

**Sticking To The Track: Cohesion in  
Kara Narrative**

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10 Feb 1994

Paper to be presented at Leiden for the  
International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics.

[Not for distribution until Jan. 1995]

# **Sticking To The Track: Cohesion In Kara Narrative**

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### **0.0 Purpose**

The larger purpose of this paper is to explore and describe cohesion in Kara<sup>1</sup> narrative. Two subgoals are: (a) to identify the normal means of tracking participants in Kara narrative discourse, and (b) for myself, to learn to recognize and become more appreciative of the stylistic and grammatical devices employed by Kara story-tellers.

In the paper we first present a short overview of Kara grammar. After this, Kara participant tracking mechanisms and rhetorical devices are described in general. Examples from a single traditional narrative accompany each of these generalizations. The full text appears in the appendix.

### **1.0 Typological Overview**

Kara is an Austronesian language which Beaumont (1972) classifies in the Northern Subgroup of the Patpatar-Tolai family. More recently Malcom Ross has assigned it to a group termed the Lavongai-Nalik network (Ross, 1988, Fig 11). In this five language group, Nalik is Kara's closest relative.

## 1.1 Word Order

Kara is an SVO language with fairly rigid word order as far as the core grammatical relations are concerned.

Peripheral arguments appear as prepositional phrases.

	SUBJ		VERB	OBJ	PREP	
1) Na	Xipang	taxa	xalum	nano	(ti la	latan).
pnm	Bushman	CNT	see	you	from	LOC bush
	The Bushman is watching you (from the bush).					

Noun phrase modifiers expressing quantity, possession, and deixis are typically postnominal and occur in the stated order. A small selection are prenominal. These are: the pluralizers lu, nu, mu, ro and maana and the forms saxa 'a certain one', tang 'really large/huge', fomirak 'very small/tiny (singular)', miraxan 'tiny (plural)'. Degree adverbs or intensifiers, like the modifiers, occur directly after the item they modify.

	TOPIC		ADJ	INTENS	DEM	SUBJ	VERB	OBJ
2) A	<u>maana</u>	xipang	<u>modak</u>	<u>paaliu</u>	<u>ve</u> ,	ri	xalum	nano.
cnm	all	bushman	small	very	there	they	see	you
	All the very small (young) bushmen (over) there see you.							

Relative clauses follow the noun they modify.

			REL. CLAUSE					
3) A	<u>maana</u>	xipang,	<u>aava</u>	<u>modak</u> ,	ri	taxa	xalum	nano.
cnm	all	bushman	who	small	they	CNT	see	you
	All the bushmen, who are small, are watching you. (All the smaller bushmen are watching you.)							

## 1.2 Interrogatives

Both polar and non-polar interrogative utterances are characterized by a final rising intonation and possibly an

utterance final question word, although the question word is not strictly confined to this final position.

#### Kara Interrogatives

<u>aso</u>	"what"	<u>faa</u>	"where"
<u>senaso</u>	"why" (for what reason)	<u>malaafaa</u>	"how"
<u>xenaso</u>	"why" (for what purpose)	<u>nase'</u>	"who"
<u>laso</u>	"when"		

	TOPIC	SUBJ	VERB	INTERROG	
4) A	mu	xipang	ri	waan	faa?
	cnm pl	bushman	they	be/stay	where
	The bushmen, where are they?				

or 5) Faa nari mu xipang?<sup>2</sup>  
 where they pl bushman  
 Where are the bushmen?

6) A mataa pave nase'?  
 cnm man there who  
 Who is the man there?

### 1.3 Aspect and Modality

Morphemes encoding aspect and modality, including negation, immediately precede the main verb. These are free morphemes which always co-occur with a following verb. They may have originated from verbal forms historically but they show no relationship to verbal forms existing today. They are not subject to the same sort of affixation as verbs. We consider such pre-verbal forms to be auxiliaries (AUX). By extension the term is also used to refer to the pre-verbal slot in the clause/sentence where these auxiliary morphemes occur. Some of these auxiliaries can be compounded. (See section III of the following Table.) Expression of motion

with a purpose (termed here Purposive) is one common type of auxiliary. Additionally some verbal prefixes have aspectual/modal connotations. These are also included in the table below.

### 1.3.1 TABLE OF AUX and Other Modal Forms

#### Ia. Aspectual

fo	Perfect	PRF
pibek/xaveak	Recent Perfect	RPR
lo	Perfect of Persistent Situation	PPS
mo	Discontinued Perfect	DPF
taxa	Continuous	CNT
fuuna	Habitual	HAB
fe-	Inchoative	IN
reduplication of:		
punctiliar verb	Iterative	IT
nonpunctiliar	Durative	DU
modifier	Characteristic	CH

#### Ib. Modal

pi	Negation	NEG
muta	Imperative Negation	IND
taa	Irrealis	IRR
tamana	Certainty	CER
fe/maa	Purposive	PUR.go/co ~
ula...tama	Possibility	PSB
naak	Probability	PRB
tamo	Conditional	CND
rao	Intention	INT

## II. Order

<u>PreTop/Subj</u>	<u>NP</u>	<u>AUX1</u>	<u>AUX2</u>	<u>Vprefix</u>	<u>Verb</u>
Naak		taa	pi	fe-	
Tamo		taxa	lo	redup	
Rao		fo	mo		
Ula .....	tama		tamana		
	fuuna	fe/maa			

## III. Combined Forms

taa pife V	will not V
taa fo V	would have V
taxalo V	keep (kept) on V-ing
fo mo V	had used to V
pi redup-V	never V

- AUX
- 7) A    mu   xipang   ri    maa    xalum   nano.  
       cnm pl   bushman   they   PUR.co   see    you  
       The bushmen came in order to see you.

In this example the morpheme maa 'come in the direction of the speaker for the purpose of' can be replaced by fe 'go away from the speaker for the purpose of' depending on the deictic orientation of the action. Both are Purposive.

## PERFECT

- |      | TOPIC                      | SUBJ    | AUX  | VERB | OBJ         |
|------|----------------------------|---------|------|------|-------------|
| 8) A | mu                         | xipang  | ri   | fo   | xalum nano. |
|      | cnm pl                     | bushman | they | PRF  | see you     |
|      | The bushmen have seen you. |         |      |      |             |

## NEGATION

- AUX
- 9) A    mu   xipang   ri    pife   xalum   nano.  
       cnm pl   bushman   they   NEG   see    you  
       The bushmen don't see you.

	AUX	VERB	DEM
10)	Muta	sangas	pave!
	INO	walk	there
	Don't walk there!		

### Compound Auxiliary

				AUX		
11)	A	mu	xipang	ri	<u>taxa-lo</u>	xalum nano.
	cnm	pl	bushman	they	CNT -PPS	see you
	The bushmen keep on watching you.					

### 1.3.2 Non-AUX Aspect and Modality

As mentioned previously certain verbal grammatical processes have aspectual/modal implications. Inchoative, iterative, durative and stative functions are all indicated by verbal prefixes. In addition, the third person singular subject markers, i and a, distinguish imperfective aspect and perfective aspect respectively.

The probability modality marker is a sentence adverb occurring at the clause boundary (12). (Usually this is the initial boundary, but occasionally it occurs at the final one.) Time phrases (13) and the conditional modality adverb tamo (14) also typically occur clause initially. These are clause level operators having the whole clause in their scope, whereas the auxiliaries subsume only the verb phrase.

			TOPIC		AUX		
12)	<u>Naak</u> ,	a	mu	xipang	ri	taa	maa xalum nano.
	PRB	cnm	pl	bushman	they	IRR PUR.co	see you
	Probably the bushmen will come to see you.						

	TIME PHRASE		Topic		VERB		OBJ
13)	<u>La maana leaf</u> ,		nari		buk	xalum	nano.
	LOC all	afternoon	they		like/want	see	you
	Every afternoon, they like/want to see you.						

- 14) Tamo ri filimaan, no taa xalum nari.  
 CND they come you IRR see them  
 If they come, you will see them.

#### 1.4 Number of Participants and Pronouns

Plurality or number (including dual and trial) may be expressed by pronouns or by pluralizer morphemes which precede the noun in the noun phrase. When gender is important the word for 'man/male' or 'woman/female' is used as the appropriate nominal or modifier. One of the pluralizers, lu, is only used with the vernacular term for woman/female.

- |     | TOPIC                                   |           | SUBJ   | VERB |         | SUBJ        | VERB                 |
|-----|---|-----------|--------|------|---------|-------------|----------------------|
| 15) | Nari,                                   | <u>lu</u> | tefin, | ri   | nai     | xalum a     | mu tomexan taxa tia. |
|     | they                                    | pl        | woman  | they | sit see | cnm pl male | CNT dance            |
|     | The women sit watching the men dancing. |           |        |      |         |             |                      |

The pronominal system<sup>3</sup> distinguishes singular, dual, trial and plural. All nonsingular first person forms further distinguish whether or not the hearer is included. One set of pronouns is used to encode both Topics and Syntactic Objects, e.g. nari in examples (14) or (15), or nano in examples (7) or (8).

A second set of pronouns are reduced forms of the Topic-Object set. We refer to these as Syntactic Subject pronouns. We analyze them as part of the verb phrase but not as prefixed to the verb. Normally, the syntactic Subject and the Topic are co-referential.

- |     | TOPIC                                    |           | SUBJ          | VERB      |      | OBJ                 |
|-----|--|-----------|---------------|-----------|------|---------------------|
| 16) | A  | <u>mu</u> | <u>xipang</u> | <u>ri</u> | taxa | xalum a maanu pave. |
|     | cnm pl                                   | bushman   | they          | CNT       | see  | cnm bird there      |
|     | The bushmen are watching the bird there. |           |               |           |      |                     |

This example illustrates the occurrence of a full noun phrase as Topic. When the identity of the Topic is contextually given information, it is encoded with a Topic-Object pronoun instead of a full noun phrase.

	TOPIC	SUBJ	VERB	OBJ	
17)	<u>Nari</u> ,	ri	taxa xalum a	maanu	pave.
	They.TOP	they	CNT see	cnm bird	there
	They are watching the bird there.				

Another construction is observed when the Topic is co-referential with the syntactic Object but is not co-referential with the Subject. In this case, the Object is fronted and is thematic in that it is what is being spoken about. This thematicized Object may (in turn) be followed by: 1) a Topical noun phrase, 2) a pronoun from the Subject set or 3) a Topic noun phrase and Subject pronoun. Such thematized or topicalized Objects are co-referenced by an Object clitic that occurs following the verb.

First or third person singular Objects, whether animate or not, are normally marked with a verb phrase final clitic (18). It is also possible to use a pronoun from the Topic-Object set if special or contrastive emphasis is desired (19).

	TOPIC		SUBJ	VERB	OBJ
18)	A <u>maanu</u>	pave	(xo), ri	taxa xalum-g.	
	cnm bird	there	CRS they	CNT see	-it
	That bird (now), they are watching it.				

19)	A <u>maanu</u>	pave, a	rafalak	taxa xalum	<u>nane</u> .
	cnm bird	there	cnm children	CNT see	him
	That bird, the children are watching him.				
	(They have a special interest in that particular bird.)				

Possession (both alienable and inalienable) and other case markers make heavy use of the non-singular portion of the Subject pronominal set as person marking suffixes.

Certain members of the Topic-Object pronoun set are employed as conjunctive devices within the noun phrase. For example:

20) nemaame Beno  
idlex Beno  
I and Beno (the two of us)

21) na Xipang narie Raivung  
pnm Bushman 3dl Fruit.bat  
'The Bushman And The Fruit Bat' (Title of our text)

## 2.0 KARA NARRATIVE COHESIVE DEVICES

### 2.1 Topics and Topicalization

Before talking about topicalization we need to clarify what we mean by the term "topic". In Kara we consider "topic" to be a formal syntactic position in the sentence. The Kara Topic establishes what a sentence is about. This may be co-referential with the Subject, the Object or some peripheral argument. As a general rule the Topic and the syntactic Subject are co-referential. When the Topic is not the Subject, it is always co-referenced by a pronominal form or a promotion suffix (CRF) at the appropriate place in the sentence. Frequently the Topic noun phrase is followed by the form xo, which indicates the current relevancy of the Topic argument within the immediate section of the narrative.

### 2.1.1 Pronominal Tracking

When tracking participants the Kara speaker has at his disposal the two sets of pronouns which we have referred to as Topic-Object pronouns and Subject pronouns. When a Topic is introduced or re-introduced, it is usually indicated by a noun phrase and is frequently followed by a Subject pronoun. After introduction, a Topic-Object pronoun at the beginning of the following sentence is used to maintain the Topic. Although, if the speaker considers the Topic well established, he may omit the Topic pronoun step and skip straight to using a Subject pronoun.

#### 22) Text: Sentence 8

8] La saxa yaan xo, na Xipang bangut xo  
la saxa yaan xo na Xipang bangut xo  
LOC one day CRS pnm Bushman ignorant CRS  
One day the ignorant Bushman

sangas laak saa pe lana uma sina.  
sangas laak saa pe la-na uma si-na  
walk go.up PERM GLOC LOC-3s garden POS-3s  
walked up through his garden.

#### 23) Text: Sentence 9

9a] A kaalumet moxo,  
a kaalum-et moxo  
3s.R look-ac.go AcMo  
He looked about

9b] e Q fexalum moxo a malagan aave e a kuus,  
e fe- xalum moxo a malagan aa-ve e a kuus  
conj IN- see AcMo cnm carving REL-ANA conj 3s.R say  
and noticed that malagan carving and he said,

(Quote omitted)

In the above example the Bushman is well established as Topic. Sentence 9 begins with a Subject pronoun and the conjoined clause with zero marking. In subsequent, sequential clauses, a Subject pronoun or no pronoun at all

is employed (as above). However, the main clause of a sentence with a previously established Topic will always have at least a Subject pronoun preceding the verb phrase of the clause. In an event chain continuing the same Topic/Subject, when another argument is introduced in the Direct Object position, a Topic pronoun in the following clause re-establishes the previous Topic referent.

#### 24) Text: Sentence 16

16a] A xuus xo nari nabe',  
 a xuus xo na-ri nabe'  
 3s.R tell CRS TP-3pl D.near  
 He told them this:

16Qa] "Ne xel faxuvul nami talo taara taa faxuvul  
 ne xel fa-xuvul na-mi talo taara taa fa-xuvul  
 is call CS-together TP-2pl so.that iplin IRR CS-together  
 "I called you together so that we could gather together

16Qb] xaataara ngan a xaravaat nanabe' i taxa mati."  
 xaa-taara ngan a xaravaat na-nabe' i taxa mati  
 BEN-iplin eat cnm hero TP-D.near 3s CNT lie  
 for us to eat this giant/hero lying here."

#### Sentence 17

17a] Nane faavai xuluna lu tefin  
 na-ne faa-vai xulu-na lu tefin  
 TP-3s CS2-mumu.leaf on -3s pl woman  
 He gave the women (the work of collecting) some leaves  
 (Lit: he caused leaves on the women)

Sentence 16 is a part of an ongoing event chain. Within the quote Waana refers to 'you all', 'us' and the 'mighty hero'. When the event line resumes, the Topic pronoun nane is necessary to bring Waana back into prominence.

#### 2.1.2 Topic and Subject

We have mentioned that the Topic and syntactic Subject are usually co-referential and that both positions may be occupied in the same sentence. When the sentence has a

noun phrase in the Topic position the presence or absence of a Subject pronoun appears to be contingent upon several factors. A sentence will have a Subject pronoun accompanying the Topic noun phrase:

1) when the Topic has no anaphoric referent

or when the Topic noun phrase referent has most recently appeared in a nonTopic noun phrase [i.e. as a Direct Object or as the Object of a Preposition].

26) Text: Sentence 14

14a] A       ting, ting  
      a       ting ting  
      3s.R hit hit  
      He tapped and tapped (the garamut),

14b] e     mu xipang bangut ri savat paan fetaxapus.  
      e     mu xipang bangut ri savat paan fe-taxapus  
      conj pl bushman ignorant 3pl arrive go IN-finish  
      and the ignorant bushmen went on arriving until  
          they were all there.

In clause 14b the ignorant bushmen have not previously appeared in the narrative and so the Topic noun phrase is accompanied by a Subject pronoun.

2) when the Topic is modified by other material [i.e. prepositional phrase, relative clause, verb phrase] and is separated from the Subject position.

3) in Object complements.

This set of generalizations/rules<sup>4</sup> has been drawn from stories by some of the most proficient Kara story-tellers. However, not every Kara story-teller has internalized this same set of rules. One particular story-teller habitually includes a Subject pronoun in a sentence with a Topic noun phrase only if that noun phrase is a third person group, without regard to any previous appearance as a Topic.

Another uses Subject pronouns frequently, but not consistently, in clauses with imperfective aspect. Even accomplished story-tellers occasionally use Subject pronouns in places other than those indicated by the generalizations listed. No consistent reasons for such use have been able to be determined.

### 2.1.3 The Initial Sequence of a Narrative

#### 27) Text: Title: Na Xipang Narie Raivung<sup>5</sup> The Bushman and the Fruit Bat

It is important to remember that a Kara story starts with the title. Usually the title names the one or two most important animate characters (Spirit beings are typically NOT mentioned in titles). The title, then, is the first instance of topic establishment. Having presented the main characters, the story-teller usually then sets the stage with an opening line which 1) gives a general time reference, 2) again mentions the active character(s), and 3) establishes the situational matrix in which at least the first scene takes place. The parameters of the matrix are not simply time and place. They typically establish some prevalent condition or activity which is relevant for the rest of the narrative. A typical first sentence would go something like this:

On a certain day, a boy (xo) went up to the bush to hunt.

Such an opening sentence would establish the bush as the global setting, and hunting as the macro-event within the

situational matrix of the narrative. Subsequent events occur under the umbrella of, or because of, this macro-event. The first sentence is very often perfective in aspect and appears to be the first event, albeit a very general one, of the narrative. Subsequent sentences in the introduction are typically imperfective in aspect and contain background information about either the Topic or the macro-event.

28) Text: Sentence 1

1] A saxa yaan xo na Xipang bangut xo waan  
 a saxa yaan xo na Xipang bangut xo waan  
 cnm one day CRS pnm Bushman ignorant CRS stay  
 One day the ignorant Bushman was

pe la bina sina.  
 pe la bina si- na  
 GLOC LOC village POS-3s  
 in his area of the village.

29) Text: Sentence 2

2a] Nane ve toxa na fut pe lamina xavil sina  
 na-ne ve toxa na fut pe la- mi- na xavil si- na  
 TP-3s ANA have cnm banana GLOC LOC-back-3s section POS-3s  
 He had bananas at the back of his section

2b] e na Raivung vulai fuuna fenau a fut sina.  
 e na Raivung vulai fuuna fenau a fut si- na  
 conj pnm Fruit.bat always HAB steal cnm banana POS.3s  
 and Fruit bat always used to steal (was forever stealing)  
 his bananas.

In the example from the Kara narrative above Raivung 'Fruit Bat' is actually a somewhat minor character. The presupposed spirit-being, represented by the malagan<sup>6</sup> mask, is actually the energizing force. The Bat, mask and stump are simply his agents. The garden is the primary setting and Waana's presence in the area is the general condition or macro-event. Sentence 2 begins with a Topic pronoun plus an

anaphoric reference marker because two individuals have been identified in the title but only one has been referred to so far. That one is still the topic of clause 2a.

Very frequently secondary characters or supporting objects are brought into the narrative at this point. The prime characters of the initial sentence are always introduced as a specific person or group of people and frequently are named. The vast majority of the time they are encoded as syntactic Topics. Occasionally, however, they appear as Direct Objects.

Within the introduction to a narrative the principals and supporting characters are usually introduced as Topics. Subsequently, new characters are typically introduced as peripheral arguments or as Direct Objects of a verb of perception. Once introduced, they may immediately become Topics. In the following example 'women' becomes the immediate topic after introduction in the prepositional phrase.

30) Text: Sentence 17

17a] Nane faavai                xuluna      lu   tefin  
na-ne faa-vai                xulu -na   lu   tefin  
TP-3s CS2-mumu.leaf on      -3s pl woman  
He gave the women (the work of collecting) some leaves  
(Lit: he caused leaves on the women)

17b] e      lu   tefin   moxo   ri   fafet      tang putuna wai      aave  
e      lu   tefin   moxo   ri   faf -et      tang putu-na wai      aa-ve  
conj pl woman AcMo   3pl mumu-ac.go huge head-3s tree REL-ANA  
and the women then mumued (cooked in an earth oven)  
that huge head of the tree (stump).

Important supporting objects/props, on the other hand, are introduced as Direct Objects, usually as the noun "thing"

modified by a prepositional phrase or Relative clause. Supporting objects or "things" are rarely encoded as Topics. The one exception to this generalization about the introduction of participants is the case of supporting groups, i.e. villagers, people, bushmen. These large third person groups are frequently introduced into the narrative in the Topic position by an identifying noun phrase.

#### 2.1.4 New Terms of Reference

One of the more interesting techniques employed by Kara story-tellers is that of using new terms of reference when re-introducing the principal character(s). These new terms of reference are sometimes, but not always, marked with the anaphoric reference morpheme. For instance, in the introduction a character may be called "the young man." When next introduced as a Topic, he may be referred to by his name. Following that he may be referred to as "the mighty hero" (xaravaat). While the identity of the principal characters is obvious because they are referred to in fifty to ninety percent of the clauses, it is also possible to tell who is important simply by adding up the number of different noun phrases used to refer to each character. In the course of a narrative, there is a very marked tendency for the principal character to be referred to by a new term whenever the pace of the action increases<sup>7</sup> or there is a shift in direction.

31) Text: Sentence 1

11] A saxa yaan xo na Xipang bangut xo waan  
a saxa yaan xo na Xipang bangut xo waan  
cnm one day CRS pnm Bushman ignorant CRS stay  
One day the ignorant Bushman was

pe la bina sina.  
pe la bina si- na  
GLOC LOC village POS-3s  
in his area of the village.

32) Text: from Sentence 3

3c] e vungut o na Waana ve i taxa  
e vungut o na Waana ve i taxa  
conj ignorant that pnm Waana ANA 3s.I CNT  
but (was) ignorant that Waana (the Bushman) was

xalum maane ti pe la lifu.  
xalum maan- e ti pe la lifu  
see ac.co 3s.o from GLOC LOC house  
looking toward him, from the house.

33) Text: from Sentence 15

15a] A xaravaat voxo taxa tigina.....  
a xaravaat voxo taxa tigina  
cnm hero ALT CNT stand  
The hero meanwhile was standing

34) Text: from Sentence 24

24a] E tang matalava siri....  
e tang mata-lava si -ri  
conj huge man -big POS-3pl  
And their huge big-man,

In the examples above 'the moronic Bushman', 'Waana', 'the mighty hero' and 'the great big-man/chief' all refer to the same participant, bringing him back into prominence.

## 2.1.5 Re-introduced Topics

When Topics are re-introduced after an intervening Topic, this is usually done by means of a noun phrase followed by

xo. When a Topic referent is going to continue as Topic, but another argument has appeared in the Direct Object position, then the continued Topic is re-introduced with a Topic-Object pronoun usually followed by xo. If there have been several intervening Topics since a particular referent has been mentioned, then to re-introduce that referent as a Topic requires a full noun phrase, usually containing some kind of descriptive phrase/clause plus a deictic marker.

35) Text: Sentence 24

24a] E     tang matalava siri  
       e     tang mata-lava si -ri  
       conj huge man -big POS-3pl  
       And their huge big-man,  
  
       aava     valai     a     putuna toxol     aave, ....  
       aa -va   valai     a     putu-na toxol     aa -ve  
       REL-COL provide cnm head-3s tree.sp REL-ANA  
       who provided that stump (for the feast)

In the above example the "big-man" is a thematized Object displaced leftward and is modified by a Relative clause. The most immediate, previous reference to the "big-man", Waana, occurred in Sentence 17 in the text.

#### 2.1.6 Ellipsis

Subject ellipsis in co-ordinate clauses presents an interesting problem in Kara discourse. In conjoined clauses the Subject of the second clause and all following clauses is frequently elided.

36) Text: Sentence 11

11a] A     fala ulaamaan     e Q yaas tang tol  
       a     fala ulaa- maan e     yaas tang tol  
       3s.R run   return-ac.co conj carry huge spear  
       He came running back carrying a huge spear

11b] e Q xaafan marasaxaine  
 e xaaf-an marasaxa- in- e  
 conj dig- CRF immediately-CRF-3s.o  
 and proceeded to dig with it

sena funa tang wai aave.  
 se- na funa tang wai aa- ve  
 ASC-3s base huge tree REL-ANA  
 about the stump of that huge tree.

This presents no problem as long as there is only a single referent. When multiple referents are involved, tracking becomes more complicated. The English translation of one prototypical example is:

"Pius<sub>a</sub> hit Beno<sub>a</sub> and O<sub>a</sub> didn't fall down."

37) Na Pius tuk na Beno e Q pife poxo.  
 pnm Pius punched pnm Beno conj NEG fall  
 Pius<sub>a</sub> punched Beno<sub>a</sub> and/but (Beno) didn't fall down.

In this case Beno is the one who didn't fall. Kara ellipsis rules appear to key in on the case relations of the conjoined propositions. Actor/Agents in the first clause remain Actor/Agents (if there is one) in the second and Patient/Undergoers remain Patient/Undergoers. Beno as the Patient/Undergoer/Object of the first is identified with the Patient/Subject of the second. If Pius were to continue as Topic of the second clause, his case role would be changed. Then a third person singular Topic-Object pronoun would be used in order to mark the discontinuity.

38) Na Pius tuk na Beno e nane poxo.  
 pnm Pius punched pnm Beno conj he fall  
 Pius<sub>a</sub> punched Beno<sub>a</sub> and he<sub>a</sub> fell down.

If the Predicate of the second clause is also a transitive verb and the case roles remain the same, the

Topic/Agent is elided and the third person Object clitic is used.

39) Text: Sentence 12

12a] A        put        tang funa wai    aave,  
      a        put        tang funa wai    aa- ve  
      3s.R    pull.out huge base    tree REL-ANA  
      He pulled out that huge tree base

12b] e    Q    fe        yaas    fasivig                xe la    bina.  
      e        fe        yaas    fa-sivi-    e        xe la    bina  
      conj    PUR.go carry CS-go.down-3s.o to LOC village  
      and carried it down to the village.

Here Waana, represented by the subject pronoun a, in clause a] is elided in the second clause; while the Object, 'tree wai' is represented by the third person Object clitic, e.

## 2.2 Plot Progression versus Descriptive Fill

Kara narrative, like narratives of other languages, needs to be able to present material in such a way that the hearer can sort it into items of paramount interest and items of secondary interest. In a narrative the natural items of paramount interest are the events. They constitute the framework of the narrative. This is not to say that items of secondary interest are unimportant or unnecessary. An unadorned string of events makes for boring story-telling. In Kara, certain aspectual/modal markers are associated with plot progression. Additionally, certain of the deixis morphemes are more likely to be associated with events while others occur with more descriptive passages. The aspect markers and modals occurring with events are perfective or involve motion. The perfective third person Subject pronoun a, zero marking for Subject, and the

Purposive motion morphemes typically occur with events. The auxiliaries taxa and fuuna, the imperfective third person singular Subject pronoun i, and the clausal modals are typically associated with descriptive material. The verbal prefix for Inchoative and reduplication also typically occur in descriptive portions of narratives. The various perfect aspect markers typically occur in subordinate clauses describing events that have occurred in the past but have current relevance, such material is not eventive, it is descriptive, as is the material in relative or complement clauses. The relativizer, aava then, is associated with description, as is the deitic ve. The anaphoric referent marker aave, on the other hand, is typically associated with one of the principal characters around whom the events revolve and who is, therefore, more likely to be associated with events. Verb phrases with re-iterated verbs, even punctiliar verbs, are less eventive because they are being carried out over a period of time. Some verbs, like tamasiak, an inceptive verb meaning 'got ready to' or 'prepared himself', express a very general, non-descript event. We feel these less eventive verb phrases also fall into the descriptive category since they are less salient as far as the framework of the narrative is concerned. They do move the narrative forward slightly, but their main function seems to be to prepare the hearer for a following, more important event.

## 2.3 Special Effects

### 2.3.1 Masked Agents

While Kara possesses and uses a Passive construction it appears only rarely. A far more common method of obscuring the Agent is by using the third person plural Subject pronoun when there is no logical/obvious referent. The result is a very indefinite "they"; usually appearing as the Subject of an embedded clause well to the right in the sentence.

40) Text: Sentence 6

```
6] Na Raivung   xo a   texaas o   ri fo tingine.
   na Raivung   xo a   texaas o   ri fo tingin-e
   pnm Fruit.bat CRS 3s.R know   that 3pl PRF find- 3s.o
   Fruit bat realized that they had found him.
```

### 2.3.2 Poetical Prose

Kara poetic form is simply the repetition of the same clause or sentence. This is observed occasionally in narratives, usually when someone is singing. More frequently we see what we refer to as "near poetic form": a series (2 or 3) of similar length clauses or short sentences ending in the same phrase or word.

41) Text: Sentence 1

```
1] A   saxa yaan xo na Xipang bangut xo   waan
   a   saxa yaan xo na Xipang bangut xo   waan
   cnm one day CRS pnm Bushman ignorant CRS stay
   One day the ignorant Bushman was

   pe   la bina   sina.
   pe   la bina   si- na
   GLOC LOC village POS-3s
   in his area of the village.
```

#### 42) Text: Sentence 2

2a] Nane ve toxa na a fut pe lamina xavil sina  
na-ne ve toxa na a fut pe la- mi- na xavil si- na  
TP-3s ANA have cnm banana GLOC LOC-back-3s section POS-3s  
He had bananas at the back of his section

2b] e na Raivung vulai fuuna fenau a fut sina.  
e na Raivung vulai fuuna fenau a fut si- na  
conj pnm Fruit.bat always HAB steal cnm banana POS.3s  
and Fruit bat always used to steal (was forever stealing)  
his bananas.

Each clause in this segment of the narrative ends in the word sina 'his'. This is a particularly fine sample of the near-poetic form because: 1) of the presence of the two near-sounding forms, bina and lamina, 2) the head nouns of the three phrases are each different yet the possessive pronoun fits them all, and 3) the meter of the two clauses of Sentence 2 is nearly identical.

Poetic and near poetic forms are most likely to occur in descriptive or background material. In spoken narrative, it is very noticeable because of the falling intonation pattern at the end of the clause and the re-occurrence of the words. It is also very apt to become formalized so that story-tellers repeat that section by rote.

#### 2.3.3 Left Dislocation/Displacement

Left Dislocation is used in Kara to give an argument greater prominence. One manifestation of left dislocation in Kara is thematization of Direct Objects and Instruments. Another is the fronting of a Temporal-Locative phrase<sup>9</sup> to a pre-Topic position to establish a setting and to divide the discourse into segments. Directionals may also be brought forward in the clause from their normal post-Object

position. Primarily this fronting process involves especially dynamic motion with the Goal case relation. Instead of the normal: A mataa a sivi su xe la pia "The man went down toward the ground"; the form becomes A mataa la pia sivi su "The man downward went." The directional is fronted to the pre-verb position and the Goal marker is deleted. In English it would be comparable to "he went down" versus "down he went."

#### 43) Text: Sentence 2

2b] e     na Raivung    vulai    fuuna    fenau a    fut     sina.  
       e     na Raivung    vulai    fuuna    fenau a    fut     si- na  
       conj pnm Fruit.bat always    HAB     steal cnm banana POS.3s  
       and Fruit bat always used to steal (was forever stealing)  
              his bananas.

The verb phrase construction in clause 2b] is the most highly marked of three possible alternatives<sup>9</sup>. Left-ward displacement of any peripheral increases its impact. The Fruit Bat's persistence in stealing Waana's bananas helps to explain the Bushman's strong reaction in the following section of the narrative.

#### 2.3.4 Spell Breaker

It is a frequent practice of Kara story-tellers to conclude a narrative with a totally unrelated comment. Each narrator has his favorites and they tend to stick to one or two at a time, replacing the used ones as newer, more striking, closing comments occur to them.

#### 44) Text: Sentence 25

25a] E     xuuskuus    moxo    taxapuset  
       e     xuus-kuus    moxo    taxapus-et  
       conj IT    -say    AcMo    finish -ac.go  
       And the story is finished

25b1 e laaxet moxo lapaana ivin si Billimaris.  
 e laak -et moxo la-paana ivin si Billimaris  
 conj go.up-ac.go AcMo LOC-under bed POS Billimaris  
 and goes away up under the bed of Billimaris.

Sentence 25 is a typical type of story closure; the story is complete and then some kind of statement is made "to break the spell" bringing everyone back to the here and now. Billimaris was a person in the room listening to the story. Having been completed, the event is "real" and the story, being treated as a real object, can now go underneath someone's bed.

## 2.4 Some Stylistic Devices

Section breaks in Kara narratives are formally marked by a combination of two or more of the following conditions: 1) thematized Temporal-Locative phrases, 2) a well marked change of Topic, or 3) changes of scene or location. A Locative phrase, temporal or spatial, is normally found at the end of a clause. By fronting it to the clause-initial, pre-Topic position its prominence is increased. Such thematized phrases serve to modify the global setting given in the introduction of the narrative and frequently introduce a change of physical location as well. The choice of locative expression used varies from story-teller to story-teller, and sometimes even from story to story by a single teller, but the device observed in many texts for breaking the discourse into sections is a Locative phrase containing the word yaan 'day'.

#### 2.4.1 Conflict Cycles

We have found the idea of 'conflict cycles' to be a useful diagnostic tool in analyzing Kara narratives. In the sample narrative each cycle is prefaced by a temporal phrase or clause to modify the temporal setting. The Temporal-Locative form, la saxa yaan xo followed by a noun phrase plus xo is formalized to the extent that it typically appears only once in a narrative and prefates the major conflict cycle. In the sample narrative this occurs in Sentence 8. The preliminary conflict cycle with Fruit Bat is completed, preparing the ground for the main conflict. Within the major conflict cycle there are three sub-cycles which have been called "rounds". The first round begins with the la saxa yaan xo phrase and is set in Waana's garden. Round two begins with a temporal subordinate clause and Waana's arrival at a new location, the village. The third and conclusive round is initiated with another temporal clause and is set on the journey back to the people's individual hamlets. This final round is further subdivided into two sections, the first dealing with the retribution visited upon the people and the second focusing specifically on Waana's punishment.

Minor conflict resolution or the end of a conflict cycle in Kara narrative is typically expressed by a participant's exit. Frequently the transition between the minor conflict cycles consists of a motion verb indicating the exit as the closure to the first cycle followed by some sort of Tail-Head linkage as the inception of the second. This Tail-Head

linkage can be very flexible; i.e. attainment of a goal, a specific event within a larger action, rather than the simple repetition of the preceding clause or phrase.

45) Text: from Sentence 12

12b] e fe yaas fasivie xe la bina.  
e fe yaas fa-sivi- e xe la bina  
conj PUR.go carry CS-go.down-3s.o to LOC village  
and carried it down to the village.

#### PARAGRAPH 4: Cycle Two, Round 2: Waana Gives A Feast

46) Text: Sentence 13

13a] Layaan fesavat paa la bina, ....  
la- yaan fe-savat paa la bina  
LOC-day IN-arrive eastward LOC village  
Upon arrival in the village,

Round one concludes with Waana carrying the stump (with the mask) down to the village. Round two opens with a temporal clause concerning his arrival there.

#### 2.4.2 Conflict Concluded

Concluding sentences, those expressing the resolution of the major conflict, are typically complex constructions. They may exhibit initial clauses with substantial left dislocation or displacement, complex noun phrases with modifying relative clauses in thematic or topical positions, and heavy verb morphology. The final clause of a concluding sentence is frequently extremely simple.

47) Text: Sentence 24

24a] E tang matalava siri  
e tang mata-lava si -ri  
conj huge man -big POS-3pl  
And their huge big-man,

aava valai a putuna toxol aave,  
 aa -va valai a putu-na toxol aa -ve  
 REL-COL provide cnm head-3s tree.sp REL-ANA  
 who provided that stump (for the feast)

24b] tang xarei xo a tusavak paaliuan a tena  
 tang xarei xo a tu-savak paaliu -an a te -na  
 huge root CRS 3s.R FO-rupture greatly-CRF cnm buttocks-3s  
 a huge root now ripped apart his buttocks

24c] e femaat.  
 e fe-maat  
 conj IN-dead  
 and (he) died.

In the above example the 'big-man' is thematic; his offense is related in the relative clause but an instrument appears in the Topic position and is marked as the most salient participant. The verb is marked by a prefix and modified by an intensifier noting the promotion of the instrument.

Waana is denoted again in the possession marking. Sentence 21 is similar, although not as complex as Sentence 24, in its relating the means of resolution. Compared to the rest of the sentence the short, direct, final clause of both this sentence and Sentence 21 comes as a shocking contrast, although, culturally, it is the expected conclusion. In both cases the ellipsis of the Subject in the final clause is based on the identity and case role of the possessive marker.

### 3.0 Conclusion

One of the most heavily utilized processes in Kara narrative is that of 'fronting' or leftward displacement for the purpose of emphasis. At the phrase level there are examples such as:

48) a mataa saxa 'one man/person' versus  
a saxa mataa 'a certain man/person'

or    a vio molava 'a large pig'    versus

a tang vio 'huge pig'

Modifiers which precede the noun they modify constitute a very limited class in Kara and are always emphatic in some way. For instance, the form ka fesing 'my dear friend' is much more emotive than the normal fesing siak 'my friend'. On the clause and sentence levels the text contains several instances where a noun phrase is given added emphasis by being fronted to the topic position. In the same manner a locative phrase of more than normal interest is displaced from its peripheral clause final position to the beginning of the sentence where it not only has greater emphasis but functions at a higher (discourse) level, i.e. introducing a conflict cycle.

We have been looking into the 'genius' of the Kara language. We, ourselves, have found and continue to find Kara to be a fascinating study. Our goal is to understand both the language and the people better so that our efforts in translation will be improved. We believe this investigation of Kara narrative will help make that improvement possible.

## Appendices

### A. Text

**Title: Na Xipang narie Raivung**  
**The Bushman and the Fruit Bat**

#### PARAGRAPH 1: Setting and Introduction of Participants

##### Sentence 1

1] A saxa yaan xo na Xipang bangut xo waan pe la bina sina,  
a saxa yaan xo na Xipang bangut xo waan pe la bina si-na  
cnm one day CRS pnm Bushman ignorant CRS stay GLOC LOC area POS-3s  
One day the ignorant Bushman was in his area of the village.

##### Sentence 2

2a] Nane ve toxa na fut pe lamina xavil sina  
na-ne ve toxa na fut pe la-mi- na xavil si- na  
TP-3s ANA have cnm banana GLOC LOC-back-3s section POS-3s  
He had bananas at the back of his section

2b] e na Raivung vulai fuuna fenau a fut sina.  
e na Raivung vulai fuuna fenau a fut si- na  
conj pnm Fruit.bat always HAB steal cnm banana POS.3s  
and Fruit bat always used to steal (was forever stealing)  
his bananas.

#### Paragraph 2: Cycle One: Waana Catches A Thief

##### Sentence 3

3a] Saxa yaan xo, na Raivung xo, a timin a saxa mo  
saxa yaan xo na Raivung xo a timin a saxa mo  
one day CRS pnm Fruit.bat CRS 3s.R put cnm one thing  
One day, Fruit Bat put a certain thing

malaan sena malagan, aava nane fo talaxe, la matana  
malaan se- na malagan aa- va na-ne fo talak-e la mata-na  
SEM ASC-3s carving REL-COL TP-3s PRF carve-3s.o LOC eye- 3s  
like a traditional mask, which he had carved, on his face.

3b] e maa fenau xo 3c] e vungut o na Waana ve  
e maa fenau xo e vungut o na Waana ve  
conj PUR.co steal CRS conj ignorant that pnm Waana ANA  
and came to steal but (was) ignorant that Waana (the bushman)

i taxa xalum maane ti pe la lifu.  
i taxa xalum maan- e ti pe la lifu  
3s.I CNT see ac.co-3s.o from GLOC LOC house  
was looking toward him, from the house.

Sentence 4

4] E i taxa kuus, "Aa, ne tingin faroxoi bak nano."  
e i taxa kuus aa ne tingin fa-roxo-i bak na-no  
conj 3s.I CNT say EXC 1s find CS-good-GM then TP-2s  
And he was saying, "Aha, I found you out now."

Sentence 5

5a] Nane siak maan moxo, a xit,  
na-ne siak maan moxo a xit  
TP-3s get ac.co AcMo cnm bamboo.strip  
He got/took up a bamboo strip

5b] e fala savatet moxo, e fexite  
e fala savat- et moxo e fe-xit- e  
conj run arrive-ac.go AcMo conj IN-bamboo.strip-3s.o  
and ran towards (him) and began to cane him (with the bamboo  
strip)

5c] e tang xaravaat moxo sinufet.  
e tang xaravaat moxo sinuf- et  
conj huge hero AcMo escape-ac.go  
and the mighty hero then ran away/escaped.

Sentence 6

6] Na Raivung xo a texaas o ri fo tingine.  
na Raivung xo a texaas o ri fo tingin-e  
pnm Fruit.bat CRS 3s.R know that 3pl PRF find- 3s.o  
Fruit Bat realized that they had found him.

Sentence 7

7a] Nane tamasiak si, 7b] e fe timin si a matana malagan  
na-ne tamasiak si e fe timin si a mata-na malagan  
TP-3s get.up CP conj PUR.go put CP cnm eye -3s carving  
He arose (note this), and went to put (note this) that malagan  
  
aave pe la putuna toxol.  
aa -ve pe la putu-na toxol  
REL-ANA GLOC LOC head-3s tree.sp  
face on the top of a toxol tree (stump).

PARAGRAPH 3: Cycle Two, Round 1: Waana Bags A Stump

Sentence 8

8] La saxa yaan xo, na Xipang bangun xo sangas laak saa  
la saxa yaan xo na Xipang bangun xo sangas laak saa  
LOC one day CRS pnm Bushman ignorant CRS walk go.up PERM  
One day the ignorant Bushman walked up

pe lana uma sina.  
 pe la-na uma si-na  
 GLOC LOC-3s garden POS-3s  
 through his garden.

Sentence 9

9a] A kaalumet moxo, e fexalum moxo  
 a kaalum-et moxo e fe- xalum moxo  
 3s.R look-ac.go AcMo conj IN -see AcMo  
 He looked about and noticed

a malagan aave 9b] e a kuus,  
 a malagan aa-ve e a kuus  
 cnm carving REL-ANA conj 3s.R say  
 that malagan carving and he said,

Q1) "Aa, nane pevexo i taxa nai maan,  
 aa na-ne pe-voxox i taxa nai maan  
 EXC, TP-3s GLOC-ALT 3s.I CNT sit ac.co  
 "Aha! That settles it, he is sitting (there) facing me,  
 (Essentially 'challenging me')

Q2) i taa pes a tana tanin."  
 i taa pes a ta- na tanin  
 3s.I IRR defecate cnm skin-3s today  
 he will defecate his insides (out) today.  
 (He is really going to be sorry today).

Sentence 10

10a] Nane tamasiak moxo, e fala ulaa xe la lifu sina  
 na-ne tamasiak moxo e fala ulaa xe la lifu si- na  
 TP-3s get.up AcMo conj run return to LOC house POS.3s  
 He took off and ran back to his house,

10b] eno fe siak a tol sina.  
 eno fe siak a tol si- na  
 CLM PUR.go get cnm spear POS-3s  
 and he got his spear.

Sentence 11

11a] A fala ulaamaan e yaas tang tol  
 a fala ulaa- maan e yaas tang tol  
 3s.R run return-ac.co conj carry huge spear  
 He came running back carrying a huge spear

11b] e xaafan marasaxaine  
 e xaaf-an marasaxa- in- e  
 conj dig- CRF immediately-CRF-3s.o  
 and proceeded to dig with it

sena funa tang wai aave.  
 se- na funa tang wai aa- ve  
 ASC-3s base huge tree REL-ANA  
 about the stump of that huge tree.

Sentence 12

12a] A     put        tang funa wai aave,  
      a     put        tang funa wai aa- ve  
      3s.R pull.out huge base tree REL-ANA  
      He pulled out that huge tree base

12b] e     fe        yaas fasivie            xe la bina.  
      e     fe        yaas fa-sivi-    e    xe la bina  
      conj PUR.go carry CS-go.down-3s.o to LOC village  
      and carried it down to the village.

PARAGRAPH 4: Cycle Two, Round 2: Waana Gives A Feast

Sentence 13

13a] Layaan   fesavat   paa        la bina,  
      la- yaan fe-savat paa        la bina  
      LOC-day IN-arrive eastward LOC village  
      Upon arrival in the village,

      nane siak famating<sup>10</sup> a   putuna toxol lapia  
      na-ne siak fa-mating a   putu-na toxol la- pia  
      TP-3s take CS-lay.down cnm head-3s tree LOC-ground  
      he put down (dropped) the stump on the ground

13b] e     a        ting a     yaamut.  
      e     a        ting a     yaamut  
      conj 3s.R hit cnm slit-gong  
      and struck the garamut (slit-gong).

Sentence 14

14a] A       ting, ting  
      a       ting ting  
      3s.R hit hit  
      He tapped and tapped (the garamut),

14b] e     mu xipang bangun ri    savat paan fetaxapus.  
      e     mu xipang bangun ri    savat paan fe-taxapus  
      conj pl bushman ignorant 3pl arrive go IN-finish  
      and the ignorant bushmen went on arriving until  
      they were all there.

Sentence 15

15a] A    xaravaat voxo taxa tigina fo sasawaaf pana laas  
      a    xaravaat voxo taxa tigina fo sa-sawaaf pa-na laas  
      cnm hero        ALT CNT stand PRF DU-marked INS-3s lime.powder  
      The hero meanwhile was standing having marked/decorated with  
      lime powder

      e    ngalis la putuna  
      e    ngalis la putu-na  
      conj feather LOC head-3s  
      and feathers on his head

15b] e    nanam sait  
      e    nanam sait  
      conj pleased too.  
      and (he) was pleased too.

Sentence 16

16a] A xuus xo nari nabe',  
a xuus xo na-ri nabe'  
3s.R tell CRS TP-3pl D.near  
He told them this:

16Qa] "Ne xel faxuvul nami talo taara taa faxuvul  
ne xel fa-xuvul na-mi talo taara taa fa-xuvul  
is call CS-together TP-2pl so.that iplin IRR CS-together  
"I called you together so that we could gather together

16Qb] xaataara ngan a xaravaat nanabe' i taxa mati."  
xaa-taara ngan a xaravaat na-nabe' i taxa mati  
BEN-iplin eat cnm hero TP-D.near 3s.I CNT lie  
for us to eat this giant/hero lying here."

Sentence 17

17a] Nane faavai xuluna lu tefin  
na-ne faa-vai xulu-na lu tefin  
TP-3s CS2-mumu.leaf on -3s pl woman  
He gave the women (the work of collecting) some leaves  
(Lit: he caused leaves on the women)

17b] e lu tefin moxo ri fafet tang putuna wai aave  
e lu tefin moxo ri faf -et tang putu-na wai aa-ve  
conj pl woman AcMo 3pl mumu-ac.go huge head-3s tree REL-ANA  
and the women then mumued (cooked in an earth oven)  
that huge head of the tree (stump).

Sentence 18

18a] Ri waan, waan xo, e bina xo leaf  
ri waan waan xo e bina xo leaf  
3pl stay stay CRS conj place CRS afternoon  
They waited and waited and the place (became) afternoon

18b] e lu tefin xo ri fui a mun 18c] e mu tomexaan  
e lu tefin xo ri fui a mun e mu tomexaan  
conj pl woman CRS 3pl open cnm earth.oven conj pl man  
and the women opened the earth oven and the men

ri tatavai xolai la palou iri 18d] e ri fangan.  
ri ta-tavai xolai la palou i- ri e ri fangan  
3pl IT-give about LOC midst GEN-3pl conj 3pl eat  
distributed (it) out among them and they ate.

Sentence 19

19a] Ri fangan xapiak xo,  
ri fangan xapiak xo  
3pl eat complete CRS  
They finished eating

19b] e ri tifai<sup>11</sup> sena mu ngavuk siri  
 e ri tif -ai se -na mu ngavuk si -ri  
 conj 3pl fill.up-PDF ASC-3s pl portion POS-3pl  
 and they stowed away their remaining portions

19c] e ri ulaa xo xe la nubina siri.  
 e ri ulaa xo xe la nu-bina si -ri  
 conj 3pl return CRS to LOC pl-village POS-3pl  
 and they returned now to their villages.

# PARAGRAPH 5: Cycle Two, Round 3: The Putuna Toxol's Revenge

## Sentence 20

20a] Layaan ri taxa sangaset,  
 la -yaan ri taxa sangas-et  
 LOC-day 3pl CNT walk -ac.go  
 While they were walking away,

20b] a saxa xo tet a ngute.  
 a saxa xo tet a ngut -e  
 cnm one CRS feces 3s.R seize-3s.o  
 one (of them) now, diarrhea seized him.

## Sentence 21

21a] Layaan a rao i falet i pes a nai su  
 la -yaan a rao i fala- et i pes a nai su  
 LOC-day 3s.R INT 3s.I run - ac.go 3s.I defecate 3s.R sit PERM  
 When he intended to go to defecate, he squatted down

21b] e wai aava ri taxa ngane paamua moxo,  
 e wai aa-va ri taxa ngan-e paamua moxo  
 conj tree REL-COL 3pl CNT chew-3s.o before AcMo  
 and the tree which they were eating before,

a turaraxet a pulus vepes sina e maatet.  
 a tu-ra-rak -et a pulus ve-pes si-na e maat-et  
 3s.R FO-IT-tear-ac.go cnm opening DU-defecate POS-3s conj die -ac.go  
 tore open his anus and he died.

## Sentence 22

22a] Falet laa e saxa laa rao i pes  
 fala-et laa e saxa laa rao i pes  
 run -ac.go again conj one again INT 3s.I defecate  
 Going on again, and another one intended to defecate

22b] e femalaan mon  
 e fe-malaan mon  
 conj IN-like only  
 and (it) was exactly the same.

Sentence 23

23a] Paan, paan e ri femaat xapiak.  
paan paan e ri fe-maat xapiak  
go go conj 3pl IN-die complete  
(This) went on and every one of them died.

PARAGRAPH 6: Cycle Two, Finale: The Death of Waana

Sentence 24

24a] E tang matalava siri  
e tang mata-lava si -ri  
conj huge man -big POS-3pl  
And their huge big-man,  
  
aava valai a putuna toxol aave,  
aa -va valai a putu-na toxol aa -ve  
REL-COL provide cnm head-3s tree.sp REL-ANA  
who provided that stump (for the feast)  
  
24b] tang xarei xo a tusavak paaliuan a tena  
tang xarei xo a tu-savak paaliu -an a te -na  
huge root CRS 3s.R FO-rupture greatly-CRF cnm buttocks-3s  
a huge root now ripped apart his buttocks  
  
24c] e femaat.  
e fe-maat  
conj IN-dead  
and (he) died.

PARAGRAPH 7 The Closure

Sentence 25

25a] E xuuskuus moxo taxapuset  
e xuus-kuus moxo taxapus-et  
conj IT -say AcMo finish -ac.go  
And the story is finished  
  
25b] e laaxet moxo lapaana ivin si Billimaris.  
e laak -et moxo la-paana ivin si Billimaris  
conj go.up-ac.go AcMo LOC-under bed POS Billimaris  
and goes away up under the bed of Billimaris.

## B. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	accompaniment (xuvul)
ac.co	action proceeding toward (maan)
ac.go	action proceeding away (-et)
AcMo	action mover (moxo)
adj	adjective/modifier, verb class 1
ALT	alternate (voxoxo)
ANA	anaphoric marker (ve)
ASC	associative (se) concerning/relating to
AUX	auxiliary
BEN	benefactive/malfactive (xa-/xaa-)
CER	certainty (tamana)
CEX	counter-expectation (xa)
CH	characteristic/reduplication
CLX	climax pronoun (eno/no)
CND	conditional (tamo)
cnm	common noun marker (a)
CNT	continuative (taxa) [is...ing]
COL	collateral information (vaa)
CP	charging particle (si)
CRF	case relation functor (-an/-in)
CRS	current relevant state (xo)
CS	causative (fa-)
CS2	causative (ordinal) (faa-)
dl	dual (ro)
D.far	far demonstrative (pave)
D.near	near demonstrative (nabe')
DPF	discontinued perfect (mo)
DU	durative/reduplication
EXC	exclamation
FO	forcefully (tu-)
from	from/Source (ti)
GEN	inalienable possession (i-)
GER	gerund (-aan)
GLOC	general location (pe)
gmc	goal marker clitic (-i)
HAB	habitual (fuuna)
IN	inchoative (fe-)
IND	imperative negation (muta)
INS	instrument (pana)
INT	intention (rao)
ints	intensifier
INTEROG	interrogative
IRR	irrealis (taa)
IT	iterative/reduplication
LOC	locative (la)
NEG	negation (pi/pife)
NOM	nominalizer (-an)
NOW	near time (naboxo)
NOW2	but now (nabaxa)
OBJ	syntactic object
on	on top of (xulu-)
PASS	passive (-an)
PDF	patient defocusing (-ai)
PERM	permissive (saa/su)
pl	plural (mu, lu, nu)

pnm	proper noun marker (na)
POS	alienable possession (si-)
PPS	perfect of persistent situation (lo)
PRB	probability (naak)
PRF	perfect (fo)
PSB	possibility (ula...tama)
PUR	purpose (xena)
PUR.go	purposive, go in order to (fe)
PUR.co	purposive, come in order to (maa)
PW	part of a whole (ne-)
RCP	reciprocal (fe[-lan])
REL	relative phoric root (aa-)
RPR	recent perfect (pibek)
SEM	semblative (malaan)
sp	subject pronoun
ST	stative (ta-)
SUBJ	syntactic subject
to	toward (xe)
tp	topic pronoun
TOPIC	topic
TP	topic pivot (na[-l])
VERB	predicate, syntactic verb
1dlex	first person dual exclusive
1dlin	first person dual inclusive
1plex	first person plural exclusive
1plin	first person plural inclusive
1s	first person singular
1s.o	first person singular object clitic (-au)
1tlex	first person trial exclusive
1tlin	first person trial inclusive
2d1	second person dual
2p1	second person plural
2s	second person singular
2t1	second person trial
3d1	third person dual
3p1	third person plural
3s	third person singular
3s.o	third person singular object clitic (-e)
3s.I	third person sing. imperfective (i)
3s.R	third person sing. realis (a)
3t1	third person trial

## C. Orthographic Assumptions

The term sentence has been retained as an appropriately descriptive term even though a Kara sentence may contain several clauses. The unity of clauses within a single sentence is evidenced by: 1) the occurrence of the sentence internal conjunction e 'and/but' or other conjunctions and frequently 2) the absence of an overt Subject pronoun.

The initial word/segment of a sentence is capitalized and a full stop, question mark, or exclamation point indicates the terminus. Other English punctuation marks are employed as deemed necessary. The only one which may appear confusing is the use of an apostrophe to indicate the Kara glottal stop, ie: nabe' 'here'.

Orthographically we are representing the Inchoative morpheme as a prefix fe- 'beginning to' or 'become'. The auxiliaries fe 'go in order to' and maa 'come in order to' are both written as separate words.

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## E. Footnotes

<sup>1</sup> The four thousand plus Kara people of northern New Ireland province, Papua New Guinea live primarily along the beaches on both coasts on New Ireland. Their territory forms a band across the island with the northern boundary about 45 kilometers south of Kavieng. The language group is bounded by the Tigak language to the north and by the Nalik on the south: both of these languages are closely related to Kara.

The Kara people are agronomists with plantations of coconut and cocoa as their cash crops. The extensive sago swamps, their annually rotated gardens, various fruit and nut trees, feral and domestic pigs and fish/shellfish from the reef and ocean all contribute to the Kara diet (Stumps are not normally a part of the diet).

<sup>2</sup> We have found several examples of verbless constructions all predicated on the absence of a copula in the language. Equative or descriptive clauses of the nature: "She is tall"; "Michael is a teacher"; "The sun is hot" all present the surface appearance of two juxtaposed noun phrases.

### <sup>3</sup> Chart of Pronouns

#### TOPIC-OBJECT Set

	Singular		Dual	Trial	Plural
1st	nenia OBJ -au	inc:	netaare	netaatul	netaara
	-	exc:	nemaame	nemaatul	nemaam
2nd	nano		name	namutul	nami
3rd	nane OBJ -e		nare	narutul	nari

#### SUBJECT Set

	Singular		Dual	Trial	Plural
1st	ne	inc:	taare	taatul	taara
	-	exc:	maame	maatul	maam
2nd	no		me	mutul	mi
3rd	i/a		re	rutul	ri

#### Alienable Possession

	Singular		Dual	Trial	Plural
1st	siak	inc:	sitaare	sitaatul	sitaara
	-	exc:	simaame	simaatul	simaam
2nd	siim		sime	simutul	simi
3rd	sina		sire	sirutul	siri

<sup>4</sup> It is interesting to note the extent of internalization for various story-tellers and where they deviate from the generalizations and in which direction. By far the most linguistically interesting of the conditions is the first. It suggests the structure of the Kara sentence, at least in this particular area, is based on discourse considerations above the sentence level.

• Xipangs and Raivungs

In Kara folklore the xipangs are seen as bush beings which are very similar to actual humans. There are two varieties: intelligent ones and moronic ones. From other tales we know xipangs frequently interact with real people but possess magical qualities that enable them to avoid being recognized as a xipang. The moronic ones can be incredibly stupid which makes their adventures very entertaining. This genre of story provides a natural method for expressing real happenings which might be embarrassing or even dangerous to recount if the identity of the actual participant were revealed.

Raivung is the name of a smaller variety of Fruit Bat (wingspan of about 12-16 inches). The Raivung of our story obviously possesses many human characteristics along with his own endearing qualities. The humanizing of animal characters is a frequent motif in Kara folklore.

• A malagan is an art form unique to New Ireland. Typically it is a carved, wooden image, used in mortuary feasts. It may be a mask, a statuette vaguely human in form or it may be an animal carving. After having been carved, they were painted in clan-owned colors and put on display for a limited time. Not all 'malagans' were carved, some were woven out of cane. Today's preferred medium for these memorials is cement.

7 Increased pace of the action is marked by:  
-strings of events delivered rapidly by speaker  
-simple clause structure with active verbs  
-the occurrence of moxo in the narrative  
-pronominal reference (or zero marker) until the climax statement then eng or a full noun phrase as Topic

• A simple Locative phrase with the la case relator may be used in one of three ways. It may reference:

- 1) a spatial setting
- 2) a temporal setting
- 3) an activity

9 Markedness using vulai 'always'

unmarked: A raivung fuuna fenau a fut sina vulai.

The fruit bat would steal his bananas always.

marked: A raivung fuuna fenau vulan a fut sina.

The fruit bat always would steal his bananas.

(The always morpheme is incorporated into the verb phrase.)

highly marked: A raivung vulai fuuna fenau a fut sina.

The fruit bat always would steal his bananas.

(Left dislocation of an element giving special emphasis to it.)

<sup>10</sup> There is a rather interesting word play going on at this point from 13a1 through 14a1. The verb 'ting' has the meaning of striking or tapping something through the longitudinal axis of the implement used for striking. For instance, tapping the end of your vertically held pencil on the desk is the action described by the verb ting. To play a slit-gong in New Ireland you would normally strike it in this manner with a long piece of cane. The verb phrase in 13a1 is an interesting construction with several component parts. The main verb siak typically has the meaning 'get' but in this case 'take' is allowable and more accurate. The second verbal in the series, famating is made up of a causitive prefix, the verb mati 'lie or lay down' and ting the verb /strike or tap/. The picture evoked by this combination is: the bushman enters the area carrying the stump with the mask on it on his shoulder. He walks to a clear area, shrugs the weight off his shoulder and lets it fall with a thump. Of course with the roots on it the stump doesn't lie there nicely but is propped up at an angle and the roots on the underside have "ting"-ed the ground.

<sup>11</sup> The verb of clause 19b1 is a marked because it would normally require a noun as the Direct Object. The -ai suffix eliminates the Patient or at least the importance of the Patient. In its normal transitive form the verb tifi /fill/put in/ may take either the receptacle filled, such as a basket, or the item that fills the container, as the Direct Object. In either case further referencing is necessary after the Direct Object nominal; a container item is followed by an Instrument prepositional phrase; a contents type item requires a 'lana' (LOC) phrase. In either of these two cases the verb retains the same form. The item chosen as the direct Object enjoys a greater prominence in the clause since it is a core grammatical relation.