.4).

Although derivational affixes are mostly "inner formations" and inflectional affixes "outer formations" (Cook 1969:119, 125), there are cases where the reverse is true, that is, where a stem containing a paradigmatic affix is further equipped with a derivational affix. For example, the distributive intransitive verb formative *si-...-na*, which operates on inflected transitive verb stems (§3.6.8), and the nominaliser *-na*, which, when attached to a predicative adjective stem in a relative clause, marks superlative degree (§3.7.8).

The affixes are now described individually, in categories according to their function: first, paradigmatic affixes, then derivational affixes deriving transitive verbs, intransitive verbs, nouns, and finally miscellaneous items. The descriptive format for each affix focuses first on formal aspects, then on function and meaning. These are exemplified in short lists of usually single-word examples, but where it is necessary to clarify some special sense of what the affix conveys, extra context in the form of a phrase or clause is provided. Morpheme breaks are not indicated as they are felt to be evident from the individual accounts given. Finally, homophonous affixes belonging to different functional sets are not distinguished from each other, but where they occur within the same set, they are differentiated by superscript numbers. An exception to this practice is the regular use of superscript numbers to identify the five different affixes whose representation is *N*-.

3.4 PARADIGMATIC AFFIXES

There are three sets of affixes which may be regarded as paradigmatic.

3.4.1 TRANSITIVE VERB INFLECTIONS

These comprise the voice markers *Nʹ*-, *i*- and *ter*-, and the perfective marker *-sa*. The relationships between these affixes, and between them and the clauses in which they occur, are complex and central matters in the grammar of Karo. This section deals principally with the formal aspects of these affixes, and only touches briefly upon their functional implications and distributional limitations. For a more comprehensive explanation of their roles, see Chapter 6.

3.4.1.1 *Nʹ*-

The function of this prefix is to mark active voice; that is, it signals that the subject of the clause bears the role of actor.

(3.1) *Embun mekapal nutupi matawari.*
 cloud thick ACT.cover sun
 Dense cloud obscured the sun.

(3.2) *Bapa ngerdangken juma.*
 Father ACT.sow field
 Father was sowing the field.

This prefix has the following allomorphs and effects upon stem-initial phonemes:

(a) before consonants:

1. {*m*-} before /*p*/, /*b*/; both stops are deleted, unless the stem begins with a transitivity prefix in which case *N*- has zero manifestation (for exceptions see §3.5.3.1).
2. {*n*-} before /*t*/, /*d*/, /*c*/, /*j*/, /*s*/; the voiceless obstruents are deleted except for /*c*/ which is retained when it occurs on a morphemically complex stem (in this case, a root plus suffix *-i* or *-ken*).
3. {*ng*-} before /*k*/, /*g*/; /*k*/ is deleted before some stems only but this is neither phonologically nor morphologically predictable.
4. {*nge*-} before /*l*/, /*r*/ and some stems beginning with /*m*/ and /*n*/. On other stems beginning with /*m*/ and /*n*/, the prefix has zero manifestation; this is neither phonologically nor morphologically predictable.
5. This prefix does not occur before:
 - (i) stems beginning with a nasal (except for those cases of /*m*/ and /*n*/ referred to in 4. above);
 - (ii) stems beginning with a transitivity prefix *pe*- or *per*- (for exceptions see §3.5.3.1);
 - (iii) /*h*/, /*w*/ or /*y*/, because no transitive verb stems have been recorded beginning with these phonemes.

(b) before vowels: {*ng*-}

For example:

(i)	1.	<i>pekpek</i>	--->	<i>mekpek</i>	to hit
		<i>pindo</i>	--->	<i>mindo</i>	to request
		<i>palu</i>	--->	<i>malu</i>	to beat (drum)
		<i>begi</i>	--->	<i>megi</i>	to hear
		<i>buat</i>	--->	<i>muat</i>	to take, fetch
		<i>belasken</i>	--->	<i>melasken</i>	to utter
		(Exception: <i>bayu</i>	--->	<i>mbayu</i>	to weave)
	2.	<i>tukur</i>	--->	<i>nukur</i>	to buy
		<i>tangko</i>	--->	<i>nangko</i>	to steal
		<i>timai</i>	--->	<i>nimai</i>	to wait for
		<i>dédah</i>	--->	<i>ndédah</i>	to watch, view
		<i>dahi</i>	--->	<i>ndahi</i>	to do; visit
		<i>dayaken</i>	--->	<i>ndayaken</i>	to sell
		<i>cepcep</i>	--->	<i>nepcep</i>	to suck
		<i>ciluk</i>	--->	<i>niluk</i>	to burn
		<i>cahcah</i>	--->	<i>nahcah</i>	to mop, wipe
		<i>cinepi</i>	--->	<i>ncinepi</i>	to perch on
		<i>cakapken</i>	--->	<i>ncakapken</i>	to discuss
		<i>jemba</i>	--->	<i>njemba</i>	to force, push
	<i>jabap</i>	--->	<i>njabap</i>	to answer	
	<i>jojoi</i>	--->	<i>njojoi</i>	to squander, waste	
	<i>sabun</i>	--->	<i>nabun</i>	to wash with soap	
	<i>suan</i>	--->	<i>nuan</i>	to plant	
	<i>sekolahken</i>	--->	<i>nekolahken</i>	to send to school	
3.	<i>karat</i>	--->	<i>ngkarat</i>	to bite	
	<i>kataken</i>	--->	<i>ngataken</i>	to send word to, inform	
	<i>keriken</i>	--->	<i>ngkeriken</i>	to finish off	
	<i>kepkep</i>	--->	<i>ngepkep</i>	to guide, rear	
	<i>galar</i>	--->	<i>nggalar</i>	to pay	
	<i>gulé</i>	--->	<i>nggulé</i>	to cook	
	<i>gerger</i>	--->	<i>nggerger</i>	to boil	
4.	<i>legi</i>	--->	<i>ngelegi</i>	to fetch	
	<i>lawan</i>	--->	<i>ngelawan</i>	to oppose	
	<i>roahi</i>	--->	<i>ngeroahi</i>	to nurse, carry an infant	
	<i>rawai</i>	--->	<i>ngerawai</i>	to scold	
	<i>momoken</i>	--->	<i>ngemomoken</i>	to announce	
	<i>mangmangi</i>	--->	<i>ngemangmangi</i>	to put a spell on	
	<i>nehen</i>	--->	<i>ngenehen</i>	to see	
	<i>nanami</i>	--->	<i>ngenanami</i>	to taste	
(ii)		<i>idah</i>	--->	<i>ngidah</i>	to see
		<i>élakken</i>	--->	<i>ngélakken</i>	to avoid
		<i>eteh</i>	--->	<i>ngeteh</i>	to know
		<i>anggeh</i>	--->	<i>nganggeh</i>	to smell, sniff
		<i>ukuri</i>	--->	<i>ngukuri</i>	to think about
		<i>ogé</i>	--->	<i>ngogé</i>	to read, divine

3.4.1.2 *i-*

This prefix marks simple passive voice (i.e. it signals that the subject of the clause bears the role of undergoer). (Note: many of the examples of passives in this section are actually translated more smoothly by English actives – see §6.3.1 for a detailed discussion of the functions and frequency of passives in Karo.)

- (3.3) *Matawari itutupi embun mekapal.*
 sun PASS.cover cloud thick
 The sun was obscured by dense cloud.
- (3.4) *Bagém juma ierdangken bapa.*
 thus.EMPH field PASS.sow father
 In this way the field was sown by Father.

This prefix has a free variant *ni-* which is found mainly in older texts, in the following environments:

(i) when the verb occurs at the beginning of a clause introduced by the connective *maka*:

- (3.5) *Maka nilegina seninana si empat ku Martogan.*
 and.so PASS.fetch.he brother.his REL four to Martogan
 And so he went to Martogan and fetched his four brothers.

(ii) when the subject is fronted over the verb:

- (3.6) *Adi lit bagé buah kayu, ém nipan.*
 if BE thus fruit tree this.EMPH PASS.eat
 If there were any fruit on the trees, these were eaten.

(iii) in relative clauses when the verb immediately follows the relative marker *si*:

- (3.7) *Kai si nisungkun kalak ah ndai?*
 what REL PASS.ask person that before
 What did that fellow want?

Besides having a variant form,²¹ this prefix is also often deleted, in environments when its absence is not likely to engender confusion. Given that passive is the dominant voice in

²¹ This *i-/ni-* variation appears to be partly conditioned by the phonological environment of two occurrences of the same vowel across a word boundary. In fact, it is not only the passive prefix *i-* which is thus affected, but also the locative preposition *i* 'at, in, on'. For example:

- (1) *Isé si ni bas?*
 who REL at inside
 Who is inside?

However, there are numerous counter-examples where the same two vowels occur together across a word boundary without any formal alternation:

- (2) *kuta-kuta si ipantekkenna*
 villages REL PASS.establish.he
 villages which he established
- (3) *Kata mama la banci itogan.*
 word uncle not can PASS.contradict
 What Uncle says may not be contradicted.

Simply positing this as an optional morphophonemic rule does not account for cases of the kind found in example (3.6) in the main text above, where *ni-* occurs following a consonant, or where the passive verb occurs clause initially:

Karo, and that actives are much more restricted, it is not surprising that passive marking is frequently dispensable. It is not uncommon for *i-* to be used in one clause and deleted in another, even in the same sentence:

- (3.8) *La banci simbak, la banci itogan.*
 not can (PASS).refuse not can PASS.contradict
 It cannot be rejected, it cannot be contradicted.

Conversely there are situations when *i-* cannot be deleted, for instance, when its absence would result in ambiguity:

- (3.9) a. *Enggo ilatih bapa.*
 already PASS.train father
 (It has been) trained by Father.
 b. *Enggo latih bapa.*
 already tired father
 Father is tired.

3.4.1.3 *ter-*

There are in fact two inflectional prefixes manifested by the form *ter-*. They are both polysemous, containing the base meaning of 'passive' in combination with another meaning.

3.4.1.3.1 *ter¹-*

This prefix marks 'abilitative passive'. Whereas the simple passive with *i-* refers to an event or action affecting the undergoer, the *ter¹-* passive refers to a state or capacity which impinges upon the undergoer. For the sake of economy, *ter¹-* is glossed below simply as ABIL, though it should be borne in mind that this also incorporates 'passive'.

- (3.10) *Até ipengadi, la terpengadi.*
 heart PASS.CAUS.stop not ABIL.CAUS.stop
 They wanted it to be stopped, but it could not be stopped.
 (3.11) *Termalemken dokter ah kang pinakitndu ndai?*
 ABIL.cure.CAUS doctor that PART illness.your that
 Can your illness be cured by the doctor?
 (3.12) *Cuba turikenndu, entah tersampati kami kam.*
 try (PASS).relate.you whether ABIL.help we you
 Do tell us, whether we might be able to help you.

That *ter¹-* is paradigmatic is evidenced by its shared valency with *i-*, and by the fact that any derivational affixes on the transitive verb stem are retained. As the latter two examples show, actors may occur with *ter¹-* passives, immediately after the verb. First person pronoun actors

-
- (4) *Nisungkun guru si meteh wari.*
 PASS.ask shaman REL ACT.know day
 An astrologer was consulted.
 This variation warrants further investigation.

occur in their full form, second and third person occur as enclitics, with the third person agentive pronoun being manifested as *-sa*:

- (3.13) *Ningen kita beluh nambari kalak pinakiten,*
 be.said we clever ACT.heal people illness.ADVS
ajangta pé la tertambari kita.
 possession.our EMPH not ABIL.heal we
 As they say, we're good at solving other people's problems, but can't
 manage to solve our own.
- (3.14) *Lanai tergalalisa utangna man raja.*
 no.longer ABIL.pay.he debt.his to chief
 He was unable to pay his debts to the chief.

Abilitative passives with *ter*¹- mainly occur in yes-no interrogative clauses, or in proximity to a negative, though these are not necessary conditions:

- (3.15) *Piga-piga kali ilompati arimo Simbelang Pinggel*
 several time PASS.jump.LOC tiger Simbelang Pinggel
tapi arah kebeluhenna emdikkar terélakkenca.
 but via cleverness.his self.defence ABIL.avoid.he
 Several times the tiger pounced upon Simbelang Pinggel, but due to his skill
 in self-defence he was able to avoid it.

3.4.1.3.2 *ter*²-

This prefix indicates a passive action which is accidental, involuntary or spontaneous (Shibatani 1985:827). Structurally, these "accidental passives" resemble the "abilitative passives" above: derivational affixes on the verb stem remain intact,²² and the rules for pronominal agents are virtually identical, except that with perception verbs, the actor may be encoded in a dative prepositional phrase (example (3.18)), which reinforces the notion of unintentionality. *Ter*²- is glossed here as INV:

- (3.16) *Terpaké aku ndai selopndu, énda kuulihken.*
 INV.wear I before sandal.your this I.return.CAUS
 I accidentally took your sandals before, so I'm returning them now.
- (3.17) *Terciluksa bajuna.*
 INV.burn.he shirt.his
 He burnt a hole in his shirt (through carelessness, while smoking).
- (3.18) *Ibas sada bergi sanga tunduh até beru Rengga Kuning,*
 on one night while sleep heart female Rengga Kuning

²² This prefix is not found in combination with transitive verb stems derived with causative prefix *pe-* (§3.5.3.1), presumably for reasons of semantic incompatibility (i.e. one cannot simultaneously perform a wilful causative action unintentionally). The fact that *ter*²- is found together with some stems suffixed with what has been termed 'causative' *-ken* (§3.5.2 (i)) indicates that the notion of causativity in the case of *-ken* is not identical with that contained in *pe-*. The latter has an additional element of intentionality which *-ken* does not necessarily possess. This is supported by the observation that *pe-* verbs have human (or personified) actors, a condition not imposed upon *-ken* verbs.

terbegi man bana sora kalak rendé.

INV.hear to her voice person sing

One night, before she was about to go to sleep, Beru Rengga Kuning suddenly heard somebody singing.

'Accidental' *ter*²- may also be attached to a handful of stems which are intransitive. Such derivatives signal involuntary or unexpected action, but lack any passive meaning. In view of their very limited number, and their semantic identity, they are conveniently grouped here together with *ter*²-:

<i>sengget</i>	startled	:	<i>tersengget</i>	suddenly startled
<i>pedem</i>	(sleep)	:	<i>terpedem</i>	to fall asleep
<i>tunduh</i>	go to bed	:	<i>tertunduh</i>	to fall asleep

The two latter derivatives are used when the action of falling asleep is done at a time or place where it would not be the intention of the actor to do so.

3.4.1.4 -sa

This suffix is formally identical to the third person objective pronoun (§4.1.2.1), from which it is arguably derived (example (3.19)). It is affixed to active transitive verb stems, and has two allomorphs: {-ca} following a dental consonant, and {-sa} elsewhere. The function of -sa is to mark perfective aspect:

(3.19) a. *Isé ndai makésa payungku?*
 who before ACT.use.PERF umbrella.my
 Who used my umbrella?

b. *Aku ndai makésa.*
 I before ACT.use.it
 I used it.

(3.20) *Wis teba mahanca ia la maté.*
 cloth Toba ACT.make.PERF he not die
 The Toba blanket saved his life (lit. it made it happen that he did not die).

(3.21) *Isé nampatisa engko merdang nderbih?*
 who ACT.help.PERF you sow yesterday
 Who helped you to sow yesterday?

3.4.2 MOOD AND ASPECT MARKERS

This set comprises three suffixes which occur on a wide range of verb stems, albeit not universally so. In so far as they do not change the lexical identity of words to which they are attached, and have a relatively wide distribution, they are considered to be more paradigmatic than derivational in function.

3.4.2.1 *-ken*

This suffix is attached to intransitive verb stems (roots and derivatives with N^2 -), locative prepositional phrases of direction, transitive verb stems (except those with suffixes), and some adjectives, to signal imperative mood:

<i>kundul</i>	to sit	:	<i>kundulken</i>	Sit!
<i>lawes</i>	to go	:	<i>lawesken</i>	Go!
<i>ngisap</i>	to smoke	:	<i>ngisapken</i>	Smoke!
<i>ndarat</i>	to go out	:	<i>ndaratken</i>	Go out!
<i>ku bas</i>	to go inside	:	<i>ku basken</i>	Go in!
<i>ku teruh</i>	to go down	:	<i>ku teruhken</i>	Go down!
<i>tulis</i>	to write	:	<i>tuliskan</i>	Write it!
<i>tutup</i>	to close	:	<i>tutupken</i>	Shut it!
<i>perlima</i>	to divide into five	:	<i>perlimaken</i>	Divide into five!
<i>sikap</i>	ready	:	<i>sikapken</i>	Get ready!
<i>sinik</i>	quiet	:	<i>sinikken</i>	Be quiet!

As imperative verbs, the resultant derivatives often occur in clauses in conjunction with other imperative markers (§7.2):

- (3.22) *Tunduhkan dagé, silih!*
sleep.IMP therefore cousin
Go to sleep then, Cousin!
- (3.23) *Nangkihken mari, ula kari la lit inganna!*
climb.IMP let's don't later not be place.the
Let's get aboard then, don't miss out on getting a seat!
- (3.24) *Ota, ku rumahken kita lebé!*
let's.go to house.IMP we first
Come on, let's go home!
- (3.25) *Sikapken, gelah kita berkat!*
ready.IMP PURP we depart
Get ready, so that we can leave!

3.4.2.2 *-i*

This suffix is attached to transitive verb stems (excepting those derived with suffixes) and intransitive verb stems which have been derived with *er-* and N^2 -, to form verbs with an iterative meaning. This may involve one or more actors and one or more undergoers, in many possible combinations; what is significant is that the action itself is performed many times over:

<i>pekpek</i>	hit	:	<i>pekpeki</i>	to hit repeatedly
<i>pilih</i>	choose	:	<i>pilihi</i>	to choose repeatedly
<i>ema</i>	kiss	:	<i>emai</i>	to kiss repeatedly
<i>pekéké</i>	to wake up	:	<i>pekékéi</i>	to wake up (more than one person)
<i>pelawes</i>	to send away	:	<i>pelawesi</i>	to send (many) away

- | | | | | |
|-----------------|--|---|------------------|---|
| <i>perengko</i> | to call someone by familiar pronoun <i>engko</i> | : | <i>perengkoi</i> | to call someone <i>engko</i> all the time |
| <i>nangko</i> | to steal | : | <i>nangkoi</i> | to steal all the time |
| <i>ngerana</i> | to talk | : | <i>ngeranai</i> | to talk all the time |
| <i>ndeger</i> | to stand on end | : | <i>ndegeri</i> | to all stand on end |
| <i>erdilo</i> | to call out | : | <i>erdiloi</i> | to call out repeatedly |
| <i>rukur</i> | to think | : | <i>rukuri</i> | to think carefully |
- (3.26) *Ula pekpekim agim!*
don't (PASS).hit.ITER.you little.brother.your
Stop hitting your little brother!
- (3.27) *Asakai si enggo irungtung itamai ku sumpit.*
how.much REL already PASS.pound PASS.put.ITER to sack
As much as was pounded was put into sacks.
- (3.28) *...janah kuapusi iluhna alu saputangan.*
and I wipe.ITER tear.her with handkerchief
...and I wiped her tears with a handkerchief.
- (3.29) *Ngeranai kam lalap, la bo kubegiken pé.*
talk.ITER you always not EMPH I.listen EMPH
You're always chattering away, I never listen to what you say.
- (3.30) *Enggo ersadai kerina.*
already be.one.ITER all
They've all been mixed up together.

3.4.2.3 -en

This suffix is attached to intransitive verb stems (root or derived), and some adjectives, signalling simultaneous multiplicity of event, or that the action occurs en masse. It is glossed here as PL. Any intransitive verb prefixes are retained:

<i>kiam</i>	to run	:	<i>kiamen</i>	to all run
<i>maté</i>	to die	:	<i>matén</i>	to all die
<i>mengker</i>	to snore	:	<i>mengkeren</i>	all snoring
<i>lawes</i>	to go	:	<i>lawesen</i>	to all go
<i>mbulak</i>	to fall	:	<i>mbulaken</i>	to all fall down
<i>ndarat</i>	to go out	:	<i>ndaraten</i>	to all go out
<i>cires</i>	to leak	:	<i>ciresen</i>	to leak everywhere
<i>mambur</i>	to flow	:	<i>mamburen</i>	to flow everywhere
<i>céda</i>	broken	:	<i>cédan</i>	all broken
<i>meseng</i>	burnt	:	<i>mesengen</i>	all burnt

- (3.31) *Sinuan-sinuan mulai mélusen.*
plant-plant begin wilt.PL
The plants all began to wilt.

- (3.32) *Mamburen me tuhu lau arah ciresna é.*
 flow.PL EMPH really water via leaks.the that
 The water just flowed out everywhere through the leaks.
- (3.33) *Piga-piga wari denga nge kupesai,*
 several day only EMPH I.CAUS.tidy
enggo ka me turahen dukutna.
 already also EMPH grow.PL weed.the
 I just tidied it up a couple of days ago, and now the weeds are growing all
 over the place again.

3.4.3 ADJECTIVE INFLECTIONS

3.4.3.1 PREDICATIVE MARKERS

Adjectives expounding the predicate slot of a stative clause in Karo may be classified according to whether they take (a) *me-*, (b) *N³-*, or (c) no prefix. Except for one adjective root, *tua* 'old', membership of these three sets is mutually exclusive. Assignment of a given root to a particular subclass, however, is largely unpredictable. For example:

<i>meganjang</i>	(<i>me-</i> + <i>ganjang</i>)	tall
<i>nggedang</i>	(<i>ng-</i> + <i>gedang</i>)	long
<i>galang</i>	(no prefix)	big

Some phonological conditioning factors operate here, but these are of a restrictive nature (e.g. *me-* does not occur with roots beginning with /b/ and /m/). There appear to be no semantic or grammatical correlates at work either. One could in theory posit a predicative marking morpheme {*M-*}, with variants {*me-*}, {*N-*} and { \emptyset }, and each of these (excepting zero) having its own set of allomorphs, partially morphemically and partially phonemically defined. However the resultant construct is a largely irregular, inelegant and decidedly unwieldy one for descriptive purposes. Instead, it is simpler and clearer to treat *me-* and *N³-* here as separate morphemes, albeit with an identical function, namely, to mark an adjective when it expounds the predicate of a stative clause or the Descriptive slot of a noun phrase. With one exception (superlative degree formation, see §3.7.8), this predicative marking is lost when adjectives are inflected with other paradigmatic affixes, or subjected to derivational processes. Both *me-* and *N³-* have homophonous derivational counterparts (see §3.6.4 and §3.6.5).

3.4.3.1.1 *me-*

This prefix occurs with adjective roots beginning with any consonant except /b/ and /m/. (In fact it does not occur with roots beginning with /w/ and /y/ either, but this is not considered significant, merely a reflection of the extremely low frequency of these phonemes root initially. See §2.3.4.1.1.)

<i>paras</i>	--->	<i>meparas</i>	elegant
<i>tutul</i>	--->	<i>metutul</i>	blunt
<i>daté</i>	--->	<i>medaté</i>	soft
<i>kapal</i>	--->	<i>mekapal</i>	thick

<i>gegeh</i>	--->	<i>megegeh</i>	strong
<i>ciho</i>	--->	<i>meciho</i>	clear
<i>jilé</i>	--->	<i>mejilé</i>	beautiful
<i>sera</i>	--->	<i>mesera</i>	difficult
<i>las</i>	--->	<i>melas</i>	hot
<i>ratah</i>	--->	<i>meratah</i>	green
<i>nahang</i>	--->	<i>menahang</i>	light
<i>ngetnget</i>	--->	<i>mengetnget</i>	malicious
<i>hangké</i>	--->	<i>mehangké</i>	reluctant

Only one exception to the above pattern has been recorded:

<i>sukah</i>	--->	<i>menukah</i>	easy
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This prefix does not occur with roots beginning with a vowel.²³

3.4.3.1.2 N^3 -

This prefix is for the most part a homorganic nasal, occurring only before roots which begin with obstruents or vowels. In the latter case, all recorded instances are of reduplicated roots. Its allomorphs are as follows:

(a) before obstruents:

1. {*m-*} before /p/ and /b/; /p/ is deleted
2. {*n-*} before /t/, /d/ and /j/ (no attested instances before /c/); /t/ is retained
3. {*ng-*} before /k/ and /g/; /k/ is deleted

(b) before vowels: {*m-*}

For example:

(i)	1.	<i>pitpit</i>	--->	<i>mitpit</i>	tightly closed
		<i>belin</i>	--->	<i>mbelin</i>	big
	2.	<i>telap</i>	--->	<i>ntelap</i>	sharp
		<i>deher</i>	--->	<i>ndeher</i>	close, near
		<i>jerlang</i>	--->	<i>njerlang</i>	shiny
		(Exception: <i>tembeh</i>)	--->	<i>nembeh</i>	angry)
	3.	<i>kalkal</i>	--->	<i>ngalkal</i>	ready
		<i>gesuh</i>	--->	<i>nggesuh</i>	smelly, dirty
(ii)		<i>ilep-ilep</i>	--->	<i>milep-ilep</i>	twinkling
		<i>éluk-éluk</i>	--->	<i>meluk-eluk</i>	winding

²³ Adjective roots beginning with vowels take a prefix of the form *m-*. Whether this is an allomorph of *me-* or N^3 - is more or less a matter of arbitrary assignment on phonological grounds. In this case *m-* has been assigned to N^3 - principally for the reason that it expands the allomorphic paradigm of this prefix and thereby highlights the contrasts between the four homophonous morphemes represented by the morph *N*. This decision appears to be further vindicated by the fact that the intransitivising verb prefix N^2 -, when attached to roots beginning with vowels, fluctuates between {*m-*} and {*ng-*}. Given that intransitive verbs lie between transitive verbs on the one hand and adjectives on the other, sharing some characteristics of both, the decision to group *m-* with N^3 - helps support the symmetry of this system.

<i>embel-embel</i>	--->	<i>membel-embel</i>	delicately scented
<i>anjar-anjar</i>	--->	<i>manjar-anjar</i>	slow
<i>unduk-unduk</i>	--->	<i>munduk-unduk</i>	sleepy
<i>onjé-onjé</i>	--->	<i>monjé-onjé</i>	deep

3.4.3.1.3 THE PREDICATIVE MARKERS COMPARED

From the above descriptions of *me-* and N^3 -, it may be concluded that their distributions are partly mutually exclusive (e.g. a stem such as *bayak* could not become **mebayak*, and a stem such as *lépak* could not be prefixed with N^3 -, although there is nothing to indicate that in fact neither of these two stems takes a prefix at all), and partly overlapping (e.g. *tabeh* could conceivably become either *metabeh* or *ntabeh*). The only instance of a root which takes both prefixes is *tua* 'old', as in:

Nandéna enggo metua. His mother is already old.

anaksi ntua the oldest child

However, as *ntua* is restricted to the above expression and not capable of expounding the predicate of a stative clause, the function of prefix *N-* in this instance is not in contrast with that of *me-*.

3.4.3.2 -en

Suffixed to adjective stems, this marks comparative degree, 'more (adjective)'. When inflected for comparison, adjectives which take inflectional prefixes *me-* and *N-* normally lose those prefixes, whilst adjectives derived by means of *me-* and *N-* (see §3.6.4 and §3.6.5) normally retain them, but many irregularities occur. In the following lists, all adjectives are presented first with their predicative markers, if applicable. Formal irregularities are noted in parentheses.

(a) non-derived adjective stems, plus *-en*:

<i>beluh</i>	clever	:	<i>beluben</i>	cleverer
<i>kitik</i>	small	:	<i>kitiken</i>	smaller
<i>gutul</i>	naughty	:	<i>gutulen</i>	naughtier
<i>metua</i>	old	:	<i>tuan</i>	older
<i>mekapal</i>	thick	:	<i>kapalen</i>	thicker
<i>megegeh</i>	strong	:	<i>gegehen</i>	stronger
<i>mbelin</i>	big	:	<i>beliden</i>	bigger (irregular)
<i>nterem</i>	many	:	<i>teremen</i>	more
<i>nembeh</i>	angry	:	<i>nembehen</i>	angrier (irregular)
<i>nggedang</i>	long	:	<i>gedangen</i>	longer
<i>manjar-anjar</i>	slow	:	<i>manjar-anjaren</i>	slower (irregular)

(b) derived adjective stems, plus *-en*:

<i>mbau</i>	smell	:	<i>mbaun</i>	smellier
<i>mbulan</i>	pale	:	<i>mbulanen</i>	paler
<i>ntebu</i>	sweet	:	<i>tebun</i>	sweeter (irregular)
<i>meherga</i>	expensive	:	<i>ergan</i>	more expensive (irregular)

The suffix *-en* is also attached to certain locative, temporal and meteorological nouns, again with a comparative meaning:

<i>lebé</i>	front	:	<i>lebén</i>	more in front, first
<i>pudi</i>	back	:	<i>pudin</i>	more behind, later
<i>datas</i>	top	:	<i>datasen</i>	higher up
<i>bas</i>	inside	:	<i>basen</i>	further in
<i>pepagi</i>	tomorrow	:	<i>pepagin</i>	in the future
<i>perudan</i>	wet season	:	<i>perudanen</i>	wetter (climatically)

(3.34) *Lebén kam!*
front.more you
You go first!

(3.35) *Apai si perudanen Kabanjahé ras Berastagi?*
which REL wet.more Kabanjahe or Berastagi
Which is wetter, Kabanjahe or Berastagi?

3.4.3.3 *ter...-en*

This circumfix has the same distribution as *-en* above, marking adjectives for intensive comparative degree, 'even more (adjective)'. It may also occur with a limited set of locative, temporal and meteorological nouns:

<i>mbergeh</i>	:	<i>bergehen</i>	:	<i>terbergehen</i>
cold		colder		even colder
<i>ndauh</i>	:	<i>dauhen</i>	:	<i>terdauhen</i>
far		further		further still
<i>mėjilé</i>	:	<i>jilén</i>	:	<i>terjilén</i>
beautiful		more beautiful		even more beautiful
<i>julu</i>	:	<i>julun</i>	:	<i>terjulun</i>
upstream		more upstream		even further upstream
<i>jadah</i>	:	<i>jadahen</i>	:	<i>terjadahen</i>
over there		more that way		still more that way
<i>perudan</i>	:	<i>perudanen</i>	:	<i>terperudanen</i>
wet		wetter		even wetter

(3.36) *Lit kang si terhantun asangken aku.*
BE also REL even.fierce.more than I
There is someone even more fierce than me.

3.4.3.4 *-sa*

This suffix has allomorphs {-*ca*}, following stem-final dental consonants (/t/ and /n/), and {-*sa*} elsewhere. This alternation varies from speaker to speaker, with most preferring to use {-*sa*} in all contexts. The suffix combines with adjective stems to mark excessive degree, 'too (adjective)'. Any predicative prefixes on the adjective are retained:

<i>galang</i>	big	:	<i>galangsa</i>	too big
<i>pët</i>	desirous	:	<i>pëtsa</i>	too desirous of
<i>melket</i>	dirty	:	<i>melketca = melketsa</i>	too dirty
<i>melawen</i>	late	:	<i>melawenca = melawensa</i>	too late
<i>mbué</i>	many, much	:	<i>mbuésa</i>	too many, too much

(3.37) *Ula pëtsa man.*
 don't desire.excess eat
 Don't be too greedy.

Some intransitive verbs and locative nouns may also be suffixed with *-sa*:

(3.38) *Ola ngandungsa, ola tawasa.*
 don't cry.excess don't laugh.excess
 Don't cry too much, don't laugh too much.

Preceded by a negative, the resultant construction means 'not very (adjective), not particularly (adjective)':

<i>ndekah</i>	long (of time)	:	<i>lanai ndekahsa</i>	not very long afterwards
<i>dëm</i>	full	:	<i>la dëmsa</i>	not particularly bright, a bit thick

3.5 DERIVING TRANSITIVE VERBS

The following affixes derive transitive verb stems from a variety of roots and other stems. These derived transitive verb stems, when presented in lists below, are cited in unmarked form (i.e. not bearing any inflectional affixes). Examples of their occurrence in clauses are necessarily inflected.

3.5.1 *-i*

This suffix operates primarily on adjectives, intransitive verbs and nouns, to form transitive verb stems with a locative meaning. By this is meant that the Undergoer concerned denotes a locus – either physical or figurative – with respect to which the action occurs:

<i>deher</i>	near	:	<i>deheri</i>	to come near to, approach
<i>dauh</i>	far	:	<i>dauhi</i>	to go away from, avoid
<i>litap</i>	wet	:	<i>litapi</i>	to wet, drench
<i>rawa</i>	angry	:	<i>rawai</i>	to scold, be angry at
<i>dung</i>	finished	:	<i>dungi</i>	put an end to, conclude
<i>kundul</i>	to sit	:	<i>kunduli</i>	to sit on, occupy
<i>pedem</i>	(sleep)	:	<i>pedemi</i>	to sleep on
<i>tangis</i>	to cry	:	<i>tangisi</i>	to cry over, mourn
<i>cirem</i>	to smile	:	<i>ciremi</i>	to smile at
<i>nangkih</i>	to go up	:	<i>nangkihi</i>	to climb on
<i>sira</i>	salt	:	<i>sirai</i>	to put salt on, salt s.th.
<i>tambar</i>	medicine	:	<i>tambari</i>	to give medicine to, treat
<i>lau</i>	water	:	<i>loui</i>	to put water on, irrigate
<i>laklak</i>	bark	:	<i>laklaki</i>	to remove the bark from

- | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|---|---------------|-------------------------|
| <i>kulit</i> | skin | : | <i>kuliti</i> | to remove the skin from |
| <i>képar</i> | opposite side | : | <i>képari</i> | to cross over |
- (3.39) *Panas maleren, ngelitapi daging.*
sweat flow.PL ACT.wet.LOC body
Sweat flowed profusely, drenching bodies.
- (3.40) *Paksa é Kabanjahé ikunduli musuh.*
time that Kabanjahe PASS.sit.LOC enemy
At that time Kabanjahe was occupied by the enemy.
- (3.41) *Ciremina aku.*
smile.LOC.she I
She smiled at me.
- (3.42) *Terképari nge lau é?*
ABIL.cross.LOC EMPH river that
Can that river really be crossed?

Many *-i* verbs are paraphrasable by another verb form plus a prepositional phrase, usually locative, but possibly dative, referential or comitative as well. The majority of examples provided above illustrate the locative meaning of *-i* in a fairly tangible sense, but many *-i* verbs exhibit a more figurative or abstract locational meaning:

- (3.43) *Lanai iukuri kita la ruis.*
no.longer PASS.think.LOC we not have.clothes
We no longer thought about having no clothes.
- (3.44) *Éndam nambahi kepuasenta*
this.EMPH ACT.add.LOC satisfaction.our
natap-natap kiniulin doni.
look-look beauty world
This increases our pleasure in looking about at the beauty of nature.

A number of transitive verb stems also figure in locative *-i* derivatives:

<i>tulis</i>	to write	:	<i>tulisi</i>	to write on
<i>benter</i>	(throw)	:	<i>benteri</i>	to throw at, pelt
<i>ajar</i>	(teach)	:	<i>ajari</i>	to teach (to)

3.5.2 *-ken*

This suffix operates on all contentive word classes, producing transitive verb stems with a number of different meanings:

(i) With adjective, intransitive verb, and noun roots, the meaning is broadly 'causative': 'to make the Undergoer become/do (the meaning of the root)':

<i>tasak</i>	ripe, ready to eat	:	<i>tasakken</i>	to make ready, eat, cook
<i>keri</i>	depleted	:	<i>keriken</i>	to deplete, use up
<i>sah</i>	legal, valid	:	<i>sahken</i>	to validate, make legal
<i>belin</i>	big	:	<i>belinken</i>	to make big, exaggerate
<i>pajek</i>	vertical	:	<i>pajekken</i>	to erect, make stand up

<i>kabang</i>	to fly	:	<i>kabangken</i>	to make fly, blow away
<i>rěh</i>	to come	:	<i>rěhken</i>	to make come, summon
<i>tading</i>	to stay	:	<i>tadingken</i>	to make remain, leave behind
<i>lit</i>	to be, exist	:	<i>litken</i>	to cause to exist, provide
<i>pekara</i>	lawsuit	:	<i>pekaraken</i>	to turn into a legal matter
<i>kiré-kiré</i>	screen	:	<i>kiré-kiréken</i>	to use as a screen

(3.45) *Ngaruhndu ola min belinken.*
 favour.your don't SOF (PASS).big.CAUS
 Don't exaggerate about your kindness to others.

(3.46) *Éta lebé kita, sitadingken ia.*
 HORT first we we.stay.CAUS he
 Come on, let's go ahead, we'll leave him behind.

With nouns referring to containers, the resultant *-ken* derivative means 'to put the Undergoer into (noun)':

<i>karang</i>	pen, corral	:	<i>karangken</i>	to put into the pen
<i>peti</i>	box	:	<i>petiken</i>	to put into the box
<i>sumpit</i>	(rice) sack	:	<i>sumpitken</i>	to bag (rice)

The suffix *-ken* may also be applied to a phrasal stem:

<i>penggel dua</i>	broken in two	:	<i>penggelduaken</i>	break in two
<i>lanailit</i>	no longer exist	:	<i>lanailitken</i>	to dissolve, terminate

(3.47) *Ibas mulana nari kin jadi kerajan é*
 at beginning.its from EMPH become kingdom that
sěh ku ilanai litken i bulan maret 1946...
 until to PASS.not.exist.CAUS at month March 1946
 From the very inception of the kingdom until it was dissolved in March 1946...

(ii) With verb stems which have meanings associated with cognition or communication, the resultant *-ken* stem acquires a prepositional meaning, 'to (verb) to/for/about' (any prefixes on the source stem are lost in derivation):

<i>begi</i>	to hear	:	<i>begiken</i>	to listen to
<i>rukur</i>	to think	:	<i>ukurken</i>	to think about, contemplate
<i>lupa</i>	to forget	:	<i>lupaken</i>	to forget about
<i>ertoto</i>	to pray	:	<i>totoken</i>	to pray for
<i>rarih</i>	to deliberate	:	<i>arihken</i>	to deliberate over
<i>ngerana</i>	to talk	:	<i>ranaken</i>	to talk about, discuss
<i>nuri</i>	to tell a story	:	<i>turiken</i>	to relate

(3.48) *É maka la lupa ia notoken mbuah pagé.*
 and so not forget they ACT.pray.PREP much rice
 Nor did they forget to pray for a bountiful crop.

(iii) Derivatives with *-ken* are often followed by an Undergoer which has the characteristic of the instrument employed in the action (representative undergoers are included in the following examples):

<i>beré</i>	give	:	<i>beréken sén</i>	give money
<i>surat</i>	(write)	:	<i>suratken péna</i>	to write (with) a pen
<i>ambek</i>	(throw)	:	<i>ambekken batu</i>	throw a stone
<i>tukur</i>	buy	:	<i>tukurken sén</i>	spend money
<i>cabin</i>	blanket	:	<i>cabinken kampuh</i>	to place a sarong as a blanket
<i>bidé</i>	fence	:	<i>bidéken kawat</i>	to use wire for a fence, to fence (with) wire

- (3.49) *Nandang galang-galang kucabinken uis gara.*
 approach lie-lie I.blanket.INSTR cloth red
 Towards bedtime I put the *uis gara* (i.e. kind of blanket) on.

(iv) *-ken* also figures in many pseudo-reflexive verbs (§6.4.3), where no Undergoer is manifest (these are generally analysable as 'causative'):

<i>pedem</i>	(sleep)	:	<i>pedemken</i>	(make oneself) go to sleep
<i>kiam</i>	run	:	<i>kiamken</i>	(make oneself) run off, escape
<i>tahan</i>	endure	:	<i>tahanken</i>	(make oneself) endure, stand
<i>berkat</i>	leave	:	<i>berkatken</i>	(make oneself) depart
<i>sirang</i>	part	:	<i>sirangken</i>	drag oneself away

- (3.50) *I jém pedemkenna sada berngi.*
 at here.EMPH sleep.CAUS.he one night
 In this spot he bedded down for a night.

3.5.3 *pe-*

3.5.3.1 DERIVING TRANSITIVE VERB STEMS FROM ADJECTIVES

This prefix derives transitive verb stems from adjective, intransitive verb and noun roots, with a resultant causative meaning, broadly similar to that for *-ken* verbs as described above. It is an extremely productive affix, with a higher frequency of occurrence than *-ken*.

(i) With adjectives and intransitive verbs, the derivative means 'to make the Undergoer become/do (the meaning of the root)':

<i>galang</i>	big	:	<i>pegalang</i>	to expand
<i>kitik</i>	small	:	<i>pekitik</i>	to reduce
<i>sikap</i>	ready	:	<i>pesikap</i>	to make ready
<i>malem</i>	cured	:	<i>pemalem</i>	to cure, heal
<i>sinik</i>	quiet	:	<i>pesinik</i>	to quieten
<i>modéren</i>	modern	:	<i>pemodéren</i>	to modernise
<i>lawes</i>	to go	:	<i>pelawes</i>	to send away
<i>pulung</i>	to gather	:	<i>pepulung</i>	to collect, assemble
<i>ngadi</i>	to stop	:	<i>pengadi</i>	to put an end to
<i>jumpa</i>	to meet	:	<i>pejumpa</i>	to make meet

<i>geluh</i>	(be alive)	:	<i>pegeluh</i>	to activate
<i>berkat</i>	to depart	:	<i>peberkat</i>	to send off, despatch

(3.51) *Até ipengadi, la terpengadi.*
 heart PASS.CAUS.stop not ABIL.CAUS.stop
 They wished for it to be stopped, but it could not be stopped.

(3.52) *Kerja é banci pegalang, banci pekitik,*
 feast that can (PASS).CAUS.big can (PASS).CAUS.small
banci pedekah, banci pegendek.
 can (PASS).CAUS.long can (PASS).CAUS.short
 The feast can be made larger or smaller, prolonged or shortened.

(ii) With noun roots, the *pe-* derivative means 'to make the Undergoer go to the place referred to by the noun':

<i>darat</i>	the outside	:	<i>pedarat</i>	to send outside
<i>karang</i>	pen, corral	:	<i>pekarang</i>	to put in the pen
<i>lau</i>	river, water	:	<i>pelau</i>	to water (cattle)
<i>rumah</i>	house	:	<i>perumah (bégu)</i>	to call (the spirit) home (= a ceremony)

Not all roots which take *pe-* are also able to be suffixed with *-ken*, but where there are occurrences of the same root with the potential for taking both affixes, the following similarities and differences in meaning may be noted:

(i) Sometimes there is no difference in meaning, with both verbs taking the same kinds of undergoers:

pesikap keperluan = sikapken keperluan
 to prepare what is needed, make provisions ready

pekarang kerbo = karangken kerbo
 to put the water-buffalo into the corral

pepiher ukur = piherken ukur
 to strengthen one's resolve, make one's mind firm

(ii) Where contrasts do occur, however, the difference sometimes relates to the nature of the undergoer *pe-* occurring with more concrete undergoers, and *-ken* (sometimes *pe...-ken*) being associated with more abstract ones:

peséh berita to pass on news (make the news arrive)
 (cf. *néhken sura-sura* to accomplish one's ambitions)

pecidah uis to show off a garment (let it be seen)
 (cf. *cidahken ukur* to reveal what is in one's mind)

pehuli bidé to repair a fence (make it good)
 (cf. *pehuliken pergogon* to resolve a dispute)

(iii) More significantly, these two prefixes contrast in respect of their actors: *pe-* requires an actor which is human (or personified), whereas *-ken* may have an inanimate actor. This condition entails an important semantic distinction: while both forms have a causative meaning, *pe-* verbs contain an additional element of intentionality which *-ken* verbs may or

may not possess. This is further illustrated by the inability of the 'accidental' *ter-* prefix to occur with *pe-* stems, whereas it may freely precede *-ken* stems (§3.4.1.3.2).

(iv) With certain roots, these two affixes contrast in terms of a self:other dichotomy.

For example:

<i>pedemken</i>		to put (oneself) to bed
(cf. <i>pepedem</i>)		to put (someone else) to bed)

(See also §6.4.3, examples (6.138) - (6.140).)

Finally, some minor formal variations may be noted:

(i) When attached to adjective or intransitive verb stems which are themselves derived, the root form of those stems are normally used:

<i>nggeluh</i>	live, be alive	:	<i>pegeluh</i>	to activate
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In a handful of cases, variation between the root and derived stem forms is attested:

<i>malem</i>	cured	:	<i>pemalem = pepalem</i>	to cure
<i>nusur</i>	go down	:	<i>penusur = pesusur</i>	to lower
<i>mentas</i>	pass	:	<i>pementas = pebentas</i>	to let pass

(ii) Unlike transitive verb stems derived with *-i* and *-ken*, which must be inflected with the appropriate voice marker (*N-*, *i-* or zero) when used in a clause, derivatives with *pe-* do not normally bear an active marker *N-*. (The unmarked form is interpreted as active when necessary.) However, a small number of cases have been recorded where the *pe-* derivative appears subject to (more or less) regular inflection with the active marker:

<i>pehuli</i>	--->	<i>mehuli</i>	to repair
<i>pesəh</i>	--->	<i>mesəh</i>	to pass on
<i>pesai</i>	--->	<i>mesai</i>	to tidy up, weed
<i>pepulungi</i>	--->	<i>mepulungi</i>	to gather together
<i>pedarat</i>	--->	<i>mpedarat</i>	to send outside

(3.53) *Isé mesəhsa* *berita é man bana?*
 who ACT.CAUS.reach.PERF news that to him
 Who passed on that news to him?

(3.54) *Isé mesaisa* *kuburen nandé?*
 who ACT.CAUS.tidy.PERF grave mother
 Who cleaned up mother's grave?

(3.55) *Kalak ah mehuli* *bidé.*
 person that ACT.CAUS.good fence
 The man is fixing the fence.

Whilst *pehuli*, *peseh* and *pesai* are universally found with 'regular' active forms, the others listed above are not as common, with some speakers preferring the unmarked variant in active clauses.

3.5.3.2 ATTACHED TO DOUBLED ADJECTIVE ROOTS

Pe- is also found attached to doubled adjective roots, deriving a transitive verb stem which is restricted to occurrence in reflexive constructions, with the accompanying meaning 'to pretend to be in the state referred to by the adjective':

<i>bangger</i>	unwell	:	<i>pebangger-bangger bana</i>	to pretend to be unwell
<i>sakit</i>	sick	:	<i>pesakit-sakit bana</i>	to feign illness
<i>merhat</i>	fond of	:	<i>pemerhat-merhat bana</i>	to pretend to like something
<i>bujur</i>	honest	:	<i>pebujur-bujur bana</i>	to put on an honest front
<i>maté</i>	die, dead	:	<i>pematé-maté bana</i>	to play dead

- (3.56) *Pemerhat-merhat pé bangku, la kin aku pët.*
 CAUS.imitate-liking.for although myself not EMPH I like
 Though I pretended to like it, I really didn't.

(The function of adjective reduplication here is imitative – 'similar to, but not the real thing' – and the function of *pe-* still causative, hence the notion: 'cause oneself to appear as if', i.e. pretend.)

3.5.4 *pe-...-ken*

3.5.4.1 DERIVING TRANSITIVE VERB STEMS FROM ADJECTIVES

This circumfix forms transitive verb stems mainly from adjectives, and some intransitive and transitive verbs, with a resultant causative meaning. By contrast with causative *-ken* and *pe-* stems based on the same adjectives, *pe-...-ken* derivatives are more intensive in meaning, 'to make more...':

<i>biring</i>	<i>pebiring</i>	<i>pebiringken</i>
black	to blacken	to make blacker
<i>ganjang</i>	<i>peganjang</i>	<i>peganjangken</i>
high	to put up high	to put up even higher
<i>uli</i>	<i>pehuli</i>	<i>pehuliken</i>
good	to make good, repair	to make better, improve
<i>kitik</i>	<i>pekitik</i>	<i>pekitikken bana</i>
small	to make small	to humble, deprecate oneself

I have no instances of intransitive verbs which can take either *-ken* or *pe-* and can also be affixed with *pe-...-ken*. The meanings of the few forms recorded are straightforwardly causative:

<i>sirang</i>	to separate	:	<i>pesirangken</i>	to cause to separate
<i>pinem</i>	(drink)	:	<i>pepinemken</i>	to make drink, suckle, breastfeed

There are only a few cases of transitive verb roots subject to derivation with *pe-...-ken*. The resultant derivative means 'to cause the Undergoer to be affected by the action referred to in the transitive verb root':

<i>beteh</i>	(know)	:	<i>pebetehken</i>	to have something made known, to announce
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<i>tepa</i>	to forge	:	<i>petepaken</i>	to have something forged or made by a smith
<i>tandai</i>	to be acquainted with	:	<i>petandakan</i>	to make s.o. be acquainted with s.o. else, introduce

3.5.4.2 ATTACHED TO DOUBLED ADJECTIVE ROOTS

Pe-...-ken is also found attached to doubled adjective (and some noun) roots, deriving a transitive verb stem which is restricted to occurrence in a reflexive construction. The resultant form means 'to pretend to be like, or behave as if one is (adjective)'. These forms resemble the derivatives with *pe-* and doubled adjective roots described in §3.5.3.2, but differ in three respects: (a) they can only occur in active voice, never passive, (b) the accompanying dative reflexive phrase is optional, and (c) semantically, the Actor in this construction is the only participant actually deluded by his or her behaviour.

<i>beluh</i>	clever	:	<i>pebeluh-beluhkan (bana)</i>	to pretend to be clever, be a know-all
<i>tua</i>	old	:	<i>petua-tuaken (bana)</i>	to act grown-up
<i>bayak</i>	rich	:	<i>pebayak-bayakken (bana)</i>	to carry on as if one is wealthy
<i>jago</i>	champion	:	<i>pejago-jagoken (bana)</i>	to act tough
<i>lebé</i>	front	:	<i>pelebé-lebéken (bana)</i>	to act number one

3.5.5 *pe-...-i*

This circumfix operates on certain adjective roots to form verb stems with a causative, intensive meaning, similar to *pe-...-ken*. Recorded instances are few in number:

<i>ganjang</i>	high	:	<i>peganjangi</i>	to make higher
<i>bentar</i>	white	:	<i>pebentari</i>	to make whiter
<i>kitik</i>	small	:	<i>pekitiki</i>	to make smaller
<i>baru</i>	new	:	<i>pebaru/pelimbarui</i>	to make new again, renovate

- (3.57) *Jambur ah ndai enggo pelimbarui.*
 rice.barn that that already (PASS).CAUS.new.INTENS
 That rice barn has been restored.

Such forms are homophonous with, but morphemically distinct from, cases of *pe-* verb stems (§3.5.3.1) suffixed with iterative *-i* (§3.4.2.2), which involve plurality of the Undergoer.

- (3.58) *Pesusuri sitik tualah énda.*
 (PASS).CAUS.go.down.ITER please coconut this
 Unload these coconuts (from the truck) please.

3.5.6 *per-*

This prefix derives transitive verb stems mainly from nouns and numerals, with a resultant causative meaning. With number stems, it means 'to make into (number)':

<i>sada</i>	one	:	<i>persada</i>	to make into one, mix together
<i>dua</i>	two	:	<i>perdua</i>	to divide in half
<i>telu</i>	three	:	<i>pertelu</i>	to divide into three
<i>pitu</i>	seven	:	<i>perpitu</i>	to divide seven ways

- (3.59) *Persada nakan énda ndai kerina.*
 (PASS).CAUS.one rice this that all
 Put all this rice together in the one bowl.

Attached to noun and second person pronoun stems, it means 'to consider/call the Undergoer as (noun/pronoun)':

<i>teman</i>	friend	:	<i>perteman</i>	to befriend
<i>nandé</i>	mother	:	<i>perandé</i>	to consider as one's mother
<i>anak</i>	child	:	<i>peranak</i>	to treat like a child
<i>engko</i>	you (familiar)	:	<i>perengko</i>	to address someone as <i>engko</i> (=Fr. 'tutoyer')
<i>kam</i>	you (polite)	:	<i>perkam</i>	to address someone with <i>kam</i>

- (3.60) *Ola aku perengko kam, anak Raja Umang aku.*
 don't I (PASS).call.engko you son Raja Umang I
 Don't you address me as *engko*, I am the son of Raja Umang.

Other instances of *per-*, based upon adjectives and transitive verb roots, are of insufficient number to discern a regular pattern of meaning. They include:

<i>tuhu</i>	correct	:	<i>pertuhu</i>	to confirm
<i>nehen</i>	look	:	<i>pernehen</i>	to observe closely

3.5.7 *per-...-ken*

These formations are relatively few in number, mostly deriving from intransitive verb stems with prefix *er-*. They are usually characterised by either a prepositional or a causative meaning:

<i>ernipi</i>	to dream	:	<i>pernipiken</i>	to dream about, sleep on (an idea)
<i>erkuan</i>	to speak	:	<i>perkuanken</i>	to be on speaking terms with
<i>rengko</i>	to use <i>engko</i> in speaking to someone	:	<i>perengkoken</i>	to normally address s.o. as <i>engko</i> , to be on familiar terms with
<i>germet</i>	perceptive	:	<i>pegermetken</i>	pay attention to
<i>erdiaté</i>	have ideas	:	<i>perdiatéken</i>	pay attention to
<i>erjuma</i>	to work the fields	:	<i>perjumaken</i>	to have someone work in one's fields, as an indentured labourer
<i>erkawan</i>	to work as a slave	:	<i>perkawanken</i>	to enslave

3.5.8 *per...-i*

3.5.8.1 DERIVING TRANSITIVE VERB STEMS FROM NOUN AND VERB ROOTS

Also of low frequency, this circumfix operates mostly on noun and some verb roots, meaning 'to use the Undergoer as a (noun)/a place to (verb)'. It thus contains elements of both causativity and location:

<i>juma</i>	dry field	:	<i>perjumai</i>	to utilise as a dry field
<i>sabah</i>	wet rice field	:	<i>persabahi</i>	to use as a wet rice field
<i>reba</i>	small vegetable garden	:	<i>perebai</i>	to use as a vegetable garden
<i>gadung</i>	sweet potato	:	<i>pergadungi</i>	to plant with sweet potato
<i>kentang</i>	potato	:	<i>perkentangi</i>	to plant with potatoes
<i>pangan</i>	food	:	<i>perpangani</i>	to use as a plate
<i>pinem</i>	(drink)	:	<i>perpinemi</i>	to use as a drinking vessel
<i>dakan</i>	(cook)	:	<i>perdakani</i>	to use as a cooking pot
<i>buru</i>	(hunt)	:	<i>perburui</i>	to use (a person, dog) to flush out game, in hunting

3.5.8.2 DERIVING TRANSITIVE VERB STEMS FROM NUMBER STEMS

Based on number stems, *per...-i* means 'to group into lots of (number)':

<i>dua</i>	two	:	<i>perduai</i>	to group into pairs
<i>enam</i>	six	:	<i>perenemi</i>	to divide into lots of six
<i>sepuluh</i>	ten	:	<i>persepuluhi</i>	to divide into tens

3.6 DERIVING INTRANSITIVE VERBS

The following affixes all derive forms which can expound the predicate slot of a non-transitive clause. Two of the prefixes listed below derive adjectives, the remainder intransitive verbs, though many of the latter have stative meanings.

3.6.1 *er-*

This prefix operates on a variety of stems (nouns, noun phrases, precategorials, interrogatives and reciprocal verbs) to form intransitive verbs whose meanings are characteristically stative rather than eventive.

Noun stems affected may be roots or derivatives. Examples of all nominalising affixes except *per-* have been recorded on stems prefixed with *er-*. (Presumably the reason for this lacuna is that this noun affix is itself mostly based upon verbs with *er-*; see §3.7.2.):

<i>jabu</i>	home (root noun)	:	<i>erjabu</i>	to be married
<i>permeteh</i>	knowledge	:	<i>erpermeteh</i>	to have knowledge
<i>perngarapen</i>	hope	:	<i>erperngarapen</i>	to have hope
<i>perbulangen</i>	husband	:	<i>erperbulangen</i>	to have a husband
<i>baban</i>	burden, load	:	<i>erbaban</i>	to have a load
<i>kedungen</i>	conclusion	:	<i>erkedungen</i>	to have an end
<i>kinitèken</i>	belief, faith	:	<i>erkinitèken</i>	to have faith

<i>dauhna</i>	distance, farness	:	<i>erdauhna</i>	to go further away
<i>sinalsal</i>	ray, beam	:	<i>ersinalsal</i>	to radiate, glow

Noun phrases which may be prefixed with *er-* are most typically simple Descriptive NPs (i.e. Head plus Descriptive), though Measure NPs have also been recorded:

<i>sura-sura mbelin</i>	high aspirations	:	<i>ersura-sura mbelin</i>	to have great ambitions
<i>merga Barus</i>	the Barus clan	:	<i>ermerga Barus</i>	to be of the Barus clan
<i>até tutus</i>	serious heart	:	<i>raté tutus</i>	to be serious
<i>sada arih</i>	one discussion	:	<i>ersada arih</i>	to be in agreement

The meanings of *er-* verbs based on nominal stems include:

(i) 'to have or possess X'

<i>kabeng</i>	wing	:	<i>erkabeng</i>	to have wings
<i>ipen</i>	tooth	:	<i>ripen</i>	to have teeth
<i>pemegi</i>	hearing ability	:	<i>erpemegi</i>	to have hearing
<i>kesah</i>	breath	:	<i>erkesah</i>	to have breath, to breathe

(ii) 'to make or produce X'

<i>asar</i>	nest	:	<i>rasar</i>	to build a nest, to nest
<i>toto</i>	prayer	:	<i>ertoto</i>	to pray
<i>buah</i>	fruit	:	<i>erbuah</i>	to bear fruit
<i>baris</i>	line	:	<i>erbaris</i>	to line up
<i>sagu</i>	sago	:	<i>ersagu</i>	to make sago
<i>katongting</i>	(the sound made by pounding of rice)	:	<i>erkatongting</i>	to go <i>katongting katongting</i>

(iii) 'to utilise X'

<i>uis</i>	clothes	:	<i>ruis</i>	to wear clothes
<i>ukur</i>	mind	:	<i>rukur</i>	to think, cogitate
<i>dalan</i>	road	:	<i>erdalan</i>	to walk, journey by foot
<i>gasing</i>	spinning top	:	<i>ergasing</i>	play spinning tops
<i>Sutra</i>	(name of a transport company serving Karoland)	:	<i>erSutra</i>	to travel by Sutra bus

(iv) 'to consider or call X' (where X is a term denoting kinship or other relationship)

<i>bapa</i>	father	:	<i>erbapa</i>	to call father
<i>kalimbubu</i>	in-laws	:	<i>erkalimbubu</i>	to regard as one's in-laws
<i>impal</i>	cousin	:	<i>rimpal</i>	to have/regard as a cousin
<i>imbang</i>	opponent	:	<i>rimbang</i>	to regard as an enemy

(v) with reduplicated temporal-unit nouns, 'to last for...'

<i>wari</i>	day	:	<i>erwari-wari</i>	for many days
<i>tahun</i>	year	:	<i>ertahun-tahun</i>	for years and years

The prefix *er-* is often found attached to stems consisting of adjectives nominalised with *-na*. (An argument could be made for treatment of the resulting formation as a circumfix plus adjective root, but in view of the consistency of the pattern that all nominalisers (except *per-*)

are found to form stems which can be prefixed with *er-*, this seems to be the better analysis). These derivatives mostly occur in double-barrelled constructions meaning 'the more...the more...'. They are described more comprehensively in §8.4.3.4:

Erdekahna ergelapna. It became darker and darker. (lit. The longer it went on the darker it became.)

The following interrogatives may be prefixed with *er-*:

<i>kai</i>	what?	:	<i>erkai</i>	doing what?
<i>uga</i>	like what?, how?	:	<i>eruga</i>	to ask <i>How can that be the case?</i>

(3.61) *Erkai kam ku jénda?*
doing.what you to here
What have you come here to do?

(3.62) *Ola ukurdu eruga ndia!*
don't mind.your ask.how EMPH
Don't be surprised! (lit. Don't let your mind ask, how can that possibly be?)

When a reciprocal verb is prefixed with *er-*, the sense of the verb shifts from eventive to stative, with the accompanying notion that everybody concerned is participating:

<i>sitebaken</i>	to stab each other	:	<i>ersitebaken</i>	to be having an all-out brawl, everyone knifing each other
<i>sitipun</i>	to deceive each other	:	<i>ersitipun</i>	to be all cheating each other
<i>sirebuten</i>	to snatch something from each other	:	<i>ersirebuten</i>	to be all snatching and grabbing things from each other

Most remaining cases of *er-* verbs are based on precategorial stems which, since they cannot occur freely without an affix, are difficult to analyse in terms of semantic development from root to derivative. What is clear is that the resultant forms nearly always refer to states and situations rather than events and actions:

<i>erlajar</i>	to learn (irregular form from root <i>ajar</i>)
<i>ermakan</i>	to tend animals
<i>erkusik-kusik</i>	to whisper
<i>erdaya</i>	to sell, work as a seller

Finally, the form *erbahan* 'to make' is exceptional, as it functions as a transitive verb (§6.2.2).

3.6.2 *er- ... -ken*

This circumfix is attached to noun stems (root or derived) of identity 'X' to form an intransitive verb which takes a nominal complement of identity 'Y'. The meaning of the resultant construction is: 'to have or utilise X as a Y':

<i>nakan</i>	staple food (usually rice)
<i>gadung</i>	sweet potato
: <i>ernakanken gadung</i>	to have sweet potato for one's staple

<i>uis</i>	clothing
<i>guni</i>	sack, hessian bag
: <i>ruisken guni</i>	to wear a sack for clothing
<i>tarum</i>	thatch
<i>ritik</i>	bean stalks
: <i>ertarumken tarum ritik</i>	to have a roof made from bean-stalk thatch
<i>palas</i>	support, corbel
<i>batangkayu</i>	tree trunk
: <i>erpalasken batu kayu</i>	supported on tree trunks
<i>tapin</i>	bathing place
<i>laumalem</i>	cool river
: <i>ertapinken lau malem</i>	having a cool river for one's bathing spot

The nominal complement may be expounded by a pronoun; in the case of third person the objective form occurs:

<i>kéla</i>	son-in-law
<i>ia</i>	he, him
: <i>erkélakenca</i>	to have him for a son-in-law

The complement may also be expounded by a clause:

<i>paku</i>	nail
<i>jumpa lubang</i>	holes meet
: <i>erpakuken jumpa lubang</i>	having dovetailed joints

Finally, the nominal complement may have a complement clause of its own:

- (3.63) ...*erpalasken sura-sura gelah ia turah jadi perdemun*
 have.support ideal PURP he grow become meeting.place
ras pedemuken kalak i kenjahé-kenjulu nati ka.
 and CAUS.meet.CAUS people at downstream-upstream from also
 ...based upon the aspiration that he might grow up to become a person
 through whom others may meet and who could also bring others from
 different backgrounds together.

3.6.3 N²-

This is the least regular of the *N*- prefixes, with some degree of unpredictable allomorphic variation. Its allomorphs and effects upon root-initial phonemes are as follows:

(a) before consonants

1. {*m*-} before /p/, /b/; /p/ is deleted
2. {*n*-} before /t/, /d/, /c/, /s/; /t, c, s/ are deleted
3. {*ng*-} before /k/, /g/
4. {*nge*-} before /l/, /r/ and /b/
5. it does not occur with roots beginning with /j/, /w/, /y/ or nasals

(b) before vowels: not phonologically predictable (sometimes {*m*-}, sometimes {*ng*-})

For example:

(i)	1.	<i>pedem</i>	--->	<i>medem</i>	to sleep
		<i>bulak</i>	--->	<i>mbulak</i>	to fall, topple
		(Exception: <i>bentas</i>)	--->	<i>mentas</i>	to pass)
	2.	<i>taktak</i>	--->	<i>naktak</i>	to fall, drop
		<i>derder</i>	--->	<i>nderder</i>	to dribble
		<i>cangkul</i>	--->	<i>nangkul</i>	to hoe
		<i>susur</i>	--->	<i>nusur</i>	to descend
	3.	<i>kawil</i>	--->	<i>ngkawil</i>	to fish
		<i>gurpas</i>	--->	<i>nggurpas</i>	to shiver, quiver
		(Exception: <i>kité</i>)	--->	<i>ngité</i>	to cross a bridge)
	4.	<i>liké</i>	--->	<i>ngeliké</i>	to shout
		<i>rana</i>	--->	<i>ngerana</i>	to talk
		<i>hilé-hilé</i>	--->	<i>ngehilé-hilé</i>	to rejoice
(ii)	m-	<i>erdang</i>	--->	<i>merdang</i>	to sow rice
		<i>alir</i>	--->	<i>malir</i>	to flow
		<i>ombak</i>	--->	<i>mombak</i>	to drift
		<i>ulih</i>	--->	<i>mulih</i>	to return home
	ng-	<i>élak</i>	--->	<i>ngélak</i>	to avoid, sidestep
		<i>emo</i>	--->	<i>ngemo</i>	to work as a labourer
		<i>adap</i>	--->	<i>ngadap</i>	to pay one's respects
		<i>ué-ué</i>	--->	<i>ngué-ngué</i>	to say yes

The function of this prefix is to derive intransitive verbs, principally from precatatorial roots (as exemplified by all but three of the above), and from nouns:

<i>darat</i>	outside	:	<i>ndarat</i>	to go outside
<i>tarum</i>	thatch	:	<i>narum</i>	to thatch a roof
<i>kawil</i>	hook	:	<i>ngkawil</i>	to fish
<i>kité</i>	small bridge	:	<i>ngité</i>	to cross a bridge
<i>gebuk</i>	smoke	:	<i>nggebuk</i>	to smoke, emit smoke
<i>cangkul</i>	hoe	:	<i>nangkul</i>	to hoe, chip weeds

3.6.4 *me-*

This prefix is homophonous with the paradigmatic adjective prefix *me-* described in §3.4.3.1.1, differing only in that it has the added function of deriving adjectives from noun roots:

<i>teruh</i>	underneath	:	<i>meteruh</i>	low
<i>erga</i>	price	:	<i>meherga</i>	expensive
<i>dusun</i>	village	:	<i>medusun</i>	rural, remote
<i>duit</i>	money	:	<i>meduit</i>	avaricious, loving money
<i>bapa</i>	father	:	<i>mebapa</i>	attached to one's father
<i>anak</i>	child	:	<i>meanak</i>	doting

Of these derivatives, only the first two are inflectable for comparative degree.

3.6.5 *N⁵*-

This prefix is homophonous with the paradigmatic adjective prefix *N³*- described above (§3.4.3.1.2), differing only in that it has the added function of deriving adjectives from noun roots:

<i>beru</i>	female	:	<i>mberu</i>	feminine
<i>bisa</i>	venom	:	<i>mbisa</i>	brave
<i>bulan</i>	moon	:	<i>mbulan</i>	pale, white
<i>bau</i>	smell	:	<i>mbau</i>	smelly, of bad repute
<i>buah</i>	fruit	:	<i>mbuah</i>	fruitful, bountiful
<i>tebu</i>	sugarcane	:	<i>ntebu</i>	sweet

3.6.6 *ter*-

This prefix forms intransitive verbs, yielding a number of different meanings. The first of these is quite productive, the others considerably less so:

(i) Attached to transitive verb stems, the resultant derivative has a stative passive meaning, translatable by the English past participle:

<i>idah</i>	see	:	<i>teridah</i>	seen
<i>suan</i>	plant	:	<i>tersuan</i>	planted, implanted
<i>tapel</i>	tie up	:	<i>tertapel</i>	tied, secured
<i>beritaken</i>	announce	:	<i>terberita</i>	made known; famous
<i>singetken</i>	mention	:	<i>tersinget</i>	(afore)mentioned
<i>gelari</i>	name, call	:	<i>tergelar</i>	named, called

As the last three examples show, any transitivity affixes on the verb stem are lost when *ter*- is applied. Furthermore, the resultant derivatives are incapable of co-occurrence with an actor, in keeping with their detransitivised status:

(3.64) *Ciremna, sinalsal matana, pengeranana*
smile.her gleam eye.her way.of.speaking.her

la lolo tergambar usur ibas pikirengu.
not never STAT.draw always in thought.my

Her smile, the sparkle in her eye, the way she spoke, were indelibly etched into my mind.

(ii) With a small set of nouns referring to body parts, the resultant derivative means 'as far as one's (noun)':

<i>tiwen</i>	knee	:	<i>tertiwen</i>	up/down to one's knees
<i>awak</i>	hips	:	<i>terawak</i>	up to one's waist
<i>takal</i>	head	:	<i>tertakal</i>	up to one's head
<i>tulang</i>	bone	:	<i>tertulang</i>	into one's bones

- (3.65) *Bajuna tertuwen.*
dress.her as.far.as.knee
Her dress was knee-length.
- (3.66) *Tertulang kal bergehna Brastagi énda.*
as.far.as.bone EMPH cold.NMS Brastagi this
This cold in Brastagi goes right into your bones.

(iii) With measure phrases, the derivative with *ter-* means 'to each receive the amount referred to by the measure phrase':

<i>pitu</i>	seven	:	<i>terpitu</i>	to receive seven each
<i>sembeka</i>	one half	:	<i>tersembeka</i>	to get half each
<i>dua mberkis</i>	two bundles	:	<i>terdua mberkis</i>	to receive two bundles each
<i>seribu rupiah</i>	one thousand rupiah	:	<i>terseribu rupiah</i>	to get a thousand rupiah each

- (3.67) *Menurut perkiran kita terseratus rupiah.*
follow calculation we each.get.Rp.100
According to the way it is calculated, we each receive one hundred rupiah.

(iv) Attached to a stem which consists of a reduplicated (usually transitive verb) root, *ter-* forms an intransitive verb meaning 'to perform the action repeatedly; often the action is done almost beyond the wilful control of the actor, as if driven by instinct or fear':

<i>daram</i>	look for	:	<i>terdaram-daram</i>	to be looking everywhere for
<i>sungkun</i>	ask	:	<i>tersungkun-sungkun</i>	to ask everybody in sight
<i>nehen</i>	look	:	<i>ternehen-nehen</i>	to look everywhere
<i>tima</i>	wait	:	<i>tertima-tima</i>	to be waiting and waiting
<i>iluh</i>	tears	:	<i>teriluh-iluh</i>	to be sobbing
<i>aku</i>	I, me	:	<i>teraku-aku</i>	to be obsessed with oneself, to think only of oneself; egotistical

- (3.68) *Ukurku sisada tersungkun-sungkun, kai nge ndia sebabna?*
mind.my alone involuntary.ask-ask what EMPH EMPH reason.the
I kept on asking myself, what on earth could possibly have been the reason for it?

3.6.7 *si-...-en*

Derivatives with this circumfix have two distinct meanings, depending upon the stem from which they are derived:

3.6.7.1 TRANSITIVE VERB STEMS

With transitive verb stems, either root or derived, *si-...-en* forms reciprocal verbs. Any derivative suffixes on the verb stem are lost, but derivative prefix *pe-*, if present, is retained:

<i>tatap</i>	look, gaze at	:	<i>sitatapen</i>	look at each other
<i>buat</i>	take	:	<i>sibuatén</i>	marry with each other

<i>tandai</i>	know (a person)	:	<i>sitandan</i>	know each other
<i>rawai</i>	scold, angry at	:	<i>sirawan</i>	scold each other
<i>antusi</i>	understand	:	<i>siantusen</i>	understand each other
<i>pedaui</i>	avoid	:	<i>sipedauhen</i>	avoid each other

In this reciprocal construction, certain transitive verb stems tend to be reduplicated before derivation. Usually, but not invariably, these forms have a more durative or stative meaning than an eventive one:

<i>kirim</i>	send	:	<i>sikirim-kirimen</i>	correspond with each other
<i>jerleng</i>	stare	:	<i>sijerleng-jerlengen</i>	stare at each other
<i>tembehi</i>	be angry with	:	<i>sitembeh-tembehen</i>	be angry, annoyed with each other
<i>kelengi</i>	to love	:	<i>sikeleng-kelengen</i>	to love each other
<i>sampati</i>	help	:	<i>sisampat-sampaten</i>	help each other

This derivation also operates on transitive verbs with objects, with the object incorporated as a complement after the reciprocal verb:

<i>tandai rupa</i>	to know, be acquainted with a face	:	<i>sitandan rupa</i>	to know each other by appearance
<i>benterken nakan</i>	to throw rice	:	<i>sibenter-benterken nakan</i>	to throw rice at each other
<i>(b)eteh orat tutur</i>	to know what form of address to use to another person	:	<i>sibetehen orat tutur</i>	to know what kinship terms by which to address each other

3.6.7.2 ADJECTIVE STEMS

With adjective stems the derivative means 'to differ in respect of the quality denoted by the adjective'. The adjective stem may be single or reduplicated, in free variation:

<i>gedang</i>	long	:	<i>sigung(-gedang)en</i>	of different lengths
<i>berat</i>	heavy	:	<i>siberat(-berat)en</i>	of different weights
<i>bentar</i>	white	:	<i>sibentar(-bentar)en</i>	not quite the same shade of white as each other
<i>kitik</i>	small	:	<i>sikitik(-kitik)en</i>	one smaller than the other
<i>bué</i>	many	:	<i>sibuén</i>	of different amounts

(3.69) *Engkai maka sibuéni roti é iberékennu?*
 why that differ.many bread that PASS.give.you
 Why did you give more biscuits to some than to others?

(3.70) *Sikitiken kap sepatuku é!*
 differ.small EMPH shoe.my that
 Those shoes aren't the same size!

- (3.71) *Sigegeh-gegehen kita erdahin pé.*
 differ.strong we work EMPH
 Not everybody puts the same amount of effort into their work.

3.6.8 *si-...-na*

This circumfix is formally different from other derivational affixes in that it operates at the phrase level rather than at the word level. It forms intransitive verbal expressions from transitive verbs and their objects in the following way: *si-* is prefixed to the transitive verb stem (which is usually but not obligatorily reduplicated), and *-na* is suffixed to the object NP (most typically a simple noun). In the course of derivation the transitive verb stem retains its inflectional prefixes and any derivational affixes it may have originally borne. The resultant derivative has a distributive meaning, 'each to...their own...'. .

<i>ndarami pangan</i>	to look for food	: <i>sindarami panganna</i>	each to look for their own food
<i>ndahi dahin</i>	to do work, to attend to a job	: <i>sindahi dahinna</i>	each to do their own work
<i>maba uis cucin</i>	to bring clothes for washing	: <i>simaba-maba uis cucinna</i>	each to bring their own clothes to wash
<i>erbahan-permainen</i>	to make a game	: <i>sierbahan-bahan-permainenna</i>	each to amuse themselves
<i>ngabitken-kampuh</i>	to put on a sarong	: <i>singabit-ngabitken kampuhna</i>	each to put their sarong on

- (3.72) *Aron é simaba-maba cangkulna.*
 working.group that each.carry hoe.-na
 The members of the working group each brought his or her own hoe.
- (3.73) *Sindahi dahinna kami sekalak-sekalak.*
 each.do work.-na we one.person-one.person
 We each did our own work.
- (3.74) *Opé denga kundul, singabit-ngabitken kampuhna kita.*
 before still sit each.put.on sarong.-na we
 Before sitting down, we all have to wear a sarong.

There are good grounds for concluding that this is a genuine circumfix and not a verb prefix *si-* operating in conjunction with some sense of the third person possessive pronoun *-na*. If the latter analysis were so, then *-na* would be expected to change in agreement with the person of the subject, such as first person *kami* in (3.73) or *kita* in (3.74). As it remains invariant, it cannot be considered pronominal.

It should also be pointed out that despite appearing to retain a Subject (= Actor) and Object (= Undergoer) related by the verb, the construction derived here is *not* transitive (by the definition adopted in Chapter 6), as passivisation does not apply. Thus *si-...-na* formations are intransitive.

3.6.9 *-en*

Based mainly on nouns, some adjectives, and a handful of precatogorials, *-en* forms a stative derivative meaning 'to be adversely affected by the referent of the stem':

<i>bernga</i>	maggot	:	<i>berngan</i>	infested with maggots
<i>perkis</i>	ant	:	<i>perkisen</i>	ant-ridden
<i>cimber</i>	smoke	:	<i>cimberen</i>	smoked out
<i>sétan</i>	spirit	:	<i>sétanen</i>	possessed by spirits
<i>pinakit</i>	illness	:	<i>pinakiten</i>	afflicted with illness
<i>panas</i>	perspiration	:	<i>panasen</i>	sweating
<i>wari-wari</i>	days	:	<i>wari-warin</i>	temperamental, to change from day to day
<i>gelap</i>	dark	:	<i>gelapen</i>	left in the dark
<i>bergeh</i>	cold	:	<i>bergehen</i>	feeling the cold
<i>bernak</i>	wet	:	<i>bernaken</i>	soaked, drenched
<i>sër</i>	chilli hot	:	<i>sèren</i>	to unwittingly bite into chilli
<i>tegang</i>	erect	:	<i>tegangen</i>	to have an erection
<i>kadé</i>	what	:	<i>kadén</i>	be affected by whatever
<i>selket</i>	(hiccups)	:	<i>selketen</i>	to have the hiccups
<i>hayam</i>	(yawn)	:	<i>hayamen</i>	to yawn

(3.75) *bagi kalak malarian*
like person malaria.ADV
like a person suffering with malaria

(3.76) *Lampu ibabana ku bas kamar, é maka*
light PASS.carry.he to inside room and so
gelapen naring aku sisada nimai-nimaisa.
dark.ADV only I alone wait-wait.him
He took the light with him into the room, and so I was left alone in the dark, just waiting for him.

(3.77) *Bapa ras nandé la bo kadén pé, bengkila.*
father and mother not EMPH what.ADV EMPH uncle
There's nothing the matter with Father or Mother, Uncle.

3.6.10 *ke...-en*

This circumfix operates on adjectives, intransitive verbs, precatogorials and some nouns, to form stative derivatives meaning 'to be affected by the referent of the stem'. It is semantically virtually identical with *-en* derivatives, though slightly less expressive of the element of adversity, focusing more upon the situation simply being beyond the control of the subject:

<i>mamang</i>	surprised	:	<i>kemamangen</i>	bewildered
<i>biar</i>	afraid	:	<i>kebiaren</i>	gripped by fear
<i>picet</i>	cramped	:	<i>kepiceten</i>	in difficulty
<i>meseng</i>	burnt	:	<i>kemesengen</i>	to catch fire
<i>tading</i>	to stay	:	<i>ketadingen</i>	to be left behind

<i>bacih</i>	(sneeze)	:	<i>kebacihen</i>	to sneeze
<i>hayam</i>	(yawn)	:	<i>kehayamen</i>	to yawn
<i>tuah</i>	blessing	:	<i>ketuahen</i>	to be blessed (with offspring)

These derivatives may be followed by a nominal complement:

<i>bené</i>	lost	:	<i>kebenén kerbo</i>	to lose one's buffalo
<i>dabuh</i>	fall	:	<i>kedabuhensinanggal</i>	to be befallen by problems

Some *ke-...-en* and *-en* derivatives are identical in meaning:

<i>kehayamen</i>	=	<i>hayamen</i>	to yawn
<i>kegelapen</i>	=	<i>gelapen</i>	to be caught in the dark

3.6.11 *ci-*

This prefix has allomorphs {*ci-*, *ce-*, *cu-*}, the latter two occurring in free variation with a limited number of stems. The stems on which *ci-* operates are mainly transitive verbs and precategoryals, plus a few nouns. There are two partially overlapping meanings, which mostly correlate with the class of stem from which *ci-* forms are derived:

(i) reflexive, mainly based on precategoryal stems:

<i>mucuk</i>	(hide)	:	<i>cimucuk</i>	to hide under something, take cover
<i>lilit</i>	(twist)	:	<i>cililit</i>	to twist oneself around something
<i>buni</i>	(hide)	:	<i>cebuni</i>	to hide (oneself)
<i>rekep</i>	(wrap)	:	<i>cirekep</i>	to wrap one's arms about oneself, because of the cold
<i>rempu</i>	(huddle)	:	<i>cirempu</i>	to sit with one's hands around one's knees, to sit huddled
<i>cio</i>	(shelter)	:	<i>cicio</i>	to shelter from the rain
<i>linggem</i>	(shelter)	:	<i>cilinggem</i>	to shelter from the sun
<i>cuđu</i>	(warm)	:	<i>cicudu</i>	to warm oneself by the fire
<i>las</i>	heat	:	<i>cilas</i>	to sun oneself
<i>gergo</i>	scratch	:	<i>cigergo</i>	to scratch oneself

Comparing regular reflexives (§6.4) with *ci-* reflexives reveals a semantic difference of eventive versus stative. Both these verbs derive from the one root, *buni*:

<i>muniken bana</i>	to hide oneself (an action)
<i>cebuni</i>	to be in hiding (a state)

(ii) repetition/duration (the sense being 'to do a series of small actions over a long period of time'), mainly based on transitive verb stems:

<i>gergo</i>	scratch	:	<i>cigergo</i>	to keep scratching oneself
<i>kais</i>	scratch in the dirt	:	<i>cikais = cukais</i>	to scratch around in the dirt
<i>gatgat</i>	cut into small pieces	:	<i>cigatgat</i>	to cut into small pieces, dice meat
<i>pan</i>	eat	:	<i>cipan</i>	to eat all the time
<i>kilkil</i>	gnaw	:	<i>cikilkil</i>	to gnaw (on a bone, etc.)
<i>ngatngat</i>	chew	:	<i>cingatngat</i>	to chew on all day long
<i>kurak</i>	criticise	:	<i>cikurak = cekurak</i>	to criticise constantly
<i>pageti</i>	(ruminate)	:	<i>cupageti</i>	to ruminate, chew cud

Such derivatives may be followed by a nominal complement:

- (3.78) *Lit kutundu? Cigergo takal kuidah kam lalap.*
 BE lice.your REP.scritch head I.see you always
 Do you have lice? I see you scratching your head all the time.

The difference in meaning between a stem prefixed with *ci-* (repetitive) and the same stem with iterative suffix *-i* (§3.4.2.2) lies partially in the durativity of the action. For example, the second of the two following verbs describes an activity which takes longer than the former. There is also a difference with respect to the referentiality of the undergoer, with the *ci-* verb lacking an identifiable object:

ngilkili tulang to gnaw on a bone
cikilkil to gnaw (on bones, etc.)

3.6.12 *ki-*

This prefix makes intransitive verbs from mainly noun and transitive verb stems, and sometimes adjectives. The derived verb has a repetitive meaning, usually associated with looking for, collecting or visiting something referred to by the stem:

<i>kutu</i>	louse	:	<i>kikutu</i>	look for headlice, delouse
<i>ranting</i>	firewood	:	<i>kiranting</i>	collect firewood
<i>dawan</i>	mushroom	:	<i>kidawan</i>	collect mushrooms
<i>tartar</i>	things that fall from trees – fruit, nuts, leaves	:	<i>kitartar</i>	to go looking for things lying on the ground
<i>tarum</i>	thatch	:	<i>kitarum</i>	climb on the roof all the time
<i>jabu</i>	household	:	<i>kijabu</i>	to go from house to house
<i>kuta</i>	village	:	<i>kikuta-kuta</i>	to go around the villages
<i>daram</i>	seek	:	<i>kidaram</i>	to seek everywhere
<i>barbar</i>	cut, hack	:	<i>kibarbar</i>	to cut down, clear away
<i>pan</i>	eat	:	<i>kipan</i>	to eat all the time
<i>sada</i>	one	:	<i>kisada</i>	to be one's own, alone

The resultant form may be followed by a nominal complement which, as it cannot be passivised, is not a true object:

- (3.79) *Nderbih kita kitartar kembiri.*
 yesterday we REP.seek.on.ground candlenut
 Yesterday we went looking for candlenuts.
- (3.80) *Bagi kucing beruna kidaram permalna.*
 like cat female.NMS REP.seek tom.cat.its
 Like a cat on heat.

Two derivatives with *ki-* function as prepositions:

dekah long (of time) : *kidekah* as long as
nahun : *kinahun = kidekah*

3.6.13 *-um-*

Based upon precatatorial as well as a few intransitive verb stems (roots and *er-* derivatives), *-um-* is infixed into the first syllable of the root to produce an intransitive verb which means to do an action erratically or unsteadily. It is not very productive. The prefix has two allomorphs, {*-um-*} and {*-em-*}, in free variation:

<i>kirep</i>	wink, blink	:	<i>kumirep</i>	twinkle
<i>erkesah</i>	to breathe	:	<i>erkumesah</i>	to draw in a breath (audibly)
<i>kelih</i>		:	<i>kumelih</i>	to change, fluctuate
<i>sagan</i>		:	<i>sumagan</i>	to flash (of lightning)
<i>kuit</i>		:	<i>kemuit</i>	to move, be visibly alive
<i>kerkek</i>		:	<i>kumerkek</i>	to giggle, convulse with laughter
<i>guyung</i>		:	<i>gemuyung = gumuyung</i>	to stagger, totter
<i>geling</i>		:	<i>gumeling</i>	to wobble

3.7 DERIVING NOUNS

3.7.1 *peN-*

This prefix forms nouns from (mainly transitive) verbs with prefix *N^l-*; its allomorphs parallel the verb variants:

<i>maké</i>	to wear	:	<i>pemaké</i>	way of wearing
<i>ngisap</i>	to smoke	:	<i>pengisap</i>	smoker
<i>niding-niding</i>	to set traps	:	<i>peniding-niding</i>	trapper

In a handful of cases only, the prefix is manifested as *piN-*. This variation is entirely idiosyncratic:

<i>pinakit</i>	sickness, disease
<i>pinangko</i>	thief
<i>pilako</i>	habit, behaviour

When based on a verb with suffix *-i* or *-ken*, the noun with *peN-* sometimes retains the suffix. Retention or loss of the suffix is not predictable:

<i>ngerakuti</i>	to bind	:	<i>pengerakuti</i>	thing used for binding
<i>nampati</i>	to help	:	<i>penampat</i>	assistance
<i>ndalinken</i>	to carry out	:	<i>pendalinken</i>	way of doing something
<i>meréken</i>	to give	:	<i>pemeré</i>	gift

Nouns with *peN-* have the following possible meanings:

(i) the (animate) agent or (inanimate) instrument which performs the action (most common meaning):

<i>mindo-mindo</i>	to beg	:	<i>pemindo-mindo</i>	beggar
<i>nggual</i>	to beat a drum	:	<i>penggual</i>	drummer
<i>ngkawil</i>	to fish	:	<i>pengkawil</i>	fisherman
<i>nukur</i>	to buy	:	<i>penukur isap</i>	money with which to buy cigarettes

<i>nebak</i>	to stab	:	<i>piso penebak</i>	the knife used for stabbing
<i>ndungi</i>	to conclude	:	<i>pendungiranan</i>	the thing (i.e. words) used to conclude the conversation

(ii) the way that the action is performed:

<i>menter</i>	to throw	:	<i>pementer</i>	the way somebody throws
<i>ngarihi</i>	to persuade	:	<i>pengarihi</i>	way of persuading
<i>ndabuh</i>	to fall	:	<i>pendabuh</i>	way of falling

(3.81) *Arah pementerna kari itandai*
via way.of.throwing.her soon PASS.know

ia dilaki tah diberu até raja.

she male or female thought chief

The Chief thought that by (observing) the way she threw an object, it could be known whether she was a man or a woman.

(iii) the process or carrying out of the action:

<i>megi</i>	to hear	:	<i>pemegi</i>	hearing
<i>ngidah</i>	to see	:	<i>pengidah</i>	sight, vision
<i>meteh</i>	to know	:	<i>pemeteh</i>	knowing, knowledge
<i>ngkelengi</i>	to love	:	<i>pengkelengi</i>	love, affection
<i>ngkeléweti</i>	to go around	:	<i>pengkeléweti</i>	surveying

(iv) the product or result of the action:

<i>meréken</i>	to give	:	<i>pemeré</i>	gift
<i>nampati</i>	to help	:	<i>penampat</i>	assistance
<i>akap</i>	to think	:	<i>pengakap</i>	opinion
<i>nadingken</i>	to leave	:	<i>penading</i>	deposit

The precise meaning of a *peN-* noun cannot always be determined out of context. For instance, *penurat* (from *nurat* 'to write') can mean 'a writer (person); a writing implement; the way someone writes'; only its use in a particular sentence can disambiguate these potential meanings. Furthermore, the final three categories of meaning listed above ('way', 'process' and 'product' of the action) tend to shade into each other, such that assigning a given form (e.g. *penampat* assistance -- product? or process?) to one category or another depends upon careful consideration of its meaning in a large number of occurrences in texts.

3.7.2 *per-*

This prefix forms nouns principally from adjectives and intransitive verbs (root verbs, *er-* and *N-* verbs), as well as some minor stem exponents: prepositional phrases, negatives and a handful of nouns.

Nouns with *per-* have the following possible meanings:

(i) the one who carries out the action referred to by the verb, or who is characterised by the quality referred to by the adjective (given that these stems mostly have stative and durative meanings, the resultant derivatives often refer to occupational, habitual or personality characteristics):

<i>erjuma</i>	to work the fields	:	<i>perjuma</i>	farmer
<i>ermakan</i>	to tend animals	:	<i>permakan</i>	shepherd
<i>erjudi</i>	to gamble	:	<i>perjudi</i>	gambler
<i>erbual</i>	to boast	:	<i>perbual</i>	braggart
<i>lupa</i>	to forget	:	<i>perlupa</i>	absent-minded
<i>sinik</i>	quiet	:	<i>persinik</i>	a taciturn person
<i>merampus</i>	quick-tempered	:	<i>perampus</i>	irascible
<i>pelit</i>	stingy	:	<i>perpelit</i>	miser

The forms derived from verbs have the normal distributional characteristics of regular nouns. Those derived from adjectives, however, are often restricted to occurrence as predicates or as exponents of the Descriptive slot of the NP. As such they are arguably adjectival in function despite having nominal form:

(3.82) *Ibas piga-piga bulan énda, ia jadi perlupa kal.*
 in several month this he become forgetful very
 In these past few months, he has become very forgetful.

(3.83) *Dibata perkелeng* a loving God (<*keleng* até love)

Some *per-* nouns denoting occupations and identities derive directly from root nouns and noun phrases without an intervening verb:

<i>kedé</i>	shop	:	<i>perkedé</i>	shopkeeper
<i>pajak nasi</i>	food stall	:	<i>perpajak nasi</i>	manager of a food stall
<i>katika</i>	moment, point of time	:	<i>guru perkatika</i>	astrologer
<i>kuta dauh</i>	a faraway village	:	<i>perkuta dauh</i>	someone from a faraway village

Finally, some *per-* forms derive from locative and meteorological words, meaning 'characteristically...':

<i>lebé</i>	front	:	<i>perlebé</i>	foremost, first
<i>pudi</i>	back	:	<i>perpudi</i>	last
<i>udan</i>	rain	:	<i>perudan</i>	rainy season
<i>lego</i>	dry, abate	:	<i>perlego</i>	dry season

(ii) the way or manner in which the action is performed:

<i>turah</i>	to grow	:	<i>peturah</i>	the way something grows
<i>kundul</i>	to sit	:	<i>perkundul</i>	sitting position
<i>kabang</i>	to fly	:	<i>perkabang</i>	the way something flies
<i>cirem</i>	to smile	:	<i>percirem</i>	the way someone smiles
<i>erbuah</i>	to bear fruit	:	<i>perbuah</i>	the way something bears fruit
<i>eruis</i>	to dress	:	<i>peruis</i>	way of dressing
<i>erbulang</i>	to wear a headdress	:	<i>perbulang</i>	the way of wearing a headdress

- (3.84) *La mesopan perkundulmu!*
not polite way.of.sitting.your
You're not sitting properly!
- (3.85) *Ngena kal atéku ibas perciremna.*
love very heart.my in way.of.smiling.her
I love the way she smiles.

(iii) the fact or situation of the action occurring, or the state existing:

<i>tubuh</i>	be born	:	<i>pertubuh</i>	birth
<i>lawes</i>	to go	:	<i>perlawes</i>	going, departure
<i>ersekolah</i>	to attend school	:	<i>persekolah</i>	schooling
<i>erlagulangkah</i>	to behave	:	<i>perlagulangkah</i>	behaviour
<i>belin</i>	big	:	<i>perbelin</i>	the size, bigness of
<i>tuhu</i>	true	:	<i>pertuhu</i>	the truth, correctness of
<i>lang = lahang</i>	no	:	<i>perlahangna</i>	the opposite of, the not-being-the-case of
<i>ku turé</i>	to go to the veranda (i.e. to go to the toilet)	:	<i>perkuture</i>	the matter of relieving oneself

- (3.86) *Lit ka kuakap pertuhuna kata Bayang é.*
BE also I.think truth.the words Bayang that
I think there was some truth in what Bayang said.

- (3.87) *Perpanna, perpinemna, perpedemna ras*
eating.her drinking.her sleeping.her and
perkuturena enggo man adep-adepen.
going.to.toilet.her already for to.be.attended
In regard to her eating, drinking, going to bed and going to the toilet, she had to be waited on.

- (3.88) *Ma idah kam perlahangna.*
RHET.NEG see you not.so.the
You will indeed see that that is not the case.

(iv) in a few cases only, a place or receptacle:

<i>pinem</i>	(drink)	:	<i>perpinem</i>	drinking glass
<i>nakan</i>	cooked rice	:	<i>pernakan</i>	rice container

Quite a few *per-* nouns are ambiguous, although the precise meaning is usually clear from the context in which the word occurs:

<i>landek</i>	dance	:	<i>perlandek</i>	1. dancer 2. way of dancing
<i>tangis</i>	cry	:	<i>pertangis</i>	1. cry-baby 2. way of crying 3. the fact of crying 4. money given to the family of a deceased person
<i>kiam</i>	run	:	<i>perkiam</i>	1. a child who habitually runs away when called 2. way of running

<i>jumpa</i>	meet	:	<i>perjumpa</i>	1. the way of meeting
				2. the fact of meeting

3.7.3 *peN-...-en*

This circumfix derives nouns from (mostly transitive) verbs with prefix *N^I-*, meaning either of the following:

(i) the performing of the action referred to by the verb:

<i>mindo</i>	to ask for	:	<i>pemindon</i>	request, asking for
<i>nungkun</i>	to ask	:	<i>penungkunen</i>	question
<i>masu-masu</i>	to bless	:	<i>pemasu-masun</i>	blessing, the conferring of blessings upon
<i>ndakep</i>	to embrace, reach around with the arms	:	<i>pendakepen</i>	an encircling with the arms, an embrace
<i>ngisap</i>	to smoke	:	<i>pisapen</i> (irregular form)	the time taken to smoke a cigarette

- (3.89) *Batang kayu ah sěh kal galangna,*
stem tree that until very bigness.its
lima pendakapen pé la tumbuk.
five reaching.round.with.arms even not meet
The trunk of the tree was huge, even if five pairs of arms were stretched around it, they wouldn't touch.

- (3.90) *La ndauh i jénda nari, sada pisapen*
not far at here from one smoking.of.cigarette
enggo sěh.
already arrive
It's not far from here, about ten minutes away.

(ii) the place where the action is carried out:

<i>nutu</i>	to pound (rice)	:	<i>penutun</i>	place to pound
<i>nuan</i>	to plant	:	<i>penuanen</i>	place to plant
<i>ngkirahken</i>	to dry (clothes)	:	<i>pengkirahen</i>	place to dry clothes
<i>ngguru</i>	to learn, study from a medicine man	:	<i>penggurun</i>	a person or source that one can learn from and ask questions of

- (3.91) *Éndam bekas penuanen nandéku mborénda.*
this.EMPH former planting.place mother.my previously
This is the place where my mother used to farm.

3.7.4 *per-...-en*

This circumfix derives nouns from intransitive verbs (either root verbs or *er-* verbs), some nouns, and certain numbers. Its meanings include:

(i) the fact of the action or situation referred to by the verb (such actions are normally durative or stative rather than eventive or dynamic):

<i>pulung</i>	to assemble	:	<i>perpulungen</i>	gathering
<i>berkat</i>	to depart	:	<i>perberkatén</i>	departure
<i>ergogo</i>	to dispute	:	<i>pergogon</i>	quarrel
<i>erjabu</i>	to marry	:	<i>perjabun</i>	marriage (= matrimonial state, not event)
<i>erdalin</i>	to travel	:	<i>perdalinen</i>	journey
<i>ertaki</i>	to deceive	:	<i>pertakin</i>	deceit
<i>rarih</i>	to discuss	:	<i>perarihen</i>	discussion

(ii) the place where the action occurs (this sometimes involves an instrumental sense):

<i>cinép</i>	to perch	:	<i>percinepen</i>	a perch
<i>ridi</i>	to bathe	:	<i>peridin</i>	bathing place
<i>singgah</i>	to call in to	:	<i>persinggahen</i>	a place to stay over at
<i>ercidur</i>	to spit	:	<i>perciduren</i>	spittoon
<i>erburih</i>	to wash one's fingers before eating	:	<i>perburihen</i>	fingerbowl
<i>erbulang</i>	to wear a <i>bulang</i> (= headdress for man)	:	<i>perbulangen</i>	husband (lit. place where the headdress is worn)

(iii) with certain nouns, the meaning is 'a collection of...' or 'the class of...' entities referred to by the noun:

<i>bapa</i>	father	:	<i>perbapan</i>	the fathers, the men
<i>nandé</i>	mother	:	<i>permandén</i>	the mothers, the women
<i>nini</i>	grandparent	:	<i>perninin</i>	the grandparents
<i>kempu</i>	grandchild	:	<i>perkempun</i>	the grandchildren
<i>bibi</i>	aunt	:	<i>perbibin</i>	the aunts
<i>juma</i>	dry field	:	<i>perjuman</i>	the fields
<i>sabah</i>	wet rice field	:	<i>persabahen</i>	the rice fields
<i>adat</i>	traditional law	:	<i>peradaten</i>	all the laws and customs

(iv) with numbers denoting units of currency or common amounts of money, the resultant meaning is 'a coin or object worth (number) rupiahs':

<i>sepuluh</i>	ten	:	<i>persepuluhen</i>	a ten-rupiah coin, or something worth Rp.10
<i>dua puluh lima</i>	25	:	<i>perduapuluhliman</i>	a 25-rupiah coin, or goods worth Rp.25

(3.92) *Lit jé perlimanndu?*
BE here goods.worth.Rp.5.your
Have you got anything here that costs 5 rupiah?

Slight irregularities are found in the above system. For example, *perbabin* 'pig pen' clearly belongs to category (ii) (place), but lacks a corresponding verb. Conversely the category (iii) (collective) noun *permakanen* 'herd' is derived from the verb *ermakan* 'to tend animals', and not a root noun.

3.7.5 *-en*

3.7.5.1 DERIVING NOUNS FROM TRANSITIVE VERBS

This suffix derives nouns from transitive verbs, which may be either root verbs themselves or derived verbs with prefix *pe-* or suffixes *-ken* or *-i*. Semantically, nouns with *-en* correspond to the Undergoer of the transitive verb from which they are derived. This parallels the relationship between *peN-* nouns and Actors. Schematically:

	Transitive Verb	Derived Noun
Actor	<i>N-</i>	<i>peN-</i>
Undergoer	<i>i-</i>	<i>-en</i>

For the sake of clarity in illustrating these correspondences, the verb stems quoted in this section will be cited in passive form. Thus the meanings of *-en* derivatives include:

(i) the entity affected by the action:

<i>ibaba</i>	to be carried	:	<i>baban</i>	load, burden
<i>inem</i>	to be drunk	:	<i>inemen</i>	drink, what is drunk
<i>itangko</i>	to be stolen	:	<i>(barang) tangkon</i>	stolen (goods)

(ii) when the verb semantics entail producing or making something with the action, then the *-en* derivative denotes a product or result:

<i>ibagi</i>	to be divided	:	<i>bagin</i>	share, portion
<i>ikira</i>	to be counted	:	<i>kiran</i>	count, tally
<i>ituri-turi</i>	to be related	:	<i>turi-turin</i>	story
<i>iranaken</i>	to be discussed	:	<i>ranan</i>	discussion, talk
<i>ipantekken</i>	to be founded	:	<i>panteken</i>	what is founded or established

- (3.93) *sada kuta panteken Ginting mergana*
 one village what.is.founded Ginting clan.his
 a village established by a man of the Ginting clan

(iii) with locative verbs, the *-en* derivative denotes the place where the action occurs (i.e. the location affected by the action):

<i>kunduli</i>	to be sat on	:	<i>amak kundulen</i>	a mat for sitting on
<i>itayangi</i>	to be lain on	:	<i>amak tayangen</i>	sleeping mat
<i>itawai</i>	to be laughed at	:	<i>tawan</i>	laughing-stock

Nouns derived with *-en* may be further subdivided into two categories according to syntactic distribution. This categorisation is supported by formal differences.

3.7.5.1.1 'REGULAR' *-en* NOUNS

These have been amply illustrated above. Such nouns may occur in those syntactic environments regularly expounded by nouns (i.e. subjects and objects of verbs), as NP heads, and so on. A few examples will suffice:

- (3.94) *Meganjang kal turi-turinna.*
 long very story.the
 The story is very long.
- (3.95) *Limbeng si maba ranan.*
 Limbeng REL ACT.carry discussion
 It was Limbeng who conducted the discussion.
- (3.96) *I ja inemenndu?*
 at where drink.your
 Where is your drink?
- (3.97) *Kam kari jadi tawan kalak.*
 you later become laughing.stock people
 You will become a laughing-stock.

Regular *-en* nouns also often expound the Descriptive slot of the NP (see §4.1.5.3):

- (3.98) a. *barang tangkon*
 goods something.stolen
 stolen goods
- b. *kalak bayangen*
 person someone.put.in.stocks
 a prisoner in the stocks
- c. *amak kundulen*
 mat something.to.be.sat.on
 a mat for sitting on

A significant feature of regular *-en* nouns is the loss of any derivational affixes (if any occur) on the transitive verb stem:

<i>ranaken</i>	to be discussed	:	<i>ranan</i>	discussion
<i>tawai</i>	to be laughed at	:	<i>tawan</i>	laughing-stock

3.7.5.1.2 PURPOSE *-en* NOUNS

These expound the Complement slot of purpose prepositional phrases (see §4.2.8). By contrast with regular *-en* nouns which are accompanied by a loss of any derivational verb affixes in the course of derivation, purpose *-en* nouns are characterised by the retention of such affixes, except *-i*, which is dropped. When applicable, the derivational suffix *-ken* is retained immediately after *-en*. (The derivational prefix *pe-* occurs in the expected pre-stem position.)

<i>ibaba</i>	carried	:	<i>man baban</i>	for carrying, intended to be carried
<i>ikunduli</i>	sat on	:	<i>man kundulen</i>	for sitting on
<i>iarihken</i>	discussed	:	<i>man arihenken</i>	for discussion
<i>ibegiken</i>	listened to	:	<i>man beginken</i>	for listening to
<i>ipesikap</i>	made ready	:	<i>man pesikapen</i>	for preparing, to be got ready
<i>ipelawes</i>	sent away, made to go	:	<i>man pelawesen</i>	to be sent away

As a purpose phrase, this construction generally refers to a state of affairs which has not yet occurred, but which will or should occur, in respect of the Undergoer. It may be thus considered to comprise a future aspect. Furthermore, it is used when an obligative sense is intended:

- (3.99) *Pedah mama man beginken.*
advice uncle for listening.to
You should take heed of Uncle's advice.
- (3.100) *Kambing énda la bo man dayan.*
goats these not EMPH for selling
These goats are not for sale.
- (3.101) *Man pelawesen ia i rumah énda nari!*
for be.made.go he at house this from
He should be kicked out of this house!
- (3.102) *La bo lit ranan ras si man rananken.*
not EMPH BE discussion and REL for discussing
There was nothing discussed nor anything to be discussed.
- (3.103) *Man pekundulen ia sesekali.*
for be.made.sit.up he from.time.to.time
He (i.e. the sick person) should be sat up from time to time.

That these forms with *-en* are nouns is further supported by their potential for being modified by possessives:

- (3.104) *La lit si man dahinku.*
not BE REL for thing.to.be.done.my
There's nothing I have to do. (i.e. I have no work to do.)
- (3.105) *Kai denga si man ranankenta?*
what still REL for thing.to.be.discussed.our
What else do we need to discuss?

3.7.5.2 DERIVING NOUNS FROM GROUP NUMBERS

When suffixed to group numbers (§4.1.3.2.1.1) *-en* forms nouns meaning 'a unit of (number)':

<i>puluh</i>	tens	:	<i>puluhen</i>	a unit/group of ten
<i>ratus</i>	hundreds	:	<i>ratusen</i>	a group of one hundred
<i>juta</i>	millions	:	<i>jutan</i>	a group of one million

- (3.106) *Ibas wari peringeten jubiléum GBKP é,*
on day commemoration jubilee GBKP that
ribun jelma rëh ku Suka Makmur.
thousands people come to Suka Makmur
On the commemoration day for the GBKP (= Karo Batak Protestant Church) jubilee, thousands flocked to Suka Makmur.

3.7.6 *ke...-en*

3.7.6.1 DERIVING NOUNS FROM ADJECTIVES AND INTRANSITIVE VERBS

This circumfix principally serves to derive nouns from adjectives and intransitive verbs, with a resultant abstract meaning, which may be described as 'the state or situation referred to by the root word'. (In the following examples, adjectives are cited in their root forms only.)

<i>bayak</i>	rich	:	<i>kebayaken</i>	wealth
<i>ngasup</i>	willing	:	<i>kengasupen</i>	willingness
<i>biar</i>	afraid	:	<i>kebiaren</i>	fear
<i>dung</i>	finished	:	<i>kedungen</i>	conclusion
<i>nggeluh</i>	to live	:	<i>kegeluhen</i>	life
<i>rèh</i>	to come	:	<i>kerèhen</i>	arrival
<i>jadi</i>	to occur	:	<i>kejadin</i>	occurrence, event
<i>susur</i>	to descend	:	<i>kesusuren</i>	descendants
<i>sundut</i>	to sink (of the sun)	:	<i>kesunduten</i>	west
<i>pultak</i>	to rise, appear (of the sun)	:	<i>kepultaken</i>	east

The abstract meanings associated with these forms are sometimes not easily expressible in a one-word English gloss. For instance, *kesusuren* above refers to 'the state of being succeeded by following generations', rather than to any particular member in that line of successors. For the latter meaning, Karo uses *sinusur* 'descendant' (see §3.7.9).

3.7.6.2 DERIVING TEMPORAL NOUNS FROM NUMBER STEMS

With a handful of number stems, *ke...-en* derives temporal nouns used as adjuncts (§7.3.3), meaning 'in (number) days' time':

<i>dua</i>	two	:	<i>kedun</i>	the day after tomorrow
<i>telu</i>	three	:	<i>ketelun</i>	in three days' time
<i>empat</i>	four	:	<i>kempatèn</i>	in four days' time
<i>lima</i>	five	:	<i>keliman</i>	in five days' time

3.7.7 *kini...-en*

This circumfix derives nouns from adjectives, negated adjectives and some nouns, with resultant abstract meanings similar to *ke...-en* derivatives above. (Adjective stems cited are in root form.)

<i>uli</i>	good	:	<i>kiniulin</i>	goodness
<i>genjeng</i>	immoral	:	<i>kinigenjengen</i>	immorality
<i>dalit</i>	slippery	:	<i>kinidaliten</i>	cunning
<i>rim</i>	fragrant	:	<i>kinirimen</i>	good reputation
<i>latih</i>	tired	:	<i>kinilati'hen</i>	weariness
<i>tèk</i>	believe	:	<i>kinitèken</i>	belief
<i>la bujur</i>	dishonest	:	<i>kinilabujuren</i>	dishonesty
<i>la tunggung</i>	improper	:	<i>kinilatunggungen</i>	impropriety
<i>la beluh</i>	not clever	:	<i>kinilabeluhen</i>	stupidity

<i>pawang</i>	an expert in taming wild animals, using magic	: <i>kinipawangen</i>	expertise, magical power
<i>guru</i>	shaman, medicine man	: <i>kinigurun</i>	the field of knowledge of a shaman
<i>pengulu</i>	village headman	: <i>kinipengulun</i>	the responsibilities and privileges attached to being a village headman

A number of adjective roots can be nominalised with either *ke-...-en* or *kini-...-en*, with no difference in meaning:

<i>beluh</i>	clever	: <i>kebeluhen = kinibeluhen</i>	cleverness
<i>sera</i>	difficult	: <i>keseran = kiniseran</i>	difficulty
<i>bayak</i>	rich	: <i>kebayaken = kinibayaken</i>	wealth
<i>sangap</i>	fortunate	: <i>kesangapan = kinisangapen</i>	good luck

Sometimes, however, a distinction in the degree of abstractness exists, as shown by the following example from Neumann (1922:93):

<i>raja</i>	chief, king	: <i>kerajan</i>	kingdom (territory)
		: <i>kinirajan</i>	kingship, kingliness

3.7.8 -na

This suffix creates nouns from adjective roots, compound adjectives and intransitive verb roots:

<i>sui</i>	ill, painful	: <i>suina</i>	the pain of
<i>belang</i>	wide, broad	: <i>belangna</i>	the breadth of
<i>beluh</i>	clever	: <i>beluhna</i>	the cleverness of
<i>bué</i>	many	: <i>buéna</i>	the number, amount of
<i>uli</i>	good	: <i>ulina</i>	the goodness, kindness of
<i>ganjang-teruh</i>	high and low	: <i>ganjangteruhna</i>	the height and depth of, the extent of
<i>dauh-deher</i>	far and near	: <i>dauh-deherna</i>	the closeness or distance of
<i>sera-sui</i>	difficult and painful	: <i>sera-suina</i>	the difficulty and pain of
<i>dabuh</i>	(fall)	: <i>dabuhna</i>	the falling, descent of
<i>lalit</i>	there is not	: <i>lalitna</i>	the absence of

The English glosses of the forms nominalised with *-na* above reflect some significant aspects of both the syntax and semantics of this common derivational device. Firstly, the derived nouns are nearly always modified by a possessor. It follows from this that the derived noun refers to a specific instance of the quality exhibited by, or event affecting, that possessor. In other words, these are not references to abstract qualities of the kind associated with *ke-...-en* and *kini-...-en* derivatives described above (§3.7.6 and §3.7.7), but pertain to some 'concrete' or 'actual' situation. The following examples may show this more clearly. In these examples *-na* is simply glossed as NMS:

- (3.107) *Kerna beluhna Appung Barus ras ndeharana*
concerning clever.NMS Appung Barus and wife.his
erlagu man isé pé...
behave to who ever
Concerning the skill of Appung Barus and his wife in the way they treated everybody...
- (3.108) *Nginget ulina ukur ras perbahanen*
remember good.NMS mind and actions
raja Kuta Usang man bana duana...
chief Kuta Usang to them two.the
In view of the kind attitude and good deeds of the Chief of Kuta Usang towards them both...
- (3.109) *Sěh kal buéna séнна.*
reach EMPH much.NMS money.his
He had a large amount of money.
- (3.110) *...gelah sieteh dauh-deherna perkadé-kadénta.*
PURP we.know far-near.NMS relationship.our
...so that we may know how distantly or closely we are related.
- (3.111) *Nginget lalitna kitap man ogén...*
remember not.BE.NMS books for reading
In view of the absence of any books to read...
- (3.112) *Jala kuamburken, sembelah kubahan ku lau*
net I.cast one.half I.make to river
sembelah nari ku darat kubahan dabuhna.
one.half more to land I.make fall.NMS
I cast the net, making half of it fall into the river and the other half fall onto the river bank.

In example (3.108), *ulina* means 'goodness' or 'kindness', referring to some particular instance(s) of such behaviour on the part of the Chief of Kuta Usang. This contrasts with the more abstract notion of the general personality trait referred to by *kiniulin* 'goodness' in the following example:

- (3.113) *Kiniulinna enggo terberita ku kerina kuta.*
goodness.his already famous to all villages
His reputation as a good man is well known in all the villages.

Speakers (and writers) of Karo are not always consistent in respect of retaining or dropping the predicative prefixes *me-* and *N-* when such forms are nominalised with *-na*. In the majority of cases these prefixes are lost during derivation, but occasionally remain. Informants simply vary on this point. However, there are two sets of circumstances where uniformity prevails in respect of retention of the predicative prefix:

(i) when the prefix is itself derivational, forming an adjective from some other word class (most typically a noun):

<i>bisa</i>	venom, poison	:	<i>mbisa</i>	brave	:	<i>mbisana</i>	bravery
<i>beru</i>	female	:	<i>mberu</i>	feminine	:	<i>mberuna</i>	femininity

Not to retain the prefix would result in miscommunication, *bisana* being interpreted as 'his venom' rather than 'courage', and *beruna* meaning 'the female (of animals)' instead of a particular human attribute.

(ii) when the (prefixed) adjective stem expounds the Predicate slot of a relative clause, with an accompanying superlative meaning, 'the most..., the...-est':

(3.114) *Deleng Sinabun si meganjangna i taneh Karo.*
 mountain Sinabun REL tall.NMS in land Karo
 Mt Sinabun is the tallest mountain in Karoland.

(3.115) *Kuta si meriahna émkap Juhar.*
 village REL big.NMS LINK Juhar
 The biggest village is Juhar.

(3.116) *Apai si mejiléna?*
 which REL fine.NMS
 Which one is the best?

Finally, *-na* is suffixed to simple numerals and the universal quantifier *kerina*, yielding an inclusive meaning:

(3.117) *É maka duana kalak énda enggo kuskas kidaram.*
 and so two.NMS person this already busy seek.everywhere
 And so these two fellows began busily searching everywhere.

(3.118) *Kuberéken man bana kerinana ertangku.*
 I.give to her all.NMS wealth.my
 I gave her the whole lot of my worldly goods.

3.7.9 *-in-*

This infix is of low frequency, with fewer than twenty forms recorded. It derives nouns from transitive verb stems, nearly all of which happen to begin with /t/. Any affixes on the verb stem are lost in derivation. The meaning of the derivative is 'that which is affected or produced by the action referred to by the verb'. This is reminiscent of the undergoer semantics described for *-en* derivatives (§3.7.5). Neumann (1922:71) in fact relates *-in-* to the passive prefix *i-/ni-*, but in view of the relatively small number of derivatives with the infix, this correspondence is of limited synchronic significance. (Transitive verb stems illustrated below are cited in unmarked form.)

<i>tepa</i>	create	:	<i>tinepa</i>	creation, thing created
<i>suana</i>	plant	:	<i>sinuan</i>	plant(s), crops
<i>tenges</i>	send	:	<i>tinenges</i>	something sent
<i>tangger</i>	cook	:	<i>tinangger</i>	something cooked
<i>tangko</i>	steal	:	<i>tinangko</i>	something stolen
<i>sursur</i>	descend	:	<i>sinursur</i>	descendant

<i>salsali</i>	shine on	:	<i>sinalsal</i>	rays, beams, glow
<i>tadingken</i>	leave	:	<i>tinading</i>	legacy
<i>gemgem</i>	rule	:	<i>ginemgem</i>	subjects, those ruled
<i>jujung</i>	carry on the head	:	<i>jinujung</i>	a personal spirit, worshipped by animists – considered to be carried on one's head
<i>tamburi</i>	cover with earth	:	<i>tinamburperkis</i>	termite mound, anthill

(3.119) *Barang tinangko kap uis éna.*
goods thing.stolen EMPH clothing that
Those clothes are stolen property.

(3.120) *Énda tambar tinanger nini bulang.*
this medicine thing.cooked grandfather
This is some potion that Grandfather prepared.

Two apparently fossilised forms (lacking corresponding verbal origins) are *tinaruh/naruh* 'egg' and *tinali/nali* 'rope'.

3.7.10 FOSSILISED AFFIXES

Neumann (1922:74, 93-96) makes reference to a number of forms which he considers to be derivational affixes, but whose precise meanings and functions remain indeterminate due to the paucity of extant data. He lists and illustrates the following:

-el-, -er, N-, be-/bi-/bu-, ke-/ka-, ci-, kaci-, kali-/li-, ari-, kati-, sari-, teN-, kara-, tara- and tali-.

Apart from noting that these forms are mostly associated with the names of various flora and fauna, little can be said.

3.8 DERIVING MISCELLANEOUS FORMS

3.8.1 *N*⁴.

This homorganic nasal prefix is attached to certain measure nouns (§4.1.3.2.2) which, as it happens, all begin with an obstruent. The initial consonant of the noun stem is retained. The function of this prefix is to form measure nouns from various other stems. In some cases the semantic connection between root and derivative is quite transparent, in others more circuitous. Sometimes the connection is simply unknown.

<i>penggel</i>	break, snap	:	<i>mpenggel</i>	piece
<i>pukul</i>	marry (part of the ceremony involves the couple feeding each other a handful of rice)	:	<i>mpukul</i>	handful
<i>beka</i>	burst, split	:	<i>mbeka</i>	half
<i>taktak</i>	fall, drop	:	<i>ntaktak</i>	drop, droplet
<i>dapur</i>	hearth	:	<i>ndapuren</i>	stool of bamboo
<i>kibul</i>	round	:	<i>ngkibul</i>	classifier for round objects (e.g. coconuts)
<i>kebabah</i> (? = <i>ku babah</i> ; <i>babah</i> 'mouth')		:	<i>ngkebabah</i>	mouthful

<i>gulat</i>	section	:	<i>nggulat</i>	section, quadrant
<i>cangkul</i>	hoe	:	<i>ncangkul</i>	blow with a hoe
For example:	<i>simpenggel = sempenggel</i>		a piece	
	<i>dua mpenggel</i>		two pieces	
	<i>empat mpenggel</i>		four pieces	

3.8.2 *se-*

This prefix means 'one'. It is attached to: (a) temporal count nouns, (b) measure nouns, and (c) other noun stems, to form respectively: (a) temporal adjuncts, (b) quantifiers, and (c) various stative predicate exponents and noun modifiers. With many derivatives in categories (b) and (c) the prefix has two allomorphs in free variation, {*se-*} and {*si-*}.

With some derivatives in category (c) a suffix *-en* is sometimes attached.

(a)	<i>bulan</i>	moon, month	:	<i>sebulan</i>	one month
	<i>kali</i>	time, occasion	:	<i>sekali</i>	once, one time
(b)	<i>kalak</i>	person	:	<i>sekalak</i>	a (person)
	<i>mpukul</i>	handful	:	<i>simpukul</i>	a handful
	<i>mberkis</i>	bundle	:	<i>semberkis</i>	a bundle
	<i>ngkepit</i>	bunch	:	<i>sengkepit = singkepit</i>	a bunch
(c)	<i>baleng</i>	boundary	:	<i>sebaleng(en)</i>	share a boundary, to border
	<i>pengodak</i>	way of marching, swinging the arms while walking along			
	<i>pengolé = (idem)</i>		:	<i>sepengodak sepengolé</i>	to be in unison
	<i>rumah</i>	house	:	<i>serumah = sirumahen</i>	share a house

(3.121) *Cubaken sekali nari.*
(PASS).try one.time more
Try once again.

(3.122) *Idahna sekalak permakan.*
(PASS).see.he one.person shepherd
He saw a shepherd.

(3.123) *Mawen-mawen perukuren é sada pé la banci sendalanen.*
sometimes thought that one EMPH not can one.road
Sometimes we couldn't even agree on a single thing.

3.8.3 *pe-...-ken*

This circumfix is attached to whole numbers greater than '1', the number interrogative *piga* 'how many?' and temporal measure phrases, to form ordinal numbers and phrases with ordinal meanings. The ordinal numbers thus derived mostly function as post-modifiers of nouns (§4.1.5); the phrases derived may function as temporal adjuncts or as nominal post-modifiers too. (For the sake of completeness of description, the word for 'first' in Karo is *pemena*, a derived noun meaning 'the one which begins'.)

<i>dua</i>	two	:	<i>peduaken</i>	the second
<i>empat</i>	four	:	<i>pempatken = perempatken</i>	the fourth

<i>piga</i>	how many	:	<i>pepigaken</i>	the nth; whichever
<i>dua bergi</i>	two nights	:	<i>peduabergiken</i>	on the second night
<i>piga-piga wari</i>	several days	:	<i>pepiga-pigawariken</i>	after several days
<i>dua puluh lima tahun</i>	25 years	:	<i>pedua puluh lima tahunken</i>	the 25th anniversary

- (3.124) *Si ntua ras si peduaken enggo erjabu.*
REL oldest and REL ORD.2 already married
The oldest one and the second oldest are married.
- (3.125) *Simursur tangga pepigaken la ieteh.*
descendant step ORD.how.many not PASS.know
A descendant of just how many generations is not known (i.e. a descendant of whichever generation...).
- (3.126) *Wari perjabun bapa ras nandé pedua puluh lima tahunken.*
day marriage father and mother ORD.25.years
Father and Mother's twenty-fifth wedding anniversary.
- (3.127) *...ia mulih-ulih, tandé pewaluhkaliken, maka...*
he return-return until ORD.8.times then
...he kept on returning, until the eighth time, then...

3.8.4 -i

When attached to reduplicated number stems, this suffix means 'in groups of (number)':

<i>sada</i>	one	:	<i>sada-sadai</i>	one by one
<i>dua</i>	two	:	<i>dua-duai</i>	in pairs
<i>telu</i>	three	:	<i>telu-telui</i>	in threes

3.9 REDUPLICATION

3.9.1 INTRODUCTION

The term 'reduplication' is used here to refer to the complete doubling of a stem:²⁴

pagi ---> *pagi-pagi* tomorrow

Sometimes only the initial syllable of a stem is doubled:

pagi ---> *papagi = pepagi* tomorrow

This latter process, called 'partial reduplication', is described below (§3.9.9). It is of much lower overall frequency and significance than full reduplication.

Reduplication in Karo occurs mainly with roots and stems of the 'contentive' or 'open' word classes (see §3.2). Exploration of the various functions and meanings associated with reduplication is characterised by a good deal of simultaneous intertwining and idiosyncrasy. Words from different classes are often reduplicated with the same semantic effect;

²⁴ In earlier studies of Indonesian languages (Gonda 1950; Uhlenbeck 1953) the term 'duplication' was used in this sense, with 'reduplication' being reserved for the repetition of only part of the stem.

conversely, words of the same class may have entirely different functions and meanings when doubled. Reduplication may or may not change the categorial status of the affected word. A more detailed study than the one undertaken here may succeed in better disentangling many of these complexities. For the sake of clarity rather than comprehensiveness, this account is organised principally along semantic lines, according to the various meanings associated with the reduplicated forms. Before embarking in that direction, two other preliminary observations need to be made:

(i) For many words, reduplication is an inherent structural feature. This has been variously termed “lexical [re]duplication” (Uhlenbeck 1978:90) and “phonological reduplication” (Kridalaksana 1978:19). It includes both monosyllabic and disyllabic doubled forms. Monosyllabic doubled forms exhibit simple word stress (i.e. on the penultimate syllable); disyllabic doubled forms take double word stress.

<i>pekpek</i>	hit
<i>momo</i>	announce
<i>leng leng</i>	flood
<i>ngatngat</i>	chew
<i>bisbis</i>	eye mucus
<i>teng teng</i>	appropriate
<i>ancuk-ancuk</i>	peak, summit
<i>kaba-kaba</i>	butterfly
<i>sura-sura</i>	ambitions, aspirations
<i>pala-pala</i>	make an effort
<i>helem-helem</i>	dark, obscure

Since they cannot be decomposed into smaller lexical forms, these are classified simply as roots, many of which have the potential for derivation in the usual way, except that they cannot be further reduplicated.

(ii) Some words may be optionally reduplicated without any discernible variation in meaning:

<i>uruk</i>	=	<i>uruk-uruk</i>	hill
<i>kerja</i>	=	<i>kerja-kerja</i>	feast
<i>reben</i>	=	<i>reben-reben</i>	slope
<i>gembura</i>	=	<i>gembura-gembura</i>	drizzle
<i>tempa</i>	=	<i>tempa-tempa</i>	as if
<i>sapuh</i>	=	<i>sapuh-sapuh</i>	among
<i>pih</i>	=	<i>pih-pih</i>	to the extent that
<i>tupung</i>	=	<i>tupung-tupung</i>	while

The various meanings and functions of reduplication are now described in detail.

3.9.2 ONOMATOPOEIA

A number of reduplicated forms – mostly from monosyllabic bases – are transparently onomatopoeic. These have no unreduplicated counterparts. The resultant forms are nouns and verbs:

<i>pétpét</i>	a type of cicada, which makes this sound
<i>taptap</i>	to wash clothes (by pounding them on rocks at the river's edge)

<i>circir</i>		to sprinkle, splash lightly
<i>tingtingken</i>		to jingle (e.g. coins)
<i>giring-giring</i>		small bell

3.9.3 PLURALITY

This meaning mainly occurs with reduplicated nouns, which may be already derived forms:

<i>tulan</i>	bone	:	<i>tulan-tulan</i>	bones
<i>kuta</i>	village	:	<i>kuta-kuta</i>	villages
<i>sinuan</i>	plant	:	<i>sinuan-sinuan</i>	plants
<i>kejadin</i>	event	:	<i>kejadin-kejadin</i>	events

- (3.128) *Éndam gelar-gelarna wari-wari Karo.*
 this.EMPH name-name.the day-day Karo
 These are the names of the Karonese days.

It is not unusual for such forms to be modified by a quantifier which inherently conveys plurality:

- (3.129) *Kerina murid-murid erbaris.*
 all pupil-pupil line.up
 All the students lined up.
- (3.130) *Melala baba kami bulung-bulung bunga kalincayo.*
 many (PASS).bring we leaf-leaf flower kalincayo
 We brought back many kalincayo leaves.

Notions of plurality plus generality and variety are conveyed by many nouns derived with *-en* based on reduplicated verb stems:

<i>ogé</i>	read	:	<i>ogé-ogén</i>	reading matter
<i>endé</i>	sing	:	<i>endé-endén</i>	songs
<i>suan</i>	plant	:	<i>suan-suanen</i>	plants
<i>asuh</i>	tend (animals)	:	<i>asuh-asuhen</i>	livestock

The plurality of a noun may also be 'loaded' into a reduplicated adjective or verb occurring predicatively:

- (3.131) *Ndai bugis-bugis kami kerina.*
 before healthy-healthy we all
 Previously, we were all hale and hearty.
- (3.132) *Iluhna dëm-dëm ibas mata.*
 tear.her full-full in eye
 Tears welled up in her eyes.
- (3.133) *Lanai ukurta mbué-mbué.*
 no.longer thought.our many-many
 We didn't have much to think about any more.

- (3.134) *Kumerket pertama si megi-megi.*
 continual laughter REL hear-hear
 Those who heard it laughed long and loud.

3.9.4 IMITATION/SIMILITUDE

This meaning mostly occurs with nouns formed from other nouns, adjectives and verbs:

<i>nahé</i>	leg	:	<i>nahé-nahé</i>	stilts
<i>nipé</i>	snake	:	<i>nipé-nipé</i>	grub, caterpillar
<i>turé</i>	'bamboo veranda at the ends of an adat house'	:	<i>turé-turé</i>	foothills of a mountain
<i>tua</i>	old	:	<i>tua-tua</i>	adult
<i>nguda</i>	young	:	<i>singuda-nguda</i>	young girl
<i>tabeh</i>	tasty	:	<i>tabeh-tabeh</i>	fat, fatty meat
<i>turah</i>	grow	:	<i>turah-turah</i>	drill, auger
<i>palu</i>	hit	:	<i>palu-palu</i>	hammer
<i>tutu</i>	pound	:	<i>tutu-tutu</i>	betel stamper
<i>ngalur</i>	flow	:	<i>ngalur-ngalur</i>	river basin

The names of many body parts are formed in this way:

<i>berku</i>	coconut shell	:	<i>berku-berku</i>	skull
<i>buluh</i>	bamboo	:	<i>buluh-buluh</i>	throat
<i>cuan</i>	small hoe	:	<i>cuan-cuan</i>	shoulder blades
<i>kacang</i>	peanut	:	<i>kacang-kacang</i>	clitoris
<i>pinang</i>	areca palm	:	<i>pinang-pinang</i>	testicles
<i>kundul</i>	sit	:	<i>kundul-kundul</i>	buttocks
<i>tuduh</i>	point	:	<i>tuduh-tuduh</i>	index finger

Reduplicated colour adjectives also have an approximative meaning:

<i>megara</i>	red	:	<i>megara-megara</i>	reddish
<i>mbiring</i>	black	:	<i>mbiring-mbiring</i>	blackish

Doubled adjective stems also appear in derivatives with *pe-* (§3.5.3.2) and *pe-...-ken* (§3.5.4.2) indicating pretence:

<i>senang</i>	happy	:	<i>pesenang-senang bana</i>	put on a happy face
<i>ganjang</i>	tall	:	<i>peganjang-ganjangken</i>	put on airs and graces

A few verbs can be doubled to yield an imitative meaning:

<i>medem</i>	sleep	:	<i>medem-medem</i>	lie down, rest
<i>bahan</i>	make	:	<i>bahan-bahan</i>	to cause or make in a temporary situation

- (3.135) *Bahan-bahan ia jadi anakberu.*
 make-make he become *anakberu*
 He can be made to stand in as your *anakberu* (even if he is not permanently related to you as your *anakberu*).

3.9.5 REPETITION

This is the most common meaning associated with reduplicated verbs. They may be transitive or intransitive, root or derived. With intransitive derivatives involving *er-*, *ter-* and *N²-*, the root is usually doubled before prefixation. Thus:

<i>bual</i>	boast, lie	:	<i>erbual-bual</i>	to tell tall stories
<i>daram</i>	seek	:	<i>terdaram-daram</i>	looking here and there
<i>ulih</i>	return	:	<i>mulih-ulih</i>	to keep on coming back
<i>kawil</i>	hook	:	<i>ngkawil-kawil</i>	to fish
<i>endé</i>	song	:	<i>rendé-rendé</i>	to sing songs (this form is exceptional in that the already affixed form is doubled)

With active transitive verbs, it is the whole *N-* prefixed form which is reduplicated, with any suffixes attached to the end of the doubled stem. Thus:

<i>sungkun</i>	ask	:	<i>nungkun-nungkun</i>	to keep on asking
<i>tatap</i>	look	:	<i>natap-natap</i>	to look around, view
<i>ukur</i>	mind	:	<i>ngukur-ngukuri</i>	to think about, ponder
<i>apus</i>	wipe	:	<i>ngapus-ngapusi</i>	to wipe repeatedly

Although the English glosses below do not necessarily all contain an overt expression of repetitive action, it should be understood from each of the examples that the action occurs more than once, possibly being performed by more than one agent:

- (3.136) *La kenca lit pertempuren, la kai pé man*
 not if BE armed.struggle not what EMPH for
ukuren. Bual-bual, tawa-tawa ras rendé-rendé.
 thought boast-boast laugh-laugh and sing-sing
 If we were not in the middle of a war, there would be nothing to think about.
 Just telling yarns, laughing and singing.
- (3.137) *Dareh ndarat ergulpa-gulpa.*
 blood go.out spurt-spurt
 The blood was spurting out.
- (3.138) *Sapu-sapuna kucing é.*
 (PASS).stroke-stroke.she cat that
 She stroked the cat again and again.
- (3.139) *Meriah kal ukur anak kuta ngidah-ngidah bulan é*
 happy very mind people village see-see moon that
enggo terang.
 already clear
 The villagers were overjoyed to see that the moon was clear again (after the eclipse).
- (3.140) *Tupung wari cerah é enterem kal kami cilas-cilas.*
 while day bright that many very we sunbathe-sunbathe
 While the day was bright and clear, many of us warmed ourselves in the sunshine.

Agent nouns derived from reduplicated verb stems also possess the doubled form:

<i>niding-niding</i>	to lay traps	:	<i>peniding-niding</i>	trapper
<i>ngkawil-kawil</i>	to fish	:	<i>pengkawil-kawil</i>	fisherman
<i>rendé-rendé</i>	to sing songs	:	<i>perendé-endé</i>	singer
<i>jagar-jagar</i>	to joke, jest	:	<i>perjagar-jagar</i>	joker

The notion of repetition sometimes shades into duration:

<i>nimai</i>	wait	:	<i>nima-nimai</i>	keep on waiting
<i>njemba</i>	push	:	<i>njemba-jemba</i>	gradually push, force out
<i>ngukuri</i>	think	:	<i>ngukur-ngukuri</i>	ponder

Duration is also expressed by reduplicated temporal-unit nouns with *er-* (§3.6.1):

<i>bulan</i>	month	:	<i>erbulan-bulan</i>	for months
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3.9.6 EMPHASIS

Several different patterns are observed where a reduplicated word expresses an emphatic meaning. These include:

(i) predicative adjectives and verbs which occur in proximity to a negative (the resultant form means: 'not (to)...at all', 'not (to)...as expected'):

- (3.141) *Inem gajah lau telagah ndai, tapi lalap la*
(PASS).drink elephant water pond that but always not
keri-keri.
finished-finished
The elephant drank the water from the pond, but could never empty it.
- (3.142) *Ola méla-méla.*
don't shy-shy
Don't be shy.
- (3.143) *Véspana la nggeluh-nggeluh.*
Vespa.his not live-live
His motor scooter wouldn't start.
- (3.144) *Ibas perjumpa si la isangka-sangka énda...*
at meeting REL not PASS.expect-expect this
Upon the occasion of this unexpected meeting...
- (3.145) *Lanai kubahan tading-tading lembingku é.*
no.longer I.make stay-stay spear.my that
I will never leave my spear at home again.

(ii) this emphatic meaning is also expressed in causative transitive verbs with *pe-* (§3.5.3.1) and *-ken* (§3.5.2) based on reduplicated adjective and intransitive verb roots (such forms normally occur in imperatives):

- (3.146) *Pepalem-palem lebé pusuhandu.*
CAUS.cool-cool first heart.your
Cool down, calm yourself.

- (3.147) *Peturah-turah sitik ukurdu.*
CAUS.grow-grow SOF mind.your
Grow up a bit! (i.e. Act like an adult!)
- (3.148) *Ola sia-siaken pemeré Tuhan Dibata.*
don't futile.CAUS gift God God
Don't waste your God-given talents.

(iii) reduplicated adjectives occurring as manner adjuncts (§7.3.4) are generally accompanied by overtones of intensity:

- (3.149) *Rukurlah kam mbages-mbages.*
think.EMPH you deep-deep
Think carefully.
- (3.150) *Pedas-pedas ikarangkenna kerbo.*
fast-fast PASS.pen.CAUS.he buffalo
Hurriedly he put the water-buffalo into the yard.
- (3.151) *Panna belona ntabeh-ntabeh.*
(PASS).eat.she betel.her tasty-tasty
She chewed on her betel with pleasure.

(iv) a reduplicated adjective used predicatively, and followed by an emphatic particle, meaning 'to a greater extent (than that expressed by the unreduplicated adjective)':

- (3.152) *Ndekah-ndekah nge maka dung sada-sada rumah.*
long-long EMPH that finished one-one house
It takes a long time (i.e. longer than you might think) to complete building one house.
- (3.153) *Akap kéna murah-murah nge kai pé.*
think you easy-easy EMPH what EMPH
You just think that everything is so easy! (i.e. that things are easier than they really are)

(v) many adjuncts and function words – especially prepositions, conjunctions and operators – are reduplicated, sometimes obligatorily, sometimes optionally; in general the semantic relationship between the source stem and reduplicated form is characterised by greater intensity:

<i>lebé</i>	first	:	<i>lebé-lebé</i>	first of all
<i>nai</i>	long ago	:	<i>nai-nai</i>	long, long ago
<i>ras</i>	together	:	<i>ras-ras</i>	together
<i>tuhu</i>	true, real	:	<i>tuhu-tuhu</i>	really
<i>gedang</i>	long	:	<i>gedang-gedang</i>	along
<i>séh</i>	until	:	<i>séh-séh</i>	right up until
<i>tambah</i>	add	:	<i>tambah-tambah</i>	in addition to
<i>ngayak</i>	chase	:	<i>ngayak-ngayak</i>	approaching
<i>bagi</i>	like	:	<i>bagi-bagi</i>	as if
<i>taren</i>	postpone	:	<i>taren-taren</i>	while
<i>menam</i>	nearly	:	<i>menam-menam</i>	very nearly

<i>mbera</i>	perhaps	:	<i>mbera-mbera</i>	hopefully
<i>mawen</i>	probably	:	<i>mawen-mawen</i>	sometimes

- (3.154) a. *Menam jam siwah.*
almost hour nine
It's nearly nine o'clock. (maybe a quarter to nine)
- b. *Menam-menam jam siwah.*
almost-almost hour nine
It's just a few minutes to nine.
- (3.155) a. *Man kam lebé.*
eat you first
You go on and eat first.
- b. *Ia lebé-lebé bengket ngalur-ngalur Lau Liang.*
he first-first enter river.basin Lau Biang
He was the first person to enter the valley of the Lau Biang.
- (3.156) a. *Ras kita man!*
together we eat
Let's eat together!
- b. *Ras-ras kita man!*
together-together we eat
Let's eat together! (more insistent than (a) above)

3.9.7 INDEFINITENESS

With certain reduplicated words there is a sense of indefiniteness, imprecision or generality. Source stems include:

(i) locative nouns:

- (3.157) ...*terberita kahé-kahé kolu-kolu.*
PASS.tell downstream-downstream upstream-upstream
...(the news) spread in all directions.
- (3.158) *I dauh-dauh nari kuidah enggo rēh beru Ginting.*
at far-far from I.see already come female Ginting
From a distance I could see that Beru Ginting had come.

Some locative nouns are regularly reduplicated when the location referred to is more abstract than literal or physical:

- (3.159) *i lebé-lebé kelas*
at front-front class
before the class
- (3.160) *i tengah-tengah anak kuta é*
at middle-middle person village that
among those villagers

The latter contrasts semantically with :

- (3.161) *i tengah lau*
at middle river
in the middle of the river

(ii) adjectives:

- (3.162) *Adi kuidah ia sakit-sakit, mekuah atéku.*
if I.see he sick-sick pity heart.my
If I saw that he was unwell, I felt sympathetic.
- (3.163) *Nangkeng-nangkeng pé idalanina kang.*
ascending-ascending though PASS.walk.LOC.he EMPH
Though the track was mostly uphill, he still walked on.
- (3.164) *Sip-sip Lau Bengap.*
quiet-quiet river Bengap
Lau Bengap is a generally calm river (but can be treacherous). (meaning:
'Still waters run deep')

(iii) certain interrogatives:

<i>piga</i>	how many?	:	<i>piga-piga</i>	several
<i>ndigan</i>	when?	:	<i>ndigan-ndigan</i>	sometime, whenever
<i>kai</i>	what?	:	<i>kai-kai</i>	whatever

In negative clauses the reduplication expresses indefiniteness; in positives, the meaning switches to an inclusive sense:

- (3.165) *Aku la ku ja ku ja.*
I not to where to where
I'm not going anywhere.
- (3.166) *Lawes ia la nadingken tinading kai-kai pé.*
go he not leave legacy what-what EMPH
He went, leaving behind no legacy whatsoever.
- (3.167) *I ja i ja pé i jah lit juma.*
at where at where EMPH at there BE field
Everywhere around that area there are fields.

(iv) certain quantifiers and temporals whose meaning is inherently indefinite:

<i>piga</i>	how many?	:	<i>piga-piga</i>	several
<i>sekali</i>	once	:	<i>sekali-sekali(n)</i>	once in a while
<i>kentisik</i>	for a short time	:	<i>kentisik-kentisik</i>	momentarily, every now and then

- (3.168) *ibas sada-sada daérah*
at one-one area
in some district or other
- (3.169) *Déba-déba ngenca ieteh gelar perlebéna.*
some-some only PASS.know name first.their
For only a handful of them are the first names known.

(v) many reduplicated intransitive verbs are also characterised by a sense of indefiniteness, “diffuseness” (Rosen 1977:4), or lack of specific orientation or goal; this meaning tends to overlap with notions of repetition and plurality as described above:

- (3.170) *Gawah-gawah atéku.*
stroll-stroll heart.my
I am just going for a stroll.
- (3.171) *Sëh i Lau Kawar, déba ia ridi-ridi, déba ngerakit*
reach at Lau Kawar some they bathe-bathe some ACT.raft
... é maka kundul-kundul ia kerina i tepi dano é.
and then sit-sit they all at side lake that
Arriving at Lau Kawar, some went swimming, others played on rafts and then they all sat around the edge of the lake.
- (3.172) *Kenca puas ernehen-nehén, mulai me ia erbelanja.*
after satisfied look-look begin EMPH he shop
After he had had a good look around, he then began to do his shopping.

3.9.8 MISCELLANEOUS MEANINGS

A few minor patterns remain which lie outside the categories described above:

(i) Reduplicated numbers and certain measure phrases mean ‘in groups of...’; this is sometimes described as a distributive meaning, but may in fact be closer to the idea of repetition (see also doubled numbers with *-i*, §3.8.4):

<i>sada-sada</i>	one by one
<i>sekalak-sekalak</i>	one by one (referring to people)
<i>dua-dua</i>	two by two
<i>telu-telu</i>	three by three

(ii) The doubling of a personal pronoun is accompanied by a sense of disparagement or self-effacement:

- (3.173) *Tapi adi kami-kami saja kerina anak sekolah la até karni melas.*
but if we-we just all child school not heart our warm
But as for us, who are only school children, we don’t feel keen about it.

3.9.9 PARTIAL REDUPLICATION

This process is a feature of the Singalur Lau and western dialects, except for the first two words below, which are common to all dialects of Karo. Partial reduplication involves doubling only the first syllable of the stem. There is a tendency for the vowel in that reduplicated syllable to alternate freely with schwa. The meanings of partially reduplicated forms are the same as their fully reduplicated counterparts:

<i>beré-beré</i>	--->	<i>beberé</i>	mother’s clan
<i>pagi-pagi</i>	--->	<i>papagi = pepagi</i>	tomorrow
<i>pelin-pelin</i>	--->	<i>pepelin</i>	only, nothing but
<i>galang-galang</i>	--->	<i>gagalang = gegalang</i>	lie down

<i>gawah-gawah</i>	--->	<i>gagawah = gegawah</i>	stroll
<i>giang-giang</i>	--->	<i>gigiang = gegiang</i>	run around
<i>ngadi-ngadi</i>	--->	<i>ngangadi</i>	all stop

Although many reduplicated words in those dialects are expressed through partial reduplication, the process is apparently not entirely productive. For instance, *piga-piga* 'several' cannot be reduced to **pipiga* or **pepiga*.

3.9.10 ALLITERATIVE REDUPLICATION

Unlike some neighbouring languages (e.g. Acehnese – see Durie 1985a:43; Indonesian – see Macdonald 1976:32), Karo has very few instances of the type of reduplication where two juxtaposed stems differ only in respect of either a consonant or a vowel. Where this sort of thing occurs in Karo it may be simply considered a case of collocation of two independent forms of similar structure:

<i>jemolah-jemolé</i>	swaying to and fro
<i>melandas-melindes</i>	clear and unobstructed

3.10 COMPOUNDING

A compound is a word which consists of two stems and which has a meaning other than the simple sum of the meanings of its parts. For example:

	<i>uis</i>	cloth(ing)	+	<i>gara</i>	red
--->	<i>uis gara</i>	a special type of woven blanket, red in colour			

Semantically, *uis gara* refers to something other than just 'red cloth(ing)' (which in Karo is expressed as *uis megara*). Structurally, it functions as a regular noun, with potential for modification by a possessor: *uis garanku* 'my *uis gara*'. Despite their formal resemblance to phrases, compounds differ from the latter in that their combining elements are inseparable and, except for a few instances involving negation of the second element, otherwise incapable of individual modification.

Most Karo compounds are nouns, with the following structural combinations:

(a) noun + noun

<i>mata</i>	eye	+	<i>wari</i>	day	:	<i>mata wari</i>	sun
<i>buah</i>	fruit	+	<i>bara</i>	shoulder	:	<i>buah bara</i>	favourite child
<i>anak</i>	child	+	<i>namur</i>	dew	:	<i>anak namur</i>	illegitimate child
<i>anak</i>	child	+	<i>embun</i>	mist	:	<i>anake mbun</i>	illegitimate child
<i>tambar</i>	medicine	+	<i>lihé</i>	hunger	:	<i>tambar lihé</i>	food
<i>nini</i>	grandparent	+	<i>bulang</i>	male headdress	:	<i>nini bulang</i>	grandfather
<i>nini</i>	grandparent	+	<i>tudung</i>	female headdress	:	<i>nini tudung</i>	grandmother

(b) noun + adjective

<i>uis</i>	cloth	+	<i>kapal</i>	thick	:	<i>uis kapal</i>	a special kind of woven blanket which is thick in texture
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<i>uis</i>	cloth	+	<i>nipes</i>	thin	:	<i>uis nipes</i>	a special kind of woven blanket which is thin in texture
<i>bapa</i>	father	+	<i>tua</i>	old	:	<i>bapa tua</i>	father's oldest brother
<i>bapa</i>	father	+	<i>nguda</i>	young	:	<i>bapa nguda</i>	father's youngest brother
<i>kerangen</i>	forest	+	<i>tua</i>	old	:	<i>kerangen tua</i>	jungle, virgin forest
<i>bégu</i>	spirit of dead person	+	<i>ganjang</i>	tall	:	<i>bégu ganjang</i>	type of ghost, bogey man
<i>parang</i>	(non-isolable root)	+	(<i>m</i>) <i>belin</i>	big	:	<i>parang (m)belin</i>	adult

(c) noun + verb

<i>kalak</i>	person	+	<i>mindo-mindo</i>	beg	:	<i>kalak mindo-mindo</i>	beggar
<i>kalak</i>	person	+	<i>munuh</i>	kill	:	<i>kalak munuh</i>	murderer
<i>jelma</i>	human	+	<i>maté</i>	dead	:	<i>jelma maté</i>	corpse
<i>anak</i>	child	+	<i>ibaba</i>	brought	:	<i>anak ibaba</i>	stepchild
<i>anak</i>	child	+	<i>ianduh</i>	adopted	:	<i>anak ianduh</i>	adopted child
<i>anak</i>	child	+	<i>itangko</i>	stolen	:	<i>anak itangko</i>	illegitimate child
<i>dibata</i>	god	+	<i>niidah</i>	seen	:	<i>dibata niidah</i>	wife's clan, the <i>kalimbubu</i> (i.e. the visible gods, so called because we may prevail upon them for assistance)

anak child + *sopé* not yet + *erberas* have milk teeth :
anak sopé erberas infant, baby

belo betel + *la* not + *ertangké* have stalk :
belo la ertangké an insignificant person (i.e. one who is not counted – as bundled betel leaves are counted by their stems)

(d) verb + noun

<i>bengket</i>	enter	+	<i>rumah</i>	house	:	<i>bengketrumah</i>	a ceremony for moving into a new house
<i>tukur</i>	buy	+	<i>mas</i>	gold	:	<i>tukur mas</i>	wife (i.e. bought with gold)
<i>gancih</i>	replace	+	<i>abu</i>	ash	:	<i>gancih abu</i>	a woman who marries the husband of her dead sister, as a replacement
<i>sapu</i>	wipe	+	<i>iluh</i>	tears	:	<i>sapu iluh</i>	a gift of money enclosed in a ceremonial blanket, presented to the family of the deceased
<i>ndilo</i>	call	+	<i>udan</i>	rain	:	<i>ndilo udan</i>	a chant performed to bring rain
<i>penahang</i>	make light	+	<i>daging</i>	body	:	<i>penahang daging</i>	a chant uttered to allow a person to ascend and descend great heights, as if flying

Since nouns and verbs do not freely collocate to form noun phrases, then combinations (c) and (d) above are straightforwardly assigned as compounds. Noun-noun and noun-

adjective compounds, however, being structurally identical to descriptive noun phrases (§4.1.5.3), are at times difficult to unequivocally differentiate from phrases, particularly if their syntactic distribution is limited. Sometimes semantic criteria only can be invoked. For instance, *tambar lihé*, a sometimes jocular, sometimes poetic expression meaning 'food', has not been recorded with any modifiers or affixes which might help establish its word-level status, but on lexical grounds it is considered a compound. Other noun-noun combinations behave like compounds but are not treated as such in this description, for instance, *nandé bapa* 'mother-father, i.e. parents'. Despite the lexical shift involved, plus the potential for possession (*nandé bapana* 'his parents'), this collocation is regarded as an instance of parataxis (§8.5), which is commonly used to connect two syntactically equivalent but semantically opposite phrase-level constituents.

With one recorded exception, noun-adjective compounds are characterised by the absence of inflectional affixes on the adjectives, by contrast with their presence on adjectives used attributively in descriptive noun phrases. Thus: *kerangen tua* 'jungle' (not **kerangen metua*), *uis kapal* 'a type of thick-textured woven blanket' (versus *uis mekapal* 'thick clothing'). Exception: *parang belin* = *parang mbelin* 'adult'.

Compound verbs, consisting of two independent verbs (or their functional equivalents) occur with considerably less frequency. For example:

<i>nereh</i>	marry (for females)	+ <i>empo</i>	marry (for males)	:	(<i>kerja</i>) <i>nereh empo</i>	marriage (feast)
<i>man</i>	eat	+ <i>medem</i>	sleep	:	<i>manmedem</i>	to be so busy that all one has time for is to eat and sleep
<i>kéké</i>	wake up	+ <i>cinder</i>	stand	:	<i>kéké cinder</i>	to be busy
<i>ku juma</i>	(go) to the fields	+ <i>ku rumah</i>	(go) to the house	:	<i>ku juma ku rumah</i>	to live a simple rural life; be a farmer
<i>erdemu</i>	adjoin, border	+ <i>bayu</i>	weave	:	<i>erdemu bayu</i>	to marry

Except for the last example, these collocations could possibly also be regarded as instances of paratactic constructions.

Although the semantic domains covered by compound words are varied, it is noteworthy that compounds frequently occur as names of family and kin relationships, ceremonies and ceremonial paraphernalia.

3.11 LEXICALISATION OF RELATIVE CLAUSES

A number of common Karo words clearly originate from headless relative clauses. Their status as words is demonstrated by their capacity for modification by possessors.

<i>sibayak</i>	kings, local nobility	<---	<i>si bayak</i>	those who are wealthy
<i>sinanggal</i>	problem	<---	<i>si nanggal</i>	that which troubles
<i>si lepak</i>	mistake	<---	<i>si lepak</i>	that which is erroneous
<i>Sembiring</i>	one of the five clans	<---	<i>si mbiring</i>	the black ones

- (3.174) *Melala denga sinanggalku.*
many still REL.ACT.trouble.my
I still have many things worrying me.
- (3.175) *Kami la bo mekijat man pandangan . ibas si lépak kami.*
we not EMPH lazy for to.be.criticised in REL wrong our
We are quite keen to be corrected in respect of our errors.

CHAPTER 4

PHRASE STRUCTURE

This chapter describes two major phrase types in Karo: noun phrases (§4.1) and prepositional phrases (§4.2). Other phrasal constructions are also found in the language, but for reasons of descriptive cohesion are dealt with in other chapters. They include:

- incorporated nominals (§3.6.8, §5.5.2);
- passive predicate phrases (§6.3.1.1 – §6.3.1.3);
- constituents modified by operators, such as negatives, adjective modifiers, aspect markers, quantifying markers and various particles (§7.4.1 – §7.4.5).

4.1 NOUN PHRASES

4.1.1 INTRODUCTION

Noun Phrases (NPs) in Karo typically expound the Subject slot of all clause types (excluding ambient clauses and a handful of other subjectless transitive clause types), the Object slot of active transitive clauses, the Agent slot of passive transitive clauses, the Predicate slot in identificational clauses, and the Complement slot of prepositional phrases.

NPs exhibit the following structure:

NP = (MEAS) H (POSS) (DES) (DET) (APP)

A Noun Phrase consists of an obligatory Head slot, preceded by an optional Measure slot, and followed by optional Possessive, Descriptive, Determiner and Apposition slots. For example:

- (4.1) *kerina kerbo bapa énda*
MEAS:all H:water.buffalo POSS:father DET:this
all these water-buffalo of Father's
- (4.2) *perlawesku ku Médan*
H:going.POSS:my DES:to Médan
my going to Médan
- (4.3) *taneh Karo si malem, ingan pusung ndabuh*
H:land Karo DES:REL cool APP:place umbilicus fall
cool Karoland, the place of our birth

Some variations to this order are possible. For example, occasionally the Measure slot may follow the Head, and Possessive follow Descriptive; such alternations will be described in the relevant sections below.

Embedding of NP with NP is quite frequent:

- (4.4) *i tengah kesain kuta kami*
 PREP:at COMP:(middle POSS:(H:square POSS:(H:village POSS:our)))
 in the middle of our village square

Further instances will be dealt with below.

Although most modifiers of the Head normally occur only once in an NP, there is potential for expansion of up to three Descriptive slots, two Determiner slots, and two Apposition slots. Again, such circumstances will be treated in detail in the relevant sections which follow. Example:

- (4.5) *lau melas, la ertéh, la ergula*
 H:water DES:hot DES:not have.tea DES:not have.sugar
 hot water without tea or sugar

Certain collocations of Head and modifier are subject to particular restrictions. For example, a Head expounded by a personal pronoun cannot be modified by a Possessive. Such constraints will be stated in the following description of the individual modifiers.

4.1.2 NOUN HEAD

The Head slot of the NP may be expounded by:

- a personal pronoun (§4.1.2.1)
- an interrogative pronoun (§4.1.2.2)
- an indefinite pronoun phrase (§4.1.2.3)
- a noun, of which there are a number of subclasses, including common nouns, identificational nouns (§4.1.2.4), locative nouns (§4.1.2.5), and nouns derived by morphological processes (§3.7)
- a demonstrative (§4.1.2.6)
- numerals and certain quantifiers (Sections 4.1.3)
- nominalised forms, including nominalised adjectives, whole clauses (§4.1.2.7) and headless relative clauses (§8.1.6)

4.1.2.1 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

The personal pronoun system in Karo is formally somewhat asymmetrical, with most but not all pronouns having both independent and dependent (clitic) forms, as illustrated in Table 4.1.

The independent pronouns expound the following clause-level slots: subject, predicate of identificational clause, and object of active clause (except for *ia* '3 SG/PL', which, in the latter environment, has a special objective form *-sa*). For example:

- (4.6) *Aku tubuh i Juhar.*
 I born at Juhar
 I was born in Juhar.

- (4.7) *La bo aku si muat isapndu ndai.*
not EMPH I REL ACT.take cigarette.your before
It wasn't me who took your cigarettes.
- (4.8) *Isé pé la ngasup naluken aku.*
who EMPH not capable ACT.defeat I
Nobody can defeat me.

TABLE 4.1: KARO PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	Independent	Possessive	Agentive	Objective
1 singular	<i>aku</i>	<i>-(ng)ku</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>aku</i>
1 plural (inclusive)	<i>kita</i>	<i>-(n)ta</i>	<i>si-</i>	<i>kita</i>
1 plural (exclusive)	<i>kami</i>	<i>kami</i>	<i>kami</i>	<i>kami</i>
2 singular/plural	<i>kam</i>	<i>-ndu</i>	<i>-ndu</i>	<i>kam</i>
2 singular (familiar)	<i>engko, ko</i>	<i>-m(u)</i>	<i>-m(u)</i>	<i>engko</i>
2 plural (polite)	<i>kéna</i>	<i>kéna</i>	<i>kéna</i>	<i>kéna</i>
3 singular/plural	<i>ia</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>-na, -sa</i>	<i>-sa/-ca</i>

They can also expound the Complement of all prepositional phrase types except Time, Purpose, Dative-2, Manner and Genitive (§4.2):

- (4.9) *Ras aku kam?*
with I you
Are you coming with me?
- (4.10) *Ibahanna surat kempak aku.*
PASS.make.he letter to I
He sent a letter to me.

An NP whose Head is expounded by a personal pronoun is restricted to possible co-occurrence with Measure, Apposition and Determiner slots.²⁵

- (4.11) *Man kam kerina.*
eat you all
Eat up, all of you.
- (4.12) *Kam, anak kuta, ma mehuli nge akapndu bagé?*
you child village RHET good EMPH (PASS).think.you thus
You, the people of the village, don't you think that would be good?
- (4.13) *Ku ja kam é?*
to where you that
Where are you going there?

Possessive pronouns typically expound the Possessive slot of the NP, and in the case of those with enclitic forms, occur with *ba-* in expounding the Complement of Dative-2 prepositional phrases:

²⁵ As well, certain semantically governed selectional restrictions apply, for example, *aku* cannot occur with a Measure Phrase, and first person pronouns can only occur with the demonstrative *énda*.

(4.14) *sénku*
money.my
my money

(4.15) *man bangku*
for *ba.me*
to/for me

Agentive pronoun forms only expound the Agent slot of passive clauses:

(4.16) *Bagi-bagi enggo kutandai kalak ah.*
as.if already I.know person that
It's as if I already know that fellow.

Personal pronouns have animate and typically human reference, except for the third person bound forms, which may refer to inanimate possessors, agents and undergoers. Each of the personal pronouns is now described in detail.

4.1.2.1.1 FIRST PERSON

(a) *aku* 'I' – the independent pronoun is invariant in form and meaning; agentive form is *ku*-:

(4.17) *Aku, la kueteh.*
I not I.know
As for me, I don't know.

Possessive form is *-ku*, or *-ngku* when attached to a vowel-final stem:

(4.18) a. *takal + -ku ----> takalku* my head
b. *nahé + -ku ----> nahéngku* my leg

Certain words permit free morphemic variation:

(4.19) a. *rotiku = rotingku* my bread
b. *bengkilaku = bengkilangku* my uncle

Others do not:

(4.20) *diberungku (*diberuku)* my wife

An exception is:

(4.21) *atéku (*aténgku)* I wish, want (lit. my liver).

An NP Head expounded by *aku* may occur with a determiner, and with an apposition phrase:

(4.22) *aku énda*
I this
I (emphatic), me here

(4.23) *ibas aku nari Pius Ketaren*
at I from Pius Ketaren
from me, Pius Ketaren

(b) *kita* 'we' (including the addressee) has agentive form *si-* and possessive form *-ta*, or *-nta* when attached to a vowel-final stem:

- (4.24) *Mejuah-juah kita kerina!*
 healthy we all
 Health to us all!
- (4.25) *Ota, sidahi lebé ia.*
 let's we.visit first he
 Come on, we'll pay him a visit.
- (4.26) *Picet kal motorta énda.*
 narrow EMPH vehicle.our this
 It's very cramped in this vehicle of ours.
- (4.27) *Pengulunta nguda denga.*
 headman.our young still
 Our headman is still young.

Some words tolerate variation in the form of the possessive clitic pronoun:

- (4.28) *nandéta = nandénta* our mother

Others remain irregular:

- (4.29) *atéta (*aténta)* we wish, want (lit. our liver)

The form of the agentive pronoun *si-* is subject to variation when immediately preceded by the homophonous relative marker *si* 'who, which, that' (§8.1). In such cases *si-* is replaced by post-verbal *kita* or *-(n)ta*:

- (4.30) *diberu si empoi kita* . (instead of: *diberu si *siempoi*)
 woman REL (PASS).marry we
 the woman whom we marry
- (4.31) *galuh si nitukurta ndai* (instead of: *galuh si *situkur*)
 banana REL PASS.buy.we before
 the bananas which we bought earlier

Any material intervening between the relative marker and the first person plural agent allows it to retain its regular form, *si-*:

- (4.32) *kiniulin bulan si usur sitatap é*
 beauty moon REL always we.view that
 the beauty of the moon which we always look at

With *ter-* passives (§6.3.3) the form of the agentive may be either post-verbal *kita* or enclitic *-(n)ta*:

- (4.33) *La terdahi kita kerja é.* (= *La terdahinta kerja é.*)
 not ABIL.visit we feast that not ABIL.visit.we feast that
 We were not able to attend that feast.

As seen from the above examples, *kita* is normally used by a speaker to include the addressee. This may often not be literally or factually correct, but nevertheless socially

appropriate, in the interests of maintaining solidarity. For instance, when asking a child if his father is at home, one would normally ask:

- (4.34) *I rumah kang bapanta?*
 at house PART father.our
 Is (our) father at home?

When discussing Karo customs with outsiders, Karo speakers typically use the expression *kita kalak Karo* 'we Karo people', thereby including the addressee who is not technically or even necessarily in that context regarded as a member of the group.

Elsewhere *kita* is used in an impersonal, non-deictic way to refer to anyone in general, including the addressee. This corresponds to the English impersonal 'you' or 'one':

- (4.35) *Tupung kita anak beru, iergai kalimbubunta dahinta;*
 while we anak beru PASS.value kalimbubu.our work.our
tupung kita kalimbubu, mehamat anak berunta man banta
 while we kalimbubu respect anak beru.our to us
 When you are anakberu, your kalimbubu appreciate the work you do, when
 you are kalimbubu, your anakberu are respectful towards you.
- (4.36) *Anak ipupus émkap anak si tubuh ibas ndeharanta*
 child PASS.born LINK child REL born at wife.our
sini sah siempo.
 REL legal we.marry
 By anak ipupus is meant a child born of a wife who has been legally married.

(c) *kami* 'we' (excluding the addressee) is of invariant form:

- (4.37) *Enta sitik polandu éna, muas kal kami.*
 give please palm.wine.your that thirsty EMPH we
 Please give (us) some of your palm wine, we are very thirsty.
- (4.38) *Kerèhen mama ialo-alo kami alu meriah ukur.*
 coming uncle PASS.welcome we with happy mind
 We welcomed Uncle's arrival with happiness.

4.1.2.1.2 SECOND PERSON

(a) *kam* 'you' (singular and plural, neutral-polite) – both agentive and possessive forms are *-ndu* :

- (4.39) *Kam, isé gelamdu?*
 you who name.your
 You, what is your name?
- (4.40) *Engkai maka pelawesndu ia?*
 why that (PASS).CAUS.go.you he
 Why did you send him away?

Expounding the Head slot of an NP, *kam* may be modified by a determiner, a measure phrase, or an apposition phrase:

- (4.41) *Ku ja kam éna, agi?*
to where you that little brother/sister
Where are you going there, little brother/sister?
- (4.42) *Kusungkun kam kerina, isé kin ia?*
I.ask you all who PART he
I ask you all, who is he?
- (4.43) *Kam anak kuta kerina si enggo pulung i jénda,*
you child village all REL already gather at here
nungkun kam ibas pusuhndu sekalak-sekalak...
ACT.ask you in heart.your one.person-one.person
All you villagers who have gathered here, each of you ask yourselves this question...

When speaking to an elder or someone to whom great respect must be shown, *kam* is maintained instead of *-ndu* in the Agentive slot. In the following example, the (a) version is ordinarily used to ask somebody else's opinion, but the (b) version indicates greater than usual respect for the addressee:

- (4.44) a. *Uga akapndu rananna é?*
how (PASS).think.you speech.his that
What did you think of his speech?
- b. *Uga akap kam rananna é?*
how (PASS).think you speech.his that
What did you think of his speech?
- (4.45) *Tantangna ndai aku la tĕk, niŋi, tabas si*
begin.NMS before I not believe grandfather magical.chant REL
nibelasken kam.
PASS.utter you
At first I did not believe in the mantra which you chanted, Grandfather.

The use of *-ndu* instead of *kam* in the last example would be inappropriate when the young novice is addressing his teacher, the sorcerer.

In the parenthetical expression (*i*)*dah kam* 'you see', *kam* is never replaced by *-ndu*, although when literally stating 'you see/saw (something)', one normally says *idahndu*:

- (4.46) *...janah i Lau Rambé énda, dah kam, jah lit lau belérang.*
and at Lau Rambe this see you there BE water sulphur
...and at Lau Rambe, you see, there is a volcanic spring.

(b) *engko, ko* 'you' (normally singular) is generally less polite and more familiar in tone than *kam*. Its possessive allomorph is *-mu*, or *-m* in the case of a vowel-final stem. Its agentive form is sometimes *-m(u)*, sometimes *ko*.

The use of *engko = ko* instead of *kam* is sometimes a matter of dialect difference, but mostly one of attitude, denoting that:

(i) The speaker is clearly superior to the addressee (in terms of age and/or authority) and entitled to show it. (Most typically it is used by adults towards children, though in the central Karo dialect area, normally not towards young girls over the age of ten or so.)

- (4.47) *Ikut engko berkat?*
 accompany you leave
 Are you going along?
- (4.48) *I ja gasingmu?*
 at where top.your
 Where's your spinning top?
- (4.49) *Énda sén bam.*
 this money for.you
 Here's some money for you.
- (4.50) *Ula ko pagi erlawan!*
 don't you tomorrow oppose
 In future don't any of you go against what I have said!
- (4.51) *Kai si tukurmu é, nak?*
 what REL (PASS).buy.you that child
 What did you buy there, kid?

(ii) The speaker is warning, challenging, admonishing or insulting the addressee.

- (4.52) *Éna! Ola ko kari naktak!*
 that don't you later fall
 Hey! Don't you fall down from there!
- (4.53) *Ngakap engko denggo, timailah!*
 ACT.feel you in.future (PASS).wait.HORT
 You'll cop it one day, just wait!
- (4.54) *Isé kin engko? Kutelin me engko! Sendah nari*
 who PART you I.swallow EMPH you today more
ngenca warim!
 only day.your
 Who are you? I'll eat you up! This is your day of reckoning!
- (4.55) *Palangen kal ko!*
 suffer.uterine.prolapse EMPH you
 You useless [obscene word]!
- (4.56) *Teli nandém!*
 female.genitals mother.your
 Get [obscene expression]!

Between children, adolescents, and between adults of the same sex, *engko = ko* is often used between equals to express friendliness and familiarity, with no diminution of respect. Parents may also address their children of the same sex with *engko*. In some villages east of Bandar Baru, fathers also commonly address their daughters in this way. However, such usage is frequently criticised as coarse and overly familiar by speakers of other dialects.

- (4.57) *I Tiga Juhar iperengko anakna si diberu.*
 at Tiga Juhar PASS.call.engko child.their REL female
 In Tiga Juhar they address their daughters with *engko*.

On a scale of politeness, speakers rate agentive *-m(u)* slightly higher than *ko*. In the following example, the (a) version is used when speaking to a friend, simply asking why he hit somebody, whereas the (b) version is used to scold the one being addressed:

- (4.58) a. *Engkai maka ipekpekmu ia?*
 why that PASS.hit.you he
 Why did you hit him?
 b. *Engkai maka ipekpek ko ia?*
 why that PASS.hit you he
 Why did you hit him?

(c) *kéna* 'you (plural)' is of invariant form, and used when addressing people of the same age whom one knows well; it is more familiar than *kam*:

- (4.59) *Inemen énda man kéna kerina.*
 drink this for you all
 These drinks are for all of you.
 (4.60) *Isé si icakapken kéna é?*
 who REL PASS.discuss you that
 Who are you talking about?

Kéna may also be used with singular reference when addressing a sweetheart:

- (4.61) *Kéna ngenca si mejiléna.*
 you only REL beautiful.NMS
 You are the most beautiful girl on earth.
 (4.62) *Kéna nge pinta-pintangku.*
 you EMPH desire.my
 You are my heart's desire.

4.1.2.1.3 THIRD PERSON

(a) *ia* – this third person pronoun in independent form refers only to living (mostly) human or personified entities, singular and plural:

- (4.63) *Lawes ia nadingken kami.*
 go he ACT.leave we
 He went, leaving us.
 (4.64) *Piga ia rëh?*
 how.many they come
 How many of them came?
 (4.65) *Ibahan ka siding menci, gelah ula ia mangani pagé.*
 PASS.make EMPH trap rat PURP don't they ACT.eat rice
 Rat traps are made, so that they will not eat the rice.

- (4.66) ...*bunga encolé si mejilé janah merim. Sebap ia turah*
 flower encolé REL beautiful and fragrant because it grow
ibas tenggiring.
 in barren.ground
 ...the beautiful and fragrant *bunga encolé*, because it grows on barren
 ground.

(b) *ia*, in agentive role, is manifested as *-na* with regular passives, or as *-sa* with *ter-* passives,²⁶ except in the case of the verb *dat* 'get, obtain', which only ever takes *-sa*:

- (4.67) *Ipanna telu galuh.* (**Ipansa telu galuh.*)
 PASS.eat.he three banana
 He ate three bananas.
- (4.68) *La terpanna telu galuh.* (*La *terpanna telu galuh.*)
 not ABIL.eat.he three banana
 He couldn't eat three bananas.
- (4.69) *Idatsa telu perik.* (**Idatna telu perik.*)
 PASS.get.he three bird
 He got three birds.

(c) *ia*, in possessive role, is manifested as *-na*.²⁷ In this role it may refer to any third person entity irrespective of number or animacy:

- (4.70) ...*perbahan itadingkenna agina é ibas kerangen tua.*
 because PASS.leave.they brother.their that in forest old
 ...because they left their little brother in the thick forest.
- (4.71) *Bajuna gedang tanna.*
 coat.his long arms.its
 His coat has long sleeves.

(d) Apart from its capacity for non-person reference in agentive and possessive forms, the third person pronoun differs markedly from the other personal pronouns in having a separate objective form, *-sa/-ca* (the latter occurring after an alveolar nasal). This objective form is found expounding:

(i) the Object slot immediately following an active transitive verb:

- (4.72) *Nukurkenca mesunah, muatsa mesera.*
 ACT.spend.it easy ACT.obtain.it difficult
 It is easy to spend, but hard to come by.

²⁶ In the western dialects of Singalir Lau and Langkat, *-sa* frequently substitutes for *-na* (e.g. *idahsa* 'he saw', *jumpasa* 'he met', *la tehsa* 'he doesn't know'). I am not sure whether there are restrictions on the degree of variation here.

²⁷ Agentive and possessive *-na* are to be distinguished from the nominaliser *-na* (§3.7.8) and the specifier *-na* (§4.1.6.1.3).

- (4.73) *Ota sibaba gia pergogonta énda ku balé raja,*
 let's we.bring SOF dispute.our this to court chief
gelah raja-raja gia nimbangsa ras mutuskenca.
 PURP chief-chief SOF ACT.weigh.it and ACT.decide.it
 Let's take this dispute of ours to the court of chiefs, so that the chiefs may
 weigh it up and resolve it.

(ii) the Complement slot of a prepositional phrase, after the prepositions *ibas* 'at, in, on', *taré*, *kempak*, *ngenehen* 'towards, to', and *ras* 'with':

- (4.74) *...nina Datuk Rubia Gandé kempaksa.*
 say.he Datuk Rubia Gande to.him
 ...said Datuk Rubia Gande to him.
- (4.75) *Ipindona gelah banci ia tading rassa.*
 PASS.ask.he PURP able he stay with.him
 He asked if he might be able to stay with him.

4.1.2.2 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

The interrogative pronouns *isé* 'who', *kai* 'what' and *apai* 'which', share most of the normal clause-level environments in which personal pronouns occur, except for the following restrictions:

- (i) they cannot expound the agent slot of a passive clause;
 (ii) *apai* cannot occur alone as an object.

- (4.76) *Isé metehsa gambar isé énda?*
 who ACT.know.PERF picture who this
 Who knows who this is a picture of?
- (4.77) *Kai lit i datas méja énda?*
 what BE at top table this
 What is there on top of the table?
- (4.78) *Apai tabehen rimo asangkan mbertik?*
 which tasty.more citrus than pawpaw
 Which is the tastier, orange or pawpaw?
- (4.79) *Ndarami isé/kai kam ku jénda?*
 ACT.seek who/what you to here
 Who/What are you looking for here?
- (4.80) *Isé gelamdu?*
 who name.your
 What is your name?
- (4.81) *Apai kin nakanndu é?*
 which PART rice.your that
 Which one is your rice?

As the interrogative pronouns cannot occur as agents of passive clauses, they are often found as subjects of an active clause, following a left-dislocated NP which is coreferential with the Undergoer of that clause. Thus, (4.82a) is re-expressed as (4.82b) :

- (4.82) a. *Rotiku ndai ipan *isé/*kai.*
bread.my before PASS.eat who/what
Who/What ate my bread?
- b. *Rotiku ndai, isé/kai mansa?*
bread.my before who/what ACT.eat.it
Who/What ate my bread?

At the phrase level, interrogative pronouns may occur as Complement of a prepositional phrase:

- (4.83) *Ras isé kam ku jénda?*
with who you to here
Who did you come here with?
- (4.84) *Alu kai ban?*
with what (PASS).make
What should I do it with?
- (4.85) *Kempak apai perlawes perlanja sira ndai?*
towards which going porter salt before
Which way did the salt-carrier go?

An NP head expounded by an interrogative pronoun is not modifiable. However, *kai* 'what', has a suppletive allomorph *kadé* = *kapah*, which is obligatorily modifiable by a possessive personal pronoun. The resultant form serves to ask about something belonging to someone: 'your/his/her what?':

- (4.86) *Kadéndu mesui, kempu ninina?*
what.your sore grandson grandfather.his
What part of you feels sore, my grandson?
- (4.87) *Kadéna kin si pinjamndu é?*
what.his PART REL (PASS).borrow.you that
What of his did you borrow?
- (4.88) *Kapahna luka?*
what.his injured
Where was he injured? (i.e. Which part of him was injured?)

Interrogative pronouns may themselves expound certain modifier slots in the NP. For instance, *isé* 'who' can occur as a possessive, whereas *kai* 'what' and *apai* 'which' can manifest the Descriptive slot:

- (4.89) *Bunga isé énda?*
flower who this
Whose flower is this?
- (4.90) *Bunga kai énda?*
flower what this
What flower is this?

- (4.91) *Bunga apai aténdu?*
 flower which heart.your
 Which flower do you want?

4.1.2.3 INDEFINITE PRONOUN PHRASES

The distributional possibilities described above apply also to the interrogative pronouns *isé*, *kai* and *kadé* when used in indefinite pronoun phrases (§7.1.2.3). This usually involves the post-modification of the interrogative pronoun with *pé* (§7.4.5.2.10), and sometimes the reduplication of *kai*.

- (4.92) *Isé pé nukur aténa, ola dayakenndu.*
 who EMPH ACT.buy heart.his don't (PASS).sell.you
 If anyone wants to buy, don't sell (these) to them.
- (4.93) *I Médan kai pé banci tukurndu.*
 at Medan what EMPH able (PASS).buy.you
 In Medan you can buy anything.
- (4.94) *Nandé Rasmi ah kadéna pé la terpinjam.*
 mother Rasmi that what.her EMPH not ABIL.borrow
 That Nande Rasmi, you can't borrow anything of hers.
- (4.95) *Lawes ia la nadingken tinading kai-kai pé.*
 go they not ACT.leave legacy what-what EMPH
 They went, leaving behind nothing at all.

Also included amongst the indefinite pronouns is *kadih*, which is used to refer to someone or something that the speaker has momentarily forgotten the name of, expressible by the English 'what-d'ye-m'-call-it', 'so and so', 'whatsit':

- (4.96) *ras... kadih*
 with whatsit
 with...ummm, what's-his-name

Kadih may also be used to avoid naming something which it is taboo or indelicate to mention:

- (4.97) *Kadihna mesui.*
 whatsit.his sore
 His thingo is sore.

4.1.2.4 IDENTIFICATIONAL NOUNS

Identificational nouns may consist of a proper noun or name standing freely, or in conjunction with a common noun designating a place, generic item, time segment, occupation, rank, clan membership or affinal relationship:

<i>lau Kawar</i>	Lau Kawar lake
<i>lau Renun</i>	the Renun River
<i>deleng Sibayak</i>	Mt Sibayak
<i>taneh Pinem</i>	Pinem land

<i>tualang si Mandé Angin</i>	the Mande Angin tree
<i>wari Senin</i>	Monday
<i>bulan Désémber</i>	the month of December
<i>Guru Diden</i>	Diden the shaman
<i>pendéta Sibero</i>	Sibero the pastor
<i>nora Sibero</i>	the wife of Sibero the pastor
<i>Datuk Rubia Gandé</i>	Rubia Gande the sorcerer
<i>merga Barus</i>	the Barus clan
<i>beru Ginting</i>	a woman of the Ginting clan
<i>kalak Karo</i>	the Karo people; a Karo person

Identificational nouns may be followed by Descriptive and Determiner slots:

- (4.98) *taneh Karo si malem*
land Karo REL cool
cool Karoland
- (4.99) *merga Sembiring énda*
clan Sembiring this
this Sembiring clan

4.1.2.4.1 PERSONAL NAMES

All Karo people belong to one or other of the five clans (*merga si lima*), viz: Karo-karo, Ginting, Tarigan, Sembiring and Perangin-angin, each of which has between thirteen and eighteen sub-clans (see Singarimbun 1975, Chapter 5). A male has a given name followed by the name of his clan or sub-clan:

Hormat Pelawi
Senang Sembiring
Edison Purba

A female name is identified by the use of the word *beru* 'female' before her clan name. Orthographically this is usually abbreviated to 'br.':

Seriarhta beru Surbakti
Malem Ukur beru Perangin-angin
Dalansip br. Tarigan

Prior to marriage and parenthood, people are addressed by their first name, usually preceded by *si* :

si Naktaki Naktaki
si Rita Rita

Parents, however, are not addressed or referred to by their personal names, but by teknonyms:

Pa Prananta (from: *bapa Prananta*) Prananta's father
Nandé Mira Mira's mother

4.1.2.4.2 THE IDENTIFICATIONAL MARKER *si*

Apart from its use with personal names as illustrated above, *si* is also used with a common name or a noun preceded by an adjective, to identify and maintain reference to some particular individual. It is henceforth glossed as 'title':²⁸

- (4.100) *si dilaki ras si diberu*
 title male and title female
 the man and the woman (referred to in a description of the marriage ceremony)
- (4.101) *si permakan kerbo*
 title herder buffalo
 the buffalo herder
- (4.102) *si sada nari*
 title one more
 the other one

The epithet may even come to function as a personal name:

- (4.103) *si Mbelang Pinggel*
 title wide ear
 Big Ears
- (4.104) *si Laga Man*
 title voracious eat
 The Glutton

4.1.2.5 LOCATIVE NOUNS

Locative nouns almost always expound the Complement of a prepositional phrase. They comprise two subclasses.

4.1.2.5.1 SUBCLASSES WHICH CANNOT BE MODIFIED BY A POSSESSIVE

(a) locative pronouns:

- jénda* here
jéna there (nearby the addressee)
jah, jadah there (away from both speaker and addressee)
joh there (some distant place)
jé there (the place just referred to)
ja where, what place (interrogative)

- (4.105) *Ula tadingken aku adi ku jah kam.*
 don't (PASS).leave I if to there you
 Don't leave me behind if you go there.

²⁸ A similar marker, *gu*, is found preceding personal names, in the Singalur Lau dialect. For example, *gu Candra é* 'that Candra fellow'.

- (4.106) *Lit jumanta i joh.*
BE field.our at there
We have fields way over there (i.e. someplace distant, possibly even out of sight).
- (4.107) *Rěh kam ku jumangku, i jé mbué jaung.*
come you to field.my at there much corn
Come to my fields, there is a lot of corn there.
- (4.108) *I ja nari kam?*
at where from you
Where are you from?

Jé may be used temporally as well as locatively:

- (4.109) *Jé nari mulih ia.*
there from return.home he
At that point (in time) he returned home.

(b) points of the compass:

<i>utara</i>	north
<i>irisen</i>	north-east
<i>purba = pultaken</i>	east
<i>aguni</i>	south-east
<i>daksina</i>	south
<i>nariti</i>	south-west
<i>pustima = kesunduten</i>	west
<i>mangabia</i>	north-west

- (4.110) *Hio, maka rěh me ndubé i pustima, i purba,*
EXCL then come EMPH formerly at west at east

i daksina nari, pawang ku Jenggi Kumawar.
at south from honey-gatherer to Jenggi Kumawar
And so, there came from the west, the east, and the south, experts in honey-gathering, to the village of Jenggi Kumawar.

4.1.2.5.2 SUBCLASSES WHICH ARE USUALLY MODIFIED BY A POSSESSIVE, UNLESS THE CONTEXT MAKES IT CLEAR

<i>jahé = kenjahé = kahé-kahé</i>	downstream, downhill
<i>julu = kenjulu = kolu-kolu</i>	upstream, uphill
<i>kawes</i>	left
<i>kemuhen</i>	right
<i>bas</i>	inside
<i>darat = daraten</i>	outside
<i>das = datas</i>	top, above
<i>babo</i>	top, above
<i>teruh</i>	bottom, beneath
<i>lebé = lebé-lebé</i>	front
<i>pudi = balik</i>	behind

<i>duru</i>	side, beside
<i>tepi</i>	side, edge
<i>ujung</i>	end
<i>keléwet</i>	vicinity, area around
<i>lépar = képar</i>	opposite side, across
<i>tengah</i>	middle
<i>kelang-kelang</i>	space between

- (4.111) *Kempak jahé kita erdalan.*
toward downstream we walk
We're walking downstream.
- (4.112) *Sada mangkuk itamana arah kemuhén, sada nari*
one bowl PASS.put.he at right one more
itamakenna arah kawes pintun.
PASS.put.he at left door
He placed one bowl at the right side of the door, and the other at the left.
- (4.113) *Tudung ipaké i babo takal.*
women's.headdress PASS.wear at top head
A *tudung* is worn upon the head.
- (4.114) *Arah pudingku kundul si Jésua.*
at behind.my sit title Jesua
Behind me sat Jesua.
- (4.115) *Uga kita ku képar lau é?*
how we to opposite river that
How do we get to the other side of the river?
- (4.116) *Idahna lit batang i tengah lau ndai.*
PASS.see.he BE tree at middle river that
He saw there was a log in the middle of the river.

Some locative nouns can also be used temporally:

- (4.117) *Bagém aku erlajar sèh-sèh léwat tengah berngi.*
thus.EMPH I study reach-reach pass middle night
In that way I would study until after midnight.

4.1.2.6 DEMONSTRATIVES

The demonstrative pronouns in Karo correspond formally to the locative pronouns described in §4.1.2.5.1:

<i>énda</i>	this (relatively close to the speaker)
<i>éna</i>	that (relatively close to the addressee)
<i>ah, adah</i>	that (over there, outside the immediate proximity of both speaker and addressee)
<i>oh</i>	that (in the far distance, possibly out of sight)
<i>é</i>	that (something within view of both speaker and addressee, or something just referred to)

- (4.118) *Énda kampuh.*
 this sarong
 This is a sarong.
- (4.119) *Ah motorta.*
 that vehicle.our
 There's our vehicle.
- (4.120) *Oh deleng Sinabun.*
 that mountain Sinabun
 That is Mt Sinabun.
- (4.121) *Kai é?*
 what that
 What's that?

A noun head expounded by a demonstrative cannot be further modified. Distributionally, *éna*, *ah* = *adah* and *oh* are limited to expounding subjects and predicates of identificational clauses, whereas *énda* and *é* range more widely to expound the Subject slot of verbal clauses:

- (4.122) *Éndam erbahanca kami ngadi.*
 this.EMPH ACT.make.PERF we stop
 This made us stop.
- (4.123) *É la kubegi.*
 that not I.hear
 I didn't hear that.

As object of an active transitive clause, *énda* may occur, but *é* cannot; in this position it is replaced by *-sa* (§4.1.2.1.3). Thus:

- (4.124) *Aku la sempat ngidahsa* (instead of: *ngidah *é*)
 I not have.time ACT.see.it
 I didn't have an opportunity to see it.

4.1.2.7 NOMINALISED FORMS

A number of non-nominal forms and constructions are able to expound clause- and phrase-level slots which are typically filled by NPs. Such exponents and their distributional possibilities are mostly dealt with in detail elsewhere in this description. They include: adjectives, verbs, whole clauses (§8.2), headless relative clauses (§8.1.6) and forms nominalised with *-na* (§3.7.8).²⁹

In general, nominalised forms occur reasonably freely as subjects and objects of clauses, subject to the general tendency for 'heavy' (i.e. whole clause) constituents to follow rather than precede their predicates. Examples of nominalised forms expounding the Subject slot are given below. For clarity, the nominalised constituent is underlined:

²⁹ Macdonald (1976:84) describes similar syntactic nominalisation of predicative forms in Indonesian.

- (4.125) *Muas melihé banci nge kutahan.*
hungry thirsty able EMPH I.endure
I can put up with hunger and thirst.
- (4.126) *Idahna lit kalak bayangen telu kalak.*
(PASS).see.he BE person in.stocks three person
He saw (that) there were three people imprisoned in the stocks.
- (4.127) *Perbinaga enterem, si nukur pé enterem.*
seller many REL ACT.buy EMPH many
There were many sellers, and there were many buyers too.
- (4.128) *Tading kuné-kunéna.*
remain if-if.NMS
Only their regrets remained.

The following examples illustrate nominalised forms expounding the Object slot of active clauses:

- (4.129) *Adi bapana la bo meteh mehuli.*
if father.the not EMPH ACT.know good
anakna pé la bo meteh mehuli.
child.the EMPH not EMPH ACT.know good
If the father does not know what good is, then neither will the child.
- (4.130) *Si meteh meré nge si meteh ngalo.*
REL ACT.know ACT.give EMPH REL ACT.know ACT.receive
Only those who know how to give, know how to receive.
- (4.131) *Cirem ia ngidahsa perik é kukanting.*
smile he ACT.see.PERF bird that I.hold
He smiled to see me holding the bird in my hand.
- (4.132) *Ngikutken si ituriken bapa si nusun*
ACT.follow REL PASS.relate father REL ACT.compile
sejarah énda...
history this
According to what was related by the father of the one who compiled this history...
- (4.133) *...gelah banci ia nimai iteruskenna perdalinnenna.*
PURP able they ACT.wait PASS.continue.NMS journey.their
...so that they could wait for the resumption of their journey.

They are also sometimes found expounding the Complement of a prepositional phrase:

- (4.134) *...kerna sai ras lang ibas pangir é.*
about effective and not.EMPH in wash.hair that
...concerning the efficacy or otherwise of the ceremonial washing of one's hair.

- (4.135) *Idahna i dauh nari lit piga-piga biang perburu deher*
 (PASS).see.he at far from BE several dog hunter near
sapona.
 hut.his
 He saw from a distance that there were several hunting dogs near his hut.
- (4.136) *Ibas ia nima-nima é, nipé ndai erpang-pang.*
 in he ACT.wait-ACT.wait that snake that spiral.up
 In waiting (for her) there, the snake spiralled upwards.
- (4.137) *Alu mbincarna kitap énda, ipala-palai kami...*
 with splash.NMS book this PASS.try we
 With the sudden appearance of this book on the scene, we have tried to...
- (4.138) *Matana pé enggo meratah perbahan tuana.*
 eye.her EMPH already blue because old.her
 Her eyes had turned a hazy blue colour due to her old age.

Such nominalised forms do not expound the Agent slot of passive clauses. Nor are they modifiable, with the exception of nominalised adjectives, which may be followed by a possessive:

- (4.139) *Tapi sura-sura nge ngenca lit perbahan gegehata*
 but ideals EMPH only BE because strong.our
ndahisa la lit.
 ACT.do.it not BE
 But only the intentions are there, because we do not have the resolve to do it.
- (4.140) *Erkitéken biarku, nggir-gir aku séh tangis.*
 because afraid.my shiver I reach cry
 Because of my fear, I trembled until I cried.

4.1.3 MEASURE SLOT

The Measure slot denotes the number or quantity of the referent of the Head slot. It may precede or follow the Head; where restrictions exist, these will be specified below. For example:

- (4.141) *telu wari*
 three day
 three days
- (4.142) *piga-piga rumah adat*
 several house tradition
 several traditional houses
- (4.143) *peképar kalak énda*
 each person this
 both these fellows
- (4.144) *Tading lembu sada.*
 remain cow one
 One cow was left.

- (4.145) *bulungna dua lambar*
leaf.its two sheet
two of its leaves
- (4.146) *kadé-kadé enterem*
relative many
many relatives

The Measure slot is itself expounded by either a Quantifier Phrase or a Number Phrase:

$$\text{MEAS} = \begin{cases} \text{Qf Phr} \\ \text{Num Phr} \end{cases}$$

These are now described in detail.

4.1.3.1 QUANTIFIER PHRASE

$$\text{Qf Phr} = \text{H:} \begin{cases} \text{Deg: deg} \\ \text{qf1} \\ \text{qf2} \end{cases}$$

A Quantifier Phrase consists of an obligatory Head expounded by a quantifier of Class 1 or Class 2, of which the former may be followed by an optional degree marker.

Class 1 quantifiers include:

<i>enterem</i>	many (only for humans)
<i>melala</i>	many (mostly for count nouns)
<i>mbué</i>	many, much (mostly for non-count nouns)
<i>sitik</i>	few, a little

These quantifiers are also members of the adjective class and as such may expound the Predicate slot of a stative clause.

- (4.147) *Enterem kalak rëh ku rumahku.*
many person come to house.my
Many people came to my house.
- (4.148) *Melala teman-teman enggo lawes ku jah.*
many friend-friend already go to there
Many (of my) friends have already gone there.
- (4.149) *Iluak Simbelang Pinggel sitik kulit arimo mbentar é.*
PASS.remove Simbelang Pinggel a.little skin tiger white that
Simbelang Pinggel removed a little bit of skin from the white tiger.

Degree markers which may modify Class 1 quantifiers are the inflectional affixes *-en* 'more', *ter...-en* 'even more', and *-sa* 'too' (§3.4.3.2 - §3.4.3.4), the operators *kal* and *(me)kelek* 'very', and the adverb *tuhu-tuhu* 'really'. Quantifiers bearing inflectional affixes are restricted to pre-modification of the NP Head.

- (4.150) *Enteremsa nge kita ku jah.*
many.too EMPH we to there
There are too many of us going there.

- (4.151) *Lalan teman-teman é anakperana denga.*
 many.more friend-friend that youth still
 The majority of those friends were still youths.
- (4.152) *Penampat mbué kal ialoken kami ibas ia nari.*
 help much EMPH PASS.receive we at he from
 We received very much assistance from him.

Class 2 quantifiers include:

<i>kerina</i> ³⁰	all
<i>tiap = tiep-tiep = tep-tep</i>	each, every
<i>peképar</i>	each, both
<i>piga-piga</i>	several
<i>déba</i>	some
<i>sada-sada</i>	some one or other, a

These may follow or precede the NP Head, except for *tiap = tiep-tiep = tep-tep* 'every', which is restricted to pre-modifying position.

- (4.153) *Tep-tep wari minggu kami ku geréja.*
 every day Sunday we to church
 Every Sunday we go to church.
- (4.154) *Tiep temué nusur ku teruh arah pintu ujung kayu.*
 every guest descend to bottom via door end tree
 Every guest departed via the back door.
- (4.155) *Simaba-maba kinibeluhenna ia peképar.*
 each.bring skill.POSS he each
 They both showed off their skill.
- (4.156) *Igelehna me déba manuk ndai.*
 PASS.slaughter.he EMPH some chicken that
 He slaughtered some of the chickens.
- (4.157) *Minter déba ia rëh ku lesung.*
 straightaway some they come to rice.mortar
 Straightaway some of them came to the rice mortar building.

All Class 2 quantifiers except *tiap = tiep-tiep = tep-tep* may also expound the NP Head:

- (4.158) *Déba erdakan, déba nutung.*
 some cook some ACT.pound
 Some were cooking, others were pounding rice.

³⁰ The universal quantifier *kerina* is derived from *keri* 'depleted, all gone' plus nominaliser *-na*.

4.1.3.2 NUMBER PHRASE

Num Phr = H: numeral (MEAS: measure noun)

A Number Phrase consists of an obligatory Head slot expounded by a numeral, followed by an optional Measure slot expounded by a measure noun.

4.1.3.2.1 NUMERALS

4.1.3.2.1.1 NUMERALS: SIMPLE, COMPLEX OR FRACTIONAL

(i) simple numerals are the nine integers:

<i>sada</i>	1
<i>dua</i>	2
<i>telu</i>	3
<i>empat</i>	4
<i>lima</i>	5
<i>(e)nem</i>	6
<i>pitu</i>	7
<i>waluh</i>	8
<i>siwah</i>	9

Included in this category, by virtue of shared distribution, are *piga* 'how many?' and *piga-piga* 'several'.

(ii) complex numerals. The simple numerals above may combine with group numbers (§4.1.3.2.2 (i)) to form higher numerals. In effect a subclass of measure nouns, these group numbers comprise :

<i>pulu(h)</i>	tens
<i>ratus</i>	hundreds
<i>ribu</i>	thousands
<i>laksa</i>	ten thousands
<i>juta</i>	millions

In such combinations, *sada* is manifested as *se-* (§3.8.2). The following list illustrates the number system for higher numerals:

<i>sepulu</i>	10
<i>sepulu sada = sepulu sa</i>	11
<i>sepulu dua</i>	12
<i>sepulu telu</i>	13
<i>duapulu</i>	20
<i>dua pulu sada</i>	21
<i>waluh pulu lima</i>	85
<i>seratus</i>	100
<i>seratus dua</i>	102
<i>seribu</i>	1000
<i>empat ribu telu ratus siwah pulu pitu</i>	4397
<i>selaksa</i>	10,000
<i>sejuta</i>	1,000,000

Examples of occurrence together with noun heads:

- (4.159) *telu sembuyak*
three brother
three brothers
- (4.160) *waluh ratus lima pulu rupiah*
eight hundreds five tens rupiah
eight hundred and fifty rupiah
- (4.161) *Piga kalak ia?*
how.many person they
How many of them are there?
- (4.162) *Kenca piga-piga pulu wari...*
after several tens day
After several weeks...

(iii) fractions are formed thus: (numerator) *per* (denominator):

- (4.163) *dua per telu* two-thirds
telu per empat three-quarters

When the numerator is '1', *sada* is abbreviated to *se-* (sometimes *sa-*), and the resultant fraction is orthographically integrated:

- (4.164) *seperempat* one-quarter
saperpitu one-seventh

Compounds involving whole numbers plus fractions, when quantifying a noun head or measure noun, are 'split' by the head:

- (4.165) *lima tahun setengah*
five year one.half
five and a half years
- (4.166) *dua kilo setengah*
two kilogram one.half
two and a half kilos

All numerals can expound the Head slot of the NP:

- (4.167) *Dua enggo ku Jakarta, sada ku Médan, telu tading i jénda.*
two already to Jakarta one to Medan three stay at here
Two have gone to Jakarta, one to Medan, and three remain here.
- (4.168) *Setengah ngenca ban!*
one.half only (PASS).make
Just make it a half!
- (4.169) *Enggo piga anakndu?*
already how.many child.your
How many children do you have?

4.1.3.2.1.2 APPROXIMATIVES

A Number Phrase containing a measure noun, when followed by the demonstrative *ah* 'that', expresses the notion of 'approximately...'. This usage is normally confined to responses to questions:

- | | |
|--|--|
| (4.170) Q: <i>Asakai dauhna?</i>
how.much far.its
How far is it? | A: <i>Telu batu ah.</i>
three stone that
About three kilometres. |
| (4.171) Q: <i>Piga kalak ringan i jénda?</i>
how.many person dwell at here
How many people live here? | A: <i>Nem pulu kalak ah.</i>
six tens person that
Around sixty. |
| (4.172) Q: <i>Enterem i jé anak kutanta?</i>
many at here child village.our
Are there many people in this village? | A: <i>Sepulu jabu ah.</i>
ten household that
About ten families. |

4.1.3.2.1.3 ORDINAL NUMBERS

Strictly speaking, ordinal numbers do not occur in the Number Phrase, but constitute a subclass of exponents of the Descriptive slot of the NP (§4.1.5). However, for the sake of integrity of this description of the number system, they are treated here.

Ordinal numbers are formed by affixing *pe-...-ken* to any whole number except '1', for which the corresponding ordinal expression is *pemena* 'first'. Also irregular is 'fourth', expressed by either *pempatken* or *perempatken*. As descriptives, ordinal numbers post-modify the head noun:

- (4.173) *jumpa pemena*
meet first
first encounter
- (4.174) *Sibarkenna ibas lubang pelimaken nari ku teruh.*
(PASS).measure.he at hole fifth from to bottom
He measured from the fifth hole down to the end (of the flute).
- (4.175) *Sada sinursur si Jambur Ligai - sinursur tangga*
one descendant REL Jambur Ligai descendant step
pepigaken la ieteh.
how.many.ORD not PASS.know
A descendant of Jambur Ligai – a descendant of which stage in the family tree is not known.

Occurring in headless relative clauses, ordinals may also expound the Head slot of the NP:

- (4.176) *Si peteluken ras si pempatken ibas SMA denga.*
REL third and REL fourth at high.school still
The third and fourth are still in senior high school.

In the case of certain nouns with which ordinal numbers frequently collocate (such as 'time', 'day', 'year' etc.), the number and noun form a base which is then affixed with *pe-...-ken* :

- (4.177) *Pepiga-pigawariken, tuhu nge lit rëh temuéna.*
 several.days.ORD true EMPH BE come guest.his
 On such and such a day (= the nth day [as he had predicted]), indeed he had
 some visitors.

4.1.3.2.1.4 NUMBER PHRASE WITH INCLUSIVE MARKER *-na*

Numbers greater than '1', when quantifying an identifiable Head noun, can be suffixed with the nominaliser *-na* to denote inclusiveness:

- (4.178) *Igelemna alu tanna duana.*
 PASS.seize.he with hand.his two.NMS
 He grabbed it with both his hands.
- (4.179) *Sëh me ia teluna i teruh batang kemiri si rulo.*
 reach EMPH he three.NMS at beneath tree candlenut REL dense
 The three of them arrived at a dense clump of candlenut trees.

4.1.3.2.2 MEASURE NOUNS

Measure nouns only occur within Number Phrases and include the following subclasses. Attention is drawn to variation in the form of the number '1', which, depending on the head with which it collocates, may be either *se-*, *si-* or *sada*.

(i) group numbers

<i>pulu(h)</i>	tens
<i>ratus</i>	hundreds
<i>ribu</i>	thousands
<i>laksa</i>	ten thousands
<i>juta</i>	million

For example:

<i>seratus</i>	100
<i>sepulu ribu</i>	10,000
<i>sada juta</i>	1,000,000

(ii) units of volume

(a) measurable standards:

1 <i>gantang</i>	=	1/4 <i>tumba</i>
1 <i>tumba</i>	=	unit of approximately 2.5 litres (= 3.1 kg)
1 <i>garun</i>	=	3 <i>tumba</i>
1 <i>ayan</i>	=	1 <i>nali</i> = 10 <i>tumba</i>

For example:

<i>beras sada tumba</i>	one <i>tumba</i> of rice
-------------------------	--------------------------

(b) non-standard measures:

<i>sejempu</i>	a fingerful, a pinch
<i>sengkerauk</i>	a handful
<i>simpukul</i>	a fistful
<i>sengkebabah</i>	a mouthful
<i>sintelgek</i>	a swig, swallow

For example:

<i>sejempu sira</i>	a pinch of salt
<i>pitu mpukul cimpa</i>	seven fistfuls of <i>cimpa</i> (riceflour sweet)

(iii) clusters of objects

<i>sentandan (galuh)</i>	a bunch (of bananas)
<i>simberkis (ranting)</i>	a bundle (of firewood)
<i>senagan (tualah)</i>	a bunch (of coconuts)
<i>singkepiti (belo)</i>	a bundle (of betel leaves)
<i>sendapuren (buluh)</i>	a stool (of bamboo)

For example:

<i>tualah pitu nagan</i>	seven bunches of coconuts
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(iv) parts of objects

<i>singulat (rimo)</i>	a section (of orange)
<i>sembeka (tualah)</i>	a half (of a coconut)
<i>singkeret (roti)</i>	a slice (of bread)
<i>sintaktak (lau)</i>	a drop (of water)
<i>simbelah</i>	one (of a pair)

(4.180) *Pinggelna dua mbelahna mbelang kal.*
 ear.his two half.NMS wide EMPH
 Both his ears were very big.

(v) whole objects

These correspond to the 'noun classifiers' found in related languages such as Indonesian and Malay. They include:

<i>kalak</i>	person
<i>lambar</i>	(for flat objects – cloth, fields, flowers)
<i>ngkebuah</i>	(for grains, pellets)
<i>batang</i>	(for trees)

For example:

<i>sekalak pemandén</i>	a mother; a married woman
<i>belo selambar</i>	a betel leaf

(vi) units of length

<i>sada jari</i>	a finger's breadth
<i>setepap</i>	the width of one's hand with the fingers held together
<i>sejengkal</i>	a handspan

<i>sedepa</i>	a double armspan; a fathom
<i>seranté</i>	= 30 depa (one chain)
<i>sada batu</i>	one kilometre
(vii) units of time	
<i>sengkemirep mata</i>	the blink of an eye
<i>keri sada pisapen</i>	the time taken to smoke a cigarette
<i>pagi</i>	morning
<i>wari</i>	day
<i>berngi</i>	night
<i>bulan</i>	month
<i>tahun</i>	year
<i>remé</i>	a period of time between major epidemics, about ten years

For example:

dua mberngi in two days' time

(viii) units of currency

<i>rupiah</i>	rupiah
<i>pérak</i>	rupiah (colloquial)
<i>sén</i>	cent

Subclasses (i) - (v) above occur in number phrases modifying a head noun. For subclasses (vi) - (viii), the measure noun itself expounds the Head slot of the NP. Many of the measure nouns above are prenasalised (§3.8.1).

4.1.3.3 MEASURE PHRASE FLOATING

As seen above, the Measure Phrase in general is flexible in respect of its position vis-à-vis the NP Head, sometimes preceding, sometimes following. In certain situations a Measure Phrase may even split off from the Head which it modifies and 'float' further to the right or left. In the following examples, both the Head and the Measure Phrase are underlined for the sake of clarity:

(4.181) Melala *baba* *kami* bulung kalincayo.
 many (PASS).bring we leaf *kalincayo*
 We brought many *kalincayo* leaves.

(4.182) *Minter* kami man kerina.
 straightaway we eat all
 We all ate straightaway.

Such 'floating' is restricted to Measure Phrases modifying Heads which are grammatical subjects.³¹ There are no restrictions on the kinds of Measure Phrase which can float in this way.

³¹ This constraint is shared by Tagalog, where the same phenomenon only occurs with topics. See Schachter (1976:500-501).

Left-floating occurs when the subject-NP follows the predicate of its clause. In this case the Measure Phrase may float to the left of the predicate and even beyond an adjunct:

- (4.183) *Pitu garun dakan nakan kami!*
seven pot (PASS).cook rice our
Cook us seven pots of rice!
- (4.184) *Dua perteluna agui mbulu é.*
two.third.NMS (PASS).strip feather that
Two-thirds of the feather is stripped off.
- (4.185) *Enggo enterem pé ipupusna dilaki.*
already many EMPH PASS.bear.she male
She has borne many sons.
- (4.186) *Mbué nderbinai kupan galuh.*
many last.night I.eat banana
I ate many bananas last night.

Right-floating occurs when:

(i) the subject-NP precedes the predicate, in which case the Measure Phrase floats immediately to the right of the predicate

- (4.187) *Ola kita rubat teluna.*
don't we fight three.NMS
Let's not the three of us fight.
- (4.188) *Gundari jelma enggo sibuk kerina.*
now people already busy all
Nowadays everybody is busy.
- (4.189) *Kai kin nina déba bandu?*
what PART say.he more to.you
What else did he say to you?

(ii) the subject-NP follows a predicate expounded by an intransitive verb expressing motion, accompanied by a Locative PP, in which case the Measure Phrase floats to the right of the Locative PP

- (4.190) *Lawes ia ku rumah teluna.*
go they to house three.NMS
The three of them went home.
- (4.191) *Lenga bën pé enggo sèh kami i rumah kerina.*
not.yet afternoon EMPH already reach we at house all
And before late afternoon we all arrived home.

4.1.4 POSSESSIVE SLOT

The Possessive slot always follows the NP Head and is itself expounded by an NP. Pronouns expounding the Possessive slot are manifested in possessive form.

- (4.192) *sora surdam*
 sound flute
 the sound of the flute
- (4.193) *nandéngku*
 mother.my
 my mother
- (4.194) *i babo takal*
 at top head
 upon the head

4.1.4.1 ORDERING OF POSSESSIVE AND DESCRIPTIVE

When these two slots co-occur in the NP, Possessive normally precedes Descriptive:

- (4.195) *rupandu mejilé*
 face.your beautiful
 your beautiful face
- (4.196) *alu sorana megang kal*
 with voice.his loud EMPH
 in his very loud voice
- (4.197) *katangku perpudi kal man bandu*
 word.my last EMPH to you
 my very last words to you

Limited variation to this ordering is possible, when the Descriptive slot is expounded either by a noun (§4.1.5.3), or by a single intransitive verb (analysed in §4.1.5.5 as a subjectless clause). In such cases the Possessive follows the Descriptive slot:

- (4.198) *siding menci mama*
 trap rat uncle
 uncle's rat-trap
- (4.199) *amak tayangenndu*
 mat thing.for.lying.on.your
 your sleeping mat
- (4.200) *ingan medemna*
 place sleep.her
 her bed
- (4.201) *wari berkatta*
 day depart.our
 our day of departure

Instances of a possessive pronoun following a noun plus adjective, however, are not analysed as cases of variation from the normal ordering, but rather as occurrences of compounding (§3.10), where the NP Head itself is expounded by a compound word consisting of a noun plus adjective. The position of a possessive pronoun following such a NP Head is therefore regular:

- (4.202) *kaka tuana*
 older brother/sister old.his
 his oldest brother
- (4.203) *uis kapalku*
 cloth thick.my
 my *uis kapal* (a special type of woven blanket)

4.1.4.2 EMBEDDING OF POSSESSIVE WITHIN POSSESSIVE

Multiple embeddings of Possessive with Possessive are common, with up to three Possessive slots recorded in a single NP. Such embeddings are represented below by multiple nestings of possessive material in parentheses in the interlinear glosses of the following examples:

- (4.204) *nakan ninindu*
 rice (grandmother.(your))
 your grandmother's rice
- (4.205) *i tengah kesain kuta kami*
 at middle (square (village (our)))
 in the middle of our village square
- (4.206) *ulina ukur ras perbahanen raja Kuta Usang é*
 good.NMS (mind and action (chief (Kuta Usang)) that)
 the kind thoughts and deeds of the Chief of Kuta Usang

4.1.4.3 SEMANTIC RELATIONS BETWEEN POSSESSIVE AND HEAD

The term 'possessive' is used here to designate a structural relation of modification of one NP by another. Although in the majority of cases this modification is accompanied by a semantic role-structure of possessed-possessor, the semantic relation between the two NPs is not limited to 'possessive' in the strict sense (see Durie 1985b:109; Verhaar 1988a:6 ff.). A number of different semantic relations are expressed by possessive NPs, including:

(i) possession or ownership : property + owner

<i>suringku</i>	my comb
<i>takal kerbo</i>	the water-buffalo's head
<i>gelarna</i>	his name

(ii) access to or use of: entity + user

<i>kuta kami</i>	our village
<i>motorta</i>	our vehicle (= the one we are travelling on)

(iii) relationship + perspective

<i>teman-teman si Cingkam</i>	Cingkam's friends
<i>bengkilandu</i>	your uncle
<i>bapanta</i>	our father ³²

Included in this category are locative and temporal nouns and their 'possessors':

<i>i teruh rumah</i>	under the house
<i>berngi pagi</i>	tomorrow night
<i>sinalsal matawari erpagi-pagi</i>	the rays of the morning sun

(iv) action + actor

By 'action' is meant both 'process/activity' as well as 'result/product'. Exponents of the head in this category are typically verbal nouns derived by means of the affixes *peN-*, *per-*, *peN-...-en*, *per-...-en*, *-en*, *ke-...-en* (§3.7.1 - §3.7.6).

<i>tenah nandé</i>	mother's instructions
<i>keréhen mama</i>	uncle's visit
<i>perturah pagé</i>	the way the rice grows
<i>pemeré bengkila</i>	uncle's gift (i.e. the one which he gave)
<i>perbahanen raja é</i>	the chief's deeds
<i>permenterna</i>	her way of throwing
<i>tawan kalak</i>	a laughing-stock

(v) state + affected entity

Nouns expounding this category are typically derived from adjectives through affixation with *ke-...-en* (§3.7.6) and *kini-...-en* (§3.7.7):

<i>kinirimen raja é</i>	the good reputation of that chief (lit. his being sweet-smelling)
<i>kiniulinna</i>	his goodness
<i>kepuasenta</i>	our satisfaction

4.1.4.4 GENITIVE PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

Although possession in Karo is expressed by means of word order, the language does possess some vestiges of a case-marking device denoting the kind of semantic relations described above. As described in §4.2.13, the genitive marker *ni = nu = u* occurs with an NP Complement in certain archaic expressions to expound the Possessive slot:³³

(4.207) *gedang-gedang u dalin*
 long-long of road
 along the road (i.e. for the length of the road)

³² This expression is ambiguous. It may refer to the one who is literally our father, or to a male clan mate whom we should address as *bapa*, or to the father of somebody to whom we are expressing respect and solidarity.

³³ The occurrence of the nasals in the enclitic pronominals *-ngku*, *-ndu*, *-nta* and *-na* might also be interpreted as remnants of this genitive marker.

- (4.208) *anak ni bapa*
 child of father
 the child of the father

4.1.4.5 *ajang*

This noun, meaning 'possession, property' is obligatorily followed by a (usually pronominal) possessive to express: 'mine', 'yours', 'his', 'her', etc. Although it expounds the Head slot, it is included in this section of the description by virtue of its obligatory collocation with a possessive modifier.

- (4.209) *Énda ajangku, éna ajangdu.*
 this property.my that property.your
 This is mine, that is yours.

- (4.210) Q: *Ajang isé énda?* A: *Ajang bapa.*
 property who this property father
 Whose is this? Father's.

4.1.5 DESCRIPTIVE SLOT

The Descriptive slot may be expounded by any of the following:

- a post-modifying adjective
- a pre-modifying adjective
- a noun
- a prepositional phrase
- an independent clause
- a relative clause (§8.1)
- an ordinal number (§4.1.3.2.1.3)

The first five of these are described below.

4.1.5.1 POST-MODIFYING ADJECTIVES

The Descriptive slot is most commonly filled by an adjective which, if applicable, bears the predicative marking prefix *me-* (§3.4.3.1.1) or *N-* (§3.4.3.1.2):

- (4.211) a. *kalak banyak*
 person rich
 rich people
- b. *kalak megermet*
 person perceptive
 perceptive person

- (4.212) a. *kata tuhu*
word true
true words
- b. *kata mehuli*
word good
kind words
- (4.213) a. *lau mbergeh*
water cold
cold water
- b. *angin ntemes*
wind strong
strong wind

A handful of cases have been recorded where the prefix is optional:

- (4.214) *lau melas* = *lau las* hot water
lau mbelin = *lau belin* river (lit. big water)

The adjective itself may be further modified by degree markers or other operators:

- (4.215) *kalak musilen*
person poor.more
poorer people
- (4.216) *kegeluhen tersikapen*
life good.even.more
a better life
- (4.217) *kata la tuhu*
word not true
untrue words
- (4.218) *katangku perpudi kal*
word.my last EMPH
my very last words
- (4.219) *bunga nandangi macik*
flower almost rotten
dead flowers
- (4.220) *agina kitik-kitik denga*
brother.his small-small still
his baby brother

When an NP Head is modified simultaneously by a possessive and a descriptive adjective, the latter is normally incorporated into a relative clause:

- (4.221) *anakna si déban*
child.her REL other
her other child

- (4.222) *nandéna si enggo metua*
 mother.his REL already old
 his elderly mother

Less commonly the descriptive adjective simply follows after the possessive:

- (4.223) *sorana mejilé ngenca*
 voice.her beautiful only
 just her beautiful voice
- (4.224) *ukurndu mehuli é*
 mind.your good that
 your kind thoughts
- (4.225) *Lit manukndu mbulan?*
 BE chicken.your white
 Do you have a white hen?

No conditioning pattern for this variation has been observed.

4.1.5.2 PRE-MODIFYING ADJECTIVES

Although descriptives normally post-modify the NP Head, pre-modification by an adjective occurs in the following restricted environments:

(i) in epithetical constructions

- (4.226) *si mbelang pinggel*
 title wide ear
 Big Ears
- (4.227) *si gedang buk*
 title long hair
 women in general
- (4.228) *bengkala biring gurung*
 monkey.species black back
 a particular species of monkey used for picking coconuts, which, if it has a black back, is reputedly impossible to train (used to refer to somebody who is difficult to teach)

(ii) the nouns *até* 'heart' (lit. 'liver' – the seat of one's emotions) and *ukur* 'mind' are often pre-modified by an emotive adjective to form a phrase which may function as subject (example (4.229)) or as a base which may be prefixed with *er-* (§3.6.1) to form an intransitive verb (example (4.230))

- (4.229) *Céda até naring ngiani pusuhku.*
 broken heart only.EMPH ACT.reside in heart.my
 Only disappointment filled my heart.
- (4.230) *La lit gunana ernembeh até, la lit gunana ercian até.*
 not BE use.the have.angry heart not BE use.the have.critical heart
 There was no use in being angry, no point in being critical.

4.1.5.3 NOUNS

The Descriptive slot may be expounded by a noun, which describes or specifies 'what kind of (noun)' the NP Head is:

- (4.231) *kité buluh*
bridge bamboo
bamboo bridge
- (4.232) *rumah adat*
house tradition
traditional house
- (4.233) *siding menci*
trap rat
rat trap
- (4.234) *kerja tahun*
feast year
annual feast (to celebrate the village harvest)

NPs with a noun expounding the Descriptive slot are superficially identical in structure to NPs with a noun expounding the Possessive slot. The two constructions are distinguishable on syntactic grounds, however, with the exponent of the Possessive slot having the potential for left-dislocation (§7.7.1), as exemplified in (4.235). By contrast, a noun functioning as exponent of the Descriptive slot cannot be thus extracted, as illustrated in (4.236):

- (4.235) a. *Sora surdam é mejilé.*
sound flute that beautiful
The sound of that flute is beautiful.
- b. *Surdam é sorana mejilé.*
flute that sound.its beautiful
That flute, its sound is beautiful.
- (4.236) a. *Siding menci énda kitik.*
trap rat this small
This rat trap is small.
- b. **Menci énda sidingna kitik.*
rat this trap.its small

Included with the descriptive NPs are two other types of particular note:

(i) where the Head noun and the descriptive noun are coreferential, the descriptive noun being derived from a verb, and morphologically marked as either Actor (examples (4.237) - (4.239)) or Undergoer (examples (4.240) - (4.242)):

- (4.237) *kalak perjudi*
person gambler
gambling man, gambler
- (4.238) *biang perburu*
dog hunter
hunting dog

- (4.239) *cuan pencamet*
hoe weeder
weeding hoe
- (4.240) *kalak bayangen*
person imprisoned.in.stocks
prisoner in the stocks
- (4.241) *barang tangkon* = *barang tinangko*
goods thing.stolen goods thing.stolen
stolen goods
- (4.242) *benang tinenges*
thread thing.sent
thread sent

In his treatment of analogous structures in Indonesian, Verhaar (1988a:20-21) regards such constructions as “restrictive appositions”. However, in view of the potential of these Karo constructions to be further modified by a possessive (which is not a characteristic of apposition phrases – see §4.1.7), they are categorised here simply as a subtype of descriptive NP:

- (4.243) *biang perburuna*
dog hunter.his
his hunting dog
- (4.244) *benang tinengesku*
thread thing.sent.my
the thread I sent

(ii) where the Head noun and the modifier exhibit an actor-undergoer relation:

- (4.245) *permakan kerbo*
shepherd water.buffalo
water-buffalo herder
- (4.246) *perlanja sira*
porter salt
salt-carrier
- (4.247) *penukur isap*
buyer cigarette
cigarette money; a tip
- (4.248) *penagan api*
lighter fire
flint

The head nouns in such cases are derived from verbs via prefixes *peN-* (§3.7.1) and *per-* (§3.7.2).

4.1.5.4 PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

The Descriptive slot may be expounded by PPs expressing location (§4.2.1), dative (§4.2.4), reference (§4.2.7), purpose (§4.2.8) and similitude (§4.2.10):

- (4.249) *dalan i Lau Baleng nari ku Tarutung*
road at Lau Baleng from to Tarutung
the road from Lau Baleng to Tarutung
- (4.250) *surat ibas cakap Karo*
letter in language Karo
a letter in Karonese
- (4.251) *lau man inemen*
water for to.be.drunk
water for drinking

Possessives take precedence over descriptives manifested by PPs:

- (4.252) *perlawesku ku Médan*
going.my to Medan
my going to Medan
- (4.253) *utang kami man raja*
debt we to chief
our debt to the chief
- (4.254) *belinna ukur pengulu Ajinembah man Appung Barus*
big.NMS mind headman Ajinembah to Appung Barus
the headman of Ajinembah's kindness towards Appung Barus

4.1.5.5 CLAUSES

The Descriptive slot may be filled by an intransitive or transitive clause, with or without an explicit subject. The latter case occurs when the subject of the verb is understood to refer to people in general. Examples without subjects are:

- (4.255) *kerja mengket rumah*
feast ACT.enter house
house-warming feast
- (4.256) *asam erjudi*
capital gamble
gambling stakes
- (4.257) *dalan ndarat i rumah nari*
way go.out at house from
the way out of the house
- (4.258) *wari mulai nabah kayu*
day begin ACT.cut tree
the day to begin felling the trees

Examples with subjects are:

- (4.259) *ingan pusung ndabuh*
place umbilicus fall
birthplace
- (4.260) *paksa kami jumpa*
time we meet
the time we met
- (4.261) *sora kalak erkusik-kusik*
voice person whisper
the sound of people whispering
- (4.262) *dalan kita sitandan énda*
way we know.each.other this
the way we became acquainted

When the subject of the modifying clause is a personal pronoun, it is normally (as opposed to example (4.262)) manifested in possessive form, attached to the Head noun:

- (4.263) *dalanta pulung*
way.our gather
the way we assembled
- (4.264) *inganta jumpa*
place.our meet
our meeting place
- (4.265) *babanku nggeluh*
burden.my live
my burden of living
- (4.266) *inganna cebuni é*
place.his hide that
his hiding place
- (4.267) *Mbera-mbera la lit alangenndu muatsa denggo.*
hopefully not BE obstacle.your ACT.fetch.it later
Hopefully there will be no obstacles for you to take it later.

The Descriptive slot may also be expounded by an interrogative clause expressing location or manner:

- (4.268) *ingan i ja nari rëh sora é*
place at where from come voice that
the place where the voices were coming from
- (4.269) *dalan kuga ia bengket ku bas rumah*
way how he enter to inside house
the way he got into the house

4.1.6 DETERMINER SLOT

To account for maximally expanded NPs in Karo, two Determiner slots are posited: DET 1 and DET 2.

4.1.6.1 DETERMINER 1

DET 1 is expounded by either a demonstrative pronoun, a temporal adverb (*ndai* or *ndubé*), or the specifier *-na*. These are now described in turn.

4.1.6.1.1 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

Demonstrative pronouns are listed in §4.1.2.6, where their capacity to expound the NP Head is described. They are repeated here together with certain variants within parentheses.

<i>énda</i> (= <i>sadénda</i>)	this (relatively close to the speaker)
<i>éna</i>	that (relatively close to the addressee)
<i>ah</i> = <i>adah</i> (= <i>sadah</i>)	that (over there) (outside the immediate proximity of both speaker and addressee)
<i>oh</i>	that (in the far distance, possibly out of sight)
<i>é</i> (= <i>sadé</i>)	that (something within view of both speaker and addressee, or something just referred to)

The variants within parentheses above have restricted distribution and will be described in §4.1.6.1.1.1. The forms *ah* and *adah* vary freely.

Corresponding in form with locative pronouns, demonstrative pronouns fundamentally express relative distance from the speaker and/or addressee:

- (4.270) *Beras énda asakai ergana?*
 rice this how.much price.its
 This rice, how much does it cost?
- (4.271) *Enggo tasak nakan éna?*
 already cooked rice that
 Is that rice cooked yet?
- (4.272) *Ndauh denga kal gebuk api adah.*
 far still EMPH smoke fire that
 That smoke was still a long way away.

In such instances the determiner is concerned with specifying or identifying an otherwise indefinite NP Head, via spatial reference. However, other functions of the determiner are apparent. When modifying already definite NPs (personal pronouns, personal or place names, possessed NPs), the determiner has an emphatic rather than identifying function:

- (4.273) *Aku énda anak melumang.*
 I this child orphan
 I am an orphan.

(4.274) *Aku enggo empat tahun i Mariké énda.*
 I already four year at Maryke this
 I have been here in Maryke for four years.

(4.275) *Picet kal motorta énda.*
 narrow EMPH vehicle.our this
 This vehicle of ours is very crowded.

In narratives, two of the demonstratives serve to denote temporal rather than spatial distance: *énda* follows an NP which has been mentioned in the immediately preceding discourse, *é* indicates an NP which has been last mentioned somewhat further back:

(4.276) *É maka duana kalak énda lawes ku tepi telagah é.*
 and so two.NMS person this go to edge lake that
 And so these two fellows [mentioned one clause ago] went to the edge of that
 lake [mentioned five clauses ago].

4.1.6.1.1.1 A NOTE ON VARIANTS

Demonstrative pronouns *énda*, *ah* and *é* possess variants *sadénda*, *sadah* and *sadé* respectively, which are interchangeable with (and most probably derived from) the relative marker *si* plus the relevant demonstrative (§8.1.8.2). Occurrence of these three forms is restricted to:

(i) the Head slot of the NP, when it functions as the object of a transitive verb:

(4.277) *Megi sadénda, tangis minter nandéna.*
 ACT.hear this cry straightaway mother.his
 Upon hearing this, his mother immediately broke into tears.

(4.278) *Ngidah sadé ersurak ia.*
 ACT.see that shout he
 Seeing that, he let out a shout.

(ii) the DET 1 slot, never followed by a DET 2 slot :

(4.279) *Diberu sadah megombang kal.*
 female that conceited EMPH
 That girl is very conceited.

4.1.6.1.2 TEMPORAL ADVERBS

The temporal adverbs *ndai* 'a short while ago' and *ndubé* 'formerly, previously' commonly expound the DET 1 slot, with the same function described for *énda* and *é* above, namely, to mark relative temporal distance in the discourse. Whereas *ndai* indicates an NP which is more recently referred to, *ndubé* signals an NP referred to much earlier:

(4.280) *É maka ikataken permakan kambing ndai ku rumah...*
 and so PASS.send.word shepherd goat before to house
 And so the goatherd sent word to the house...

- (4.281) *I babo lau galang ndubé lit me sada kité buluh*
 at top water big previously BE EMPH one bridge bamboo
pasang telu.
 (PASS).fix three
 Above that river [last mentioned back at the beginning of the story] was a
 three-piece bamboo bridge.

4.1.6.1.3 THE SPECIFIER *-na*

Whereas demonstrative pronouns and temporal adverbs serve to identify a particular NP which has either been referred to earlier in the discourse, or is present somewhere within the environment of the speaker and hearer, *-na* is used to specify an NP which:

- (i) is not unique;
- (ii) has not received prior mention; and
- (iii) whose existence is somehow implicit in or entailed by other participating NPs or circumstances in the extralinguistic context.

Some textual examples are provided:

- (4.282) A: *Kam, man atédu?*
 you eat heart.your
 Do you want to eat?
- B: *Oé, aku man.*
 yes I eat
 Yes, I want to eat.
- A: *Kai bengkaundu?*
 what meat.your
 What meat do you want?
- B: *Tamakan rendang éna.*
 (PASS).put *rendang* that
 Give me some of that *rendang*.
- A: *Guléŋŋa lang?*
 vegetables.the not
 No vegetables?
- (4.283) A: *Beras énda asakai ergana?*
 rice this how.much price.its
 How much is this rice?
- B: *Énda, sada tumba dua ratus.*
 this one *tumba* two hundred
 This is 200 for one *tumba*.
- A: *Buat lima tumba ya.*
 (PASS).fetch five *tumba* okay
 Give me five *tumbas* then.

B: *Oé.*
yes
Okay.

A: *Énda séna.*
this money.the
Here's the money.

- (4.284) *É maka idilona si Aji Bonar ergasing.*
and so PASS.call.he title Aji Bonar play.spinning.tops
"Jumangku énda taruhna", nina.
field.my this stakes.the say.he
And so he called Si Aji Bonar to play spinning tops. "These fields of mine are the stakes", he said.
- (4.285) *Dung-dungna ngadi aku nggirgir.*
finish.the stop I shiver
Eventually I stopped shivering.
- (4.286) *Pepagina lampas kami nusur ku teruh.*
tomorrow.the early we descend to bottom
Early the next day we went down.

Entailments of this kind are strongly suggestive of a whole:part possessive relation, albeit of a rather abstract nature. In the above examples, the vegetables 'belong to' the meal, money is part of a transaction, gambling with spinning tops involves something wagered, the cessation of shivering was the consequence of a series of actions (putting on blankets, drinking tea), the 'following day' referred to was a temporal segment of an overall camping trip. In such cases the 'possessor' is less of a tangible entity and more of an abstract set of circumstances which receives implicit rather than explicit linguistic reference. By specifying the *part* concerned, the determiner *-na* makes indirect reference to the overall background *whole*.

4.1.6.2 DETERMINER 2

DET 2 is expounded by the temporal adverb *ndai*, and may only occur in conjunction with a DET 1 expounded by a demonstrative pronoun (no examples of *oh* plus *ndai* have been recorded) :

- (4.287) *Mesërsa gulén ah ndai.*
hot.too vegetables that before
Those vegetables are too hot.
- (4.288) *Mulih anak pengulu énda ndai.*
go.home child headman this before
The headman's son went home.
- (4.289) *Baba ku tutupen pinangko éna ndai.*
(PASS).bring to lockup thief that before
Take that thief to the lockup.

In such cases *ndai* serves the same function as it does when expounding DET 1, that is, to identify a discourse participant which has either recently been referred to or has played a role in the context of shared experience between speaker and addressee.

Some ambiguity concerning the function of *ndai* is possible. For example:

- (4.290) *Enggo kabang perik é ndai.*
 already fly bird that before

Here, *ndai* could be referring to the time the action occurred ('Those birds flew away a little while ago') or to the birds which had been present in the discourse ('Those birds – the ones we were speaking about earlier – have flown away'). The potential for movement of *ndai* to another position in the clause (usually to immediate post-predicate position) would disambiguate the interpretation, in this case by establishing the role of *ndai* as a temporal adjunct.

4.1.7 APPPOSITION SLOT

The Apposition slot always occurs finally in an NP. It may be expounded by an NP containing any or none of the other modifiers in the string. Despite its own potential complexity, the Apposition slot in Karo has only been recorded occurring with an NP Head which is at most modified by a possessive. Distributionally, an Apposition slot may follow an NP Head expounding any of the major clause-level slots: Subject, Object, Complement and Predicate of identificational clause:

- (4.291) *Erdakan me anakna, si Tulak Kelambir Gading.*
 cook EMPH child.his title Tulak Kelambir Gading
 His daughter, Tulak Kelambir Gading, did the cooking.
- (4.292) *Diberu si puna sapo ingan Appung Barus erberngi.*
 woman REL own hut place Appung Barus overnight
 The woman who owned the hut where Appung Barus spent the night.
- (4.293) *Ialoken si Dara seninana sipemerén, ia.*
 PASS.welcome title Dara brother.his one.giving he
 Dara, his *senina*-on-his-mother's-side, welcomed him.
- (4.294) *Énda pertangis kami, seratus rupiah.*
 this grief.money our one.hundred rupiah
 Here is our grief-money, one hundred rupiahs.

At the phrase-level, an appositional modifier may occur with its Head to expound the Possessive slot, and the Complement slot of a PP:

- (4.295) *Perik-perik enggo rasar ibas bulung kayu inganna*
 bird-bird already have.nest in leaf tree place.his
ibayangken ndai.
 PASS.keep.in.stocks before
 Birds were nesting in the leaves of the tree where he was chained up.

- (4.296) *Man bandu, orang-orang tua, ikataken kami bujur melala.*
to you people old PASS.say we thank.you many
To you, the parents, we say, 'Thank you very much'.
- (4.297) *Séh me ia i Taneh Singkel, i ja turangna*
reach EMPH she at land Singkel at where brother.her
ibayangkan.
PASS.put.in.stocks
She arrived in Taneh Singkel, where her brother had been imprisoned in the stocks.

Two Apposition slots may be found in succession:

- (4.298) *Ola inget aku ninindu Datuk Rubia Gandé.*
don't remember I grandfather.your Datuk Rubia Gande
Don't think back to me, your grandfather, Datuk Rubia Gande.
- (4.299) *...nandangi Kuta Buluh, ingan perawaten laskar gundari,*
approach Kuta Buluh place nursing soldier now
ingan beru Ginting erdahin.
place female Ginting work
...towards Kuta Buluh, the place where the injured soldiers were nursed, the place where Beru Ginting worked.

An Apposition slot may be separated from its NP Head by intervening material such as the postposition *nari* 'from', or an adjunct. The NP Head and the discontinuous apposition phrase are underlined for clarity:

- (4.300) *...ibas aku nari Pius Ketaren.*
at I from Pius Ketaren
...from me, Pius Ketaren.
- (4.301) *I jénda me ibahan Guru Diden sada pengujin*
at here EMPH PASS.make Guru Diden one test
man Guru Pakpak Pitu Sindalinen, émkap muat
for Guru Pakpak seven one.journey LINK ACT.take
embun-embunen ibas lubang.
ritual.offering in hole
At this place, Guru Diden set a test for the Seven Travelling Pakpak Medicine Men, namely, to take some ritual offerings from a hole.

Sometimes, as illustrated above, the apposition phrase is introduced by a linking particle such as *émkap* 'that is, namely', *umpamana* 'for example', or *terlebih-lebih* 'especially':

- (4.302) *Itama anak pengulu énda ka tolé asamna,*
PASS.put child headman this EMPH more stakes.his
émkap manuk sabungan kang.
LINK chicken rooster also.EMPH
The headman's son put down more stakes, namely, a fighting cock.

- (4.303) *I jé itamakenna cibal-cibalen, umpamana nakan,*
 at here PASS.put.he offerings example.the rice
galuh, sén entah pé isap
 banana money or EMPH cigarette
 Then he would place some offerings there, such as rice, bananas, money or cigarettes.
- (4.304) *Réh nina déba kalak, terlebih-lebih aronna,*
 come say.they some people especially work.group.her
anak raja si mentas mbaruénda entahsa mabakenca
 child chief REL ACT.pass previously maybe ACT.bring.her
 Some people, particularly in her working group, said that the son of the chief who had passed by their village previously might have taken her.

An appositional phrase is normally coreferential with its NP Head, or, as in the case of a particularised reference as exemplified in the immediately preceding example, included within the referential scope of the Head. Semantically, the apposition phrase normally provides information which either identifies the NP Head (such as a name, or relationship – see examples (4.291), (4.298) and (4.305), or describes some extra attribute possessed by the Head (examples (4.299), (4.306) and (4.307)):

- (4.305) *Dat kami berita maka bibi senina nandé*
 (PASS).get we news that aunt sister mother
enggo mengungsi i Sumbul.
 already take.refuge at Sumbul
 We heard that Auntie, Mother's sister, had fled to Sumbul.
- (4.306) *Nibuangkenlah ia, anak jahat!*
 PASS.throw.HORT he child evil
 Cast him out, evil child that he is!
- (4.307) *Enggo kam sempat nginem polangku bekasku*
 already you have.chance ACT.drink palm.wine.my result.my
ngeria é.
 ACT.tap that
 You have had the chance to drink my palm wine, the result of my tapping (i.e. the fruit of my labour).

This coreferentiality of Head and Apposition slots is syntactically accompanied by their potential for expansion into an identificational clause, with the NP Head exponent as subject and the Apposition slot exponent as predicate. By contrast, an appositional phrase introduced by the particularising particle *terlebih-lebih* 'especially' (example (4.304)) does not share this potential for expansion, as its referent exhibits a relation of inclusion within, rather than equality with, the exponent of the NP Head.

4.2 PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

Thirteen types of prepositional phrase (PP) may be identified in Karo; some of these exhibit more than one subtype. As indicated by their various labels, PPs most typically

expound clause-level adjunct slots, except for Genitive PPs, which expound only the Possessive slot of the NP. Several PP types can also function as predicates of stative clauses, namely Location, Dative, Comitative, Reference, Purpose and Similitude. Others such as Dative-2 and Comparison PPs occur as fillers of various nuclear constituents of other constructions (such as reflexive clauses) and as complements of certain stative and intransitive clauses. At the phrase level, several types of PP expound the Descriptive slot of the NP; these are identified individually in the relevant sections below.

With the exception of the Location (Source) PP (§4.2.1.5), which is characterised by the presence of a postposition, *nari* 'from', all PPs contain prepositions. Etymologically these are a mixed bag: some are 'pure' prepositions, others serve elsewhere as nouns and adjectives, many are derived from verbs. In some cases (Position-1 and Dative-2 PPs) the preposition is sometimes optional. Exponents of the PP Complement are equally varied: although mostly NPs or particular subsets thereof, they may also be independent clauses (usually involving some ellipsis of the subject under conditions of coreferentiality) or even other PPs.

Karo PPs are now individually described in detail.

4.2.1 LOCATION PP

Location PPs incorporate Position, Direction, Vicinity, Source, Proximity and Extent. All these subtypes can occur as predicates of stative clauses, as locative adjuncts, and as exponents of the descriptive slot of the NP. Position, Direction, Source and Vicinity PPs typically exhibit a Complement filled by a locative noun (§4.1.2.5)

4.2.1.1 POSITION-1 PP

This PP contains the preposition *i* 'in, at, on':

(4.308) *I ja kam tading i Médan?*
at where you stay at Medan
Where are you staying in Medan?

(4.309) *Colokndu i das méja.*
matches.your at top table
Your matches are on the table.

(4.310) *Lit menci i bas rumah.*
BE rat at inside house
There's a rat inside the house.

In fast speech and in the lowlands western dialect the preposition is sometimes deleted; the remaining locative complement is unambiguously interpreted as referring to position:

(4.311) *Rumah kang bapanta?*
house PART father.our
Is father (at) home?

4.2.1.2 POSITION-2 PP

This PP is characterised by the preposition *ibas* or *bas* 'in, at, on, with'. Unlike Position-1 with *i*, which refers to a concrete or tangible location, Position-2 with *ibas* is used: (a) when referring to an abstract location, such as 'in a language/family/organisation; in one's thoughts/mind/heart; at a point of time', (b) when the Complement is manifested by a personal pronoun or noun with human reference, in which case there is a possessive element of meaning, (c) when the Complement is manifested by a clause:

- (4.312) *ibas cakap Karo*
in language Karo
in Karo language
- (4.313) *Aku erdahinibas rumah sakit Kabanjahé.*
I work at hospital Kabanjahe
I work at/for the Kabanjahe hospital.
- (4.314) *Aku enggo gagalibas pusuhku.*
I already fail in heart.my
I had already failed in my mind.
- (4.315) *Ibas piga-piga bulan énda ia jadi perlupa kal.*
in several month this he become forgetful EMPH
In these past few months he has become very absent-minded.
- (4.316) *Bas isé surat ah ndai?*
at who letter that before
Who has that letter?
- (4.317) *Ibas ia nima-nima é, nipé ndai erpang-pang.*
in he wait-wait that snake before spiral.up
While waiting, the snake coiled upwards.

Although transparently derived from the preposition *i* 'at' plus locative noun *bas* 'inside', synchronically, *ibas* functions as a separate preposition, distributionally and semantically distinct from *i bas* (compare example (4.310), which has a literal meaning of 'inside (the house)', with example (4.313), which means 'for (an organisation)'). Despite these differences, the two are often not orthographically differentiated. In addition to the 'abstract' locative meanings illustrated above, *ibas* can also mean 'on account of, for, upon':

- (4.318) *Bujur kukatakenibas ukurndu mehuli é.*
thank.you I.say for mind.your good that
I want to say thank you for your kindness.

4.2.1.3 DIRECTION PP

This PP contains the prepositions *ku*, *kempak* or *taré* 'to, towards':

- (4.319) *Lawes ia teluna ku kerangen.*
go they three.NMS to forest
The three of them went to the forest.

- (4.320) *Itatapna kempak kesunduten.*
 PASS.look.he to west
 He looked towards the west.

Nouns with animate reference may also expound the Complement of a Direction PP:

- (4.321) *Ersalah aku ku Dibata.*
 do.wrong I to God
 I have sinned against God.
- (4.322) *É maka ngerana ia taré kakana...*
 and so speak he to older.brother.his
 And so he addressed his older brother, saying...

Although they normally collocate with a verb which contains some explicit or implicit idea of motion or direction, it is sometimes the case that the Direction PPs themselves provide the only reference to motion:

- (4.323) *Aku ras kaka medil perik ku kerangen.*
 I and older.brother ACT.shoot bird to forest
 Older brother and I went shooting birds in the forest.
- (4.324) *Lit sada seninangku tersereh ku gunung-gunung.*
 BE one sister.my INV.marry to highlands
 I have a sister who got married to somebody in the highlands.
- (4.325) *Di man pé denggo kam taré pelangkah biang, ola até mesui!*
 if eat EMPH later you to plate dog don't heart sore
 Even if you have to eat from the dog's bowl later, don't be upset!

4.2.1.4 VICINITY PPS

These PPs are characterised by the preposition *arah* 'in the vicinity of, on the...side of'. The locative reference is more general or vaguer than that expressed by Position PPs. Abstract reference is also possible with *arah*:

- (4.326) *Kalak ah rēh cinder arah lebé-lebéngku.*
 person that come stand in front.my
 They came and stood in front of me.
- (4.327) *É maka ula kita erkadiola arah pudina.*
 and so don't we have.regrets in back.the
 So let us not have regrets in the future.
- (4.328) *Lit sada jelma tubuh arah tempulak.*
 BE one person born in civet.cat
 There was this person born from a civet cat.

Arah also occurs in Instrument PPs (§4.2.6) and elsewhere as a noun, meaning 'direction':

- (4.329) *Arah apai aku ku bas?*
 direction which I to inside
 Which way do I enter by?

4.2.1.5 SOURCE PP

This PP deviates structurally from all other prepositional phrases in that it contains a postposition, *nari* 'from'. The Complement of a Source PP is expounded by a Position PP or a Vicinity PP. The preposition *i* is frequently omitted from the Position-1 PP in this environment:

- (4.330) *(i) kuta nari*
 at village from
 from the village
- (4.331) Q: *Bas isé nari surat énda?* A: *Ibas bapa nari.*
 at who from letter this at father from
 Who is this letter from? From Father.
- (4.332) *arah temanku i Sidikalang nari*
 at friend.my at Sidikalang from
 from my friend in Sidikalang

The NP which expounds the Complement of a Source PP may contain a number of modifiers; *nari* still occurs at the end of the whole phrase:

- (4.333) *i datas kerbo si galang ah nari*
 at top buffalo REL big that from
 from on top of that big water-buffalo
- (4.334) *ibas beru nandé si mupus si nisingetken nari*
 at clan mother REL ACT.bear REL PASS.mention from
 from the clan of the mother who gave birth to the one mentioned

However, when the NP which expounds the Complement of a Source PP is also modified by an Apposition phrase (§4.1.7), then discontinuity results, with the postposition *nari* being inserted between the NP Complement and the Apposition phrase:

- (4.335) *Salam ibas aku nari Dalansip br.[= beru] Tarigan.*
 greetings at I from Dalansip female.clan Tarigan
 Greetings from me, Dalansip br. Tarigan.

4.2.1.6 PROXIMITY PPS

These PPs contain the prepositions (*n*)*deher*, *deherken* or *ndeher ras* 'near':

- (4.336) *Deher rumahku lit kedé kopi.*
 near house.my BE shop coffee
 Near my house is a coffee shop.
- (4.337) *Kantor pos ndeher ras tiga.*
 office post near with market
 The post office is near the market.

4.2.1.7 EXTENT PP

This PP is characterised by any of the following prepositions and their variants: *terjeng*, *kelélé*, *asa = kasa*, *cibar = sibar = sipat = sipat-sipat = nipat-nipat*, all meaning 'as far as, as much as, up to'. Except for *kelélé*, which is restricted to locative reference only, they may also occur with a complement referring to time:

- (4.338) *Terjeng jé sibahan ulin gedangna tan baju é.*
as.far.as here we.make better long.NMS arm shirt that
We'd better make the sleeves of your shirt this long.
- (4.339) *Terjeng gundari lalap la ia rēh.*
as.far.as now always not he come
Up to this point in time he hasn't come.
- (4.340) *É maka itaruhkenna me kempuna kelélé tepi kerangen.*
and so PASS.escort.he EMPH grandson.his as.far.as edge forest
And so he took his grandson as far as the edge of the forest.
- (4.341) *Kiam asa gegehna kalak énda duana.*
run as.much.as strong.their person these two.NMS
They both ran off as fast as they could.
- (4.342) *Sibar ém lebé.*
as.much.as this.EMPH first
This will do for now.

The prepositions *asa* and *cibar* and their variants may also occur with Complements expounded by a clause:

- (4.343) *Éndam sidahi asa ngasupta lit.*
this.EMPH we.do as.much.as able.our BE
We do this to the best of our ability.
- (4.344) *Sipat-sipat wari bēn ia lawes niding.*
as.far.as day afternoon he go ACT.trap
He would go trapping all day long until late afternoon.
- (4.345) *Sipat kuinget kalak Mariké énda umumna méwah kerina.*
as.far.as I.remember person Maryke this in.general well.off all
For as long as I can recall, people here in Maryke have all been quite well off.

4.2.2 TIME PP

Time PPs incorporate Point, Extent and Duration subtypes. Many of the prepositions in this category are derived from other word classes or have functions at other levels of the grammar, for example, as aspect markers (§7.4.3) or conjunctions (§8.4.2.4). There is also some overlap with the use of prepositions in Location PPs expressing Position-2 and Extent. The Complement of a Time PP is nearly always expounded by a temporal noun or noun phrase.

4.2.2 POINT OF TIME

Prepositions occurring here include: *ibas* 'in, at, on' (§4.2.1.2), *paksa* and *sanga* 'at' (which when suffixed with *-na* also occur as aspect markers), *tupung* = *nupung* 'at', *opé* *denga* 'before' and *kenca* 'after' (the latter three also function as conjunctions with the same meanings):

- (4.346) *Sanga perang dunia kedua aku nguda denga kal.*
 at war world second I young still EMPH
 At the time of the Second World War I was still very young.
- (4.347) *Kuta Barus opé denga ras tupung é émkap*
 village Barus before and at that LINK
sada kuta persinggahan kapal-kapal.
 sada kuta port.of.call ship-ship
 Before and at that time, Barus was a port of call for ships.
- (4.348) *Kenca piga-piga pulu wari sēh me ia i Acéh.*
 after several tens day arrive EMPH they at Aceh
 After several weeks they arrived in Aceh.

4.2.2.2 EXTENT

Extent is expressed through Time PPs containing the prepositions described in Location PPs of Extent (§4.2.1.7) (excluding *kelélé*), plus the following: *tandé*, *ngayak* and *sēh*, all meaning 'as far as'. The latter two are used elsewhere as verbs meaning 'to chase' and 'to arrive' respectively. As well, *sēh* may collocate with *ngayak* and with *asa*:

- (4.349) *Tandé telu tahun, la nige gap piah enggo mbelin.*
 as.far.as three year not PASS.feel until already big
 Until three years had passed, (by which time) without realising it he had grown up.
- (4.350) *Sēh asa gundari aku la erkuan ras ia.*
 as.far.as now I not speak with her
 Up until now I have not been on speaking terms with her.
- (4.351) *La ku eteh entah ngayak ndigan kita terpaksa tading i jénda.*
 not I.know CONJ as.far.as when we forced stay at here
 I don't know until when we will have to remain here.

4.2.2.3 DURATION

Duration is expressed through the preposition *sedekah* 'during':

- (4.352) *sekali sedekah geluhna ibas sada-sada jabu*
 one.time during live.the at one-one household
 once in the lifetime of a family

4.2.3 COMPARISON PP

Comparison PPs expound the nuclear but optional slot of a stative clause whose predicate is filled by an adjective inflected for the comparative degree with *-en* (§5.4). The Comparison PP exhibits the following structure:

Comparison PP = PREP: *asa, asang, asangken, maka* + Complement: X

X = category of filler expounding: the subject of the clause

OR the complement of the clause

OR an adjunct in the clause

A Comparison PP comprises an obligatory preposition followed by an obligatory Complement, the exponent of which belongs to the same category as the element with which it is being compared. This may be a noun or verb phrase, or even a whole clause. For stative clauses without complements, it is their subject which is being compared with something else. When subjects are being compared, then the preposition *maka* cannot occur:

(4.353) *Gegehen ia asang aku.*
strong.more he than I
He is stronger than me.

(4.354) *Ulin lawes asangken tading.*
good.more go than remain
It's better to go than to stay.

(4.355) *Adin kita erpala-pala arah lebé asangken erkadiola arah pudi.*
better we strive at front than regret at back
It is better for us to make an effort at first than to have regrets later.

When two clausal adjuncts are being compared, the preposition *maka* may be used in addition to *asa* and its variants:

(4.356) *Cuanna telapen ku juma kalak maka ku jumana.*
hoe.his sharp.more to field person than to field.his
His hoe cuts more in other people's fields than in his own (said of one who foolishly puts others' interests above his own).

(4.357) *Pangen kap kita raron ras biang ah tah pe*
dare.more EMPH we have.work.party with dog that or EMPH
ras babi ah maka ras kalak énda ndai duana.
with pig that than with person this before two.NMS
We'd rather form a work group with the dogs or the pigs than with those two characters.

(4.358) *Rumah pengungsin, ertarumken tarum ritik, dëren*
house evacuation have.thatch.roof thatch beanstalk heavy.more
i bas asangken i darat.
at inside than at outside
A temporary house of evacuation, with a roof of beanstalk thatch, (when it rains) it rains more heavily inside than out.

4.2.4 DATIVE PP

There are two types of Dative PP, both of which can occur as dative complements in stative clauses (§5.4.2) and as dative adjuncts of intransitive and transitive clauses. However, only the second type, Dative-2 PP, is able to expound the nuclear Dative slot of a passive reflexive clause (§6.4.2), and the Predicate slot of a stative clause (§5.4.1 (i)).

4.2.4.1 DATIVE-1

Dative-1 is characterised by one of the following prepositions: *nandangi*, *ngata*, *ngenehen* = *ngenin* = *ernehen*, all meaning 'to, towards, regarding'. Elsewhere these forms occur as verbs meaning 'to approach', 'to address' and 'to look at' respectively. The Complement of the PP usually has animate reference. If the preposition *ngenehen* occurs with the third person pronoun, then the objective form *-sa/-ca* may occur as well as *ia*. The preposition *ngata* occurs only in conjunction with a verb of speaking or addressing.

- (4.359) *Erdiaté kalak nandangi kita.*
pay.attention person towards us
People will take notice of us.
- (4.360) *Bagém nina ngata aku.*
like.that.EMPH say.she to I
That's what she said to me.
- (4.361) *Entah tedeh até nandé ernehen aku.*
maybe miss heart mother towards I
Perhaps mother was missing me.
- (4.362) *Segat kal até kalak ngenehen ia (= ngenehenca).*
hate EMPH heart person towards him towards.him
People really hated him.

4.2.4.2 DATIVE-2

Dative-2 contains the preposition *man* 'to, towards, for' plus an obligatory Complement. When the Complement is manifested by either of the personal pronouns *kami* 'we (exclusive)' or *kéna* 'you (plural)', or by a regular NP, then the preposition is obligatory:

- (4.363) *Énda tahu-tahu penampat si mbelin man kami.*
this true-true help REL big to us
This is truly a great help to us.
- (4.364) *Ngerana ia tergejap pengaruhna man si megikenca.*
speak he INV.feel influence.his to REL ACT.listen.to.him
When he spoke, one could detect his influence upon those who listened to him.
- (4.365) *Merawa nipé si Baganding Tua man nipé si Purih-purih.*
angry snake si Baganding Tua to snake si Purih-purih
The Si Baganding Tua snake was angry with the Si Purih-purih snake.

When the Complement is manifested by a personal pronoun for which there exists a special possessive form (see Table 4.1), then this enclitic pronominal form is attached to a special carrier morpheme *ba-*, and the resulting word expounds the Complement of the Dative-2 PP. When this occurs, the preposition *man* becomes optional. Thus:

- (4.366) *Man bangku kam, turang?*
for me you sister
Will you be mine, lass?
- (4.367) *Énda bandu.*
this for.you
This is for you.
- (4.368) *...gelah iberékenna banta gegeh ras kesangapen.*
PURP PASS.give.he to.us strong and good.fortune
...so that it will give us strength and good fortune.
- (4.369) *Bunuh bam!*
(PASS).kill to.you
Drop dead!

Dative PPs normally indicate the recipient or beneficiary of an action, typically occurring with verbs of transfer (give, send, etc.), speaking, or with emotive adjectives (fond of, angry at, etc.). Occasionally a Dative-2 PP encodes the experiencer of the action:

- (4.370) *Perban rusurna ngandung-ngandung é, terbegi*
because always.NMS cry-cry that INV.hear
man keramat Batu Marnala.
to spirit Batu Marnala
Because of their frequent crying, they were heard by the spirit Batu Marnala.

The preposition *man* also occurs in Purpose PPs, with the meaning '(designated) for' (§4.2.8).

4.2.5 COMITATIVE PP

A Comitative PP comprises the preposition *ras* 'with' plus a Complement expounded by an NP whose referent is usually animate. Comitative PPs express accompaniment, and typically occur with reciprocal verbs. *Ras* also functions as a coordinating conjunction meaning 'and', linking phrase-level constituents of the same category (§8.4.1). When expounding the head of a Comitative PP, the third person pronoun *ia* may alternate in form with the enclitic *-sa*.

- (4.371) *Ras isé ndai kam rëh?*
with who before you come
Who did you come with?

- (4.372) *Tapi bual-bual kenca ras singuda-nguda i dapur umum, kai*
 but joke if with girls at kitchen public what
pé la lit sinanggal.
 EMPH not BE problem
 But when we were joking with the girls in the common cooking area, there was nothing worrying us.
- (4.373) *Kerina kalak si jumpa entah ngerana rassa mehamat man*
 all person REL meet or speak with.him respectful to
bana.
 him
 Everybody who met or spoke with him, respected him.

4.2.6 INSTRUMENT PP

Instrument PPs refer to the instrument used or the means by which an action is effected. They consist of a preposition (*s*)*alu* 'with' or *arah* 'by means of, via, through', followed by a Complement mostly expounded by an NP but on occasions also a clause or even a Source PP:

- (4.374) *Itutupina ayona salu tanna duana.*
 PASS.cover.he face.his with hand.his two.NMS
 He covered his face with both hands.
- (4.375) *Kekelengen lanai tertukur alu duit ras erta doni.*
 love no.longer ABIL.buy with money and riches world
 Love cannot be bought with money or worldly wealth.
- (4.376) *Sebab alu kam i jénda, entah meriah kang akapna.*
 because with you at here maybe happy EMPH (PASS).think.he
 Because by your being here, it would cheer him up.
- (4.377) *...si datsa alu i babah ibas bapana nari.*
 REL (ACT).get.it with at mouth at father.his from
 ...who heard it from the mouth of his own father.
- (4.378) *Jelma erkesah arah igungna.*
 person breathe via nose.his
 People breathe through their noses.
- (4.379) *Arah pementerna kari itandai ia diberu tah dilaki.*
 via way.of.throwing.her later PASS.know she female or male
 By the way that she threw something it could be determined whether she was a woman or a man.

4.2.7 REFERENCE PP

A Reference PP contains the preposition *kerna* 'about', and less frequently the preposition *tintang* = *tingtang*, which appears to be a corruption of Indonesian *tentang* 'about'. The latter

is not recorded in Neumann's dictionary. The Complement of a reference PP is usually an NP but may also be a clause:

- (4.380) *Kerina kalak meteh kerna lagulangahna é.*
 all people ACT.know about behaviour.his that
 Everybody knows about his behaviour.
- (4.381) *Adi kerna la kam sempat mbalas surat entah erberita*
 if about not you have.time ACT.reply letter or have.news
man bangku la bo dalih.
 to me not EMPH obstacle
 Concerning the fact that you don't have time to answer letters or send news
 to me, there's no problem at all.
- (4.382) *Lanai iukuri tintang uis mbaru, tintang kegeluhen*
 no.longer PASS.think.LOC about cloth new about life
si nandang rëh.
 REL ACT.approach come
 One didn't think about new clothes, or about life in the future.

4.2.8 PURPOSE PP

A Purpose PP contains an obligatory preposition *man* 'for', plus a Complement expounded by a common noun or a purpose noun with *-en* (§3.7.5.1.2); the complement noun may be modified by a possessive. The preposition *guna* 'for' may also occur in Purpose PPs, but does not collocate with purpose nouns.

- (4.383) *Perca énda mejilé man seluar.*
 cloth this good for trousers
 This cloth is good for (making) trousers.
- (4.384) *Buatna batu rincik man bidakna.*
 (PASS).take.they stone gravel for pawn.their
 They took some small stones to use as pawns.
- (4.385) *Lau énda la man inemen.*
 water this not for drinking
 This water is not for drinking.
- (4.386) *Kai denga man timanmu?*
 what more for waiting.your
 What else are you waiting for?
- (4.387) *Kapur barus ras kemenén iperluken guna tambar, guna ramuan*
 camphor and benzoin PASS.need for medicine for ingredient
mbalsem bangké jelma gelah ula macik ras melala denga man
 balsam corpse person PURP don't rotten and many more for

keperlun si débanna.

needs REL other.he

Camphor and benzoin were needed for medicines, as ingredients for the balsam used in preserving corpses, and for many other purposes.

4.2.9 REASON PP

A Reason PP comprises one of the prepositions *erkitéken*, *perbahan* or *sangkin* 'due to, because of', plus a Complement usually manifested by an adjective nominalised with *-na* (§3.7.8). The first of the two prepositions above are derived from verbs.

- (4.388) *Erkitéken latihna ntabeh akapna tunduh ibas*
because.of tired.NMS pleasant (PASS).think.he sleep at

berngi si é.

night REL that

Because of his tiredness he slept soundly that night.

- (4.389) *Matana pé enggo meratah perbahan tuana.*
eye.her EMPH already blue because.of old.NMS
Her eyes had gone hazy blue due to her old age.

- (4.390) *Sangkin riahnya murjah-urjah ia asa gegehna.*
because.of happy.NMS jump.up.and.down she as.much.as strong.NMS
Because of her excitement she jumped up and down enthusiastically.

4.2.10 SIMILITUDE PP

Similitude PPs typically occur as predicates of stative clauses, or as manner adjuncts. They are characterised by the preposition *bagi* or the more literary *désken*, meaning 'like, similar to', plus a Complement expounded by an NP, a Position PP, an independent clause or a headless relative clause.

- (4.391) *Kam la pernah erdalam ndauh bagi kami énda.*
you not ever walk far like we this
You have never gone trekking like we have.

- (4.392) *Pengangguren i Australia la bagi i jénda.*
unemployment at Australia not like at here
Unemployment in Australia is not like here.

- (4.393) *Sura-sura peltep, marpar bagi cingkeru irambasken.*
aspiration cut.off scatter like grains PASS.thresh
My hopes were dashed, scattered like the individual grains of rice threshed from the stalk.

- (4.394) *Berjut beru Patimar désken kera niacemi.*
scowl female Patimar like monkey PASS.lemon.juice.LOC
Beru Patimar scowled like a monkey that had been squirted with lemon juice.

- (4.395) *Bitesna dēsken pagé sangana beltek.*
 calf.her like rice PROG pregnant
 Her calves were shaped like fully-formed grains of rice.

Bagi is often followed by a Complement expounded by a stative relative clause. The resultant construction itself expounds the predicate of a stative clause, meaning 'rather..., somewhat..., a bit...':

- (4.396) *Bagi si pasek sitik ia.*
 like REL deaf a.little he
 He was a little hard of hearing.
- (4.397) *Anak perana é pé bagi si mamang.*
 child youth that EMPH like REL surprised
 The young man was rather taken aback.
- (4.398) *Énda bagi si mejilé kuakap.*
 this like REL beautiful I.think
 I think this one is quite good.

Synchronically, the Complement of a Similitude PP cannot be expounded by a demonstrative pronoun (§4.1.2.6). There can be little doubt, however, that at some earlier stage such structures occurred and fossilised to form the now common manner adverbs:

<i>bagénda</i>	like this, in this way
<i>bagé</i>	thus, in that way
<i>bagéna</i>	like that (over there)
<i>bagédi</i>	like that (over there)
<i>bagah</i>	like that (remote)
<i>bagadah</i>	like that (more remote)
<i>bagidih</i>	like that

The semantic distinctions pertaining to this set parallel the differences in both spatial and temporal proximity expressed by the locative nouns (§4.1.2.5) and demonstrative pronouns (§4.1.2.6). The resultant adverbs typically expound the manner adjunct slot (§7.3.4).

4.2.11 MANNER PP

Manner PPs expound the manner adjunct slot in verbal clauses (§7.3.4), describing the way in which an action is effected. They contain the preposition *alu* 'with', followed by a Complement expounded by an adjective, or by a stative, intransitive or transitive clause. If the subject of this embedded clause is coreferential with the subject or agent of the main clause, then it is omitted.

- (4.399) *Alu pedas kam rēh.*
 with fast you come
 You came quickly.
- (4.400) *Alu naktak iluhna ipeberkat nandé me kita.*
 with fall tear.her PASS.CAUS.depart mother EMPH we
 With tears streaming down her face, Mother bade us farewell.

- (4.401) *Igalangkenna bana alu itutuskenna medak lalap.*
 PASS.lie.down to.him with PASS.determine.he awake always
 He lay down, resolving to remain awake all the time.
- (4.402) *Alu ngkipas-kipasken ikurna rēh biang é ngalo-ngalo kami.*
 with ACT.wag-wag tail.its come dog that ACT.greet we
 Wagging its tail the dog came over to greet us.

4.2.12 EXCLUSION PP

This expresses the meaning 'except for..., apart from...'. The preposition is usually *séakatan* = *sékatan* (orthographically often *seyakatan* or *sea katan*), *lain*, or occasionally *segelah*. The Complement may be expounded by an NP (commonly a pronoun or temporal noun) or a verbal clause. The subject of the embedded clause is omitted if coreferential with the subject or agent of the main clause:

- (4.403) *Sora kai pé la terbegi séakatan sora tangis tua-tua.*
 voice what EMPH not ABIL.hear except voice cry old-old
 Nothing could be heard except the voices of the old people crying.
- (4.404) *Sékatan nderbih lang, lalap nge aku ku jé.*
 except yesterday not.EMPH always EMPH I to there
 Apart from (not going) yesterday, I always go there.
- (4.405) *Kubahan lebé momo entah lain kam lit*
 I.make first announcement whether except you BE
kalak si déban ngaku munuh arimo si mbentar é.
 person REL other ACT.claim ACT.kill tiger REL white that
 I will first make an announcement, as to whether there is anybody else apart
 from you who claims to have killed the white tiger.
- (4.406) *Lanai kai pé teranaken paksa énda, segelah*
 no.longer what EMPH ABIL.discuss time this except
beltek banci risi janah pinakit la rēh.
 stomach able have.contents and disease not come
 There was nothing to talk about at those times, apart from whether we were
 able to get something to eat, and avoid falling sick.

4.2.13 GENITIVE PP

Genitive PPs are not productive in modern Karo. They are archaic, being found only in set expressions which occur in texts relating stories from the distant past. Speakers may use them in this genre if relating an old legend, for example, but would not be likely to employ such expressions when talking about contemporary matters. Neighbouring Pakpak Batak also has an archaic genitive marker *ni*, whereas modern Toba Batak still employs *ni* to mark possession. This would appear to suggest that an earlier form of Karo may have made greater use of such a feature.

Genitive PPs manifest the Possessive slot of the NP (§4.1.4). Structurally, they comprise a preposition *nu = u = ni* 'of',³⁴ followed by an NP:

- (4.407) *Gedang-gedang nu wari, gedang-gedang nu berngi.*
 long-long of day long-long of night
 All day long and all night long.
- (4.408) *Gedang-gedang u dalin ibegina sora imbo ernubung.*
 long-long of path PASS.hear.he voice gibbon hoot
 Along the way he heard the sound of the gibbons hooting.
- (4.409) *Guru Diden énda tading ringan ngianken kuta anak nu taneh*
 shaman Diden this live dwell occupy village child of land
kuta Raja Tengah.
 village Raja Tengah
 This Guru Diden lived in a village of people of the land of Raja Tengah
 village.
- (4.410) *anak u raja*
 child of chief
 the chief's daughter
- (4.411) *anak ni bapa*
 child of father
 the son of the father

³⁴ Joustra (1904:61-62) explains the derivation of the clan and village name 'Sinulingga' as *si nu Lingga* 'those who are of Lingga'.

CHAPTER 5

NON-TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the core features of non-transitive clauses in Karo. Transitive clauses are described further ahead in Chapter 6, whilst Chapter 7 deals with clause-level phenomena common to all clause constructions.

For each clause type, a description is provided of the minimum number of constituents found in the construction and the types of exponents of those constituents, which serve to distinguish that clause type from all others. These diagnostic elements of the construction are also referred to as the nuclear constituents, as distinct from peripheral constituents, which may occur across a variety of clause types.

The central defining characteristic of a clause is its predicate, which is able to be realised by a variety of exponents, most typically adjectives and verbs. In Karo clauses the predicate tends to precede the subject (see §7.6 for a discussion of constituent order). The subject is most typically expounded by a noun phrase or some other nominalised form, sometimes even a clause. Although most clause types in Karo have a subject as one of their nuclear constituents, some do not (notably Ambient clauses, as described in §5.2, and certain kinds of passive clauses as described in §6.3.2).

It should be noted that the nuclear-peripheral distinction is not the same as the obligatory-optional distinction which is also referred to below. Whilst obligatory constituents are nuclear, the reverse is not necessarily the case. For instance, it is possible for a subject (one of the nuclear constituents of a clause) to be omitted under certain conditions (§7.8.1); under even more restrictive conditions, the same can even happen to a predicate (§7.8.3).

The non-transitive clauses of Karo are now described. They embrace the following types: Ambient clauses (§5.2), Identificational clauses (§5.3), Stative clauses (§5.4), Intransitive clauses (§5.5) and Existential clauses (§5.6).

5.2 AMBIENT CLAUSES

Ambient clauses contain only one nuclear constituent, a Predicate, which is expounded by a noun or an adjective. Any other material in the clause is peripheral. Their English counterparts have subjects manifested by the dummy subject 'it'. Ambient clauses refer to the meteorological, temporal or environmental setting:

- (5.1) *Udan me.*
 rain EMPH
 It is/was raining.

- (5.2) *Adi kalak é la lawes i kuta nari, lalap lego.*
if person that not go at village from always dry
If they did not leave the village, there would continue to be a drought.
- (5.3) *Běn me.*
afternoon EMPH
It was late afternoon.
- (5.4) *I bas rumah ah la terang.*
at inside house that not clear
Inside the house it was dark.
- (5.5) *Mbau kal i jénda.*
smell EMPH at here
It smells here.
- (5.6) *Ibas sada wari juma erdangen paksana meriah.*
at one day field for.sowing PROG busy
One day during the planting season, it was very busy.

An Ambient clause may also occur as complement of a higher desiderative predicate (§8.2.8), in which case the third person pronoun is selected for *até* 'wish, want; likely':

- (5.7) *Tempa-tempa udan aténa.*
appear rain heart.its
It looked as though it would rain.

5.3 IDENTIFICATIONAL CLAUSES

An Identificational clause consists of an obligatory Subject and an obligatory Predicate, both of which are expounded by NPs or other nominalised forms (§4.1.2.7). The Subject refers to an entity which is already known to or is readily identifiable by the addressee (i.e. old information), whilst the Predicate presents new identifying or attributive information about the referent of the Subject:

- (5.8) *Enda nakanndu.*
this rice.your
This is your food.
- (5.9) *Ia kalak megegeh.*
he person strong
He is a strong man.
- (5.10) *Panganna labang entah kirik.*
food.his grasshopper or cricket
His food was grasshoppers or crickets.
- (5.11) *Bagundari kuta é kuta merga Karo-karo Manik.*
now village that village clan Karo-karo Manik
Nowadays that village is the village of the Karo-karo Manik clan.
- (5.12) *Imbangndu é diberu.*
opponent.your that female
Your adversary is a woman.

- (5.13) *Si nulisi dinding é si Amin.*
REL ACT.write.LOC wall that title Amin
The one who wrote on the wall was Amin.

Subject and Predicate may be permuted, particularly when the predicate is modified by a limiter (§7.4.4.1) or emphatic particle (§7.4.5.2), or if it is expounded by an interrogative word:

- (5.14) *Kam naring ingan penundalenku.*
you only.EMPH place for.leaning.my
You are the only one I can turn to for support.
- (5.15) *Sada pélor kap ngenca erga kesahku.*
one bullet EMPH only price breath.my
My life was worth the price of a single bullet.
- (5.16) *Si Amin nge si nulisi dinding é.*
title Amin EMPH REL ACT.write.LOC wall that
It was Amin who wrote on the wall.
- (5.17) *Kakangku kal kam.*
older.brother.my EMPH you
You are my very own brother.
- (5.18) *Kai pindonndu?*
what request.your
What is your request?

The Subject and Predicate may be linked by a copulative particle *émkap* (§7.4.5.3.1), especially if either constituent is relatively long, or if the Predicate contains information which serves as a definition of the Subject:

- (5.19) *Pendabuh angka entah pé durin émkap*
way.of.falling jackfruit or EMPH breadfruit LINK
'tek, saar, buum'.
snap crash bump
The noise a falling jackfruit or breadfruit makes is 'snap, crash, bump'.
- (5.20) *Puang kalimbubu émkap kalimbubu ibas kalimbubunta,*
puang kalimbubu LINK kalimbubu at kalimbubu.our
mama nandéta tah mama ibas mamanta nari.
uncle mother.our or uncle at uncle.our from
The *puang kalimbubu* are the *kalimbubu* of the *kalimbubu*, our mother's maternal uncles, or the maternal uncles of our maternal uncles.
- (5.21) *Dahin kerja erpekualuh é, émkap kerja ngormati*
work feast erpekualuh that LINK feast ACT.respect
kerina si maté-maténta.
all REL die-die.our
The job of the *erpekualuh* ceremony is to pay our respects to all those of us who have died.

The Predicate of an Identificational clause is normally negated by either *la bo* or *sé bo* (§7.4.1.1). Such negative markers and the copulative marker *émkap* are mutually exclusive.

- (5.22) *Si tuhuna aku la bo kalak Karo. Kalak Teba nge aku.*
REL true.NMS I not EMPH person Karo person Toba EMPH I
Actually I am not a Karonese. I am from Tobaland.

It is often the case that the Subject or Predicate is expounded by a verb or subjectless clause referring to a particular task, activity or occupation:

- (5.23) *Naling-naling ras cikurak-cikurak la bo pendahin si mehuli.*
insinuate and scorn not EMPH work REL good
Making derisive and scornful comments is not a good thing to do.
- (5.24) *Dahinku ku juma ku rumah.*
work.my to field to house
My job is to go to the fields and to go home (i.e. I'm a farmer).
- (5.25) *Tugasku ku Tiga Binanga ngelegi tambar.*
task.my to Tiga Binanga ACT.fetch medicine
My job was to go to fetch medicines from Tiga Binanga.

The Predicate may be fronted over the Subject for reasons of emphasis:

- (5.26) *Nangkoi saja dahinna rusur.*
ACT.steal.ITER only work.his always
All he does is steal things.

5.4 STATIVE CLAUSES

Stative clauses provide descriptive information about the entity referred to by their subject. Minimally they consist of a Subject and Predicate, the latter being expounded by a prepositional phrase or an adjective. Stative clauses are distinguishable from Intransitive clauses (§5.5) on the following grounds:

- (a) they cannot be rendered into positive imperatives (see §7.2.2)
- (b) they cannot be accompanied by a manner adjunct (see §7.3.4)
- (c) they cannot expound a subordinate clause of purpose (see §8.4.2.2)
- (d) their predicate exponents differ categorically.³⁵

Two basic types of Stative clause may be distinguished according to whether or not they occur with a complement.

5.4.1 STATIVE CLAUSES WITHOUT COMPLEMENTS

The most common type of stative clause is that which does not take a complement, with the Predicate expounded by one of the following:

³⁵ Adjectives and intransitive verbs are morphologically distinguishable as follows: when suffixed with *-en*, the former are marked for comparative degree, whereas the latter signal plurality or multiplicity.

(i) a prepositional phrase

These include PPs expressing Location (§4.2.1), Dative (§4.2.4), Comitative (§4.2.5), Reference (§4.2.7), Purpose (§4.2.8) and Similitude (§4.2.10).

- (5.27) *Gelarku ibas kulitna.*
name.my at cover.its
My name is on the cover.
- (5.28) *Tiga Binanga arah Juhar.*
Tiga Binanga vicinity Juhar
Tiga Binanga is out Juhar way.
- (5.29) *Kelélé jé mbaruénda ajangku.*
as.far.as there formerly property.my
My property used to extend up to there.
- (5.30) *Ia Pecerén nari.*
he Peceren from
He's from Peceren.
- (5.31) *Man bangku kam, turang?*
for me you sister
Will you marry me, lass?
- (5.32) *Ia ras kami.*
he with we
He's with us.
- (5.33) *Turi-turin énda kerna cicip ras gajah.*
story this about kind.of.bird and elephant
This story is about the *cicip* bird and the elephant.
- (5.34) *Perukuren si bagé rupana la bo man usihen.*
way.of.thinking REL thus shape.its not EMPH for for.copying
That sort of thinking should not be imitated.
- (5.35) *Bagi dagangen mbentar ayona.*
like cloth white face.his
His face was as white as a sheet.

(ii) non-gradable adjectives

These are unable to be inflected with the paradigmatic adjectival affixes described in §3.4.3.1, nor can they be accompanied by a Comparison PP (§4.2.3). Nevertheless they are assigned to the adjective word class on the grounds of their derivational potential as well as their semantic (stative rather than eventive) characteristics. Representative stems include:

<i>dung</i>	finished
<i>keri</i>	depleted
<i>sikap</i>	ready
<i>tasak</i>	ripe, cooked
<i>dēm</i>	full
<i>lumé</i>	empty

<i>bali</i>	same, similar
<i>seri</i>	same

- (5.36) *Dahinku enggo dung.*
work.my already finished
My work is already done.

Also belonging to this set are many adjectives derived from transitive verbs via prefixation with *ter-* (§3.6.6). They include:

<i>teridah</i>	seen, visible
<i>terbegi</i>	heard, audible
<i>tereteh</i>	known
<i>tergambar</i>	depicted
<i>terbaba</i>	carried, worn
<i>tersinget</i>	mentioned
<i>tersurat</i>	written
<i>termalem</i>	famous
<i>tertapel</i>	tied, secured

- (5.37) *Jambur é ndubé terberita ulina.*
rice.barn that previously famous beauty.its
That rice barn was renowned for its beautiful style.
- (5.38) *Enggo nteguh tersuan ibassa dareh lajang.*
already sturdy implanted at.him blood wander
His instinct for exploring new places was deeply embedded.

(iii) regular adjectives

These can be inflected for degree with the affixes *-en* (§3.4.3.2), *ter...-en* (§3.4.3.3), and *-sa* (§3.4.3.4), and many take a predicative prefix *me-* or *N³-* (§3.4.3.1). When inflected for comparative degree with *-en*, the clause also contains a nuclear but optional Comparison PP (§4.2.3).

- (5.39) *Dalan ku kuta kami la mbelang.*
road to village our not wide
The road to our village is not wide.
- (5.40) *Enggo macik rimo énda.*
already rotten orange this
These oranges are already rotten.
- (5.41) *Ia gegehen asangken aku.*
he strong.more than I
He is stronger than me.
- (5.42) *Sukahen pengasah otak si nderbih asangken si ndai.*
easy.more sharpener brain REL yesterday than REL before
Yesterday's brain teaser was easier than today's one.

Other representative stems are:

<i>pedas</i>	fast
<i>gejek</i>	noisy

<i>kitik</i>	small
<i>mbur</i>	fat
<i>mbages</i>	deep
<i>mbelin</i>	big
<i>mbergeh</i>	cold
<i>melas</i>	hot
<i>melala</i>	many (for countable nouns)
<i>mbué</i>	many, much (for mass nouns)
<i>enterem</i>	many (for humans)
<i>menahang</i>	light
<i>mberat</i>	heavy
<i>meratah</i>	green, blue
<i>meherga</i>	expensive
<i>ntelap</i>	sharp
<i>ndeher</i>	near, close

Some of these predicates with evaluative meanings may occur with a subject which is expounded by an independent clause (§8.2.1):

- (5.43) *Ulin ia la ikut ku jah.*
 good.more he not follow to there
 It's better that he doesn't go there (with them).
- (5.44) *Erbahan genjeng mesunah kal, tapi erbahan si mehuli*
 ACT.make bad easy EMPH but ACT.make REL good
mesera kal.
 difficult EMPH
 It is very easy to do wrong, but very difficult to do good.

5.4.2 STATIVE CLAUSES WITH COMPLEMENTS

These usually exhibit the order: Subject + Predicate + Complement, although the order: Predicate + Subject + Complement is possible when the Subject is expounded by a personal pronoun. For example:

- (5.45) *Aku merhat kal rimo.* (= *Merhat kal aku rimo.*)
 I like EMPH orange like EMPH I orange
 I am very fond of oranges.

If the clause also contains a Comparison PP (accompanying the predicate inflected for comparative degree with *-en*, §3.4.3.2), this always follows the complement:

- (5.46) *Merhaten aku rimo asangken markisah.*
 like.more I orange than passionfruit
 I prefer oranges to passionfruit.

The complement itself may be expounded by:

(i) a noun phrase

- (5.47) *Aku la pët biang.*
 I not like dog
 I don't like (to eat) dog.

- (5.48) *Agingku mbiar biang.*
brother.my afraid dog
My little brother is afraid of dogs.
- (5.49) *Enggo beluh kal ia cakap Karo.*
already clever EMPH he language Karo
He's very good at speaking Karo.
- (5.50) *Tëken aku kam asangkan ia.*
believe.more I you than he
I believe you more than I believe him.

Other stems which can expound the predicate in this subtype are:

<i>perlu</i>	need
<i>merhat</i>	fond of
<i>mesikel</i>	long for
<i>merincuh</i>	desire, crave
<i>mesequ</i>	fond of

(ii) a Dative prepositional phrase

- (5.51) *Aku mehanké man bana.*
I reluctant to him
I am apprehensive of him.
- (5.52) *Ula kam megombangsa kempak kalak.*
don't you arrogant.too to person
Don't be too arrogant towards other people.
- (5.53) *Arus kita mehamat nandangi kalimbubu.*
must we respect towards in-laws
We must be respectful towards our *kalimbubu*.

Other predicate exponents of this subtype include:

<i>tëk (man)</i>	believe (in), trust
<i>mesikel(nandangi)</i>	long (for)
<i>merhat(ngenehen)</i>	fond (of)
<i>nggit (man/ras)</i>	have a liking (for)
<i>mekarus (nandangi)</i>	neglectful (of)
<i>metuda (man)</i>	arrogant (towards)
<i>malang (kempak)</i>	respectful (towards)

(iii) a clause (see also §8.2.2 and §8.2.3). (When coreferential with the subject of the main clause, the subject of the complement clause is omitted.)

- (5.54) *Mehanké aku erkuan ras ia.*
reluctant I speak with he
I am reluctant to speak with him.
- (5.55) *Ninina ndai pé la nai sabar nalangi*
grandmother.his before EMPH no longer patient ACT.open
nakan ras gulén é.
rice and vegetables that
His grandmother couldn't wait to open up the rice and vegetables.

- (5.56) *Ula pëtsa man.*
 don't like.too eat
 Don't be too fond of eating.
- (5.57) *Nggit kam sibahan pengasah otak?*
 want you we.make sharpener brain
 Do you want to play riddles?
- (5.58) *Mbiar kita meseng rumahta ibahanna.*
 afraid we burn house.our PASS.make.it
 We were afraid that it would burn our house down.
- (5.59) *Pang ko ergasing, nak?*
 dare you play.tops boy
 Are you game to play spinning tops with me, mate?

Other representative stems occurring in this subtype include:

<i>perlu</i>	need
<i>merhat</i>	fond of, like
<i>mesikel</i>	long to
<i>mese gu</i>	enjoy
<i>merincuh</i>	desire
<i>méla</i>	embarrassed
<i>beluh</i>	clever, good at
<i>megegeh</i>	strong
<i>mejingkat</i>	industrious
<i>mekisat</i>	lazy, indifferent
<i>puas</i>	satisfied
<i>ngasup</i>	willing

5.4.3 STATIVE CLAUSES WITH SUBJECT: *até/ukur*

A minor variation to the pattern described above concerns the case of certain predicators which express emotional states and attitudes. These take subjects which are manifested by a possessive NP whose Head is expounded by *até* 'liver; heart; feelings' or *ukur* 'mind, thoughts'. The possessor NP refers to the person who experiences the feeling or attitude. If the possessor NP is coreferential with the subject of any following complement clause, then the latter is omitted. This construction is also characterised by almost invariant predicate-initial constituent order.

- (5.60) *Ngena kal atéku kam.*
 love EMPH heart.my you
 I love you very much.
- (5.61) *Nembeh kal atéku ia.*
 angry EMPH heart.my he
 I am very annoyed with him.
- (5.62) *Keleng kal até raja ngenhenca.*
 like EMPH heart chief towards.him
 The chief liked him very much.

- (5.63) *Morah atéta natapsa.*
resent heart.our ACT.see.him
We were resentful at seeing him.
- (5.64) *La até kami melas nangkih deleng.*
not heart our hot climb mountain
We were not enthusiastic about climbing the mountain.
- (5.65) *Aru atéku la bo ia rëh sendah.*
sad heart.my not EMPH she come today
I am sad that she is not coming today.
- (5.66) *Meriah ukurku ngaloken suratndu.*
happy mind.my ACT.receive letter.your
I am delighted to receive your letter.

Other exponents of this subtype are:³⁶

<i>tedeh até</i>	to miss
<i>mekuah até</i>	to have affection for
<i>cian até</i>	jealous of
<i>merawa até</i>	angry, annoyed at
<i>ndelé até</i>	worried, troubled
<i>tutus até</i>	sincere, serious
<i>mesui até</i>	anxious, worried
<i>céda até</i>	disappointed
<i>sipi ukur</i>	contented, satisfied
<i>picet ukur</i>	troubled, anxious
<i>sangsi ukur</i>	in two minds about, indecisive
<i>kitik ukur</i>	hurt, offended

5.5 INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES

An Intransitive clause consists of two nuclear constituents, a Subject and a Predicate, the latter being expounded by an intransitive verb. The order of these constituents is variable (§7.6), with a slightly greater tendency for the Predicate to precede the Subject.

- (5.67) *Opé bapa berkat, man kami lebé.*
before father depart eat we first
Before father left, we ate.
- (5.68) *Medem denga kang ia?*
sleep still PART he
Was he still asleep?
- (5.69) *Rubia-rubia pé kerina kiamen ku jah ku jé.*
animal-animal EMPH all run.PL to there to there
The animals were running about in all directions.

³⁶ These phrases are also subject to derivation with the intransitivising prefix *er-*, producing stative verbs which can occur with Dative PP complements (§3.6.1).

Formally, intransitive verbs fall into three major classes:

(i) root verbs; these are morphologically simple. For example:

<i>rĕh</i>	come	<i>berkat</i>	depart
<i>lawes</i>	go	<i>tubuh</i>	be born
<i>tading</i>	remain	<i>maté</i>	die
<i>ridi</i>	bathe	<i>turah</i>	grow
<i>kundul</i>	sit	<i>guling</i>	fall over
<i>cinder</i>	stand	<i>medak</i>	wake up
<i>meseng</i>	burn	<i>talū</i>	lose
<i>tawa</i>	laugh	<i>cirem</i>	smile
<i>kabang</i>	fly	<i>sĕh</i>	arrive

(ii) derived intransitive verbs; these bear various affixes as described in §3.6. For example:

<i>erdalan</i>	walk	<i>erkesah</i>	breathe
<i>erdakan</i>	cook	<i>erlangi</i>	swim
<i>mentas</i>	pass	<i>mulih</i>	return home
<i>ndelis</i>	suicide	<i>nggeluh</i>	live
<i>ngkawil</i>	fish	<i>cebuni</i>	hide
<i>kabangen</i>	all fly off	<i>kiranting</i>	collect firewood
<i>bergehen</i>	feel cold	<i>sitandan</i>	know each other
<i>kehayamen</i>	yawn	<i>gemuyung</i>	stagger

(iii) transitive verbs bearing the active prefix *N¹-*, which are used intransitively, that is, in clauses without any discernible or recoverable object and hence with no possibility of passivisation in that context. For example:

<i>man</i>	eat	<i>minem</i>	drink
<i>meré</i>	give	<i>munuh</i>	kill
<i>nuci</i>	wash	<i>mbayu</i>	weave
<i>natap</i>	look	<i>megi</i>	hear
<i>njemak</i>	touch	<i>nggulé</i>	cook
<i>nuan</i>	plant	<i>menter</i>	throw
<i>nangko</i>	steal	<i>ndédah</i>	watch
<i>nampati</i>	help	<i>nimbak</i>	refuse

Intransitive clauses may be subcategorised according to a number of different criteria, each accompanied by slightly different syntactic consequences. For instance, dynamic intransitive clauses can be differentiated from static clauses according to whether the verb can be rendered in the positive imperative (§7.2.2):

- (5.70) *Ridi kam!*
bathe you
Take a bath!
- (5.71) *Ertoto kita lebé.*
pray we first
Let us pray.
- (5.72) *Kundulken!*
sit.IMP
Sit down!

but:

- | | | | |
|--------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| (5.73) | * <i>Tubuh!</i> | * <i>Turah!</i> | * <i>Erjabu!</i> |
| | Be born! | Grow! | Be married! |

5.5.1 OBLIGATORY NON-CORE CONSTITUENTS

Further subcategorisation may be undertaken according to the requirement or otherwise of certain normally peripheral constituents to be present in the clause. For instance, the following verbs containing inherent reciprocal meanings require either a plural subject or an obligatory Comitative PP (§4.2.5):

<i>jumpa</i>	meet
<i>mukul</i>	marry
<i>erperang</i>	wage war
<i>rubat</i>	fight
<i>rimbang</i>	be enemies
<i>sirang</i>	part
<i>erkuan</i>	be on speaking terms
<i>sitandan</i>	know each other

- (5.74) *E maka jumpa ia ras arimo.*
and so meet he with tiger
And so he came across a tiger.
- (5.75) *Udan ras kilap sialo-alon.*
rain and lightning welcome-each.other
Rain and lightning followed each other.

Likewise the verb *ringan* 'dwell' cannot occur without an accompanying Locative PP.

5.5.2 UNDERGOER NP INCORPORATION

It is possible for an intransitive verb to be directly followed by an NP, yielding a structure which appears to parallel the pattern of an active transitive clause (§6.2.1):

- (5.76) *Ia erdaya sepeda.*
he sell bicycle
He sells bicycles.
- (5.77) *Bengkila erbinaga sira.*
uncle trade salt
Uncle trades salt.
- (5.78) *Ia erjudi gasing i Tiangkerarasan.*
he gamble spinning.top at Tiangkerarasan
He was gambling with spinning tops in Tiangkerarasan.

Despite superficial appearances, however, the above clauses are all unequivocally intransitive, on the grounds that they cannot be passivised as regular transitive clauses can be passivised. In the above cases, the post-verbal NP is non-referential: no particular bicycles, salt or spinning tops are being referred to. The NP can be considered to semantically coalesce with the preceding verb to form a phrase translatable as, say, 'bicycle-selling', 'salt-trading',

or 'top-gambling'. As these clauses are systemically non-passivisable, the post-verbal NPs cannot be properly considered as objects in the grammatical sense. Nor are they complements in the sense described above (§5.4.2), where a complement is a constituent which normally follows the predicate, but which can be separated from it whenever the latter is fronted across the subject. The post-verbal nouns in examples (5.76) - (5.78) above cannot be separated from their verbs by any intervening material, a grammatical fact which is reinforced by the phonological impossibility of an intervening pause between the two elements. Nor can they be further modified by possessives, descriptives or determiners in the usual manner that NPs can be modified. In view of these characteristics, such instances are analysed as derived intransitive phrasal verbs, which have in effect been created by incorporating an undergoer NP into the intransitive verb phrase.

In addition to the verbs prefixed with *er-* as exemplified above, other intransitive verb forms can occur with incorporated NPs: *er-...-ken* (§3.6.2), *si-...-en* (§3.6.7), *si-.....-na* (§3.6.8), *ke-...-en* (§3.6.10), *ci-* (§3.6.11) and *ki-* (§3.6.12). Some morphologically simple forms such as *jadi* 'become', *kena* 'be struck or affected by' and *bengket* 'enter, join', may also combine with NPs to form inseparable phrasal verbs:

- (5.79) *I tengah kerangen ia ernakanken bulung tepu.*
 at middle forest they have.as.food leaf tepu
 In the forest they relied upon *tepu* leaves for their food.
- (5.80) *Kalak ah kebenén kerbo.*
 person that ADVS.lose buffalo
 That fellow lost his water-buffalo.
- (5.81) *Cigergo takal kam lalap.*
 REP.scratch head you always
 You're always scratching your head.
- (5.82) *Anak-anak kitartar kembiri.*
 child-child REP.seek.on.ground candlenut
 The children went looking for candlenuts.
- (5.83) *Sikerepen mata ia.*
 each.other.wink eye they
 They winked at each other.
- (5.84) *Simaba-maba kinibeluhenna ia peképar.*
 each.bring skill.his they both
 They each displayed their skill.
- (5.85) *Ia enggo jadi pengulu.*
 he already become headman
 He's the headman now.
- (5.86) *Si Mira bengket aron.*
 title Mira enter work.group
 Mira joined a cultivation cooperative.
- (5.87) *Lit teman-teman mbulak guradang kena timah.*
 BE friend-friend topple roll hit lead
 Some of my friends were killed by bullets.

Whilst in the majority of cases these incorporated NPs are non-referential, it is sometimes possible for NPs bearing definite reference to occur in these phrases. Nevertheless they remain inseparable from the verb:

- (5.88) *Erkitéken si é, megendek ukur raja erkélakenca.*
 because REL that short mind chief have.as.son.in.law.him
 For that reason the chief was disappointed to have him as a son-in-law.
- (5.89) *...negara si erlandasken ras erfalsafahken Panca Sila.*
 state REL have.as.basis and have.as.philosophy Panca Sila
 ...a state based upon and having as its philosophy the Five Principles.
- (5.90) *Pengulu Ajinembah kena belawanna.*
 headman Ajinembah hit curse.his
 The headman of Ajinembah was struck by his curse.

5.5.3 INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES WITH COMPLEMENTS

A number of intransitive verbs are typically associated with clausal complements. There are three such types:

- (i) 'phasal' verbs, which take a subject expounded by a clause (§8.2.1)

- (5.91) *Mulai iperburuina arimo mbentar é.*
 begin PASS.hunt.REP.he tiger white that
 He began hunting the white tiger.

- (ii) verbs which take a regular NP subject and a complement expounded by a clause whose subject is coreferential with the main clause subject and therefore omitted (§8.2.2)

- (5.92) *Uga maka kam lupa mabasa?*
 how that you forget ACT.bring.it
 How could you forget to bring it?

- (iii) verbs which take a regular NP subject and a complement expounded by a clause containing a different subject (such clauses are often introduced by a conjunction *gelah* 'to' or *maka* 'that' (§8.2.3))

- (5.93) *Lupa me ia maka ninina enggo lawes.*
 forget EMPH he that grandfather.his already go
 He forgot that his grandfather had already left.

5.6 EXISTENTIAL CLAUSES

Existential clauses express the existence or non-existence of an entity. Two types of Existential clause occur in Karo: stative (involving the existential predicator *lit* 'there is/are, exists') and inceptive (with predicators *jadi* or *terjadi* 'occur, come into being'). Existential clauses are often associated with a presentative function, introducing upon the scene a new participant of some subsequent significance (see Cumming 1988:137). Stative existential clauses are also used productively to express possession, and in a limited fashion with temporal expressions. As well, *lit* frequently occurs in conjunction with independent clauses to signal a special type of emphasis or actuality. These aspects are described in turn below.

5.6.1 STATIVE EXISTENTIAL CLAUSES

5.6.1.1 THE BASIC PATTERN

An Existential clause consists of two nuclear constituents, a Subject, and a Predicate expounded by *lit* 'there is/are'. (For the sake of brevity this is glossed in the literal/structural translations simply as 'BE'.) As well, Existential clauses frequently contain a Locative PP expressing Position, Vicinity or Proximity (§4.2.1).

- (5.94) *Pagi lit kerja-kerja i rumah silihta.*
tomorrow BE feast at house cousin.our
There is a feast at our cousin's place tomorrow.
- (5.95) *La nai lit arimo i jénda.*
no longer BE tiger at here
There are no more tigers here.
- (5.96) *Lit denga kap i bas nakan.*
BE still EMPH at inside rice
There is still some rice inside.
- (5.97) *Arah pudi rumah énda lit batang rambutan.*
vicinity back house this BE tree rambutan
Behind this house there is a rambutan tree.
- (5.98) *Ibas anak kuta lit si erjabu sumbang.*
at child village BE REL marry incestuous
Among the villagers was a couple not legally married.

Whilst normal constituent order in the stative existential clause is predicate-subject, fronting of the subject before the predicate may occur when it is emphasised (usually accompanied by a post-modifying emphatic particle, or simply stressed), or when expounded by an interrogative pronoun to form an indefinite pronominal expression (§4.1.2.3):

- (5.99) *Sén pé la lit, nakan pé la lit.*
money EMPH not BE rice EMPH not BE
There's no money, no food.
- (5.100) *Adi turang la bo lit, medungu kal kita.*
if sibling not EMPH BE lonely EMPH we
If one has no brothers or sisters, it's very lonely.
- (5.101) *Kai pé tahu la nai lit i jé.*
what EMPH really no longer BE at there
There was really nothing left there.

There is a general tendency for the subject of an existential clause to be non-identifiable, as illustrated in all of the above examples. However, subjects with definite and identifiable reference may also occur:

- (5.102) *Tupung si é enggo lit agama Islam i Barus.*
time REL that already BE religion Islam at Barus
At that time Islam was already in Barus.

- (5.103) *Bapa ras nandé lit denga.*
 father and mother BE still
 Father and Mother are still alive.
- (5.104) *Lit denga si duana.*
 BE still REL two.NMS
 They are both still alive.

5.6.1.2 SUBJECT EXPOUNDED BY POSSESSOR NP

The most common type of definite NP occurring as subject of a stative existential clause is a Possessor NP (§4.1.4). In the absence of a Locative PP, the major notion expressed by the clause is that of possession, rather than existence. The subject may either precede or follow the predicate:

- (5.105) *La lit sénku.* (= *Sénku la lit.*)
 not BE money.my money.my not BE
 I have no money.
- (5.106) *Adi nggit kam ngkawil pagi, adi lit alat-alatndu,*
 if want you ACT.hook tomorrow if BE equipment-your
embah!
 (PASS).bring
 If you would like to come fishing sometime, if you have some gear, bring it along!
- (5.107) Q: *Lit bukundu pustaka si badia?* A: *Lit.*
 BE book.your book REL holy BE
 Do you have a Bible? Yes.
- (5.108) *Sinuan-sinuan kami lenga lit.*
 plant-plant our not.yet BE
 We haven't any crops yet.

However, when an existential clause contains both a subject expounded by a Possessor NP, and a Locative PP, the resultant principal notion expressed is that of the location of the referent of the subject NP, rather than the fact that it belongs to someone:

- (5.109) *Lit bas kam colokku?*
 BE at you matches.my
 Have you got my matches? (i.e. Are my matches on you?)
- (5.110) *Lit kang bapanta i rumah?*
 BE PART father.our at home
 Is father at home?

5.6.1.3 STATIVE EXISTENTIAL CLAUSES USED TEMPORALLY

A minor use is made of existential clauses in temporal expressions. In such cases, *lit* is followed by a subject expounded by a temporal noun phrase (§4.1.3.2.2 (vii)), accompanied by an optional Locative PP. No permutations are possible. The resultant clause denotes the length of time elapsed. Distributionally it is restricted to expounding a Time adjunct.

(5.111) *Lit dua tahun i Bangko, tubuh anakna.*
BE two year at Bangko born child.his
After two years in Bangko, they had a child.

(5.112) Q: *Ndiganai kam rēh ku jénda?*
when you come to here
When did you come here?

A: *Enggo ndekah, enggo lit waluh bulan.*
already long already BE eight month
Quite a while back, eight months ago.

5.6.1.4 *lit* WITH CLAUSAL SUBJECTS

In addition to the basic patterns and permutations described above, *lit* frequently occurs together with a subject which is expounded by an independent clause (§8.2.1). Positionally, *lit* may either precede the entire complement clause, or intervene between the fronted NP subject and lower predicate. In such cases the function of *lit* is to convey a nuance of 'actuality' upon the complement clause: 'It is the case that ...'. When governed by *lit* plus a negative, the complement clause takes on a more emphatic meaning.

(5.113) *Adina lit kira-kira kita sakit kulit, dah kam kin,*
if BE maybe we sick skin (PASS).see you EMPH

ridi i jah ndai, malem.

bathe at there that cured

If by chance anyone has a skin disease, you see, they can bathe there, and they'll get better.

(5.114) *Guna mabasa, lit me ilanja déba*
PURP ACT.carry.it BE EMPH PASS.carry.on.pole some

lit ka me ibaba alu kuda beban.

BE also EMPH PASS.carry with horse burden

In order to transport it, some was carried by shoulder pole, some was carried by pack horse.

(5.115) *Lit babandu tambar?*

BE (PASS).carry.you medicine

Did you bring any medicine?

(5.116) *Anakna lit telu.*

child.his BE three

He has three children.

(5.117) *Sada pé la bo lit metehsa.*

one EMPH not EMPH BE ACT.know.it

Not one of them knew it.

(5.118) *Adi ilembing ningen, lembing la lit ibabana.*

if PASS.spear be.said spear not BE PASS.bring.he

If you ask, "Why didn't he spear it?", well, he wasn't carrying his spear with him.

- (5.119) *É la lit kubegi.*
 that not BE I.hear
 I didn't hear that. (i.e. I wasn't aware of that.)

5.6.2 INCEPTIVE EXISTENTIAL CLAUSES

These express the occurrence of some event or the coming into being of some entity or situation. The predicate is expounded by *jadi* or *terjadi* 'occur, happen', which differ only in that *terjadi* is not used to describe natural phenomena.

The subject normally follows the predicate and may be expounded by a regular NP or by a clause optionally introduced by *maka* 'that'. Fronting of the subject over the predicate is possible if it is emphasised or expounded by an interrogative pronoun.

- (5.120) *Minter jadi ka linur.*
 straightaway occur EMPH earthquake
 Straightaway there was an earthquake.
- (5.121) *Jadilah kelenglengen ibas kuta énda!*
 occur.HORT flood in village this
 Let there be a flood in this village!
- (5.122) *Banci jadi aku la man.*
 can occur I not eat
 It might turn out that I will have nothing to eat.
- (5.123) *Megati terjadi maka anak si nguda sèh kal atéta kelengna.*
 often occur that child girl reach EMPH heart.our love.NMS
 It often happens that we have a soft spot for our daughter.
- (5.124) *Anum kaigia denggo terjadi, la bo ia erkadiola.*
 although whatever later occur not EMPH he have.regret
 No matter what happens, he will have no regrets.

CHAPTER 6

TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Transitive clauses in Karo embrace active and passive clause types. The motivation for this terminology is based upon consideration of data such as the following:

- (6.1) a. *Embun mekapal nutupi matawari.*
cloud thick ACT.cover sun
Dense cloud obscured the sun.
- b. *Matawari itutupi embun mekapal.*
sun PASS.cover cloud thick
The sun was obscured by dense cloud.
- (6.2) a. *Mama nungkuni aku kerna si ah ndai.*
uncle ACT.ask I about REL that before
Uncle asked me about that matter.
- b. *Aku isungkuni mama kerna si ah ndai.*
I PASS.ask uncle about REL that before
I was asked by uncle about that matter.
- (6.3) a. *(Lit me kap) sada orang tua ngerdangken jumana.*
BE EMPH EMPH one adult ACT.sow field.his
(There was) a man sowing his field.
- b. *Bagém juma ierdangken.*
thus.EMPH field PASS.sow
In that way the field was sown.

Each of the clauses in examples (6.1), (6.2) and (6.3a) contains a verb relating two nominal participants, identifiable in semantic terms as ACTOR and UNDERGOER. These terms are used here as defined by Foley and Van Valin (1984:29):

Provisionally we may characterise the actor as the argument of a predicate which performs, effects, instigates or controls the situation denoted by the predicate, and the undergoer as the argument which expresses the participant which does not perform, initiate or control any situation but rather is affected by it in some way.

Actor and undergoer are generalised semantic relations, or macroroles, which admit the possibility for further specification of say, the actor as agent, experiencer, instrument, or

source, and so on.³⁷ However, such expansion of case-roles is not especially relevant to Karo grammatical organisation.

It can be seen from examples (6.1) and (6.2) that in each pair of clauses, the semantic relations hold constant; that is, propositional meaning is unchanged. In the (a) clauses, the actor is the first-mentioned participant. It occupies the subject position, and its role as actor is marked by the inflectional prefix *N^I*- on the verb stem (§3.4.1.1). This correspondence of actor with subject fits with the commonly accepted definition of an ACTIVE clause. By contrast, in the (b) clauses, it is the undergoer which occupies subject position, with the verb prefix *i*- marking this undergoer-as-subject role, and the actor being relegated to post-verbal position. In example (6.3b) there is no actor present in the clause at all. In so far as it serves to undo the choice of actor for subject and replace it with undergoer instead, plus in some cases delete all reference to an actor, this (b)-type configuration clearly corresponds to the PASSIVE.³⁸

The above data provide merely an introductory glimpse of the transitive system in Karo, which as will emerge below, exhibits a number of interesting complexities and apparent anomalies, some of which may raise the question of whether 'active' and 'passive' are truly applicable to the phenomena encountered in Karo transitive clauses. The position taken here is that for the purpose of describing transitivity in Karo, it is not inappropriate to employ the terms 'active' and 'passive' as labels for construction types of the kind exemplified above. It is emphasised, however, that the use of such familiar terms as labels for constructions of a particular morphosyntactic type, should not be confused with the meanings or functions associated with those constructions.³⁹ As will emerge from the following account, the function of the Karo passive is not entirely congruent with that of other languages, even those which are closely related, such as Indonesian. Nevertheless, as long as this limitation is borne in mind, the use of this conservative terminology is felt to be more a convenience than a hindrance in embarking upon a discussion of the Karo transitive system.

A detailed description of the formal aspects of active and passive clauses is now provided, followed by an account of their relative frequencies of occurrence, their relationship to each other, and their functions.

6.2 ACTIVE CLAUSES

6.2.1 THE BASIC PATTERN

An active clause consists minimally of three nuclear constituents, usually in the following order: Subject, Predicate and Object. Other constituents may intervene between them. For instance, adjuncts expressing frequency or manner, auxiliaries and negatives may occur between Subject and Predicate:

³⁷ See, for example, Longacre (1976, Chapter 1), Givón (1984, Chapters 4 and 5).

³⁸ See, for example, Keenan (1985), Foley and Van Valin (1985:299), Mallinson and Blake (1981:73).

³⁹ The term 'passive' is therefore used here in a more restricted sense than in certain other descriptions, such as that of Indonesian by Slametmuljana (1969:94 ff.) or Verhaar (1978:11), who include under the general rubric of passive various intransitive constructions which happen to be associated with undergoer semantics.

- (6.4) *Si Limbeng lalap maba ranan.*
S:(title Limbeng) FREQ:(always) P:(ACT.carry) O:(conversation)
Limbeng kept the conversation going all the time.
- (6.5) *Alipais kuskas ndarami lau man inemen.*
S:(Alipais) MAN:(busy) P:(ACT.seek) O:(water for drink)
Alipais busily searched for drinking water.
- (6.6) *Bapa ras kaka paksana erbahan sumur.*
S:(father and brother) Aux:(PROG) P:(ACT.make) O:(well)
Father and older brother were building a well.
- (6.7) *Isé pé la meteh perjabuna sumbang.*
S:(who EMPH) NEG:(not) P:(ACT.know) O:(marriage.their incestuous)
Nobody knew that their marriage was incestuous.

Predicate and Object may be separated by a Dative Prepositional Phrase, or the auxiliary *denga* 'still' if the Object is somewhat longer than usual:

- (6.8) *Nandé meréken bangku sén.*
S:(mother) P:(ACT.give) DAT:(to.me) O:(money)
Mother gives me money.
- (6.9) *Aku nimai denga surat i LIPI nari.*
S:(I) P:(ACT.wait) Aux:(still) O:(letter at LIPI from)
I am still waiting for a letter from LIPI.

Active clauses in Karo are all monotransitive – that is, there are no cases of dual objects (one direct, one indirect) in this language.

6.2.2 EXPONENTS

Structurally, the Subject and Object slots are most typically expounded by noun phrases, although it is also possible for independent clauses to occur, particularly as objects. The following example happens to have both Subject and Object manifested by a clause:

- (6.10) *Arah dalin bagé, mulihen kerina temué,*
MAN:(in way thus) S:(go.home all guests)
njadiken ngadi kerja mengket rumah pengulu.
P:(ACT.cause) O:(stop feast enter house headman)
In this way, all the guests went home, bringing about an end to the house-warming feast held by the headman.

Exponents of Subject and Object are formally identical, except for the third person pronoun *ia* (§4.1.2.1.3), and the demonstrative pronouns *éna*, *ah*, *oh* and *é*, all glossed with English 'that' (§4.1.2.6) which, when occurring in object position are all replaced by the enclitic pronoun *-sa*. When the Object slot is expounded by *-sa*, nothing can intervene between it and the Predicate. Thus:

- (6.11) *Isé maba-sa?*
S:(who) P:(ACT.carry)-O:(it)
Who took it?

As stated in §6.1, the grammatical roles of Subject and Object in active clauses coincide with the semantic roles of Actor and Undergoer respectively. Accordingly, most exponents of the Subject slot are human, or at least animate, but as examples (6.1) and (6.10) illustrate, inanimate entities and even whole situations – expressed by a clause – can be conceived of and encoded as actors which bring about some effect upon their undergoer counterparts.

The Predicate slot of an active clause is expounded by an active transitive verb. These are characteristically prefixed with the inflectional marker *N¹*- (§3.4.1.1), unless derived with either of the transitivising prefixes *pe-* (§3.5.3.1) or *per-* (§3.5.6). Besides these, the only other exponent of an active clause predicate is the irregular but highly frequent verb *erbahan* 'to make, cause', which, despite being formally intransitive, is thoroughly transitive in every other way. Further examples are:

- (6.12) *Aku rusur nampati nandéku erdakan.*
S:(I) FREQ:(always) P:(ACT.help) O:(mother.my) COMP:(cook)
I always help my mother do the cooking.
- (6.13) *Céda até naring ngiani pusuhku.*
S:(broken heart only.EMPH) P:(ACT.occupy) O:(heart.my)
Nothing but disappointment filled my heart.
- (6.14) *Datuk Rubia Gandé peberkat kempuna ku*
S:(Datuk Rubia Gande) P:(CAUS.leave) O:(grandson.his) LOC:(to
Jenggi Kumawar.
Jenggi Kumawar
Datuk Rubia Gande sends his grandson away to Jenggi Kumawar.
- (6.15) *Sada sinursur Jambur Ligai pelimbarui jambur é.*
S:(one descendant Jambur Ligai) P:(CAUS.new) O:(rice.barn that)
One of Jambur Ligai's descendants restored that rice barn.
- (6.16) *Peganci-ganci kami erbahan-ca ras njabap-sa.*
MAN:(in.turn) S:(we) P:(make)-O:(them) CONJ P:(answer)-O:(them)
Taking turns we made them up and answered them (i.e. riddles).

6.2.3 ORDERING

Although the usual order of constituents in active clauses is Subject-Predicate-Object, two other orderings are possible:

(i) Predicate-Object-Subject

This normally occurs when the Object is expounded by the interrogative pronoun *kai* 'what?' or *isé* 'who?', in accordance with the general principle that interrogatives are placed as close as possible to clause-initial position:

- (6.17) *Nukur kai kam ku tiga?*
P:(ACT.buy) O:(what) S:(you) LOC:(to market)
What did you buy at the market?
- (6.18) *Ndahi isé kam ku Lau Gumba?*
P:(ACT.visit) O:(who) S:(you) LOC:(to Lau Gumba)
Who did you go to visit at Lau Gumba?

This order is also found when the Object is expounded by a noun used non-referentially. The first two examples are from Neumann (1922:39):

- (6.19) *Ngelegi lau aku.*
P:(ACT.fetch) O:(water) S:(I)
I fetch the water.
- (6.20) *Maba barang aku ku tiga.*
P:(ACT.carry) O:(goods) S:(I) LOC (to.market)
I'm carrying goods to market.
- (6.21) *Medil perik kaka.*
P:(ACT.shoot) O:(bird) S:(older.brother)
Older brother is shooting birds.

In each of the above cases the noun expounding the Object slot refers only to the general category of items bearing that meaning, and not to any particular instances of the category. Less elegantly, but more accurately, these clauses could be glossed as 'I am water-fetching' or 'Brother is bird-shooting', where the object is semantically incorporated into the predicate. Indeed from a functional viewpoint, such cases could be equally well classified as intransitive, akin to the cases of noun-incorporation described in §5.5.2. That the objects above are indeed non-referential is demonstrated by their inability to be modified by adjectives, noun-classifiers or demonstratives:

- (6.22) *Medil perik *énda kaka.*
P:(shoot) O:(bird this) S:(older.brother)
Older brother shot/shoots this bird.

These matters will again be addressed and further clarified below when actives and passives are compared in terms of their functions.

(ii) Predicate-Subject-Object

This ordering is comparatively rare, occurring mainly with verbs possessing a desiderative, cognitive or communicative meaning, and involving objects expounded by independent clauses:

- (6.23) *...ngarap kami maka teptep anggota maba luah*
P:(ACT.hope) S:(we) O:(CONJ every member ACT.bring gift
guna idayaken.
PURP PASS.sell)
...we hope that each member will bring a gift to sell.
- (6.24) *...gelah meteh kalak aku paksana i datas deleng.*
PURP P:(ACT.know) S:(people) O:(I PROG LOC: at top mountain)
...so that people will know I am now on top of the mountain.
- (6.25) *Émaka nungkun ia kempak kalak entah i*
CONJ:(and so) P:(ACT.ask) S:(he) DAT:(to people) O:(CONJ at
ja lit perik man bedilen.
where BE bird for shooting)
And so he asked people whereabouts there might be some birds to shoot.

Example (6.26), from Neumann (1922:37), is accepted by informants despite its non-clausal object, but structurally analogous clauses such as (6.27) and (6.28) are rejected, for reasons which remain unclear at this stage. (It is suspected that verb semantics are involved.) Although further investigation will no doubt prove interesting, this remains a minor matter involving a generally atypical ordering.

- (6.26) *Ngaku ia salahna.*
 P:(ACT.admit) S:(he) O:(wrong.his)
 He admitted his guilt.
- (6.27) **Mindo ia sén.*
 P:(ACT.request) S:(he) O:(money)
 He asked for money.
- (6.28) **Meteh ia gelarku.*
 P:(ACT.know) S:(he) O:(name.my)
 He knows my name.

Matters concerning the distribution of active clauses in discourse, their frequency, their relationship to passives, and their functions will be examined more closely below in §6.5.

6.3 PASSIVE CLAUSES

Passive clauses in Karo embrace regular passives and subjectless passives, both of which may be manifested as dynamic or decontrolled (see Durie 1985a). These distinctions may be represented in the following matrix:

	Dynamic	Decontrolled
Regular passives	x	x
Subjectless passives	x	x

Dynamic passives are formally identifiable by the verb prefix *i-* (§3.4.1.2) whereas decontrolled passives are marked by prefix *ter-* (§3.4.1.3). By comparison with dynamic passives, the latter are characterised by reduced 'eventiveness' and generally diminished volition or control on the part of the actor. The following account first describes regular passives and then subjectless passives in dynamic mode, followed by decontrolled passives.

6.3.1 REGULAR PASSIVES

6.3.1.1 THE BASIC PATTERN

A regular passive clause consists minimally of two constituents, usually in the following order: Predicate and Subject. The Subject is most typically expounded by an NP, and bears the semantic role of undergoer. The Predicate of the passive clause is a phrase consisting of an obligatory Centre, expounded by a passive verb, plus an optional Agent slot, expounded by certain kinds of NP bearing the semantic role of actor.

That the Agent⁴⁰ forms part of the Predicate rather than existing as a separate clause-level constituent is supported by the following data:

(i) The placement of phrase stress (indicated below by the placement of a grave accent, see §2.1.1.2) on the post-verbal agent (rather than upon the verb) in clauses such as examples (6.29) - (6.32), demonstrates the close phonological bonding of a passive verb and its agent:

- (6.29) *Isungkun ràja isé gelàrna.*
 P:(PASS.ask chief) S:(who name.his)
 The chief asked what his name was.
- (6.30) *Ipasang kàmi bunga àpi.*
 P:(PASS.set.up we) S:(flower fire)
 We let some fireworks off.
- (6.31) *Kata pengulu Ajinèmbah isèhken agina*
 S:(word headman Ajinembah) P:(PASS.convey brother.his)
man Appung Barus.
 DAT:(to Appung Barus)
 The headman of Ajinembah's message was conveyed by his younger brother to Appung Barus.
- (6.32) *Kerèhen màma ialo-alo kàmi alu meriah ùkur.*
 S:(arrival uncle) P:(PASS.greet we) MAN:(with happy mind)
 We welcomed Uncle's arrival joyfully.

(ii) This is further borne out by the occurrence of clitic personal pronouns expounding the Agent slot (§4.1.2.1); these are inseparable from the passive verb:

- (6.33) *Kuinget tenah kaka.*
 P:(I.remember) S:(advice brother)
 I recalled my older brother's advice to me.
- (6.34) *Idahna biang.*
 P:(see.he) S:(dog)
 He saw a dog.

(iii) The occurrence of certain post-modifying auxiliaries and operators after the post-verbal agent, rather than between the passive verb and agent:

- (6.35) *Itimai Raja Aceh denga Putri Hijau.*
 P:(PASS.wait King Aceh) Aux:(still) S:(Putri Hijau)
 The King of Aceh still waited for Putri Hijau.
- (6.36) *Itawai kalak nge kam.*
 P:(PASS.laugh.at people) EMPH S:(you)
 People will really laugh at you.

⁴⁰ The term 'Agent' here is used to label the *syntactic* slot expounded by a constituent whose *semantic* role is that of Actor. The significance of this terminological difference is to maintain the important distinction between syntactic structure and role structure.

- (6.37) *Ipeberkat nandé me kami.*
 P:(PASS.send.off mother) EMPH we
 Mother sent us off.

(iv) In similar fashion, the conjunction *kenca* 'whenever; if' (§8.4.2.4, §8.4.2.5) which typically occurs as the second element in its clause, follows the verb-plus-agent phrase:

- (6.38) *Kuinget kenca persekolahku...*
 P:(I.remember) CONJ:(when) S:(schooling.my)
 Whenever I think back to my education at school...

- (6.39) *Iketna kenca aku...*
 P:((PASS).tie.he) CONJ:(if) S:(I)
 If he were to tie me up...

6.3.1.2 EXPONENTS

The Predicate Centre is expounded by a transitive verb stem prefixed with the passive marker *i-* (§3.4.1.2). Although it is sometimes dropped by some speakers in informal contexts, or in situations where other syntactic and/or pragmatic clues exist to define the clause as passive, this *i-* prefix can always be attached to the verb when the Agent is in post-verbal position, that is, when it is manifested by a noun or noun phrase, or independent or enclitic pronoun. The glossing convention '(PASS)' is used below to indicate that the passive prefix has not been realised on a particular verb, but is nevertheless recoverable. However, when the actor is realised by a pronoun denoting first person singular (*aku*) or first person plural inclusive (*kita*), then the Agent slot is pre-verbal, and expounded by the proclitic forms *ku-* 'I' or *si-* 'we (inclusive)'; in such cases the passive prefix *i-* is obligatorily absent.

The complete regular passive paradigm for a typical transitive verb *pekpek* 'to hit', is illustrated below, together with English glosses. It should be noted that the rendering of the latter in the active voice in idiomatic English is simply a reflection of the different functions which the passive performs in the two languages. This will be pursued in §6.5.

(Agent = proclitic pronoun)

<i>ku-pekpek</i>	<i>biang</i>	I hit the dog.
<i>si-pekpek</i>	<i>biang</i>	We (inclusive) hit the dog.

(Agent = enclitic pronoun)

<i>i-pekpek-ndu</i>	<i>biang</i>	You hit the dog.
<i>i-pekpek-mu</i>	<i>biang</i>	You (familiar) hit the dog.
<i>i-pekpek-na</i>	<i>biang</i>	He/She/They hit the dog.

(Agent = independent pronoun/noun)

<i>i-pekpekkam/kéna/kami/bapa</i>	<i>biang</i>	You ⁴¹ /we (exclusive)/father hit the dog.
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⁴¹ Variation in the realisation of second person pronouns, sometimes as enclitics and sometimes as full forms, merely reflects differences in the level of formality/familiarity present between the two speakers. See §4.1.2.1.

6.3.1.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AGENT

As described above, the Agent in a passive clause is always immediately adjacent to and structurally linked with the verb. Some other relevant syntactic and semantic properties of agents in passive clauses are:

(i) Despite a very strong tendency (about 85 per cent of the time) for the Agent to be retained in Karo passive clauses, it may be omitted from the passive predicate phrase when the identity of the actor is unknown or difficult to ascertain, or presumably known but irrelevant to the situation, or indeed known but not stated so as to avoid directness (such as in imperatives):

- (6.40) *Ipalu me gendang suari berngi.*
 PASS.beat EMPH drum day night
 The drums were beaten day and night.
- (6.41) *Pang aku geleh adi la kari beru Rengga Kuning enda*
 dare I (PASS).kill if not later female Rengga Kuning this
diberu.
 female
 I'll stake my life on it that this (person called) Beru Rengga Kuning will turn out to be a woman (lit. I'm prepared to be killed if this Beru Rengga Kuning isn't a woman).
- (6.42) *Ikirim aku erdahin ku rumah sakit.*
 PASS.send I work to house sick
 I was sent to work in a hospital.
- (6.43) *Ola niambekken! Nijarumi énda gelah!*
 don't PASS.throw PASS.sew this HORT
 Don't throw it out! It can be sewn up again! (i.e. Don't throw it out! You can repair it!)

As subjects in general are also omissible under certain conditions (§7.8), passive clauses containing only one nominal constituent are potentially ambiguous with respect to the role of that NP. In such cases, pragmatic factors and/or intonation will normally help resolve whether the NP is actor or undergoer:

- (6.44) *Ibahan sada kerja man-man, igelah lembu, tangger nakan.*
 PASS.make one feast eat-eat PASS.kill cow (PASS).cook rice
 A feast was conducted, a cow was slaughtered, rice was cooked.
- (6.45) *La mehuli itawai kalak si tubing.*
 not good PASS.laugh.at person REL cleft.lip
 It's not nice to make fun of people with a harelip.

Alternatively the operator *me* (see §7.4.5.3.4) occurring in immediate post-predicate position (recall §6.3.1.1 (iii) above) may serve to disambiguate the role of the solitary NP. Compare the following:

- (6.46) a. *Idarami guru ku kerangen.*
 PASS.seek medicine.man to forest
 The medicine man looked (for it) in the forest.

- b. *Idarami guru me ku kerangen.*
 PASS.seek medicine.man EMPH to forest
 The medicine man looked (for it) in the forest.
- c. *Idarami me guru ku kerangen.*
 PASS.seek EMPH medicine.man to forest
 (They) looked for the medicine man in the forest. (i.e. The medicine man was sought in the forest.)

The role of *guru* 'medicine man' in (a) is unspecified. In (b), *guru* is part of the predicate phrase (which is modified by *me*), thus the agent. In (c), *guru* lies outside the predicate, and is thus subject of the passive clause, and accordingly the undergoer.

(ii) Although most agents are expressed by a pronoun or simple noun phrase, structurally longer agents, with conjoined heads, or containing relative clauses, may also occur:

- (6.47) *Idapeti beru Rengga Kuning ras juak-juakna Naktaki ibas bayangen.*
 PASS.find female Rengga Kuning and follower.her Naktaki in stocks
 Beru Rengga Kuning and her followers discovered Naktaki in the stocks.
- (6.48) *Kayu é itepet jelma si idahna ndai.*
 tree that PASS.cut.down person REL PASS.see.they before
 The tree was felled by the man whom they had previously seen.
- (6.49) *Ibaba kejerangen si ikepalai agina biang perburuna.*
 PASS.bring group REL PASS.head brother.his dog hunter.his
 The group which was headed by his younger brother brought along his hunting dog.

(iii) Although they normally refer to a particular or identifiable entity, agents may also be indefinite:

- (6.50) *Adi pakendu baju si é, itawai kalak nge kam.*
 if (PASS).wear.you dress REL that PASS.laugh.at people EMPH you
 If you wear that dress, people will really laugh at you.
- (6.51) *Kerbo kami igera pinangko.*
 buffalo our PASS.lead thief
 Our water-buffalo have been stolen.

(iv) Inanimate agents are also possible:

- (6.52) *Takalna idabuhi tualah.*
 head.his PASS.fall.on coconut
 He was struck on the head by a falling coconut.
- (6.53) *...perban suina atéku igudam kegagalen é.*
 because difficult.NMS heart.my PASS.strike failure that
 ...because of my disappointment in being afflicted by that failure.

(v) Finally, some restrictions apply: the Agent slot cannot be expounded by interrogative or demonstrative pronouns (§4.1.2.2, §4.1.2.6). Whenever such forms occur as actors, then the clause must be encoded as an active. Thus:

- (6.54) *Isé nangkosa kerbo é?*
 who ACT.steal.PERF buffalo that
 Who stole those water-buffalo?

and not:

- (6.55) **Kerbo é itangko isé?*
 buffalo that PASS.steal who
 Those water-buffalo were stolen by whom?

6.3.1.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SUBJECT

Grammatically, the subject of a passive clause behaves like the subject of any other clause. It may precede or follow its predicate (see examples (6.50) and (6.51)); it may be deleted from the clause when understood (example (6.43)); it may launch a floating quantifier (see §4.1.3.3, and example (6.59)), and it has access to relativisation (see §8.1). Except for bearing the role of undergoer, the passive subject remains free of restrictions with respect to its semantic properties, its referential status, and its topicality. Some of these features are now described in detail:

(i) The actual degree of 'affectedness' experienced by the undergoer-as-subject in a passive clause ranges from significant to negligible, depending upon the particular verb semantics:

- (6.56) *Kuguas takalna.*
 I.thump head.his
 I clobbered him on the head.
- (6.57) *Kudarami ia ndai tapi la kudat.*
 I.seek he before but not I.find
 I looked for him before but couldn't find him.

(ii) The subjects in examples (6.47) – (6.53), (6.56) and (6.57) above are all definite;⁴² by contrast, NPs which are indefinite, non-individuated and generic can also occur as subjects of passive clauses:

- (6.58) *Isuanna jaung.*
 PASS.plant.he corn
 He planted corn.
- (6.59) *Mbué usur dat raja é kapur barus.*
 much always (PASS).get chief that camphor
 The chief always got plenty of camphor.
- (6.60) *Ranting pé ibuati kami.*
 firewood EMPH PASS.take.REP we
 We collected firewood.

⁴² By 'definite' here is meant 'identifiable'. See Foley and Van Valin (1985:284).

- (6.61) *Pedah ras ajar megati sidat ibas ndung-ndungen é.*
 advice and teaching often we.get in allegory that
 We often get advice and lessons from those allegories.

(iii) Passive subjects, like passive agents, may be animate or inanimate (examples (6.40) and (6.41)):

- (6.62) *Bagi batu boroh igiling mesin stomwals.*
 like stone gravel PASS.crush machine steamroller
 Like gravel being crushed by a steamroller.

(iv) The passive subject may refer to an entity or participant already mentioned in the discourse; equally, it may introduce a new participant; the subject of the following two clauses (*kucing* 'cat') is 'new' information in (6.63) but 'old' information in (6.64):

- (6.63) *Idahna me sada kucing gempang i tepi labah.*
 (PASS).see.she EMPH one cat lie at side door
 She saw a cat lying face down beside the door.

- (6.64) *É makana angkipna kucing é lawes ku turé.*
 and so (PASS).nurse.she cat that go to veranda
 And so she picked the cat up and holding it tight she went out to the veranda.

6.3.2 SUBJECTLESS PASSIVES

Unlike regular passives, which in prototypical form contain two nominal participants, subjectless passives are characterised by the lack of an explicit undergoer manifested as subject. The actor normally remains present in such clauses, expressed through the Agent slot immediately adjacent to the passive verb. Subjectless passives can be divided into three types: passive reflexives, passives of direction and reference, and passives which take complements.

6.3.2.1 PASSIVE REFLEXIVES

Reflexive constructions are described in detail below (§6.4). It is sufficient to note here that in the passive, a reflexive clause consists of a predicate containing a passive verb plus pronominal (almost always clitic) agent, plus a Dative PP whose head is coreferential with and thus in person agreement with the agent. As described in §4.2.4.2, the preposition *man* 'to, for' in these Dative phrases is optional.

- (6.65) *Kugalangken man bangku.*
 I.lie.down to me
 I lay (myself) down.
- (6.66) *Kelengi temanndu, bagi ikelengi kam bandu.*
 (PASS).love friend.your as PASS.love you to.you
 Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.
- (6.67) *Ipayungina bana.*
 PASS.umbrella.LOC.he to.him
 He sheltered himself with an umbrella.

What is significant in such clauses is the absence of a formal subject. The Undergoer is present, but relegated to a peripheral role in the clause.

6.3.2.2 PASSIVES OF DIRECTION AND REFERENCE

These are passive constructions characterised by:

- (i) a predicate centre expounded by verb denoting motion, volitional perception, cognition or communication;
- (ii) an optional (usually pronominal) agent;
- (iii) a prepositional phrase expressing direction (§4.2.1.3) or reference (§4.2.7). This prepositional phrase is almost always present in the clause; if not, it is readily inferable from the context.

For example:

- (6.68) *Éta sidalini ku jah!*
HORT we.walk to there
Come on, let's walk there!
- (6.69) *Dahi kami ku sada batang buah pangan ka.*
(PASS).visit we to one tree fruit food EMPH
We went over to a tree bearing edible fruit.
- (6.70) *É maka deherina ku jé.*
and then (PASS).approach.he to there
And then he went near there.
- (6.71) *Adi situlihkan kempak léparna...*
if we.turn towards opposite.the
If we face the other side...
- (6.72) *Itatapna i datas nari, ku keléwetna.*
PASS.look.he at above from to surroundings.its
He gazed down from above, towards the surrounding area.
- (6.73) *Tupung si é, seringken diberu ndai kempak ia.*
while REL that (PASS).glance female before towards him
All the while, the girl kept on glancing surreptitiously at him.
- (6.74) *Lanai iukuri tingtang uis mbaru.*
no.longer PASS.think about clothes new
There was no further thought given to new clothes.
- (6.75) *Kenca é, sibari bapa ku teruh.*
after that (PASS).measure father to below
Next, father measured down to the bottom (of the well).
- (6.76) *É maka turiken Bunga Ncolé me kerna nipina é.*
and then (PASS).relate Bunga Ncole EMPH about dream.her that
And so Bunga Ncole told about the dream that she had.

Representative verb stems occurring in this construction include:

<i>dalini</i> *	walk to
<i>dahi</i> *	visit, go to
<i>siar</i> *	wander
<i>garangi</i>	crawl on hands and knees to
<i>gawangi</i>	creep, crawl (of insects, etc.) to
<i>langi</i>	swim to
<i>kabangi</i>	fly to
<i>deheri</i> *	approach
<i>kunduli</i> *	sit on
<i>ayaki</i> *	chase, pursue
<i>tingkah</i> *	set foot on, step on
<i>tatap</i> *	look, gaze at
<i>nehen</i> *	see, look at
<i>taré</i> *	look up to/at
<i>tungkir-tungkir</i>	peer at
<i>seringken</i>	glance sideways at, look through the corner of one's eye at
<i>tulihken</i> *	face, turn towards
<i>sibari</i> *	measure
<i>ukuri</i> *	think about
<i>turiken</i> *	relate, tell
<i>kataken</i> *	send word to

Many of these words (marked with asterisks) also occur in regular passive constructions with a normal undergoer-as-subject. For example:

- (6.77) *Kutaré matana.*
 I.look.up.at eye.her
 I looked up into her eyes.

The agent in this subjectless construction is nearly always human and pronominal, although personified non-human nouns are possible:

- (6.78) *Igawangi unduk-unduk é ku kayu tertentu.*
 PASS.creep caterpillar that to tree certain
 The caterpillars crawled to a particular tree.

The agent may also be deleted when understood from the context:

- (6.79) *Nidahi, nitaré ku datas.*
 PASS.visit PASS.look.up to above
 (They) went (there), (they) looked up.

The prepositional phrase normally follows the predicate, but may precede it for emphasis:

- (6.80) *Ku ja pa pé tulihken, teridah sikap.*
 to where ever EMPH (PASS).face ABIL.see in.order
 In whichever direction one turned, everything looked neat and tidy.

- (6.81) *Ku isé nge ndia kuturiken?*
 to who EMPH EMPH Irelate
 To whom could I unburden my heart?

The prepositional phrase may also be omitted from the clause, but in all such cases the direction of the action is immediately obvious from the context:

- (6.82) *Kenca deher sitik maka igarangi kami.*
 after near little then PASS.crawl we
 After we got a bit closer, we crawled along on our hands and knees (towards the tree).

These clauses are structurally identical to the passive reflexives described in §6.3.2.1, in that they contain a (more or less obligatory) prepositional phrase in place of the usual nominal undergoer. In so far as the verbs in these clauses are typically locative (either implicitly so, or explicitly marked with the locative suffix *-i* – see §3.5.1), or in the case of the communication verbs, typically associated with phrases designating the substance of the communication or thought, then the referential content of the accompanying prepositional phrases is – from a semantic perspective – consistently compatible with a verb-undergoer relationship. As was the case with the passive reflexives, this ‘undergoer-like’ material is encoded not as a fully-fledged, syntactically central constituent (i.e. subject) but as a grammatically oblique or peripheral element instead. Why this should be so, when the language demonstrably possesses the means to elevate such (semantic) undergoers to a higher syntactic status, is not entirely clear. Part of the reason may be that their identity is often too vague or ‘unfocusable’ to be relegated to the status of a true undergoer. Consider for instance the nebulous and imprecise identity of the location referred to in clauses such as the following:

- (6.83) *Tatap si nguda-nguda ku kawes kemuhen.*
 (PASS).look girl to left right
 The girl looked right and left.
- (6.84) *Kutatap ku keléwet kami cinder é.*
 I.look to around we stand that
 I looked around the spot where we were standing.

Against such instances, however, are cases of quite precise ‘undergoer-like’ locations such as the tree mentioned in example (6.78), or the dream referred to in example (6.75). Considerations of the definiteness or otherwise of the undergoer therefore do not appear to hold the answer to this question.

6.3.2.3 PASSIVES TAKING COMPLEMENTS

This construction comprises a passive verb plus agent, accompanied by a Complement slot which is expounded by a clause whose actor is coreferential with the actor of the main verb, and thus omitted:

- (6.85) *Kupalapalai ngelupaken ia.*
 I.try.hard ACT.forget her
 I tried hard to forget her.
- (6.86) *La sieteh naksirsa.*
 not we.know ACT.estimate.it
 We don’t know how to estimate it.

- (6.87) *Iteruskenna ka erdalin.*
 PASS.continue.he also walk
 He just kept on walking.
- (6.88) *Méla kal akapna.*
 ashamed very (PASS).feel.he
 He felt very ashamed.

Although usually pronominal, the agent may be expounded by a noun phrase:

- (6.89) *Itulak Appung Barus berkat ku kuta.*
 PASS.refuse Appung Barus depart to village
 Appung Barus refused to leave for the village.

The agent may also be omitted, but is always recoverable from the context:

- (6.90) *Kenca bengkuang é cukup siakap kerahna, maka mulai*
 after pandanus that enough we.feel dry.its then begin
me ibenaken ibayu.
 EMPH PASS.start PASS.weave
 After we think that the pandanus has dried out sufficiently, then we begin to
 start weaving it.
- (6.91) *Empetilah ngerana é, bengkila!*
 (PASS).hurry speak that uncle
 Speak a bit faster, Uncle!

Verbs occurring in this construction usually express the following notions:

- (a) commencing, maintaining or finishing an action;
- (b) attempting, deciding or refusing to do something;
- (c) knowing, remembering, or learning how to do something;
- (d) feeling or experiencing something.

A list of representative verb stems is provided in §8.2.4, together with an amplified description of their complements. Some of these items may also occur in regular passive clauses, but as far as their behaviour in the complement-taking subjectless construction is concerned, their passive marking here is not associated in any way with an undergoer.

6.3.2.4 SUBJECTLESS PASSIVES: AN OVERVIEW

The main properties of subjectless passives in Karo may be summarised as follows:

(i) The verb bears regular passive marking (including the potential for decontrolled passive marking with *ter-*: see §6.3.3).

(ii) The verbs which figure in such constructions belong to a limited number of sets embracing the following semantic notions :

- reflexive action (e.g. hitting/feeding oneself)
- direction-oriented motion (e.g. walking/crawling towards)
- volitional (usually visual) perception (e.g. looking/glancing at)
- communication (e.g. talking/telling about)
- cognition (e.g. thinking about, knowing/learning how to)
- aspects of the action (e.g. starting/continuing/ceasing)
- attitudes towards the action (e.g. agreeing/deciding/trying to)

Roughly half of the verbs found in subjectless constructions also figure in regular passives, as in example (6.77). The remainder occur uniquely in the subjectless construction, having no regular passive use, nor active counterparts. Thus one finds, for instance: *akap* 'feel' but not **ngakap*; *pala-palai* 'make an effort to' but not **mala-palai*; *sempatken* 'take the time to' but not **nempatken*. Lacking true active counterparts, some of these passive verbs are paraphrasable by intransitive verbs derived from the same root, for instance: *pala-palai* and *epala-pala* 'try, make an effort to'.⁴³

(iii) The agent is typically human, and normally present in the clause (or if not, readily recoverable). These restrictions aside, the agents of subjectless passives exactly parallel those in regular passives.

(iv) If any semantic undergoer is present it is manifested peripherally as the head of a prepositional phrase. Undergoers may be omitted but are always readily recoverable from the context.

In so far as passives are normally associated with the notion of promotion of an undergoer to subjecthood, these subjectless passives – particularly the ones which completely lack any candidate for undergoer – are quite anomalous, and call into question the applicability of the term 'passive' as an appropriate label. Such constructions, however, are by no means unique to Karo. Analogous patterns are found in Toba and Dairi Batak (Van der Tuuk 1971:159-161, 175) as well as in Indonesian, for instance:

- (6.92) *Dilihatnya ke atas.*
 PASS.see.he to above
 He looked up.

Further afield, similar constructions are described by Siewierska (1984:93 ff.) and Keenan (1985:273 ff.), drawing upon data from a wide cross-section of language families: Indo-European (Latin, Classical Greek, Dutch, German, Irish), Finno-Ugric, Altaic,

⁴³ Passive verbs lacking active counterparts are found sprinkled in neighbouring languages. Percival (1981:74) cites such "defective stems" in Toba Batak, whilst in Indonesian one finds the passive form *dikarenakan* 'caused by' without an active counterpart **mengarenakan*. McGinn (1982:48) mentions similar instances for Rejang. A few such cases occur in English as well, for example, 'He was rumoured/reputed to be a spy'.

Dravidian, Niger-Congo, Nilo-Saharan, Yuman and Uto-Aztecan. These are generally labelled 'impersonal passives', and by and large present the same dilemma as the Karo data above: passive verbal morphology and syntax, but generally no undergoer-as-subject. The data for Karo accord with the principal conclusions stated by Siewierska, namely: (1) that impersonal passives cannot be defined with respect to the basic transitivity of the verb (as seen above, some verbs in subjectless constructions are more closely related to intransitive counterparts), and (2) the agents of impersonal passives are restricted to human actors (the only apparent counter-example recorded in Karo involves the agent 'caterpillars' – see example (6.78) – who were in fact humans in disguise).

In view of the existence of similar subjectless passive constructions in many other languages, there would seem to be no reason for excluding these Karo cases as non-passive on the grounds of their apparent structural irregularity. What such constructions clearly imply, however, is that the function of passive cannot be wholly defined in terms of the semantic role of the passive subject, since they contain no grammatical subject at all (Kirsner 1976:389). Put another way, since they lack a subject, such constructions serve as evidence for the claim that demotion of the (active) subject occurs independently of the promotion of the (active) object (Comrie 1977:58). This accords with Shibatani's (1985:837) claim that the primary pragmatic function of passives is not promotion of the patient but rather defocusing of the agent.

6.3.3 DECONTROLLED PASSIVES

The preceding account of regular and subjectless passives describes such constructions as they occur in dynamic mode, marked by the prefix *i-*. Such passives may be further inflected for decontrolled mode, which is marked by the prefix *ter-*. More precisely, there are two *ter-* prefixes, one which marks an abilitative or potential passive (glossed as ABIL), the other indicating a passive action which is accidental, unintentional or spontaneous (glossed as INV):

- (6.93) *La kal terjabap aku penungkunen é.*
not EMPH ABIL.answer I question that
I was not able to answer that question at all.
- (6.94) *Terképarindu nge titi é?*
ABIL.cross.you INTER bridge that
Are you able to cross that bridge?
- (6.95) *Laguna si gelgel la tertadingkenca.*
behaviour.his REL previous not ABIL.leave.behind.he
He is unable to abandon his old habits.
- (6.96) *Legi sitik piso é, terambekken aku ndai.*
fetch SOF knife that INV.throw I before
Go and find that knife for me please, I threw it out by mistake.
- (6.97) *Ula kam kari tersayat dilah!*
don't you later INV.cut tongue
Don't say something you will regret later! (lit. Don't be cut by your own tongue!)

- (6.98) *Sanga kiam beru Patimar terdemparsa sekalak tua-tua.*
 while run female Patimar INV.bump.she one.person old
 As Beru Patimar ran off she accidentally bumped into an old lady.

From a structural perspective, the two *ter-* passives are virtually identical. The agent is always immediately post-verbal, and may be realised by a full noun phrase or by a pronoun. First person pronoun actors occur in full form, second and third person usually occur as enclitics, with the third person agentive pronoun realised as *-sa*. These facts are comprehensively illustrated in §3.4.1.3. The main point of structural difference between the two *ter-* passives concerns the agent. With abilitative passives, the agent is freely omissible, and need not even be recoverable from the context:

- (6.99) *Kuga kin pé riahna perjuangan, anakperana ras*
 how EMPH EMPH busy.NMS struggle youth and
singuda-nguda lalap kidahken la terpesirang.
 young.girl always seem not ABIL.CAUS.part
 No matter how demanding the struggle for independence was, it always
 seemed to be the case that young men and women couldn't be separated from
 each other.

With accidental passives, however, it is unusual for the agent not to be expressed. This seems to suggest that in abilitative passives the focus of attention is more upon the undergoer and its potential for being affected by the action, whereas with accidental passives the actor remains central to the scene.

A further difference between the two passives concerns the possibility for encoding the agent of the accidental passive in a prepositional phrase:

- (6.100) *Terbegi man bana sora kalak rendé.*
 INV.hear to her voice person- sing
 Suddenly she heard somebody singing.
- (6.101) *Tergejab ibassa maka sikap dagingna idahi tambar é.*
 INV.feel in.him that in.order body.his PASS.work medicine that
 He felt inside himself that his body was getting better as the medicine started
 to take effect (lit. as his body was being worked on by the medicine).

In such cases the agent is really more an experiencer than an actor, and its relegation to a peripheral position is consistent with the diminution of responsibility for or control over the action.

Despite such differences, however, what both these prefixes do have in common is to signal that the actor has diminished control over the action; that is, the action referred to by the verb is either performed without the actor's intention to do so, or lies beyond the actor's capacity to perform it. This marking of non-volitional behaviour on the part of the actor is quite common in Indonesian languages (see Cartier 1978; Wouk 1980; Durie 1985a). This situation of decontrol contrasts with the situation in dynamic passives, where (except of course in negated clauses) the event is depicted as actually taking place, with the full intention or control of the actor being exercised.

Although it is more transparently compatible with the accidental *ter-* passives, the notion of decontrol fits in well with the abilitative passives too, in that these constructions typically occur in interrogative or negated clauses, in which cases there is explicit uncertainty about the

actor's degree of control over the action. It is significant that whenever abilitative *ter-* occurs in a non-interrogative or non-negated clause, there is still an element of uncertainty present, as illustrated in the following conditional/hypothetical cases:

- (6.102) *Terbunuh kam manuk si gurdi-gurdi enggo kam salih jadi*
 ABIL.kill you bird title *gurdi-gurdi* already you change become
raja ibas kuta énda.
 chief in village this
 If you can slay the *gurdi-gurdi* bird then you will become the chief in this village.
- (6.103) *Nggit aku man bandu adi terberé kam nakan turanku.*
 willing I to you if ABIL.give you food brother.my
 I will submit to you if you can provide my brother with food.

Although these clauses are in declarative mood, the actors' ability to kill the threatening bird, or provide the food, is not being asserted, but rather raised as a possibility or hope.

In all the above examples, the decontrol marker *ter-* is prefixed to regular passives. Subjectless passives may also be inflected for decontrol; these are mostly abilitatives:

- (6.104) *Lanai tergeluhi aku man bangku.*
 no.longer ABIL.live.LOC I to me
 I can no longer provide for myself.
- (6.105) *Tersayat aku man bangku.*
 INV.cut I to me
 I accidentally cut myself.
- (6.106) *Lanai tersirangkenca.*
 no.longer ABIL.part.CAUS.he
 He just couldn't drag himself away.
- (6.107) *Lanai terkiamken.*
 no.longer ABIL.run.CAUS
 (They) couldn't run away.
- (6.108) *La terdahisa ku jah.*
 not ABIL.visit.he to there
 He was unable to go there.
- (6.109) *Lalap la tersempatken aku ndahi kam ku jénda.*
 always not ABIL.make.time I ACT.visit you to here
 I could never find the time to come and visit you.

6.4 REFLEXIVES

Reflexive clauses in Karo constitute a separate subclass of transitive clauses, with their own formal distinguishing features, which are described in detail below. These formal defining features exclude semantically reflexive but grammatically intransitive forms such as *ridi* 'bathe (oneself)', *ndelis* 'to suicide by hanging oneself', *erburih* 'wash one's hands', *erduhap* 'wash one's face', etc. Also excluded from the reflexive subclass are regular transitive constructions which happen to express actions performed by an actor in relation to

his or her own physical or spiritual self, involving references to parts of the body, the mind, and so on, such as:

- (6.110) *Adi kita ngenehen rupanta ibas curmin...*
if we ACT.see face.our in mirror
If we were to see ourselves in a mirror...
- (6.111) *Kupepiher ukurku, kupetenang pusuh peraténku.*
I.CAUS.firm mind.my I.CAUS.calm heart intention.my
I steeled myself, I calmed myself.

Reflexives occur in both active and passive constructions, as follows.

6.4.1 ACTIVE REFLEXIVES

These parallel regular active clauses, consisting of three nuclear constituents: Subject, Predicate and Object. The Predicate is expounded by an active transitive verb. The Object directly follows the Predicate and is expounded by *bana* 'self':

- (6.112) *Aku la nggit njabuken bana.*
I not wish ACT.marry self
I don't want to get myself married.
- (6.113) *Kam muji bana usur.*
you ACT.praise self always
You're always telling people how good you are.
- (6.114) *Nahéngku terus ningkahken bana ndeheri kuta Pamah.*
leg.my continue ACT.step self ACT.approach village Pamah
My legs kept on pushing themselves along towards Pamah.
- (6.115) *Batang nderung pé enggo ngelak-lak bana.*
tree kind.of.tree EMPH already ACT.bark self
Even the *nderung* tree has shed its own bark.

The invariant nature of *bana* suggests that synchronically it may be regarded purely as a reflexive pronoun. Its independent morphemic status is confirmed by the derivative *erbana-bana* 'to do one's own thing'. It seems probable that *bana* derives from the Dative-2 prepositional phrase head morpheme *ba-* plus the third person enclitic pronoun *-na*. Distributionally, however, *bana* is restricted to post-predicate position.

The Subject of the active reflexive may either precede the Predicate (as in examples (6.112) - (6.115)), or alternatively it may follow the Object slot (as in examples (6.116) and (6.117)). It may refer to inanimate as well as animate actors:

- (6.116) *Mekpeki bana beru Patimar.*
ACT.hit.ITER self female Patimar
Beru Patimar kept on hitting herself.
- (6.117) *...janah arah bagé, ngkurangi bana perubaten.*
and via thus ACT.less self fight
...and in this way, the number of disputes will diminish.

6.4.2 PASSIVE REFLEXIVES

A passive reflexive clause comprises two nuclear constituents: a Predicate, plus a Dative-2 prepositional phrase. The Predicate consists of an obligatory Centre, expounded by a passive verb, plus an obligatory Agent slot expounded by a personal pronoun. The Dative-2 phrase (§4.2.4.2) comprises an optional preposition *man* plus an obligatory head expounded by a personal pronoun which agrees in person and number with the exponent of the Agent slot. For example:

- (6.118) *Kubunuh bangku atéku.*
I.kill to.me wish.my
I want to kill myself.
- (6.119) *Ngkai maka pekpekndu man bandu?*
why that (PASS).hit.you to you
Why are you hitting yourself?
- (6.120) *Empetkenna man bana.*
(PASS).hurry.she to her
She hurried herself along.
- (6.121) *Padin sibunuh banta asangken nerah.*
better we.kill to.us than surrender
It would be better to kill ourselves rather than surrender.

As described above (§6.3.2.1), such constructions are in fact subjectless. Although they contain both an actor and an undergoer (which are coreferential), the latter is accorded only peripheral syntactic status by being encoded as a prepositional phrase. It is nevertheless interesting that agreement is maintained between the actor and the undergoer in passives, but not in actives, where all reflexive undergoers are subsumed by the invariant *bana*.⁴⁴ Indeed, the feature of actor-undergoer agreement in Karo passive reflexives is consistent with Wouk's conclusions for Toba Batak (1984:211), where individuated undergoers were found to correlate much more highly with passives than actives.⁴⁵

As stated above, the Agent slot in a passive reflexive is restricted to pronominal exponents. Consequently, if the actor in a reflexive clause is realised by a non-pronoun, then one of two possible strategies is available:

(i) either the active construction is used:

- (6.122) *Kalak ah munuh bana.*
person that ACT.kill self
That fellow killed himself.

⁴⁴ This elaboration on one side of the system but not the other suggests that Karo passives are higher in transitivity than actives, according to the parameter of individuation propounded by Hopper and Thompson (1980:253, 287).

⁴⁵ In relating Wouk's conclusions for Toba Batak to mine for Karo, I have of necessity altered the jargon. Wouk explicitly rejects the terms "active" and "passive" for Toba Batak, opting instead for the term "trigger system", wherein a "nominative noun phrase" (relatable to what I have termed "subject") constitutes the "trigger" of the clause. If bearing the role of actor, this NP "triggers" a verbal morphology identified as "+AT" (akin to the Karo active); if it is a patient (i.e. undergoer) then it triggers the "-AT" construction (akin to Karo passive). The two languages are similar enough to make safe and valid comparisons about these obviously identical constructions, even if it might be felt in some quarters that terminological violence has been perpetrated.

(ii) or else the noun or NP concerned is topicalised via left-dislocation (§7.7.1) and can then be followed by a passive clause containing a coreferential resumptive pronoun agent:

- (6.123) *Kalak ah bunuhna bana.*
 person that (PASS).kill.he to.him
 That fellow, he killed himself.

When occurring as imperatives, reflexives are always encoded as passives, with the additional requirement that the second person pronoun agent is deleted when the command is positive:

- (6.124) *To, kiamken bandu!*
 go (PASS).run to.you
 Go on, run away!

- (6.125) *Bunuh bam!*
 (PASS).kill to.you
 Drop dead!

In negative commands, the agent may be either retained or deleted:

- (6.126) *Ula sipujiken banta.*
 don't we.praise to.us
 Let's not indulge in self-praise.
- (6.127) *Hé tongat, ula pekpeki bam!*
 hey boy don't (PASS).hit.ITER to.you
 Hey kid, don't keep on hitting yourself like that!

Reflexives may also occur as decontrolled passives, expressing either accidental self-inflicted action, or an (in)ability to do something for or to oneself:

- (6.128) *Tercucuksa bana.*
 INV.pierce.he to.him
 He accidentally pricked himself with a needle.
- (6.129) *Lanai terpankali aku man bangku.*
 no.longer ABIL.capital.LOC I to me
 I can no longer support myself financially.
- (6.130) *Lanai sempat tersalihkenca bana jadi unduk-unduk.*
 no.longer manage ABIL.alter.they to.them become caterpillar
 They had no time to change themselves back into caterpillars.

6.4.3 PSEUDO-REFLEXIVES

Pseudo-reflexives are characterised by the optional occurrence of the Dative-2 PP in passives and *bana* in actives. The verbs in such constructions typically describe actions which impinge upon one's own self and which are not normally associated with another participant; for instance, satisfying one's appetite, going off to sleep, taking one's leave, and the like. In such cases the Dative-2 phrase/*bana* only provides redundant information and is thus more often than not omitted from the clause. In each of the examples below, however, the Dative-2 phrase/*bana* has been included in parentheses.

The verbs occurring in pseudo-reflexives are confined to four subsets:

(i) verbs denoting individual bodily functions:

<i>tayangken</i>	stretch out
<i>galangken</i>	lie down
<i>tunduhkan</i>	go to sleep
<i>pedemken</i>	go to bed
<i>besuri</i>	satiate oneself, eat until full
<i>elahken</i>	finish eating
<i>pekesahkan</i>	recover, catch one's breath

- (6.131) *Besuri (bandu)!*
(PASS).sate (to.you)
Fill yourself up!
- (6.132) *Todu pedemken (bandu) mulihi!*
go (PASS).go.to.bed (to.you) return
Go on back to bed!
- (6.133) *Elah man sigalangken (banta).*
finish eat we.lie.down (to.us)
After lunch we'll have a rest.

(ii) certain verbs of motion:

<i>kiamken</i>	run away, escape
<i>lompatken</i>	jump
<i>berkatken</i>	leave
<i>sirangken</i>	part from, drag oneself away

- (6.134) *Anum gia la terberkatkenca (bana) ku Ajinembah banci*
although not ABIL.depart.he (to.him) to Ajinembah can
berékenna tambar.
(PASS).give.he medicine
Although he was not able to get away to Ajinembah himself, he was able to provide some medicine (for the sick person there).
- (6.135) *To kiamken (bam)!*
go (PASS).run (to.you)
Get lost!

(iii) certain complement-taking verbs (§8.2.4):

<i>empetken</i>	to speed up, hurry
<i>pala-palai</i>	to strive, try hard to
<i>(per)pang-pangken</i>	to summon the courage to

- (6.136) *Kupala-palai (bangku) erbahanca.*
I.try.hard (to.me) ACT.do.it
I made a real effort to do it.
- (6.137) *Empetkenna (bana) ridi.*
(PASS).hurry.she (to.her) bathe
She hurried her bathing.

(iv) verbs of pretence and self-delusion, formed from reduplicated (normally adjectival) stems affixed with *pe-* (§3.5.3.2) or *pe-...-ken* (§3.5.4.2):

<i>pengasup-ngasup</i>	to motivate oneself
<i>peguru-guru</i>	to pass oneself off as a medicine man
<i>pebeluh-beluhken</i>	to be a know-all
<i>pejilé-jiléken</i>	to put on airs and graces

- (6.138) *Nggeluh énda la kepé gunana pejago-jagoken ras*
 live this not seems use.its act.as.number.one and
peganjang-ganjangken (bana).
 act.tall (self)

In this life we are not meant to go around acting like the best and the greatest.

As noted above, these pseudo-reflexive verbs most typically occur without an accompanying Dative-2 phrase. A handful of verbs have been recorded which are considered to be on the fringe of this category, but which according to informants cannot collocate with a Dative-2 phrase. These include such items as *medakken* 'wake up, open one's eyes' and *perburihken* 'wash one's hands before eating'.

As stated earlier, pseudo-reflexive verbs typically express actions which are self-directed (for instance, going to bed, jumping, taking one's leave, etc.). However, when such actions involve another participant (such as putting a child to bed, or making an animal jump) then these are expressed not by the verbs used in the pseudo-reflexive constructions (nearly all of which happen to take the suffix *-ken*) but by regular causative verbs prefixed with *pe-* (§3.5.3). Compare the following pairs of sentences:

- (6.139) a. *Ipedemkenna (bana) mulihi.*
 PASS.go.to.bed.she (to.her) return
 She went back to bed.
- b. *Ipepedemna anakna.*
 PASS.CAUS.sleep.she child.her
 She put her child to bed.
- (6.140) a. *Minter ilompatkenna (bana).*
 immediately PASS.jump.he (to.him)
 He immediately jumped out of the way.
- b. *Ipelompatna biang é ku datas kursi.*
 PASS.CAUS.jump.he dog that to top chair
 He got the dog to jump up onto the chair.
- (6.141) a. *Anum gia mberat ukur Appung Barus berkat ku kuta*
 although heavy mind Appung Barus leave to village
Ajinembah, iberkatkenna (bana) kang.
 Ajinembah PASS.leave.he (to.him) EMPH
 Although he was reluctant to go to Ajinembah, Appung Barus forced himself to go anyway.
- b. *Ipeberkat kempuna ku Ajinembah.*
 PASS.CAUS.leave grandson.his to Ajinembah
 He sent his grandson off to Ajinembah.

6.4.4 OPTIONALITY AND ORDERING UNDER CONDITIONS OF EMPHASIS

Although speakers of Karo normally automatically employ reflexive constructions whenever the undergoer of a clause is coreferential with the actor, it is also possible for reflexives not to be invoked. This is often the case when the (coreferential) undergoer is contrasted with some other undergoer, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (6.142) *Tuhu, adi kalak, banci aku ngapulisa, tapi adi aku, lanai*
 true if people can I ACT.comfort.him but if I no.longer
aku beluh ngapuli aku.
 I clever ACT.comfort I
 Honestly, if it's somebody else, I can always comfort them, but if it's me, I just cannot comfort myself.
- (6.143) *Aku nge kupekpek, la bo ia.*
 I EMPH I.hit not EMPH he
 I hit myself, not him.

In both cases the regular reflexive forms (*bana* and *bangku* respectively) are overridden by the pronoun *aku* which is retained for special emphasis. Contrastive emphasis may also be signalled by a change in constituent order. This applies only to passive reflexives, and involves fronting the Dative-2 phrase over the predicate:

- (6.144) *Man bangku nge kupekpek!*
 to me EMPH I.hit
 It was myself I hit!
- (6.145) *Kerina jelma la pernah itulikhenna. Man bana saja*
 all person not ever PASS.look.towards.he to him just
ngenca pesikapna.
 only (PASS).CAUS.in.order.he
 He never gave anybody else any consideration. He only looked after himself.

6.4.5 REFLEXIVES IN COMPLEMENT STRUCTURES

Reflexives are often found in complement-taking transitive clauses, where a 'lower' clause is syntactically embedded into a 'higher' clause whose predicate is expounded by one of a number of manipulative and propositional attitude verbs, such as *pediat* 'let, allow', *larang* 'forbid', *akap* 'think, consider', *eteh* 'know', and so on (§8.2.5). The subject of the lower clause may be 'raised' into the higher clause, where by virtue of its coreferentiality with the higher clause actor, it can be reflexivised:

- (6.146) *Akapndu bandu singuda-nguda denga.*
 (PASS).think.you to.you young.girl still
 You consider yourself to be still a young girl.
- (6.147) *Enggo bagi sisada akapna bana.*
 already like alone (PASS).think.he to.him
 He felt himself to be all alone.

This 'raising to reflexive' is optional, as evidenced by the following possibilities:

- (6.148) a. *Kupediat aku idakepna.*
 I.allow I PASS.embrace.she
 I let her embrace me.
- b. *Kupediat bangku idakepna.*
 I.allow to.me PASS.embrace.she
 I allowed myself to be embraced by her.

Under precisely what conditions speakers choose to employ or reject such reflexivisation remains a matter to be resolved after further investigation.

6.4.6 MINOR REFLEXIVE EXPRESSIONS

6.4.6.1 *mahan bana*

This active reflexive verb phrase means literally 'to make itself', or 'by itself'. As it always occurs in conjunction with another predicate, it can be structurally analysed as an instance of serialisation (§8.3). Functionally, however, it behaves more like a manner adjunct (§7.3.4), in explaining that the action referred to in the clause came about of its own accord:

- (6.149) *Ndabuh mahan bana gelas é.*
 fall make self glass that
 The glass fell by itself.
- (6.150) *La kutambari, mahan bana ia malem.*
 not I.medicine.LOC make self it recover
 I didn't put any medicine on it, it got better by itself.
- (6.151) *Mahan bana rëh beluhna ia.*
 make self come clever.NMS he
 He just got smarter by himself (i.e. nobody taught him).

6.4.6.2 *sisada*

Meaning 'alone, on one's own, (by) oneself', *sisada* functions both as a manner adjunct:

- (6.152) *Lawes ia ku tiga sisada.*
 go he to market alone
 He went to market alone.
- (6.153) *Kayu ah ndai penggel sisada.*
 wood that that snap itself
 The stick broke in two by itself.

and as a pronoun emphasiser:

- (6.154) *Kubahan surat man bangku sisada.*
 I.make letter to me self
 I wrote a letter to myself.

6.4.6.3 *sendiri*

Borrowed from Indonesian and widely used, this word means 'own, (by) oneself' and functions similarly to *sisada* as both a manner adjunct and a pronoun emphasiser:

- (6.155) *Tertutup sendiri ia.*
 INV.shut own it
 It closed by itself.
- (6.156) *É maka ibahanna sendiri tambarna.*
 and so PASS.make.he self medicine.his
 And so he made his own medicine.
- (6.157) *Pulung ia ibas rumahna sendiri.*
 gather they in house.their own
 They all gathered in their own houses.

6.5 FUNCTIONS OF ACTIVE AND PASSIVE

In attempting to better define the functions of active and passive in Karo, it is instructive to compare their distributions and relative frequency of occurrence.

6.5.1 FREQUENCY

With respect to frequency, it is striking that across all genres of Karo discourse, the passive is statistically dominant. A sample corpus of principally narrative texts,⁴⁶ containing nearly 1,500 transitive clauses, was examined in respect of the relative frequencies of active and passive. As the findings are of broad indicative value only, they are presented here rounded out to the nearest whole per cent:

	Total	Independent Clauses	Dependent Clauses
Active	29%	8%	21%
Passive	71%	64%	7%

From this count it emerges that 7 out of every 10 transitive clauses in Karo are in the passive, and 9 out of every 10 of these passive clauses occur independently. For actives, the tendency is reversed, with more than two-thirds being found in dependent clauses.

Similar observations of the preponderance of passives (variously termed object-focus, or patient-focus, or goal-topic) over actives have been made for a variety of western Austronesian languages, including Toba-Batak (Percival 1981:72; Wouk 1984:195), Tagalog

⁴⁶ The selection of *mainly* narrative discourse for this sample reflects both practical limitations (it was the most readily available genre) and theoretical considerations (it typically contains abundant material pertinent to transitivity studies, for example, event-sequencing, participant-tracking, clause-linking and the like). However, the sample also contains significant stretches of conversational material interwoven into the narratives, and includes a number of extracts narrated in the first person. There are also some hortatory passages, plus several which are procedural in intention (though more 'narratively-structured' in form: for instance, telling somebody how to make a bamboo flute by relating how the narrator's older brother once did). Thus the conclusions obtained are based on more than pure and simple third person narrative material.

(Hopper 1979; Hopper & Thompson 1980; Naylor 1986), Chamorro (Cooreman 1982), and certain varieties of Indonesian and Malay (Rafferty 1982:48; Cumming 1988:105).

6.5.2 DETERMINANTS OF VOICE SELECTION

Indeed the whole issue of voice selection has been a dominant theme in Austronesian syntactic studies for more than a decade, with many insights being contributed by scholars such as Chung (1976), Foley and Van Valin (1984), Hopper (1979), Kaswanti Purwo (1988), McCune (1979), Milner (1973), Schachter (1977) and Verhaar (1978, 1984b 1988b), to name but a few. The literature on this topic is far too voluminous and complex to be adequately summarised here, but two major themes may be extracted from these collective analyses concerning the propensity for passive selection in these languages:

- (1) firstly, a set of NP-related hypotheses, which propose that a connection can be established between the selection of passive (or whatever other label it is known by) and some characteristic of the undergoer, be it definiteness, individuation, animacy, prior reference or degree of affectedness;
- (2) secondly, and sometimes argued to be related to the above, a set of aspect-related hypotheses, one extension of which claims that the passive has become a device for signalling foregrounding in discourse. (By *foreground* is meant the material which supplies the main points of the discourse – the series of events which constitute the skeleton of the narrative. By contrast the material which merely provides description, amplification or comment about the key points is classed as *background*.) Accordingly it is claimed that the passive signifies accomplishment rather than progression of the action, that it expresses punctiliar events rather than durative actions and states, and that it marks perfective rather than imperfective aspect.

It needs to be emphasised that different investigators have made claims of different strengths about different languages, and of course one should not expect to find perfect matches of form and function across languages, even if those languages are related. But there are sufficiently common threads between these collective insights and one's superficial impressions about transitivity in Karo to warrant a closer examination of how appropriate these notions – one to do with patient-status, the other to do with aspect – are to the matter of voice selection in Karo.

To deal with the NP-related hypotheses first, none of the claims or suggestions about animacy, prior reference or degree of affectedness seems to account at all adequately for passive selection in Karo (see §6.3.1.4 regarding characteristics of the passive subject). As for patient-individuation (according to Wouk (1984), the most crucial determinant of passive or “-AT” selection in Toba Batak) and definiteness (a prerequisite for ‘topic’ status in Tagalog – see Schachter (1977:280) and Foley & Van Valin (1984:139)) it may be noted that such features do tend to accompany the undergoer in Karo, but counter-examples occur in sufficiently large numbers to refute these as the sole determinants of passive selection. That the NP-related hypotheses fail to account for all instances of passive selection is most tellingly demonstrated by the existence of the subjectless – indeed ‘undergoer-less’ – passives described in §6.3.2.3. As these constructions simply lack any available candidate for the undergoer-as-subject, they force the conclusion that the key to voice choice in Karo lies beyond a simple consideration of the properties of the undergoer in the transitive clause.

The second notion mentioned above, that passive correlates with perfective aspect, or accomplishment-type semantics, seems to be generally more applicable to the Karo data. In this language, an action which is viewed as a complete whole, without regard to its internal structure, is typically encoded in the passive. Thus the following clause refers to the weaving of a mat as an accomplished, whole event:

- (6.158) *Ibayu nandé amak.*
 PASS.weave mother mat
 Mother wove a mat.

By contrast, actions which are progressive, continuous or habitual (termed 'imperfective') are expressed via the active:

- (6.159) *Nandé mbayu amak.*
 mother ACT.weave mat
 Mother is weaving a mat/Mother weaves mats (as an occupation).

Since narratives typically relate a series of events which have taken place, it is not surprising that Karo narrative discourse is literally loaded with passives, and that these are most readily translatable into English with past tense forms. However, it is not necessarily the case that perfective actions always refer to events which have actually transpired. Actions which are future, potential, conditional or hypothetical are also expressed via the passive:

- (6.160) *Kutelin me engko!*
 I.swallow EMPH you
 I'll eat you up!
- (6.161) *Ma banci nge inem kami sitik polandu é?*
 RHET can EMPH (PASS).drink we little palm.wine.your that
 Can't we drink a little of your palm wine?
- (6.162) *Ipindo kami man bana, maka idahi kami lebé orang tua.*
 PASS.ask we to him PURP PASS.visit we first parents
 We asked him whether we could visit our parents first.
- (6.163) *Jerngemna kenca aku, lanai kemuit.*
 (PASS).pounce.he if I no.longer move
 If he were to pounce on me, I wouldn't be able to move.

The point here is that such events are considered in terms of their entirety and completeness, irrespective of when they actually took place or might take place. By contrast, imperfective aspect typically views the action as lacking a terminal boundary. Thus instead of signalling punctiliar actions or events, active clauses typically refer to ongoing, durative or habitual actions.

Although not articulated in terms of the aspectual terminology employed here, this important distinction in Karo was recognised by Neumann (1922:41-42), who neatly illustrated the difference with the following pair of imperative clauses:

- (6.164) *Ula bunuh kaba-kaba é!*
 don't (PASS).kill butterfly that
 Don't kill that butterfly!

- (6.165) *Ula munuh kaba-kaba!*
 don't ACT.kill butterfly
 Don't kill butterflies!

The first clause, being passive, refers to (the prohibition of) a specific act of killing. The second clause, in the active, issues a more general prohibition about killing butterflies, viewing it not as a specific, temporally bounded event, but rather as an action unbounded by time, akin to that expressed by the commandment: 'Thou shalt not kill'.

This example is doubly interesting because of the interaction between verb semantics, aspect and undergoer status. A specific (perfective) act of killing requires a specific (individuated) undergoer, who is focused by means of the passive (example (6.164)). Conversely a statement of universal applicability (temporally unbounded, imperfective) with no specific undergoer in mind (indefinite, even non-referential undergoer), has no need of a specific mechanism for focus and thus is encoded in the active.

Notwithstanding the validity of these interrelationships, some further observations about the correlation between voice and aspect demand attention. Although the above account establishes the general tendency for actives to correlate with imperfective aspect and passives with perfective aspect, some exceptions to the pattern remain. In particular, many instances have been recorded of passives occurring with non-punctiliar, habitual or progressive meanings:

- (6.166) *Enggo ndekah me kam kudarami.*
 already long EMPH you I.seek
 I have been looking for you for a long time.
- (6.167) *Bagém usur kusampati orang tua.*
 thus.EMPH always I.help parents
 In this way I always help my parents.
- (6.168) *Guna njaga si é siasuhi kucing.*
 PURP ACT.guard REL that we.rear cat
 In order to guard against that, we keep a cat.
- (6.169) *Toto ras sudipna lalap nge la bo ingadikenna.*
 prayer and curse.her always EMPH not EMPH PASS.stop.she
 She kept on uttering her prayers and curses without stopping.

Data of this kind challenge the strength of the aspect hypothesis as it is framed above, that is, "that the passive signifies accomplishment rather than progression of the action, that it expresses punctiliar events rather than durative actions and states, and that it marks perfective rather than imperfective aspect". Some modification of the claim therefore seems necessary.

It is proposed that a simple realignment of perspective can help to make better sense of these 'exceptions', as follows. Rather than directing the question at what properties, meanings and functions accompany the occurrence of *passive* clauses in this language, it appears more fruitful instead to try and define with precision the circumstances under which *active* clauses occur.

6.5.3 THE DISTRIBUTION OF ACTIVE CLAUSES

As seen in §6.5.1, active clauses in Karo are numerically fewer than passives, and their distribution is correspondingly more restricted. Accordingly it is easier to identify those environments in which they occur, and to then describe their accompanying meanings and functions.

6.5.3.1 GRAMMATICALLY-DETERMINED ACTIVES

Voice selection is often determined by factors in the surrounding grammatical environment. This holds true for both dependent and independent clauses. Grammatical circumstances which trigger the selection of active – that is, where the actor is always encoded as a subject, never as an agent – are now described.

6.5.3.1.1 IN DEPENDENT CLAUSES

(i) in relative clauses, when the relativised nominal is an actor (§8.1):

- (6.170) *kalak si nukur galuh ah*
 person REL ACT.buy banana that
 the person who bought those bananas

(ii) in various complement clauses (types 2, 4, 5, 6, 8 and 9) where the (deleted) actor is coreferential with some central participant (usually the actor, but possibly also the undergoer or even possessor) in the main clause (see §8.2.2, §8.2.4, §8.2.5, §8.2.6, §8.2.8 and §8.2.9):

- (6.171) *Aku la beluh nukur galuh.*
 I not clever ACT.buy banana
 I'm no good at buying bananas.
- (6.172) *Aku isuruh nandé nukur galuh.*
 I PASS.order mother ACT.buy banana
 I was told by mother to buy some bananas.
- (6.173) *Atéku nukur galuh.*
 heart.my ACT.buy banana
 I want to buy some bananas.

(iii) in various subordinate clauses, principally those expressing purpose and simultaneity (§8.4.2.2, §8.4.2.4), where the (deleted) actor is coreferential with the actor of the main clause:

- (6.174) *Aku ku tiga lako nukur galuh.*
 I to market PURP ACT.buy banana
 I went to the market to buy bananas.
- (6.175) *Tarenku ndaramisa, jumpa aku ras sada gajah.*
 while.I ACT.seek.it meet I with one elephant
 While I was looking for it, I came across an elephant.

(iv) in serial constructions, where two clauses share a common actor (§8.3):

- (6.176) *Lawes ia nadingken kami.*
 go he ACT.leave we
 He went, leaving us.
- (6.177) *Ngidah Putri Hijau, cirem me raja Aceh.*
 ACT.see Putri Hijau smile EMPH king Aceh
 Seeing Putri Hijau, the King of Aceh smiled.

6.5.3.1.2 IN INDEPENDENT CLAUSES

The active is always used in the following situations:

(i) when the actor is realised by the demonstrative or interrogative pronouns *é*, *énda*, *isé* ('that, this, who'):

- (6.178) *Isé nukursa galuh énda?*
 who ACT.buy.PERF banana this
 Who bought these bananas?
- (6.179) *Éndam nambahi kepuasenta natap-natap.*
 this.EMPH ACT.add.to satisfaction.our look-look
 This adds to the satisfaction we have as we look at the view.

(ii) when the actor is emphasised or particularised, usually through extra phonological stress and/or by post-modification by an emphatic particle (§7.4.5.2):

- (6.180) *Aku ndai meligaisa.*
 I before ACT.count.them
 I counted them.
- (6.181) *Kam nge rusur muat galuh ah!*
 you EMPH always ACT.take banana that
 You are always taking those bananas!
- (6.182) *Ia me munuhsa kerina pawang si enggo lebé.*
 she EMPH ACT.kill.PERF all expert REL already earlier
 She was the one who killed all those honey-gatherers who had come before.
- (6.183) *Si Aji Bonar nge ngerajai tanah Tiangkerarasan.*
 Si Aji Bonar EMPH ACT.rule land Tiangkerarasan
 Si Aji Bonar will rule over the district of Tiangkerarasan.

(iii) when the actor is manifested by a non-pronoun, in a reflexive clause (§6.4.1, §6.4.2):

- (6.184) *Buktina ncidahken bana.*
 proof.the ACT.show self
 The evidence revealed itself.

6.5.3.2 ASPECTUALLY-DETERMINED ACTIVES

In each of the environments described above, the selection of an active clause is seen to be determined either by the circumstances of the superordinate clause or by certain inherent

properties of the actor. When the remaining instances of independent active clauses are examined, it is found that active clauses indeed correlate very highly with aspect – they encode situations which are stative rather than dynamic, progressive rather than punctiliar, and habitual rather than sporadic:

- (6.185) *Nai nari nini-nininta enggo meteh perdalan bulan.*
 long.ago from grandparents.our already ACT.know journey moon
 From long ago our ancestors have known the movements of the moon.
- (6.186) *Bapa ras kaka paksana erbahan sumur.*
 father and older brother PROG ACT.make.well
 Father and older brother were making a well.
- (6.187) *Aku rusur nampati nandé erdakan.*
 I always ACT.help mother cook
 I always help mother do the cooking.

The imperfective aspectual meanings present in these three examples may be contrasted with the perfective meanings expressed by the same verbs when they occur as passives, as illustrated below. (The verbs have been underlined to facilitate comparison.):

- (6.188) *Tupung ém ieteh Appung Barus si puna rumah*
 moment that.EMPH PASS.know Appung Barus REL own house
é Raja Kuta Usang.
 that chief Kuta Usang
 At that moment Appung Barus became aware that the one who owned that house was the Chief of Kuta Usang.
- (6.189) *I rumah ibahanna inganna mehuli kal.*
 at house PASS.make.he place.their good very
 In his house he made a very nice little place for them.
- (6.190) *Isampatina aku nukur galuh énda.*
 PASS.help.he I ACT.buy banana this
 He helped me buy these bananas.

6.5.3.3 CONCLUSIONS

Of the 430 active clauses in the sample, only around half a dozen fail to fit comfortably into one or other of the above categories. By ‘inverting the perspective’, as it were, a more comprehensive account has been provided for the occurrence of active clauses, than was possible for passive clauses.

6.5.4 A NOTE ON ASPECT

The perfective-imperfective aspectual distinction inherent in the passive-active dichotomy is effectively confined to those independent clauses where active and passive are not grammatically determined. Thus when an active clause is employed in response to the circumstances of the superordinate construction or by virtue of the lexical identity or need for emphasis of the actor (as described in §6.5.3.1), it is no longer automatically to be interpreted as imperfective in meaning. For example:

- (6.191) *Isé si man rotiku ndai?*
 who REL ACT.eat bread.my before
 Who ate my bread?

This example has a clearly perfective meaning, despite the presence of the active verb *man* 'eat', which here is compulsorily active in accordance with the rules of relative clause formation (§8.1).

When necessary, perfective aspect can be more explicitly signalled on a compulsorily active verb, by means of the suffix *-sa* (§3.4.1.4). In each of the following examples, habitual or progressive readings are vitiated by the perfective suffix:

- (6.192) *Isé ndai makésa payungku?*
 who before ACT.use.PERF umbrella.my
 Who used my umbrella?
- (6.193) *Kalak gutul ah nangkosa sénku.*
 person bad that ACT.steal.PERF money.my
 That bad fellow stole my money.
- (6.194) *Kiniseran kap erbahanca kami sirang.*
 poverty EMPH ACT.make.PERF we part
 Poverty caused us to split up.
- (6.195) *Pitu wari nari rēh kami merangsa kam kerina!*
 seven day more come we ACT.attack.PERF you all
 In seven days' time we shall come and attack you!
- (6.196) Q. *Isé si nebaksa si Amin?*
 who REL ACT.stab.PERF title Amin
 Who stabbed Amin?
- A. *Ia nebaksa bana!*
 he ACT.stab.PERF self
 He stabbed himself!

Interestingly, the perfective suffix *-sa* is identical in form to the third person objective pronoun. In light of Foley and Van Valin's observations (1984:368-372) about the correlation between highly individuated objects and what they term "accomplishment-verb semantics", it seems likely that this formal identity is not coincidental. The issue will not be pursued further here, except to note that *-sa* is not compatible with verbs followed by a non-individuated or identifiable object. Compare example (6.193) with example (6.197):

- (6.197) *Kalak si *nangkosa sén ikataken pinangko.*
 person REL ACT.steal.sa money PASS.call thief
 A person who steals money is called a thief.
- (6.198) *Aku ku kerangen *medilsa bédar.*
 I to forest ACT.shoot.sa wild.goat
 I am going/went to the forest to shoot wild goats.

6.6 SUMMARY

In this attempt to present an accurate synchronic description of transitive clauses in Karo, a number of important interrelated threads have been revealed, but by no means sufficiently disentangled to provide a comprehensive account of all the factors which contribute to conditioning the occurrence of active and passive clauses. Nevertheless it is clear from this sketch that active and passive are functionally distinguishable from each other on more than the grounds of mere "stylistic difference" (as implied for Toba Batak by Percival (1981:72)).

Aside from their usual voice-marking functions (with the passive directed more at actor-demotion rather than undergoer-promotion – see §6.3.2.4), active and passive also correlate very highly with imperfective and perfective aspect, at least in certain environments. However, since aspect is signalled by other (morphological) devices when the surrounding grammatical conditions dictate the selection of one voice over the other, it is concluded that aspect marking is a secondary function associated with actives and passives in this language.

As they outnumber actives by more than two to one, and as it is possible to more clearly define the distributional patterns and meanings of actives than those of passives, it is evident that passives play a more central role in Karo than they do in many other languages. Furthermore, given that the passive prefix *i-* is often dropped (as opposed to the indispensable active marking prefix *N-*), it is tempting to conclude that – contrary to the case for English, for example – the passive is the more basic, unmarked voice, and active is the marked voice. At this point, however, questions of cross-linguistic comparability arise, along with the complex issue of whether the Karo passive should in fact be regarded as a true passive at all. A number of recent studies on transitivity in other Austronesian languages have claimed that these languages exhibit "discourse ergativity" (Hopper 1983, 1988; Cooreman, Fox & Givón 1984; Verhaar 1988b), although a response by Cumming and Wouk (1987) argues for caution in adopting such terminology for languages which are not unambiguously ergative at the level of morphology. It is impossible to address such far-reaching issues here, but in so far as the description provided above might give a better idea of the forms and functions associated with actor and undergoer marking in another relatively unstudied Austronesian language, it is hoped that the Karo data might be of some small use in assisting in the resolution of some of these problems.

CHAPTER 7

CLAUSE-LEVEL SYNTAX

Whereas the preceding two chapters described the core features of individual clause types, this chapter deals with clause-level phenomena which are common to all clause types. Complementing the multitude of examples of clauses in declarative mood presented earlier, a detailed account is now provided of interrogative (§7.1) and imperative (§7.2) moods. Peripheral constituents such as adjuncts (§7.3), operators (§7.4) and vocatives (§7.5) are described, along with the essentially thematic processes of ordering (§7.6), left- and right-dislocation (§7.7) and ellipsis (§7.8).

7.1 INTERROGATIVES

In this description the term 'interrogative' refers to a set of constructions and words whose primary function is to ask questions. Three types of question formation may be distinguished: yes/no questions, rhetorical questions and content questions. These are described in detail in §7.1.1, together with various particles which assign particular attitudinal overtones to the questions concerned. The following section, 7.1.2, deals with the occurrence of interrogative forms in constructions whose illocutionary force is not an act of enquiry; these include complement clauses, certain noun modifiers and indefinite expressions.

7.1.1 QUESTIONS

7.1.1.1 YES/NO QUESTIONS

Any basic clause type can be turned into a yes/no question. In yes/no questions, the predicate always precedes the subject. In its most basic form a yes/no question is structurally identical to a declarative clause, differing only in respect of its intonation contour. In general terms, yes/no questions are characterised by a rising final intonation, whereas in declaratives the intonation contour falls (§2.1.3).

- (7.1) *Enggo kam man?*
 already you eat
 Have you eaten?
- (7.2) *Lawes ia?*
 go he
 Is he going?
- (7.3) *I rumah bapa?*
 at home father
 Is father home?

More commonly a yes/no question contains an interrogative particle immediately following the predicate. These convey subtle but important differences in respect of the speaker's expectations. There are four such particles:

1. *Kang* is a neutral particle, indicating that the speaker has no preconception about the likely response to the question being posed:

- (7.4) *Tandaindu kang Kompeni Purba?*
 (PASS).know.you PART Kompeni Purba
 Do you know Kompeni Purba?
- (7.5) *Banci kang kupinjam sekinndu?*
 may PART I.borrow knife.your
 May I borrow your knife?
- (7.6) *Termalemken dokter ah kang pinakitna ndai?*
 ABIL.cure doctor that PART illness.his that
 Can the doctor cure his illness?

2. *Kin* indicates that the speaker expects the question will most likely be answered in the affirmative:

- (7.7) *Perjuma kin ia?*
 farmer PART he
 Is he a farmer?
- (7.8) *Énda kin aténdu tukurndu?*
 this PART heart.your (PASS).buy.you
 Is this what you wish to buy?
- (7.9) *Bagé kin gelgel lagundu man bana?*
 like.that PART always behaviour.your to him
 Do you always treat him like that?

3. *Nge* signals doubt or disbelief on the part of the speaker concerning the truth of the proposition contained in the question; a negative answer would not be surprising to the speaker:

- (7.10) *Siat nge kari rumahna ah?*
 accommodate PART later house.his that
 Will his house be able to accommodate so many people?
- (7.11) *Énda nge ndia Guru Diden é?*
 this PART PART Guru Diden that
 This is Guru Diden?
- (7.12) *Terképarindu nge titi é adi erbaban ka kam?*
 ABIL.cross.you PART bridge that if have.load also you
 Can you cross that narrow bridge if you are carrying a load as well?

4. *Ndia* also expresses doubt or uncertainty; it often collocates with *nge*:

- (7.13) *Enggo ndia kita ertutur?*
 already PART we have.ritual.speaking
 Have we met before? (lit. Have we already established our relationship through ritual introduction?)

- (7.14) *Tergeluhken aku nge ndia adi ras nandé nguda?*
 ABIL.live I PART PART if with mother young
 Can I really stand living with a stepmother?

7.1.1.1.1 RESPONSES

A short negative response to a yes/no question is usually conveyed by one of the negative words (§7.4.1), depending upon the aspectual force of the question:

- (7.15) Q: *Menang kang kéna?* A: *Lang.*
 win PART you no
 Did you win? No.
- (7.16) Q: *Enggo kam man?* A: *Lenga.*
 already you eat not.yet
 Have you eaten? Not yet.
- (7.17) Q: *I Médan denga ia?* A: *Lanai.*
 at Medan still he no.longer
 Is he still in Medan? Not any more.

Positive answers to yes/no questions may be effected with *oé* or *ué* 'yes', or by 'echoing' the predicate (usually verbatim, except in the case of passive clauses where the appropriate adjustment is needed for person):

- (7.18) Q: *Énda kin bajundu?* A: *Oé.*
 this PART coat.your yes
 Is this your coat? Yes.
- (7.19) Q: *Talang kin pintuna?* A: *Talang.*
 open PART door.the open
 Is the door open? Yes.
- (7.20) Q: *Antusindu kang si turikenna é?*
 (PASS).understand.you PART REL (PASS).relate.he that
 Did you understand what he was talking about?
- A: *Kuantusi, tapi la kerina kal.*
 Iunderstand but not all very
 Yes, but not every single thing.

7.1.1.2 RHETORICAL QUESTIONS

Karo has two rhetorical question markers: clause-initial *ma* and clause-final *ari*.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ A third tag question marker, *kuté*, is found in the speech of women in the Singalur Lau dialect. It is identical to *ari*:

Ma bagé kuté?
 RHET like.that CONF
 Isn't that the case?

1. *Ari* is used when the speaker seeks confirmation of the truth of the statement. This may be either because there is some element of doubt in the speaker's mind, or because the speaker is attempting to persuade the addressee towards his or her point of view. For example:

- (7.21) *Ia enggo erjabu, ari?*
 he already married CONF
 He is already married, isn't he?
- (7.22) *Morat kal ia ngerana, ari?*
 careful EMPH he speak CONF
 He's very respectful when he addresses people, isn't he?
- (7.23) *Pemeteh ras kuasanta lit batasna, ari?*
 knowledge and power.our BE limits.its CONF
 Our knowledge and our power have their limits, don't they?

2. *Ma* is more strongly rhetorical in tone than *ari*. It implies that the addressee as well as the speaker indeed knows that the statement is true. The tone of a rhetorical question with *ma* may often be critical or recriminatory. For example:

- (7.24) *Ma mehuli nge akapndu bagé?*
 RHET good EMPH (PASS).think.you like.that
 Don't you think that is a good idea? (i.e. You know it is!)
- (7.25) *Ma tamakenndu ndai ku bas tasndu?*
 RHET (PASS).put.you before to inside bag.your
 Didn't you put it in your bag? (i.e. I saw you put it there before!)
- (7.26) *Ma seribu énda?*
 RHET one.thousand this
 This one costs Rp. 1000, doesn't it? (i.e. So why are you trying to charge me more?)

Ma and *ari* may occur together on a statement to produce a question whose rhetorical force is stronger than one with *ari* used alone, but 'friendlier' and less critical than one which employs only *ma*. For example:

- (7.27) *Ma enggo jamna kita ngadi ari?*
 RHET already hour.the we stop CONF
 Isn't it time we stopped? (i.e. Let's take a break!)
- (7.28) *Ma enggo ia sereh ari?*
 RHET already she marry CONF
 Isn't she married? (i.e. I'm pretty sure she is married.)
- (7.29) *Ma bajundu énda ari?*
 RHET coat.your this CONF
 This is your coat, isn't it?

7.1.1.3 CONTENT QUESTIONS

As distinct from the preceding question types, whose domain of inquiry concerns the whole proposition expressed, content questions seek specific information about identities, actions, descriptions, time, location, reason, number and so on. These are expressed by

interrogative words which expound a variety of syntactic roles. The interrogative words in Karo are:

<i>ja</i>	where, what place
<i>kai</i>	what
<i>isé</i>	who
<i>apai</i>	which
<i>kuga/uga/gua</i>	like what, how
<i>kutera</i>	like what, how
<i>ndigan</i>	when (in general)
<i>ndiganai</i>	when (in the past)
<i>katawari/kutari</i>	when (some point of time within the day)
<i>erkai</i>	doing what
<i>ngkai</i>	why
<i>asakai/kasakai</i>	how much (non-numerative)
<i>piga</i>	how many, how much (numerative)

The distribution of the interrogative words may be summarised as follows:

(i) The locative pronoun *ja* 'where' only expounds the complement of a prepositional phrase of location (§4.2.1). Thus *i ja*, *ku ja*, *(i) ja nari* mean '(at) where', 'to where' and 'where from' respectively. For the sake of descriptive economy, *ja* will be treated in this section as if it included a locative preposition and is thus understood as expounding a locative phrase.

(ii) all interrogative words can occur in predicate position. For example:

- (7.30) *Kai nindu é?*
 what say.your that
 What did you say?
- (7.31) *Isé gelarndu?*
 who name.your
 What is your name?
- (7.32) *Apai kin mergandu?*
 which EMPH clan.your
 What is your clan? (i.e. Which of the five clans is yours?)
- (7.33) *I ja bapandu?*
 at where father.your
 Where is your father?
- (7.34) *Kuga rupana?*
 like.what appearance.his
 What does he look like?
- (7.35) *Ndiganai kerja é?*
 when feast that
 When was that feast?
- (7.36) *Iah nini, kutera m'énda kerjangku?*
 EXCL grandfather how EMPH.this fate.my
 O grandfather, what ordeal must I now suffer? (i.e. What is this fate of mine to be like?)

- (7.37) *Sanga erkai kam?*
 PROG do.what you
 What are you doing?
- (7.38) *Ngkai maka pelawesndu ia?*
 why that (PASS).CAUS.go.you he
 Why did you send him away?
- (7.39) *Asakai ulihna juma ah ndai?*
 how.much yield.the field that that
 How much would that field produce?
- (7.40) *Piga enggo anakndu?*
 how.many already child.your
 How many children do you have?

(iii) *Ja, ndigan, ndiganai, katawari, kuga, kutera* and *asakai* may also expound various adjuncts of location, time, manner and extent. For example:

- (7.41) *Ku ja kam lawes?*
 to where you go
 Where are you going?
- (7.42) Q: *Ndigan kam berkat?* A: *Pagi.*
 when you leave tomorrow
 When are you leaving? Tomorrow.
- (7.43) Q: *Katawari?* A: *Ciger.*
 When? Midday.
- (7.44) *Kuga énda ban?*
 how this (PASS).make
 What is to be done with this? (i.e. In what way is this to be fashioned?)
- (7.45) *Asakai denggo dekahna kam erdahin i jah?*
 how.much later long.time.the you work at there
 How long will you be working there?

(iv) As interrogative pronouns, *kai* 'what', *isé* 'who' and *apai* 'which' can expound all slots normally occupied by pronouns, subject to the following restrictions:

- (a) they cannot occur as agents in passive clauses (§6.3.1.3 (v));
- (b) they cannot be modified by quantifiers as some personal pronouns can (e.g. *kita kerina* of us' but **kai kerina*). The pronoun *kai* has a possessable allomorph *kadé* (§4.1.2.2). For example:

- (7.46) *Maba kai kam é?*
 ACT.carry what you that
 What are you carrying there?
- (7.47) *Deleng kai é?*
 mountain what that
 What mountain is that?

- (7.48) *Kadénu gejpndu mesui?*
 what.your (PASS).feel.you sore
 Where does it hurt? (i.e. What part of you hurts?)
- (7.49) *Ku rumah isé kam ndai?*
 to house who you before
 Whose place did you go to?
- (7.50) *Ras isé kam ku jénda?*
 with who you to here
 Who did you come here with?
- (7.51) *Arah apai aku ku das?*
 via which I to top
 Which way do I take to go up?

(v) The interrogative quantifier *piga* can occur in all environments where a numeral can be used (§4.1.3.2.1). For example:

- (7.52) *Enggo piga wari kam sakit?*
 already how.many day you sick
 How many days have you been sick?
- (7.53) *Piga kam sembuyak?*
 how.many you sibling
 How many brothers and sisters do you have?
- (7.54) *Pukul piga gundari?*
 hour how.many now
 What time is it?

(vi) Finally, some tendencies regarding ordering of constituents may be noted: (a) the interrogative word occurs as close as possible to the beginning of the clause; (b) when the interrogative word occurs in an adjunct (which is typically fronted according to (a) above), then the rest of the clause exhibits Subject-Predicate order. For example:

- (7.55) *Ndiganai kam rēh?* NOT: * *Ndiganai rēh kam?*
 when you come
 When did you come?
- (7.56) *Kuga énda ban?* NOT: * *Kuga ban énda?*
 how this (PASS).make
 What is to be done with this?
- (7.57) *I ja kam tading?* NOT: * *I ja tading kam?*
 at where you live
 Where do you live?

7.1.1.4 CONTENT QUESTION PARTICLES

These particles are usually found immediately following the interrogative word. With the exception of *pa*, they also occur in yes/no questions, although not necessarily with the same meanings which they confer upon content questions. Most of them contain an extra element

of affective meaning, and often change the illocutionary force of the interrogative to a rhetorical question or an exclamation. There are six such particles:

1. *Pa* occurs only after *ja* 'where' and *kuga* 'like what'. It is a distinctive feature of the lowlands western dialect (spoken in Langkat), where its meaning appears to be indistinguishable from questions without *pa*. For example:

- (7.58) *Kam, ja pa nari kin, bapa?*
 you where PART from PART father
 And you sir, where do you hail from?

The use of *pa* in indefinite expressions (§7.1.2.3) is common to all Karo dialects:

- (7.59) *alu dalin uga pa pé*
 with way how PART EMPH
 by whatever means

2. *Kin* is often used when initiating a communicative exchange with someone by means of a question. It has a mildly emphatic effect upon the interrogative word which it follows, meaning something like: 'Tell me...'. For example:

- (7.60) *Kai kin gulénta sendah?*
 what PART cooking.our today
 Well, what's on the menu today?
- (7.61) *Jam piga kin motorta berkat?*
 hour how.many PART vehicle.our leave
 Tell me, what time does our taxi depart?

3. *Nge* is used to express either the speaker's irritation or frustration with something, or is uttered when challenging the addressee to respond. For example:

- (7.62) *Uga nge pengguléndu é, la kap ntabeh!*
 like.what PART way.of.cooking.your that not EMPH tasty
 What sort of cooking is this? It's not at all tasty!
- (7.63) *Piga méter nge bagas sumur é?*
 how.many metre PART deep well that
 How deep is that well? (i.e. See if you can work it out!)

4. *Ndia* expresses the speaker's disbelief, surprise or wonderment. It often collocates with *kin* or *nge*. For example:

- (7.64) *Kai kin ndia é?*
 what PART PART that
 What ever is that?
- (7.65) *Ndigan nge ndia dungna?*
 when PART PART finished.the
 When will it ever end?
- (7.66) *Ngkai ndia maka mbiar kita maté?*
 why PART that fear we die
 Why on earth should we fear death?

5. *Keh* expresses the speaker's annoyance and/or criticism. For example:

- (7.67) *Kai keh déba pemindonna?*
 what PART more request.his
 What does he want now? (i.e. What more does he want?)
- (7.68) *Isé keh déba ku rumah?*
 who PART more to house
 Who else is going to turn up here? (i.e. uninvited)
- (7.69) *I ja keh tadingna barangna?*
 at where PART (PASS).leave.he things.his
 Look at how he leaves his belongings strewn all over the place! (i.e. Where else could he leave them? They are everywhere!)

6. *Kuté(ken)* expresses surprise. For example:

- (7.70) *Isé kutéken é?*
 who PART that
 Who could that possibly be?

7.1.2 INTERROGATIVES IN NON-QUESTIONS

Apart from questions, interrogative clauses and interrogative words are commonly found in several other environments, as described below.

7.1.2.1 IN COMPLEMENT CONSTRUCTIONS

Interrogative clauses often occur as undergoers or complements of certain verbs of knowledge (including those pertaining to the acquisition of knowledge) and communication (§8.2.5 - §8.2.7). Syntactically they may be encoded as objects of active clauses or as subjects of passive clauses:

- (7.71) *Kita ngenehenca kuga kin permombakna.*
 we ACT.see.PERF how PART way.of.floating.its
 We watched how it floated away.
- (7.72) *Anak kuta nungkun kai sebabpa maka bagé ras kuga
 pengadisa.*
 CAUS.stop.it
 The villagers asked why it was like that and how it could be stopped.
- (7.73) *Isé si peburosa la denga dat pastina.*
 who REL CAUS.vanish.them not still (PASS).know certain.NMS
 Who drove them out is still not known for sure.
- (7.74) *Pedas kam erkata, gelah kueteh kai si man pesikapen.*
 quick you tell PURP I.know what REL for making.ready
 Let me know soon, so that I will know what to prepare.
- (7.75) *Iajarina diberu é kuga ndalinken pengadi kerja é.*
 PASS.teach.he woman that how ACT.do CAUS.stop feast that

He instructed the woman as to how to bring that feast to an end.

Sometimes interrogative clauses can occur as constituents of non-knowledge and non-communication verbs as well:

- (7.76) *Kai aténdu banci buat kami.*
 what heart.your can (PASS).fetch we
 We can fetch what you desire.
- (7.77) *Kuskas ia ngaturkenca asakai si manpesikapen.*
 busy he ACT.organise.PERF how.much REL for.making.ready
 They were busy organising whatever had to be prepared.

Yes/no interrogatives occurring as complements are obligatorily introduced by the conjunction *entah* 'if, whether' (§8.4.2.7). The interrogative particle *kin* may be retained in the 'indirect question', but other particles are dropped:

- (7.78) *Sungkun sitik kaka entah i rumah kin bapa.*
 (PASS).ask please older.sister whether at home PART father
 Please ask your sister if father is at home.
- (7.79) *Cubaken nehen entah enggo ia rëh.*
 try.IMP ACT.see whether already he come
 Go and see whether he has come yet.

Sometimes content questions are also introduced by *entah* :

- (7.80) *La kueteh entah i ja kutana.*
 not I.know CONJ at where village.his
 I don't know where his village is.
- (7.81) *Orati sitik bibi entah ndigan ia mulih.*
 (PASS).ask please aunt CONJ when she return
 Ask Auntie when she is going home.

7.1.2.2 IN PHRASE-LEVEL CONSTRUCTIONS

Interrogative clauses of location and manner may occur as exponents of the Descriptive slot of the NP (examples (7.82) and (7.83)),⁴⁸ the Apposition slot (example (7.84)), or even as Complement of a PP (examples (7.85) and (7.86)):

- (7.82) *ingan i ja ia jumpa ras Putri Hijau*
 place at where he meet with Putri Hijau
 the place where he met Putri Hijau

⁴⁸ These cases are exactly analogous to those of other, non-interrogative independent clauses occurring as exponents of the Descriptive slot of the NP (§4.1.5.4). For example:

ingan i ja kita jumpa (= ingan kita jumpa)
 place at where we meet place we meet
 the place (where) we met

Although they are usually best translated into English by means of a relative clause, they are not analysed as such in this description, where it is maintained that Karo relative clauses are introduced by the relative marker *si* (§8.1).

- (7.83) *dalan kuga ia bengket ku bas rumahna*
way how they enter to inside house.his
the way they entered his house
- (7.84) *..ku tanah Singkel, i ja turangna ibayangken.*
to land Singkel at where brother.her PASS.hold.in.stocks
...to the land of Singkel, where her brother was held prisoner.
- (7.85) *Naktaki lawes ku ja ibabai nahéna.*
Naktaki go to where PASS.bring.ITER leg.his
Naktaki went where his legs took him.
- (7.86) *Kerina kalak meteh kerna uga lagulanghanna.*
all people ACT.know about how behaviour.his
Everybody knew about how he behaved.

7.1.2.3 IN INDEFINITE EXPRESSIONS

Interrogative words can be used as indefinite expressions, translatable by English 'some-', 'any-' or '-ever':

- (7.87) *Kai nina bagém sipalapai muatsa.*
what say.he thus.EMPH we.endeavour ACT.fetch.it
Whatever he says, we do our best to obtain it.
- (7.88) *Asakai kengasupenndu meré, ém beréken.*
how.much capacity.your ACT.give that.EMPH (PASS).give
However much you are able to give, then give that amount.
- (7.89) *Adi kin isé maba bunga encolé, minter nge*
if EMPH who ACT.carry flower encolé directly EMPH
ikataken kalak kita nangkih deleng.
PASS.say people we climb mountain
If anyone were to be carrying some *encolé* flowers, then people would immediately say that they had been up in the mountains.

Such indefinites are also often formed by post-modification of the interrogative word by the emphatic particle *pé* (§7.4.5.2.10). This is optional in positive indefinites but obligatory in negative indefinites:

- (7.90) *Kai pé suanna maté.*
what EMPH (PASS).plant.he die
Whatever he planted, died.
- (7.91) *Isé pé la meteh perjabuna sumbang.*
who EMPH not ACT.know marriage.their incestuous
Nobody knew their marriage was incestuous.
- (7.92) *Kutera pé iban lanai ia nggit.*
how EMPH PASS.make no.longer he want
No matter what was done to alter it, he still didn't want it.

- (7.93) *Ula nai ndigan pé engko bagé!*
 don't longer when EMPH you like.that
 Don't you ever behave like that again!

Indefinite locative and manner expressions usually contain the particle *pa* as well (§7.1.1.4):

- (7.94) *I ja pa nari pé enggo ilegi guru.*
 at where PART from EMPH already PASS.fetch medicine.man
 Medicine men were summoned from everywhere.
- (7.95) *Alu dalin uga pa pé icubakenna nimpeti api é,*
 with way how PART EMPH PASS.try.he ACT.extinguish fire that
tapi lalap la banci nimpet.
 but always not able extinguish
 Using whatever available means he tried to put the blaze out, but it would not
 go out.

7.2 IMPERATIVES

In this description the term 'imperative' is used in a broad sense, encompassing all constructions whose illocutionary force is directive. Imperatives thus include commands, demands, requests and prohibitions.⁴⁹

7.2.1 INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION OF THE ADDRESSEE

Imperatives are directed at a second person addressee which, being understood from the context, is not normally expressed:

- (7.96) *Lawes gundari!*
 go now
 Go now!
- (7.97) *Baba nakan éna ku jénda!*
 (PASS).bring rice that to here
 Bring that rice over here!
- (7.98) *Ula tadingken aku!*
 don't (PASS).leave I
 Don't leave me!

The addressee may be expressed, however, in the following ways:

⁴⁹ Excluded from imperatives are invitations and suggestions, which are encoded by various means, such as yes/no interrogatives, or stative clauses with sentential subjects:

- (1) *Lawes kita?*
 go we
 Shall we go?
- (2) *Ulin kita lawes.*
 better we go
 We'd better go.

(i) as subject of an intransitive clause:

(7.99) *Réh kam ku jumangku, i jé mbué jaung.*
 come you to field.my at there much corn
 Come to my field; I grow a lot of corn there.

(7.100) *Peltep ko!*
 interrupted you
 Drop dead!

(7.101) *Rukurlah kam mbages-mbages!*
 think.IMP you deep-deep
 Think carefully!

(ii) as agent of a passive clause:

(7.102) *Begikenndu dagé kuning-kuningenku.*
 (PASS).listen.you therefore riddle.my
 So you listen to my riddle now.

(7.103) *É maka pehulindu gasingku é, gelah pagi ergasing*
 and so (PASS).fix.you top.my that PURP tomorrow play.tops
ka aku ras ia.
 also I with he
 So fix my top up, so that I can play spinning-tops with him again tomorrow.

(7.104) *Isé kari réh, ula pediat kam ku bas!*
 who later come don't (PASS).let you to inside
 No matter who comes along, don't you let them in!

(iii) as possessor of a subject NP:

(7.105) *Ula kitik ukurndu.*
 don't small feelings.your
 Don't be offended.

(7.106) *Ula aru aténdu kerna anakndu, ia séhat-séhat nge.*
 don't sad heart.your about child.your he healthy EMPH
 Don't feel sad about your child; he is in good health.

(iv) the addressee may be directed to perform an action together with the speaker, in which case a first person inclusive pronoun is used, either independent *kita* in intransitive and stative clauses, or proclitic *si-* in transitive clauses:

(7.107) *Pekesahken kita lebé.*
 catch.breath we first
 Let's take a short break.

(7.108) *Ota sipesai jumanta.*
 let's we.tidy field.our
 Let's weed our field.

(7.109) *Éta lebé kita, sitadingken ia.*
 let's first we we.leave he
 Let's go on ahead, let's leave him.

(v) as exponent of a vocative phrase (§7.5), either preceding or following the whole imperative clause:

- (7.110) *Ngisapken, silih.*
 smoke.IMP cousin
 Have a cigarette, cousin.
- (7.111) *O Naktaki, begiken kam min katangu énda, anakku.*
 EXCL Naktaki (PASS).listen you please word.my this child.my
 Oh Naktaki, please listen to what I am saying, my child.

Except for the first person plural inclusive cases in (iv), omission of the addressee from the examples above would not affect the grammaticalness of the clauses. When an addressee is expressed by an independent pronoun, this always follows the predicate of its clause. Apart from example (7.100), where the speaker's mood is one of anger, inclusion of the addressee in an imperative normally implies a moderation in the directness of the command and conveys a more persuasive tone to the appeal being made.

7.2.2 POSITIVE IMPERATIVES

Positive imperatives may only be derived from intransitive and passive clauses (see §7.2.4 for a summary of the arguments concerning this limitation). In its simplest form a positive imperative involves the omission of the second person subject/agent from the clause:

- (7.112) *Kundul!*
 sit
 Sit down!
- (7.113) *Burihi pinggan éna.*
 (PASS).rinse plate that
 Rinse those dishes.

More commonly, however, a positive imperative is characterised by the presence of one or more imperative markers, which add an important element of affective meaning, such as urgency, politeness, encouragement and so on. Imperative markers may be divided into two sets, according to whether or not they can occur independently as exponents of an imperative sentence.

7.2.2.1 SET I IMPERATIVE MARKERS

These cannot stand on their own to expound an imperative sentence. They are described individually below, listed approximately according to their frequency of occurrence.

7.2.2.1.1 *-ken*

As described in §3.4.2.1, this imperativising suffix is attached to intransitive verbs, locative prepositional phrases, a handful of common (unaffixed) transitive verbs, and occasionally to adjectives. It is mostly associated with polite requests and invitations, but may be used for blunt commands as well (example (7.120)):

- (7.114) *Kundulken!*
sit.IMP
Sit down!
- (7.115) *Ngisapken, silih.*
smoke.IMP cousin
Have a cigarette, cousin.
- (7.116) *Mari, ku basken lebé!*
let's to inside.IMP first
Please come in!
- (7.117) *Bukaken!*
(PASS).open.IMP
Open up!
- (7.118) *Tuliskan min!*
(PASS).write.IMP SOF
Go on, write it!
- (7.119) *Enggo me, Iting, sinikken lebé.*
already EMPH Iting quiet.IMP first
That's enough, Iting, calm down now.
- (7.120) *Entélah ku teruhken!*
go.IMP to below.IMP
Get downstairs!

7.2.2.1.2 *sitik*

Used elsewhere adverbially to mean 'a little', this marker follows passive verbs to indicate that a polite request is being made of the addressee:

- (7.121) *Pegara sitik lampu é.*
(PASS).light please light that
Light the lamp, please.
- (7.122) *Ban sitik téh bibindu, anakku.*
(PASS).make please tea aunt.your child.my
Make some tea for your aunt, please, dear.

7.2.2.1.3 *-lah*

Attached to the first non-conjunctive constituent of the clause, this marker expresses an exhortation, or a wish that something might occur:

- (7.123) *É maka sampatilah orangtuanta asa ngasupta.*
and so (PASS).help.HORT parents.our as.far.as capable.our
So let's help our parents as much as we can.
- (7.124) *É maka ialah dahindu!*
and so he.HORT (PASS).visit.you
So you should visit *him* !

- (7.125) *Kelenglenglah kuta si kuingani énda!*
 flooded.HORT village REL I.inhabit this
 May this village that I live in be inundated by floods!

7.2.2.1.4 *gelah*

This is also hortatory in meaning, and follows the predicate. Elsewhere *gelah* is used as a conjunction of purpose (§8.4.2.2).

- (7.126) *Pan me gelah!*
 (PASS).eat EMPH HORT
 Come on, eat it!
- (7.127) *Lupaken me gelah kami!*
 (PASS).forget EMPH HORT we
 Forget all about us!
- (7.128) *Sibunuh gelah, sipan!*
 we.kill HORT we.eat
 Let's kill him and eat him!

7.2.2.1.5 *min*

This marker expresses more of a wish than a command; it is used more to encourage than to order someone to do something:

- (7.129) *Sampatilah min aku sitik.*
 (PASS).help.HORT please I please
 Would you please help me?
- (7.130) *Salep kam min.*
 (PASS).mark you please
 Could you please mark the way for me?
- (7.131) *Palapai min!*
 (PASS).try please
 Come on, try to do it!

7.2.2.1.6 *ya*

Meaning 'please; would you; won't you', this marker is used between people who know each other well, with the expectation that the request will automatically be granted, or the warning heeded:

- (7.132) *Ninken sitik agingku é, ya?*
 (PASS).look.at.IMP please brother.my that would.you
 Keep an eye on my little brother there, would you?
- (7.133) *Jaga-jaga sénndu é, ya!*
 (PASS).guard money.your that won't.you
 Look after your money, won't you!

7.2.2.1.7 *cuba*

Meaning 'please; would you', this marker is used when speaking to someone who is younger or of lesser status. It can also have overtones of admonishment. It normally precedes, but may follow the predicate:

- (7.134) *Cuba dagé ukuri manjar-anjar, gi, mehuli*
 please therefore (PASS).think.ITER slowly brother good
kin perbahanenndu é?
 EMPH action.your that
 So think about it carefully, little brother, is what you are doing really good?
- (7.135) *Nin cuba, entah enggo ia rëh.*
 (PASS).look please whether already he come
 Have a look and see if he's come yet, would you?

7.2.2.2 SET II IMPERATIVE MARKERS

Set II markers can occur independently as exponents of an imperative. Most of the members of this set have two forms which differ only in respect of their affective meaning. The polite or neutral form is given first, followed by the familiar or coarse counterpart.

7.2.2.2.1 *ota / éta* (POLITE)

This marker is used to invite the addressee to join in the action with the speaker. If expressed, the subject/agent is always manifested by *kita* or *si-* 'we' (inclusive):

- (7.136) *Ota lawes kita!*
 let's go we
 Let's go!
- (7.137) *Ota mulih.*
 let's go.home
 Let's go home.
- (7.138) *Ota sidahi ia.*
 let's we.visit he
 Let's visit him.
- (7.139) *Ota!*
 let's
 Let's go!

7.2.2.2.2 (a) *mari* (POLITE)

This marker can mean (i) 'come here!' or (ii) 'let's'. With the first meaning it may follow as well as precede the predicate:

- (7.140) *Mari ku jénda!*
 come to here
 Come here!

- (7.141) *Nangkihken mari!*
climb.on.IMP come
Come on, get on board!
- (7.142) *Mari siayaki ia!*
let's we.chase he
Let's chase after him!
- (7.143) *Mari ku basken.*
let's to inside.IMP
Let's go inside.

(b) *ariko* (coarse)

- (7.144) *Ariko!*
come.here
Get over here!

7.2.2.2.3 (a) *todu/to* (NEUTRAL)

This is used when ordering someone away from the speaker:

- (7.145) *To ku rumahken!*
go to house.IMP
Go on home now!
- (7.146) *Todu embahken nakan ninindu.*
go (PASS).carry rice grandmother.your
Go and take this rice to your grandmother.

(b) *enté* (coarse)

- (7.147) *Entélah ku teruhkan!*
go.IMP to below.IMP
Get downstairs!
- (7.148) *Enté!*
go
Get lost!

7.2.2.2.4 (a) *enta* (POLITE)

This can mean either 'give it to me' or 'here, let me help you':

- (7.149) *Enta sitik sénndu bibi, gelah kutukur gula.*
give please money.your aunt PURP I.buy sugar
Let me have some money please, Aunt, so that I can buy sugar.
- (7.150) *Enta kam kupangiri.*
let you I.wash.hair
Here, let me wash your hair.

- (7.151) *Enta kutaruhken kam.*
 let I.deliver you
 Let me escort you there.

(b) *endo* (coarse)

This means 'give it here!':

- (7.152) *Endo colokndu!*
 give matches.your
 Gimme ya matches!

7.2.2.2.5 (a) *endi* (NEUTRAL)

Meaning 'here; take it!' is used when handing or showing something to the addressee:⁵⁰

- (7.153) *Endi sénndu!*
 here money.your
 Here is your money!
- (7.154) *Endi sitik kiraken piga uis énda?*
 here please (PASS).estimate how.much cloth that
 How much do you think is in this bolt of cloth that I'm holding?
- (7.155) *Endi!*
 here
 Here you are!

(b) *nah* (coarse):

Used when giving someone something grudgingly or rudely:

- (7.156) *Nah!*
 here
 There! Take it!

7.2.2.3 COMBINATIONS OF MARKERS

Positive imperative clauses often contain more than one marker:

- (7.157) *Singetken sitik bangku kerna uisku é, ya?*
 (PASS).remind please to.me about cloth.my that would.you
 Remind me about that cloth (I left drying in the sun), would you?
- (7.158) *To lah berkatken!*
 go.IMP leave.IMP
 Off you go then!

⁵⁰ Van der Tuuk (1971:254) describes corresponding forms in Toba Batak as "pronominal interjections". Such forms are certainly somewhere on the boundary between demonstrative pronouns, interjections and imperative markers. They have been classified together with the latter group because of their similarity to the *mari:ari'ka*, *todu:enté* and *enta:endo* pairs above.

- (7.159) *Sampati min aku sitik.*
 (PASS).help please I please
 Would you please help me?

7.2.3 NEGATIVE IMPERATIVES

Negative imperatives or prohibitions are not confined to the same clause types to which positive imperatives are. In addition to intransitive and passive clauses – examples (7.160) - (7.163) – negative imperatives may also occur with stative and active clauses – examples (7.164) - (7.166). They are always signalled by the prohibitive marker *ula/ola*. The addressee is as often retained as it is deleted.

- (7.160) *Ula kam rēh pagi.*
 don't you come tomorrow
 Don't come tomorrow.
- (7.161) *Ola siyak-ayaken ibas rumah!*
 don't chase.each.other in house
 Don't chase each other inside the house!
- (7.162) *Ula belasken kata tuhu, tapi daramilah kata si*
 don't (PASS).utter word true, but (PASS).seek.IMP word REL
tengteng.
 fitting
 Don't speak the truth, but say what is appropriate instead.
- (7.163) *Ula tawaindu ia.*
 don't (PASS).laugh.LOC.you he
 Don't make fun of him.
- (7.164) *Ola méla-méla.*
 don't shy-shy
 Don't be shy.
- (7.165) *Ola gulut ukurndu.*
 don't troubled mind.your
 Don't get depressed.
- (7.166) *Ula munuh kaba-kaba.*
 don't ACT.kill butterfly
 Don't kill butterflies.

Besides issuing a direct prohibition to someone, *ula/ola* can be used preceding a clause which itself lacks any (explicit or recoverable) addressee. What is meant in such cases is that this is a state of affairs which the actual addressee ought to take pains to prevent happening:

- (7.167) *Jaga-jaga sénndu ya, ula ka kari*
 (PASS).guard money.your won't.you don't EMPH later
isintapken kalak.
 PASS.snatch person
 Watch over your money, won't you, don't let anybody snatch it.

- (7.168) *Nangkihken lebé, ula kari la lit inganna!*
 climb.on.IMP first don't later not BE place.the
 Get on board now, don't miss out on getting a seat!

7.2.4 TRANSITIVE IMPERATIVES ARE PASSIVES

That transitive clauses in positive imperative mood are passives and not actives is supported by the following observations:

- (i) The verb bears typical passive morphology and the second person addressee is encoded as a clitic pronoun (§6.3.1.1 (ii)):

- (7.169) *Takalndu é i babo lau iban!*
 head.your that at top water PASS.make
 Put your heads above the water!

- (7.170) *Berékenndu lebé uisna énda ndai, é maka rēh kam*
 (PASS).give.you first cloth.her this before and then come you
ku rumahku.
 to house.my
 Give her the cloth first, and then come to my place.

- (ii) The undergoer of the transitive imperative displays typical subject properties such as frontability over the predicate (example (7.169)) and the ability to launch a floating quantifier:

- (7.171) *Pitu garun dakan nakan kami!*
 seven large.pot (PASS).cook rice our
 Cook us seven large pots of rice!

Since these properties are not possessed by undergoers in active clauses (i.e. objects), the above clauses cannot be interpreted as active.

- (iii) In reflexive imperatives, only passives are grammatical (§6.4):

- (7.172) *Bunuh bam!*
 (PASS).kill to.you
 Drop dead! (lit. Kill yourself!)

- (7.173) * *Munuh bana.*
 ACT.kill self
 Kill yourself!

- (iv) The objective form of the third person pronoun, *-sa*, cannot occur in positive imperatives:

- (7.174) * *Babasa!*
 carry.it
 Carry it!

As *-sa* can only occur after an active verb stem, the conclusion must be that the verb stem in example (7.174) above is not active.⁵¹

⁵¹ Verhaar (1978:13) provides a similar argument for interpreting Indonesian transitive imperatives as passive.

7.3 ADJUNCTS

7.3.1 FUNCTIONS AND EXPONENTS

Adjuncts are peripheral constituents of the clause whose presence is not diagnostic of the clause type in which they occur.⁵² Adjuncts serve to amplify information about the situation or event expressed; they typically express such notions as time, location, manner, instrument, reason and so on. Adjuncts are expounded by a variety of structures: subordinate clauses, prepositional phrases, noun phrases, adjectives, verbs and adverbs. The following table shows the relationship between semantic categories of adjuncts and their formal exponents.

TABLE 7.1: SEMANTIC CATEGORIES OF ADJUNCTS AND THEIR FORMAL EXPONENTS

Exponents:	SC	PP	ADJ	ADV	NP	VB
Condition	x					
Concession		x				
Result	x					
Purpose	x	x				
Reason	x	x				
Time	x	x		x	x	
Manner		x	x	x	x	x
Frequency			x	x	x	
Quantity		x	x	x	x	
Similitude			x		x	
Comitative			x		x	
Locative		x				
Dative		x				
Instrument			x			
Reference		x				

(Key: SC = subordinate clause, PP = prepositional phrase, ADJ = adjective, ADV = adverb, NP = noun phrase, VB = verb)

Adjuncts expressing condition, concession, result, purpose and reason are all principally expounded by subordinate clauses, described in §8.4.2. Adjuncts which are typically expounded by prepositional phrases are exemplified in detail in the relevant sub-sections relating to prepositional phrases (§4.2). Those adjuncts which are realised by a wider range of exponents (viz. time, manner, frequency and quantity) are described in greater detail in §7.3.3 - §7.3.6.

7.3.2 ORDERING AND DISTRIBUTION OF ADJUNCTS

As peripheral constituents, adjuncts mostly occur at the beginning or the end of the clause. The following individual distributional tendencies have been observed:

⁵² Some adjunct-like structures can in fact be nuclear constituents of certain clause types, for example, the Dative-2 prepositional phrase in passive reflexives (§6.4.2). Elsewhere, however, a Dative-2 prepositional phrase is peripheral and thus a true adjunct.

- (i) Time and manner adjuncts are about evenly distributed between clause-initial and clause-final position.
- (ii) Locatives tend to occur clause finally, as do adjuncts expressing instrument, dative, similitude, comitative (all phrasal exponents) and those expressing reason, purpose and result (all clausal exponents).
- (iii) Adjuncts expressing frequency and condition tend to occur clause initially, as do those adjuncts expounded by interrogative words (§7.1.1.3).
- (iv) Adjuncts expressing quantity tend to occur immediately adjacent to the predicate.
- (v) Adjuncts which are realised by clausal exponents are never interposed between subject and predicate.
- (vi) Adjuncts which have been recorded as intervening between subject and predicate are: locative, time, frequency, manner, dative and quantity:

- (7.175) *Ambeki sitik ku darat batu éna.*
(PASS).throw please to outside stone that
Please throw that rock away outside.
- (7.176) *Aku kari rëh ndahi ia.*
I later come ACT.visit he
I shall come and see him shortly.
- (7.177) *Ia sekali-sekalin kal ku jénda.*
he rarely very to here
He very rarely comes here.
- (7.178) *Diberu énda erbuni-buni erlagulangkah ras dilaki si déban.*
woman this hide behave with man REL other
The woman secretly has sexual relations with another man.
- (7.179) *Buat sitik bangku téh.*
(PASS).make please for.me tea
Please make me some tea.
- (7.180) *Entah banci mburo sitik ukurna ibas aténa tedeh é.*
maybe able shift little mind.her at heart.her longing that
Maybe this could take her mind off her feeling of missing me.

- (vii) When two or more time or locative adjuncts occur in the same clause, the one with the wider scope of reference precedes:

- (7.181) *pagi erpagi-pagi jam lima*
tomorrow morning hour five
five o'clock tomorrow morning
- (7.182) *Ndeher tapin ndai me Sembiring Mergana kundul*
near bathing.spot that EMPH Sembiring clan.his sit
i das batu.
at top rock
Near that bathing place Sembiring sat down on a rock.

(viii) Up to four adjuncts have been recorded in the one clause:

- (7.183) *Pepagina lampas kami nusur ku teruh alu manjar-anjar.*
 tomorrow.the early we descend to below with slow-slow
 Early the next day we came slowly down to the bottom.

7.3.3 TIME

Time adjuncts occur in all clause types, most typically occupying clause-initial or clause-final position. Formally, exponents of the time adjunct are varied, including:

– temporal nouns

- (7.184) *Berngi denga ia mulih.*
 night only he return
 He didn't return until night.

– measure nouns

- (7.185) *Sada berngi ia i das.*
 one night he at top
 He remained aloft for one night.

– demonstrative pronouns

- (7.186) *Jadi énda me aku berkat.*
 so this EMPH I depart
 Well, I am leaving now.

– temporal adverbs

- (7.187) *Ngakap engko denggo, timailah!*
 ACT.feel you later (PASS).wait.HORT
 You will get your just desserts one day, just you wait!

– interrogative words

- (7.188) *Ndiganai kam rēh?*
 when you come
 When did you arrive?

– subordinate clauses

- (7.189) *Opé kam berkat ertoto kita lebé.*
 before you depart pray we first
 Before you leave, let us pray.

– independent clauses

- (7.190) *Perbahan la ndauh, agakna dua pisapen keru enggo sēh.*
 because not far about two cigarette gone already reach
 Because it was not far away, we got there in about the time it takes to smoke
 two cigarettes.

- (7.191) *Erkata pét-pét lenga mulih ia.*
 speak kind.of.cicada not.yet return he
 At the time the *pet-pet* chirps (around dusk), he hadn't returned.

– time prepositional phrases (§4.2.2)

- (7.192) *Ibas piga-piga bulan énda, ia jadi perlupa kal.*
 in several month this he become forgetful very
 In these past few months, he has become very absent-minded.

Semantically, time adjuncts embrace points of time and duration. The latter is normally encoded via measure NPs of time (§4.1.3.2.2), prepositional phrases (§4.2.2) or subordinate clauses (§8.4.2.4). For designating points of time, Karo has an extensive vocabulary, including:

(a) time phrases relative to the present (these are often quite variable with respect to temporal distance from the present, but are arranged here along a continuum from past to future):

<i>nai kal</i>	long, long ago; once upon a time
<i>nai</i>	long ago
<i>gelgelé</i>	previously, long ago
<i>mbaruénda, mborénda</i>	in the past
<i>ndubé</i>	before, previously
<i>ndai</i>	before, a short while ago
<i>gundari, bagundari, genduari</i>	now, at present
<i>kari</i>	shortly, soon, later
<i>nahan</i>	shortly
<i>tiknari, kentisiknari, tekari</i>	in a little while, soon
<i>denggo</i>	later, in the future, one day
<i>ndigan-ndigan</i>	one of these days, sometime in the future

(b) times of the day; a number of these expressions refer to insect or bird noises commonly heard, or jobs which have to be attended to, at various times of the day, including:

<i>suari</i>	daytime
<i>berngi</i>	night
<i>tekuak manuk sada</i>	around 4 a.m. (lit. cock crow one)
<i>tekuak manuk dua</i>	around 5 a.m. (lit. cock crow two)
<i>erpagi-pagi</i>	morning
<i>pultak matawari</i>	daybreak (lit. the sun emerges)
<i>ciger</i>	midday
<i>lingé</i>	early afternoon
<i>pekarang kambing</i>	late afternoon (lit. to yard the goats)
<i>erkata pét-pét</i>	approaching dusk (lit. the <i>pét-pét</i> cicada chirps)
<i>karabèn</i>	late afternoon
<i>man berngi</i>	dinner time (lit. eat night)
<i>medem danak-danak</i>	around 9 p.m. (lit. children go to bed)
<i>jam sada/dua/telu/...</i>	1, 2, 3...o'clock

(c) days, weeks, etc. relative to the present:

<i>minggu/bulan/tahun si enggo léwat</i>	last week/month/year
<i>tiga nderbih</i>	last week (lit. market yesterday)
<i>telu mberngi</i>	three nights/days ago
<i>dua mberngi</i>	two nights/days ago
<i>nderbih, rebi</i>	yesterday
<i>nderbinai</i>	last night

<i>sekali énda, sendah</i>	today
<i>pagi</i>	tomorrow
<i>kedun</i>	the day after tomorrow (lit. in two days' time)
<i>ketelun</i>	three days hence
<i>minggu/bulan/tahun si réh</i>	next week/month/year

(d) days of the week and months of the year. These are borrowed from Indonesian, for example:

<i>wari Minggu</i>	Sunday
<i>bulan telu = bulan Maret</i>	March (lit. month three)

(e) traditional days of the month: originally borrowed from Sanskrit, these have limited currency in modern everyday life, except among those who still practise traditional religion, and in matters pertaining to divination and horoscopes. The days follow a lunar cycle:

1. <i>aditia</i>	2. <i>suma</i>	3. <i>nggara</i>
4. <i>budaha</i>	5. <i>beraspati</i>	6. <i>cukera enem</i>
7. <i>belahnaik</i>	8. <i>aditia naik</i>	9. <i>sumana siwah</i>
10. <i>nggara sepulu</i>	11. <i>budaha ngadep</i>	12. <i>beraspati tangkep</i>
13. <i>cukera dudu</i>	14. <i>belahpurnama</i>	15. <i>tula</i>
16. <i>suma cepik</i>	17. <i>nggara enggo tula</i>	18. <i>budaha gok</i>
19. <i>beraspati sepulu siwah</i>	20. <i>cukera dua pulu</i>	21. <i>belah turun</i>
22. <i>aditia turun</i>	23. <i>sumanamaté</i>	24. <i>nggara si mbelin</i>
25. <i>budahamedem</i>	26. <i>beraspati medem</i>	27. <i>cukera maté</i>
28. <i>matébulan</i>	29. <i>dalan bulan</i>	30. <i>samisara</i>

With certain forms, locative and temporal meanings overlap:

(7.193) *Ia kundul arah lebé pudi.*
 he sit vicinity front/back
 He sat at the front/back.

(7.194) *Adin kita erpala-pala arah lebé asangkan erkadiola arah
 better we try.hard vicinity front than regret vicinity
 pudi.
 back
 It is better to make an effort at first rather than to have regrets afterwards.*

(7.195) *I jé peltep kesahna.*
 at here cut.off breath.his
 At that moment he died.

(7.196) *Terpaké aku ndai selopndu, énda kuulihken.*
 INV.use I before sandal.your this I.return
 I took your sandals by mistake, now I'm returning them.

7.3.4 MANNER

Manner adjuncts occur only in intransitive and transitive clauses, and in a few ambient clauses where the predicate contains a semantic component of eventiveness:

- (7.197) *Udan medër.*
rain heavy
It rained heavily.

Distributionally, manner adjuncts are very free, occurring with equal frequency clause initially, clause finally, and immediately adjacent to the predicate.

Two manner adjuncts may occur in the one clause:

- (7.198) *Alu ngkipas-kipasken ikurna, manjar-anjar rêh biang é*
with ACT.wave tail.its slow-slow come dog that
ngalo-ngalo Appung Barus.
ACT.welcome Appung Barus
Wagging its tail, the dog slowly came over to greet Appung Barus.

Exponents of manner adjuncts include:

– adjectives

- (7.199) *Ban répolusi énda, kai pé pedas kal sambar.*
(PASS).make revolution this what PART fast very change
Because of the revolution, everything was changing very quickly.

- (7.200) *Jumana itenggala ras idukuti mejilé.*
field.his PASS.plough and PASS.weed nice
His field was nicely ploughed and weeded.

– reduplicated adjectives (§3.9.6 (iii))

- (7.201) *Anjar-anjar kam ku teruh.*
slow-slow you to below
Go down slowly.

- (7.202) *Ukuri lebé mbages-mbages maka ola denggo erkadiola.*
(PASS).think first deep-deep PURP don't later regret
Think it over carefully first so that you don't have any regrets later.

– intransitive verbs

- (7.203) *Bagém arimo emgaur la emgadi-ngadi.*
thus.EMPH tiger roar not stop-stop
In this way the tiger roared incessantly.

– manner prepositional phrases (§4.2.11)

- (7.204) *Kerina ialo-alo alu mesupan ras mehamat.*
all PASS.welcome with polite and respectful
Everybody was received politely and respectfully.

- (7.205) *Alu manjar-anjar kuapusi iluhna.*
with slow-slow I.wipe tear.her
Slowly, I brushed away her tears.

– similitude prepositional phrases (§4.2.10)

(7.206) *Sura-sura peltep, marpar bagi cingkeru irambasken.*
ambition cut.off scatter like grains.of.rice PASS.thresh
My hopes had been dashed, scattered like the individual grains of rice
threshed from the stalk.

(7.207) *Berjut beru Patimar dėsken kera niacemi.*
scowl female Patimar like monkey PASS.lemon.LOC
Beru Patimar scowled like a monkey that had been squirted with lemon juice.

– extent prepositional phrases

(7.208) *“Oé, kaka!” bagém ningku asa gangna.*
yes brother thus.EMPH say.I as.much.as loud.NMS
“Yes, brother!” I shouted as loudly as I could.

– manner adverbs (§4.2.10)

(7.209) *Tuhu la pernah lit turah perukurenku erbahanca ia bagé.*
true not ever BE grow thought.my ACT.do.PERF he like.that
Truly, the thought never entered my mind to treat him like that.

– indefinite manner phrases

(7.210) *Sebap erbahanca kuga pa pé lanai ia beluh.*
because ACT.do.PERF how PART EMPH no.longer he adept
Because he was no longer capable of doing anything at all.

– certain numerical expressions

(7.211) *Kenca bagé lawes me ia ku tiga sisada.*
after thus go EMPH he to market alone
Then he went to the market on his own.

(7.212) *Lima-lima ia lawes.*
five-five he go
They went in groups of five.

– the reflexive expression *mahan bana* “by itself” (§6.4.6.1)

(7.213) *Enggo mbulak kayu ah ndai mahan bana.*
already fall tree that before ACT.make self
That tree fell over of its own accord.

7.3.5 FREQUENCY

Frequency adjuncts are found in all clause types except identificational clauses, and most typically occur either clause initially or immediately preceding the predicate. They may be expounded by certain measure NPs (examples (7.214) and (7.215)) or by adverbs of frequency (examples (7.216) - (7.218)):

(7.214) *Tep-tep wari Minggu ia ku tiga.*
every day Sunday he to market
Every Sunday he goes to town.

- (7.215) *Pitu nembas ia mulih-ulih.*
seven time he return
Seven times he came back again.
- (7.216) *La enggo pernah manusia pang merjat kerangen inganku énda.*
not already ever human dare step.on forest place.my this
Never before has a human dared to set foot in this forest of mine.
- (7.217) *Ia lalap la ridi.*
he always not bathe
He never takes a bath.
- (7.218) *Ngkai maka icakapindu aku rusur?*
why that PASS.speak.about.you I always
Why is it that you are always talking about me?

Karo has many adverbs of frequency, a number of which are difficult to distinguish from each other in English. They are arranged here on a scale from approximately least to most frequent:

<i>la enggo pernah</i>	(to have) never
<i>lalapla</i>	(to) never (do) (lit. always not)
<i>la pernah</i>	never
<i>pernah</i>	once, to have...
<i>ndigan-ndigan</i>	once in a while, once in a blue moon
<i>sekali-sekalin kal</i>	once in a while
<i>sekali-sekali</i>	rarely
<i>merak-rak</i>	rarely, intermittently, irregularly
<i>mawen-mawen</i>	sometimes
<i>song...song...</i>	sometimes...sometimes... (§8.4.3.1)
<i>mekatep</i>	often
<i>megati</i>	often
<i>biasana</i>	usually
<i>usur, rusur</i>	always, habitually, customarily
<i>gelgel</i>	always, usually, unchanging
<i>lalap</i>	always, all the time

Of these, *mekatep*, *megati* and (*r*)*usur* are morphologically adjectives, with the usual potential for inflection as comparative and excessive forms:

- (7.219) *Usuren ia gejek asangken lang.*
habitual.more he noisy than not
He's more often noisy than not.
- (7.220) *Ula gia usursa kam ngerana.*
don't PART habitual.too you talk
Don't talk too much of the time.

7.3.6 QUANTITY

Adjuncts expressing quantity are found in intransitive and transitive clauses, usually either immediately adjacent to the predicate or clause finally. They are expounded by:



– measure NPs

- (7.221) *Ermotor kita ku Simpang Telu, jé nari erdalan dua batu.*
take.taxi we to intersection three there from walk two stone
We'll travel by taxi to Simpang Telu, then walk two kilometres.

– PPs expressing extent (§4.2.1.7)

- (7.222) *Sekolahkenna kami sibar asa ngasupna.*
(PASS).send.to.school.they we as.far.as capable.their
They educated us as best they could.

– the adjectives *bué* 'many, much', *gedang* 'long' and *dauh* 'far', usually inflected for excessive degree (§3.4.3.3)

- (7.223) *Enggo mbué tambah pemeteuku.*
already much increase knowledge.my
My knowledge has increased greatly.

- (7.224) *Kalak si bagénda buén erkadiola pepagin.*
person REL like.this much.more have.regret tomorrow
Such a person will have more to regret in the future.

- (7.225) *Adi i jé pé orat tuturta lenga sietehen,*
if at here EMPH manner speaking.our not.yet know.each.other
é maka siorati terdauhen.
and so we.ask even.far.more
If at this point we do not know the correct terms with which to address each other, then we ask further questions.

– the quantifying adverbs *sitik* (-*sitik*) 'a little, a bit' and *tolé* 'more'

- (7.226) *Kuangka sitik-sitik.*
I.understand little-little
I understand a little.

- (7.227) *Adi lenga puas kam, sungkun tolé!*
if not.yet satisfied you, ask more
If you are not satisfied (with that explanation), ask some more!

7.4 OPERATORS

Operators are a heterogenous set of mostly morphologically simple forms which modify predicates, subjects and adjuncts, but which cannot occur as exponents of those constituents. They include negatives, adjective modifiers, aspect markers, quantifying expressions and particles.

7.4.1 NEGATIVES

7.4.1.1 NEGATIVE MARKERS

Karo has a number of negative markers which can be grouped into different sets according to their syntactic behaviour:

(i) *La* 'not', *lenga* 'not yet' and *lanai* 'no longer', are most commonly found immediately preceding the predicate, but may also occur clause initially⁵³ and clause finally (in which case *la* becomes *lang* - *la* plus the emphatic particle *nge* - see §7.4.5.2.9).

- (7.228) *Aku lenga erjabu.*
I not.yet marry
I am not married.
- (7.229) *Perban la engko ernandé, erbapa, la engko biakna*
because not you have.mother have.father not you suitable
man pangan.
for food
Because you have no mother or father, it is not fitting to eat you.
- (7.230) *Pagi pé lanai, kedun pé lanai, asa*
tomorrow EMPH no.longer 2.days.hence EMPH no.longer until
ndigan pé lanai.
when EMPH no.longer
Not tomorrow, not the day after, never again.
- (7.231) *Nderbih ku ja pé aku lang.*
yesterday to where EMPH I not
I didn't go anywhere yesterday.

These three negatives are distinguished from other negative markers in that they can stand alone as responses to yes/no questions, and in that they can be post-modified by the emphatic particle *bo* (§7.4.5.2.4):

- (7.232) Q: *Enggo kam man?* A: *Lenga*
already you eat not.yet
Have you eaten? No.
- (7.233) Q: *Uga, naik kelas kang kam?* A: *Lang!*
how go.up class PART you no
Well, did you go up to the next class? No!
- (7.234) *La bo mehuli adi rusur nangko.*
not EMPH good if always ACT.steal
It is not good to steal all the time.
- (7.235) *Lanai bo ku ja pa pé inehenna.*
no.longer EMPH to where PART EMPH PASS.look.he
He just wasn't looking around where he was at all.

⁵³ Elsewhere in this description (8.2.1 (iii)), *lenga*, the antonym of *enggo* 'already', is analysed as a complement-taking predicator, for the reason that it is often clause initial and is itself modifiable by the aspectual *denga* 'still' (e.g. *aku lenga denga sarjana* 'I am still not yet a graduate').

Although it normally negates the whole clause in which it occurs, *la* can also be narrower in scope, negating constituents such as quantifiers, the Descriptive slot of the NP, and adjuncts:

- (7.236) *Kesuliten la sitik ijumpai.*
difficulty not few PASS.meet
Many difficulties were encountered.
- (7.237) *Kami minem lau melas saja, la ertéh, la ergula.*
we drink water hot just not have.tea not have.sugar
We just drank hot water, not with tea, not sugared.
- (7.238) *La ndekahsa i jé nari mulai lego.*
not long.too at there from begin dry.season
Not long after that the dry season started.

It can also occur in stems subject to nominalisation with *kini...-en* (§3.7.7) and *-na* (§3.7.8):

- | | | |
|--|------------------------|-------------|
| | <i>kinilatungungen</i> | impropriety |
| | <i>kinilabujuren</i> | dishonesty |
- (7.239) *Nginget la litna kitap man ogén...*
ACT.remember not BE.NMS book for reading
In view of the absence of books to read...

(ii) *Séa/Sébo/So* 'not', is found most frequently in the Singalur Lau dialect. It negates only NPs, most commonly those occurring as predicates of identificational clauses, and may stand alone as a response to a yes/no question.

- (7.240) *Kam sébo kawanna.*
you not slave.his
You are not his slave.
- (7.241) *Éna séa kap nahéngku.*
that not EMPH leg.my
That's not my leg.
- (7.242) *(so) jelma so bégu*
(not) human not spirit
monster (lit. neither human nor spirit)
- (7.243) *erbaung séa biang*
howl not dog
to howl like a dog (lit. howl, but not a dog)

(iii) *Sopé* is synonymous with *lenga* 'not yet', but is restricted to occurrence in relative clauses or in set descriptive expressions. It cannot stand alone as a response to a yes/no question.

- (7.244) *dahin si sopé denga dung*
work REL not.yet still finished
work which is still not finished
- (7.245) *maté sopé erberas*
die not.yet have.milk.teeth
to die (of an infant)

(iv) Other negators are described elsewhere, such as the imperative negator *ula/ola* 'don't' (§7.2.3), the rhetorical question marker *ma* 'is it not the case that?' (§7.1.1.2), and the predicators *la pada* 'not necessary to', *la banci la(ng)* 'must' and *la terbahan* 'impossible' (§8.2.1 (iii)).

7.4.1.2 NEGATIVE RAISING

Karo has a small number of verbs which permit 'negative raising', whereby a negative marker is removed from the complement clause with which it is logically associated, and attached to the predicator of the main clause, without changing the truth-value of that main clause:

- (7.246) *La kuakap ia rēh.*
not I.think he come
I don't think he is coming. (i.e. I think that he is not coming.)
- (7.247) *Lanai tempa-tempa ietehna latih pé.*
no.longer as.if PASS.know.he tired EMPH
It was as if he no longer knew what tiredness was.
- (7.248) *I jénda la kepéken lit sén.*
at here not seem BE money
It doesn't look like there is any money here. (i.e. It looks like there is no money here.)
- (7.249) *Ota sidahi ia, la terbahan tunduh.*
let's we.visit he not made sleep
Let's go see him then, since we are (made by his crying) unable to sleep.

The above four predicators, *akap* 'think', *tempa-tempa* 'as if', *kepéken* 'it seems' and *terbahan* 'made, caused, brought about that' are the only ones which have been recorded with a raised negative.

7.4.2 ADJECTIVE MODIFIERS

This section describes only those forms whose function is restricted to adjective degree marking. Other forms which, inter alia, also modify adjectives include *tuhu-tuhu* 'really' and *kal* 'very' (§7.4.5.2.1). Comparative, intensive and excessive degrees are expressed morphologically (§3.4.3.2 - §3.4.3.4), as is the superlative degree (§3.7.8 (ii)).

The following degree markers precede adjectives: *kurang* 'insufficiently, not...enough', *cukup* 'somewhat, sufficiently' and *ndauh* 'far'. The latter occurs only with adjectives inflected for the comparative degree.

- (7.250) *Mbertik énda kurang tasak.*
pawpaw this less ripe
This pawpaw isn't quite ripe.
- (7.251) *Cukup mesui mepes semangat geluhku.*
enough difficult ACT.grasp spirit life.my
It was pretty difficult to keep my spirits up.

- (7.252) *Banci itelenna rubia-rubia si ndauh galangen asangkan ia.*
 able PASS.swallow.he animals REL far big.more than he
 He was able to swallow animals much larger than himself.

The marker *mekelek* 'very' may precede or follow the adjective:

- (7.253) *Mekelek ndelé ras picet ukur Raja Pesisir.*
 very troubled and worried mind king coast
 Raja Pesisir was very troubled and worried.
- (7.254) *Picet mekelek ukur Pengulu Ajinembah.*
 worried very mind headman Ajinembah
 The headman of Ajinembah was very worried.

Karo also has a number of lexicalised degree-marking expressions which occur with adjectives which have been nominalised with *-na* (§3.7.8). These include *séh kal* 'extremely (= very much reaching)', *la kurang* 'equally, sufficiently (= not lacking)', *lanai teralang* 'absolutely (i.e. unimpeded)' and *ma nai kelang-lang* 'thoroughly (i.e. flawless)':

- (7.255) *Séh kal kiatna ia.*
 until very lazy.NMS he
 He was extremely lazy.
- (7.256) *Énda la kurang jiléna.*
 this not less beautiful.NMS
 This one is every bit as good.
- (7.257) *Lanai bo teralang tabehna megiken sora surdam é.*
 no.longer EMPH impeded pleasant.NMS ACT.listen sound flute that
 It was absolutely delightful to listen to the sound of the flute.

7.4.3 ASPECT MARKERS

Karo has three such markers which always occur immediately adjacent to the predicate: pre-modifying *sanga(na)* and *paksa(na)* indicate that an event is in progress or that a certain state of affairs exists, whereas post-modifying *denga* means 'still'.⁵⁴ All three aspect markers are found in all clause types, except that *sanga(na)* and *paksa(na)* do not occur in identificational clauses, or in stative clauses whose predicate refers to an inherent or permanent property possessed by the referent of the subject.

- (7.258) *Perik é paksana man buah kayu.*
 bird that PROG ACT.eat fruit tree
 The birds were eating the fruit on the tree.
- (7.259) *Bengkila sangana i rumah.*
 uncle PROG at house
 Uncle is/was at home.

⁵⁴ Non-progressive aspectual meanings in Karo are rendered by a number of forms which in this description are analysed as full predicators which take clausal subjects (§8.2.1).

- (7.260) *Diberu sadah sangana mehuli dagingna.*
 woman that PROG good body.her
 That woman is pregnant.
- (7.261) *Medem denga kang nini ndai?*
 asleep still PART grandfather before
 Is Grandfather still asleep?
- (7.262) *Paksa é aku anak perana denga.*
 time that I child youth still
 At the time I was still a youth.

7.4.4 QUANTIFYING MARKERS

These comprise three types: limiters, additives and approximators.

7.4.4.1 LIMITERS

These post-modify predicates, subjects and adjuncts, and express various kinds of restrictive meanings. They include: *ngenca* 'only, merely', *saja* 'only, just', *denga* 'only, just, so far (with an expectation of addition or expansion)', *pelin-pelin/pepin* 'just, nothing but, purely', and *naring* 'only, just'.

- (7.263) *Siidahen ngenca ia, tapi la sioraten.*
 see.each.other only they but not address.each.other
 They only saw each other, but did not speak to each other.
- (7.264) *Ipindona gelah Appung Barus tading i Ajinembah saja.*
 PASS.ask.he PURP Appung Barus remain at Ajinembah just
 He asked Appung Barus just to remain in Ajinembah.
- (7.265) Q: *Piga enggo anakndu?* A: *Dua denga.*
 how.many already child.your two just
 How many children do you have? Just two (so far).
- (7.266) *Buku pelin-pelin i bas.*
 book only at inside
 There's nothing but books inside it.
- (7.267) *Asal ia erjudi talu naring.*
 as.long.as he gamble lose only
 Whenever he gambles, he just loses all the time.

Some of these may co-occur with *ngenca*, yielding a more emphatic meaning:

- (7.268) *Tading palas-palasma naring ngenca.*
 remain foundation.its only only
 All that remain are the foundations.
- (7.269) *Aku sibar Prapat denga ngenca.*
 I until Prapat just only
 I've only just gone as far as Prapat.

- (7.270) *Saja ngenca ertoto aku ku Dibata, gelah...*
 only only pray I to God PURP
 All I can do is to pray to God, so that...

7.4.4.2 ADDITIVES

These include: *nari* 'more, else' (post-modifying quantifying expressions and interrogative words), *denga* 'more, else' (post-modifying interrogative words), and *lebih* 'more than, in excess of' (pre-modifying number phrases).

- (7.271) *Banci katakenndu sekali nari?*
 able (PASS).say.you one.time more
 Can you say it once again?
- (7.272) *Ku ja nari lawes ndia?*
 to where more go PART
 Where else can I possibly go?
- (7.273) *Kai denga si man timanta?*
 what more REL for waiting.our
 What else do we have to wait for?
- (7.274) *Lebih seratus kerbo kami igerana.*
 more one.hundred buffalo our PASS.lead.they
 They stole (i.e. led away) more than a hundred of our buffalo.

7.4.4.3 APPROXIMATORS

These pre-modify quantifying expressions. They include *kira-kira* and *agakna* 'about, approximately'.

- (7.275) *Sénku lit kira-kira telu puluh ribu.*
 money.my BE about thirty thousand
 I have approximately thirty thousand (rupiah).
- (7.272) *Agakna sada pisapen i jénda nari.*
 about one smoking.of.cigarette at here from
 The distance from here is about the time it takes to smoke one cigarette.

7.4.5 PARTICLES

These are mostly monosyllabic forms which almost always post-modify other constituents, including other operators (and sometimes even other particles). They can never occur as free forms in isolation, and are subject to strict distributional limitations. These latter properties distinguish them from other relatively mobile and independent forms such as emphatic adverbs (e.g. *tuhu-tuhu* 'really'). Syntactically and phonologically, particles enter into phrase-level constructions with the constituents they follow, but from a semantic perspective they tend to modify the whole clause in which they occur. With few exceptions they are restricted to occurrence in main rather than subordinate clauses.

In terms of function, particles can be subclassified into three types: softening particles, emphatic particles and discourse particles. It is not uncommon for a single particle to have more than one meaning or function, depending upon the environment in which it occurs. For instance, *kin* and *nge* vary in meaning according to whether they occur in yes/no questions, in content questions or in declaratives. In some cases it has been more convenient to describe particles according to the clause type in which they occur (e.g. in imperatives or interrogatives). When this has been done, it is indicated below, together with the appropriate cross-references.

7.4.5.1 SOFTENING PARTICLES

These serve to attenuate the force of the imperative or declarative clause in which they occur. They are all glossed here as SOF.

7.4.5.1.1 *min*

In imperatives, this particle is used to express encouragement, or a wish (§7.2.2.1.5):

- (7.277) *Kinisempaten ula min ipulahindu!*
 opportunity don't SOF PASS.let.pass.you
 Don't let opportunity pass you by!

In ordinary declaratives it also conveys a wish or suggestion that something ought to be done or should have been done. It is often found in main clauses whose predicate expresses a desiderative meaning, and in subordinate clauses expressing purpose:

- (7.278) *Aturen kin min bagé.*
 arrangement EMPH SOF like.that
 Indeed it should have been like that.
- (7.279) *Min kita jumpa, bagé ulin ari?*
 SOF we meet like.that better CONF
 We should meet, that would be better, wouldn't it?
- (7.280) *Adi i jénda min ndai beru Ginting, la bo bagé*
 if at here SOF before female Ginting not EMPH thus
suina.
 difficult.NMS
 If Beru Ginting had been here, it wouldn't have been so difficult.
- (7.281) *Ndekah kal nge min até kami ku jénda.*
 long.time EMPH EMPH SOF heart our to here
 We have been wanting to come here for such a long time.
- (7.282) *É maka pindona gelah banci kal ia min ngikut.*
 and so (PASS).ask.he PURP able EMPH he SOF join
 And so he asked that he be allowed to come along.

7.4.5.1.2 *-lah*

This particle mostly occurs in imperatives, with a hortatory meaning (§7.2.2.1.3):

- (7.283) *É maka tutuslah atéta erlajar!*
 and so serious.HORT heart.our study
 So let's study seriously!

Following negatives, *lah* has a softening effect, indicating that the speaker is somewhat tentative about the proposition being advanced:

- (7.284) *Adi la lah kam méla, rimpal nge kuakap kita.*
 if not SOF you embarrassed be.cousins EMPH I.think we
 If it doesn't cause you any embarrassment, I think that we should address
 each other as cousins.
- (7.285) *La lah man sampaten ndia, permén?*
 not SOF for helping EMPH niece
 Is there anything requiring my assistance then, Niece?

7.4.5.1.3 *gia*

In declaratives, this particle expresses an attitude of nonchalance : 'anyway; I might as well...':

- (7.286) *Tarena ersuri, man gia aku lebé.*
 while.she use.comb eat SOF I first
 While she is combing her hair, I might as well eat.
- (7.287) *Sibaba gia.*
 we.bring SOF
 We'll take it along anyway. (i.e. I don't really care.)
- (7.288) *Ras gia kita.*
 together SOF we
 You may as well come along with us.

In imperatives, *gia* has a suggestive effect; in positive imperatives it indicates encouragement; and in prohibitions it expresses gentle dissuasion:

- (7.289) *Sekali nari lah gia!*
 one.time more SOF SOF
 Come on, now, do it once again!
- (7.290) *Ula gia pekeri-keri kal sén é, ulin isusun.*
 don't SOF (PASS).spend EMPH money that better PASS.pile.up
 You don't want to spend all your money, you know, it's better to save it.

Gia is also used as a conjunction meaning 'although' (§8.4.2.6).

7.4.5.2 EMPHATIC PARTICLES

These are all post-modifiers, which confer varying degrees of prominence upon the different constituents that they follow. They are sometimes also accompanied by attitudinal meanings. They are all glossed here as EMPH.

7.4.5.2.1 *kal/kel*

This particle is the most prolific operator in Karo, occurring after all kinds of predicates, subjects, adjuncts, quantifiers, negatives and interrogative words.

- (7.291) *Sura-surangku nggedang kal.*
ambition.my high EMPH
I had very high ambitions.
- (7.292) *Pekpekna kal aku ndai.*
(PASS).hit.he EMPH I before
He really struck me quite a blow.
- (7.293) *Mbera-mbera lit kal gunana man banta kerina.*
hopefully BE EMPH use.its to us all
We hope it will certainly be of use to us all.
- (7.294) *Kakangku kal kam kuakap.*
older.brother.my EMPH you I.consider
I regard you as my very own brother.
- (7.295) *Adi kam kal nuruhsa, banci kuamburken jala é.*
if you EMPH ACT.order.it able I.cast net that
If indeed you give the order, I can cast the net.
- (7.296) *Sekali nari kuema ia ndekah kal.*
one.time more I.kiss she long.time EMPH
Once more I gave her a very long kiss.
- (7.297) *Enterem kal kalak rëh ku rumah.*
many EMPH person come to house
Very many people came to the house.
- (7.298) *La kal terjabap aku penungkunen é.*
not EMPH ABIL.answer I question that
There was no way I could answer that question.
- (7.299) *Isé kal nge ndia anak raja é?*
who EMPH EMPH EMPH son chief that
Who on earth was that son of the chief?

7.4.5.2.2 *jiné/jinéken*

In declarative clauses, this particle modifies subjects, predicates and negatives. It means '...self; none other than...; in fact', and often implies a contrast or asserts something as a contradiction to what the addressee might believe.

- (7.300) *Jumpa ia ras nipé sawa, ringkina jiné!*
meet he with snake rice.field male.snake.the EMPH
He encountered a python, the male itself!
- (7.301) *Keleng kal jiné atéku kam!*
love EMPH EMPH heart.my you
I love you!
- (7.302) *La kam nggit maké baju énda, meherga jiné ndai kutukur!*
not you want ACT.wear dress this expensive EMPH before I.buy
You don't want to wear this dress I bought you, yet it was an expensive one!
- (7.303) *Aku jinéken ngidahsa nderbih!*
I EMPH ACT.see.him yesterday
I saw him myself yesterday!
- (7.304) *La bo jinéken aku ku jah!*
not EMPH EMPH I to there
I definitely did not go there!

7.4.5.2.3 *kap/kapken/kapen*

This particle expresses the speaker's firm conviction about the proposition being advanced: 'I assure you that...; I'm telling you that...'. It follows subjects, predicates and negatives, in declarative clauses.

- (7.305) *Aku kap dalin, ketuhu-tuhun dingen kegeluhen.*
I EMPH road truth and life
I am the way, the truth and the life.
- (7.306) *Éndam kapken!*
this.EMPH EMPH
This is it!
- (7.307) *Ula tukur uis é, barang tangkon kap é!*
don't (PASS).buy garment that, goods stolen EMPH that
Don't buy those clothes, they're stolen property!
- (7.308) *Éna séa kap nahéngku!*
that not EMPH leg.my
That isn't my leg!
- (7.309) *Lanai kap nggeluh gelarna!*
no.longer EMPH live name.its
This is no way to live! (i.e. This is not what's called 'living'.)

7.4.5.2.4 *bo*

This particle occurs only after the negators *la*, *lenga*, *lanai* and *séa* (§7.4.1.1).

- (7.310) *La bo dalih.*
not EMPH obstacle
That's not a problem. (i.e. It doesn't matter.)

- (7.311) *Perukuren si bagé rupana la bo man usihen.*
 thinking REL like.that shape.its not EMPH for copying
 That way of thinking should not be emulated.
- (7.312) *Lenga bo pernah ia rēh ku jénda.*
 not.yet EMPH ever he come to here
 He has never been here.
- (7.313) *Séa bo aku nulissa.*
 not EMPH I ACT.write.it
 It wasn't me who wrote it.

7.4.5.2.5 *ndia*

Ndia is restricted to occurrence in interrogatives, and conveys doubt or disbelief on the part of the speaker (§7.1.1.4).

- (7.314) *Kai nge ninta ndia?*
 what PART say.we EMPH
 What could it possibly be?

7.4.5.2.6 *keh/kehken*

In statements, this particle occurs after indefinite expressions, reinforcing the notion of indeterminacy.

- (7.315) *Enggo ertahun-tahun kehken ia ringan i jah.*
 already years.and.years EMPH he live at there
 He's lived there for years and years.
- (7.316) *Piga-piga kali keh itajakna.*
 several time EMPH PASS.stab.he
 He stabbed it several times.
- (7.317) *Enggo ndekah aku sakit, ku dokter la malem, tambari la
 already long.time I sick to doctor not cured (PASS).treat not
 malem, enggo ku ja keh déba tambari la malem.
 cured already to where EMPH else (PASS).treat not cured
 I've been ill for a long time, been to the doctor and didn't get better, was
 given medicine and didn't get any better, I've been everywhere you can think
 of for treatment and still I'm no better.*

When it occurs in content questions, *keh* signals annoyance or criticism on the part of the speaker (§7.1.1.4); the illocutionary force of such questions is actually exclamative:

- (7.318) *Kai keh isi kujamna?*
 what EMPH contents purse.her
 Goodness! What *has* she got in her purse?

7.4.5.2.7 *kang*

This particle occurs as a neutral interrogative marker in yes/no questions (§7.1.1.1). In addition it has three other distinct meanings:

(i) in a response to a yes/no question, it expresses general agreement, tinged with some reservation or hesitancy:

(7.319) Q: *Meriah ndai i tiga?* A: *Meriah kang.*
 busy before at market busy EMPH
 Was it busy at the market? Hmm, fairly busy.

(7.320) Q: *Angkandu kang?*
 (PASS).understand.you PART
 Do you understand?

A: *Kuangka kang, tapi la kerina kal.*
 Iunderstand EMPH but not all EMPH
 Well, I do, but not every single thing.

(ii) in declaratives it can mean 'too, also, as well':

(7.321) *Kota Médan galang. Padang pé galang kang.*
 city Medan large Padang EMPH large EMPH
 Medan is a big city. Padang is big too.

(7.322) *Adi nggit kita mindo, tentu nggit kang nge kita meré.*
 if willing we ACT.ask certain willing EMPH EMPH we ACT.give
 If we are willing to ask for things, then naturally we should be willing to give
 as well.

(iii) in a clause beginning with *tapi* 'but', *kang* indicates something occurs contrary to expectation: 'anyway, nevertheless, still':

(7.323) *Rusur enggo aku erlajar, tapi lalap kang la bo kudat.*
 always already I study but always EMPH not EMPH I.get
 I study all the time, but I still can't grasp it.

(7.324) *...tapi temuéna é dungna ipelawesna kang.*
 but guest.his that finish.NMS PASS.CAUS.go.he EMPH
 ...but in the end he sent his guest away after all.

In cases where it bears the latter meaning, *kang* is often abbreviated to *ka*:⁵⁵

(7.325) *Agrési pemena tentara kerajaan Belanda rēh ka.*
 aggression first army kingdom Holland come EMPH
 The first Dutch Police Action came after all.

(7.326) *Bagé pé nggit ka me aku, perban...*
 like.that although willing EMPH EMPH I because
 Nevertheless I was still willing, because...

⁵⁵ It seems likely that *kang* can be etymologically explained as *ka* plus emphatic particle *nge* (§7.4.5.2.9). However the resultant form is now fossilised and is itself able to be followed by *nge*, as exemplified in example (7.322).

7.4.5.2.8 *kin*

This particle occurs in a wide range of situations. In yes/no questions, it indicates that an affirmative answer is anticipated (§7.1.1.1). It is also found in content questions, where the question is often used to initiate a communicative exchange (§7.1.1.4). In declaratives, *kin* adds emphasis to the word which it follows, meaning 'indeed, certainly, definitely':

(7.327) *Ulin kin siukuri lebé mbages-mbages.*
better EMPH we.think.LOC first deep-deep
We should really think about it carefully first.

(7.328) *Adi uis nandé Ati ah, la bo kin man pinjamen,*
if garment mother Ati that not EMPH EMPH for borrowing
sebab ia degil kal.
because she stingy EMPH
As for Nande Ati, there's no way you will manage to borrow any of her clothes, because she is really mean.

In imperatives, *kin* is also emphatic, serving to warn or admonish the addressee:

(7.329) *Ula kin tawai!*
don't EMPH (PASS).laugh.LOC
Don't laugh at them!

(7.330) *Adi enggo mbelin, rukur kin!*
if already big think EMPH
If you are a grown-up, then *think* like one!

7.4.5.2.9 *nge*

This particle also has a wide distribution. In yes/no questions, it signals that a negative answer is anticipated (§7.1.1.1). In content questions, it expresses annoyance, or conveys a challenging tone towards the addressee (§7.1.1.4). In declaratives, *nge* signals the speaker's firm conviction regarding the truth of the assertion:

(7.331) *Kuinget nge lalap kerna ukurndu mehuli é.*
Iremember EMPH always about mind.your good that
I always remember your kindness.

(7.332) *Mbué nari nge sénndu!*
much more EMPH money.your
You have stacks of money left!

In a response to a yes/no question, *nge* strengthens the assertion, serving to dispel or contradict any doubt in the mind of the questioner:

(7.333) Q: *Siat nge kari rumahna ah?*
accommodate PART later house.his that
Will his house be able to accommodate so many people?

A: *Siat nge!*
accommodate EMPH
Of course it will!

Following an NP, *nge* means 'this (NP) and no other':

- (7.334) *Si Amin nge si nulis dinding é, guru!*
 title Amin EMPH REL ACT.write.LOC wall that teacher
 It was Amin who wrote on the wall, teacher!
- (7.335) *Salahndu é nge, icakapina pé la kam*
 mistake.your that EMPH PASS.speak.LOC.he although not you
nggit ngerana.
 willing speak
 It's all your own fault. Although he spoke to you, you wouldn't talk to him.
- (7.336) *Ia nge kalak si megegehna.*
 he EMPH person REL strongest
 He is the strongest one.

When *nge* occurs utterance finally, following a word ending in /a/, then it often contracts to *-ng* and cliticises to the preceding word:

- (7.337) *I jénda nge!* ---> *I jéndang!*
 at here EMPH
 Here!
- (7.338) *Kerinana nge!* ---> *Kerinanang!*
 all.its EMPH
 All of it!
- (7.339) *La nge!* ---> *Lang!*
 not EMPH
 No!

Conversely, when *nge* precedes *é* 'that', it contracts to *ng-*, thus:

- (7.340) *Payo nge é!* ---> *Payo ngé!*
 correct EMPH that
 That's right!

7.4.5.2.10 *pé*

This particle has a number of different functions, mostly emphatic in nature. It occurs as a concessive conjunction (§8.4.2.6). Often it means 'too, also':

- (7.341) *Bagi anak perana si deban, aku pé ikut ertempur.*
 like youth REL other I EMPH join.in fight
 Like other youths, I joined in the struggle too.
- (7.342) *Kataken bujur man Dibata ras pindo pé*
 (PASS).say thank.you to God and (PASS).request EMPH
pemasu-masun ibas Ia nari.
 blessing at He from
 Give thanks to God and also ask for His blessing.

- (7.343) *Anak-anak, singuda-nguda, bage pé tua-tua, kerina rēh*
 children young.girls like.that EMPH adults all come
ku tengah kesain.
 to middle yard
 All the children, young girls, and the adults as well came to the middle of the village square.

In the proximity of a negative, *pé* means 'even, at all':

- (7.344) *Sada pé la lit.*
 one EMPH not BE
 There wasn't even one.
- (7.345) *Aku sitik pé la kuangka.*
 I little EMPH not I.understand
 I don't understand at all.

Following an interrogative word, it forms an indefinite expression (§7.1.2.3):

- (7.346) *I ja pa nari pé enggo ilegi guru lako*
 at where PART from EMPH already PASS.fetch shaman PURP
nambarisa, tapi sada pé la ngasup pemalem pinakitna
 ACT.treat.him but one EMPH not able CAUS.cure illness.his
é.
 that
 Medicine men were fetched from everywhere around to treat him, but not one of them was able to cure his illness.
- (7.347) *Kai pé la kubaba.*
 what EMPH not I.bring
 I didn't bring anything.

As well, *pé* is often found in a particular serialised construction, whereby a common subject or agent NP intervenes between a preceding stative clause and a following active clause (see §8.3.2). The predicate of the first clause is expounded by an evaluative adjective usually referring to some emotion. The particle *pé* occurs at the end of the whole construction, bearing a strongly assertive meaning: 'It is a fact that...; I'm telling you that...':

- (7.348) *Mbiar kita enggo ngidahsa pé.*
 afraid we already ACT.see.it EMPH
 I'm telling you, you would have been terrified to see it.
- (7.349) *Ntebu akapna nginemsa pé.*
 sweet (PASS).think.he ACT.drink.it EMPH
 He really thought it was sweet to drink.

Finally, *pé* often occurs as a marker of a clause-initial subject NP, which has been fronted from its normal post-predicate position (§7.6.3). Apart from noting that it occurs with fronted nominals, it is difficult to specify the precise function of this marking. It does not appear to be associated with topic-marking, or the assigning of any special discourse status to the NP in question, as the NP marked with *pé* often refers to some participant whose role in the discourse is totally marginal or inconsequential, and to which reference is made only

once, in passing. For the sake of clarity the occurrences of *pé* are underlined in the following examples:

- (7.350) *Bagé me nima-nimai wari gelap. Erkata me pét-pét*
 thus EMPH ACT.wait day dark make.sound EMPH cicada
ras manuk-manuk si déban si kabang ndarami
 and bird.bird REL other REL fly ACT.seek
nakan berngi. Beru Ginting pé enggo ngadi ngandung,
 food night female Ginting EMPH already stop cry
sebab enggo latih akapna. Matana pé
 because already tired (PASS).feel.she eye.her EMPH
enggo besar ndekahsa ngandung. Takalna pé
 already swollen long.too cry head.her EMPH
igejapna mesui. É maka idaramina inganna
 PASS.feel.she sore and so PASS.seek.she place.her
si banci ia nggalangken bana.
 REL can she ACT.lie.down self

And so the end of the day was drawing near. The evening cicada chirped, as did the birds flying in search of their evening meal. Beru Ginting had stopped crying, because she felt exhausted, her eyes were swollen from crying for so long. Her head was aching. And so she set about looking for a place where she could lie down for the night.

The status of 'Beru Ginting' in this passage is central, as she is the main character of the story. However, the other elements marked with *pé* – her eyes and her head – are hardly 'topical' in any significant sense. After making brief mention of them the story moves immediately along to the next item. From this extract it is difficult to conclude that *pé* serves to do anything more here than simply mark an NP 'out of position', as it were. See §7.6.3 for further discussion of this phenomenon.

7.4.5.3 DISCOURSE PARTICLES

A number of particles have various discourse-related functions.

7.4.5.3.1 *émkap*

This particle functions primarily as a subject-predicate copula in identificational clauses (§5.3), particularly if either or both constituents are long. It is glossed as LINK:

- (7.351) *Si bené é émkap kerbo, lembu ras kuda.*
 REL lost that LINK buffalo cattle and horse
 What are missing are the buffalo, the cattle and the horses.
- (7.352) *Gelarna émkap 'tenggiang'.*
 name.its LINK kind.of.tree.fern
 Its name is *tenggiang*.

- (7.353) *Si man arihenken émkap kema wari berkatta ras*
REL for discussing LINK about day depart.our and
peralatenta kerina.
equipment.our all
What needs to be discussed is the day of our departure plus all the things we
have to take with us.

Émkap is sometimes contracted to *ém*:

- (7.354) *Guru ibas kalak Karo ém kalak si beluh*
medicine.man at person Karo LINK person REL clever
narubari pinakit.
ACT.treat illness
A *guru* amongst the Karo people is a person who can treat illness.

Émkap also functions as an explicating particle linking a loose-knit apposition phrase to its preceding head (§4.1.7):

- (7.355) *Kerina si nggeluh erdalin arah dalin é, émkap kematén.*
all REL live walk vicinity road that LINK death
All who live must go down that path, that is, death.
- (7.356) *Ibahan me Guru Diden sada penguji man Guru Pakpak*
PASS.make EMPH Guru Diden one test for Guru Pakpak
Pitu Sindalinen, émkap muat embun-embunen ibas lubang.
seven one.journey LINK ACT.take offerings in hole
Guru Diden set a test for the Seven Travelling Guru Pakpak, that is, to
remove some ritual offerings from a hole.

7.4.5.3.2 *kunuken/kunu*

This is a special narrative particle used to introduce a story, similar in meaning to 'once upon a time' or 'so the story goes'. It is glossed as INTRO:

- (7.357) *Nai-nai nina kunuken lit sada jelma...*
long.time.ago say.they INTRO BE one person
A long time ago, so the story goes, there was a man...
- (7.358) *É tubuh me kunu ndubé anak nini, dua diberu.*
and born EMPH INTRO formerly child grandfather two girl
Once upon a time there was an old man who had two daughters.

7.4.5.3.3 *dagé*

This particle signals a shift in the topic of conversation, a change of direction in one's thoughts, or moves the dialogue on to the next logical point.

- (7.359) *Lawes aku dagé.*
go I then
Well, I'll be on my way, then.

(7.360) A: *Ula paké rawit naka tualah.*
 don't (PASS).use small.knife ACT.cut coconut
 Don't use a *rawit* to cut that coconut open.

B: *Alu kai dagé kutaka?*
 with what then I.cut
 What should I cut it open with then?

A: *Sekin paké!*
 large.knife (PASS).use
 Use a *sekin* !

7.4.5.3.4 *me*

This is a particle which exhibits a high frequency of occurrence in connected discourse. It post-modifies a variety of constituents, with slightly different functions and meanings. For convenience, these are all glossed below as EMPH. Following a word which ends in a vowel, it often contracts to *-m*.

(7.361) *Énda me.* ---> *Éndam.*
 this EMPH
 This one.

With predicates expounded by intransitive and passive verbs, and sometimes adjectives, *me* marks 'eventiveness', that is, it highlights those actions and situations which form the backbone of the narrative. This is illustrated in the following passage, where for clarity's sake, *me* and the glosses of the predicates it highlights are underlined in the free translation:

(7.362) *Ibas sada wari lawes me pengulu énda gawah-gawah sisada*
 on one day go EMPH headman this stroll alone
ngersak kuda. I tengah dalam, jumpa me ia ras
 ACT.ride horse at middle road meet EMPH he with
sekalak diberu sēh kal jiléna rupana.
 one.person woman until EMPH beauty.NMS appearance.her
Tergejep pé pusuh pengulu é ngenehen diberu é.
 beat EMPH heart headman that ACT.see woman that
É maka nusur me ia i das kudana nari,
 and so descend EMPH he at top horse.his from
deherina me diberu é. Iabana me
 (PASS).approach.he EMPH woman that PASS.bring EMPH
diberu é ku kutana, niempoina. Gila me
 woman that to village.his PASS.marry.he hate EMPH
até ndeharana ras pupusna é kerina ngenehen
 heart wife.his and child.his that all ACT.see
lagu pengulu é. E maka meling me
 behaviour headman that and so butt.of.gossip EMPH

ia rusur ibahan anakna ras ndeharana é.
 he always PASS.make child.his and wife.his that
 One day the headman went off riding alone on his horse. In the middle of his ride, he came across a very beautiful woman. He was very attracted to her. So he climbed down from his horse and went over to the woman. Eventually he brought her back to his village, and married her. His wife and all his children were incensed at the headman's behaviour. And so he became the constant butt of gossip brought about by his wife and children.

Besides marking the main events of the narrative, when it follows passive predicates *me* also serves to disambiguate the roles of the core NPs in the passive clause (§6.3.1.3). The post-predicate position of *me* in the second clause below makes it clear that 'Solmih' is the subject (i.e. undergoer) of the clause:

- (7.363) *É maka idalanken me putusan é, igeleh me*
 and so PASS.carry.out EMPH decision that PASS.kill EMPH
Solmih ndai.
 Solmih that
 And so the decision was carried out, Solmih was put to death.

Me also occurs after subject NPs. These are always definite, and usually have already been mentioned in the immediately preceding context (or are readily recoverable from the surrounding context of discourse, as in the case of second person pronouns). In such cases *me* singles out a participant from the context and highlights it for further comment:

- (7.364) *"Ola kam ngandung!" bagém nina Tulak Kelambir*
 don't you cry thus.EMPH say.she Tulak Kelambir
Gading. Pengayan-ngayanna tualang si Mandé Angin.
 Gading roosting.place.her large.tree title Mande Angin
Inganna ertenun i das gumban si mbelin. Ia
 place.her weave at top knob REL big she
me munuhsa kerina pawang si enggo lebé.
 EMPH ACT.kill.PERF all honey.gatherer REL already first.more
 "Don't cry!" said Tulak Kelambir Gading. Her roosting place was the Si Mande Angin tree, and the place where she did her weaving was on the large knur. She was the one who had killed all those honey-gatherers who had come in the past.
- (7.365) *Adi lit bagé buah kayu, ém nipan.*
 if BE thus fruit tree that.EMPH PASS.eat
 If there were any fruit on the trees, this was eaten.
- (7.366) *Kam ngenca anakku sisada. Kam me dilaki, kam me diberu.*
 you only child.my alone you EMPH male you EMPH female
 You are my only child. You are my son, and my daughter.

Most types of adjuncts may be focused with *me*:

- (7.367) *...janah ibas si é nari me ipilih seribu.*
 and at REL that from EMPH PASS.choose one.thousand
 ...and from those, one thousand were selected.

- (7.368) ...*janah tupung é me ieteh Appung Barus si puna*
and moment that EMPH PASS.know Appung Barus REL own
rumah é Raja Kuta Usang.
house that chief Kuta Usang
...and at that moment Appung Barus knew that the person who owned the
house was the Chief of Kuta Usang.
- (7.369) *Bagém juma ierdangken.*
thus.EMPH field PASS.plant
In this way the field was planted.

In imperatives, *me* acts as a softener, making the directive less forceful and more friendly in tone:

- (7.370) *Berkat me kam, kempu!*
depart EMPH you grandson
Off you go, Grandson!
- (7.371) *Nehen me! Lembu la pang luar.*
(PASS).look EMPH cattle not dare go.out
Just look at that! The cattle are scared to go out.
- (7.373) *Adi bage kin, ota me!*
if thus EMPH let's EMPH
If that's the case, come on, then!

This softening effect is also present when *me* follows certain adjectives, and the predicator *enggo* 'already':

- (7.373) *Enggo me, maksudndu enggo kueteh.*
already EMPH intention.your already I.know
Well, that will do for the moment. I know what your intentions are.

7.4.5.3.5 TOPIC MARKERS

Various pre- and post-modifying markers serve to highlight a clause-initial element with which they combine to form a phrase which is phonologically separable from the rest of the clause. (In speech this is signalled by a short potential pause; in writing, by a comma.) The element thus marked is often a left-dislocated nominal (§7.7.1), but may also be a regular, closely integrated constituent of the clause.

Topic markers which precede are: *adi/andé* 'if', *bicara* 'if' and *kerna* 'concerning'. Those which follow are: *pé* (§7.4.5.2.10) and *ningen* 'be said'.

- (7.374) *Adi aku la bo uga pa pé pang ndeherisa!*
if I not EMPH how PART EMPH dare ACT.approach.it
As for me, there's no way that I'm going to approach it!
- (7.375) *Adi ukurena, nehen saja gambarta sanga kita gambar*
if size.its (PASS).look just picture.our when we (PASS).picture

i Tongging.

at Tongging

As for the size (to suit me), have a look at the photo taken of us together at Tongging.

- (7.376) *Bicara aku, sitik pé la kueteh.*
if I little EMPH not I.know
Me, I haven't the faintest idea.
- (7.377) *Kerna si énda, guru me metehsa.*
concerning REL this medicine.man EMPH ACT.know.it
Concerning this, the medicine man knows all about it.
- (7.378) *Aku pé la bo jelas man bangku.*
I EMPH not EMPH clear to me
I am not at all clear on this matter.
- (7.379) *Ngembussa pé aku merincuh metehsa.*
ACT.blow.it EMPH I desire ACT.know.it
As for blowing it (i.e. the flute), I really want to know how.
- (7.380) *Mari, ku rumah kita lebé. Rumahta pé ningku, la bo*
let's to house we first house.our EMPH say.I not EMPH
rumah, tapi asrama.
house but dormitory
Come on, let's go to my house. I say 'house', but it's not really a house,
it's a dormitory.
- (7.381) *Orangtua si dilaki ras si diberu si mupus lanai*
parent REL male and REL female REL ACT.bear no.longer
lit. Lanai lit ningen, enggo idilo Dibata.
BE no.longer BE be.said already PASS.call God
My parents, my father and my mother who bore me, are no longer here.
When I say 'no longer here', I mean, they've passed away.

Two topic markers may even occur in conjunction:

- (7.382) *Adi kerna perlawesna, aku pe la bo kueteh.*
if concerning going.his I EMPH not EMPH I.know
Concerning his departure, I have no idea.

7.4.5.4 COMBINATIONS OF PARTICLES

Sequences of two particles are particularly common in Karo, and occasionally even three may occur together. The resulting meanings are simply a combination of the meanings of the individual elements.

- (7.383) *Lanai kal bo terturiken.*
no.longer EMPH EMPH ABIL.relate
It was simply indescribable.

- (7.384) *La kal jiné kami tenang adi melawen kenca kam ku rumah.*
not EMPH EMPH we calm if late if you to house
We feel very apprehensive if you don't return home until late.
- (7.385) *Aku kin min ndeherana, sikap mis kubahan.*
I EMPH SOF wife.his in.order directly I.make
Now if I were his wife, I'd have everything set straight at once.
- (7.386) *Adi bagé nina, aku pé lawes me lah ku deleng.*
if thus say.he I EMPH go EMPH SOF to mountain
If that is what he said, then I will go to the mountains.
- (7.387) *Isé kang nge kin si ngambekken suringku énda?*
who EMPH PART PART REL ACT.throw comb.my this
Who was it who threw my comb away?
- (7.388) *Isé kal nge ndia anak raja si ngersak kuda ah?*
who EMPH PART PART child chief REL ACT.ride horse that
Who on earth is that son of a chief riding on the horse?
- (7.389) *Arah léparna lit ka me kap sekalak permakan*
at opposite.its BE EMPH EMPH EMPH one.person shepherd
kambing.
goat
On the other side was a goatherd.

Particles may be ranked according to their ordering relative to the modified constituent and other particles, as follows:

Modified Constituent	Rank 1	Rank 2	Rank 3	Rank 4
	<i>ka</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>kap</i>	<i>ndia</i>
	<i>kang</i>	<i>nge</i>	<i>kin</i>	<i>min</i>
	<i>kal</i>	<i>pé</i>	<i>lah</i>	<i>gia</i>
		<i>bo</i>		
		<i>jiné</i>		

The actual possible combinations of particles are too complex to specify here, but in the majority of cases a particle from one rank combines with another particle from an immediately adjacent rank. Two particles of the same rank do not co-occur.

7.5 VOCATIVES

A vocative slot contains the name or some other term of address used by the speaker towards the addressee. Vocatives are peripheral elements which do not enter into the structure of the clause which they accompany. They may stand entirely alone, or precede, follow or occur between phrases within the clause:

- (7.390) *Nandé!*
Mother!

- (7.391) *O Dara, kataka* *temuénta ndai ku rumah!*
EXCL Dara (PASS).send.word guest.our before to house
O Dara, tell our guest to come up to the house (to eat)!
- (7.392) *Kam, apai kin mergandu?*
you which PART clan.your
You, what clan do you belong to?
- (7.393) *Ridi dagé aku lebé, kempu.*
bathe therefore I first grandson
I'll bathe first then, Grandson.
- (7.394) *Man bangku kam, turang?*
for me you sister
Will you marry me, lass?
- (7.395) *Énda me silih, kuta Jenggi Kumawar.*
this EMPH cousin village Jenggi Kumawar
This, Cousin, is the village of Jenggi Kumawar.
- (7.396) *Ota, nandé, mulih kita.*
let's mother go.home we
Come on, Mother, let's go home.

Two vocatives may occur with the one clause:

- (7.397) *O Naktaki, begiken kam min katangku énda, anakku.*
EXCL Naktaki (PASS).listen you SOF word.my this child.my
Oh Naktaki, please listen to what I am saying, my son.

An utterance-initial vocative which serves to attract the addressee's attention receives vocative stress (i.e. stress on the final syllable; see §2.1.1.3). It may also contain an exclamative marker *o* 'hey':

- (7.398) *O kakà, ku ja aténdu é?*
EXCL older.brother to where heart.your that
Oh brother, where are you going?

Otherwise the vocative element receives regular phrase stress (i.e. on the penultimate syllable; see §2.1.1.2):

- (7.399) *Kàka, merawa nge aténdu emehen aku?*
older.brother angry PART heart.your towards I
Brother, are you angry with me?

Exponents of the vocative slot are drawn from the following types of NP:

- (i) given names, nicknames⁵⁶ and teknonyms (§4.1.2.4.1);
- (ii) second person pronouns: *kam*, *engko* 'you';
- (iii) common nouns, e.g. *teman* 'friend', *anak kuta* 'people of the village', *gajah* 'elephant', etc.;
- (iv) special vocative nouns: *tongat* 'lad', *amé* 'lass', *kadih* 'friend', *bayu* 'friend' (of the opposite sex);
- (v) kinship terms of address, e.g. *nini* 'grandfather', *mama* 'uncle' (i.e. mother's brother), *mami* 'aunt' (i.e. mother's brother's wife), etc.;⁵⁷
- (vi) clan names, clan diminutives and clan nicknames. Each of the five main clan names has an abbreviated version: Karo-karo (*Karo*), Ginting (*Ginting* or *Iting*), Sembiring (*Biring*), Tarigan (*Tigan*), Perangin-angin (*Nangin*). Such abbreviations are often used to address an old woman, thus: *Iting* 'Grandma Ginting'. Young courting couples may also address each other with these abbreviated clan names, preceded by *mama* 'uncle' and *nandé* 'mother', thus: *mama Karo* 'young man of the Karo-karo clan'.

Karo also possesses a rich vocabulary of nicknames for young boys and girls, based on their clan or sub-clan affiliation. These terms are used only for prepubescent children, and often vary from village to village. Some examples are:

clan/sub-clan	for boys	for girls
Perangin-angin Sebayang	<i>ndera</i> , <i>rabun</i>	<i>jengok</i>
Karo-karo Sinulingga	<i>lemang</i>	<i>suang</i>
Sembiring Depari	<i>pulubalang</i>	<i>tajak</i>
Tarigan Sibero	<i>pa batu</i> <i>tarik</i> <i>kawas</i>	<i>pagit</i> <i>lumbang</i> <i>dombat</i>
Ginting	<i>mburak</i>	<i>unjuk</i>

(vii) vocative kin compounds. These are highly formal but affectionate expressions, having the structure of a possessive noun phrase of the form *X Y-na*, where X and Y are kin terms bearing opposite or reciprocal meanings. The relationship of the addressee to the speaker is actually denoted by the first kin term. For example:

<i>agi kakana</i>	my dear younger brother/sister (lit. the younger brother/sister of his/her older brother/sister)
<i>kempu ninina</i>	my dear grandchild (lit. the grandchild of his/her grandparent)
<i>turang bibina</i>	my dear nephew (lit. the nephew of his aunt)
(7.400)	<i>Turang bibina, bengkilandu enggo maté.</i> nephew aunt.his uncle.your already die My dear Nephew, your uncle is dead.

⁵⁶ Tarigan (1965:80-82) provides a short but interesting account of some aspects of rhyming substitutes for clan names, and the use of synonyms and antonyms in avoiding uttering a person's given name.

⁵⁷ Singarimbun (1975:202-206) provides a comprehensive account of Karo kin classificatory terms. A similar listing by Tarigan (1987:299-302) distinguishes between terms of reference and terms of address.

- (7.401) *Bagi si mberat nge dilahku nurikenca man kéna,*
 like REL heavy EMPH tongue.my ACT.relate.it to you
agi kakana.
 little.sister older.brother.her
 It's rather difficult to tell you this, my sweetheart.

7.6 CONSTITUENT ORDER

The preceding description of individual clause types and their constituents has presented such constructions according to their basic or 'unmarked' order, with occasional comment where necessary upon common permutations of the normal sequence (see, for example, §6.2.3, §6.2.4). In similar fashion, adjuncts are described according to their occurrence in unmarked positions in the clause (see §7.3.2).

In general, when a constituent is to be accorded special prominence, it is moved to the front of the clause. Thus adjuncts which provide essential information about temporal or locational settings, or highlight the manner, frequency, instrument, and the like with which something is done, are preposed:

- (7.402) *Mborénda melala belkih i jénda.*
 previously many deer at here
 Previously, there were many deer around here.
- (7.403) *Manjar-anjar kam ku teruh!*
 slow you to below
 Take it slowly as you go down!
- (7.404) *Usur ia rēh pukul siwah.*
 usual he come strike nine
 Usually he comes at nine o'clock.

Pairs of syntactically identical constituents – for instance, adjuncts, predicates, subjects, dislocated NPs – are often contrasted in this way:

- (7.405) *Pagi peluarna, karaběn ikarangkenna.*
 morning (PASS).CAUS.outside.he afternoon PASS.pen.CAUS.he
 In the morning he lets them out, in the afternoon he puts them back in the pen.
- (7.406) *Sirang aku la ngasup, janah tumbuk kita gundari la dorek.*
 part I not willing and promise we now not able
 I'm not prepared to part with you, nor are we able to get engaged at the moment.
- (7.407) *Kucing nangko beltu-beltu, kambing ménda ipekpeki.*
 cat ACT.steal dried.meat goat EMPH.his PASS.hit.REP
 The cat steals the dried meat, but the goat gets a beating for it (referring to someone who is punished for another's misdeed).
- (7.408) *Nakan tading kuskusna, manuk tading tulanna.*
 rice remain crust.its chicken remain bone.its
 Of the rice, all that remained was the crust; of the chicken, all that remained were the bones.

As far as nuclear clausal constituents are concerned, Karo exhibits a general preference for predicate-initial order, with around 60-65 per cent of all clauses thus arranged. Taking predicate-subject (P-S) as the basic order, a short account is provided below of the major factors influencing variation from this pattern. The determinants of subject-predicate (S-P) order can be largely classed as either structural, thematic, sometimes a combination of both, and occasionally apparently neither. As will be seen below, structural and thematic factors sometimes converge in a way which makes it difficult to determine which is the more fundamental.

7.6.1 STRUCTURAL DETERMINANTS OF S-P CONSTITUENT ORDER

Constituent order may be influenced by structural factors such as clause type, interrogative mood, the independent or dependent status of the clause,⁵⁸ the presence of prohibitive markers and fronted negatives, the presence of a quantifier on the subject NP, and 'clause equilibrium'. These are now described in turn.

7.6.1.1 CLAUSE TYPE

Whereas most clauses have dominant P-S order, active clauses and identificational clauses are mostly S-P. (Variations to active clause ordering are described in §6.2.3.) As for identificational clauses, their typical S-P order is consistent with their function of singling out a nominal participant which is either known or can be readily identified by the addressee, and then providing specifying or identifying information about it:

(7.409) *Aku énda anak melumang.*
I this child orphan
I am an orphan.

(7.410) *Imbangndu é diberu.*
opponent.your that female
That opponent of yours is a girl.

(7.411) *Si man arihenken émkap kerna wari berkatta.*
REL for discussing LINK about day depart.our
What needs to be discussed is the day of our departure.

By contrast, existential clauses are normally P-S, being associated more with a presentative function, whereby a new participant is introduced after the predicate *lit* 'exist, be':

(7.412) *I kuta énda lit piga-piga rumah adat.*
at village this BE several house tradition
In this village there are several traditional houses.

7.6.1.2 INTERROGATIVE MOOD

Yes-no interrogatives are almost invariably P-S (§7.1.1.1). With content interrogatives the interrogative word typically occurs as close as possible to clause-initial position

⁵⁸ The term 'independent clause' is used here to refer to a clause whose internal structure is such that it could stand alone.

(§7.1.1.3). Stative and intransitive clauses which contain a fronted interrogative word are almost always S-P:

- (7.413) *Ras isé kam ndai rëh?* (NOT: **rëh kam ndai*)
 with who you before come
 Whom did you come with?

7.6.1.3 DEPENDENT AND INDEPENDENT CLAUSES

If a stative, intransitive or passive clause occurs as a subordinate clause of reason, purpose, consequence or time (§8.4.2.1 - §8.4.2.4), then the preferred order is S-P. This is illustrated in example (7.414), with the clause 'The hunter went'. When occurring as an independent clause, it is P-S, but in the very next sentence, where it occurs as a subordinate clause of time, the order is reversed:

- (7.414) *É maka lawes perburu é nadingken raja. Kenca perburu*
 and so go hunter that ACT.leave chief after hunter
é lawes rëh Simbelang Pinggel.
 that go come Simbelang Pinggel
 And so the hunter went, leaving the chief. After the hunter went, along came Simbelang Pinggel.
- (7.415) *Pindona pé gelah kerbo, lembu, kuda ras*
 (PASS).ask.he EMPH PURP buffalo cattle horse and
rubia-rubia si débanna banci itelena.
 animals REL other.the able PASS.swallow.he
 He requested that he be able to swallow water-buffalo, cattle, horses, and other animals.
- (7.416) *Ola pepagi erkitéken la lit pemeteha maka kita terbuang.*
 don't tomorrow because not BE knowledge.our then we discarded
 Let it not eventuate that in the future, because we have no skills, then we are rejected.

When expounding the subject slot of a higher stative clause (§8.2.1), then stative and intransitive clauses also display S-P order:

- (7.417) *Ulin kita berkat lebé.*
 better we leave first
 We had better leave.
- (7.418) *La pada ia ikut.*
 not necessary he join
 He need not come along.

7.6.1.4 PROHIBITIVE MARKERS AND FRONTED NEGATIVES

Following the prohibitive marker *ula/ola* (§7.2.3), stative and intransitive clauses which retain the addressee exhibit S-P order:

- (7.419) *Ula kam gejek.*
 don't you noisy
 Don't you be noisy.

If the predicate takes a verbal complement (§8.2.2) and the whole clause is preceded by a negative, then S-P order is triggered:

- (7.420) *Lanai aku ngasup erdalin.*
 no.longer I able walk
 I can't walk any more.
- (7.421) *La pernah manusia pang mentasi kerangen tua énda.*
 not ever human dare ACT.pass.LOC forest old this
 Humans never dare to pass through this dense jungle.

7.6.1.5 QUANTIFIED SUBJECTS

When a subject NP is quantified, there is a tendency for it to occur before its predicate:

- (7.422) *Peképar kalak enda sitatapan ras silebuh-lebuhén gelgel.*
 both person this look.each.other and call.each.other always
 They would both look at each other and call out to each other all the time.
- (7.423) *Bagém kami kerina peganci-ganci ku lebé.*
 like.that we all in.turn to front
 In that way we all took a turn to come out the front.
- (7.424) *Kasakai pawang si rëh ku kuta bapangku,*
 how.many honey.gatherer REL come to village father.my
kasé kal ngambengken kesah.
 as.many.as.that EMPH ACT.throw breath
 However many honey-gatherers there were who came to my father's village,
 they all lost their lives.

7.6.1.6 CLAUSE EQUILIBRIUM

This refers to the strong preference for a subject which is shared by two serialised clauses (§8.3.2) to be interposed between both predicates:

- (7.425) *Lawes ia nadingken kami.*
 go he ACT.leave we
 He went, leaving us.
- (7.426) *Matém engko sendah kujerngem!*
 die.EMPH you today I.pounce.on
 You will die today as I pounce upon you!

Reflecting this tendency for balance between two predicates or predicate-like elements on either side of a subject NP, intransitive and passive clauses which begin with an adjunct expressing manner, frequency or time, also exhibit a distinct preference for S-P order:

- (7.427) *Pedas ia mulih ku kutana.*
fast he return to village.his
Quickly he returned to his village.
- (7.428) *Bagém juma ierdangken.*
like.that field PASS.sow
In this way the fields were sown.
- (7.429) *Megati aku suruhna ngembahken nakan bapa ku sabah.*
often I (PASS).order.she ACT.take rice father to rice.field
Often she gets me to take father's lunch to the rice field.
- (7.430) *Adi bagé, wari Saptu kita nangkih.*
if like.that day Saturday we go.up
If that is the case, then we will climb it on Saturday.

7.6.2 THEMATIC DETERMINANTS OF S-P CONSTITUENT ORDER

Thematic factors which trigger S-P order have mainly to do with prominence and continuity.

7.6.2.1 PROMINENCE

A subject NP may be fronted over its predicate to give it special prominence. In this position it may be modified by one of the emphatic particles *nge*, *pé* or *me* (§7.4.5.2.9, §7.4.5.2.10 and §7.4.5.3.4 respectively), or particularised by a limiter such as *ngenca* (§7.4.4.1).

- (7.431) *Engko kalak petua-tuaken!*
you person act-grown.up
You're a bold fellow!
- (7.432) *Adi kerindu kin kam nge tuhu raja!*
if (PASS).empty.you EMPH you EMPH certain king
If you can empty it, you will certainly be the king!
- (7.433) *Pagi aku pé atan berkat.*
tomorrow I EMPH accompany leave
Tomorrow I too will join them in going.
- (7.434) *Nandéna si metua ngenca tading i rumah.*
mother.his REL old only remain at house
Only his elderly mother remained at home.

Such fronting is particularly common when two subject NPs are contrasted:

- (7.435) *Nakan itamana ibas pernakan, gulén itamakenna ibas*
rice PASS.put.he in rice.bucket vegetables PASS.put.he in
gumbar.
jar
He put the rice in the rice bucket, and the vegetables in the jar.

- (7.436) *Gelama ngenca kita enggo sekolah, tapi pemetehta*
 name.its only we already school but knowledge.our
sitik pé la lit.
 a.little EMPH not BE
 In name only have we attended school, but we have not acquired the slightest bit of knowledge.
- (7.437) *Ngidah jelma, arimo mbentar minter ersikap.*
 ACT.see person tiger white straightaway prepare
Simbelang Pinggel bagé ka.
 Simbelang Pinggel like.that too
 Upon seeing a person there, the tiger prepared to attack. Simbelang Pinggel did likewise.

Although most NPs contrasted in this way are specific, generic NPs may also occur in fronted position:

- (7.438) *Kerbo la banci ngité arah kité é. Sebak kité kitik*
 buffalo not able cross by bridge that because bridge small
nge, tentu la tahan. Kambing banci ngité arah é,
 EMPH certain not endure goat can cross by that
janah tahan.
 and endure
 A water-buffalo could not go across that bridge, because the bridge was small, and could not stand the weight. A goat could go across there, and the bridge would stand it.

Another means of highlighting an NP is to extract and relocate it outside its original clause. Such 'dislocations' are described in §7.7.

7.6.2.2 CONTINUITY

Often a nominal participant is introduced in one clause and then occurs as the subject of an immediately following stative, intransitive or passive clause. In such cases it tends to precede the predicate of the latter clause. The effect of this fronting is cohesive, providing a continuity from one clause to the next. In the following examples, these fronted nominals and their antecedents are underlined for the sake of clarity.

- (7.439) *Adi lit bagé buah kayu, ém nipan. Jumpa bulung*
 if BE like.that fruit tree this.EMPH PASS.eat meet leaf
kayu si nguda, ém niulam.
 tree REL young this.EMPH PASS.eat.raw
 If there were any fruit on the trees, these were eaten. And whenever he came across young leaves on a plant, these were eaten uncooked.
- (7.440) *Nai-nai lit me kunuken tersena turi-turin Pais ras*
 long.ago BE EMPH INTRO STAT.discuss story mousedeer and

Solmih. Kalak énda tading ringan i tengah kerangen.
 Solmih person this live dwell at middle forest
 This is the story – that happened long, long ago – of the mousedeer and Solmih. These two fellows lived in the middle of the jungle.

- (7.441) Nai kalak si medanak megati erdung-ndungen.
 long.ago person REL child often tell-riddles

Ndung-ndungenna pé melala merandal.
 riddles.their EMPH many good
 In the past, children were fond of telling riddles. Their riddles were often good.

7.6.3 OTHER CASES OF S-P ORDERING

Sometimes a subject NP is fronted over its predicate for no apparent structural or discourse-related reason of the kinds described above. This can occur in stative, intransitive, existential, active and passive clause types. For convenience, the NP concerned is underlined in the following examples:

- (7.442) Nandéna si metua ngenca tading i rumah, seban lanai
 mother.his REL old only stay at house because no.longer
ngasup ku juma. Matana pé enggo meratah perban tuana.
 able to field eye.her EMPH already blue because old.NMS
 Only his elderly mother remained at home, because she was no longer able to go to the fields. Her eyes were blue and hazy from old age.

- (7.443) Pepagina wari Saptu erpaga-pagi kami pé berkat me
 tomorrow.the day Saturday early we EMPH leave EMPH
nangkih deleng Sinabun.
 go.up mountain Sinabun
 The following day, Saturday, early in the morning we left to go climbing Mt Sinabun.

- (7.444) Erdekahna ergelapna me wari é. Erkitéken embun mekapal
 more.long more.dark EMPH day that because cloud thick
nutupi matawari. Enggo bagé sèh gelapna, maka
 ACT.cover sun already thus reach dark.NMS then
kilap sumagan pé lanai erngadi-ngadi lit.
 lightning EMPH no.longer stop-stop BE
 The day grew darker and darker, because dense cloud was obscuring the sun. When it was very dark like that, then lightning flashed continuously.

- (7.445) Lanai ndekahsa erkata me loncéng masuk. Kerina
 no.longer long.too speak EMPH bell enter all
murid-murid erbaris. Kepala kelas pé ngatur barisen
 pupil-pupil line.up head class EMPH ACT.organise line

kelasna sekalak-sekalak.

class.his one.person-one.person

Not long afterwards the bell rang to go in. All the students lined up. The class captains supervised their individual class lines.

- (7.446) *Dungna kenca puas, pesikap kami kémah ingan*
finish.NMS after satisfied (PASS).make.ready we tent place

medem kari berngi. Guru kami ngatursa kerina.
sleep later night teacher our ACT.organise.PERF all

Ranting pé ibuati kami.

firewood EMPH PASS.fetch.ITER we

At last, having enjoyed the view, we pitched our tents for the coming night.

Our teacher supervised everything. We collected firewood.

The participant fronted in these cases is usually 'old' (previously mentioned) information (examples (7.443), (7.445)) or related to something previously mentioned (examples (7.442), (7.444)), but may also be entirely new (example (7.446)). The fronted NP is always post-modified by *pé* (§7.4.5.2.10). NPs fronted in this way usually have a low discourse salience; that is, they are merely incidental or peripheral to the story-line or situation being described. Thus the reason for fronting appears not to be associated with topicality, either new, sustained or resumed. Furthermore, investigation with informants reveals that in the above examples, the S-P clauses concerned could be just as easily and acceptably rendered as P-S, in which event the marking with *pé* would be dropped. These facts suggest that the fronting of subject NPs in the above circumstances is optional and non-thematic, and that the obligatory marking with *pé* indicates that the fronted NP is 'out of position'. As much as anything else, the function of fronting in these cases may simply be to provide variation for its own sake, from the usual predicate-first ordering.

7.7 LEFT- AND RIGHT-DISLOCATIONS

7.7.1 LEFT-DISLOCATION

This is a construction whereby an NP occurs preceding a clause, from which it is marked off by a separate intonation peak and a potential pause (indicated orthographically by a comma). This NP is linked to the clause by means of an anaphoric pronoun, which can bear any of the following grammatical roles: subject (examples (7.447), (7.448)), agent ((7.449), (7.450)), object ((7.451), (7.452)), possessor ((7.453), (7.454)), or complement of a prepositional phrase ((7.455), (7.456)). Of these, possessor is the most common. (For the sake of clarity, the pronoun referring to the initial NP is underlined.)

- (7.447) *Aku, lawes aku.*

I go I

(Me), I'm going.

- (7.448) *Rakut anak beru, ia tan ras nahé.*

connection anak beru they arm and leg

The anak beru, they are the arms and legs (of the kinship system).

- (7.449) *Kam, kai tukurndu?*
 you what (PASS).buy.you
 And what did *you* buy?
- (7.450) *Si Naktaki, lanai tergalarisa utangna man raja.*
 title Naktaki no.longer ABIL.pay.he debt.his to chief
 As for Naktaki, he was unable to pay his debts to the Chief.
- (7.451) *Kegeluhenta, Dibata me metehsa.*
 life.our God EMPH ACT.know.it
 Our life (and death), (only) God knows it.
- (7.452) *Rumah ah, isé nggergasa?*
 house that who ACT.carve.it
 That house, who did the carvings on it?
- (7.453) *Deleng Sinabun, mbué kertahna.*
 mountain Sinabun much sulphur.its
 Mt Sinabun, it is abundant in sulphur.
- (7.454) *Nandé Rajin ah, kadéna pé la terpinjam.*
 mother Rajin that whatever.her EMPH not ABIL.borrow
 That Nande Rajin, you can't borrow anything of hers!
- (7.455) *Aku pé la bo jelas man bangku.*
 I EMPH not EMPH clear to me
 As far as I'm concerned, it's not at all clear to me.
- (7.456) *Isé munuh arimo mbentar é, bana iserehkenna*
 who ACT.kill tiger white that to.him PASS.marry.off.he
anakna si nguda-nguda.
 child.his REL young.girl
 Whoever could kill the white tiger, to him he would give his daughter in marriage.

The initial NP may be thought of as being 'extracted' or 'dislocated' from its normal position in the clause (the trace of which is then signalled by the coreferential pronoun), and rendered into a clause-external topic. It may be marked with a topic marker (§7.4.5.3.5).

- (7.457) *Aku pé, adi talu, geleh saja aku.*
 I EMPH if lose (PASS).kill just I
 As for me, if I lose, just kill me.
- (7.458) *Adi kalimbubu, arus siberéken manuk man bana.*
 if kalimbubu must we.give chicken to them
 As for the kalimbubu, we must present them with a chicken.
- (7.459) *Kerna biasna, anakberu me naksirsa ras*
 about enough.NMS anakberu EMPH ACT.estimate.it and
ngkuskaskenca.
 ACT.be.busy.over.it
 Concerning whether it is enough, the *anakberu* estimate and organise it.

More complex 'long-distance' extractions are also possible, with dislocated NPs often originating from a clause which occurs as a complement of the main clause:

- (7.460) *Perik énda ndai, melukah nge kuakap nangkapsa.*
bird this before easy EMPH I.think ACT.catch.it
This bird, I think it is quite easy to catch it.
- (7.461) *Sura-surangku pé, lanai aku pang nurikenca.*
ideals.my EMPH no.longer I dare ACT.relate.them
As for my ambitions, I did not dare to say what they were.

In the following example, the dislocated NP is linked to a PP within a relative clause describing the subject of the main clause:

- (7.462) *Beru Rengga Kuning, pemete^h si lit ibas ia émkap*
female Rengga Kuning knowledge REL BE at she LINK
réhna ibas Dibata nari.
come.NMS at God from
Beru Rengga Kuning, the knowledge that she had, (it) came from God.

Interestingly, two left-dislocations may even occur in the one sentence. In the following example, NPs linked to both the subject and the object of the main clause are preposed. (For clarity, each of the dislocated NPs and its resumptive pronoun are represented in the same typestyle; the first pair is underlined, the second pair is in boldface.)

- (7.463) *Aku pé, tehndu **bahasa enda**, merhat kang aku*
I EMPH (PASS).know.you language this enjoy EMPH I
melajarisa.
ACT.study.it
As for me, you know, this language, I enjoy studying it.

It is even possible for an element from an already left-dislocated NP to be extracted and moved to the left of that NP:

- (7.464) *Kerina sadénda, si beluh **erbanca** entah pé*
all this REL clever ACT.do.it or EMPH
ngelakokenca, ia me si nikataken erjabaten.
ACT.implement.it he EMPH REL PASS.say have.authority
All these things, whoever is adept at doing or implementing them, then he is said to have authority.
- (7.465) *Anak si nguda ibas Appung Barus, bulung pinggelna*
child REL young at Appung Barus leaf ear.his
dua mbelahna mbelang kal.
two side.their wide EMPH
Appung Barus's youngest son, his ears, they were both very big.

As all of the above examples illustrate, left-dislocation serves to pick out an NP and place it in a position of thematic prominence. Various possibilities exist regarding the discourse status of the NP concerned:

(i) It may have already been mentioned either a few clauses earlier, or in the immediately preceding clause:

- (7.466) *É maka panganina gulén ras nakan*
 and so (PASS).eat.ITER.he vegetables and rice
gedang-gedang dalin. La igejapna keru enggo
 long-long road not PASS.feel.he depleted already
ipanganina. Nakan tading kuskusna, manuk tading
 PASS.eat.ITER.he rice remain crust.its chicken remain
tulanna.
 bone.its

And so he ate the rice and the side dishes as he went along. Without realising it he completely finished them off. Of the rice, all that remained was the crust, of the chicken, only the bones.

- (7.467) *I jé pasang kami bunga api. Bunga api é melala*
 at here (PASS).set.off we flower fire flower fire that many
kalak si mbalassa alu séntér ibas kuta-kuta nari.
 person REL ACT.answer.it with torch at village-village from
 There we let off some fireworks. Those fireworks, many people responded to them with flashlights from the villages below.

(ii) It may refer to a participant which has not been previously mentioned, but which by implication is part of the preceding context:

- (7.468) *Ras kam até kami nangkih. É maka pindo kami alu*
 with you heart our go.up and so (PASS).ask we with
perkuah aténdu gelah banci kam si naruhkan kami
 sympathy heart.your PURP able you REL ACT.escort we
nangkih. Kam nge si mabai dalan nangkih pé.
 climb you EMPH REL ACT.take path go.up EMPH.

Janah warina, kam nentukanca.

and day.the you ACT.determine.it

We would like to go climbing with you. And so we are asking you if you would not mind whether you could take us climbing. You can choose the route. And as for the day, you determine that.

(iii) It may introduce an entirely new participant, such as one mentioned at the beginning of a story; a text about a climbing expedition, for example, opens with the following line:

- (7.469) *Deleng Sinabun mbué kertahna.*
 mountain Sinabun much sulphur.its
 Mt Sinabun is abundant in sulphur.

(iv) It may refer to a contextually-present participant to which attention is now suddenly shifted.⁵⁹ This is particularly common with interpersonal dialogue:

- (7.470) *Kam, apai kin mergandu?*
 you which PART clan.your
 And what is *your* clan?
- (7.471) *Aku, lawes aku.*
 I go I
 Well, I'm going.
- (7.472) *Temandu é, senina kam duana?*
 friend.your that brother you two.the
 Your friend there, is he your brother?

(v) Although the left-dislocated NP is typically definite and identifiable, indefinites may also occur when a contrast is being expressed:

- (7.473) *Tuhu, adi kalak, banci aku ngapulisa, tapi adi aku,*
 true if person able I ACT.cheer.up.him but if I
lanai aku beluh ngapuli aku.
 no.longer I clever ACT.cheer.up I
 Honestly, if it's somebody else, I can cheer them up, but if it's me, I'm no good at all at cheering myself up.

Finally, left-dislocated NPs may be relativised (§8.1.2):

- (7.474) *pinakit si la mesunah ndarami tambana*
 illness REL not easy ACT.seek medicine.its
 an illness for which it is not easy to find a remedy

7.7.2 RIGHT-DISLOCATION

Structurally, right-dislocation simply mirrors left-dislocation, in that an NP which is coreferential with a pronoun in a clause, follows that clause. The same array of syntactic roles for the pronoun apply.

- (7.475) *Uga, énda tuhu ngénda?*
 how this true EMPH.this
 Well then, is it true, this (thing you have told me)?
- (7.476) *Siapna me perahuna, si beberé raja.*
 (PASS).prepare.he EMPH boat.his REL beberé chief
 He got his boat ready, this descendant of the Chief on his mother's side.

⁵⁹ In respect of this function and the immediately preceding one, left-dislocation in Karo corresponds with Givón's (1983:32) characterisation of this construction as a signal of "major thematic breaks in discourse structure". However, in respect of the other function described by him, namely, that left-dislocation is "used to return topics back into the register over long gaps of absence", then left-dislocation in Karo shows a low level of conformity, with the majority of left-dislocated NPs marking a topic to which prior reference is usually quite recent, typically within the preceding two or three clauses.

(7.477) *Adi kin ateta muatsa, rudang si mejilé énda...*
 if EMPH heart.our ACT.take.it kind.of.flower REL beautiful this
 If we wanted to take it, this beautiful *rudang* flower...

(7.478) *Pagit nanamna, tambar é ndai.*
 bitter taste.its medicine that before
 It tastes bitter, that medicine.

Right-dislocated NPs occur far less frequently than left-dislocated ones. Functionally they also differ in that they serve more to express an afterthought, or to explicate the identity of the pronominal element in the main clause.

7.8 ELLIPSIS

Ellipsis refers to the omission of clausal constituents, resulting in structural incompleteness. The missing constituents are recoverable from the context. This occurs under two broad sets of conditions: structural combination, and discourse salience. Instances of the former include coordination, subordination, complementation, serialisation and relativisation; these are all described in Chapter 8. Ellipsis which is triggered by discourse salience embraces the omission of both elements whose identity is known (either from the preceding discourse or the extralinguistic context) and those whose identity is unknown (and irrelevant to the situation being described). By 'elements' here is meant not simply the participants referred to by NPs (although these are by far the most common candidates for ellipsis), but other syntactic constituents as well.⁶⁰

Elements which may be ellipsed from clauses in Karo include the following.

⁶⁰ Ellipsis does not cover cases of systematic omission of elements such as the second person addressee in imperatives (§7.2.1), or the absence of agents in passive clauses where the identity of the actor is unknown or irrelevant (§6.3.1.3). There are several other cases of omission of elements, however, where it is debatable as to whether ellipsis is involved or not:

(i) the omission of the locative preposition *i* 'in, at, on' in speech (a feature especially of the lowlands western dialect) and the preposition *man* 'to, for' in Dative-2 PPs (§4.2.4.2). For example:

(1) *Kempungku si ntua ndai Médan ia sekolah.*
 grandchild.my REL oldest before Medan he attend.school
 My oldest grandchild is attending school [in] Medan.

(2) *...gelah ula rēh banta kejadin si la mehuli.*
 PURP don't come to.us event REL not good
 ...so that something bad does not happen to us.

(ii) the omission of a Dative-2 PP in the presence of a verb expressing transfer, or in the case of pseudo-reflexive clauses (§6.4.3). For example:

(3) *Adi kalimbubu, arus siberéken manuk (man bana).*
 if mother's.lineage must we.give chicken (to them)
 As for the *kalimbubu*, we must present a chicken (to them).

(iii) the omission of conjunctions expressing time, condition, reason and antithesis when two clauses are linked paratactically (§8.5).

In each of the above cases, the frequency of omission of the elements is such as to make their absence virtually systemic, yet their reinstatement to the clauses is universally recognised by native speakers as effecting grammatical completeness.

7.8.1 FULL NPS

Topical NPs which expound subjects may be ellipsed if their identity has been established in the immediately preceding context.⁶¹ Such ellipsed topics are normally rendered in English with a pronoun. (In the following examples, ellipsed material is indicated between square brackets in the glosses.)

- (7.479) *Ndai rēh bapa, gundari enggo lawes.*
 before come father now already go
 Father came earlier, now [he] is gone.
- (7.480) *...sebab kité kitik nge, tentu la tahan.*
 because bridge small EMPH certain not endure
 ...because a bamboo bridge is small, [it] certainly wouldn't be able to
 withstand the weight upon it.
- (7.481) *Adi bapa ras nandé, ndahi mama ku Kuta Képar.*
 if father and mother ACT.visit uncle to Kuta Képar
 As for Father and Mother, [they] have gone to visit Uncle in Kuta Képar.
- (7.482) *Ibuat Pa Rontang sada ranting. Icelurkenna ku api.*
 PASS.take Pa Rontang one branch PASS.immerse.he to fire
 Pa Rontang took a branch. He thrust [it] into the fire.
- (7.483) Q: *Lit sénndu?* A: *La lit.*
 BE money.your not BE
 Have you any money? [I] haven't [any].

7.8.2 NP HEADS

The head of an NP may be omitted when its identity is readily recoverable from the context, and it is modified by a quantifier, an identificational noun, or a relative clause (see also headless relative clauses, §8.1.6):

- (7.484) *Anakku waluh. Kerina enggo erjabu.*
 child.my eight all already have.household
 I have eight children. All [of them] are married.
- (7.485) *Umpamana merga Tarigan empoina beru Tarigan. Ginting
 empoina beru Ginting.*
 (PASS).marry.he female Tarigan Ginting
 (PASS).marry.he female Ginting
 For example, one of the Tarigan clan marries a Tarigan woman. Or a Ginting
 [clan member] marries a Ginting woman.
- (7.486) *Lit si erpelabuh, lit si mbayu, lit ka si erdakan.*
 BE REL dye BE REL ACT.weave BE also REL cook
 There are [some] who dye cloth, [some] who weave, and [some] who cook.

⁶¹ For an exception to the rule concerning ellipsis of the following NP, see example (7.489).

7.8.3 PREDICATES

A Predicate slot may be ellipsed under either of the following two conditions:

(i) if it is expounded by a verb expressing motion to or from a place:

(7.487) *Tugasku ku Tigabinanga.*
 task.my to Tigabinanga
 My job was [to go] to Tigabinanga.

(7.488) *Ja nari kam ndai?*
 where from you before
 Where [have] you [come] from?

(ii) if an identical predicate exponent has occurred in the immediately preceding clause:

(7.489) *Sada mangkuk itamana arah kemuhén, sada mangkuk nari*
 one bowl PASS.place.he at right one bowl more
arah kawes pintu.
 at left door
 He placed one bowl at the right [of the door], and [placed] another at the left of the door.

(7.490) *Sembelah erbuku, sembelah lang.*
 one.half have.node one.half not.EMPH
 One end has a node on it, the other does not [have a node].

These two examples are interesting for other reasons. In example (7.489), the head of the NP expounding the complement of the location PP (*pintu* 'door') has been ellipsed from the first clause but appears in the second, contrary to the normal pattern as described above. This is apparently to do with 'balancing' the second clause, which is devoid of its predicate. In example (7.490), the ellipsis of the predicate triggers the placement of the emphatic particle *nge* on the 'stranded' negative (§7.4.1.1 (i)); without this particle the second clause would be ungrammatical.

7.8.4 INTERROGATIVES

When expounding predicates in connected discourse, the interrogative words *kai* 'what' and *isé* 'who' may be ellipsed:

<p>(7.491) A: <i>Kai iban mergandu?</i> what PASS.make clan.your What clan have you been assigned?</p> <p>A: <i>Beberéna?</i> mother's.clan [What is] your mother's clan?</p>	<p>B: <i>Purba Karo-karo.</i> Purba Karo-karo Purba Karo-karo.</p> <p>B: <i>Beberé Ginting.</i> mother's.clan Ginting My mother's clan is Ginting.</p>
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7.8.5 WHOLE CLAUSES

Whole clauses may be ellipsed when their identity is clear from the preceding context and when they are governed by a negative or a higher predicate (§8.2):⁶²

- (7.492) *Song rĕh ia, song lang.*
sometimes come he sometimes not.EMPH
Sometimes he comes, sometimes [he does] not [come].
- (7.493) *Babana atĕna ku rumah, tapi la nggit diberu ě.*
(PASS).bring.he heart.his to house but not want woman that
He wanted to take her to his house, but the woman didn't want [to be taken to his house].
- (7.494) *Nina guru ibas anak kuta lit si erjabu sumbang.*
say.he medicine.man at child village BE REL marry incestuous
Isungkun Appung Barus, iakukenna terus terang.
PASS.ask Appung Barus PASS.admit.he direct clear
According to the medicine man, amongst the villagers there was someone whose marriage was incestuous. Appung Barus was asked, he frankly admitted [that his marriage was incestuous].

⁶² Establishing the precise identity of an ellipsed constituent cannot always be accomplished unambiguously. Consider the following example:

Dahinku ěmkap ngeroahi agingku. Sekali ě la bo utogan.
job.my LINK ACT.nurse brother.my one.time EMPH not EMPH I.refuse
My job is to look after my little brother. Never once do I refuse [it].

In this instance there are two potential candidates for the material which has been omitted: 'my job' and 'looking after my little brother'. As it happens here, these elements are referentially identical, as expressed in the identificational clause in which they occur.

CHAPTER 8

CLAUSE COMBINING

This chapter describes the various processes whereby clauses combine with each other. Sometimes the combination is such that one clause becomes a well-integrated constituent of another; this is the case with relative clauses (§8.1), the various processes of complementation (§8.2), and many of the instances of subordination with conjunctions dealt with in §8.4.2. Elsewhere, two clauses combine to form a new sentence where neither is the superordinate construction; instances of such processes are serialisation (§8.3), parataxis (§8.5) and coordination with conjunctions (§8.4.1).

8.1 RELATIVE CLAUSES

8.1.1 THE BASIC PATTERN

A relative clause (RC) is a construction which most typically functions as a nominal modifier, expounding the Descriptive slot of the NP (§4.1.5). A relative clause in Karo is distinguished by an introductory relative marker *si*, glossed here as REL, which is normally translatable into English by a relative pronoun 'who, which, that'. For convenience of reference, all RCs under discussion in this section are underlined. For example:

- (8.1) *Katakenna kadé-kadéna si deher.*
(PASS).inform.he relative.his REL close
He informed his close relatives.
- (8.2) *rudang mayang si kubuat é*
pinang flower REL I.take that
the *pinang* palm flowers which I picked
- (8.3) *kalak si nuan jaung énda*
person REL ACT.plant corn this
the person who planted this corn

Internally, RCs possess the structure of a basic clause, except that in place of the initial subject they have the relative marker *si*, which links the deleted relative clause subject to the coreferential NP head being described.⁶³ All basic clause types may occur as RCs, except Ambient clauses (§5.2), which simply lack any subject NP which can be relativised. The

⁶³ I will avoid becoming embroiled in the semantic problems inherent in such statements about 'semantic equivalence' between the relative marker and its antecedent, though acknowledging the problem posed by sentences such as:

- (a) *Nobody who goes there ever comes back.*
(b) *Everybody whom he met was wearing a tie.*

A more abstract form of analysis involving variables would be required to circumvent such problems of identity and reference. See Huddleston (1984: 394 ff.).

following examples show stative, intransitive, existential, identificational, active and passive clauses occurring as RCs:

- (8.4) *kejadin si la mehuli ibas kuta*
 event REL not good in village
 a bad event in the village
- (8.5) *Man me kerina si enggo pulung.*
 ACT.eat EMPH all REL already gather
 All those who had assembled ate.
- (8.6) *Kerina si lit banci sigunaken.*
 all REL BE can we.use
 We can make use of everything which is there.
- (8.7) *Anakku si dokter enggo tading i Jakarta*
 child.my REL doctor already live at Jakarta
 My son who is a doctor now lives in Jakarta.
- (8.8) *guru si meteh wari si telu pulu*
 shaman REL ACT.know day REL thirty
 a medicine man who knows the 30 days (i.e. one versed in divination)
- (8.9) *perjupa si ituriken i das énda*
 meeting REL PASS.relate at above this
 the meeting which was described above
- (8.10) *perik si dat kami é*
 bird REL (PASS).get we that
 the birds which we caught
- (8.11) *Kerina kinimenangen si enggo kualoken ibas engko nari*
 all winnings REL already I.receive at you from
kuulihken man bam.
 I.return to you
 I'll return to you all the things I won from you.

8.1.2 ROLE CONDITIONS FOR RELATIVISATION

As the above examples indicate, relativisation applies only to an NP which has been 'advanced' over the predicate. In the case of most non-transitive clauses (examples (8.4) - (8.6)), this involves only a simple fronting of subject before predicate. For identificational clauses and active transitive clauses (examples (8.7) and (8.8)), relativisation of the subject is even more straightforward as it is (with very few exceptions) already in position. An object NP of an active transitive clause cannot be relativised, however, unless it is first promoted to become a subject via passivisation (§6.3). Thus, for example, the following clauses (examples (8.12) and (8.13)) can only be combined as desired if the latter is reconfigured as a passive, thereby permitting the undergoer-NP *galuh énda* 'these bananas' to be fronted, after which relativisation may proceed (example (8.14)):

- (8.12) *Galuh énda enggo macik.*
banana this already rotten
These bananas are rotten.
- (8.13) *Ia nukur galuh énda i tiga ndai.*
she ACT.buy banana this at market before
She bought these bananas at the market earlier.
- (8.14) *Galuh si itukurna i tiga ndai enda enggo macik.*
banana REL PASS.buy.she at market before this already rotten
These bananas which she bought at the market are rotten.

In addition to undergoer-NPs which can be promoted to subjecthood through passivisation, other candidates for relativisation include left-dislocated nominals (§7.7.1) which have the following roles:

(i) possessors:

- (8.15) *Itabhna kayu si melala kapur barusna.*
PASS.cut.he tree REL much camphor.its
He cut down the tree which had a lot of camphor in it.
- (8.16) *Énda denga ia jumpa ras arimo si bagé belinna.*
this just he meet with tiger REL thus big.its
This was the first time he had met a tiger which was so huge.
- (8.17) *Kalak si kudat duitna, ia perbinaga i tiga.*
person REL I.find money.his he trader at market
The man whose money I found is a trader in the market.

(ii) complement of Dative PP:

- (8.18) *sada-sada jelma si niberéken kekuasaan man bana*
one-one person REL PASS.give power to him
a person to whom authority is given

(iii) agent of a passive verb which has no active counterpart (see also §6.3.2.4 (ii)):

- (8.19) *Kalak si akapna ia pinter, situhuna ia bodoh.*
person REL (PASS).think.he he clever in.fact he stupid
A person who considers himself to be clever, is actually stupid.

Mention may also be made of morphological strategies available in Karo which permit advancement of NPs occupying peripheral roles. For example:

- (8.20) *Isé mbayu amak é?*
who ACT.weave mat that
Who wove that mat?
- (8.21) *Amin kundul i das amak é.*
Amin sit at top mat that
Amin is sitting on that mat.

The clauses in examples (8.20) and (8.21) can be combined if *amak* 'mat' in (8.21) is promoted to a core constituent by recasting the clause with the locative transitive verb *kunduli* 'sit on' (§3.5.1), thus:

- (8.22) *Ikunduli Amin amak é.*
 PASS.sit.LOC Amin mat that
 Amin is sitting on that mat.

Relativisation may now apply, yielding:

- (8.23) *Isé mbayu amak si ikunduli Amin é?*
 who ACT.weave mat REL PASS.sit.LOC Amin that
 Who wove the mat that Amin is sitting on?

The transitivity suffix *-ken* (§3.5.2) serves in similar fashion to promote NPs expounding the complement of Reference PPs to core constituent status, from which relativisation may proceed.

8.1.3 A NOTE ON THE FORM OF THE RELATIVE MARKER

The relative marker *si* has a variant (usually orthographically separated) *si ni*, which occurs most frequently with passives. Outside passive clauses its occurrence is rare and rated by informants as sounding somewhat archaic.

- (8.24) *anak si tubuh ibas ndeharanta si ni sah siempo*
 child REL born at wife.our REL legal we.marry
 a child born of a wife whom we have married legally
- (8.25) *Kai si ni sungkun kalak ah ndai?*
 what REL (PASS).ask person that before
 What did that person ask?
- (8.26) *Si ni kubaba cakap Karo arah kuta Bintang Meriah.*
 REL I.carry language Karo vicinity village Bintang Meriah
 What I speak is the Karo language (of the variety spoken) around Bintang Meriah.
- (8.27) *Kalak si ni reh ndai agingku.*
 person REL come before younger.brother.my
 The person who came before is my younger brother.

8.1.4 SEPARATION OF A RELATIVE CLAUSE FROM ITS HEAD

As seen in the majority of examples thus far, a relative clause, being a modifier of an NP, normally immediately follows that NP head. As the following example illustrates, however, an NP head may be fronted and leave an RC 'stranded' in the process:

- (8.28) *Isé pé la bo lit si raté mekuah ngata ia.*
 who EMPH not EMPH BE REL have.heart sympathetic to he
 There was nobody who had any sympathy for him.

8.1.5 RELATIVE CLAUSES IN APPOSITION

The RCs described above expound the Descriptive slot of the NP. It is also possible for an RC to occur as exponent of the Apposition slot (§4.1.7), in which case it is marked off

from the NP head by a pause (orthographically indicated by a comma) and separate intonation contour:

- (8.29) *Tading me diberu ndai i kerangen si melungen é,*
 stay EMPH woman that at forest REL lonely that
si dēm rubia-rubia si erbagé-bagé rupana.
 REL full animals REL various shape.their
 The woman remained in the lonely forest, which was full of all kinds of animals.
- (8.30) *Anakku kepé si Aji Bonar, si kuombakken ndubé.*
 child.my seem title Aji Bonar REL I.cast.away before
 It looks like my son, Aji Bonar, whom I cast into the river before.
- (8.31) *Man Dr M. Singarimbun, si nuratken ibas bukuna "Seribu*
 to Dr M. Singarimbun REL ACT.write in book.his one.thousand
Perumpaman Karo", iséhken kami mbué bujur.
 proverb Karo PASS.extend we much thank.you
 To Dr M. Singarimbun, who wrote in his book '1000 Karo Proverbs', we extend many thanks.

Whereas a descriptive RC provides information which serves to specify the head noun that it modifies, an appositional RC simply provides ancillary, non-defining information about the NP, whose identity is already sufficiently established. Appositional NPs may also occur in one other domain that descriptive RCs cannot, namely, qualifying a sentential head, as in the following example, where it is the event of the tiger's roaring, not the tiger itself, which causes the boy to become more frightened:

- (8.32) *Erngaur megang mburagas, si mahan tambah biama.*
 roar loud male.tiger REL ACT.make increase fear.his
 The tiger roared loudly, which added to his fear.

8.1.6 HEADLESS RELATIVE CLAUSES

In addition to RCs which modify an NP head either internally (as descriptives) or externally (in apposition), Karo makes frequent use of headless relative clauses. These are structurally identical to those described above, but function as independent nominals rather than as nominal modifiers. Distributionally they are found expounding all the major clause- and phrase-level roles which ordinary NPs expound: subjects, objects, predicates, possessors, and complements of PPs:

- (8.33) *Perbinaga enterem, si nukur pé enterem.*
 seller many REL ACT.buy EMPH many
 There were many sellers, and there were many buyers too.
- (8.34) *Erbahan si mehuli mesera kal.*
 ACT.do REL good difficult EMPH
 To do that which is good is very difficult.

- (8.35) *Si meteh mesera nge si meteh joré.*
REL ACT.know difficult EMPH REL ACT.know in.order
He who knows pain knows pleasure.
- (8.36) *Meriah ukur si megi-megi.*
happy mind REL ACT.hear-hear
The hearts of those who listened were happy.
- (8.37) *Isungkun kami antusenna man si melaskenca.*
PASS.ask we meaning.its to REL ACT.utter.it
We asked about the meaning (of the proverb) to the person who uttered it.

Concomitant with the shift in their grammatical role from modifier to head, some headless RCs acquire more of a 'labelling' rather than descriptive function. Some common lexicalised RCs include:

- | | | | |
|--------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (8.38) | <i>si man bandu</i> | the one who is for you | (i.e. your wife) |
| | <i>si nguda-nguda</i> | the ones who are young | (i.e. young girls, maidens) |
| | <i>si bayak</i> | the one who is wealthy | (i.e. district chief) |

(See also §3.11.)

8.1.7 SEQUENCES AND MULTIPLE EMBEDDING OF RELATIVE CLAUSES

As descriptive phrases, two RCs may occur sequentially:

- (8.39) *harta si mehergana si ni tadingken nininta si adi*
wealth REL most.valuable REL (PASS).leave grandparent REL
long.ago
the most valuable item which was bequeathed by our ancestors

Embedding of an RC within another RC is also common:

- (8.40) *guru si meteh wari si telu pulu*
shaman REL ACT.know day REL thirty
a medicine man who knows the 30 days (i.e. the skill of divination by calendar)

8.1.8 MARGINAL RELATIVE CLAUSES

Despite some distributional and functional differences outlined above, the RCs described thus far possess a common internal structure in the form of a relative marker *si* followed by typical predicative material: adjectives, verbs and occasionally nouns. However, *si* is often found followed by material which is typically non-predicative – namely, temporal nouns and demonstratives – forming constructions which are functionally similar to, though structurally atypical of, relative clauses. They are included here as a marginal category.

8.1.8.1 *si* + TEMPORAL NOUNS

These are almost always headed RCs:

- (8.41) *perbahenkenku si ndubé*
deed.my REL formerly
my previous deeds
- (8.42) *I jém kami man si ciger kerina.*
at there.EMPH we ACT.eat REL midday all
At that point we all ate lunch.
- (8.43) *Sukahen teka-teki si ndai asangkan si nderbih.*
easy.more puzzle REL before than REL yesterday
Today's puzzle was easier than yesterday's.

8.1.8.2 *si*+ DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

These may be either headed or headless constructions:

- (8.44) *Perjuma si ah merambit kal.*
farmer REL that cranky EMPH
That farmer is a very cantankerous fellow.
- (8.45) *Kerna si énda, enggo bulat arih kami.*
about REL this already round deliberation our
Concerning this, we are unanimous.

8.1.9 OMISSION OF THE RELATIVE MARKER

The relative marker may be omitted from the RC under the following conditions:

(i) when the RC is one from which a possessor NP has been extracted and relativised:

- (8.46) *Minter turah ulu lau (si) séh galangna.*
straightaway grow source water (REL) reach big.its
Immediately there appeared a huge spring.
- (8.47) *Ipotong me buluh cina (si) gedangna kira-kira lima*
PASS.cut EMPH bamboo China (REL) long.its about five
séntiméter.
centimetre
(He) cut some Chinese bamboo about 5cm long.

(ii) when the RC is modifying or expounding the subject of an existential clause:

- (8.48) *Nina guru ibas kuta lit kalak (si) erjabu sumbang.*
say.he shaman in village BE person (REL) marry incestuous
The medicine man said that in the village there was a couple who were not
legally married.
- (8.49) *Ia sekalak dilaki anak kalak mehuli,*
he one.person male child person good
lit (si) ngatakenca anak raja i Barus.
BE (REL) ACT.say.it child chief at Barus
He was a man, the son of a good man, some say the son of a chief in Barus.

(iii) in a highly stylised conversational routine called *ertutur*, which involves an exchange of clan and kinship information, required to establish a relationship between two speakers who meet for the first time:

(8.50) Q: *Kai dagé merga (si) nibabandu?*
 what then clan (REL) PASS.carry.you
 What is your clan?

A: *Merga (si) kubaba émkap Karo-karo.*
 clan (REL) I.carry LINK Karo-karo
 The clan I belong to is Karo-karo.

8.2 COMPLEMENTATION

As has been described in earlier sections (e.g. §4.2.11, §4.1.5.5), a clause may occur as a constituent of a construction at the phrase level. For example:

(a) as complement of a prepositional phrase of manner:

Igalangkenna bana alu itutuskenna medak
 P: (PASS.lie.he) DAT: (him) MAN:(with PASS.decide.he awake

lalap.

always)

He lay down determined to remain awake.

(b) as exponent of the Descriptive slot in an NP:

sora kalak erkusik-kusik

H: (sound) DES: (people whisper)

the sound of somebody whispering

This section deals with cases of complementation, that is, the situation where a clause is embedded as a nuclear constituent of another clause, as shown in the following examples:

(8.51) *Ulin ia la ikut ku jah.*
 P: (better) S: (he not accompany to there)
 It is better that he doesn't go along there.

(8.52) *Mbiar kal aku ikarat biang kam.*
 P: (afraid very) S: (I) COMP: (PASS.bite dog you)
 I'm afraid that the dog might bite you.

(8.53) *Isé pé la meteh perjabuna sumbang.*
 S: (anyone) NEG P: (ACT.know) O: (marriage.their incestuous)
 Nobody knew their marriage was incestuous.

(8.54) *Ninna kuskus kerina isi perakan.*
 P: (see.she) S: (rice.crust all contents container)
 She saw that the lunch box contained only crusts.

Each of the above sentences consists of a main (or higher) clause with one of its nuclear constituents expounded by a complement (or lower) clause, shown here in boldface. The complement clause itself has the internal structure of an independent clause; that is, it has the potential to stand alone. The grammatical function of the complement clause in each of the

above examples – subject in (8.51) and (8.54), object in (8.53) and complement in (8.52) – is the same as that of a regular NP constituent.

This occurrence of a clausal constituent expounding a nuclear grammatical role of another clause is extremely common in Karo, and a number of distinct syntactic patterns involving complement clauses are attested. These patterns normally occur in connection with a set (or more correctly, sets) of higher clause predicators (i.e. exponents of the Predicate slot of the main clause).

This description of complementation is organised around the various classes of complement-taking predicators according to their syntactic characteristics. Thus stative and intransitive clauses which take clausal complements are described separately from those transitive clauses which also do. Often the description necessitates subclassification within the major classes. Bearing in mind that this account is organised according to the syntactic patterns which occur, and not the lexical identity of those forms which expound the main clause predicates, it will be noticed that certain predicators can in fact occur in more than one construction type, in much the same way that, for example, some inherently transitive verbs ('eat, read, etc.') can be used intransitively.

One consequence of the descriptive approach adopted here is that certain phenomena will be seen to recur in different sections, for example, complement clause conjunctions, or the deletion of the lower clause subject when it is coreferential with some element in the higher clause. Despite this occasional repetition it will be seen that each of the subclasses has its own distinctive syntactic and/or semantic characteristics which warrant attention at the level of description.

Complementation is a rather broad phenomenon, which may be thought of as a process (or a set of processes) of syntactic welding, with possibilities ranging from fairly simple cases where the two clauses concerned retain their essential structural integrity (albeit that one is embedded within the other), to cases where elements from both clauses combine in ways to form what is essentially a new single clause. In particular, variation in the ordering of constituents in the complement clause will be seen to have interesting effects upon the way in which main clause constituents may be analysed. Situations analagous to the processes of 'Equi-NP deletion' and 'subject-raising' as found in generative grammars, are often involved, and are described in detail as they occur.

Finally, embedding of complement clauses within other complement clauses is a frequent occurrence. In the following examples, the main clause is in regular italicised typeface, its complement clause is in **boldface**, the complement of the complement clause is in **boldface and underlined**, and the most deeply embedded clause is in **unitalicised boldface**.

- (8.55) (*Adi la ieteh bagas sumur*) tentu *la sieteh*
 (if not PASS.know depth well) certain not we.know
naksirsa asakai bué batu batana maka bias.
 ACT.estimate how.much many bricks PURP enough
 (If the depth of the well is not known) it is certain that we will not know how
 to estimate the quantity of bricks required.
- (8.56) *Mbiar kita meseng rumahta ibahanna.*
 afraid we burn house.our PASS.make.it
 We are afraid that it will make our house burn down.

- (8.57) *Ngembussa pé merincuh aku metehsa.*
 ACT.blow.it EMPH desire I ACT.know.it
 I want to know how to blow it too.

The various syntactic patterns involving complement clauses are now described in turn.

8.2.1 TYPE 1

The most common type of complementation involves a lower clause functioning directly as the subject of a higher stative or intransitive clause. For example:

- (8.58) *Ulin pagé énda iambekken saja.*
 P: (better) S: (rice this PASS.throw just)
 It's better to just throw this rice away.
- (8.59) *Ndekah me aku la man.*
 P: (long.time EMPH) S: (I not eat)
 It's been a long time since I've eaten.
- (8.60) *Banci denga me aku erdalan ras erkesah.*
 P: (able still EMPH) S: (I walk and breathe)
 I was still able to walk and draw breath.
- (8.61) *Mesunah kal kita erbahan genjeng.*
 P: (easy EMPH) S: (we ACT.do wrong)
 It is very easy for us to do wrong.
- (8.62) *Mulai iperburuina arimo mbentar.*
 P: (begin) S: (PASS.hunt.he tiger white)
 He began to hunt the white tiger.
- (8.63) *Megati terjadi maka rudang mayang si niogé guru
 erlimpun ujungna.*
 P: (often occur) S: (that pinang flower REL PASS.read shaman
 rolled.up ends.its)
 It often happens that the pinang palm flowers which the shaman studies are
 shrivelled up on the ends.
- (8.64) *Adi la aténdu mekuah, surung me tombang*
 if not heart.your kind P: (eventuate EMPH) S: (destroyed
Kuta Buluh.
 Kuta Buluh)
 If you are not sympathetic to us, the village of Kuta Buluh will be destroyed.

In all the above cases, the predicate of the higher clause refers to the whole proposition expressed by the lower clause, and not to any particular element within it. Thus it is the 'disposal of the rice' which is suggested in example (8.58), the fact that 'I did not eat' which transpired for a long time in example (8.59), 'my walking and breathing' which is 'still possible' in example (8.60), and so on.

Stative and intransitive predicators which can take whole clauses as their subjects can be grouped along semantic lines, as listed below. The use of accompanying symbols will be explained at the end of the list.

I: Evaluative

<i>mehuli *</i>	good
<i>ulin *</i>	better
<i>madin/padin/adin *</i>	better, preferable
<i>bias *</i>	enough, sufficient
<i>cukup *</i>	enough, sufficient
<i>untung *</i>	fortunate, lucky
<i>sah *</i>	legal, legitimate
<i>mesunah</i>	easy
<i>murah</i>	easy
<i>melukah *?</i>	easy
<i>mberat *?</i>	difficult, burdensome
<i>mesui *?</i>	difficult, troublesome
<i>mesera</i>	difficult, hard to do

II: Phasal

<i>mulai</i>	begin
<i>terus **</i>	continue
<i>mulihkan</i>	resume, continue, do again
<i>ngadi</i>	stop
<i>dung</i>	completed, finished
<i>ndekah</i>	long time
<i>ndubém</i>	long time (within the same day)

III: Aspectual

<i>enggo **</i>	already
<i>lenga **</i>	not yet
<i>surung</i>	eventuate, come about
<i>sahun</i>	eventuate, come about
<i>sampang *</i>	eventuate, come about
<i>sempat</i>	have the time or chance to
<i>édenga/édenga</i>	just now
<i>mbaru</i>	just, recently
<i>menam(-menam)</i>	almost, nearly
<i>narus</i>	almost, nearly
<i>nandangi</i>	almost, on the verge of, about to
<i>lit</i>	do, have, indeed (emphatic)
<i>terjadi</i>	happen, occur

IV: Modal

<i>banci/danci **</i>	possible, can, may
<i>dat</i>	possible
<i>dorek/derek</i>	possible
<i>borek/berek</i>	possible
<i>la banci la</i>	must, cannot not
<i>laterbahan</i>	unable
<i>(la) mbera</i>	(un)able, (in)capable
<i>arus</i>	must
<i>terpaksa</i>	must, forced
<i>mesti *</i>	must

<i>perlu</i>	need, necessary
<i>biak *</i>	appropriate, proper
<i>orat *</i>	appropriate, proper
<i>lapada</i>	not necessary

V: Epistemic and Desiderative

<i>payo *</i>	true, correct
<i>tentu</i>	certain, sure
<i>kepé/kepéken **</i>	it seems, apparently
<i>kidahken</i>	it seems, apparently
<i>bagi-bagi *</i>	it seems, it is as if
<i>tempa(-tempa)**</i>	it feels, it is as if
<i>teridah</i>	seen, visible
<i>terbegi</i>	heard, audible
<i>tereteh</i>	known
<i>mbera-mbera *</i>	hopefully
<i>teka *</i>	hopefully
<i>(ki)mawen</i>	perhaps, maybe
<i>barang(ken) **</i>	perhaps, maybe

Individual distributional constraints and possibilities are indicated in the above lists. A single asterisk '*' indicates that the predicator has only been observed to occur sentence initially (i.e. preceding the complement clause); a question mark following the asterisk '*?' suggests this may not be an absolute constraint. Examples of sentence-initial-only predicators plus their complements are:

- (8.65) *Padin me aku maté.*
P: (better EMPH) S: (I die)
It would be better for me to die.
- (8.66) *Mbera-mbera sěh sura-suranta.*
P: (hopefully) S: (arrive ambitions.our)
Let us hope that our aspirations are achieved.
- (8.67) *Payo me tuhu piheren pusuhna asangkan batu gingging.*
P: (true EMPH really) S: (harder heart.her than granite)
It was true that her heart was harder than granite.

A double asterisk '**' indicates that a predicator has also been recorded in sentence-final position:

- (8.68) *Susur pé lanai banci, nangkih pé*
S: (descend EMPH) no.longer P: (able) S: (climb EMPH)
lanai dorek.
no.longer P: (able)
He couldn't come down, he couldn't go up.
- (8.69) *La ia rěh kepéken.*
S: (not he come) P: (seems)
It seems he isn't coming.

- (8.70) *Nandang* *mbulak* *tempa*.
 S: (almost fall) P: (seems)
 It looks like it's about to topple over.

The absence of an asterisk indicates that a predicator may occur sentence initially or sentence medially, between the subject and predicate of the lower clause. For example:

- (8.71) a. *Banci kam berkat*.
 may you leave
 You may leave.
 b. *Kam banci berkat*.
 you may leave
 You may leave.
- (8.72) a. *Mulai sinuan-sinuan mëlusen*.
 begin crops wither
 The crops began to wither.
 b. *Sinuan-sinuan mulai mëlusen*.
 crops begin wither
 The crops began to wither.
- (8.73) a. *Enggo kami pulung ibas rumah Sikap*.
 already we gather at house Sikap
 We had already assembled at Sikap's house.
 b. *Kami enggo pulung ibas rumah Sikap*.
 we already gather at house Sikap
 We had already assembled at Sikap's house.

Some observations may now be made about word order in the complement clause. When the main clause predicator precedes it, there is no observable tendency for either the subject or the predicate of the complement clause to occur first. However, when the main clause predicator occurs sentence medially, there is a distinct preference for the subject of the complement or lower clause to precede, yielding the structure:

<lower subject> + higher predicate + <lower predicate>

which is expounded by the superficial form:

NP + Predicate 1 + Predicate 2⁶⁴

This ordering of constituents is accompanied by a change in the phonological make-up of the sentence, with phrase stress (§2.1.1.2) being borne only by the second (or complement) predicate. Compare (8.74a) with (8.74b):

- (8.74) a. *Bànci kam bèrkat*. (both predicates stressed)
 b. *Kam bánci bèrkat*. (second predicate stressed)

⁶⁴ The alternative order, namely <lower predicate> + higher predicate + <lower subject> is possible, but outnumbered by around 10:1 in frequency counts by the regular order. When it does occur, it is highly marked for emphasis on the first (i.e. the lower) predicate:

Kudat enggo bajungku si bené.
 I found already jacket.my REL lost
 I found my lost jacket.

The net effect of such changes is the production of a monoclausal structure from what was originally two clauses. The subject of the complement clause 'takes over' as subject of the higher clause, the predicate of the lower clause now carries the main phonological signal, and the predicator of the higher clause is reanalysable as an auxiliary verb.⁶⁵

Despite their change of categorial status as a result of this merging and meshing of clauses, these higher-clause predicators-cum-auxiliaries still retain many verbal characteristics. For example, they may be modified by aspect markers, emphatic particles, or negated:

- (8.75) *Banci denga aku erdalan ras erkesah.*
 able still I walk and breathe
 I can still walk and draw breath.
- (8.76) *Aku lenga denga sarjana.*
 I not.yet still graduate
 I am still not yet a graduate.
- (8.77) *Kami ndekah kal la jumpa.*
 we long.time EMPH not meet
 We hadn't met for ages.
- (8.78) *La enggo lit idahna gasing bagé rupana.*
 not already BE PASS.see.he top like.that shape.its
 He had never seen a top like that before.
- (8.79) *Aku la surung berkat nderbinai.*
 I not eventuate depart yesterday
 I didn't manage to leave yesterday.

Finally, some observations are tendered concerning individual members or groups of members of this category of predicator:

(i) Those with aspectual meanings generally cannot be modified by aspect markers, except for:

<i>lenga</i>	not yet
<i>sempat</i>	have the time or chance to
<i>mbaru</i>	just, recently

(ii) Those with inherently negative or performative meanings cannot be negated. This set includes:

<i>lenga</i>	not yet
<i>menam-menam, narus, nandangi</i>	almost
<i>bagi-bagi, tempa-tempa, kepéken</i>	it seems, as if
<i>mbera-mbera, teka</i>	hopefully

⁶⁵ This accords with the observations by Givón (1984:82, 230) and Schachter (1985:41) concerning the derivation of auxiliaries from full verbs.

For example:

- (8.80) *Narus ia ndabuh.*
almost he fall
He nearly fell (but didn't).
- (8.81) *Teka i rumah ia.*
hopefully at home he
I hope he is at home.

(iii) Certain predicators which occur in set phrases involving an accompanying negative are most conveniently treated as lexical units:

<i>la pada</i>	no need to, not necessary to (the negative is obligatory)
<i>la banci la(ng)</i>	must, not able to not..
<i>la terbahan</i>	impossible, not able to be made to

For example:

- (8.82) *La pada mesaisa ban.*
no need neat.too PASS.do
There's no need to do it too neatly.
- (8.83) *La banci la ia pedas miser i Bilagen nari.*
not can not he quick shift at Bilagen from
He had to leave Bilagen in a hurry.
- (8.84) *La terbahan aku rēh ndai.*
not able I come before
I wasn't able to come earlier.

(iv) In existential clauses the predicator *lit* means 'there is/are'. Preceding a complement clause, *lit* expresses that the event or state described therein actually occurred or exists. For literal/structural purposes *lit* is glossed as BE:

- (8.85) *Sada pé la bo lit metehsa.*
one EMPH not EMPH BE ACT.know.it
Not a single person knew it.
- (8.86) *Lanai lit teridah dalan.*
not BE ABIL.see path
He simply couldn't see the track any more.
- (8.87) *Lit kugelem duit limpér.*
BE I.hold money five.rupiah
I have a five rupiah coin here in my hand.

(v) The predicate *enggo* expresses inceptive aspect, signalling that an event has occurred or a state has begun, but not necessarily finished.⁶⁶ In this description it is usually glossed as

⁶⁶ It is clear that *enggo* has functional equivalents in many Indonesian languages: Toba Batak *nunga* (Mordechay 1984); Indonesian/Malay *sudah* (Wolff 1980:173); Acehese *ka* (Durie 1985b:248); Kupang Malay *su* (Steinhauer 1983:55). The semantic characterisation of such forms as "perfective markers" by the former two authors seems less precise than the "inchoative" gloss adopted by Durie. Steinhauer's remarks for *su* best match the meaning of Karo *enggo*.

'already' but may be translated into English somewhat differently, or sometimes not at all, depending upon the context. For example:

(8.88) *Kaka tua enggo ndekah lanai i kuta.*
 oldest brother already long.time not in village
 Oldest brother has been away from the village for a long time.

(8.89) *Ia enggo njaga kedé kopi i tiga.*
 he already ACT.manage stall coffee in market
 He now manages a coffee shop in town.

(vi) Adjectival predicators expressing evaluations or statements about the degree of difficulty, etc., may also be inflected with *-en* (§3.4.3.2) and *-sa* (§3.4.3.4) for comparative and excessive degrees respectively. The only inflected form listed above is *ulin* 'better', which occurs in several of the examples used here.

8.2.2 TYPE 2

In this pattern, a stative or intransitive clause with a regular NP subject takes an obligatory complement expounded by a clause, whose putative subject is coreferential with the subject of the main clause and is therefore omitted. The main clause may have either subject-predicate or predicate-subject order:

(8.90) *Lanai aku méla ngatakenca.*
 no.longer I shy ACT.say.it
 I am not embarrassed to say it.

(8.91) *Mbiar ia ipekpeki bapa.*
 afraid he PASS.hit.ITER father
 He's afraid he'll get a belting from father.

(8.92) *Kami erpala-pala ndungisa.*
 we strive ACT.finish.it
 We tried hard to finish it.

(8.93) *Erkadiola nge ia la ngikutken pedah é.*
 regret EMPH he not ACT.follow advice that
 He really regretted not following that advice.

The complement clause normally follows the main clause, but may be fronted for emphasis:

(8.94) *Sirang aku la ngasup, janah tumbuk genduari*
 separate I not willing and make.commitment now
la banci.
 not able
 I don't want to split up with her, yet I'm not able to make a commitment at the moment.

(8.95) *Ertaruh pé nggit nge aku.*
 wager EMPH willing EMPH I
 I'm even willing to bet on it.

Predicators which occur in this type of clause include:

I: Adjectives

<i>merhat</i>	like, enjoy
<i>meseğu</i>	fond of
<i>pët</i>	fond of, like
<i>mesikel</i>	long to
<i>merincuh</i>	desire, long for
<i>nggit</i>	want, wish to
<i>ngasup</i>	willing
<i>ngatek</i>	willing, prepared to
<i>pang</i>	dare to
<i>mbiar</i>	afraid
<i>méla</i>	embarrassed
<i>mehangké</i>	reluctant
<i>mekisat</i>	lazy, indifferent
<i>mejingkat</i>	industrious, energetic
<i>megegeh</i>	strong at
<i>beluh</i>	clever, adept
<i>puas</i>	satisfied

II: Intransitive verbs

<i>ninget</i>	remember
<i>lupa</i>	forget
<i>erpala-pala</i>	strive, try hard to
<i>erlajar</i>	learn
<i>erbahan</i>	pretend
<i>ersikap-sikap</i>	prepare to
<i>erkadiola</i>	regret
<i>ersura-sura</i>	have plans, ambitions to
<i>sambar jadi</i>	become, change to

A minor variation on this pattern involves the subject of the main clause being expounded by a possessive NP with head *até* 'heart' or *ukur* 'mind' (§5.4.3). The (deleted) subject of the complement clause is coreferential with the possessor of this NP head:

- (8.96) *Morah atéta natapsa.*
 resentful heart.our ACT.see.him
 We resented seeing him.
- (8.97) *Tutus aténa erlajar erbahan siding.*
 serious heart.his learn ACT.make trap
 He really wanted to learn how to make traps.
- (8.98) *Turah ukur kami nangkih deleng Sinabun.*
 grow mind our climb mountain Sinabun
 We had the urge to climb Mt Sinabun.

8.2.3 TYPE 3

This pattern is structurally identical to the above, except that the complement clause occurs complete with its own subject. This is normally because the subject of the complement clause is not coreferential with that of the main clause. The complement clause may be introduced by the conjunction *maka(na)* 'that' or *gelah* 'so that' (following verbs of request):

(8.99) *Mbiar aku sambar ukurndu sēh pagi i Tarutung.*
afraid I change mind.your reach tomorrow at Tarutung
I fear you will have a change of heart when you get to Tarutung.

(8.100) *Kerna si énda maka tēk nge ia makana mbué*
concerning REL this then believe EMPH he that much
ka papagi rēhna.
also tomorrow come.NMS
For this reason then he believed that he would receive great returns in the future.

However, the subject of the complement clause may be coreferential with that of the main clause, in which case the complement clause must be introduced by a conjunction:

(8.101) *Mindo beru Rengga Kuning man raja, gelah mulih ia*
ACT.ask female Rengga Kuning to chief that return she
ras turangna ku kuta.
with brother.her to village
Beru Rengga Kuning requested of the Chief that she and her brother return to their village.

Predicators occurring in this construction include:

I: Adjectives

<i>mbiar</i>	afraid
<i>tēk</i>	believe
<i>merincuh</i>	long for, desire
<i>aru até</i>	sad, despondent

II: Intransitive verbs

<i>lupa</i>	forget
<i>nginget</i>	remember
<i>mindu</i>	ask, request
<i>erlajar</i>	learn
<i>erpengakap</i>	have the opinion, consider that
<i>erberita</i>	report
<i>erpadan</i>	promise
<i>erkadiola</i>	regret

8.2.4 TYPE 4

This type parallels the pattern described in §8.2.2, except that the main clause is a transitive clause, containing an obligatory complement clause whose subject is coreferential

with the actor of the main clause, and is therefore omitted. The main clause is almost always expressed as a passive, and always precedes the complement:

- (8.102) *Erpagi-pagi ibenakenna mbayu.*
early.in.the.morning PASS.begin.she ACT.weave
Early that morning she began to weave.
- (8.103) *I jé mulaina me pegara api.*
at here PASS.begin.he EMPH ACT.CAUS.burn fire
At this point he began to light a fire.
- (8.104) *Iteruskenna ka erdalin.*
PASS.continue.he also walk
He kept on travelling.
- (8.105) *I jém iempetken beru Renggu Kuning ridi.*
at here.EMPH PASS.hurry female Rengga Kuning bathed
At this point Beru Rengga Kuning hurriedly bathed.
- (8.106) *Kupala-palai ndahup nakan.*
I.try ACT.swallow.mouthful rice
I tried my best to take a mouthful of rice.
- (8.107) *Arus siinget nabun uista.*
must we.remember ACT.wash clothes.our
We have to remember to wash our clothes.
- (8.108) *Iakuken Appung Barus lawes i kuta Ajinembah nari.*
PASS.agree Appung Barus go at village Ajinembah from
Appung Barus consented to leave Ajinembah.
- (8.109) *É maka kupiherken rukur.*
and so I.harden think
And so I concentrated my thoughts.

Semantically, predicators of main clauses expounding this pattern express the following notions:

(i) commencing, maintaining or finishing an action:

<i>benaken</i>	start, commence
<i>mulai</i>	start, commence
<i>terusken</i>	continue, keep doing
<i>tahanken</i>	continue, endure
<i>empetken/empeti</i>	speed up, hurry
<i>ngadiken</i>	stop, cease
<i>ulih</i>	repeat, resume

(ii) attempting, deciding, or refusing to do something:

<i>cubaken</i>	attempt
<i>pala-palai</i>	try hard, strive
<i>usahaken</i>	endeavour
<i>sempatken</i>	manage, find the time to
<i>pengasup-ngasup</i>	spur on, motivate oneself to

<i>pang-pangken</i>	encourage, embolden oneself to
<i>tetapken</i>	decide, resolve to
<i>tutusken</i>	decide, resolve to
<i>piherken</i>	harden, concentrate one's mind to
<i>akuken</i>	agree, consent to
<i>tanggung-tanggung</i>	hold back, stint on
<i>tulak</i>	refuse to

(iii) knowing, remembering or learning how to do something:

<i>ete</i>	know
<i>inget</i>	remember
<i>pelajari</i>	learn

Because of these semantic features, the complement clause almost always expresses an action or event, and this is expounded by an intransitive clause or an active transitive clause.

Included in this type on the basis of structural similarity are the predicators *akap* and *gejap*, meaning 'to feel', in the sense of emotional or sensory experience. These are always encoded as passives, and take a stative complement clause whose predicate is expounded by an adjective expressing physical or emotional sensation. Coreference with the higher clause agent requires obligatory deletion of the lower clause subject. *Akap* and *gejap* are distributionally unrestricted, but generally tend to occur sentence medially following the predicate of the complement clause:

- (8.110) *Kugejap pé enggo latih.*
I.feel EMPH already tired
I feel tired already.
- (8.111) *Meriah kal kuakap i jénda.*
happy EMPH I.feel at here
I feel very happy here.
- (8.112) *Méla naring pagi kuakap.*
embarrassed only tomorrow I.feel
I will only feel embarrassed in future.

8.2.5 TYPE 5

This pattern involves a transitive main clause with a complement clause expounding either its subject or object. It differs from Type 4 above in that it does not involve coreferentiality of the complement clause subject with the main clause actor. Role-wise, the complement clause is nearly always the undergoer of the main predicator, although cases have been recorded of a main clause predicator with both subject (Actor) and object (Undergoer) expounded by complement clauses:

- (8.113) *Arah dalin bagé, mulihen kerina temué, njadiken*
MAN: (in way thus) S: (go.home all guests) P: (ACT.cause)
ngadi kerja mengket rumah pengulu Ajinembah.
O: (stop feast enter house headman Ajinembah)
In this way, all the guests returned home, bringing about an end to the house-warming feast held by the headman of Ajinembah.

Exponents of the main clause predicate may be grouped into the following semantic sets:

I: Perception verbs

<i>idah</i>	see
<i>nehen</i>	see
<i>begi</i>	hear

II: Knowledge verbs

<i>eteh</i>	know
<i>dapeti</i>	discover
<i>angka</i>	understand
<i>inget</i>	remember
<i>dat</i>	find out, discover

III: Propositional attitude verbs

<i>akap</i>	think, consider, feel
<i>gejap</i>	feel, consider
<i>sangka</i>	suspect
<i>kira</i>	guess, suspect
<i>taksir</i>	guess
<i>ukuri</i>	ponder, think over
<i>arap(ken)</i>	hope

IV: Phasal verbs

<i>benaken</i>	begin
<i>mulai</i>	begin
<i>timai</i>	wait
<i>tahanken</i>	endure, put up with

V: Manipulative verbs

<i>bahan</i>	make, cause
<i>baba</i>	cause, bring about
<i>jadiken</i>	cause, bring about
<i>suruh</i>	order, tell, instruct
<i>pediat</i>	let, allow, permit
<i>larang</i>	forbid
<i>tami-tami</i>	urge, persuade

VI: Declarative/Utterance verbs

<i>belawenken</i>	swear, pledge
<i>sudipken</i>	curse, cast a spell
<i>pindoken (gelah)</i>	request
<i>totoken (gelah)</i>	pray for
<i>anjurken (gelah)</i>	recommend
<i>persingeti (gelah)</i>	remind
<i>akui</i>	admit, acknowledge, confess
<i>orati</i>	ask, query
<i>turiken</i>	tell, relate
<i>sahken</i>	legitimise, authorise
<i>pebetehken (maka)</i>	make known, announce
<i>cidahken</i>	show, let be seen

<i>beritaken(maka)</i>	report
<i>kataken(maka)</i>	tell,state
<i>pesèh(maka)</i>	convey,communicate
<i>singetken</i>	mention
<i>kusikken</i>	whisper

The main clause may be either active, in which case the complement is encoded as object (in the (a) examples below), or passive, in which case the complement occurs as subject (as in the (b) examples):

- (8.114) a. *Aku ngidahsa ia ngisap.*
S: (I) P: (ACT.see.PERF) O: (he smoke)
- b. *Kuidah ia ngisap.*
P: (I.see) S: (he smoke)
I saw him smoking.
- (8.115) a. *Ia ngakui merga Barus kalimbubuna.*
S: (he) P: (ACT.acknowledge) O: (clan Barus in.laws.his)
- b. *Iakuina merga Barus kalimbubuna.*
P: (PASS.acknowledge.he) S: (clan Barus in.laws.his)
He acknowledged that the Barus clan were his in-laws.

Despite the potential for either voice to occur in the main clause, passive is by far the more common. For its part, the complement clause may be expounded by any basic clause type. The following examples illustrate the occurrence of ambient, identificational, stative, intransitive, existential, transitive active and transitive passive clauses respectively.

- (8.116) *Kuakap udan kari.*
I.think rain later
I think it will rain later.
- (8.117) *Ikatakenna gelarna Barus.*
PASS.say.he name.his Barus
He said that his name was Barus.
- (8.118) *Ula pediatndu anakta megani kal.*
don't (PASS).permit.you child.our spoilt very
Don't you let that child of ours become spoilt!
- (8.119) *Timaina me permakan é lawes ku rumah.*
(PASS).wait.he EMPH shepherd that go to house
He waited for the shepherd to go home.
- (8.120) *Idahna lit kalak bayangen telu kalak.*
(PASS).see.he BE person in.stocks three person
He saw that there were three men imprisoned in the stocks.
- (8.121) *Isahken ia ngersak gajah si mbentar.*
PASS.make legal he ACT.ride elephant REL white
He was authorised to ride upon a white elephant.

- (8.122) *Suruh kaka kuayaki perik é ku jah.*
 (PASS).order brother I.chase bird that to there
 Older brother told me to retrieve the bird from over there.

Following any class of predicator except phasal verbs (set IV above), the complement clause may be introduced by the conjunctions *maka(na)* 'that', *gelah* 'so that' (in the case of verbs of request or recommendation), or *entah* 'if, whether' (in the case of higher clause constructions expressing ignorance). For example:

- (8.123) *La pediatna maka anakna é lumbén.*
 not (PASS).let.she that child.her that hungry
 She didn't allow her child to go hungry.
- (8.124) *Ibahanna maka kupan roti é.*
 PASS.make.he that I.eat bread that
 He made me eat the bread.
- (8.125) *Usur sitotoken gelah nggit me Dibata nampati kam*
 always we.pray that wish EMPH God ACT.help you
ibas dahinndu.
 in work.your
 We always pray that God will assist you in your work.
- (8.126) *Bagém tua-tua ndai terus ersudip mindokenca*
 thus old.person that continue curse ACT.request.PERF
gelah jadi kelenglengen ibas kuta e.
 that occur flood in village that
 In that way the old woman continued cursing, asking for a flood to come upon the village.
- (8.127) *Cubaken nehen entah enggo ia réh.*
 try (PASS).see whether already he come
 Have a look and see if he's come yet.
- (8.128) *La ieteh kami entah i rumah ia.*
 not PASS.know we whether at home he
 We don't know whether he is home.

The presence of a conjunction introducing the complement clause clearly marks that clause off from the main clause, and is evidence of its integrity vis-à-vis the main clause. However, in the absence of a conjunction, there are no grammatical clues available to help clearly define any interclausal boundary. For instance in the following sentences, there is no immediate grammatical criterion available by which the constituent *ia* 'he' can be unequivocally assigned to either the higher or the lower clause:⁶⁷

- (8.129) a. *Bapa ngelarang ia lawes.*
 father ACT.forbid he go
 Father forbade him to go.

⁶⁷ Not even intonation always helps resolve the question.

- b. *Kuidah ia lawes.*
I.see he go
I saw him go.
- c. *Isuruh nande ia lawes.*
PASS.order mother he go
Mother told him to go.

In these sentences, is it 'the fact of his going' which is forbidden/ seen/ordered? Or is 'he' (the Undergoer) forbidden/ seen/ordered to do something (expressed as a complement)?⁶⁸ To help resolve this issue, it is instructive to examine more closely the syntactic characteristics of predicators such as *larang* 'forbid', *idah* 'see' and *suruh* 'order'. Together with the predicators *bahan* 'make, cause', *jadiken* 'cause, bring about', *begi* 'hear', *eteh* 'know', *angka* 'understand', *gejap* 'feel', *sangka* 'suspect' and *akap* 'think, regard', these form a set which has high distributional mobility, commonly occurring sentence medially and sentence finally as well as in the usual sentence-initial position:

- (8.130) *Minter nge kita sangkana muatsa.*
immediately EMPH we (PASS).suspect.he ACT.take.it
He immediately suspected we took it.
- (8.131) *Sëh bagundari Barus ngenca ieteh gelarna.*
until today Barus only PASS.know name.his
Up until now it is only known that his name was Barus.
- (8.132) *Kadéndu gejapndu mesui?*
what.your (PASS).feel.you sore
What part of you feels sore?/Where are you hurting?
- (8.133) *Panasen naring kam kuidah.*
sweat just.EMPH you I.see
I see you're sweating.
- (8.134) *Adon ko kuakap!*
crazy you I.think
I think you're crazy!
- (8.135) *Enggo pulning diberu é ban ko!*
already pregnant female that (PASS).make you
You've gone and got that girl pregnant!

For their part, complement clauses occurring with these predicators may be configured either subject-predicate or predicate-subject, but do exhibit a distinct ordering preference such that the (lower) subject is normally adjacent to the main clause predicator. A survey of 175 such clauses reveals a 70:30 tendency in this regard. This situation closely parallels the one described in §8.2.1, where the subject of the lower clause may now become identified as the integrated undergoer of the higher clause, and the predicate of the lower clause assigned as a verbal complement:

⁶⁸ Cumming (1988:82) refers to similar classificatory problems encountered for analagous structures in Malay.

- (8.136) *Kemberahen Jenggi Kumawar nuruh anakna*
 S: (noble.wife Jenggi Kumawar) P: (ACT.order) O: (child.her)
ndeheri jelma so bégu.
 COMP: (ACT.approach person not ghost)
 The wife of the headman of Jenggi Kumawar ordered her daughter to go over to the grotesque visitor.
- (8.137) *Piga-piga guru ibas kuta é isuruh*
 S: (several shaman in village that) P: (PASS.order)
pengadi kerja é.
 COMP: (CAUS.stop feast that)
 Several medicine men in that village were ordered to bring that feast to an end.
- (8.138) *Tanda-tanda é iakap raja ngikutken*
 S: (sign-sign that) P: (PASS.consider chief) COMP:(ACT.follow)
adat perburu.
 custom hunter)
 Those signs were considered by the chief to conform to the accepted hunting customs.
- (8.139) *Kucing é me sibahan njagaisa.*
 S: (cat that EMPH) P: (we.make) COMP: (ACT.guard.it)
 We got the cat to protect it (from pests).

This is analagous to the process of 'subject-raising' as described in transformational analyses of English and other languages, although in English one has the benefit of case-marking on pronouns and tense-marking on verbs to support such an analysis. Such features do not play a part in Karo morphosyntactic organisation,⁶⁹ but there are three other grammatical features which provide some corroborative support for the notion that the lower clause subject can in fact assume a grammatical role in the higher clause:

(i) Reflexivisation

The predicator *akap* 'think, consider' is frequently found with a complement clause containing a subject which is coreferential with the agent of *akap*. For example:

- (8.140) *Kuakap (maka) aku kalak bujur.*
 I.think that I person honest
 I think (that) I am an honest person.

This lower subject, *aku* 'I', may be reconfigured as a reflexive (§6.4):

⁶⁹ Karo does in fact have a 3rd person pronoun objective form, *-sa*, which at first glance would appear to be useful in helping to determine which clause a medial NP might belong to, as in:

(1) *Aku ngidahsa lawes.* I saw him go.

However *-sa* is ambiguous, also being the perfective aspect marker employed when a transitive verb is in the active voice:

(2) *Aku ngidahsa ia/kam lawes.* I saw him/you go.

Unfortunately it is impossible to know whether *-sa* in (1) is a 3rd person clitic pronoun (i.e. raised from the lower to the higher clause) or simply the perfective aspect marker, with the pronominal lower subject deleted because of abundant contextual clues providing identification.

- (8.141) *Kuakap man bangku kalak bujur.*
 I think myself person honest
 I consider myself an honest person.

Since the reflexive phrase *man bangku* cannot occur as subject of an independent clause or as subject of the lower clause introduced by the conjunction *maka*, then it must be concluded that in example (8.141), *man bangku* belongs to the main clause.

* *Man bangku kalak bujur.*

*Kuakap maka *man bangku kalak bujur.*

Instances of this construction are numerous in the language, almost always with the predicator *akap*, though a few instances have also been recorded with *eteh* 'know', *antusi* 'understand' and *tandai* 'know, recognise':

- (8.142) *Akapndu bandu singuda-nguda denga.*
 (PASS).think.you yourself young.girl still
 You still consider yourself to be a young girl.
- (8.143) *Ietehna man bana mberu.*
 PASS.know.she herself pretty
 She knew herself to be good-looking.
- (8.144) *Iantusina man bana anak kalak mehuli.*
 PASS.understand.she herself child person good
 She understood herself to be the daughter of good parents.
- (8.145) *Itandaina manbana kalak musil-musil.*
 PASS.know.he himself person poor-poor
 He knew himself to be a poor fellow.

In such constructions, the main predicator may also occur sentence medially, between the lower-clause predicate and the reflexive phrase:

- (8.146) *Bombang-bombang kuakap man bangku.*
 drift I.feel myself
 I felt myself to be drifting along aimlessly.
- (8.147) *Tempa-tempa menang akapna bana.*
 as.if win (PASS).feel.he himself
 He felt as if he had won.

As in English, raising to reflexive is optional in Karo:

- (8.148) *Akapna ia/bana la ersalah.*
 (PASS).feel.he he/himself not do.wrong
 He thought he was/himself not to blame.
- (8.149) *Kupediat aku/bangku idakepna.*
 I.allow I/myself PASS.embrace.she
 I allowed her to embrace me/myself to be embraced by her.

(ii) Measure Phrase Floating

As described in the account of NPs (§4.1.3.3), a Measure Phrase may float away from the NP it modifies, as long as that NP is a subject. The following examples of Measure

Phrase floating thus identify *buéna* 'quantity' and *perik é* 'those birds' as subjects of the main clause predicators *akap* and *idah* respectively:

- (8.150) *Piga nge akapndu buéna perik énda ndai?*
 how.many PART (PASS).think.you many.NMS bird this before
 How many birds do you reckon there were?
- (8.151) *Melala idah kami perik é paksana man buah kayu.*
 many (PASS).see we bird those PROG ACT.eat fruit tree
 We saw many of those birds eating the fruit from trees.

(iii) Relativisation

As described in the account of relative clauses (§8.1.2), only a subject or left-dislocated nominal may be relativised. As the following examples show, the subject and the left-dislocated nominal which undergo relativisation derive from the lower clauses whose predicates are expounded by *lawes* and *bujur* respectively:

- (8.152) *...pinangko si nipaksa kami lawes i kuta nari.*
 thief REL PASS.force we go at village from
 ...the thief whom we forced to leave the village.
- (8.153) *Aku la bo rēh guna ndilo kalak si bujur*
 I not EMPH come PURP ACT.summon person REL honest
akapna bana.
 (PASS).think.he himself
 I have not come to call the righteous.

On the basis of such evidence it may be concluded that with a certain subset of complement-taking predicators occurring with Type 5 constructions, the subject of the complement clause may be syntactically incorporated into the main clause as one of its nuclear constituents.

8.2.6 TYPE 6

In this pattern a main transitive clause takes an NP-Undergoer plus a complement clause whose subject is coreferential with the NP-Undergoer, and thus omitted. The NP-Undergoer may be encoded as object of an active verb or subject of a passive verb; semantically it is always animate:

- (8.154) *Isé nampatisa kam erdakan?*
 who ACT.help.PERF you cook
 Who helped you do the cooking?
- (8.155) *Agi pengulu Ajinembah ngarakken Appung Barus miser*
 brother headman Ajinembah ACT.accompany Appung Barus shift
ku inganna si mbaru.
 to place.his REL new
 The younger brother of the headman of Ajinembah accompanied Appung Barus in moving to his new place.

- (8.156) *Aku ilatih jadi anggota Palang Merah.*
I PASS.train become member cross red
I was trained as a member of the Red Cross.
- (8.157) *Ikirim aku erdahin ku rumah sakit Kabanjahé.*
PASS.send I work to hospital Kabanjahe
I was sent to work at the hospital in Kabanjahe.
- (8.158) *Enggo kutaluken anak pengulu ergasing.*
already I.defeat son headman play.tops
I have beaten the headman's son in spinning tops.

Predicators which may occur in the main clause of this construction include:

<i>sampati</i>	help
<i>jemba-jemba</i>	urge, push, induce
<i>ajari</i>	teach
<i>latih</i>	train
<i>dilo</i>	call, summon
<i>kirim</i>	send
<i>ikutken</i>	accompany
<i>arakken</i>	accompany
<i>taluken/talu-talu</i>	defeat, beat
<i>sahken</i>	authorise, legitimise

The syntactic pattern found here is identical to the one created by the raising operations as described in §8.2.5. The relevant predicators described therein (principally manipulative, perceptual and propositional attitude verbs) may also be regarded as belonging to this type:

<i>tami-tami</i>	persuade
<i>pediat</i>	let, allow
<i>suruh</i>	order
<i>paksa</i>	force
<i>larang</i>	forbid
<i>baba</i>	cause, bring about

- (8.159) *Kuga pa pé ibabaina ko gutul!*
how PART EMPH PASS.bring.he you naughty
In every respect he has led you astray!
- (8.160) *Pediat ia man.*
(PASS).let he ACT.eat
Let him eat.
- (8.161) *Singuda-nguda isuruh ngembahken cimpa ku jambor.*
young.girls PASS.order ACT.take rice.cakes to barn
The young girls were told to take the rice-cakes to the barn (i.e. meeting place for young men).

8.2.7 TYPE 7

The pattern resembles the former type, in having an NP-Undergoer plus a complement clause. The main clause predicate is expounded by *sungkun* or *orati* 'ask', whilst the complement clause is expounded by an indirect interrogative clause (§7.1.2.1):

- (8.162) *Isungkunna aku entah enggo aku man.*
 PASS.ask.she I whether already I ACT.eat
 She asked me if I had eaten.
- (8.163) *É maka turah aténa nungkun guru kai sebabna*
 and so grow heart.his ACT.ask shaman what reason.the
maka ia talu erjudi.
 that he lose gamble
 And so the idea occurred to him to ask the medicine man what the reason was
 for him losing when he gambled.
- (8.164) *Oratina kai sebabna maka terjadi bagé.*
 (PASS).ask.he what reason.the that happen thus
 He asked what the reason was that that happened.

8.2.8 TYPE 8

In this pattern, a complement clause occurs as predicate of an identificational clause whose subject is a possessive NP. Exponents of the subject NP head include:

<i>até</i>	wish, desire, want
<i>sura-sura</i>	intention, plan, ambition
<i>dahin</i>	work, occupation
<i>tugas</i>	job, task
<i>pengakap</i>	opinion
<i>kedungen</i>	outcome
<i>(la)diaté</i>	(not) be concerned about, care for

- (8.165) *Atéku pagi kami rêh.*
 S: (wish.my) P: (tomorrow you come)
 I want you to come tomorrow.
- (8.166) *Pengakapku ia kalak bujur.*
 S: (opinion.my) P: (he person honest)
 My opinion is that he is an honest person.
- (8.167) *Kedungenna ia la nggit mulih.*
 S: (outcome.the) P: (he NEG wish go.home)
 The end result was that he didn't want to go back home.

When coreferential with the possessor of the subject NP, the subject of the clause expounding the predicate is normally omitted:

- (8.168) *Sura-surangku pé, lanai bo sirang ras kam.*
 intention.my EMPH not EMPH separate with you
 It is my intention not to split up with you.

- (8.169) *Dahinku ku juma ku rumah.*
work.my to field to home
I'm just a farmer. (i.e. My work is to go to the fields and then come home at the end of the day.)
- (8.170) *Tugasku ku Tiga Binanga ngelegi tambar.*
task.my to Tiga Binanga ACT.fetch medicine
My job was to go to Tiga Binanga and collect medicine.

Of the words in the above list, *até* 'wish, want' (literally 'liver', the repository of emotions and desires) is the most frequently used and the most syntactically mobile, commonly occurring sentence medially and finally as well as initially. Its complement clause may be of either word order, and may also be expounded by a passive clause whose agent is coreferential with the possessor of *até*. Compare the following two examples in particular:

- (8.171) *Aténa nerusken perdalinenna.*
wish.his ACT.continue journey.his
He wants to continue his journey.
- (8.172) *Aténa dayakenna tép é.*
wish.his (PASS).sell.he tape.recorder that
He wants to sell that tape recorder.
- (8.173) *Kam kin atéku jadi nandéku.*
you EMPH wish.my become mother.my
I would like you to be my mother.
- (8.174) *Minter dahupna aténa nakan é.*
immediately (PASS).swallow.he wish.his rice that
He wanted to swallow that rice down straightaway.
- (8.175) *Aku erlajar cakap Karo atéku.*
I learn language Karo wish.my
I want to learn the Karo language.
- (8.176) *Engkai maka erjabu ras ia aténdu?*
why that marry with he wish.your
Why do you want to marry him?

When reference to the one who desires something is general, vague or unknown, then *até* may occur without a possessor:

- (8.177) *Até ipengadi, la terpengadi.*
wish PASS.stop not ABIL.stop
They wanted it stopped, but it couldn't be stopped.
- (8.178) *Pagi niangkat, nidayaken até.*
tomorrow PASS.collect PASS.sell wish
It will be picked up tomorrow and taken to be sold.

The other words from this set nearly always precede the complement clause, but occasionally may follow:

- (8.179) *Erjudi suari berngi ngenca dahinna.*
 gamble day night only work.his
 All he does is gamble day and night.

The word *diaté* 'care for' is found only in negative and interrogative sentences. In view of the fact that it is usually negated, it may be more correctly considered to expound the predicate rather than the subject of its clause; nevertheless it is grouped together with the other members of this set on the basis of its nominal rather than verbal identity. Its possessor is always coreferential with the (deleted) subject of the complement clause:

- (8.180) *Mawen-mawen la bo diaténta ngurus kebersihen é.*
 sometimes not EMPH care.our ACT.see.to cleanliness that
 Sometimes we are inattentive to hygiene.
- (8.181) *Diaténdu nge erdahin?*
 care.your EMPH work
 Are you serious about doing the job?

Finally, *kedungen* 'outcome', always takes as its possessor the clitic pronoun *-na*, which has reference to some event or situation rather than to a person or object:

- (8.182) *Kedungenna maté ia.*
 outcome.the die he
 In the end he died.

8.2.9 NOUNS WHICH TAKE COMPLEMENTS

As described above, the majority of cases of complementation involve a complement clause bearing some relation to a particular adjectival or verbal predicator. It is also possible for complement clauses to occur with certain nouns, which may be roots themselves, or derived from adjectives and verbs (principally from the sets described in §8.2.2 and §8.2.3). Structurally, a complement clause associated with a particular noun is usually encoded as an exponent of the Descriptive slot in the NP (§4.1.5.5):

- (8.183) *Bagéndam cara majekken rumah adat.*
 like.this way ACT.erect house tradition
 This is the way to build a traditional house.
- (8.184) *Enggo iberéken man banta kesempatan muat pemeteh.*
 already PASS.give to us opportunity ACT.take knowledge
 The opportunity to acquire knowledge has been given to us.

When a complement-taking predicator is derived to become a noun (either by addition or removal of affixes), it expounds the Head slot of the NP, and the complement clause fills the Descriptive slot, as illustrated above. Any overt subject of the predicator is encoded as exponent of the Possessive slot:

- (8.185) a. *Ngasup aku lawes.*
 willing I go
 I am willing to go.
- b. *kengasupenku lawes*
 willingness.my go
 my willingness to go

- (8.186) a. *Megegeh kita ndahisa.*
 strong we ACT.visit.him
 We are strong enough to visit him.
- b. *gegehta ndahisa*
 strength.our ACT.visit.him
 our strength to visit him

Nouns which take complements in this way include:

I: Derived nouns

<i>kepuasen</i>	satisfaction
<i>kengasupen</i>	willingness, preparedness
<i>kenggiten</i>	willingness, wish
<i>kesempaten</i>	opportunity
<i>kesangsin</i>	doubt, uncertainty
<i>kinilatihen</i>	tiredness
<i>kinibeluhen</i>	skill, cleverness
<i>pengarapen</i>	hope
<i>pengarihi</i>	agreement

II: Root nouns

<i>cara</i>	way, method
<i>dalan</i>	way, method, means
<i>ingan</i>	place
<i>sora</i>	voice, sound, noise
<i>sura-sura</i>	intention, ambition
<i>gegeh</i>	strength
<i>biar</i>	fear, apprehension

Sometimes the relation between the complement clause and the noun which it follows is neither semantically nor structurally as close as illustrated in the above examples. The complement clause may be introduced by *maka* 'that', and separated from the noun by a pause (or in writing, a comma).

- (8.187) *Rembang ka dat aku berita, maka bibi senina nandé,*
 right.then EMPH get I news that aunt sister mother
mengungsi i Sumbul.
 take.refuge at Sumbul
 Right there and then I received the news that Auntie, my mother's sister, had fled to Sumbul.

Such a complement may even be split off from its noun head, as in:

- (8.188) *Berita kubegi, kam si berkat ngkahé.*
 news I.hear you REL depart go.downstream
 I have heard that you are making a journey down to the coast.

Nouns which take such complements include:

<i>berita</i>	news, report
<i>momo</i>	announcement

<i>dalan</i>	way, means
<i>sebab</i>	reason

8.2.10 QUOTATIVE CLAUSES

A quotative clause is distinguished by the presence of material which constitutes a direct quotation. Such material may be of minimal length and complexity, such as the affirmative response marker *oé* 'yes', or it may comprise a much larger text consisting of many paragraphs or more. Despite this variation in internal complexity, such quoted material nevertheless constitutes a complement of the main predicate which is expounded by certain nouns and verbs which refer to saying, asking, thinking, and the like.

Most typically the quotative clause predicate is realised by the bound nominal morpheme *ni-* 'say', which is obligatorily followed by a possessor, usually pronominal in form. The idiosyncratic paradigm of *ni-* is presented here in full:

1st person singular	<i>ningku</i>	I say
plural (inclusive)	<i>ninta</i>	we say
plural (exclusive)	<i>ningkami</i>	we say
2nd person polite	<i>nindu</i>	you say
familiar	<i>nim</i>	you say
3rd person pronominal	<i>nina</i>	he/she says
definite noun	<i>nina</i> + noun	(noun) says
indefinite noun	<i>ningkalak</i>	people say

The *ni-* phrase nearly always follows a quotation (indicated orthographically here in inverted commas):

- (8.189) *"Lit babandu tambar?" nina Sukatendel.*
 BE (PASS).bring.you medicine say.he Sukatendel
 "Did you bring any medicine?" asked Sukatendel.
- (8.190) *"I jah kam kari kutimai", ningku.*
 at there you later I.wait say.I
 "I'll wait for you there", I said.

Sometimes a pair of *ni-* phrases may both precede and follow the quotation:

- (8.191) *Séh i rumah isungkunna ka nandéna, nina,*
 reach at home PASS.ask.she EMPH mother.her say.she
"Piga nge situhuna aku sembuyak, nandé?" nina.
 how.many PART in.fact I sibling mother say.she
 Arriving home she asked her mother, "How many brothers and sisters do I really have?"

When preceding a quotation, the *ni-* phrase is often preceded by *réh* 'come', which has a presentative function:

- (8.192) *É maka réh nina nandéna, "Ula engko ndekah i jah".*
 and so come say.she mother.her don't you long at there
 And her mother said, "Don't be too long there".

The fact that *ni-* is affixed by possessive enclitic forms, and that the *ni-* phrase in the above example functions as a subject of the verb *rĕh*, are evidence of the essentially nominal characteristics of this morpheme. Interestingly, however, it possesses some verbal characteristics as well, being able to be conjoined with a verb either in a serial construction (§8.3) or with a conjunction (§8.4.2.4):

- (8.193) *“Uĕ”, nina ngaloi.*
 yes say.he ACT.answer
 “Yes”, he said in response.
- (8.194) *“I ja bengkila?” ningku anakku kundul.*
 at where uncle say.I while.I sit
 “Where is Uncle?” I asked as I sat down.

With a second person pronoun it may also be used imperatively:⁷⁰

- (8.195) *Isé pé nukur aténa, ola dayakenmu.*
 who EMPH ACT.buy heart.his don’t (PASS).sell.you
“Kambing énda la bo man dayan”, nim.
 goat this not EMPH for selling say.you
 If anyone wants to buy them, don’t sell them. Say, “These goats are not for sale”.

Besides *ni-*, other forms expound the quotative predicate. These are mostly intransitive and active verbs, which usually follow the quotation. They include:

<i>nungkun</i>	ask
<i>rukur</i>	think
<i>até</i>	(+ noun) think (lit. liver)
<i>(er)sumekah</i>	assert, speak, state
<i>erjabap, njabap</i>	answer
<i>rĕh jabap</i>	answer
<i>ngerana</i>	speak
<i>erkata</i>	speak, say
<i>erburak</i>	babble
<i>jungut-jungut</i>	grumble
<i>rendé</i>	sing
<i>serko</i>	scream
<i>ajuk</i> (transitive)	urge
<i>umputi</i> (transitive)	add

- (8.196) *“Ma i jĕnda kari kita man?” nungkun beru Ginting.*
 RHET at here later we ACT.eat ACT.ask female Ginting
 “Aren’t we going to eat here later?” asked Beru Ginting.
- (8.197) *“Iah! Éndam kepéken anak raja Jenggi Kumawar”, até anak*
 EXCL this.EMPH seem child chief Jenggi Kumawar heart child

⁷⁰ *Ni-* also has a derivative *ningen* ‘be said’, which functions as a topic marker (§7.4.5.3.5).

Sembiring mergana.

Sembiring clan.his

“Oh! This must be the daughter of the Chief of Jenggi Kumawar”, thought Sembiring.

- (8.198) *“Oh, nibuangkenlah ia, anak jahat!” ersumekah nini bulang.*
oh PASS.throw.HORT he child evil speak grandfather
“Oh, cast him out, the evil child!” said the grandfather.
- (8.199) *Réh jabap nandéna, “Kam nge anakku dilaki, ras*
come answer mother.her you EMPH child.my male and
anakku diberu”.
child.my female
Her mother replied, “You are my son, and you are my daughter”. (i.e. You are my only child.)

8.3 SERIALISATION

A favourite clause-combining strategy in Karo is serialisation, whereby two clauses are welded into one by virtue of a shared nominal element (normally the subject).⁷¹ Three ordering possibilities exist, of which the second is the most frequent:

(i) shared subject precedes both predicates:

- (8.200) *Beru Rengga Kuning berkat ndarami turangna.*
S: (female Rengga Kuning) P1: (leave) P2: (ACT.seek brother.her)
Beru Rengga Kuning left to look for her brother.
- (8.201) *Kentangku enggo keru kedayaken.*
S: (potatoes.my) P1: (already gone) P2: (I.sell)
I’ve sold all my potatoes.
- (8.202) *...tupung ia tertunduh nindihi tan si kemuhén.*
while S: (she) P1: (sleep) P2: (ACT.lie.LOC arm REL right)
...while she was asleep lying on her right side.

(ii) shared subject intervenes between both predicates:

- (8.203) *Réh kami mindo penampatndu.*
P1: (come) S: (we) P2: (ACT.request help.your)
We have come to ask for your help.
- (8.204) *Besar tanna icit tawon.*
P1: (swollen) S: (hand.his) P2: (PASS.sting bee)
His hand was swollen, having been stung by a bee.
- (8.205) *Berkat me ia ku rumah ngembahken nakan*
P1: (leave EMPH) S: (he) LOC: (to house) P2: (ACT.carry rice)

⁷¹ Serialisation differs from complementation (§8.2) in that the latter always involves clause combination whereby one clause behaves as a syntactic constituent of the other.

ninina é.
 grandmother.his that)
 He set off for home, carrying his grandmother's lunch.

- (8.206) *Berkat ia iarakken juak-juakna.*
 P1: (leave) S: (he) P2: (PASS.accompany followers.his)
 He left, accompanied by his retinue.

(iii) shared subject follows both predicates:

- (8.207) *Sëh i rumah erdakan me si Mina.*
 P1: (arrive at home) P2: (cook EMPH) S: (Mina)
 Upon arriving home, Mina did the cooking.
- (8.208) *Maka lawes medem ia pituna ku jambor.*
 then P1: (go) P2: (sleep) S: (they seven.the) LOC: (to barn)
 Then the seven of them went off to sleep (or: went off and slept) in the barn.
- (8.209) *Maté itebakna arimo mbentar é.*
 P1: (die) P2: (PASS.stab.he) S: (tiger white that)
 The white tiger died, being stabbed by him.
- (8.210) *Tading me erkuta Appung Barus i*
 P1: (stay EMPH) P2: (live.in.village) S: (Appung Barus) LOC: (in
Ajinembah.
 Ajinembah)
 Appung Barus remained living in the village of Ajinembah.

8.3.1 ROLE RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING THE SHARED NP

As stated above, the clauses thus combined in series are linked by a common nominal element which is usually the subject of both. As the above examples show, the semantic role of this shared subject may be actor (example (8.200)), undergoer (example (8.209)), or simultaneously both (example (8.206)).

One other possibility exists for the shared constituent: it may be a possessive NP whose head is expounded by a noun referring to some inalienable body part or action possessed or performed by an animate entity which is both the referent of the Possessive slot of the NP and the putative subject of the second clause. Such cases occur only in accordance with the second ordering possibility described above (i.e. between the two clauses).

- (8.211) *Nderder cidurna nganggeh bau gulen é.*
 P1: (dribble) S: (saliva.his) P2: (ACT.sniff smell vegetables that)
 His mouth began to water as he smelt the vegetables.
- (8.212) *Mawen-mawen cinder mbulu dagingku nginget*
 ADV: (sometimes) P1: (stand) S: (hair body.my) P2: (ACT.remember
kejadi-kejadi i peron é.
 event-event at front that)
 Sometimes the hairs on my body would stand on end as I remembered the events at the front line.

- (8.213) *Naktak iluh Datuk Rubia Gandé megi sora*
 P1: (fall) S: (tears Datuk Rubia Gande) P2: (hear voice
kempuna rendé.
 grandson.his sing)
 Datuk Rubia Gande shed tears as he heard his grandson singing.
- (8.214) *Pesikapna perkundulna ngalaken matawari*
 P1: ((PASS).CAUS.prepare.she) S: (sitting.her) P2: (ACT.face sun
pultak.
 appear)
 She sat herself down facing the east.

8.3.2 TYPOLOGY OF SERIALISED CLAUSES

Clauses occurring in serialised constructions are most typically stative, intransitive and transitive. Occasional instances have been recorded of existential clauses occurring first, and identificational clauses occurring second in the series (though not in the same sentence):

- (8.215) *Lit mekap sada orangtua ngerdangken jumana.*
 P1: (be EMPH) S: (one adult) P2: (ACT.plant field.his)
 There was a man planting out his field.
- (8.216) *Darehna enggo kerri nakan rengit.*
 S: (blood.his) P1: (already gone) P2: (food mosquito)
 His blood was all gone, having been consumed by the mosquitos.

Whilst in principle almost all combinations of clauses appear possible, some tendencies are observable concerning the exponence of the first and second positions. Whatever the order with respect to the shared subject, the first clause in the series is normally stative or intransitive (see examples (8.200) - (8.210)), and only rarely transitive:

- (8.217) *Njabab rananna é, ngerana ka Cipcip,*
 P1: (ACT.answer statement.his that) P2: (speak also) S: (Cipcip)
nina...
 QUOT: (say.he)
 Responding to what he (i.e. his friend) had said, the Cipcip also spoke, saying...

Conversely, the second clause is usually intransitive or transitive (see again examples (8.200) - (8.210)), and only rarely stative:

- (8.218) *Ngidah ia ngersak kuda ndai, jengang*
 P1: (ACT.see her ACT.ride horse that) P2: (dumbstruck)
aronna kerina.
 S: (working.group.her all)
 Seeing her ride that horse, all the members of her working group were dumbstruck.

8.3.3 SEMANTIC CORRELATES

The semantic relationship between two serialised clauses is not explicitly marked, and must therefore be inferred by the listener. Only the following semantic relations have been observed to hold between serialised clauses:

- (a) simultaneous events (see examples (8.202), (8.205), (8.206) and (8.210))
- (b) successive events (see example (8.207))
- (c) purpose (see examples (8.200) and (8.203))
- (d) reason/explanation (see examples (8.201), (8.204) and (8.209))

Some cases allow more than one interpretation; example (8.208) for instance can be read as expressing both purpose and successivity of actions. These semantic relations appear to partially correspond with ordering patterns, in that successivity of action has only been recorded when the shared subject follows both predicates, whilst purpose has never been recorded in correlation with that pattern.

8.3.4 LONGER SEQUENCES

Sequences of more than two serialised clauses are possible. In such cases the shared subject only occurs either preceding the first predicate, or between the first and second predicates.

- (8.219) *Asuh-asuhenna enggo keru benén itangko kalak.*
 S: (cattle.their) P1: (already gone) P2: (lost.PL) P3: (ACT.steal person)
 Their cattle were all gone, missing, stolen by somebody.
- (8.220) *Lawes me ia duana nadingken kuta Barus*
 P1: (go EMPH) S: (they two.the) P2: (ACT.leave village Barus)
ngambur perdalin.
 P3: (ACT.spread journey)
 The two of them departed, leaving Barus village, to wander about the countryside.
- (8.221) *Aron é rodak-odak siarak-araken*
 S: (working.group that) P1: (swing.arms) P2: (follow.each.other)
njujung cuan lawes ku juma.
 P3: (ACT.carry.on.head hoe) P4: (go to field)
 The working group were swinging their arms, marching along in single file, carrying their hoes on their heads, going to the fields.

8.3.5 IRREGULAR SERIALISATION

Irregular serialisation involves the juxtaposition of two clauses, one of which is passive and whose agent is coreferential with the deleted subject of the other. Unlike regular serialised clauses, they are not characterised by an explicit shared constituent. These constructions are of quite low frequency.

- (8.222) *Jé maka angkipna kucing é lawes ku turé.*
and then P1:((PASS).grab.she) S:(cat that) P2:(go to veranda)
And then she grabbed hold of the cat and went to the veranda.
- (8.223) *É maka kupalu gung ngemomokenca man jelma si enterem.*
and then P1:(I.strike) S:(gong) P2:(ACT.announce.it to people who many)
And then I struck the gong to announce it to all and sundry.
- (8.224) *Megiken sorana rendé, meriso pé akap kalak.*
P1:(ACT.listen voice.his sing) COMP:(sad EMPH) P2:((PASS).feel people)
Listening to him singing, people felt melancholy.

8.4 CONJUNCTIONS

In addition to the processes of relativisation, complementation and serialisation as described above, Karo makes productive use of conjunctions to combine clauses. As in other languages, however, these conjunctions are not restricted solely to connecting clauses, but operate at other levels too. The conjunctions are classified below according to whether they are coordinating, subordinating or co-subordinating. Coordinating conjunctions (§8.4.1) link two or more elements of equivalent syntactic function. Subordinating conjunctions (§8.4.2) link two units such that one is dependent, structurally and semantically, upon the other. Co-subordinating conjunctions (§8.4.3) are paired connectives which express a correlative, inclusive or alternative relation between the elements which they conjoin. Each of the sections below takes as its starting point the combination of clauses, before proceeding to discuss the use of conjunctions at other levels of the grammar.

8.4.1 COORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS

The following conjunctions link two main clauses, and are restricted to occurrence between the two conjoined elements. A further restriction limits *entah* 'or' to connecting only non-declaratives (i.e. interrogatives and imperatives).

<i>janah</i>	and
<i>dingen</i>	and
<i>tapi(na)</i>	but
<i>(en)tah</i>	or

- (8.225) *Nderbih kami erburu janah itembak kami wili.*
yesterday we hunt and PASS.shoot we boar
Yesterday we went hunting and shot a boar.
- (8.226) *Begiken kata gurundu dingen ikutkenlah!*
(PASS).listen.to words teacher.your and (PASS).follow.HORT
Listen to what your teacher says and do it!

- (8.227) *Piga-piga kali ilompati arimo mbentar Simbelang Pinggel,*
 several times PASS.jump.LOC tiger white Simbelang Pinggel
tapi arah kebeluhenna ermdikar terélakkenca.
 but by skill.his self.defence ABIL.avoid.he
 Several times the white tiger pounced upon Simbelang Pinggel, but through
 his skill in self-defence he was able to avoid it.
- (8.228) *Kam ku jénda entah aku ku jah?*
 you to here or I to there
 Are you coming here or will I go there?

The same conjunctions can coordinate constituents at the phrase level. Various possibilities include:

1. *janah* 'and'

– joining verbs or adjectives in the predicate:

- (8.229) *Pepulung janah ngkupassa genep dahin setahun.*
 CAUS.collect and ACT.analyse.them full work one.year
 To collect and analyse them was a full year's work.
- (8.230) *Tanehna kendit janah mehumur kal.*
 land.the flat and fertile very
 The land was level and very fertile.

2. *dingen* 'and, as well as'

– joining adjectives within the predicate and within the Descriptive slot of the NP:

- (8.231) *Tanehna kendit dengen mbelang.*
 land.the flat and vast
 There was abundant level ground.
- (8.232) *batangkayu mbelin dengen meganjang*
 tree big and tall
 a big, tall tree

– conjoining two NPs:

- (8.233) *arah katana dengen perbahanenna*
 by words.his and actions.his
 through his words as well as his actions

– conjoining two PPs:

- (8.234) *...nina man kami dengen man kalak si i jé kerina.*
 say.he to us and to people REL at there all
 ...he said to us and to all the people who were there.

3. *tapi* 'but'

– joining two adjectives in the predicate:

- (8.235) *Jelmana kitik-kitik tapi mersik.*
 person.the small but fearless
 He was short but fearless.

4. *entah* 'or'

– joining two constituents within the predicate:

- (8.236) ...*gelah ietehna kurang entah lang kerbona é.*
 PURP PASS.know.he less or not buffalo.his those
 ...to find out whether any of his buffalo were missing or not.

– joining two quantifiers in the NP:

- (8.237) *dua tah telu berngi*
 two or three nights
 two or three nights

– joining two NPs:

- (8.238) *Apai kam merhaten, markisah entah rimo?*
 which you like.more passionfruit or orange
 Which do you prefer, passionfruit or orange?

Two other coordinating conjunctions feature prominently at the phrase level:

1. *ras* 'and'

– joining two predicates:

- (8.239) *Enggo ndabuhen ras sontaren kerina turé.*
 already fall.PL and scattered.PL all veranda
 All the verandas had fallen down and were scattered all about.

– joining two NPs:

- (8.240) *Durin ras tualah seri galangna.*
 durian and coconut same big.NMS
 Durian and coconut are the same size.
- (8.241) *Cukup me i jé toto ras sudipna.*
 enough EMPH at there prayer and curse.her
 Her prayers and curses were sufficient at that point.
- (8.242) *Meriah ukurna ras temanna.*
 happy mind.he and friend.his
 He and his friend were delighted.

– joining two PPs:

- (8.243) *Kutulis surat ibas cakap Karo ras alu tulis tan.*
 I.write letter in language Karo and with write hand
 I wrote the letter in Karo, and by hand.

– joining two prepositions in the one PP:

- (8.244) *opé denga ras tupung si é*
 before and during REL that
 before and during that time

2. *bage pé* 'and, as well as'

– joining NPs and PPs:

- (8.245) *si nguda bagé pé si enggo metua*
REL young thus EMPH REL already old
the young people as well as the old people
- (8.246) *Sempat aku jumpa ras bapana, bagé pé ras mamana.*
manage I meet with father.his thus too with uncle.his
I managed to meet his father, and his uncle too.

It is also possible for more than two constituents to be coordinated, in which case the elements are usually strung together sequentially with the conjunction (normally *ras*, *bage pé* or *entah (pé)*) occurring only between the second last and last members of the series:

- (8.247) *bual-bual, tawa-tawa ras rendé-rendé*
boast-boast laugh-laugh and sing-sing
telling tall stories, laughing, and singing
- (8.248) *taneh, lau, angin, sinuan-sinuan, rubia-rubia, jelma, matawari,*
earth water wind plant-plant animal-animal human sun
bulan, bintang ras si débanna
moon stars and REL others
the earth, the water, the wind, the plants, the animals, humans, the sun, the moon, the stars, and so on
- (8.249) *emas, pirak, suasa, duit bage pé erta-erta*
gold, silver, pinchbeck, money and valuables
gold, silver, pinchbeck, money and valuables
- (8.250) *Béréken saja man Sylvia, Jasamen entahpé Sikap.*
(PASS).give just to Sylvia Jasamen or Sikap
Just give it to Sylvia, Jasamen or Sikap.

A less common alternative is for the conjunction to occur between each pair of constituents in the series:

- (8.251) *nini tah bapa tah nandé*
grandfather or father or mother
grandfather or father or mother

8.4.2 SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS

Subordinating conjunctions connect two clauses in such a way that one becomes a constituent of the other. Semantically, the subordinate clause typically expresses a relation of time, reason, purpose, result or condition, qualifying the main clause. Structurally, main clauses may be interrogative or imperative, as well as declarative; by contrast, subordinate clauses are restricted to declarative mood. Distributionally, most subordinate clauses may either precede or follow the main clause. Various positional limitations affecting both subordinating clauses and certain subordinating conjunctions will be indicated below.

For their part, the subordinating conjunctions are mostly single words, though some phrasal forms and particular combinations of conjunctions also occur. Minor variations in form are not uncommon. Etymologically, some conjunctions are clearly derived from verbs (e.g. *erkité-kitéken*, *iban* and *perbahan(ken)*, all meaning 'because'), whilst others display

obvious nominal origin (e.g. Set I time conjunctions in §8.4.2.4). Forms which also function as prepositions are indicated by '(+Prep)' in the lists below; see also §4.2. The subordinating conjunctions in Karo are grouped below according to their broad semantic fields.

8.4.2.1 REASON

The following conjunctions all mean 'because, for the reason that, on account of, since':

sebap

erkitéken, erkité-kitéken (+Prep)

sebap erkitéken

ban, iban, perban, perbahan, perbahanken (= made, caused by) (+Prep)

dosa (the subordinate clause precedes the main clause)

When a subordinate clause expressing reason precedes a main clause, the latter may be introduced by (*é*) *maka* 'then'.

- (8.252) *Meriah kal kuakap i jénda, sebap ia perjagar-jagar.*
 happy very I.feel at here because he jovial
 I feel very much at home here, because he is a jovial fellow.
- (8.253) *Lanai mbué terpan nakan perban enggo besur sitik*
 no.longer much ABIL.eat rice because already full a.little
mangani sagu.
 ACT.eat.ITER sago
 They weren't able to eat very much rice because they had already filled up on sago.
- (8.254) *Perbahanken aku la nggit man bana é maka ndelis ia.*
 because I NEG desire towards him so hang.self he
 Because I didn't love him, he hanged himself.
- (8.255) *Dosa paké maka rëh baruna.*
 because (PASS).use then come new.NMS
 On account of being used, it becomes newer. (a Karo riddle, the answer is: a track)

8.4.2.2 PURPOSE

The following conjunctions mean 'in order to, so that':

lako

guna

gelah, lah, segelah

maka (the subordinate clause follows the main clause)

Of these, *lako* and *guna* are only used when the subject of the subordinate clause is coreferential with an entity in the main clause (usually the Actor, or the possessor of the subject NP); the subject of the subordinate clause is thus omitted. If the subject of the subordinate clause does not refer to such a participant in the main clause, then *gelah* is selected instead. Furthermore, although it is not an absolute condition, *lako* and *guna* are

almost always followed by an active or intransitive verb in the subordinate clause. If that verb is passive, then *gelah* is again normally used.

- (8.256) *Ia erdahin asa bĕn lako ndungi dahin é.*
 he work until late.afternoon PURP ACT.finish work that
 He worked until late in the afternoon in order to finish the job.
- (8.257) *Guna njaga si é siasuhi me kucing.*
 PURP ACT.guard REL that we.keep EMPH cat
 To guard against that, we keep a cat.
- (8.258) *Tau sitik ayakken nandé Rasmi ah gelah itimaina aku.*
 go please (PASS).chase mother Rasmi that PURP PASS.wait.she I
 Run after Nande Rasmi (and tell her) to wait for me.
- (8.259) *Émaka pehulindu gasingku é gelah pagi*
 so (PASS).fix.you top.my that PURP tomorrow
ergasing ka aku ras ia.
 play.spinning.tops EMPH I with him
 So fix my spinning top so that I can play with him tomorrow.
- (8.260) *Taréken tanndu maka kucurcuri.*
 (PASS).put.forward hand.your PURP I.rinse
 Hold out your hands so that I can rinse them.

Clauses expressing negative purpose ('so that...not, lest') are introduced by the following combinations:

gelah ola (nai), lah ola

maka ola, maka lanai (subordinate follows main clause)

- (8.261) *Madin kam berkat, lah ola gelap.*
 better you depart PURP don't dark.ADV
 You'd better leave, so that you don't get home after dark.
- (8.262) *Iarihkenna me kuga perban gelah lanai ia*
 PASS.consult.they EMPH how (PASS).do PURP no.longer they
tertangkap kucing.
 ABIL.catch cat
 They deliberated about what they should do so that the cat would not be able to catch them.
- (8.263) *Ipasangna akalna, kuga maka ula itandai*
 PASS.apply.she intelligence.her how PURP don't PASS.know
kalak ia diberu.
 people she female
 She thought hard about what she should do so that people would not know she was a woman.

8.4.2.3 CONSEQUENCE

Subordinate clauses expressing a consequence or result always follow the main clause. They are introduced by one of the following:

- | | | |
|--|---------------------|------------------------------------|
| | <i>(é) maka(na)</i> | as a result, (so...) that |
| | <i>piah</i> | until, to the extent that, so that |
| | <i>séh ngayak</i> | until |
- (8.264) *Kai nari man timanta maka lenga kita berkat?*
 what more for waiting.our that not.yet we leave
 What else is it that we are waiting for, that we have not yet left?
- (8.265) *Rempet ia guling é maka mis maté.*
 suddenly he fall.down and so directly die
 Suddenly he fell down and died.
- (8.266) *Mbuésa pupuk piah maté sinuan-sinuan.*
 much.too fertilizer so.that die plants
 Too much fertilizer had been applied with the result that the plants died.
- (8.267) *Jé makana bengkuang é ijemurken séh ngayak kerah.*
 and then pandanus that PASS.dry until dry
 Next the pandanus is dried in the sun until it is dry.

A clause introduced by *(é) maka(na)* is often found preceded by a clause expressing reason or time. Although formally resembling co-subordinating clauses (§8.4.3) in having pairs such as 'because...then...' and 'when/after...then...', the second clause in such instances is in fact analysed as the main clause, because of the potential for deletion of *(é) maka(na)* in such contexts:

- (8.268) *Perbahanken la lit sén (makana) ia jadi kalak*
 because not BE money (then) he become person
mindo-mindo.
 ACT.ask-ACT.ask
 Because he had no money (then) he became a beggar.

8.4.2.4 TIME

Karo has many conjunctions expressing temporal relations between two clauses. On structural grounds they fall into two sets, as follows:

Set I: these all mean 'when' or 'while':

janah, anah
dingen
iher
atur
taren

These all convey that two actions occur simultaneously. *Janah* and *dingen* are used when the same actors are involved in different actions; *atur* and *taren* are not so constrained. (The data for *iher* are insufficient on this point). The words in this set differ from all other

conjunctions in that when the subject of the subordinate clause they introduce is realised by a personal pronoun, then the enclitic form of that pronoun is attached to the conjunction:

- (8.269) *Banci kuturiken anahta erdalin.*
 can I.relate while.we walk
 I can tell you about it as we walk.
- (8.270) *Dingenndu lawes kari baba énda.*
 while.you go later (PASS).carry this
 When you go later, take this with you.
- (8.271) *Tarenndu ersuri man gia aku lebé.*
 while.you comb.hair eat SOF I first
 While you're combing your hair I may as well eat.
- (8.272) *Tapi berngi aturku medem ideliskenna bana.*
 but night while.I sleep PASS.hang.he himself
 But at night while I was asleep he hanged himself.

Such syntactic behaviour points to the strongly nominal origins of such conjunctions, and is in fact analogous to the situation described for NPs when a noun head is modified by a Descriptive slot expounded by an independent clause, in which case any personal pronoun subject of the descriptive clause is 'advanced' and attached in enclitic form to the noun head (§4.1.5.5). For example:

- (8.273) *ingan kita jumpa ---> inganta jumpa*
 place we meet place.our meet
 the place where we meet, our meeting place

Constructions with *janah*, *dingen*, etc. could therefore be classed as a special set of temporal noun phrases. However, from a functional perspective they do resemble normal conjunctions, in that alternative, regular behaviour is attested in the following circumstances:

(i) when the subject of the subordinate clause is coreferential with the subject of the main clause, and thus omitted:

- (8.274) *Dingen ngogé aku man galuh.*
 while ACT.read I ACT.eat banana
 While reading I ate a banana.

(ii) when the subject of the subordinate clause is not pronominal, but simply a regular NP:

- (8.275) *Taren permandén erdahin i juma perbapan erjudi i kedé.*
 while mothers work in field fathers gamble in shop
 Whilst the women are at work in the fields, the menfolk gamble in the coffee shop.

Set II: these comprise the 'regular' conjunctions:

<i>paksa(na)</i>		while
<i>sanga(na)</i>	(+Prep)	while
<i>asum</i>		while
<i>asum paksana</i>		while
<i>tupung, nupung</i>		while, when
<i>muat</i>		on the point of, when about to

<i>tep-tep, tiap</i>		every time
<i>kidekah</i>	(+Prep)	as long as, whilst, during
<i>kinahun(na)</i>	(+Prep)	as long as, whilst, during
<i>opé, sopé, lopé</i> (optionally followed by <i>lenga or denga</i>)	(+Prep)	before
<i>kenca(na), enca</i>	(+Prep)	after
<i>bagé</i>		only after, just when
<i>maka</i>		only then
<i>jénari</i>		and then

The last two in the above list introduce a subordinate clause which follows but cannot precede the main clause.

- (8.276) *Ula talangi pintun sangana lit kalak i bas.*
don't (PASS).open door while BE person inside
Don't open the door while somebody is inside.
- (8.277) *Tupung ia erbahanca kuperdatéken kal tuhu.*
while he ACT.make.it I.observe EMPH real
While he was making it, I watched very attentively.
- (8.278) *Kutadingken sitik sén tep-tep aku ku jah.*
I.leave a.little money every I to there
I leave some money with them every time I go there.
- (8.279) *Kidekah aku nggeluh la pernah kunanami ntabeh.*
as.long.as I live not ever I.taste nice
As long as I've lived, I have never experienced a comfortable existence.
- (8.280) *Enca ia bayak, mesera kal me erkuanken ia.*
after he wealthy difficult EMPH EMPH address him
After he became wealthy, it was very difficult to speak to him.
- (8.281) *Bën wari maka ia lawes ku rumah.*
late.afternoon day only.then he go to house
Only when the day was drawing to a close did he return home.

Unlike regular conjunctions, *kenca* and *bagé* frequently occur as the second element in the clause they introduce:

- (8.282) *Dung kenca ibelaskenna kata-kata si é minter erkata*
finished after PASS.utter.she word-word REL that directly speak
lenggur rikut ras perkasna.
thunder join with lightning.its
After she had finished uttering these words, straightaway there was a roll of
thunder, accompanied by lightning.
- (8.283) *Terang bagé wari, kéké ia.*
bright only.when day get.up he
Only when it was light, did he get out of bed.

8.4.2.5 CONDITION

Conditional conjunctions include:

<i>asal</i>	provided that
<i>adi, di, adina, andé, ndé</i>	if, when
<i>kenca</i>	(second element in clause) if, whenever, supposing that
<i>adi...kenca</i>	if, whenever, supposing that
<i>bicara</i>	if, supposing that
<i>kuné, kuné kenca</i>	if (hypothetical)
<i>pala</i>	unless, if not, except that

Of these, *adi* is the most frequently used, and generally indicates a reasonable likelihood of occurrence:

- (8.284) *Adi pakéndu baju si é, gua pa pé*
if (PASS).wear.you dress REL that how PART EMPH
itawai kalak nge kam.
PASS.laugh.LOC people EMPH you
If you wear that dress, people will surely laugh at you.

- (8.285) *É, bapandu aku ndé bagé.*
well father.your I if like.that
Well then, I am to be regarded as your clan-father.

The meaning of *kenca* varies considerably, from statements of regularity ('whenever') to conjecture ('should it occur that'); only contextual reference can resolve its precise meaning:

- (8.286) *Kuinget kenca persekolahku, céda até naring*
I.remember whenever schooling.my broken heart only
ngiani pusuhku.
ACT.reside.LOC heart.my
Whenever I cast my mind back to my school days, I feel only disappointment in my heart.
- (8.287) *Maté kenca aku, rugi kal me tuhu, ari?*
die if I loss EMPH EMPH real CONF
If I should die, I would really lose out, wouldn't I?

Bicara, kuné and *kuné kenca* generally express more remote possibilities or hypothetical propositions:

- (8.288) *Bicara lit sénku mis kam kudahi.*
if BE money.my directly you I.visit
If I had some money, I would come and see you right away.
- (8.289) *Kuné kenca la terdahindu dahin é, kuga é?*
if supposing not ABIL.do.you work that how that
If by chance you couldn't do the job, what then?

Both *adi* and *bicara* can also function as topic markers (§7.4.5.3.5).

Pala can express either a negative condition ('if not, unless') or an extreme condition ('only in the event that...then...'):

- (8.290) *É kuga pa pé isuluh kami ninta, pala*
and how EMPH EMPH PASS.burn we say.we unless
iberéken kam kin melala mutiara!
PASS.give you EMPH many pearl
And no matter what, we'll set fire to it, we're telling you, unless you give us
lots of pearls!
- (8.291) *Pala enggo keru asamna erjudi, maka ia ku rumah*
unless already depleted stakes.his gamble then he to house
muati barang man dayanken.
ACT.take.ITER thing for be.sold
Only when he had used up all his gambling stakes, would he return home
and get things so that he could sell them for money.

8.4.2.6 CONCESSION

Meaning 'although, even though', the following conjunctions and combinations introduce subordinate clauses which always precede the main clause. The only exception to this distributional restriction are clauses introduced by *aminna (gia)*.

- pé* (occurs as the second element in the clause)
gia (occurs as the second element in the clause)
gia...pé
sekalgia
aminna, aminna...gia, amin sekali gia
anum...gia
anum...pé
- (8.292) *Merawa pé bapana la ibegikenna.*
angry though father.his not PASS.listen.he
Although his father was angry, he did not listen to him.
- (8.293) *Lit gia takal, lit gia tan ras nahé, adi la bo*
BE though head BE though hand and leg if not EMPH
lit badan la bo dorek.
BE body not EMPH can
You might have a head, you might have hands and legs, but if you haven't
got a body, you can't do it.
- (8.294) *La aku mbiar aminna ras bapana gia ia rēh.*
not I fear although with father.his though he come
I wasn't afraid, even though he came with his father.
- (8.295) *Gia megombang pé kalak, ola aténu céda.*
though arrogant though people don't heart.your broken
Even though some people might be arrogant towards you, don't be
discouraged.
- (8.296) *Aminna gia rusur ibualina aku, la kucidahken*
though always PASS.tell.tales.LOC.he I not I.show

ukurku kitik man bana.

heart.my small to him

Although he is always telling me far-fetched and fanciful stories, I never let him see my disappointment.

8.4.2.7 FACTUALNESS/NESCIENCE

The conjunction *maka(na)* 'that' introduces a clause which occurs as a complement of a higher clause whose predicator expresses knowledge, belief, a statement or request (see §8.2.3, §8.2.5 and §8.2.9):

(8.297) *Ietehndu kang maka Prananta enggo erjabu?*
(PASS).know.you PART that Prananta already marry
Did you know that Prananta was married?

(8.298) *Nina bibi maka itimaina kam kari ku tiga.*
say aunt that PASS.wait.she you later to market
Aunty said she would wait to go to the market with you.

Parallelling the use of *maka*, which introduces propositions which are known, believed, stated or hoped to be factual, the conjunction *entah* 'whether, if' introduces propositions whose truth or reality is yet to be established:

(8.299) *Sungkun sitik kaka, entah i rumah kin bapa.*
(PASS).ask please sister whether at home PART father
Would you mind asking older sister whether Father is at home?

(8.300) *Cuba turikenndu entah tersampati kami kam.*
try (PASS).relate.you whether ABIL.help we you
Do tell us whether we can help you.

8.4.3 CO-SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS

There are a handful of constructions in Karo involving a pair of terms linking two syntactically equivalent constituents, neither of which has grammatical or semantic precedence over the other. In addition to connecting two clauses, they can link a variety of elements at the phrase level.

8.4.3.1 *sung...sung... = song...song... SOMETIMES...SOMETIMES...*

This pair can link clauses, NPs in apposition, descriptive, locative and manner phrases:

(8.301) *Song rēh ia song lang.*
sometimes come he sometimes not
Sometimes he comes, sometimes he doesn't.

(8.302) *Lit me rusur si man kuitenna, song siding*
BE EMPH always REL for moving.his sometimes trap

wili, song siding belkih.

boar sometimes trap deer

There is always something that needs to be shifted, sometimes it's the boar trap, sometimes it's the deer trap.

- (8.303) *Ngerana ia alu sora song terantusi song lahang.*
 speak he with voice sometimes ABIL.understand sometimes not
 He spoke with a voice that was intelligible some of the time, and at other times not.
- (8.304) *Song jénda song jah.*
 sometimes here sometimes there
 Now here, now there.

8.4.3.2 *subuk...*(FOLLOWED BY ANY ONE OF THE FOLLOWING:)

subuk... or *ras(ken)...* or *(en)tah...* or
bagé pé... or *la ndobah...* or *bali...*
 = both...and...; (n)either...(n)or...; whether...or...

Elements connected in this construction are generally NPs in apposition, as well as locative and time adjuncts. Strings of up to four items have been recorded.

- (8.305) *...man kerina jelma si nterem, subuk ia kalak mehuli,*
 to all person REL many both he person good
bali ia kalak la mehuli.
 and he person not good
 ...towards everybody, whether they are good people or whether they are not.
- (8.306) *...sebab keluarga kami, subuk senina kami entah pé turang*
 because family our whether sister our or even brother
kami, la lit si nampatisa.
 our not BE REL ACT.help.her
 ...because in our family, whether our sisters or our brothers, there was nobody who helped her.
- (8.307) *...kerna kesibukenndu subuk ibas dahinndu subuk ibas*
 concerning busy.NMS.your whether in work or in
rumah tanggandu.
 household.your
 ...as regards your being busy, either at work or at home.
- (8.308) *...man ingetenndu i jah subuk suari rasken bergi.*
 for remembering.your at there both day and night
 ...for you to remember there, by day and by night.
- (8.309) *É maka ia imalangi kalak, subuk ginemgem, subuk*
 and so he PASS.respect people whether followers or

guru-guru bage pé raja-raja mbelin.
 medicine.men thus also chiefs big
 And so he was accorded popular respect, not only by his followers, but also
 by the medicine men, and by the great chiefs.

8.4.3.3 *bali...bali...* BOTH...AND...

Literally, *bali* means 'same'. This pair links NPs in apposition:

- (8.310) *Ngidah si é, bali si medianak bali si metua kerina banci*
 ACT.see REL this both REL child and REL old all can
nggejapken perjuangan kemerdekaan.
 ACT.feel struggle freedom.our
 Seeing this, everybody – both young and old alike – can feel the struggle for
 our independence.
- (8.311) *...i kalak nari, bali ia sinursur Simbelang Pinggel bali lang.*
 at person from both he descendent Simbelang Pinggel or not
 ...from people, both those descended from Simbelang Pinggel and those
 who were not.

8.4.3.4 *rěh...-na, rěh...-na = er...-na, er...-na* THE MORE..., THE MORE...

From a number of perspectives this correlative construction is of particular interest in this description of Karo. It mostly occurs as a 'double-barrelled' construction corresponding to English 'the more...the more...':

- (8.312) *Ia rěh dekahna rěh bayakna.*
 he come long.time.na come rich.na
 He gets wealthier and wealthier.
- (8.313) *Rěh dekahna rěh kelekna pinakit é.*
 come long.time.na come serious.na illness that
 The illness became more and more serious.
- (8.314) *Rěh dekahna Appung Barus ku sapo rěh seksekna*
 come long.time.na Appung Barus to hut come continuous.na
ngereng biang perburu é.
 bark dog hunter that
 The closer Appung Barus came to the hut, the steadier grew the barking of
 the hunting dogs.

Such examples may be analysed as consisting of an NP (or, as in example (8.314), a clause functionally equivalent to an NP) accompanied by a pair of intransitive clauses. These intransitive clauses in turn each contain a predicate expounded by *rěh* 'come' plus a subject expounded by an adjective suffixed with *-na*. (Most frequently the adjective in the first clause is *dekah* 'long time'.) The precise identity of *-na* cannot be definitively established. On the one hand, it appears to be a case of a third person possessive pronoun, coreferential with the 'main' NP, which in turn is analogous to a left- or right-dislocated nominal (§7.7). Against this conclusion, however, is the fact that first and second person possessive pronouns do not

occur in place of this *-na*, as would be expected if the 'main' NP is non-third-person. Alternatively, to regard *-na* here as a nominaliser (§3.7.8) is also unsatisfactory, in that the relationship between the (dislocated) 'main' NP and the adjective-as-subject does have clear possessive overtones of the sort described for dislocated nominals.

Further interesting complexities emerge in respect of the following formal variation on the basic structure:

(8.315) *Ia erdekahna erbayakna.*
 he more.time more.rich
 He gets wealthier and wealthier.

(8.316) *Erdekahna ergelapna wari é.*
 more.time more.dark day that
 The day grew darker and darker.

What appears to have happened here is that the basic structure has become fossilised, accompanied by processes of '-h deletion' and metathesis, resulting in *rěh* being re-expressed as prefix *er-*, attached to the adjective with *-na*. This configuration now lends itself to reanalysis of the 'main' NP as subject of a pair of serialised intransitive verbs, which are derived from adjectives by a special intransitivising simulfix with inchoative meaning.

That the construction with *rěh* is more basic than its counterpart with *er-*, is based upon analogous evidence from neighbouring languages:

(8.317) a. (Simalungun Batak) *Ro dokah-ni ro bayak-ni.*
 b. (Toba Batak) *Ro lelang-na ro mora-na.*
 come long.time.ni/na come rich.ni/na
 He gets wealthier and wealthier.

In neither of these languages has the construction undergone any variation in the direction of replacement of *ro* 'come' by an intransitivising prefix. Moreover, in modern Karo, although both forms are commonly used, only the *rěh* form is found in the 'single-barrelled' construction:

(8.318) *Gundari rěh buma aku.*
 now come fat.na I
 Nowadays I am putting on more weight.

Although, as shown above, different analyses need to be invoked to describe the syntactic structures which give rise to this correlative construction, in practical, functional terms, native speakers appear to be quite unaware of these differences, frequently 'mixing and matching' the two forms:

(8.319) *Linur ras perkasna erhantuna rěh dekahna.*
 earthquake and lightning more.violent come long.time.na
 The earthquake and lightning became more and more violent.

A further formal variant of this construction exists, *tambah...-na er-...-na...*, probably reflecting influence from Indonesian:

(8.320) *Tambah dekahna ersersema daging kucing é.*
 more long.time.na more.wet body cat that
 As time went on the cat's body got wetter and wetter.

8.4.4 SENTENCE CONNECTIVES

In addition to the conjunctions described above, which serve to link clauses in various ways, the following connectives serve to provide cohesion between larger units of discourse. They tend to correspond with paragraph breaks:

<i>tapi</i>	but
<i>é, maka, é maka, jé, jénari</i>	and then, and so, next
<i>jadi</i>	so, therefore
<i>kenca é, encé, encagé</i>	after that, next
<i>tama dekahna</i>	after a while
<i>bagé (ka) pé</i>	nevertheless

- (8.321) *É maka rungu me anak beru, senina ras kalimbubu,*
and so deliberate EMPH *anak beru senina and kalimbubu*
kuga bahan kerna si Naktaki.
how (PASS).make about title Naktaki
And so the *anak beru*, the *senina* and the *kamimbubu* all sat down to deliberate as to what might be done in respect of Naktaki.
- (8.322) *Jadi lawes me ia ndahi tempulak.*
so go EMPH he ACT.visit civet.cat
So off he went to visit the civet cat.

8.5 PARATAXIS

It is very common in Karo for two independent clauses to be combined in a single sentence without the use of an explicit connective. This conjoining into the one sentence is signalled phonologically by a shorter than usual intersentential pause, and orthographically by a comma instead of a full stop. Semantically, such paratactic constructions mostly involve relations of temporal sequence, condition, reason or antithesis:

- (8.323) *Tamat kam pagi erjabu kita.*
graduate you tomorrow marry we
When you finish your studies we will get married.
- (8.324) *É maka tedis me si Naktaki, ngandung ia, berkat ia,*
and so stand EMPH title Naktaki weep he leave he
itadingkenna orangtuana ras agina kitik-kitik denga.
PASS.leave.he parents.his and sister little-little still
And so Naktaki stood up, he wept, he departed, he left behind his parents and his sister who was still small.
- (8.325) *Idahna kita maté kita.*
(PASS).see.he we die we
If he sees us, we're dead.
- (8.326) *Terbunuh kam manuk si gurdi-gurdi enggo kam salih*
ABIL.kill you bird title *gurdi-gurdi* already you change

jadi raja ibas kuta énda.
 become chief in village this
 If you can kill the *gurdi-gurdi* bird, you will become the chief of this village.

(8.327) *Ula nangkihi tangga é, ndabuh kam kari!*
 don't (PASS).climb ladder that fall you later
 Don't climb that ladder, you'll fall!

(8.328) *Aku la ku juma, bangger nandéku.*
 I not to field sick mother.my
 I'm not going to work, my mother is ill.

(8.329) *Lompat ku jah, lompat ku jé.*
 jump to there jump to here
 It was jumping this way and that way.

Conjoining of phrase-level constituents without a conjunction is also possible, when the two elements have the same syntactic function and contrast semantically as opposites or alternatives:

(8.330) *Tapi adi nandé bapana nuruhsa sèh kal kiatna.*
 but if mother father.his ACT.order.him until EMPH lazy.his
 But if his mother or father tell him to do something he is very lazy.

(8.331) *Muas melihé banci nge kutahan.*
 thirsty hungry can EMPH I.endure
 I can put up with being hungry and thirsty.

(8.332) *Lanai ieteh mbiar, suari berngi ku médan perang.*
 no.longer PASS.know fear day night to field battle
 They knew no fear, day and night going off to battle.

(8.333) *kiam kahé kolu*
 run downstream upstream
 running upstream and downstream

(8.334) *...gelah sieteh ndauh deherna perkadé-kadénta.*
 so.that we.know far near.NMS relationship.our
 ...so that we know the extent of our kin ties.

(8.335) *Lawes ia dua telu berngi.*
 go he two three night
 He went away for two or three nights.

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NOTES:

1. Karo publications which have been mentioned in the main text are listed in the References preceding this Bibliography.
2. In addition to works by Karo authors, this list includes several publications of Karo texts recorded by Dutch scholars, and a number of religious publications in the Karo language.

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