Actor Volitionality and Kara Verb Semantics by Perry Schlie

My goal in the writing of this paper is to take an in-depth look at Kara sentences by peeling back, as it were, the respective layers of semantics, syntax and pragmatics. In so doing I hope to move towards a greater understanding of the world-view of the Kara speaker. I would like to learn to enjoy with the Kara people the grammatical mechanisms they employ to express fine variations of meaning connected with the ways they divide up the conceptual universe.

Sample Sentences

	Topic	Subj:ACT		Obj:PAT		Obl:mns	

(1)
Nari	ri		sung	a	fata	pana	lamak
T.3pl	3pl		made	art	fire	with	dry palm fronds

'They built a fire with dry palm leaves.'

Subj:ACT				Obj:PAT	Obl:LCS		

(2)
Na	Pius	taa	punux - e		pe	la	latan
art	Pius	irr.	kill 3s		per.	loc	bush

'Pius will kill it in the bush.'

Theme	Topic	Subj:ACT		Obj:PAT	

(3)
Lanef	a	piu	a	xet	na	Pius
yesterday	art	dog	pftv	bite	art	Pius

'Yesterday a dog bit Pius.'

Subj:ACT				Obj:PAT		Obl:mns	

(4)
Na	Pius	fo	soxoi	a	piu	pana	faat
art	Pius	comp.	threw.at	art	dog	with	stone

	Subj:ACT		Obj:PAT	

senaso	a	xet - e	
because	pftv	bite 3s	

'Pius threw a stone at the dog because it bit him'

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        Topic           Subj:PAT
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(5) A   ng̱aas i   taxa   lang   faagut tanen.
     art   sun   impf   is-ing   shine   strong today

'The sun is shining strongly today.'

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        Topic           Subj:PAT
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(6) Na   Beno   a   poxo.
     art   Beno   pftv   fall

'Beno fell down!'

These data sentences demonstrate the normal unmarked constructions typically used by a Kara speaker. The sentence normally consists of a Topic followed by a Clausal Subject, usually a pronoun, the Verb Phrase (VP); with an aspect marker, predicate construction and a complement or an Object:Patient. These may optionally be followed by an Oblique referent and/or a locative or other adjunct phrase. At the minimum a clause may consist of a single verb, but that sort of communication is considered overly abrupt, not lending itself to the easy exchanges so common to Melanesian society. Even before this minimal string can be used in communication, a Topic and an aspectual reference must be established or be obvious.

The Topic in the example sentences (1-6) may be omitted if in the immediate environment previous to the clause it is recoverable as 'given' or asserted information. With an established Topic a pronoun copy of the applicable Actor or Patient is sufficient. So in (1) above, in a conversation about 'them' ri is the only Actor referent needed. The lack of an overt aspect marker indicates a perfective or completed action. The preverbal i or a dif-ferentiates between imperfective and perfective in the third person

singular. In example (2) the postverbal -e Patient suffix must have an anaphoric referent or be obvious in order to be used.

The basic format of the Kara Sentence is:

$$\text{(theme) Topic} \left[\text{S} \quad \text{V} \overset{\text{focus}}{\overline{\text{O}}} \text{(Obl)} \right] \text{(Adjunct)}$$

All the material within the brackets is nuclear to the clause and simple sentence. Topic is a sentential slot introducing the theme of the predication. As previously mentioned, where this theme is established or evident, it may be omitted. In Kara, Topic in the breaking point between Sentence and Clause. The difference between example (1) and example (2) is the lack of Topic. Na Pius, in example (2), is the Subject:Actor of the clause while in (1) "They" are both Topic nari and Subject:Actor ri of the sentence. The morpheme na is a proper noun article that may also be used with kinship terms, pronouns in the Topic or Object positions and personified animal partici- pants in folktales. Nuclear material within a clause may be raised to Topic. Adjunctive material may be fronted to the Theme position before the Topic.

	Theme	Topic				Subj:A/N			
(7)	Lanef,	nenia	e	na	Waga,	maame	fe	- xaul	- ai
	Yesterday	1s	conj	art	Waga	1 exc dl	recp	paddle	npf

	Obl:Lcs		Obl:mns					
	xe	Tabor	pana	xaleo	si	---	ale	
	All.	Tabar	with	canoe	gen		1st	

'Yesterday, Waga and I paddled to Tabar together wtih my canoe.'

Temporal orientation is frequently relegated to the Theme position before the Topic. Since the time related marking on the verbs is aspectual rather than tense marking, a location in time needs to be conveyed separately from the VP. A time frame or a spatial locative, since they share the same

marker, are given in the Theme position, (3) or (7), or in the adjunctive Tail position (5) depending on their importance to the predication. Various phrases or terms (i.e. yesterday, in the afternoon, long ago, in the before (preceding time), now) convey a sense of tense into the periphery of a predication.

The Oblique markers identify nuclear non-prominent referential material such as source or goal of the action, instruments used and indirect causes. Typically the Oblique position case markers are CV or $CV_{(2)}$-na. Chart One shows the various cases filling Clausal slots:

Chart One   Cases in the Clause

Subject	Object	Oblique	Adjunct
ACT	REC	Lcs	Locative
ACT/PAT	PAT/EXP	Allative	Resemblative
ACT/EXP	PAT	Ablative	Comitative
PAT/EXP		Pergressive	Benefactive
PAT		mns	Genitive
		Instrument	
		Position	
		Inside	
		Indirect Cause	
		Reason	
		Purpose	
		During	

This display of roles in the chart is an attempt to demonstrate rights of ascession within the system. Where there is an overt Actor, he will be the Subject of the clause; otherwise, a form of Patient will be the Subject. Where two Oblique phrases occur the Locus phrase will take precedence. Where there is a Recipient he will appear in the Object position as the Patient, while the item being transferred will be marked as Instrument (i.e. three place verb such as "give" with "giver", "givee" and "item given".). In the Kara concept of "give" both human participants must be present or neither may be present.[1]

The basic role in Kara is that of Patient. In Starosta's words (Starosta, 1982), "Semantically, the Patient marks the perceptual center of a predication..." In Kara, assuming the unmarked state, the focus is on the Patient. The other propositions, the various case markings and even verb choice revolve about the Patient. One demonstration of this occurs in recapitulation in a conjoined sentence where the Patient in the Object position of the first clause is the deleted Subject of the second clause.

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[1]An English gloss of acceptable and non-acceptable forms would be as follows:

        Beno gave Pius with buai.
        The buai was given.
      *Beno gave buai.
      *The buai was given by Beno.
      *Pius was given the buai.
      *The buai was given to Pius.

The problem with each of these unacceptable strings is that an inanimate object is being advanced at the expense of a human participant. For a similar reason a clause like "The spear was thrown at the pig." is also disallowed. "The spear was thrown.", with one inanimate participant and "The axe cut the tree.", with two, are both acceptable. Only one class of verbs permits the non-Actor person to occupy the Oblique: Locus position. This group includes such verbs as "bring/take", "get", "steal" (see Class X).

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       Subj:ACT                                    Obj:PAT

(8)    Na        Beno  tuk     tapin       na     Pius   e    ∅  pile
       art       Beno  punch   threw.away  art    Pius   conj    neg.

poxo.
fall.down
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'Beno punched Pius and didn't fall down.'

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       Subj:ACT          Obj:PAT

(9)    Re        pit  a       bol   e    ∅  fe  - liu    a    vafa.
       3dl       hit  art     ball  conj   inch  beyond  art  fence.
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'They hit the ball and went beyond the fence.'

In the above two examples 'Pius' and the 'ball' are the understood subjects of the second clauses. Note also that the Patient (Object) of the first clause remains the Patient (Subject) in the second clause. (For an Actor subject, see example 18.)

A second demonstration of 'Patient primacy' appears in 'hit', 'cut' and 'break' verbs where the Patient and/or how it is affected determine the choice of verb to be used. The following sentences were elicited using a single frame:

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       Subj:ACT           Obj:PAT           Obl:Mns

(10)   ne      tei      a       wai       pana    naip   siak
       1s      cut.down art     tree/wood with    knife  gen-1st
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'I cut down a tree with my knife.'

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(11)   ne  putuk        a     mataa     pana  naip  siak
       1s  cut          art   man       with  knife gen-1st
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'I cut a man with my knife.'

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(12)   ne  lip          latan           pana  naip  siak
       1s  cut          grass/bush       with  knife gen-1st.
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'I cut the grass with my knife.'

	Subj:ACT		Obj:PAT		Obl:Mns		
(13)	ne	rarak	a	kui	pana	naip	siak
	1s	split/cut	art	firewood	with	knife	gen-1st.

'I split the firewood with my knife.'

(14)	ne	xatip	a	vana	pana	naip	siak
	1s	cut	a	net	with	knife	gen-1st

'I cut a net with my knife.'

(15)	ne	patel	a	din/wai	pana	naip	siak
	1s	cut.across		fish/tree	with	knife	gen-1st.

'I cut across a fish/tree with my knife.'

(16)	ne	savol	a	din	pana	naip	siak
	1s	filleted		fish	with	knife	gen-1st

'I filleted a fish with my knife.'

(17)	ne	sapiit	a	fuiga	pana	naip	siak
	1s	cut		my hair	with	knife	gen-1st

'I cut my hair with my knife.'

Each of these verbs represents the same basic motion, but certainly more restraint will be exercised when cutting hair or filleting a fish than when cutting grass. It is evident at any rate that the Patient and his affectedness determine the verb to be used.

Starosta defines Patient as 'the perceived central participant in a state or event.' He adds, and I would agree for Kara, 'The Patient is obligatorily present in the case frames of all verbs and is the case relation of the grammatical subject for all intransitive verbs.' (Starosta 1982)

Looking at examples 1 through 6 we can see that the Patient can occur as either the grammatical Subject or the grammatical Object. In addition, it can be tucked away into the Oblique function if appropriate

marking occurs on the verb. In this action it is demoted as it were to a less prominent role so that the Actor is able to claim a greater share of the attention. Such constructions are a textbook example of Silverstein's "antipassive." (Silverstein, 1976).

	Topic	Subj:ACT	Obl:Cause	

(18)
Lanef	a	malu	a	fit-ai	sena	wai	a
Yesterday	art	wind	pftv	blow	against	tree	pftv

pave	e	vuax - e
there	conj	break 3s

'Yesterday the wind blew against that tree and broke it.'

Here the Patient (wai) is made semi-covert by the marker sena. Its proximity to the verb is reduced and the -ai suffix points our attention toward the Actor Subject. However, in the conjoined clause the Patient resurfaces and with its re-emergence, the Actor, being redundant, is now deleted. A streamlined or unstressed form of the proposition would be as follows:

Topic	Subj:ACT	Obj:PAT		Subj:PAT ∅

(19)
A	malu	a	fit	a	wai	pave	e	ta	-vuak.
art	wind	pftv	blow	art	tree	there	conj	stat.	break

'The wind blew the tree there and it's broken.'

or   Subj:ACT   Obj:PAT

(20)
A	malu	fit	tavuak[2]	a	wai	pave.
art	wind	blew	broken	art	tree	there

'The wind blew breaking the tree there.'

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[2]Verbs with the same referent can be combined into one VP in a sequential manner, i.e. you do not 'kill hit' someone, the 'hit' must come first:
sip	punuxe	'hit killed him'
ti	kaalum	'stand looking'
num	xapine	'drank all of it'

The Patient may be either goal, receiver, or experiencer of the action expressed by the verb. In the presence of an Actor it may not be the grammatical Subject. In a verb of three arguments, Recipients, who are people, ascend to the Patient function over non-human animate and inanimate objects.

The protagonist of the Patient is the Actor. The Kara Actor may be an Agent, a Force, a Source or an Instrument. Starosta defines Agent as "the perceived external instigator, initiator, experiencer or controller of an event or state." (Starosta 1982). In one breath Starosta includes Experiencer and Controller. I dispute this, particularly where it concerns the Kara speaker's method of splitting up the conceptual universe. Other Austronesian languages, especially the Oceanic ones, surely possess this conceptual framework. (Milner 1980) For certain classes of verbs I am postulating a Patient/Experiencer, an Actor/Experiencer and an Actor/Patient based mainly on the volitionality of the person/item in the Subject position. While this may seem a contradiction in terms I feel it is very applicable to the understanding of Kara pragmatics.

Kara people are born into a complex web of responsibilties. A person's responsibility to his family and clan constitutes one of the great continuing strictures throughout his life. Goodenough postulates that where strong societal stricture exists, a game of evasion evolves around it (lecture notes, University of Pennsylvania 1980). The Kara, being very sensitive to responsibility, tends to evade unnecessary (in his view) responsibility[3]. This attitude is also encoded in his grammar,

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[3]In our elicitations we tried to get sentences such as, "(If) you hit the bell then I will hear it." The actual elicited response was always something like "You hit the bell so that I hear it." The person doing the hearing consistently put the responsibility for his hearing on the other person.

which marks the degree of volition of a given action in a given circum-
stance. Experiencer roles are caused by some force, whether from external
sources or spontaneously within the individual. The upshot of this is
that an Experiencer is not in control, at least momentarily, of the
situation. A Patient/Experiencer has even less control than an Actor/
Experiencer. This lack of control is a distinctly Patient role and yet
it is the source of the stimulus which is frequently portrayed as affected
and appears in the Patient:Object position. Experiential situations
such as laughing, sneezing, smelling, being hungry, defecating and even
seeing are all results of some force impinging upon the Experiencer's
conciousness; therefore, his responsibility is limited in these actions.
According to Kara viewpoint, my noticing or seeing something or someone
is attributable to its/his being there. It is not my fault for seeing
it/him. If, however, having noticed them, I choose to look at them,
my action then becomes volitional and actor control is regained. This
control factor shows up as different verbs for 'see' in the lexicon.[4]

Patient/Experiencer as Subject

	Topic		Subj:PAT	Obl:mns	
(21)	Na	Beno	a	giis	pana	maleria
	art	Beno	pftv	sick	with	malaria

'Beno is sick with malaria/Beno has malaria.'

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[4] "see/notice" kaalum The verbs kaalum and xalum, in comparison,
"look at" xalum exhibit two typical phonemic changes
"watch" faalim which have impact on verb semantics.
"stare at" xof (see G. Schlie, 1983) The form faalim
"spy on" paroxan is close enough phonetically to be related
but no consistent pattern deriving faalim
from kaalim or xalum has been noticed to
date.

Subj:PAT

(22)

A	yio	tefin	taxa	soa
art	pig	female	is-ing	give.birth

'The pig is farrowing.'

Subj:PAT   Obl:cause   Obj:PAT   Obl:cause

(23)

Ri	merau	sena	yot	a	vio	xena	fangan
3pl	happy	because	hold	art	pig	for	eat

'They are happy because (they) caught a pig to eat.'

Actor/Experiencer as Subject

Subj:ACT   Obj:PAT

(24)

Ri	mising	a	fanganan	taxa	faaf.
3pl	smell	art	food	is-ing	cook.

'They smelled the food cooking.'

Subj:ACT   Obj:PAT   Obl:Lcs

(25)

Nane	pes	—e	pe	la	guun
3s	defecate	3s	within	art	sand

'He defecated on the beach.'

Subj:ACT/E   Obj:PAT

(26)

Nane	ti	kaalum	nano
He	stand	see	you

'He standing saw you.'

versus

Subj:ACT   Obj:PAT

(27)

Nane	taxa	ti	xalum	nano.
He	is-ing	stand	look.at	you

'He is standing (there) looking at you.'

The third combined role category to be considered is the Actor/Patient unit. This role refers mainly to verbs of position or motion, where the

Actor is also the one being acted upon, an intradirective Actor. This is very similar to one type of "reciprocality"[5] which occurs when two individuals act upon one another. I would suggest that the Actor component of the role becomes less significant than the Patient component at this point, due to the lack of control experienced by either individual over the situation. In either type of reciprocality, corresponding or complimentary, the participants are not freely reacting but are constrained by circumstance to behave in a certain manner.

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        S:ACT                    Obj:PAT

(28)  Re      fe    sipan  nare          ACT/PAT
      They(2)recip  hit
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            co-referential

      'They struck each other'

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        S:ACT/PAT                   Adj:Temp

(29)  Re         fe     rawan -ai  la      yaan  ina  kot
      They(2)    recip  battle     loc     day   of   court
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      'They battled (verbally) the day of the trial.'

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        Subj:PAT/EXP                    Adj:Loc

(30)  Ri          fe - punux - ai  la      yaan  a    ro   kaar  re
      3pl         recip  kill       loc     day   art  dl   car   3dl
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      bung
      came.together

      'They were killed together the day the two cars crashed.'

The -ai suffix in the two foregoing examples denotes that the individuality of the people involved, and their volition, are both limited in these

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[5]"Reciprocality" may refer to a coordinated effort or effect, i.e.
                They hunted together.   They were killed together.
or to efforts directed against each other, i.e.
                They hunted each other.   They killed each other.

situations. In fact, the focus is shifted to the time and reason which produced the action described in the verb. This does not detract from their importance, but draws your attention, as hearer, to what I, as speaker, think you may not be aware of.

The Actor in Kara, in addition to volitional or non-volitional animate Agents, may be a Force or an Instrument. Given the Kara predilection to assign responsibility to individuals other than himself and the idea that coincidence is non-existent, a Force could very easily be an Instrument used by someone or something with sufficient power. At any rate Agents, Forces, Instruments and even Sources can serve in the Actor role with proper verbal marking.

Subj:Force as Actor   Obj:PAT

from (20) A   malu   fit   ta-vuale   a   wai   pave
           art wind blow stat.break art   tree   there

'The wind blew breaking the tree there.'

Subj:Force as Actor   Obj:PAT

(31) A   xain   fa - ta - puk   a   xaleo si - ak
      art wave   caus stat turn.over art   canoe gen- 1st

'The wave capsized my canoe.'

Subj:Instrument as Actor
                      Obj:PAT

(32) A   yamu   patel   a   wai.
      art axe   cut.up art   tree/wood

'The axe cut up the tree/wood.'

Subj:Source (Non-volitional Agent) as Actor
                                Obj:PAT

(33) A   tiui   fa - mataut - an -au
      art snake caus fear   AN 1s

'The snake scared me/The snake caused me to be afraid.'

This last example is interesting for what it does not say. The snake in question may not have made any overt move, it may have been asleep or even dead yet I was frightened by it. In this sense I am calling it a 'Source' Someone else may have placed the snake where I would see it and be frightened because of it, in which case it is an Instrument. If I wish to portray the snake as an Agent then I must insert the verb <u>vil</u> 'to do' into the sentence. (see footnote 2)

(33a) | A | tiui | vil | fa | - | mataut | - | an | - | au. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| art | snake | do | caus | | fear | | npf | | 1s |

'The snake caused me to be afraid.'

This infers that the snake performed some action, such as suddenly appearing, which caused me to be afraid. The two semantic roles, Patient and Actor, or combinations thereof, are the nuclear prominent roles of the Kara clause. The following roles occurring in the Oblique position are nuclear but grammatically much less prominent than the Actor-Patient complex. The Oblique cases function to coordinate and integrate necessary information into a relationship with the prominent nuclear roles, while the Adjunct cases dress up the proposition with merely ancillary information.

The Oblique function, then, is nuclear but non-prominent. The primary surface form is CV<u>na</u> with alternates of CV and CVCV<u>na</u>. This -<u>na</u> is the basic third person singular genitive morpheme and as such occurs in several environments other than the Oblique. However, in the Oblique, only the third person singular may occur, whereas adjoined material may receive any person marking suffix compatible with the referent.

Subj:A/P   Obl:Lcs

(34)
Ne	fo	laak	xe	la	xaxalua	xovul pa	-re/na
1s	comp	go.up	All.	loc	images	comitative	3dl 3s

'I went to the films with them/him'

Subj:A   Obj:P

(35)
No	mas	palea	a	yees	malan	se-ga
2s	must(pidgin)	tie	art	vine	resemblative	1s

'You must tie the vines the way I am (tying them).'

A second characteristic of the Adjunct constituent is its eligibility to be fronted as a modifying phrase or as thematic material.

Theme: Topic: Subj:ACT

(36)
La	saxa	yaan,	a	mu	rabuna	ri	taxa	fa-
art	one	day	art	pl	people	3pl	is-ing	caus

        Obj:PAT

xaaves	-an	a	veowa.
plenty	AN	art	shark

'One day, the people were catching a lot of sharks.'

Here the adjoined material has been fronted to the theme position to increase its importance and emphasize that this is "one certain day". This phrase could appear following the Patient in which case no special emphasis is being given.

Chart Two: Oblique Markers

Locus	Means	Cause
xe-Allative	pana-Instrument	sena-Reason (Anaphoric)
ti-Ablative	xuluna-on top of	xena-Purpose (Cataphoric)
pe-Pergressive (within an area)	lana-inside (within an object)	fena[6]-during (within a time frame)

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[6]The last term, fena, is very seldom used as a case marker but can be seen in fena mo "feast" or more literally "in the midst of the thing/event", in fena-f "until/enough" and in the Loc. phrase la fena pilai "during the game",

After the information of who is involved, the information in the

Oblique constituent tells just about everything the Kara speaker needs to

know. Orientation and motion of the action in regard to the speaker are

of prime importance. This is especially so for intransitive verbs where

the Locus role in the Oblique position gives nuclear prominent material.

With non-motion transitive verbs material marked by Locus is much less

prominent.

Sample Clauses with Oblique markers

Locus

	Topic	Subj:A/P			Obl:Lcs	
(37)	Nare,	re	fo	sivi	xe	pua
	They(2)	they	comp	go.down	All.	north

'They went down (toward Kavieng).'

	Topic	Subj:A/P			Obl:Lcs	
(38)	Nemaame,	maame	filiman	ti	Rabaul	lanef
	We(2ex)	we	come	Abl	Rabaul	yesterday

'We came from Rabaul yesterday.'

	Topic	Subj:A/P			Obl:Lcs	
(39)	Nemaan,	maan	taa{matef waan	pe	Lae	
	We(all)exc))	We	irr{sleep be	in	Lae	

'We will sleep in Lae.'

Means

	Topic	Subj:A/P			Obl:mns	
(40)	A ro lak,	re	falet	pana	vilvil.	
	art 2 children	they	go	with	bicycle.	

'The two (boys) went (with/by the) bicycle.'

	Topic	Subj:A/P		Obl:mns	
(41)	A ro lak,	re	falet	xolana	vilvil.
	art 2 children	they	go	on.top	bicycle.

'The two boys went on the bicycle.'

	Topic	Subj:A/P		Obl:mns	
(42)	A ro lak,	re	taxa	fufunai	lana	lifu.
	art 2 children	they	is-ing	hide	inside	house

'The two boys are hiding in the house.'

Cause

	Topic	Subj:P/E		Obl:Cause	
(43)	A lu tefin,	ri	mataut	sena	tiui.
	art pl woman	they	fear	because	snake.

'The women are afraid of snakes.'

Cause

	Subj:A/P		Obl:cause		Obj:PAT	
(44)	Ri	fe - xavul -ai	xena	yot	a	vio.
	3p	recp gather	because	hold	art	pig

'They gathered together to catch the pig.'

	Subj:A/E		Obl:cause		
(45)	Re	fe - laxai	fena	xurauan	si-re.
	3dl	inch hungry	during	play(n)	gen 3rd dl

'They became hungry during their play.'

Case markers plus their referents from the Oblique position may occur

in sequence. In this they follow the Rule of Two. Kara modifiers,

obliques, adjunct phrases, affixes, even verbs all follow this dictum:

A combination of only two morphemes or phrases of a given type is acceptable[7]

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[7]Two adjectives, for instances, as in the phrase "the large red dog"
or two verbs in the construction sip punuxe "hit killing it", the juxtaposition
of three or more grammatical markers of the same category overloads the
system with too much detail. It is possible with modifers but noone talks
that way.

(based on compatability, of course). Hence while it is possible to
have a Locus phrase followed by a Means phrase followed by a Causal
phrase, people do not speak like that. Better to speak concisely and
be understood than to generate constructs so complex that they fail to
communicate. In the instance of Oblique phrases, one from each of the
three columns may be combined until a total of two is reached. The
typical order is Locus before Means or Cause and Means before Cause.
The phrase occurring second is peripheral to the proposition, while the
first phrase is nuclear. On rare occasion, when special emphasis is
being given to the means or the cause, phrases indicating these may
precede the Locus.

	Subj:			Obl:Lcs			Obl:mns	
(46)	Ne	taa	sivi	xe	pua	Nonopai	pana	nim
	1sts	irr	go.down	All.	north	Nonpai	with	food.packet

	xolana	vilvil
	on	bicycle

'I will go to Nonopai with the food (on the bicycle).'

	Subj:			Obl:Lcs		Obl:Cause	
(47)	Nane	a	filimaan	ti	Lae	sena	fenamo.
	3rds	pftv	come	Abl	Lae	because/for	feast

'He came from Lae for the feast.'

	Subj:				Obl:mns			Obl:Cause	
(48)	Ri	fe - laxaf - ai	pana		yot	a	vio	xena	fangan.
	3rdpl	recip hot	with	catch	art	pig	for		eat

'They were excited by catching the pig for eating.'

The members of each column of chart two are mutually exclusive and may
not occur in the same clause or sentence.

The Oblique case markers for Locus deal with the important area of orientation. The Allative, xe, relates to motion, thought processes and remote locations where the action in question is taking place (in the hearer's absence).

The Ablative, ti, also refers to motion but is more flexible in that it may refer to the source of some action, idea or item; i.e. a faat ti la raarum 'a stone from the river' actually being used here as a modifying phrase. Coupled with the 1st Person Patient marker ti-au 'from me', the effective meaning is 'from here' or 'from this place.' The Allative equivalent is xe siak 'to where I am' The Pergressive, pe, indicates an activity within the confines of a given area, for example 'within the bush/jungle' or 'in Kavieng.' The motions here are neutral with regard to the speaker; whether toward or away from is not in focus. This pe case marker, like the other two at the bottom of Chart Two, is more locative than motion oriented.

The material of the Locus is less eligible for Topicalization than the Means or Cause material. The following short narrative reveals some complexities in this area.

	Topic	Subj:PAT		Old:Lcs	
(49)	A	vua	a	nabe	ti	Rabaul.
	art	buai	art	here(deictic)	from	Rabaul.

'The buai here is from Rabaul.'

	Topic	Subj;A/E		Obj:PAT	
(50)	Pe Rabaul	ri	toxai	a	vua	aroxo.
	In Rabaul	3:pl	have	art	buai	good

'They have good buai in Rabaul.'

	Subj;A/E			Obl;Lcs		Obl;Cause	
(51)	Ne	vubuk	paan	xe	Rabaul	xena	maran	a
	1.s	like	to.go	so	Rabaul	so.that	buy	art

Obj:Pat

vua	siri.
buai	their

'I like to go to Rabaul to buy their buai.'

An alternate to the last sentence that topicalizes the Locus phrase is

	Topic	Subj:A/E					Obl:Cause	
(51a)	Eh	Rabaul,	ne	vubuk	paan	pave	xena	maran
	Yes	Rabaul	1.s	like	to.go	there	so.that	buy

Obj:PAT

a	vua	siri.
art	buai	theirs

'Yes, I'd like to go to Rabaul so I can buy their buai.'

Taking sentence 49 in this narrative where Ablative material is topicalized the result is:

	Topic	Subj			Obl:Lcs		
(49a)	Rabaul	a	vua	nabe	filimaan	ti	pave
	Rabaul	art	buai	here	come	from	there

'Rabaul, this buai came from there.'

A deictic, in this case 'there', plus a motion verb is needed to help the marker hold position. With the Allative xe there again is a need for a deictic ('here' or 'there') but less pressure for the marker itself to remain (see 50a) so the deictic is the only remnant.

The pergressive phrase in 49, true to its locative orientation, is fronted in its entirety leaving no indication that the phrase could just as easily occur following aroxo 'good' If the Topic of 'Rabaul' is well established then a deictic may replace the whole phrase.

```
      Subj:A/E                 Obj:PAT
```

(50a) Ri   toxai   a   vua   aroxo   pave.
        3.pl   have   art   buai   good   there.

'They have good buai there.'

The logic behind this deictic addition is that the Locus case markers have no third person singular marker attached as the means and cause case markers do (-na); therefore Locus case markers need a referent to complete the statement of the thought.

The case marker for instrument pana may mark an object traditionally understood as an instrument, it may be an event (that brings joy or sorrow) or similar human behavior or it may be an animate object (i.e. pig, human hand, etc.). The second Means marker, xuluna, fluctuates freely with the pana marker when the Instrument is a means of conveyance. A car, a bicycle, a canoe, or horse may be marked with either pana or xuluna as 'by means of'. With the introduction of the airplane as a means of travel, any of the three Means case markers may be used depending on the focus of the speaker. For non-mobile items xuluna serves more as a Locative marker as in xuluna wai 'up in the tree' and xuluna ivin 'on top of the bed'. The last gloss 'on top of' is the basic connection with the Instrument marker pana. The given conveyances, except airplane, are ridden upon, even a car. The imagery carries across to the radio as well.

```
      Subj:A/E              Obl:mns
```

(52)   Ne   fenowai   xuluna   radio
      1s   spoke   on   radio

'I spoke on the radio'

This clause does not means I stood/sat on the radio to speak in Kara anymore than the same clause does in English. As is Typical for the Oblique cases, when the Means is topicalized, a marker is left to mark the Oblique position in the clause.

```
             Topic           Subj:A/P        Obl:mns
(53)  A      lak      a      mati  xuluna     tebol
      art    child    pftv   lie   on.top     table
```

'The child lay on top of the table.'

Mns fronted to Subject

```
(53a) A      tebol    fo     mati-an   xuluna   ∅
      art    table    comp   lie       up on
```

'The table was laid on'

Mns fronted to Topic

```
      Topic            Subj:A/P                     Obl:Mns
(54)  A   ui   siim?   Na Vakeri   titing            pana   ∅
      art  cane yours   art Vakeri  stikes(a slit gong) with (it)
```

'Your cane? Vakeri is playing (the slit gong) with it.'

```
      Subj:P                 Obl:Mns
(55)  A   meska   fo     putuxan  pana    naip
      art meat    comp   cut      with    knife
```

'The meat was cut with the knife.'

Mns fronted to Subject

```
(55a) A   naip    fo     putuxan  a    meska  pana  ∅
      art knife   comp   cut      art  meat   with
```

'The knife cut the meat'

The Indirect Cause markers for Reason and Purpose as opposed to the (Direct) Causitive prefix fa- has to do with the 'why' of the Kara world. The Reason marker relates an anaphoric referent to the present activity in focus. The Purpose marker, xena, is cataphoric expressing the goal

(see xe) toward which the activity is progressing. They both relate to fena in their common time sensitiveness. Reason and Purpose also relate to pana in their common ability to serve as a subordinating conjunction so that a whole clause may be incorporated as instrument, reason or purpose. (see 43 or 47). The locus markers, xuluna, lana and fena, on the other hand, do not function as subordinators mainly because of their locative nature.

In Topicalization, the Reason and Purpose markers remain to trace the position of the Oblique as their NP is fronted.

```
         Subj:P/E           Obl:Cause

(56)     Ne        mataut   sena        tiui    pave
         I         fear     because     snake   there/that

         'I am afraid because of that snake!'

              Topic            Subj:P/E

(56a)    A    tiui   pave,   ne         mataut   sena
         art  snake  that    I          fear     because

         'That snake, I am afraid because of it.
```

Adjunctive material, as mentioned previously, does not front to Topic per se. It may be thematicised, but if so leaves no marker as a trace.

Semantic Classes of Verbs and their Associated Nuclear Roles.

The first class contains verbs which refer to a Patient in stative or existential environments.

```
                Topic   Subj:PAT

(57)    A      mataa    a          roxo.
        art    man      pftv       good
                        3rd
```

'The man is good.'

```
                Topic   Subj:PAT

(58)    A      yamu     a          pat.
        art    axe      pftv       dull
                        3rd
```

'The axe is dull.'

These sentences evidence an existing state of affairs, thus the perfective aspect appears in the form of the Subject marker. An alternative aspectual marker may be used to express the completitive. Inchoative or Causative prefixes may be added to the complement, but in so doing the derived form occurs in a different class of verbs.

Inchoative

```
        Subj:PAT

(59)    A          rarum   fe  -  laxaf.
        art        water   inch   hot
```

'The water became hot'

Where fe-laxaf represents a process showing a change of state.

Causative

```
        Subj:ACT                        Obj:PAT

(60)    Na      Beno    fa  -  laxaf   a         rarum.
        art     Ben     caus   hot     art       water
```

'Beno heated the water.'

The causative form requires an Actor of some sort which is the direct reason for the activity performed.

At the phrase level the verbs of Class I may appear as modifiers of the HN of an NP.

```
          Subj:ACT                              Obj:PAT

(61)  A         rarum  laxaf  taa  nuk  a        ta - am
      art       water  hot    irr  burn art      skin  2nd
```

'The hot water will burn your skin.'

```
      Subj:PAT

(62)  Na       Vakeri  a      mataa  roxo.
      art      Vakeri  pftv   man    good
```

'Vakeri is a good man.'

Verbs in other classes may not be used in this manner.

Class I Verbs:

```
   I    [PAT      ]  state
```

roxo	'good'	palau	'nothing'
vung	'red'	modus	'long'
mafiu	'rotted'	xof	'empty'
pan	'shallow'	vui	'overcooked'
mopaak	'bitter'	xavai	'old'

The second class of verbs is similar to the first in that they refer to an existing state and have only one obligatory referent, the Patient. However, they differ in several ways. They are states in flux and as such may receive various imperfective aspectual markings They cannot appear simply as adjectives in an NP, but require verbal markings. They may optionally have a phrase or clause introduced by a case marker in the Oblique position.

Subj:PAT

(63) A   fata taxa   raam
      ―――――――――――――――――――――――――――――――――
      art   fire is-ing   burn/alight

'The fire is burning'

Subj:PAT

(64) A   ngaas taa   rul
      ――――――――――――――――――――――――――――
      art   sun   irr.   set

'The sun will set.'

Subj:PAT   Obl:Lcs

(65) A   bol   taxa   piraal   xe   laui   paliu.
      ―――
      art   ball is-ing   bounce   All.   up   really

'The ball is bouncing really high.'

Subj:PAT   Obl:Cause

(66) A   maak   a   su   sena   sagala pirak - au
      ――
      art   hand-my   pftv swell   because   wasp   sting me

'My hand is swollen because a wasp stung me.'

Subj:PAT   Obl:Mns

(67) A   kar   a   bas   pana   rabuna.
      ―――
      art   car   pftv full with   people

'The car was filled with people'

Since these situations are in flux and there is a foreseeable end, these
situations are processes rather than states. An axe may stay dull for-
ever but a fire does not burn forever nor is the sun always setting.
Therefore, class II verbs are limited in their time scope, being subject
to change. They are also non-volitional verbs. In and of itself my arm
or hand does not choose to swell after a wasp sting. The ball does not
have any choice in the bouncing matter. The fact of non-volitionality

suggests that the Patient of class II verbs are typically inanimate and this is generally true, except where nominal predicates are involved.

	Topic				Subj:PAT		

(68) <u>Na</u>   <u>tama</u> - <u>ang</u> <u>a</u>   <u>mata lava.</u>
     art   father   1st pftv   big man

'My father is an important man.'

	Topic			Subj:PAT			Obl:Cause

(69) <u>A</u>   <u>mataa</u> <u>ve</u>   <u>a</u>   <u>taataa</u> <u>si</u> - <u>ak</u>   <u>senaso</u>
     art   man   deic pftv   uncle   gen   1st   because

(Subordinate clause)

<u>a</u> <u>vasa</u>   <u>nina</u> - <u>ang</u>
     sib.opp.sex   mother 1st

'That man is my clan uncle because he is the brother of my mother.'
In Kara society my father actually has no volition whether he is to be a 'big man' or not. The choice of clan-leaders-to-be is made by the adults of a clan while the boys are still fairly young (pre-teen at least, usually before five years), based mainly on blood lines and potential. Eventually all men become important by virtue of their mature age. Some just have to be older than others.

Various derived verbs also belong to this class. These may or may not indicate temporary processes.

(70) <u>A</u>   <u>wai</u>   <u>a</u>   <u>ta</u>   - <u>vuak</u> class VI   <u>ta-contra-</u>
     art   tree/wood pftv stative break   expectation

'The wood is broken.'

(71) <u>A</u>   <u>doa</u>   <u>a</u>   <u>tela</u> - <u>kas</u> class VI   <u>tela-a normal or</u>
     art   door pftv stative open   expected state,
                                            usually alterable

'The door is open.'

(72) A   tana   fe   - rarapak   pana reng.
     art skin   inchoative lustrous Class I with oil

'His skin became shiny with oil.'

Class II Verbs:

II [PAT ___ {(Mns)}
              {(Cause)}]

rangat	'smoulder'	lang	'shine'
waan	'be/stay'	piraal	'bounce'
fua[8]	'bear fruit'	rul	'set'
bas	'full'	raam	'burn'
tangpat	'begin'	usun	'fall (as in rain)'

Class III verbs are an extensive category with a Patient/Experiencer who responds non-volitionally to a situation or action. The Means or Cause of the situation may appear as phrase or clause in the Oblique position.

Topic	Subj:P/E	Obl:Mns

(73) A   mataa   a   giis   pana   maleria
     art   man   pftv   sick   with   malaria

'The man is sick with malaria.'

Subj:P/E		Obl:Cause

(74) A   lak   taxa   mataut   sena   tiui
     art   child   is-ing   fear   because   snake

'The child is afraid of the snake.'

Topic	Subj:P/E	Obl:Cause

(75) Nari   ri   texaas   sena
     they(all)   they   know   concerning it

'They know about it'

---

[8]Related activities conceivably ascribable to a Human or animate Patient, i.e. bear young, to be full, to be burned; are expressed with other verbs in other classes.

Class III Verbs:

III [PAT/EXP ____ (Mns) (Cause)]

vàiak	'old (person)'	pasak	'caught'
maat	'dead'	bai	'dislike'
ipul	'surprised/startled'	lagai	'hungry'
boak	'grow'	giis	'sick'
mataut	'afraid/fears'	taangiis	'cry'
milung	'lost'	texaas	'know'
mif	'dream'	vangut	'ignorant'

The reason I have chosen Patient/Experiencer to express the Subject of this frame is based on the Kara concept of volitionality and control. In any given grammatical Kara string one of the key ingredients encoded by the speaker is how volitional the action is. There is no specific marker for volitionality, but it is inferred from several factors. Verb class and predictability seem to be of primary importance among those factors.

Say, for instance, that I am driving a car home from town and one commuter is behaving in an extremely obnoxious way. If I stop the car and order him to get out and walk home, then he is not there by the side of the road by his own choice. His volitionality in the situation is limited. He may walk or choose to stay there to hitch a ride with someone else. However, he is being caused to be where he is. If something were to happen, such as a dog runs out and bites him, then I, as perpetrator of the situation, would be held responsible.

By the same logic when something impinges upon my senses and I respond to that stimulus (seeing, smelling, hearing, etc.) I am not doing so volitionally, I have little control over the situation. The responsibility lies with the source of the stimulus. I may choose to continue responding in which case I have now assumed control of the situation and the appropriate verb occurs in a different class. For this reason then a person may be caused to cry, 'taangiis', and is therefore a Patient experiencing crying. Someone who sneezes, or is caught, or is alive is experiencing sneezing or capture or aliveness (life). He has little volition about being caught. In fact, if he could, he would probably choose not to be caught. The Patient/Experiencer then is only reacting to some force or situation non-volitionally.

```
          Topic        Subj:P/E              Obl:Mns
```

(76)

A	vio	a	pasak	lana	filung.
art	pig	pftv	caught	inside	trap

'The pig is caught in a trap.'

```
Subj:P/E                Obl:Cause   Subj:P/E
```

(77)

Re	taangiis	sena	lak	si	-	re	a	maat.
3dl	cry	because	child	gen		3rd-dl	pftv	dead

'They cry because their child is dead.'

```
Subj:P/E          Obl:Mns
```

(78)

Ri	merau	pana	yot	a	vio.
3pl	happy	with	hold	art	pig

'They are happy about catching the pig.'

```
Subj:P/E                Obl:Mns
```

(79)

Ne	fanagilai	pana	teyan	a	sasaak	si	-	im
1s	pay back	with	cut	art	sago palm	gen	-	2nd

'I retatiated by cutting down you sago palm.'

The example in (79) is particularly of interest since it is a derived form. The causative fa- and the -ai suffix combine to say "this is something that I as an injured party was forced to do." The person, in fact you, is obscured until the very end when it is admitted that it was your sago palm that I cut. Apparently you have done something to me and I have felt forced to retaliate. The cutting of your sago palm was merely the means that I used. The key point here is that I was not free as to whether I would retaliate or not, my only option was how I would be revenged.

The next class of verbs, Class IV, relates to Class III in many ways. We've previously mentioned a source which impinges upon my consciousness. Verbs requiring an overt source as Patient in the Object position plus an Actor/Experiencer in the Subject position fit into Class IV. As you might expect this is not a large class. The Patient bears the brunt of the responsibility for the situation, however I, as Subject, both experience and act. Therefore, my volition is slightly greater than the Patient/ Experiencer of the previous class of verbs. I could, in fact, shut my eyes and not see or cover my ears and not hear. As an Actor/Experiencer I am not just responding, but I exercise some control over the situation as well.

The presence of an obligatory Patient separate from an Actor makes this type of clause appear to be more 'transitive' by Western standards than clauses with only one participant. This is not necessarily so. Volitionality is one aspect of 'transitivity' and in Kara volitionality plays an important role. I have chosen the term 'experiencer' as an index indicating that various participants are not totally free to act,

but are constrained by circumstances or preconceived concepts to act in a certain way. I have attempted to list the various verb classes in a way that comments on their transitivity. On a quick perusal of the complete list it may appear that Classes IV and V should be reversed and that Class VIII should not be so highly rated. However, I am trying to respond to the Kara situation and label the participants in a way that reflects their evaluation.

Class IV Verbs:

IV [ACT/EXP ____ PAT (Lcs)(Mns) (Cause)]

mising	'smell'	luak	'vomit'
mulok	'grieve'	pes	'defecate'
kaalum	'see'	$vubuk_1$	'like (not want)'
mi	'urinate'	$langai_1$	'hear (not listen)'

Subj:A/E   Obj:PAT

(80)
Ri	mising	a	fanganan	taxa	faaf
3pl	smell	art	food	is-ing	cook

'They smelled the food cooking.'

Subj:A/E   Obj:PAT   Obl:Lcs

(81)
Re	pes	- a	tet	pe	la	guun
3dl	defecate	art	excreta	in	art	sand

Obl:Cause

sena	masi	- maat
because	sated	fully(dead)

'They defecated on the beach because (they were) so full.'

Subj:A/E   Obj:PAT   Obl:Mns

(82)
Re	vubule	a	ti	pana	suga
3dl	like	art	tea	with	sugar

'They like tea with sugar.'

The verbs of Class V are these where the Patient is volitionally involved in some activity which affects him. This can be symbolized as ACT/PAT showing that the Patient is the intradirective Actor. This viewpoint also assists in understanding one type of reciprocality marking where two or more people or groups of people perform some action upon/with each other.

Subj:A/P   Locative

(83) Ri   fe   - yuf - ai   sivi   lapi   la   rarum
     3pl   recp   pull   go down under   art   water

'They pulled each other into the river.'

Subj:A/P

(84) A   ro   lak   taxa   fe - yot - ai
     art   dual   child   is-ing   recp hold

'The two boys were wrestling each other.

Typically yuf 'pull' and yot 'hold/catch' require a Patient and an Actor. In these cases Actor and Patient labels apply to the very same set of referents.

Verbs in Class V are basically involved with motion and therefore typically require a Locus phrase. However, Means and, to a lesser extent, Cause case markers also occur.

Class V Verbs:

V [ACT/PAT ____ {Lcs / Mns / Cause}]

sangas	'walk'	pu	'drop in, visit'
ung	'come ashore'	tofai	'hang'
susuf	'bathe'	poxo	'fall'
kaanus	'spit'	ferowai	'speak'
savat	'appear/arrive'	sinuf	'escape'

Subj:A/P   Obl:Mns

(85) Re   falet xuluna   yilyil.
     3dl   go   on top   bicycle

'They went on the bicycle'

Subj:A/P   Obl:Mns

(86) Re   falet. pana   vilvil
     3dl   go   with   bicycle

'They went by means of the bicycle.'

Subj:A/P   Obl:Lcs

(87) Taara   taa sivi   xe   pua   Kavieng.
     1pl inc   irr go.down All   north   Kavieng

'We all will go to Kavieng.'

Topic   Subj:A/P   Obl:Cause

(88) Nami   mi   laak - maan xena   irimai.
     2pl   2pl   go.up come because   sit and talk

'You (all) come up (here) so (we can) talk.'

Topic   Subj:A/P   Obl:Lcs

(89) Nari   ri   filimaan ti   Rabaul   lanef
     3pl   3pl   come   Abl   Rabaul   yesterday

'They came from Rabaul yesterday.

Subj:A/P   Obl:Lcs

(90) A   mu rafulak taxa   meleskaak pe   la   guun.
     art   pl children is-ing swing   in   art   sand

'The children are swinging at the beach.'

Within the system as it has evolved so far, it is possible to denote various increments of volitionality by the kinds of clauses used. I am going to take the verb 'laugh' nangan as a case in point.

```
           Subj:A/P           Obl:Cause
(91)   Nane        nangan  sena        mataa.
       3s          laugh   because     man
```

'He laughed because of the man.'

What is not evident to the non-Kara speaker is that the man did something volitionally to cause the Subject to laugh and the subject gave himself over to laughing because he enjoyed the proceedings. He choose to laugh!

```
           Subj:A/P           Obl:Mns
(92)   Nan         nangan  xuluna      mataa
       3s          laugh   on top of   man
```

'He laughed on the man.'

In this case the man was the means of the Subject laughing. The Subject still has control of his choice to laugh, but in this instance the man did not intend to do anything to cause laughter. The idea here is more of 'laughing to scorn'.

```
           Subj:A/E              Obj:PAT
(93)   Nane        fa - nangan  a         mataa
       3s          caus- laugh  art       man
```

'He was caused to laugh at the man.'

The case frame [A/E___P] here indicates that the volition of the Subject was limited. Some force within caused him to laugh at the man. He was not fully in control of the situation and therefore is not responsible for his laughter.

```
(94)   Nane   nangan.
       3s     laugh
```

'He laughs/He laughed.'

This clause presents a problem in some ways. A response to this type of statement is almost always the question "Why?" If no situation exists to cause laughter, which is what is inferred, then the alternate is that he is being caused to laugh by some Force. The fact that he is laughing without any apparent cause means he is not doing it volitionally, so he must be a Patient experiencing laughing. Certainly he is actively engaged, but it is not his fault; he is probably 'crazy' (ngong) or something.

Laughing without reason is not an expected or predictable situation. With no overt marking, but an obvious reason for mirth, sentence (94) would be assumed to have an Actor/Patient Subject: otherwise he may be considered a Patient/Experiencer. Essentially the same paradigm can be seen with the verb 'cry' taangiis/tangiis:

Subj:A/P   Obl:Cause

(95) Re   taangiss sena   lak   si - re   a   maat.
      3dl   cry   because   child gen - 3dl pftv dead

'They cry because their child is dead.'

Subj:A/P   Obl:Mns

(96) Re   taangiss pana   lak   si - re   a   maat
      3dl   cry   about   child gen - 3dl pftv dead

'They cry about their child being dead.'

Subj:A/E   Obj:PAT

(97) Re   tangiis   a   lak   si - re
      3dl   cry   art   child gen - 3dl

'They cried for their child.'

Subj:P/E

(98) <u>Re   taangiis.</u>
     3dl   cry

'They cried.'

Again, the last clause proves to be the most difficult to determine and depends primarily on context. In the absence of conflicting data I would assign this clause to Class III where the action is non-volitional. Sentence (97) demonstrates a regularly occurring vowel change involving the Subject as Actor or Patient. The verbs of Class VI are divided into two subclasses on the basis of whether the Patient/Experiencer Object is affected or effected. For example, a hole is brought into being or effected when it is dug and a branch is affected when its bark is stripped off. The distinction between the two is largely etic. However, in at least two cases, the effected item is the result of a dream which may be interpreted as an inspirational force causing the creation of the object.

With this class there is a fairly strict dichotomy between Nuclear and Prominent Clause constituents and Peripheral constituents. Oblique material, if it occurs, is peripheral because in its normal role and position it would detract from or dilute the information in the Subject-Object axis.

       Subj:ACT   Obj:PAT/(EXP)

(99) <u>Na   Pius   punuk a   vio</u>
     art   Pius   kill   art   pig

'Pius killed the pig.'

	Topic	Subj:ACT			Obj:PAT/EXP		Adj:Loc(Time)

(100)

Nari	ri	fo	xaafan	a		mamaat	leawen
3pl	3pl	comp	bury	art		corpse	day before yesterday

'They buried the body the day before yesterday.'

Subj:ACT			Obj:PAT/EXP	Loc	Loc

(101)

Ne		vubuk	xaf -	e	habe	lana	guun
1s		want	dig	3s	here	in	sand

'I want to dig it here, in the sand.'

Subj:ACT		Obj:PAT/EXP			A/P		

(102)

"No		feng -	e	saa".	vo?	I	taa	pife
2s		send	3s	perm	question	impf	irr	neg

langai,	ve!
hear	deictic

'Say you send him all right? He won't listen, that one!'

Subj:A		Obj:PAT/EXP		Adj:Loc		

(103)

Ri	fo	kanisai	a	motitia	la	panen
3pl	comp	rehearse	art	singsing	loc	morning

	Subordinator	Subj:PAT	

paliu	senaso	a	marafut.
true/really	because	pftv	pleasant

'They rehearsed the dance early in the morning because it's cool.'

In each of these sentences the Object is described as the Patient/Experiencer. Where a human or animate referent is affected there should be little question as to the validity of this choice. Concerning corpses and dances, however, our Western culture says, "No, they cannot experience!" Yet the spirit of a dead man, a rongan, remains around his human haunts for at least a week to see that proper respect is paid to him after death.

Furthermore, the spirit of the sakbul dance indwells the carved birds' heads carried in the mouths of each dancer and is capable of choking an unworthy participant. The fact that spirits and created items can "experience" is inexpliable to me, but the surface form puts these verbs in this particular class. In the world view of the Kara, humans are not the only experiencers; a malangan[9] image, a song, an item to be made, all have their origin as an idea. Frequently the source of these ideas is a dream. It certainly seems a small step logically to infer that the spirit of the "created" item in some dream world is crying out to be created in this world and appeals in a dream to its chosen effector. If some force inside me can cause me to laugh, then certainly a launut "friction block" can require its "creator" to make it in a certain way and a dance can require its performers to stage it in a certain way at a certain time.

Class VI Verbs:

VI   [ACT____PAT/EXP]

Affected

punuk	'kill'	piit	'break (rope)'
puk	'turn over'	xavang	'help'
yot	'hold/catch'	bit	'lie/prevaricate'
xukun	'shake, mixing'	xaafan	'bury'

---

[9]A malangan is a carving created for a memorial feast. It has expanded its meaning so that at the present time the whole seven day feast is referred to as "the malangan". Formerly a small class of talented carvers earned their livelihood by making these carvings. The general symbol for the memorial comes in a dream to the relative sponsoring the memorial feast. He employs a carver to make the image. Some rather famous carvings have been found in a cave near Panamecho on the West Coast of New Ireland.

Effected

yesan	'make'	yingin	'sing'
xaf	'dig'	tia	'dance'
xali	'write'	nanomai	'imagine'
pai	'weave'	tak	'carve a malangan'

The verbs of Class VII are similar to Class VI except the Object NP is neither affected nor effected by the Actor. As such it is not an Experiencer and has no volition concerning the action. If human, it may not even by cognizant that the activity is taking place. As with the Class VI verbs, the Oblique position cases rarely occur and are seen as peripheral rather than nuclear.

```
          Subj:ACT                  Obj:PAT
(104) A         lak    fani   a        ni
      art       child  climb  art      coconut palm
```

'The boy climbed the coconut palm.'

```
      Topic                         Subj:ACT      Obj:PAT
(105) A    taang  vio  ve   rau     ne    soxoi-e         la
      art  big    pig  deic intend  1s    spear-3s        art

               Subj:ACT                   Obj:PAT
      paanen    e    ne     fe  - fasaal - an - e
      morning   conj 1s     motion- miss          3s
```

'That big pig, I wanted to spear it this morning, but I went and missed it.'

```
      Subj:ACT                     Obj:PAT
(106) A      ro   lak   taxa   usi   - au
      art    two  child is-ing follow 1s
```

'The two children are following me.'

Class VII Verbs:

VII [ACT___PAT]

fani	'climb'	laxau	'step over'
vubuk$_2$[10]	'want'	usi	'follow'
langau$_2$	'listen to'	fasaal	'miss(the mark)'
toxan	'have'	kaat	'count'
tau	'touch'	paroxai	'spy on'

The next class of verbs is a closed class which it could be argued fits into another class, most likely VI or IX. However, I have chosen to group them in a separate class. These verbs have an Actor and a Patient/ Experiencer, requires various instruments, and a general location referent. Except for the Actor the information is all lexicalized into the verb. For example, you only sapaal 'pound' sago. You only 'sapaal' sago with a hammer also called sapaal. And sago palms only grow in the 'sago swamp' vi; therefore, you only sapaal in the vi. Then in the sentence "They went sapaal-ing!" you know they took their sago hammers, plus an axe, bush knives and food, went up to the sago swamp, cut down a sago palm, stripped off the bark, made a bench to sit on and proceeded to pound the pith out of the tree. All this information is lexicalized into one verb. The only information left to convey is a more specific location, which may appear in the Adjunct position.

---

[10]The verbs vubuk and langai have two meanings each.

vubuk	'like'	Class IV	langai	'hear'	Class IV
	'want'	Class VII		'listen to'	Class VII

```
        Subj:ACT                      Adj:Loc
```

(107) Nemaan   taa sapaal   xe   kol faasilak la putuna
      1pl exc irr pound sago All   west

      rarum
      water

'We will pound sago up west close to the head of the river.'

On the surface this appears to be an [ACT/PAT __ Lcs] type of clause and yet it is possible to insert the Patient for clarity. If you were to attempt to sapaal something other than sago, that Patient item would have to be noted in addition to a lengthy explanation relating why.

This class of verbs includes many activities specific to Kara society. All types of fishing, sago thatch production, earth oven cooking, pig hunting and activities associated with the Malangan (memorial) feast are all expressed in verbs of Class VIII.

Class VIII Verbs:

```
                       (Patient)
    Class VIII  [ACT__{Mns    } ]
                       (Lcs    )
```

sapaal	'pound sago'	rawen	'style of battle'
pataas	'type of fishing'	toxol	'chew betelnut'
nu	'set up nets'	pingit	'remove sago midribs'
saapak	'collect sago fronds'	taataa	'scrape coconut'
saleng	'hunting for pigs'	faaf	'earth oven cooking'

```
        Subj:ACT                 Obj:PAT      Obl:Mns
```

(108) Nane   taxa   fot   (a   din) (pana   vana modak).
      3s   is-ing   trap art   fish Mns   net   small.

'He is catching/trapping a fish with small (hand) nets.'

```
        Subj:ACT                                    Obj:PAT

(109)  Ri        taxa     pingit        (a        pagana   sasaak)
       3pl       is-ing   strip off midribs   art      leaf     sago

          Subj:ACT                              Obj:PAT/Mns

       e      namaam    taa  sok            (pana)
       conj   1pl exc   irr  sew shingles   with (them)
```

'They're stripping the midribs from the sago leaves and we (exc) will sew the shingles (with them).'

The verbs of the next class, Class IX, have an Actor, a Patient and a Means; however, if the Instrument (or Means) is the logical or expected one, then an overt reference to it may be omitted. If several possibilities exist then the specific one is obligatorily present. For instance, to tap with a stick through the longitudinal axis is ting. When playing a slit gong with a piece of cane called ui, the verb titing is used.

```
        Topic        Subj:ACT                   Obj:PAT

(110)  Na    Vakeri   i        taxa    titing   a       yaamut
       art   Vakeri   impftv   is-ing  play     art     slit gong
```

'Vakeri is playing the slit gong.'

However, if I were to strike the slit gong with something other than the cane, a situation tantamount to blasphemy (like playing a kettledrum for the Philharmonic with a serving spoon.), I must state what that instrument is.

```
        Subj:ACT                         Obj:PAT        Obl:Mns

(111)  Na       Vakeri  taxa    titing   a       yaamut  pana    wai.
       art      Vakeri  is-ing  play     art     slit    with    stick
                                                 gong
```

'Vakeri is playing the slit gong with a stick.'

As with many other verbs, these of Class IX require a specific instrument or set of instruments based on the Patient affected. A case in point is the verb xiut 'to strangle'. If the Patient is a person, then a rope/vine is involved. If the Patient is a small pig, then a strip of rubber inner tube and a leaf or the palm of the hand are used. If the Patient is a large pig, then two crossed sticks provide the means. But if the Patient is a shark, then a cane noose is used in the process and the ultimate cause of death is not strangulation, but beating.

It is quite possible that two subclasses exist in this class based on a Patient who experiences and one who does not. But all Patients of Class IX are affected, so to be consistent with Class VI, these verbs will be considered to have a Patient/Experiencer in the Object position. On the surface these verbs may appear to be verbs of Class VI. The distinction is that these verbs have a required Instrument associated with them, whether it appears on the surface or not, while verbs of Class VI do not.

Class IX Verbs:

IX [ACT___PAT/EXP Mns (Cause)]

sapiit	'cut (refers only to hair), usually with scissors'
xaut	'pick fruit with a forked/split pole'
suit	'mess up/destroy a garden with magic'
ngaul	'catch fish with a hook'
penei	'dress out/butcher an animal with a knife'
paus	'carry between two men with a pole'
puuk	'turn over something heavy wtih a lever'
timit	'crush by piling stones on top'

	Topic			Subj:ACT		Obj:PAT		Obl:Cause

(112)

A	lu	tefin	ri	fe - xatip	a	vai	xena
art	pl	woman	3pl	go cut	art	leaves	because

fenamo.
feast

'The women went to cut leaves for the feast.'

	Topic			Subj:ACT	Obj:PAT		Obl:Mns

(113)

A	tang	faat	ri	puux	- e	pana
art	big	stone	3pl	turn over	1s	with

ragana	wai.
branch	tree/wood

'They turned the big stone over with a branch.'

	Subj:ACT	Obj:PAT		Obl:Mns	Obl:Lcs

(114)

Ri	fe - penai	a	vio ∅	pe
3pl	recip clean/ dressed out	art	pig	in

la	guun
art	sand

'They dressed out the pig at the beach.'

It was noted before that where two Oblique cases appear, the second phrase is the most peripheral. In (114) above there is an understood Means phrase indicating the instrument was a knife, because that is the most logical choice (were you to use a chain saw, it would be necessary to explicitly say so). Therefore considering the missing phrase, the Locus marker is simply adjunctive in nature.

The verbs of Class X are a closed class concerning "getting" and "taking" actions that require an Actor, a Patient and a Locus, which the action proceeds toward or develops from.

```
          Subj:ACT              Obj:PAT                      Obl:Lcs
```

(115) Ø   lisan   a   nim   nabe xe   pua
                take/bring   art   food packet deic All.   north

Nonopai.
Nonopai

'Take this food packet to Nonopai!"

```
          Subj:ACT                 Obj:PAT   Obl:Lcs
```

(116) Taara   taa seng   - e   pe   la bina.
       1pl inc   irr look for 3s   in   art village

'We will look for it in the village.'

```
          Subj:ACT                 Obj:PAT              Obl:Lcs
```

(117) No   fo   siak a   vua   nabe ti   faa?
       2s   comp get   art   buai deic Abl.   where

'Where did you get this buai?'

Class X Verbs:

Class X [ACT____PAT Lcs]

siak	'get'	fufunai	'hide'
ping	'collect'	sui	'return/bring back'
pul	'lease'	lisan	'take/bring'
fenau	'steal'	feng	'send'
maran	'buy'	piak	'scavenge'
		seng	'search for'

The verbs of the final class, Class XI, are again a closed class.
In English we could claim three participants are involved: Actor-Subject,
Patient-Object and Goal or Recipient-Indirect Object. The Kara viewpoint
encodes the activity somewhat differently, with the Recipient as Patient,

since people are lexically more salient than "things". The next logical

slot for the object being exchanged is the Means (instrument) position

where the item actually occurs.

	Topic		Subj:ACT		Obj:PAT		Obl:Mns

	Topic	Subj:ACT		Obj:PAT		Obl:Mns	
(118)	Na	Beno	a	fafanai na	ti	- ana	pana
	art	Beno	pftv	entrust art	brother	his	with

	mana	mo	si - na
	all	thing	gen-3rd

'Beno entrusted his brother with all his possessions.'

	Subj:ACT		Obj:PAT		Obl:Mns		
(119)	Ø	fe - nung	na	Vakeri	pana	kaar	si - na
		go request	art	Vakeri	with	car	gen-3rd

'Ask Vakeri for his car.'

Class XI Verbs:

Class XI [ACT___Rec Mns]

tavai   'give/present'

fi   'ask'

fenung   'request/beg/pray'

fafanai   'entrust'

A Summary Listing of Case Frames

Class I [PAT___] state (good, red, shallow, bitter)

Class II [PAT___(Mns) (Cause)] (smoulder, fall, bear fruit, shine)

ClassIII [PAT/EXP___(Mns)(Cause)] (old, startled, cry, sick)

Class IV [ACT/EXP___PAT (Lcs)(Mns)(Cause)] (vomit, grieve, smell, like)

Class V [ACT/PAT___{Mns/Lcs/Cause}] (walk, come ashore, bathe, fall)

Class VI [ACT___PAT/EXP] (kill, help, write, dance, make)

Class VII   [ACT____PAT] (climb, follow, count, spy on)

Class VIII   [ACT____]   Patient, Mns, and Lcs lexicalized into the
                         verb. (pound sago, fish with nets, scrape
                         coconut)

Class IX   [ACT____PAT/EXP Mns (Cause)] (destroy by means of magic,
                         fishing with hook, carry with pole, lever over)

Class X   [ACT____PAT Lcs]   (get, steal, return, hide)

Class XI   [ACT____Rec Mns]   (give, request, ask, entrust)

Conclusion

While it may not be immediately apparent, the result of the alignment

Starosta makes of Patient versus Actor, with the Patient always required,

whether as Subject of the intransitive verb or as Object of the transitive

verb, is typically that of an ergative system. One of Plank's hypotheses

correlating Patient saliency (Plank 1979 p.24)[11] with a high potential for

formulating an ergative system also seems applicable to Kara.

Yet in Kara there are no grammatical markers differentiating Actor

role from Patient role. There is, however, a system differentiating

Subject pronouns from Topic/Object pronouns. In the case of first or

third person Objects, an alternate set of Patient suffixes is usually

employed; however, for emphasis, the Topic pronoun appears. This may be

the remains of a tri-partite ergative system drifting towards an accusa-

tive system. The important point is that the language seems most responsive

and best understood when viewed through an ergative framework.

Clearly Kara does not mark to emphasize semantic roles and the tradi-

tionally understood purpose of ergativity is to identify semantic roles,

i.e. differentiation of Actor. Syntactically, in Kara, a ragid SVO word

order determines Subject and Object positions. The Verb Classes illustrate

that the Subject of a transitive verb is consistently filled by an Actor/

Agent in one form or another. The uniting factor between Subject intransi-

tive: Patient and Object:Patient is focus. What is consistently marked

----

[11]Several of Plank's six points concerning advancement are appropriate
for Kara. The -an marker used in passivization may also indicate an
advancement of Oblique material to Object:Patient (see G. Schlie 1983).

throughout the system is a change of focus to a non-Patient entity.

Kara ergativity then, if it exists, is a syntactic ergativity relating

to Focus and Patient centrality. It evolves out of a need to break the

Patient's grasp on one's attention and maneuver something else into focus.

In Trask's 1979 article, <u>On the Origins of Ergativity</u> p. 393, as

he defends his Type A and Type B ergative language hypothesis, he relates

syntactic ergativity to situations where the Patient is the Subject of

a transitive verb. He goes on to say he "expects this state to be unstable",

with the Agent resuming control in the Nominative case and with the

additional morphology marking the appropriate NP. I feel this is one of

the keys to appreciating the Kara situation. In Kara, the Actor role is

the Subject, but he is not the focus of the predication; the Patient is

the focus. And so modifying Trask's statement only slightly by sub-

stituting the word "focus" for the word "Subject", we have syntactic

ergativity related to "patient saliency".

As an SVO type language, Kara needs no morphological markings to

distinguish between Subject and Object in one clause. Previous examples

in this paper and others in G. Schlie's paper have shown that focus in

Kara is capable of being redirected away from the Patient in the Object

position and toward other NPs by verbal affixation. The unmarked situation

is "Patient saliency", whether Subject of an intransitive verb or Object

of a transitive one. However, given certain conditions, the focus may

be on: the Actor as Subject, the NP of an Oblique phrase, an Object:

Patient that has been raised from an Oblique (Instrument, for example),

or a fronted Patient with no Actor (Passive formation).

List of Abbreviations

Abl - ablitive case marker (u̲t̲i̲)
ACT - Actor
All - allative case marker (x̲e̲)
art   article   (n̲a̲/a̲)
caus - causative   (f̲a̲-)
comp - completitive aspect (f̲o̲)
conj - conjunction   (e̲)
deic   deictic
dl   - dual
exc - exclusive
Exp - Experiencer
1   - first person
1st   first person possessive (inalienable) (i̲g̲a̲/-ak)
gen   genitive case marker (alienable) (s̲i̲)
impf - imperfective aspect
inc - inclusive
irr - irrealis (t̲a̲a̲)
Lcs - Locus (Oblique) case marker
loc - locative case marker (l̲a̲)
Mns - Means (Oblique) case marker
neg - negation (p̲i̲)
Obj - Object
Obl - Oblique
PAT - Patient
per   pergressive case marker (p̲e̲)
perm - permissive (s̲a̲a̲)
pftv - perfective
pl   - plural
REC   Recipient
recp - reciprocality
s   - singular
2   - second person
2nd - second person possessive
stat - stative
Subj - Subject
3   - third person
3rd - third person possessive

I feel Trask's comments relating to the instability of Patient as Subject of a transitive verb are also appropriate. The Kara Topic is normally co-referential with the Subject; however, under certain conditions relating to giveness, the Object:Patient may be the Topic, thus doubling the focus towards the Patient. Topical focus on an Object:Patient is restricted (unstable) in most circumstances, allowing the Actor to control the situation.

Starosta's approach to the primary importance of the Patient has been extremely helpful to my understanding and appreciation of the Kara language. I feel that a great deal of the effectiveness of this model is due to its bias toward ergativity, rather than the preconceived Indo-European notions of what is important in a language. As a result I am confident that an analysis of the other languages of the Patpatar-Tolai family, as well as most other AN languages of PNG, would also benefit from a similar treatment.

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