The Use of ɨna and ɨni in Sepik Iwam
Discourse

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1. Introduction

Sepik Iwam is a Non-Austronesian language of the Biksi stock of the Sepik Sub-Phylum of the Sepik-Ramu Phylum of Papua New Guinea (Laycock 1973:20).

In this study we will examine the function of these two forms in Sepik Iwam oral narrative discourse. In participant identification, changing from background to main event line, staging and cohesion will be discussed.

One of the imposing features of Sepik Iwam oral narrative discourse is the frequent occurrence of one of the two thematic subject markers, ɨna or ɨnɨ. In three narrative texts one or the other of these two forms occurred 2 212 times in 803 clauses for an average of one for   over every four clauses.

Such a frequently occurring form, or set of two related forms, indicates something of the important role they must have in the structure of Sepik Iwam discourse.

The forms ɨna and ɨnɨ have been observed daily with verbs in one of the past tenses. They have not been observed with negatives, future tenses, or with non-indicative moods. This explains why they occur primarily in narrative discourse, both contemporary narrative and folk tales.

In other discourse types these forms occur much less frequently.

We first assume that there is a difference in meaning and funtion (use) between the two forms ɨna and ɨnɨ. In giving their respective glosses as /unmarked thematic subject marker' and ;marked thematic subject marker', we are giving only a very approximate idea of their use in narrative discourse. It is not a simple matter to determine when to use ɨna and when to use ɨnɨ.

However, it is clear that in narrative discourse ɨna is the unmarked form in the sense of Lyons (1968:79)—the pattern that operates by default and that has the widest distribution,[the pattern that is to be considered neutral.

In addition to being the unmarked form in narrative discourse, ɨna cannot be used in a clause with a complex location tagmeme, unless the location tagmeme is postposed to clause final position (1). In that ɨna is the unmarked form, it is normally used for a quote formula. (3)

(1) Dram 04:5-9: In this example, note that the first occurrence of ɨna is a substitute for the pronoun saeya 'she'. Ɨna signals that the last prominent referent (usually also subject) mentioned is the subject of the following verb.

Note that the location tagmeme is clause-final. Otherwise ɨni would be used. See (2) below.

Mɨ	sae-ya	yɨnpɨugak	n-wo-wa		bɨ
and	she-nom	pregnant	pres.indic-be-f.sg.top		neg

n-aokaina-sasau-k-a.		Hɨri-yar
pres.indic-give.birth-quickly-p.t-f.sg.top.p.t.		like.that-only

y-wo-krɨpkai-ya.	ɨna	hɨri-yar
p.t-be-continue-fɨsg.top.p.t	th.top.unm	like.that-only

y-wo-krɨpkai-ya	mɨ	sɨm-a	gwo	komɨ
p.t-be-continue-f.sg.top.p.t	and.then	they-nom	play	big

ɨna	y-am-ɨm	Ama	hɨr-ir.
unm.th.subj	p.t-go-pl.top.p.t	Ama	there-obl

'And she was pregnant but did not give birth quickly. She continued just like that. She continued just like that and then they went to the important sports event there at Ama.'

(2) Dram 04:277 Note that with a locative tagmeme containing two locatives, the form ɨni is used instead of ɨna.

Kar-a	hapi	n-wu-rani,	ɨni	kingin	tɨr-ar
I-nom	there	pres.contin-be-neg	ma.th.subj	near	here-only

n-wo-wa.
pres.contin-be-f.sg.top.p.t

'I am not over there I am here.'

(3) Dram 04:290

An	ɨna	boɨn-ɨn.	"ɨni	kaimwo-wa
I	unm.th.top	say-m.sg.top.p.t	m.th.subj	true-f.sg

y-wo-wa.
p.t-be-f.sg.top

'I said, "This (story) is true.'

(1) Dram 04:5-9: In this example, note that the first occurrence of ɨna is a substitute for the Rronoun saeya 'she', ɨna signals that the last prominent referent (usually also subject) mentioned is the subject of the following verb.

Note that the Location tagmeme is clause-final. Otherwise ɨni would

The form ḁ́ní, on the other hand, is the marked form in narrative discourse. It is often used to involve some emotional experience by the participant,[4] but can also occur in other contexts, especially near the peak[15] of a narrative. It is also the form used with focus on the subject as actor.

These comments about ḁ́ní can be supported by some further text observations.

In a long search for examples, only two instances of ḁ́na were found to occur with margḁ́marya 'happy', and in both of these contexts ḁ́ní is also acceptable.

With the somewhat neutral verb boḁ́n 'to say, tell', only one occurence of ḁ́ní was found. This was in the context of a frustration, which can be considered emotional (7C).

(7C) ḁ́ní   boḁ́n-gugu-wḁ́n   sḁ́ya   s-ir-ḁ́n
    m.th.subj   talk-unsuccessfully-m.sg-top.p.t   he-nom   he-obl-purp
'He talked unsuccessfully to him.'

These comments are not to be taken too seriously, however. The actual occurrence of ḁ́ní vs ḁ́na in certain contexts is very difficult to predict. In many of the above contexts the best language helpers agree that either ḁ́ní or ḁ́na can be used.

(4) DRAM 01:81-82: Note ḁ́ní occurs in the emotional context 'happy', while ḁ́na occurs in the neutral context 'said'.

Mḁ́   sḁ́m-a   ḁ́ní   margḁ́marga   y-wo-ki-yḁ́m.
and   they-nom   unm.th.subj   happy   p.t-be-displ.result-top.p.t

sḁ́m-a   ḁ́na   boḁ́n-ḁ́m,   "mḁ́   kḁ́r-a   pupi
they-nom   unm.th.subj   say-pl.top.p.t   and   you-nom   where

kwḁ́i-n-ak-i-k-ḁ́n.
dig-pres.indic-get.come-p.t-m.sg.top.p.t
'And they were happy. They said, "And where did you dig and git it and come?"

(5) DRAM 01:46: The main character in the story has just discovered a large bird nest and has dug out nine eggs while the others in his party are cutting trees.

Kar-ir   knuén   si-yar-in   4ni   narc-narca
I-obl   threat   he-only-m.sg   ma.th.subj   happy

y-wo-ki-yin.
p.t-be.displ.result-m.sg.top.p.t

'I was happy.'

Note that in the subject as actor is focussed on with the suffix -k, 4na
is used, as in (6B).

(6A)   kam b44r-kak   inkam-k-in   4ni   ackwir
       man tinea-have   person-act-m.sg   ma.th.subj   shell

a-ir   kwa-hai-yin.
she-obl   nar-take-m.sg.top.p.t

'The man with tinea himself took a shell.'

(6B)   kam b44r-kak   inkam-in   4na   ackwir
       man tinea-have   person-m.sg   unm.th.subj shell

a-ir   kwa-hai-yin.
she-obl   nar-take-m.sg.top.p.t

'The man with tinea took a shell.'

In (7A) the emphasis is on the subject, by virtue of clause initial
position, and with the meaning of the main verb 'bent over'

It is usual to have siya 'he' as topic, and so 4ni is used.

In (7B) the emphasis is on sir dimpin 'his back', which occurs clause
initial and is topic, which is normal for this verb 'bent over', thus the
unmarked form, 4na is used.

(7A)   si-ya   4ni   dimop-kak   y-anka
       he-nom   ma.th.subj   back-have   p.t-move.around

h4kai-ki-y4n
be.bent.over-displ.result-m.sg.top.p.t

'He moved around and his back became bent over.'

(7B)   s-ir   dimop-4n   4na   y-anka   h4kai-ki-yin.
       he-obl   back-m.sg   unm.th.subj   p.t-move-around be.bent.over-displ.result-
                                                             m.sg.top.pt.

'As for his back, (he moved) and it became bent over.'

(8) DRAM 04:274-277, 290-293

In this example, all occurrences of ‡ni are in rather neutral contexts.
With minor modifications in context and no essential meaning difference
‡na can be used instead of ‡ni in all 3 occurrences. In the past occurrence
of ‡ni, the locatives kingin t‡rar 'near here only' must be shifted to
post verbal position. Then ‡ni can be replaced by ‡na.

In the second occurrence, ‡ni can be replaced by ‡na with no modifi-
cations at all. In the third occurrence, ‡ni can be replaced by ‡na if
ywokiy‡n 'be' is deleted and -iy‡n is suffixed to d‡g finish. No explana-
tions are available as to why these particular modifications are needed.

Ya	sae-ya	kar-ir-‡n	‡gao-kak-a	n-wo-wi.
she	she-nom	I-obl-obj	angry-have-f.sg.top	pres.indic-be-

k‡r-a	h‡r-ir	k‡pi	sr‡i-ri.	Kar-a	hapi	n-wo-ra‡i.
you-nom	there-only	neg	ask-ask	I-nom	ther.over.there	pres.indic-be-neg

‡ni	kingin	t‡r-ar	n-wo-wa.	An ‡na	bo‡n-‡n.
pna.th.subj	near	here-only	pres.indic-be- f.sg	I th.top.gen	say-m.sg.top.p.t

‡ni	kaimwo-wa	y-wo-wa	kar-ir	yai-ya	m‡
ma.th.subj	true-f.sg	p.t-be-f.sg	I-obl	talk-f.sg	and/unm.

‡na	swok‡-‡t-a.	m‡	t-i	kar-ir	niwi-y‡n
th.subj	again-come-f.sg.top.p.t	and	near.dem-m.sg	I-obl	story-m.sg

‡ni	d‡g	y-woki-y‡n.	H‡ri-nam-k-‡n
ma.th.top	finish	p.t.be-displ-result	that-be-m.sg.top

'She was angry with me. (she said): "Don't ask anymore."
I am not over there. I am (near) here. I said, "This talk of yours
(the talk of the speaker's wife) is true. My talk has returned (it has been
answered). This my story is finished. That's all.'

In non-narrative discourse, the distribution of ‡na versus ‡ni is quite
different. In a combination of various non-narrative discourse a count
indicated 58 occurrences of ‡ni and 11 of ‡na in 308 clauses. From this it
can be seen that these two forms are much less frequent in non-narrative
discourse. This can be expected since the forms only occur with past tense.
In addition, it is clear that ‡ni is much more frequent than ‡na in non-
narrative text. In fact, in the texts counted so far, no occurrences of
‡na have been found in   or procedural texts.

2. Participant Identification

A part of the function of *ina* and *ini* in identification of participants has been covered in another paper (Laszlow and Conrad, 1981 A). Those uses are explained in two basic rules, the thematic subject rule and the Thematic subject switch reference rule.

These rules and their illustrations will be repeated here for background information.

Thematic topic rule. Following the initial identification of a major participant, this participant can be identified by the thematic topic marker *ina* or *ini* and a verbal affix until another major participant is identified. In case a participant has been identified by *ina* and another major participant is then initially identified, it is possible to switch back to the first participant using only *ina* and a number affix on the verb, provided the two participants involved contrast in number.

(14) <u>Kar-a</u>   <u>u</u>   <u>ɸam</u>   <u>nik+-</u> <u>ap-id-am-i</u>   (15) <u>+na</u>   <u>swok+-haiug</u> <u>ɸap-id-am-+n</u>
     I   axe go   first-walk-up-go   again-turn.back walk-up-go

<u>s-ir</u> <u>omaka</u> <u>h+r-ir</u> (16)<u>Ha</u>   <u>swok+</u>   <u>haiug</u> <u>ɸap-id-am-+n,</u> (17) <u>+na</u>
<u>he-</u> house there-   Having   again turn.back walk-up-go-

<u>yndu</u> <u>hai-naki</u>   <u>u</u> <u>komi</u> <u>ka-+r</u> (18) <u>+na ki-nanini-y+n</u>
up carry-bring.back   axe big   one   pull-come.down-

(19)<u>+na</u> <u>hai</u>   <u>y-ap-nini</u> (20) <u>m+ +na</u> <u>boin-anini-y+n,</u> (21) "<u>kr+m-a</u>
     carry walk-down   talk-come.down-   we

<u>w-ap-ni-nanini."</u>
Imp.-walk-come-come.down.

'(14) I first walked and went up for the axe, (15) turned I walked and went
up to his house there. (16) Having turned and walked up (17) I went up
and got one big axe. (18) I brought it down, (19) carrying it walking
down, then (20) I said coming down, "(21) You all walk and come down."'

    Thematic topic switch reference rule. Thematic topic markers <u>+na</u> and <u>+ni</u>
can be used to identify change of subject in two successive clauses, but
only if the subject of the second clause is sentence topic (9A), (9B), (9C).

(9A) <u>pae</u> <u>si-ya</u>   <u>n-+i-y+n</u>   <u>+na</u>
     tree he-nom   pres.indic-cut-m.sg.   umm.th.subj
                       top.p.t

<u>y-ami-k+i-y+u-w+n</u>
p.t-fall-from.above-there-m.sg.top.p.t
'As for the tree, he cut it and it fell down there.'

(9B) Since <u>siya</u> 'he' is sentence topic, <u>+na</u> refers to 'he' instead of
<u>pae</u> 'tree'.

<u>si-ya</u> <u>pae</u> <u>n-+i-y+n</u>   <u>+na</u>   <u>y-ami-k+i-y+u-w+n.</u>
he-nom tree pres-indic-cut-m.sg.top   umm.th.subj p.t-fell-from.above-there-
                                            m.sg.top.p.t

'He cut the tree and he (this man) fell down.'

(9C) If si-ya 'man' is sentence topic, ɨna is insufficient to identify the tree as subject of the second clause. The following construction must then be used to encode the tree as subject of the second clause.

si-ya   pae   n-ɨi-yɨn   mɨ   pae-yɨn
he-nom   tree   pres.indic-cut.m.sg.top.p.t   and.then tree-m.sg

ɨna   y-amɨ-kɨi-yɨu-wɨn,
unm.th.subj   p.t-fall-from.above-there-m.sg.top.p.t

'He cut the tree and then it fell down there.'

Therefore it is clear that the forms ɨna and ɨni are very important in participant identification. They are also important for staging, that is, for indicating prominence over the domain of the clause and wider. (See Section 4).

The two forms ɨna and ɨni are used relatively seldom (14 out of 50 occurrances in one text) as the 1 only identification of a participant. (11) Usually an affix (12) or a free pronoun (13) or both co-occurs.

(11) DRAM 04:45-47.

(11) ha   kwɨs-wo,   mɨ   ɨna   srɨi,   "adɨ   komi
rep.pres close-dl   and unm.th.subj   ask   father   important

nɨ-krɨr-a   n-ɨnoknɨnkɨn-tani   tɨɨ   dimɨn-ɨn
we.dual-nom   pres.indic-know-neg   near.dear-m.s   thing-m.sg

t-ɨ   sa-ir   n-ɨdwo-kai   omokouwɨn
hear.dem-m she-obl   pres.indic-fit-inside   block.(the door)

'We two having closed our eyes, we asked, "Important Father, We do not know this thing which has blocked the way (for her)."

(12) DRAM 04:8

(12) ɨna   hɨri-yar   y-wo-krɨpkai-ya.
unm.th.top   like,that-only p.t-be-continue-f.sg.top.p.t

'She continued to be just like that.'

(13) DRAM 04:44

Nɨrwai   nhwo   ɨna   kwɨs-wo.
we.dl-married   eye   unm.th.top   close-dl.top.p.t

'We two married people closed our eyes.'

Usually the forms $na or $ni refer to the last prominent referent. Usually this referent is realized as grammatical subject.

Occasionally these forms are used for change of subject. One such example was given in (9A). Note, however, that the last prominent referent is still the referent of $na even though there has been a change of subject from the preceding clause. That is, pae 'there' is the last prominent referent, since it is sentence topic.

Other examples of change of subject and change of topic often occur beginning a new episode--that is, following the episode closer $rik, 'that's all.' (14)

(14) DRAH 04:187-193 Note the subject change from karir p$u 'my body' in clause 188 and 190 to Ronda, the speaker, in clause 192.

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187  m$    ha       kao-ki              m$    sae-ya      bo$n, $rik.
     and   rep.pres see-displ.result    and   she-n      say   that's all
                                               om

188  kar-ir    p$u-a    wad$e-k-$.   189 Had$e    han$$n-k-$
     I-obl     skin-f   good-be-m        good     like.this-be-m

     y-am-$o   $uu.     190 kar-ir   p$u    bi$$e-ya   $rip$
     p.t-go-he go           I-obl    skin   bad-f      together

     h$rinan   $na      m$        191 $nk$kr$p-n-ak$-ya."
     like.this unm.th.subj and.then    stop-pres.indic-come-f.sg.top.p.t

     $rik.     192 $na          y-$d$o-ka$-$$-ya$$ok.
     that's all     unm.th.top  p.t-sit-inside-dupl.result-morning

193  p$            cl$mu-$m     swok$-$hen-ka$
     immed.gen.$ut how-pl.      again-sleep-inside
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'Having opened her eyes she said, 'that's all. My body is very good (healed). My bad (sick) body is also better and the (blood) has stopped flowing. That's all. I sat down inside in the morning and I have no reason to sleep anymore.'

The usual operation of the rule of prominant referents is that the form $na or $ni refers to the last prominent referent as in (15).

(15) DRAH 04:134-137 In this example the last clear prominent referent tagged with $na is an kar-a
                                                              I I-bom

'I', referring to Joseph, in clause No. 130. From then on we have an ɨna by itself, which must refer to Joseph, and an an 'I' referring to Joseph, and then finally an ɨna in clause 137, which must refer to Joseph also by the rule of prominent referents.

ɨna	y-wo-kao-wɨi.	135 An	Wrapswo	ɨr-a	kɨr-wɨi
unm.th.top	p.t-be-inside-night	I	tobacco	one-f	break-night

sɨm-ir-si	136 Mɨ	t-ɨ	wrapswo	sɨm-ir
they-obl-for	And.then	near.dem-m	tobacco	they-obl

y-ɨnkwokwo	hauu-gi-wɨi.	ɨna	y-wo-kao-wɨi
p.t-divide.up	give-displ.result-night	unm.th.top	p.t-be-inside-night

'I was inside at night. I broke tobacco wrapped in black palm back at night for them. And then I divided up this tobacco and gave it to them at night. I was inside at night.'

However, occasionally the rule of prominent referents breaks down and the referent of ɨna/ɨni is determined by the contrast including specifically the verbs.

(16) Note ɨna in clause 73 refers to Joseph, the speaker, and the same in clause 74, by the rule of prominent referents. Ya 'she' in clause 80 can hardly be Joseph's wife, as she is in the serious physical condition just described. So it must be Joseph's mother-in-law. ɨna in clause 81 also must refer to Joseph's mother-in-law, even though she is not very prominent at this point, having been last referred to by ya 'she'. In clause 82, by the rule of prominent referents ɨna would refer to Joseph's mother-in-law, but actually it refers to his wife, Makimboptu, the last truly prominent referent. In noting the verb yarkawi, 'move' it is clear that this refers to a woman in childbirth. In clause 84 things are back to normal again. ɨna refers to the last prominent referent, Joseph's wife.

(16) DRAM 04:71-84 Revise rule: what;s going on?

71. Mɨ	an	ɨna	mɨ	∅-am-ɨn.	72. ha
And	I	unm.th.subj	and	sp.p.t-go-msg.top.p.t	rep.pres

n-am-ɨn.	1	iwɨri-n-aki.
pres.indic-go-m.sg.top.p.t	canoe	enter-pres.indic-come

73. <u>łna</u>   -n-am   sa-ir apu a-ir-łm.
  unm.th.subj upstream-pres.indic-go she-obl mother she-obl-purp

74. <u>łna</u>   bołn-gik-łn.
  unm.th.subj say-return-m.sg.top.p.t

75. <u>Kłm-a</u>   n-łt-i
  you.pl-nom pres.indic-come.n.pst

76. <u>Pł</u>   <u>waraai-ni</u>.
  immed.gen.fut downstream-come.by.canoe

77. <u>Makimboptu</u> <u>sae-ya</u> <u>młiyłk</u> <u>n-wo-rani</u>
  Makimboptu she-nom good pres.indic-be-neg

78. <u>N-ank-a-kab-a</u>   79. <u>Pł</u>   <u>sa-pi</u>
  pres.indic-move.around. immed.gen.fut she-gen.nar.fut
  <u>n-ługus-ki</u>.   80. <u>Ya</u> <u>ha</u> <u>n-amai-ni-ya</u>
  pres.indic-finish-displ.result she p.t pres.indic-in.water-come-f.sg.
                top.p.t

  <u>łna</u>   <u>y-anka-wi</u> 83. <u>Y-anka-rłb</u> <u>nałowak-ar</u>.
  unm.th.subj p.t-move-just   p.t-move-afternoon afternoon-only

84. <u>łna</u>   <u>y-am-ki</u>   <u>łriyar</u> <u>kw-os</u> <u>łriyar</u>
  unm.th.top p.t-go-displ.result five   cl.4-three five
  <u>kw-i</u>   <u>łi-ya</u>   <u>hłnłłn-a</u>   <u>y-wo-wam</u>.
  cl.4-four time-f.sg like.this-f.sg p.t-be-go

'I went also. Having gone, I got in the canoe and came, and paddled up to
my mother-in-law and said to her and returned, "If you all want to come, you
can paddle down. Makimbop too is not good. She was <u>moving</u> and was near
finishing (giving birth)." She paddled and came down still <u>moved</u> in the
afternoon. She kept on like this until 8:00 or 9:00.'

  These examples lead us to the following additional rule for participant
identification: If a referent is identified only by <u>łna</u> or <u>łni</u>, it usually
refers to the last previous prominent referent in the text identified by
<u>łna</u> or <u>łni</u>, by a free pronoun, or noun phrase or proper name.

  If the following verb identifies the referent of <u>łna</u> or <u>łni</u> as inanimate
or as being of necessity a different referent, then the referents of
<u>łna</u> or <u>łni</u> is determined by this verb. Selection is made from among the

Selection is made from among the appropriate possible referents in
the previous context.

(17) DRAM 01:15 As an illustration of the exception to the rule of prominent
referents as referred to on the anaphoric reference rule. Note that *ini* in
clause 15 refers to their player. The last prominent referent was
Adi Komi 'important Father'. The last occurrence of *ina* refers to.

kwis-ki	adi	komi	s-ir-im	boin-ki
close-displ.result	Father	important	he-obl-purp	talk-displ.result

panao	t-i	nan	homi	sisim-im	pi	krim-a
now	near.dem-	sago	part	dim-pl	immed.gen.fut	we-nom

n-ae	kir-a	krim-ir-at	kig-rirao-kwowak.	Mi	krim-ir
pres.indic-eat	we-obl-only	care.for-?-daytime	and	we-obl

mhii-yin^(you-nom)	pi	kipi	nao.	Mi	u
stomach-pl	immed.gen.fut	neg.imp	be.hungry	and	axe

nhirid-im	pi	krim-ir	is	kipi	n-ii
knife-pl	immed.gen.fut	we-obl	skin	neg.imp	pres.indic-cut

krim-a	kir-ir	kirie-ya	sa-ir-im	srii
we-nom	you-obl	strength-f.sg	she-obl-pl	ask

n-am-yakwok-i	panao-in. Irik."	ini	dig
pres.indic-go-morning-n.pst	now-obj that's all	ma.th.subj	finished

y-wo-ki.	Mi	ina	kw-ae	h-am-im
p.t-be-displ.result	and	unm.th.subj	nar-eat	pres.indic-go-pl.top.p.t

(18) DRAM 01:50-52   In this example we see again why the anaphoric reference rule refers to last prominent referent instead of subject or topic. In clause 50 'nine bird eggs is the topic, kir-a is the subject, kar-ir 'me' is the object. The next ina, in clause 50 A, refers to the speaker, co-referential with kar-it, as does the ini in clause 51.

50. mi   nasnau   yin-im   iriyar   nh-iuw-k-im   kir-a   kar-ir
    and   bird   egg-pl   five   cl.2-four-be-pl.top   -you-nom I-obl

hanu-gik-rim.   50A. Mi   ina   hai-yap-kat-ni
give-return-pl.top.p.t   And   unm.th.subj   carry-walk-inside.to.jungle-come

51. ini   de   tir   ini   hai-gi-gik-in.
    ma.th.subj camp here   over.here put-displ.result-return-m.sg.top.p.t

52. yim   siw-a   ini   pae-ya   miki   ii-yim.
    They   they-nom ma.th.subj   tree-f.sg   yet   cut-pl.top.p.t

'As for nine bird eggs, you have given them to me and I returned and walked and carried them here inside the jungle, to the camp here. They were still cutting trees.'

Therefore a given text is divided up into sections which are usually marked by ina/ini, tagging a prominent referent as the prominent referent in this section of text until the next different referent is so identified by ina/ini, a pronoun, noun phrase of proper name. In this way this forms ina/ini and these other nominals function as a local theme marker. (See section 4). A referent so identified many times in a text is also a global theme.

3. Background to Main Event Line.

Another important function of the forms ini and ina is their use as marking a return from background information to the main event line.

(19) DRAM 01:15-16   Note that ina marks the first clause in the return to the event line following the background quoted prayer.

ini   din   y-wo-ki.   Mi   ina   kw-ae
ma.th.top   finish   p.t-be-disl.result   and.then unm.th.top   nar-eat

n-am-im.
pres-indic-go-pl.top.p.t

'The prayer was finished.'   "Then we began to eat."

(20) DRAM 01:56-64 Note that the 4na in clause 64 marks the first clause
which expresses an event following the background of the speaker's thoughts.

55. m4   4na   swok4-4t-4n   m4   kav-ir   iswo4n
     and urm.th.tip   again-come-m.sg.top.p.t   and.then I-obl   throat

4e-yar   swok4-n-angwo. ...
he-only   again-pres.indic-think

63. Kar-ir   n4b-4n   p4   inkam   mu-4r-k-4n
     I-obl   basket-m.sg   immed.gen.fut   person   cl.5-one-be-m.sg.top

k4pi   n-4ibimbir.   4rik."   64. Y4m   4na   y-4t-4m
neg.imp   pres.indic-open that's.all   they   umm.th.top   p.t-come-pl.top.p.t

'"I returned and I thought...As for my basket, not one man should open
it and look." That's all." They came.'

(21) DRAM 01:89-94. Note that following the collateral information in
clauses 91-92.   "If he had come, he would have cut (trees). That's all."
is a clause marked with 4na encoding the next event, "They said".

y4o pilip-4n   b4di   y-am-4n   b4 n-4t-k-4n.
he   Phillip-m.sg   compl.p.t p.t-go-m.sg.top.p.t   pres.indic-come.return-m.sg.top.
                                                      neg   p.t

si-ya   n-4t-k4swo,   p4   y-41-y4n.   4rik
he-nom   pres.indic-come-efc   immed.gen.fut p.t-dig-m.sg.top.p.t   that's all

y4m 4na   bo4n-4m,   "hind-ar   t-4   ki-mai."
they umm.th.top say-pl.top.p.t like.this-only   near.dem-M boil-in.water

'Phillip had gone and did not come back. If he had come, he would have
dug (the bird nest). That's all. They said, "Boil it just like this."'

4. Staging

Staging is defined by Litteral (1980:310) as "the organization that
reflects in the surface structure the speaker's perspective in presenting
the semantic content." The term is taken from Grimes (1975:323 ff) in an
effort to avoid the terminology problem involving careless use of the
familiar terms "topic", "focus", "theme", "emphasis". In this section we
attempt to show something about how the two forms 4na and 4ni are involved
in staging or prominence.

It is important to consider the domain of prominence of any element (Callow 1974ª).

It appears at this stage of analysis that ɨna/ɨnɨ identify prominent nominals in texts over a domain usually no longer than a sentence,[22] and occasionally only a clause.[23] In this sense, then they are local rather than global theme markers.

(22) DRAM 01:50-52 Here ɨna and ɨnɨ are used in clause 50A to identify topic (and subject) as the speaker Gideon. Note that this person 1) referent (pronoun karit 'me' in clause 50.) ... (Gideon) Thus the local theme extends through clauses 50A and 51. In Clause 52, however, is a new theme. They (the other men who came to cut the clause is rather full (direct object paeya 'trees' and verb modifier niki.

50. Mɨ nasnau yɨn-ɨn ɨriyar nh-ɨuw-k-ɨn kɨr-a kar-ir
    And bird   egg-pl five   cl.2-four-be-pl.top you-nom I-obl

haun-gik-ɨn 50A Mɨ ɨna hai-yap-kai-ni
give-return-pl.top.p.t And umm.th.subj carry-walk-inside-come to jungle

51. ɨnɨ de tɨr inɨ hai-gi-gik-ɨn.
    ma.th.subj camp here over.here put-dis .result-return-m.sg.top.p.t

52. Yɨm ɨɨm-a ɨnɨ pae-ya niki ɨɨ-yɨm
    they they-nom ma.th.subj tree-f.sg yet cut-pl.top.p.t

'Nine birds eggs you have given to me. I have returned and I walked and carried them here inside the jungle to the camp. They were cutting the trees yet.'

Following Litteral (1980:311) we will distinguish theme (semantic prominence) from focus (prominence from the information perspective). This distinction is clear in the previous example (21) clause 50, in which the focus is on the clause-initial item, nasnau yɨnɨn ɨriyar nhɨuw. 'Nine bad eggs', while the local theme, indicated by ɨna in clause 50 and the two occurrences of ɨnɨ in clause 51, is 'Gideon' realized in Clause 50 by karir 'I', since the speech act is prayer.

Therefore focus, or prominence from the information perspective, is signaled by clause-initial position, not counting per tagmemes such as sentence constructions, while theme, or semantic perspective, is signaled by the thematic subject markers, *ina* and *ini*, by the presence of pronouns and noun phrases occurring as subject, and by the repetitive present marker *ha* which substitutes for any of these forms, when the verb is repeated (23 Clause 127, 133.)

Local theme is signaled by one occurrence of *ina* or *ini* in a clause, or by one or more of these markers in a sentence, or by a pronoun, noun phrase or proper noun occurring as subject. (23)

Global theme is signalled by many occurrences of *ina* or *ini* (23) marking a particular item as subject, or by a thematic (4) sentence (24), (25).

(23) ORAH 04:119-134

119	Mi	kar-a	krir-a	swoki-am.	120.	Mi	adi	komi
	And	I-nom	we-nom	again-go		And	Father	important

	sir-am-a		swoki-srii-ki		121	Mi	ina	kig-i
	he-obl-purp-to		again-ask-displ.resutl			And	unm.th.subj	see-a.pst

122	Makimboptuw-a		n-am		Ø-idw	iu-wa.
	Makimboptu-t.sg		pres.indic-go		p.t-sit	go-3f.sg.top.p.t

123	ina		y-akauwok-a,
	unm.th.subj		p.t-yell(come to upper elevation)-f.sg

124	"kim-a		kar-ir		op	whauu-ki."
	you.pl-nom		I-obl		water	give-displ.result

125	Yim	op-a		kuna	hai-n-am		ina
	they	water-f.sg		get	carry-pres.indic-go		unm.th.subj

	hauu-ki	126	Ya	ina		kuyae	t-a		op
	give-displ.result		she	unm.th.subj		drink	near-dem-f		water

	a-ir-in.	127	Ha		kuyae	dig-i,	128	Mi	ina
	she-obl-obj		rep.pres		drink	finish-		And.then	unm.th.subj

boɨn-a	129	"an	kar-a	wad4e	y-wo-wa."	130	M4
say-f.sg		I	I-nom	good	p.t-be-f.sg.top.p.t		And.then

aɾ	kara	sɨp	a4n-4m	4na	wid-wi-yin	n4iyar.	131	Ha
I	I-nom	step	something	unm.th.sub	tie. ...night-only			rep.pres

wid-w4i,	132	adi	Narobopiya	si-ya	whin	wid-w4i	d4g .
tie-night		father	Harobopiya	he-nom	help	tie-night	finished.

133	M4	sa-ir	akariga	m4u-4m	h4r-ar
	And.then	she-obl	afterbirth	something-pl	there-only

hai-gi-qik-w4i	b4ra	hangikai-w4i-g-4m	erik.
put-inside-return-night	neg	bury-night-p.t-pl.top.p.t	that's.all

134	4na	y-wo-kao-w4i.
	them.th.subj	p.t-be-inside-night

119 'And we two went again and   120 we asked the important Father
again 121 and we saw Nakimboptu go sit down 123 and she called up
to them. 124 "Give me some water." 125 They got the water and went
and gave it (to her). 126 She drank this water. 127 Having drank,
128 She said, 129 "I am good. 130 I tied the step and things during
the night. 131   Having tied them 132   father Naorobopiya helped me to
tie it finish. 133 They took her afterbirth and put it inside during
the night and did not bury it. That's all 134 They stayed like that
during the night.'

(24) DRAH 01:2 This sentence is the third clause of the text, following the
title and an introduction. As with some but not all thematic sentences,
the subject is marked with 4na. This set up the twelve men as the
global theme of the stop

kam	4nr	nw-4s	4na	y-am-4m	Harwiya.
man	ten	cl.5-two	unm.th.subj	p.t-go-pl.top.p.t	Harwiya

'Twelve men went to Harwiya.'

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18-

Another type of thematic sentence is illustrated in (25).

(25) DRAM 04:2 This sentence establishes Makimboptu as one global theme of the story.

M	pi	kar-ir	wig-w	Makimboptu	sa-ir	niwi
and	incept	I-obl	wife-f.sg	Makimboptu	she.obl	story

i-ir	boin-i .
it-obl	tell-n.pst

"And I will tell the story of my wife, Makimboptu."

5. Cohesion

The foms ina/ini contribute to cohesion in an important way as indicated in the anaphoric reference rule. In (26) section of text will illustrate the use of the use of these markers.

(26) XYZ:26-38 The clauses will be listed on the left and the cohesion using ina/ini indicated on the right

                    Clauses   Cohesion

26. M kimidiniya Bob si-ya boin
     And first   Bob he-nom say

27. "Pol, kir-a   wari   ounibnan
     Paul you-nom there   inside.room

wh-ir-in   si tiki kw-ap   ninopkai
cl.3-one-obj he first nar-walk   inside

ini-yam   t-am-i   hansri-n-aki."
chair-purp imp-go-there find-pres.indic-come

28 M an kimidiniya ha n-am-in
    and I first   p.t pres.indic-go-m.sg.top.p.t

29 hir   y-am-i   hansri-n-aki,
    there p.t-go-threre find-pres.indic-come

Clauses				Cohesion

30 <u>iyłe</u>   <u>łni</u>   <u>y-am-ł</u> .... <u>ø-ap</u>
   no   ma.th.subj   p.t-go-there ..... p.t-walk   anaphoric ref o
                                             to <u>an</u> "I" (the
                                             (speaker) clause 28

<u>kłg-ugu</u>   <u>n-aki-yłn</u>.
look-unsuccessfully   pres.indic-come-m.sg.top.p.t ....

31 <u>M</u>   <u>łna</u>   <u>swokł-kwa-hołn-ki-głn</u> .... anaphoric ref to
   and   ma.th.subj   again-nar-say-displ.result- ..... <u>Bob si-ya</u>   Bob,
                   m.sg.top.p.t   he clause 26

<u>si-ya</u>
he-nom

32 "<u>Wari</u>   <u>wh-łr-łn</u>   <u>si</u>   <u>t-ł</u> ......
   there   cl.3-one-obj   he   near.dem-m ....

<u>swokł-kw-am</u>."
again-nar-go

33 <u>M</u>   <u>an</u> <u>kłmłdiniya</u>   <u>s-ir</u>..........
   and   I   first   he-obl ....

<u>swokł-kwi-ou</u>   <u>ø-ap</u>   <u>n-łnopkuł</u>
again-nar-easily   p.t-walk   pres.indic-inside

<u>n-am</u>.
pres.indic-go

34 <u>ha</u>   <u>kwł-ou</u>   <u>ø-ap</u>   <u>n-łnopkał</u>
   rep.pres   nar-inside   p.t-walk   pres.indic-inside

<u>n-am-łn</u>
pres.indic-go-m.sg.top.p.t

35 <u>ipi</u>   <u>kw-łr-a</u>   <u>y-am-ł</u>
   chair   cl.4-one-f.sg   p.t-go-there

<u>hai-naki</u>   <u>łrik</u>
bring-come   that's.all

Clauses			Cohesion
36 $\underline{\text{óna}}$	y-it-ín.		an uphoric ref to $\underline{\text{an}}$ 'I'
unm.th.subj	p.t-come-m.sg.top.p.t		(the speaker), clause 28
37 $\underline{\text{óna}}$	y-am-í	haíg-ín	an uphoric reference to
unm.th.subj	p.t-go-here	put-m.sg.top.p.t	$\underline{\text{an}}$ 'I' (the speaker)
β-ídwo-ni-yín.		órik.	clause 28
p.t-sit-come -pn.sg.top.p.t		that's.all	
38 $\underline{\text{óna}}$	boánai-yím	krím-ír	anaphoric reference to $\underline{\text{kríma}}$
unm.th.subj	talk-pl.top.p.t	wa-abl	'we' back at the beginning of
yaí-yín			the text, clause 3
talk.pl.			

In the following free translation, nouns or pronouns signaled by $\underline{\text{óna}}$/$\underline{\text{óni}}$
in the text are underlined.

26. 'And first Bob said, 27 "Paul, you go there to an inside room and
find a chair and bring it."
28. And first I went. 29 There and to find it and come, 30 But $\underline{\text{I}}$ did
not find one. 31. And again he (Bob) said, 32. "Go again to this other
place over there. 33. And first I went and easily walked inside.
34. Having gone inside there, 35. I brought one chair and came. That's
all. 36. $\underline{\text{I}}$ came and 37. put it and sat down. That's all. $\underline{\text{He}}$ talked
about our talk.'

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