The Discourse function of *xo* in the Traditional Kara Narrative

By Ginny Schlie
Summer Institute of Linguistics
April 1994

Paper to be presented in Leiden at the International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics
Table of Contents

0.0 Introduction
1.0 Structure of the traditional Kara Narrative
   1.1 Outline of the Traditional Kara Narrative
   1.2 Introduction
      1.2.1 Title
      1.2.2 Formal Opening
      1.2.3 Characterization of Participants
      1.2.4 Situational Matrix
   1.3 Progression of Conflict Cycles
      1.3.1 The Conflict Cycle
      1.3.2 Cycles of Minor Conflict
      1.3.3 Cycles of the Major Conflict
         1.3.3.1 Cycle Initiation
         1.3.3.2 Cycle Expansion
         1.3.3.3 Transition
   1.4 Finale
   1.5 Present Relevance
   1.6 Closure
2.0 The use of xo in Kara Narratives
   2.1 Introduction
   2.2 With Temporal phrases
   2.3 With Topic Nominals
   2.4 With the Predicate
      2.4.1 Instrument Phrase with xo
      2.4.2 Direct Object with xo
3.0 The Function of xo
   3.1 Indicating Change of State
   3.2 Indicating Event-Line Switch
   3.3 Building Suspense
   3.4 Marking What Happens Next
   3.5 Indicating Wrap-Up
4.0 Conclusion
Abbreviations
Footnotes
Bibliography
In their 1982 article 'The Discourse Motivation for the Perfect Aspect: the Mandarin Particle LE' Li, Thompson and Thompson indicate that the Perfect aspect relates some state of affairs to the "current" time. They then discuss the way the Mandarin le functions in discourse to relate 'some state of affairs' to the here and now.

In Kara, an Austronesian language of Papua New Guinea, the morpheme xo, which differs from the Kara Perfect morpheme fo, seems to be functioning in many of the same ways as the Mandarin le. The contexts in which xo occurs seem to be similar as well: seldom in descriptive writing, rare in expository and scientific writing but occurring in narratives, written and oral, to bring a state of affairs into the time at which the narrative is taking place.

The Kara xo occurs with left-dislocated temporal locatives, topic nominals and predicates. The purpose of this paper is to describe the discourse functions of xo in Kara narratives and to establish if "currently relevant state" is an adequate description to cover the functions of this morpheme.

In the first section we give a brief outline of the structure of traditional Kara narrative and elaborate on the characteristics of each node. In the second section we describe the various occurrences of xo in Kara texts and in the third section we describe the function of xo.
1.0 STRUCTURE OF THE TRADITIONAL KARA NARRATIVE

1.1 Outline of the Traditional Kara Narrative

The typical structure of Kara traditional narratives may be outlined as follows:

1. (+) Introduction
   (+) Title
   (+) Formal Opening
   (+/-) Characterization of Participants
   (+/-) Situational Matrix
2. (+) Progression of Conflict Cycles
   (+) Cycles of the Minor conflict
   (+) Cycles of the Major Conflict
       Initiation
       Expansion
       Transition
   (+) Finale
3. (+/-) Present Relevance
4. (+) Closure

1.2 INTRODUCTION: The introduction of the Kara narrative is defined as the part of the narrative which alerts the hearers, informs them that a story is about to be told, and identifies the key participants of the story. The length of the introduction may vary from one to three\(^1\) clauses depending on what the speaker assumes the hearer knows.\(^2\)

1.2.1 Title: The title of the narrative, which is usually a noun phrase, has been included as an element of the introduction because sometimes it is the only mention of a participant prior to his/her appearance in the story and being marked with xo, a form which normally indicates that the hearer should be familiar with the participant. The title does not tell the hearer anything about the participants, only that they are part of the narrative.
1.2.2 Formal Opening: The formal opening follows the title and is used to inform all those within hearing range that there is a story about to begin. There are slight variations on the opening but they follow a general pattern of:

2) xuus-kuus para laak, xuus-kuus para tuung RED -tell awake go.up, RED- tell awake attention"x Story, get up, story pay attention

1.2.3 Characterization of Participants: The section introducing the participants provides further general information which helps to characterize them. The information is usually a description of the appearance of the participants or their living situation.

3) saxa yaan a saxa tefin a ta -na xiis e rarapak one time CNM one woman CNM skin-3s yellow and shine One day a woman, her skin was yellow and shone

malaan se-na ngaas xo waan e buk SEMB ASC-3s sun CRS stay and want like the sun, remained and wanted

faavus paaliu. meat INTS a lot of meat.

This section is usually characterized by the presence of various stative verbs and habitual/ durative aspect.

4) Lumua, lumua paaliu a toxan a saxa mataa Before before INTS 3s.SP have CNM one man Long, long ago there was a man

a waan nane sang mon. A mataa naang 3s.SP stay TP.3s RFLX only. CNM man this.same.one he lived all by himself. This same man
a fuuna lo tara'uma vulai.
3s.SP HAB PPS garden always
habitually gardened all the time.

1.2.4 Situational matrix: This describes the general situation at the
time of the narrative.

5) Kaavai a rabuna ri fuuna sivi la xaul laman
long.ago CNM people 3pl.SP HAB go.down LOC paddle sea
Long ago people used to go down to the deep sea

xena xiut veowa. La saxa yaan a mu rabuna
PUR catch.by.the.neck shark. LOC one day CNM pl people
to catch shark. At one time the people
taxa faa -xavesan a veowa e.....
CNT CS2 -many CNM shark and.....
were catching many sharks and...

or may give information pertaining to how things "used to be done" for
example, the work of the men was to go fishing. The situational matrix
presents the background leading up to the initial conflict.

6) nane ve toxan 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
e na Raivung vulai fuuna fenau a fut si-na
and PMM Raivung always HAB steal CNM banana POS-3s.
and Raivung always used to steal his bananas.

Like the previous section this one is characterized by the presence of
stative verbs or active verbs with habitual aspect.

1.3 PROGRESSION OF CONFLICT CYCLES
1.3.1 The Conflict Cycle: The Kara narrative divides into sections we have chosen to call conflict cycles because they typically center around situations having an initiation, expansion, and resolution. A conflict cycle may have embedded cycles which are repetitions of an event or journeys out from and back to the deictic center of the narrative.

1.3.2 Cycles of Minor Conflict: this section describes the events and situations which lead up to the major conflict cycle of the narrative. In minor conflict cycles the temporal shifts are less definite and there tends to be a more extensive use of irrealis mood or continuative aspect than in the major conflict. In the texts counted, in the minor conflict cycles there were five times as many irrealis or continuative morphemes used as there were in the major conflict cycles.

This portion is likely to be the longest part of the narrative. It may consist of several conflict cycles: each having its own setting of time and/or location, and a set of participants, which may overlap with the previous or following cycle. Often the resolution of a conflict cycle comes when one of the participants leaves the scene.

7) Na Waiya a laak e fe xo-xol pa-na fui si-na PNM Waiya 3s.SP go.up and PUR.go RED-change INS-3s hair POS-3s Waia went up and changed with the hair of Madiga e fe paan xo.

Madiga and PUR.go go CRS Madiga and left.

A saxano maanu ri su-suf xapiak xo e ri maa CNM some bird 3pl.SP RED-bathe finish CRS and 3pl.SP PUR.co Some birds finished bathing and they came to

xo-xol pa-na maana fui si-ri e na Madiga xo RED-change INS-3s many hair POS-3pl and PNM Madiga CRS change with their many hairs and Madiga
The remaining participant (or participants) then moves on to the next conflict cycle. This section of the narrative is also where flashbacks or counter-sequencing and reiteration are more likely to occur. There may be periodic repetitions of the situational matrix, especially in longer narratives, which builds suspense and helps to tie the whole narrative together.

1.3.3 Cycles of the Major Conflict: As the minor conflict cycles move toward the major conflict: 1) the verbs become more perfective, 2) the verb phrases become more punctiliar and 3) locative phrases become more marked. This section begins with a clause initial, thematized discourse level temporal locative phrase or noun phrase marked with xo followed by a topic nominal also marked with xo. (cf. 46)

8) La saxa yaa xo na xipang bangut xo
   LOC one day CRS PNM bushman ignorant CRS
   At one day Ignorant Bushman

Left-dislocated temporal phrases tend to be more 'event-like' than other peripheral phrases because they are more critical to the progression of the story: like events they move the story ahead. The further addition of the xo to both the temporal locative and the topic nominal, which only happens once in a story, makes this particular occurrence very marked. There may be more than one conflict cycle in this section but each will have predominantly perfective aspect and punctiliar verbs.
1.3.3.1 Cycle Initiation: In this section there are an increasing number of full noun phrases, and the terms of reference for the participants may be varied.

9) a tefin in the first cycle
   CNM woman
   the woman

   na nina lak in the third cycle
   PNM mother child
   the mother of the child

   a matalava tefin in the fourth cycle
   CNM bigman woman
   the important woman

1.3.3.2 Cycle Expansion: This section may be composed of embedded conflict cycles that will build in intensity. It may take the conflict from one set of characters to an ever increasing number until "all of them" are involved by repeating a series of actions two or three times.

10) Nari ri tamasiak, ri soxoi -e. Mane lusaxam
    TP.3pl 3p1.SP get.up, 3p1.SP throw.at-3s.o. TP.3s caught
    They got ready, they threw at him. He caught

    a tol si -ri e a faatungan -e se-na saxa e
   CMM spear POS -3p1 and 3s.SP stood -3s.o ASC-3s one and
   their spear and threw striking one with it and

    fo maat.
   PRF die
   died. (The one struck).

This is repeated two more times and then:

11) Lo vesan nari malaan. Vilan nari no vesan nari
    PPS make TP.3pl SEMB. Doing TP.3pl CLX make TP.3pl
    (He) kept making them like (this). Doing them, he killed them

    falet, falet, falet, e na xipang fataxapiak
    go go go and PNM bushman last
    it went on and on and the last bushman
In the expansion there is often an increase in the action marked by the use of a form homophonous with the second singular subject pronoun no instead of the usual third singular or plural subject pronouns. We have called this form the climax subject pronoun, CLX. The irregular use of no draws the hearer into the event which may be only a single action or may be a sequence of decisive actions.

12) e no paan fe siak a sila i -na ni pasok and CLX go PUR.go get CNM midrib GEN-3s coconut white He went, going to get a midrib of the white coconut
e no maa sak a maana malaigon aa -ve. and CLX PUR.co whipped CNM many innards REL-ANA and he came and whipped those innards.

The climax subject pronoun no usually occurs where the participant is in a state of frenzy or agitation. The verb phrases tend to be more punctiliar, the events tend to be sequential and the aspect generally is perfective.

13) A lak a laak lana lifu CNM boy 3s.SP go.up inside house The boy went into the house

no taui se-na laas no sarafan e CLX hold ASC-3s lime.powder CLX spread. around -3s.o he grabbed the lime powder, he spread it around

E no ta -tau i se -na maana mo pe la lifu and CLX RED-hold ASC-3s many things GLOC LOC house and he grabbed many things in the house
1.3.3.3 Transition: The transition brings the cycle to a close but does not bring resolution to the conflict. It is frequently marked by a return to the deictic center. (cf.45)

1.4 FINALE: While many of the characteristics that indicate cycles within the major conflict are the same, we find that at the resolution of the final conflict cycle, or finale, we are more likely to have left dislocated object NP’s with relative clauses (cf.11) and full NP’s rather than topic pronouns in the topic position (see P. Schlie 1993). The finale resolves all the cycles of the major conflict.

14) Taasaxa a lak moxo a ngaa pasak moxo xariu
    But CWM boy AC.MO 3s.R.SP violently broke AC.MO bamboo
    But the boy smashed the bamboo

    e ro piu moxo re fala maan e re maa xet-aan
    and d1 dog AC.MO 3d1.SP run AC.co and 3d1.SP PUR.co bite-GER
    and the two dogs came running and they came biting

    na Taugui. Nane rao i falouet a ro piu e
    PNM Taugui. TP.3s INT 3s.I.SP charge.at CWM d1 dog and
    Taugui. He went to charge at the two dogs and
a lak a soxoi - e pa - na tol e rao i
CMM boy 3s.R.SP throw.at-3s.o INT-3s spear and INT 3s.I.SP
the boy threw at him with a spear and he went

falou a lak e ro piau re fe xat-e
charge.at CMM boy and d1 dog 3d1.SP PUR.go bit-3s.o
to charge at the boy and the two dogs went to bite him

This story continues until the boy kills Taugui and he falls with a
thud. This finishes the major conflict and leads in the present
relevance.

1.5 PRESENT RELEVANCE: When the major conflict is resolved in the
Finale, this section, which is optional, then explains how this affects
the present situation. It frequently begins with:

15) E voxo tanin E nabo xo tanin
And so today OR And now today

16) E voxo tanin tamo a bina i taa leaf no fexaxaaas
and so today CND CMM place 3s.I.SP IRR afternoon 2s.SP able
And so today if the place becomes afternoon you are able

no taa xalum narie re taxa lif.
2s.SP IRR see TP.3d1 3d1.SP CNT fly
to see them flying.

E tamo no soxo -i a mangaaf e no penei-e
and CND 2s.SP throw-at CMM bird.type and 2s.SP clean-3s
And if you shoot a mangaaf and you clean it

no taa xalum a yaat in -a a savaa mon.
2s.SP IRR see CMM liver GEN-3s CMM one only.
you will see the liver of it is only one.
1.6 CLOSURE: The Kara narrative has a traditional way of bringing a story to a close. After the Present Relevance of the story the speaker says something like

17) a xuus-kuus moxo a taxapus-et e laax-et moxo
    CHM RED -story AC.MO 3s.SP finish -AC.GO and go.up-AC.GO AC.MO
    lapaana ivin si Kevin.
    under bed POS Kevin
    The story is finished and goes up under the bed of Kevin.

Obviously these generalities are just that, generalities. We have noticed trends and commented on them as things to look for in the structure of the traditional Kara narrative.

2.0 THE USE OF XO IN KARA NARRATIVES

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The morpheme xo occurs in Kara narratives with left dislocated temporal phrases, with topic nominals and with predicates*. It occurs in clauses with perfective, imperfective and perfect aspect. Sometimes xo appears to function as a focus marker: it marks the thing that the speaker wants the hearer to remember. But there are clauses with four or five xo marked phrases which makes it like the spotlights in a three ring circus, you do not know where to look. Sometimes xo appears to be marking discontinuity i.e. a change of time or participant or a change of action. But there are situations where the change is so minimal that it would be hard to classify it as discontinuity. For every occurrence of xo there is at least one example of a similar environment without xo.
Stories may be told without the use of xo. They are still grammatically correct, cohesive stories but they are flat, without texture. It appears that xo and its relative m0x05 help contribute texture to the Kara narrative. They draw the listeners into the story and give the characters of the story more dynamic personalities.

At the sentence level it is impossible to formulate rules to determine when or if xo should be used. It is necessary to look at the whole discourse. This would indicate that the use of xo is not motivated by syntactic considerations but by pragmatic considerations.

According to Li, Thompson and Thompson (1982) the Mandarin morpheme le has two functions: it marks perfective aspect in the verb phrase and it marks "currently relevant state"(CRS), a function of Perfect aspect, when it occurs clause final. This means that clause final le marks some state of affairs as relevant to some particular reference time. They indicate that they see the clause final le not as the Perfect aspect morpheme but as an exponent or extension of the Perfect aspect in that it is doing some of the same things that Perfect aspect does. They go on to discuss five ways that a sentence with clause final le relates 'currently relevant state': if the state of affairs it marks 1) is a changed state, 2) corrects a wrong assumption, 3) reports on 'progress so far' 4) determines what will happen next or 5) is the speakers total contribution to the conversation at that point.

In Kara there is a three member family of Perfect aspect markers: fo the Perfect of Result: nane fo savat 'he has appeared'; lo a Perfect of Persistent Situation: Ri lo vil malaane 'they kept on doing like
that' and mo the Perfect of Recent Past: nane mo laak xuluna 'he had gone up on it before' (see Comrie, 1976, Aspect ch3). These morphemes occur in the AUX (see P. Schlie, 1993) position in the verb phrase.
In appearance xo is shaped somewhat like the Perfect markers but it does not occur in the AUX position. Nor does it always occur clause final like le, the 'currently relevant state' marker in Mandarin. But xo does appear to indicate some of the same kinds of core meanings as the clause final le and may possibly be viewed as an extension of Perfect Aspect in Kara.

In this section we will look at xo first with left dislocated temporal phrases and secondly with topic nominals. Thirdly we will look at xo with the predicate.

2.2 WITH TEMPORAL PHRASES

Kara temporal phrases tend to fall into two categories: 1) Clause Level Temporal Phrases that are simple adverbial time words usually occurring after the predicate e.g. leaf 'afternoon'; mofu 'tomorrow'; mui 'later'

18) i taa savat leaf
   3s.I.SP IRR arrive afternoon
   s/he will arrive (in the) afternoon

19) maam sivi xe pua taun lenef
   1pl.ex.SP go.down to DIR town yesterday
   we went to town yesterday

and 2) Discourse Level Temporal Phrases which are thematized by left dislocation. These Discourse Level Temporal Phrases are generally more complex than the Clause Level phrases. They may be nominal phrases or
temporal locative phrases, marked by the locative preposition la which
are filled by subordinate clauses, nominalized verb phrases or noun
phrases.

20) Temporal Locative Phrase - Nominalized Verb Phrase
   La yaan i -na sinuf -an a toxan a saxa tefin...
   LOC day GEN-3s run.away-CRF 3s.SP have CNM one woman
   At the time of running away there was a woman...

21) Temporal Locative Phrase - Subordinate Clause
   La yaan ri taxa sangas-et, a saxa xo....
   LOC day 3p1.SP CHT walk -AC.GO, CNM one CRS
   While they were walking away, one (of them)

22) Temporal Locative Phrase - Noun Phrase
   La saxa paanen na natuna matalava tefin a tafaangun
   LOC one morning PHM son.of important woman 3s.SP arose
   At one morning the son of the important woman arose

23) Temporal Noun Phrase
   Saxa yaan a lak xo laak xe la latan la saleng
   One day CNM child CRS go.up to LOC bush LOC pig.hunt
   One day, a boy went up to the bush to the place of hunting pigs.

Clause Level Temporal Phrases, the temporal adverbs, are never
marked with xo even when they are left dislocated. Discourse Temporal
Phrases on the other hand may be marked with xo but do not have to be so
marked.

At the start of a narrative, after the title and formal opening, a
Discourse Level Temporal Phrase may occur marked with xo. It will
usually be followed by a subject pronoun and not a topic nominal as the
start of the major conflict cycle would have. (cf #8)

24) a mataa naang a fuuna lo tara'uma vulai.
   CNM man this.same 3s.SP HAB PPS garden always
   This same man habitually gardened all the time.
In this example the speaker has set the scene for the coming action by stating what the normal circumstances were: this man habitually gardened all the time. The Discourse Level Temporal Phrase is marked as currently relevant because this is the day, out of many days of going to the garden, that something is going to happen. It also marks the start of the first minor conflict cycle.

At the beginning of the major conflict section, in the clause initial position, we find a Discourse Level Temporal Locative marked with xo as well as a topic nominal marked with xo. As stated earlier, this particular combination occurs only once in a narrative.

25) La saxa yaan xo na nina lak xo texaas o.... LOC one day CRS PNM mother child CRS know that...
At one day the child’s mother knew that...

The Discourse Temporal Locative Phrase marked with xo in this situation is indicating the foundational time reference for the rest of the story. All the following temporal phrases mark time progression in reference to this foundational temporal phrase. The clause following the above example is:

26) La-vung xo la-yaan re taxa matef na nina-na xo LOC-night CRS LOC-day 3pl.SP CNT sleep PNM Mother-3s CRS In the evening when they were sleeping his mother...

The 'in the evening when they were sleeping' is referenced to the 'At one day' of the previous clause. It is marked as currently relevant by
xo because the time frame is conducive to the event that follows i.e. having a vision.

At other important junctures in the narrative there may be Discourse Temporal Phrases marked with xo that appear in co-ordinate clauses.

27) Falet e la saxa yaan xo a lak bak fe-siak tunai -aan go and LOC one day CRS CNM child then IN- get truely-GER Going on and one day then the boy had truely gotten a gutan xena ti votan -aan nari. CNM strength PUR stand obstruct-GER TP.3pl the strength for obstructing them.

The time reference is relevant to the narrative because it marks the moment that a purpose or process was achieved, for until the boy had gained his full strength he would not have been able to obstruct the bushmen.

There is one other type of locative which is marked with xo. It occurs in the midst of conflict cycles to mark a progression in time, usually a short time. It occurs in co-ordinate constructions. Usually nothing of import happens during that time but the progression of time is relevant to the next event.

28) A ma -na a ria e nane a tiuan a ria CNM hand-3s 3s.SP blood and TP.3s 3s.SP pour.out CNM blood His handbled and he poured the blood

ti la ma -na xe la paxana lavula. A bina xo leaf from LOC hand-3s to LOC leaf.of taro. CNM place CRS afternoon from his hand to a taro leaf. The place (became) afternoon e nane xo ulaa xe la bina.
and TP.3s CRS returned to the place and he returned to the place.
Here it is necessary to say that it became afternoon because that is the normal time when a person returns to the village from the garden. This type of time progression is integral to the natural passage of events.

While 'afternoon' is the most common of these temporal phrases others can occur like: yaan 'day', and suk 'dark'. The aspect may change as well fe suk 'become dark' taxa suk maan 'was becoming dark'.

In summary, Discourse Temporal Phrases are marked with xo when they indicate a 'change of state' in the time setting of the narrative that is relevant for what happens next.

2.3 WITH TOPIC NOMINALS

Topic nominals, both full noun phrases and topic pronouns, occur in the pre-verbal topic position. They may occur in any conflict cycle, major or minor. The xo marks a participant as currently relevant to the narrative. This relevancy could be because the participant is being re-introduced after several clauses or because he is being singled out from among a plurality. In either case s/he is now the one being talked about. The xo marked nominal is usually the subject of the clause and may be the actor, the experiencer or the recipient. Of the 60 topic nominals marked with xo in the nine texts that were counted 42 were actors, 15 experiencers and 3 recipient.

29) Tamo ri taa falet a mataa saxa xo i taa waan.
   if 3pl.SP IRR go CNM man one CRS 3s.I.SP IRR stay.
   When they would go one of the men would stay.

30) A rofenan aa -ve xo re waan e a matalava
   CNM mother.child REL-ANA CRS 3dl.SP stay and CNM important
   The mother and son they stayed and the important
In example 29 the xo marked noun phrase is relevant, having been singled out from 'they'. It also marks a contrast between those going and the one staying. In example 30 'mother and son' are marked as currently relevant having re-entered the story from seven clauses back. The aave, the anaphoric marker reminds us that these participants have been talked about before. In the following clauses the mother and then the son each receive xo marking indicating their respective relevance as they are singled out to be the one talked about.

While most nominals marked with xo are subjects of the clause it is possible to have thematized object nominals marked with xo.

31) E xaul, xaul man fulaa e na Taugui laa
    and paddle, paddle AC.CO again and PNM Taugui again
    And (he) paddled, paddled coming more and Taugui again'
savat e nane a putuk a xulumana xo.
appear and TP.3s 3s.SP cut CNM neck.3s CRS
appeared and he (the brother) cut his (other brother) neck.

32) A patuna xo, nane tau fatatea-x-e
    CNM head.3s CRS TP.3s held tightly -3s.o
    The head, he held it tightly
    e maa laak xo la nonamaat.
    and PUR.co go.up CRS LOC face.reef
    and coming went up on the reef.
In summary, there are two reasons that xo signifies current relevancy on a nominal; 1) topic (re)establishment after an absence and 2) prominence of one out of a plurality. Both of these represent a change in the state of affairs.

2.4 WITH THE PREDICATE

The occurrence of xo with the predicate tells the hearer that something about the verb or its arguments is relevant in some way to the narrative. For every occurrence of xo with the predicate there is at least one similar occurrence without xo. With the predicate 92% of the time xo occurs directly following the verb, but it may occur on prepositional phrases and direct objects as well. It appears that the current relevancy being marked in those circumstances does not have to do with the prepositional phrase itself but with the entire predication.

2.4.1 Instrument phrase with xo

33) Name xo taya lo waan fu-funai malaan paan, paan TP.3s CRS CNT PPS stay RED-hide SEMB go go He kept on hiding like (this)

e bina fe-leaf e rao i kaalum xo and place IN-afternoon and INT 3s.I.SP look.at CRS and it became afternoon and he looked around

e a tefin xukunau xo savat maan pana popo xo and CNM woman spirit CRS appear AC.CO INS baby CRS and the spirit woman appeared with the baby.

Preceding example 33 the man wanted to know who had been holding his baby because of the good aroma on the baby. So when the xo marks the
prepositional phrase ‘with the baby’ it is not the baby that is currently relevant so much as the spirit woman appearing with the baby because now he knows who has been holding the baby.

2.4.2 The Direct Object with xo

34) Nane lava laa putuk lisan a sapaka e re falet TP.3s big again cut bring CNM one.of.the leg and 3d1.SP go The old (boy) again cut bringing one of the legs and they went

nane xaul, xaul e na Taugui maa savat fulaa si -na TP.3s paddle, paddle and PNM Taugui PUR.co appear again POS-3s he paddled, paddled and Taugui came to him again

e nane putuk a palou. E xaul, xaul maan fulaa e and TP.3s cut CNM middle. And paddle, paddle AC.CO again and and he cut the middle. And paddled, paddled coming again and

na Taugui laa savat e nane a putuk a xulamana xo. PNM Taugui again appear and TP.3s 3s.SP cut CNM neck.3s CRS Taugui again appeared and he (boy) cut his neck(other boy).

A putuna xo, nane tau fatateax-e e maa laak xo CNM head.his CRS TP.3s hold tightly -3s.o and PUR.co go.up CRS The head, he held it tightly and coming went up

la nonamaat
LOC reef.edge
on the reef.

In this example the older brother has been cutting up the younger brother and giving him to Taugui. The xo with the direct object, his neck, is not marking the neck so much as the cutting of the neck. With the cutting of the neck only the head is left and the head is what the rest of the narrative revolves around.

3.0 THE FUNCTIONS OF XO IN THE KARA NARRATIVE

The core meaning of xo with a predicate is not necessarily a well defined item. There is much over-lap especially in two areas: 1) Change
of State together with Correction of a Wrong Assumption and 2) What Happens Next with building suspense. However we have chosen to keep these categories separate for now with hope that it will help to clarify the use of xo.

In this section we will give examples to show the types of situations where a speaker may use xo to help the hearer better understand the situation, and to add texture to the narrative.

3.1 Change of State and Correction of a Misconception with xo

35) Saxa rofetama fulaa re filimaan xena xavang-aan nari, one father.son again 3dl.SP come PUR help -GER TP.3pl
Another father and son came to help them

na Matias e na Sabau re maa xavang nari fulaa PNM Matias and PNM Sabau 3dl.SP PUR.co help TP.3pl again Matias and Sabau came to help them also'

pana vil tapin a raarum lana bot INS do throw.away CNM water inside boat with throwing out the water inside the boat

e yuf fa-lak a bot xe la gun. Ri and pull CS-go.up CNM boat to LOC beach. 3pl.SP and pulled up the boat to the beach. They

vilai vilai vilai e ri fe-yuf fa-lak xo do do do and 3pl.SP REC-pull CS-go.up CRS worked and worked and worked and they pulled up

a bot xe kol la gun. Ri vil tapin CNM boat to west LOC beach. 3pl.SP do throw.away the boat on to the beach. They threw out

a raarum e fe taxapus. E a bot fe-nai CNM water and PUR.go finish. And CNM boat IN-sit the water and (it was) finished and the boat sat

la gun bak.
LOC beach then

on the beach then.
36) E lumui na Lamesmes bak a sivi fulaa
And later PMM Lamesmes then 3s.SP go.down again
And later Lamesmes then went down again

pana glaas e sutlam sina e fe galaas sena
INS google and torch POS.3s and PUR.go glass ASC-3s
with his goggles and flashlight and went looking for

maana mos aa -ve ri poxo lana laman e taxa lo galaas
many things REL-ANA 3pl.SP fall in sea and CNT PPS look
those many things that fell in the sea and (he) kept looking;

sut seng xolane e tingin xo a key i -na kar
torch hunt.for about.3s and find xo CMPN key GEN-3s car
hunting around with the flashlight and found the car key

e key i -na ofis si -na NBC.
and key GEN-3s office POS-3s NBC
and the NBC office key.

In example 35) the first yuf falak without xo makes a simple
statement: they came to help them get the water out of the boat and pull
it up to shore. Then the narrative goes on to say that the men worked
quite a while to get enough water out of the boat to be able to pull it
up towards shore. The verb phrase feyuf falak, following the verb stem
reduplication, indicating durative, says a purpose has been achieved.
The xo indicates that this knowledge is relevant to the story. It is
relevant because this represents a change of state. The speaker did not
want the hearer to think that the boat had been lost which was the
explicit possibility earlier in the story, and so xo also indicates a
correction of a possible misconception. The next clause does not receive
xo because, even though they finished the activity of getting rid of the
water, now that the boat had been rescued what happened to it really is
not relevant any longer.
In 36) the occurrence of xo again marks a change of state because a purpose has been achieved. It is very difficult to find things in a sandy sea bottom especially in a drain where the current tends to be strong. The keys would be no exception but, they were found and thus the xo correcting a possible misconception.

3.2 Event-line switch with xo

In example 37) below, we find that the core meaning of xo is a switch in the event line. When there has been background material and the speaker wants to return to the event line he may use xo with the verb to move the hearers’ attention back to the event line.

37) a bina xo suk maan e fulun xo laak ti lana laman CNM place CRS dark AC.CO and moon CRS go.up from in sea The place was getting dark and the moon rose from the sea

e matana luai faagut e matavas faroxo. and eye.3s peaceful strong and clear well and the sea was very peaceful and very clear.

Rutul taxa lo waan, waan, waan 3pl.SP CNT PPS stay, stay, stay The three of them stayed on and on

e fe-malaan naak a 10 kilok la vung and IN-SEMB PROB CNM 10 oclock LOC night and it was about 10 o’clock at night

e ri yuf xo anka i -na bot and 3pl.SP pull.up CRS anchor GEN-3s boat and they pulled up the anchor of the boat

e ri fatamasiak a masin i -na bot and 3pl.SP get.ready CNM machine GEN-3s boat and they started the engine of the boat’
38) Layaan rutul taxa fala falet na Otto i taxa fafalen a When 3tr.SP CNT run go PNM Otto 3s.I.SP CNT drive CNM When they were running on Otto was driving the
bot e na E a tigina la palou e na Wakeri a boat and PNM E 3s.SP stand LOC middle and PNM Wakeri 3s.SP boat and E stood in the middle and Wakeri ' tigina la xasing.
stand LOC side.
stood at the side.

39) Layaan rao ri laak xo la matana sawa Saxui When INT 3pl.SP go.up CRS LOC eye.3s drain Saxui When they wanted to go up the opening of the drain at Saxui
e ri faasilak xo ri taa laak
and 3pl.SP near CRS 3pl.SP IRR go.up
and they were near going up'
lana sawa, faasilak famodak moxo e tang tof molava pis in drain near little AC.MO and huge wave large very into the drain, a little nearer and an extremely huge wave
a tamasiak lumui lami rutul. Rutul ipul mon sena 3s.SP get.up behind LOC.back 3tr. 3tr.SP surprise only ASC.3s got up behind them. They were surprised because'
tof a tabur xulu - rutul e puk paaliu marasaxain wave 3s.SP broke on.top- 3tr and turn very completely the wave broke on top of them and completely turned over
a bot sirutul.
CNM boat POS.3tr their boat.

Example 37) sets the scene for the events about to happen.

Frequently natural events like: 'the place became dark' and 'the moon rose' are used to mark a passage of time and to set the scene for the upcoming events. As we have seen before, the topic nominal of these temporal clauses is usually marked with xo. The complete verb
reduplication of the stative verb, waan 'stay' tells us this scene, not the action, has lasted over a period of time. The verb phrase pulled up the anchor does not represent a purpose achieved, as they had not been working at doing this. 'Pulling up the anchor' was not the goal. The occurrence of xo with pulled up the anchor indicates that this scene is currently relevant because it leads us back to the event line and the action.

The nominalized purpose phrase at the end of ex.37 is the macro event that subsumes all that happens next and receives xo to inform the listener of the relevancy of this event. This is also marking an event line switch, from the event line to background. Example 38) is all background, non-event line material.

3.3 Building Suspense with xo

In example 39) the next two occurrences of xo followed by moxo function to build suspense leading to the climax. Since there has been background information inserted there is a restatement of the men's intention to go up into the drain and the xo indicates the current relevancy of this statement that is, we are back on event line. It also relates back to the last xo to remind the hearer what the goal of the activity is. The second occurrence of xo, helps build suspense as they get closer to their goal. The next phrase with moxo brings the action right up to the present time, moving it even closer to the goal. When the actual climax of the narrative occurs however, it does not have any marking at all.
In example 40 below we find verb reduplication marked with xo.

This type of reduplication is often used to indicate that an action went on for an extended period of time. The xo marking is used to bring attention to this extension of time thus helping to build suspense. It is not marking the completion of an action as in ex. 35 where it occurs on the verb phrase after the reduplication and not on the reduplication itself.

40) a fani xo ni. A laak laak laak xo
3s.SP climb CRS coconut. 3s.SP go.up go.up go.up CRS
he climbed the coconut. He went up, up, up

e fe savat laui la xuna vata
and PUR.go arrive up LOC belly.3s cloud
and arrived up in the belly of the clouds

e fa-falet soxot xo nobina na Taugui
and RED-go after CRS place PNM Taugui
and went on after the place that Taugui

taxa waan lana. A falet e fe savat xo.
CNT stay in. 3s.SP go and PUR.go arrive CRS.
was living in. He went and arrived (there).

The suspense is further heightened by the occurrence of xo on the verb phrase with CV reduplication, fa-falet soxot xo. The final occurrence of xo in this example indicates change of state, mission accomplished, he arrived there.

So far then, xo with the predicate marks the current relevancy of a state of affairs in four ways: when there is 1) change of state 2) correction of a wrong assumption 3) movement to and from the event line and 4) building suspense leading up to the climax of the story.
3.4 What Happens Next with xo

When xo marks a completed verb phrase, a verb plus xapiak 'complete', it indicates that this finished action is currently relevant because it allows the next event to occur. This construction is generally found in co-ordinate clauses with the xo marked clause occurring first.

41) a saxano maanu ri susuf xapiak xo
    CNM other birds 3pl.SP bathe complete CRS
    The other birds finished bathing

    e ri maa xo xo1 pana maana fui siri
    and 3pl.SP PUR.co change INS many hair POS.3pl
    and they came to change(put on) their hair (feathers)

    e na madiga xo i taxa seng a fui sina.
    and PNM Madiga CRS 3s.I.SP CNT hunt.for CNM hair POS.3s
    and Madiga was hunting for his hair.'

42) A maana saxano maanu ri xo -xo1 xapiak xo
    CNM many other bird 3pl.SP RED-change complete CRS
    The other birds finished changing'

    e ri taxa paan tasaxain na madiga xo
    and 3pl.SP CNT go but PNM Madiga CRS
    and they were going but Madiga

    waan lumui e a fa-lak moxo a fui sina Waiya
    stay later and 3s.SP CS-go.up AC.MO CNM hair POS.3s Waiya
    stayed behind and put on the Waiya's hair.

In example 41 and 42 xo indicates the current relevancy of each completed action in that it allows what happens next, to happen. While both of these examples have durative, CV reduplicated verbs that is not a requirement of this construction.

43) ri waan waan xo e bina xo leaf
    3pl.SP stay stay CRS and place CRS afternoon
    they stayed and stayed and it was afternoon
and the women opened the earth oven

and the men distributed (the food) to everyone

and they ate. They finished eating.

and they filled up (baskets) with their portions

and they returned to their villages.

Example 43 brings all the preparation for the feast, the opening of the earth oven, the distribution of the food and the eating to an end. The word xapiak says the event is completed and the xo indicates that this completeion is currently relevant because it allows the story may continue. Now they can clean up and go home which leads into the Finale of the narrative.

In ex.44 below, we do not have a verb with xapiak, a completed event, as in example 43. Here we have continuative aspect and Perfect of Persistant Situation plus a verb. While xapiak closes off an event so the next thing can happen the continuative aspect and perfect of persistant situation tell the hearer that the event described goes on while something else happens.

44) a    sangas falet e    fe    langaiaan a
     3s.SP walk go    and PUR.go hear.NOM CNM
     He walked on and heard.
lingina singirafan sina tang tiui
sound.3s snoring POS.3s huge snake
the sound of the snoring of the huge snake

a tang mo mon
CMN huge thing only
a huge thing only

tang mo modak faa i taxa mati matef
huge thing small where 3s.SP.I CNT lay.down sleep
a really huge thing lying sleeping

e taxa mati matef ve la paana neliing
and CNT lay.down sleep ANA LOC under portion.cave
and (it) was lying sleeping there under the cave

e voo xo i taxa lo singaraf xo.
and so 3s.SP.I CNT PPS snore CRS
and so it kept on snoring."

ang, a soldia aave xo gilimet -e, taasaxa
yes, CMN soldia REL.AMA CRS peer.in.at-3s.o but
Yes, that soldier peered in at it but'

pifie xalum tara xali-e e pe sa -sangas -et..
NEG see try name-3s.o and GLOC RED-kept.on.walking-AC.GO
did not see to recognize it and walked on...

3.5 Wrap-up with xo

The term wrap-up is defined as the completion of a cycle, the
attainment of a goal or the accomplishment of a desire or intent.
Frequently a motion verb is used to indicate these types of wrap-up.
Within the narrative the word ulaa 'return' is often used to bring the
action back to the deictic center, the place where the action goes from
and returns to.

45) A mana ria e nane a tiuan a ria ti la
CMN hand.3s blood and TP.3s 3s.SP pour.out CMN blood from LOC
His hand bled and he poured the blood from
mana xe la paxana lavula. A bina xo leaf e nane hand.3s to LOC leaf.3s taro. CNM place CRS afternoon and TP.3s his hand on the taro leaf. It became afternoon and he

xo ulaa xe la bina. Fe savat la bina, e a bina CRS return to LOC place. PUR.go appear LOC place and CNM place returned to the place. Upon arriving at the place it (became)

xo suk e fe -matef. 
CRS dark and IN -sleep
dark and (he) wwent to sleep.

In this example the verb ulaa 'return' does not occur with xo because the returning is not the currently relevant item. The man, represented by the topic pronoun, is marked with xo. He remains the currently relevant item throughout this and the next clause. At another place in this same text we find the following:

46) Saxa yaan xo nane xo paan fulaa xe la uma sina. 
One day CRS TP.3s CRS go again to LOC garden POS.3s One day he again went to his garden.

La-yaan aa -ve fe savat, a falet xo LOC-day REL-ANA PUR.go appear 3s.SP go CRS 
When arriving, he went

rao i xalum a ro xutuluk aa -ve INT 3s.I.SP see CNM d1 egg REL-ANA 
to see the two eggs

e fe'ipul sena ro xutuluk re fo tapasak and surprised ASC.3s d1 eggs 3d1.SP PRF hatch 
and (he) was surprised because the two eggs had hatched

pana rolak e rolak xo re taxa lo xurau INS 2.child and 2.child CRS 3d1.SP CNT PPS play 
with two children and the two children were playing'

pe lana uma. Nane xo xel a rolak e GLOC in garden. TP.3s CRS call CNM d1.child and 
in the garden. He called the two children and

rutul fe ulaa xo xe la bina. Rutul savat la 3tr.SP PUR.go return CRS to LOC place 3tr.SP appear LOC 
the three of them went back to the place. They appeared at
bina e rutul waan. Rutul waan faroxo, taasaxa saxa place and 3tr.SP stay 3tr.SP stay well but one the place and they stayed. They stayed well, but one

yaan xo a mataa aa -ve xo....
day CRS CNM man REL-ANA CRS
day the man...

Here we find ulaa occurring with xo indicating a currently relevant state because it is a wrap-up, a completion of a cycle. The following clauses use subject markers and present non-event line material which lead into the major conflict cycle. (cf #8)

Another motion verb that often occurs with xo is paan 'go'. This marks the going as currently relevant because it removes a participant from the scene, it wraps-up his part in the story.

47) la saxa yaan xo ri falet la susuf
LOC one day CRS 3pl.SP go LOC bathe
At one day they went bathing

e ri fe -mul fa-nai a maana fui siri
and 3pl.SP REC-remove CS-sit CNM many hair POS.3pl
and they put their hair (feathers) aside

e ri fe -su -suf. Na Waiya ve fe susuf bit
and 3pl.SP REC-RED-bathe. PNM Waiya ANA PUR.go bathe deceive
and they bathed. Waiya only pretended bathing

mon e a laak paamu e a maana saxano maanu
only and 3s.SP go.up before and CNM many other bird
and he went up first and the other good birds

roxo ri taxa susuf vungut.
good 3pl.SP CNT bathe ignorant
they were ignorantly bathing.

Na Waiya a laak e fe xoxol pana
PNM Waiya 3s.SP go.up and PUR.go change INS
Waiya went up and changed with

fui sina Madiga e fe paan xo.
hair POS.3s Madiga and PUR.go go CRS
the hair (feathers) of Madiga and going went.
A saxano maanu ri susuf xapiak xo
CMM some bird 3pl.SP bathe finish CRS
The other birds finished bathing

e ri maa xoxol pana maana fui siri
and 3pl.SP PUR.co change INS many hair POS.3pl
and they came to change (put on) their hair

e na Madiga xo i taxa seng a fui sina.
and PNM Madiga CRS 3s.SP.I CNT hunt.for CMM hair POS.3s
and Madiga was hunting for his hair.

The occurance of xo with the verb paan can also mark as currently
relevant, by way of wrap-up, the end of the story.

48) E voxo ri tamian a bot xuluna kaaris
and so 3pl.SP put CNM boat on.top.3s carriage
And so they put the boat on the carriage

ina (kaar) e ri yufe e ri
GEN.3s (car) and 3pl.SP pulled.it and 3pl.SP
of the car and they pulled it and they

fe paan xo xe la bina.
PUR.go go CRS to LOC place.
went to the village.

This is the end of the narrative. What follows is the present
relevance (cf1.5)

4.0 Conclusion

From the examples investigated it would appear that the Kara
morpheme xo does indeed cover several of the core meanings of the
Mandarin le. It marks a state of affairs if it is 1) a change of state
2) corrects a wrong assumption 3) determines what will happen next and
4) wraps up something to do with the narrative. In addition the Kara xo
appears to 1) mark event line switch and 2) help build suspense.
While we would not want to draw tight similarities between the Mandarin le and the Kara xo without further investigation into conversational use of xo we do feel that we can legitimately call the Kara xo a 'currently relevant state' marker, CRS.

An understanding of the function of the marker xo is very important to a full appreciation of the Kara narrative. Comprehension of its function helps the hearer to know when the main story line begins, who the major participants are, when they are highlighted and what the main events of the narrative are. It will prepare the listener for the climax of the story by setting out the situations. And it will clue a knowledgeable hearer when to be listening for the unexpected.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviations List</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AC.CO</td>
<td>Action coming toward speaker (maan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AC.GO</td>
<td>Action going away from speaker (et)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AC.MO</td>
<td>Action mover (moxo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANA</td>
<td>Anaphoric marker (ve)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASC</td>
<td>Associative (se)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUX</td>
<td>Auxiliary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLX</td>
<td>Climax pronoun (no)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNM</td>
<td>Common Noun Marker (a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNT</td>
<td>Continuative aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COL</td>
<td>Collateral information (vaa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRF</td>
<td>Case Relation Functor (-an)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRS</td>
<td>Currently Relevant State (xo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CS</td>
<td>Causative (fa-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CS2</td>
<td>Causative (faa-) 'ordinal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>Direction (puu, paa, pul, kol)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d1</td>
<td>dual (ro)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPF</td>
<td>Discontinued Perfect Aspect (mo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>Durative/ reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>Genitive (i-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GER</td>
<td>Gerund (-aan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLOC</td>
<td>General Locative (pe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAB</td>
<td>Habitual Aspect (fuuna)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN</td>
<td>Inchoative (fe-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INS</td>
<td>Instrument (pana)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>Intention (rao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTS</td>
<td>Intensifier (paaliu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>Irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>Locative (la)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>Negation (pi/pife)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>Nominalizer (-an)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p1</td>
<td>plural (nu, mu, lu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNM</td>
<td>Proper Houn Marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POS</td>
<td>Possessive marker (si-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPS</td>
<td>Perfect of persistent situation (lo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRB</td>
<td>Probability (naak)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRF</td>
<td>Perfect Aspect marker (fo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUR</td>
<td>Purpose marker (xena)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUR.co</td>
<td>Purposive, come in order to (maa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUR.go</td>
<td>Purposive, go in order to (fe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCP</td>
<td>Reciprocal (fe- -an)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RFLX</td>
<td>Reflexive (sang)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>Relative phoric root (aa-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEMB</td>
<td>Semblative (malaan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>Subject Pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TP</td>
<td>Topic Pronoun (na+-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1dl.ex</td>
<td>First person dual exclusive (nemame)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3dl</td>
<td>Third person dual(re)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>Third person plural (ri)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3tr</td>
<td>Third person trial (rutul)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3s  Third person singular
3s.o Third person singular object (-e)
Bibliography


Schlie, Perry A. 1993 'Sticking to the Track: Cohesion in Kara Narrative' Mss.

Wallace, Stephen. 1982. 'Figure and Ground: The interrelationships of Linguistic Categories.' In Tense-Aspect: Between Semantics and Pragmatics, ed. by Paul J. Hopper, pp.201-223. John Benjamins Publishing Co.
One text includes several clauses between the title and the formal opening that tell us that this story is another one about "bushmen" and he, the speaker, is going to tell it.

2. Some of the analysed texts were collected by a mother-tongue speaker of Kara, these texts tend to have less introductory information than those texts that we collected or were written for us.

3. Those narratives where the formal opening has been omitted have all been written texts, not oral.

4. A predicat consists of (+/-) subject pronoun (+) verb (+/-)object (+/-)Adjunct

Ναo appears to be a combination of the Perfect of recent past ἡστοι with the CAG marker xo. The function of this marker generally seems to be to build suspense.

See P. Schlie 1993

There were 6 examples of xo on prepositional phrases or direct objects compared to 70 with the verb itself.