PARTICIPANT IDENTIFICATION IN SEPIK IWAM

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

The following abbreviations and symbols are used in this study:

ben	benefactive
Cl	clause
dem	demonstrative
dl	dual
f	feminine
fol	following
fut	future
imper	imperative
io	indirect object
m	masculine
neut	neuter
no	number
nom	nominative
NP	noun phrase
obj	object (direct object)
obl	oblique (non-nominative)
part	participant
pl	plural
poss	possessive
pres	present tense
pro	pronoun
p.t.	past tense
sg	singular
sr, S/R	switch reference
subj	subject
th	thematic
trans	transitive

unm	unmarked
we.2	we dual
$\emptyset$	no identification at all (zero)
/	non-final intonation
//	final intonation
‗‗‗‗	relevant part of vernacular example
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person

Participant Identification in Sepik Iwam

Sepik Iwam is a Non-Austronesian language of the Biksi Stock of the Sepik Sub-Phylum of the Sepik-Ramu Phylum in Papua New Guinea.

As the analysis[1] is still tentative at this stage, certain assumptions have been made about the function of certain particles and pronouns in the following rules. A pronominal copy is assumed to mark definiteness and animateness and thereby give referential prominence to the participant marked in this manner. The particle ina is assumed to mark thematic subject₍ (local theme). The speaker has a choice to use it in any ~~initial~~ identification, with a past tense verb to mark unmistakably that this participant is the ~~global~~ local theme ~~or~~ for that clause and may be one of the global themes of the text. The same particle is used to help keep track of participants in non-initial identifications by functioning with ha 'repetitive present' to mark the last previously mentioned thematic subject of the same number and person. When the same verb stem is repeated in the immediate context, with the subject remaining the same, ina is replaced by ha 'repetitive present'.

Tentative Rules for Participant Identification in Sepik Iwam

1   Initial Identification by NP plus an affix. Initial identification spans often begin with an NP, which is often a proper name.

(1)
Inkam	nw-ir-in	si-ya	ina	you-ap-nini-yin
person	male-one-m.sg	he-nom	th.subj	higher.elev-walk-down-m.sg

'One man walked down from a higher elevation.'

(2)
DRAM 05	wikam	whiekak-im	Hauna	tiran-im	bidi
	woman.man	all-pl	Hauna	here-pl	compl.p.t.

y-am-im	Nimau	nimau	y-am-im.		
p.t-go-pl	jungle	jungle	p.t-go-pl		

'All the men and women of Hauna here went to various places in the jungle.'

(3)
Marilyn-a	yak-a	okwa-kai-na.
Marilyn-3f.sg	followed,near.to-3f.sg	stand-inside-?

'Marilyn followed nearby and stood inside.'

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1 During this research, the data was provided by the first author, Marilyn Laszlo and two while the major responsibility for the analysis is taken by the second author Bob Conrad.

(4) DRAM 06: <u>Roni-yo</u>   <u>Jona-yo</u>   <u>so-wa-r</u>   <u>kwiri</u>
Roni-and   Jona-and   they.dual-nom-only   get.in.canoe

<u>ina</u>   <u>y-am-iyakwok-o.</u>
the.subj   p.t-go-morning-dual

'Roni and Jona only got into a canoe and went in the morning.'

Discontinuos Appositional NP

(5) DRAM 04:1 <u>Joel</u> <u>Yapawi</u> <u>niwi</u> <u>panao</u> <u>kar-a</u> <u>boin-i</u> <u>krismas</u> <u>ii</u>
Joel Yapawi story now I-nom tell-incept Christmas day

<u>komi-ya.</u>
big-f.sg

'I, Joel Yapawi, will now tell the story about the big day, Christmas.'

2. Initial identification spans can begin with an Equational Clause and frequently do when a personal name is involved.

(6) DRAM 04:1 <u>kar-a</u>   <u>Josep</u>   <u>Moutam-k-in</u>
I-nom   Josep   Moutam-be-m.sg

'I am Josep Moutam.'

(7) DRAM 05: <u>Inkam-in</u>   <u>mw-ir</u>   <u>si-r</u>   <u>inigin</u>   <u>Inuwaeya-k-in.</u>
person-m.sg   male-one   he-obl   name   Inuwaeya-be-m.sg.

'One man's name is Inuwaeya.'

3. If the speaker assumes the identity of a participant is known to the addressee, then free pronouns are used for the intial identification.

(8) DRAM 05:1 <u>Ma</u>   <u>kar-a</u>   <u>nii-ya</u>   <u>pi</u>   <u>sa-ir</u>   <u>boin-i.</u>
and   I-nom   sickness-3f.sg   incept   she-obl   tell-incept

'And I will tell about a sickness.'

    <u>nim</u>   <u>ina</u>   <u>mi</u>   <u>boin-win-im,</u>   <u>Nabie</u>   <u>kir-a."</u>
    we.pl   th.subj   and.then   say-3m.sg-io-pl.p.t.   hello   you-nom

'And then we said, "Hello, you."'

(9) DRAM 07 <u>yim</u>   <u>sim-a</u>   <u>sa-ir</u>   <u>mi</u>   <u>kig-rani.</u>
they   they-nom   she-obl   and?   look.after-neg

'They did not look after her.'

4. Initial identification by NP to avoid naming. If it is inappropriate because of the social situation, such as name taboos, or if it is deemed unnecessary to specify the name, a Noun Phrase with a generic noun and with a definite or indefinite reference can be used as the initial identification.

Definite reference:

(10) DRAM 11:

Mä	inkam	nw-ir-ın	Wasara	härankın	mi	si-r	boır
and	person	male-one-benef	Wosera	over, there	and	he-obl	ask

'And then they asked one man from Wosera, over there,'

Kar-a	yıu-hak	sım-k-ın	t-a	inkam
I-nom	spirit-have	part/small-be-m.sg	this-fem.sg	person

a-ir-ın	ha	pı	y-ınıskıiki.	Nängaka.
female-one-benef	pol.imper	insept	p.t-get.rid.of	no

'Do I have a part (or:small) spirit to get rid of this one female's sickness? No.'

Indefinite reference:

(11) DRAM 11:

kam	nhärım	ına	y-insıu	nadini-yım
man	some	th.subj	p.t-drive(pigs)	come-pl

'Some men drove (the pigs) and came.'

5. If a sentence involving initial participant identification is semantically overloaded with such items as non-subject sentence topic, there will often be a free pronoun initial identification. The NP identification will follow, usually in the following sentence.

(12) DRAM.01:

motu	komi-ya	sım-a	kwıra-ya	pae	n-ıı-y-am.
motor	big-f.sg	they-nom	get.in-f.sg	tree	pres-cut-p.t-go

kam	ıur	nw-ıs	ına	y-am-ım	Wariwiya.
man	ten	male-two	th.subj	p.t-r-pl	Warwiya.lake

'They got into a large motor canoe and went to cut a tree—twelve men went to lake Warwiya.'

6. NP to avoid ambiguity rule. If two consecutive different referents are of the same person, number and gender, the second is usually distinguished from the first by means of an NP.

(13) DRAM 35-37:

T-ḁ	inkam	nw-ḁr-ḁn	si-r	omaka	akpiga
this m.sg	person	male-one-benef	he-obl	house	side

hḁr	haigḁnkḁn	paeyḁr	komi-yḁn	si-r	yani
there	put	firewood	big-m.sg	he-obl	down.there

hai-yḁu	Bḁi	Bob	si-ya-r	yḁkrḁo.
carry-there	first	Bob	he-nom-only	cut

'(We) put a big piece of firewood and carried it down there to the side of one man's house. First Bob only cut it.'

(14) DRAM 28-29

Pol-ḁn	yakḁ	okwo-kai-na
Paul-m.sg	near	stand-inside-?

Mhoḁiyḁ	mhoḁiyḁn	Jona	si-ya	yaki-r-rḁrḁrki.
later	later	Jonah	he-nom	straggle-aimlessly

'Paul stood inside nearby. Later Jonah came straggling in aimlessly.'

7. Pronoun Rule. If two successive references are the same gender but different person or number, a pronoun is used for the second identification.

(15) DRAM 5-6: The successive referents are the second author and a group of men, including the speaker.

Si-ya	ha	n-ap-nini-yḁn	si-ya	ina	boḁn-ani-ni-yḁ
he-nom	rep.pres	pres-walk-down-m.sg	he-nom	th.sub	say-3.m.sg.ic

"Nabḁe	kḁm-a."	Nḁm	ḁna	mḁ	boḁn-wḁn-ḁm,	"Nabḁe	kḁr-a.'
hello	you.sg-nom	we	th.subj	and then	say-3m.sg.io	hello	you.sg-

'He was walking down and he said while coming down, "hello, all of you." And then we said,"Hello to you."'

(16) DRAM 44-45: The successive referents are Paul and a group of men including the speaker.

Ha	mi	ap-nan-ḁn	harḁn	kḁmḁdiniya	si-ya
rep.pres	and.then	walk-go-m.sg	part	prepared	he-nom

minḁ	yḁkrḁo	harḁn.	Yḁkrḁo	yḁkrḁo	yḁkrḁo	yḁkrḁo	yḁkrḁ
changed.places	cut	part	cut	cut	cut	cut	cut

kinantiokinik,	irik.	Mi	t-i	pae	mimir-im
split.in.half	finished	and.then	this-m.sg	wood	piece-pl

krim-a	kaigimkir	priigin-im	nikrimtio	prigin-im
we-nom	split.lengthwise	piece-pl	split	piece-pl

ina	swoki	hiagin	maeyau	kw-iruwa.
th.subj	again	put	area	big-one.

'And then he (Paul) was walking and preparing part (of the wood) and he changed places and cut part of it. He cut over a period of time and split the wood in half, and finished. And then, as for these wood pieces, we split them lengthwise in pieces and split them and put them in one place again.'

8. Thematic subject rule. Following the identification of a major participant, this participant can be identified by the thematic subject marker ina and a verbal affix until another major participant is identified. In the case where a participant has been identified by ina and another major participant is then identified, it is possible to switch back to the first participant using only ina and an affix on the verb, provided the two participants involved differ in number.

(17) DRAMA 14-21: In this example, the same participant is identified five consecutive times in ina and ha. This is five in a series of 15 identifications following the initial identification by NP.

"Kar-a	u	am	niki	ap-id-am-in.	Ina	swoki	haiug
I-nom	axe	go	first	walk-up-go-m.sg	th.subj	again	turn.back

ap-id-am-in	si-r	omaka	hir-ir.	Ha	swoki	haiug
walk-up-go-m.sg	he-obl	house	there-obl	rep.pres	again	turn.bac

ap-id-am-in,	ina	yadu	hai-naki	U	komi	ina
walk-up-go-m.sg	th.subj	up	carry-bring	axe	large	th.subj

ki-nani-ni-yin	Ina
pull-come-out-m.sg	th.subj

Hai-yap-nini	mi	ina	boin-anini-yin,	"Kim-a
carry-walk-down	and.then	th.subj	talk-come.down-m.sg	you.pl-nom

w-ap-ninani-ni."
?imper-walk-down-come

'"I will take an axe and go up first." He turned back again and walked up to his house there. Having turned back again and walked up, he brouhgt one big axe and pull‹ it and came. He carried it down and then he said while coming down, "You all come down."'

(18) DRAMA 29-30: In this example ína is used as an identification of all the previous participants in the text except one minor one. The fact that a quote with nímpi 'we' follows helps the ína in this context.

Jona	si-ya	yaki-rírírki.	Ína	y-am,	ína
Jonah	he-nom	straggle-aimlessly	th.subj	p.t-go	th.subj

boín.	"Nímpi	inkam	nw-ír-ín	si	omaka	n-am-i."
talk	we	person	male-one-benef	he	house	pre-go-incept

'Jonah straggled in aimlessly. We (all major participants mentioned so far) went and said, "We will go to the house of one man."'

(19) DRAMA 3-8: In this example the verb napniniyín 'he walked down' is repeated, so that instead of ína, ha occurs to identify the participant as the same one who was the actor in the previous occurrence of this verb.

si-ya	ha	n-ap-nini-yín,		si-ya	ína
he-nom	rep.pres	pre-walk-go-down-m.sg		he-nom	th.subj

boín-ani-ni-yín,	"Nabíe	kím-a."		Ním	ína	mí
say-come-down-m.sg	hello	you.pl-nom		we	th.subj	and.then

boín-wín-ím,	"Nabíe	kír-a."		Ha	n-ap-nini-yín...
say-3m.sg.ip-pl	hello	you.sg-nom		rep.pres	pre-walk-go.down-m.sg

'He, having gone down, said while coming down, "Hello, you all." And then we said to him, "Hello to you." Having walked down, he...*

9. Free Pronoun Prominence Rule. When in a certain context a verbal affix would be sufficient to identify a given participant, a free pronoun can be used to make the referent more prominent.

(20) DRAM 01:45: In this example the name participant has been actor for the last 22 clauses. In the last 10 consecutive clauses he has been identified by either zero

or an affix on the verb, plus a few occurrences of the thematic subject marker ɨna.
Then in the present clause something exciting happens—he finds a total of 9 bird
eggs in a large nest.

T-a	nasnau	komi-ya	kar-a	n-ɨigiya	ɨriyar	nhɨuwi-ya	y-ɨi-na.
this-f.sg	bird	big-f.sg	I-nom	pre-dig	five		

'Concerning this big bird, I dug and got nine eggs.'

10. Identification by Zero Rule. A zero can be used for identification of subject
provided there is no ambiguity, i.e. no change in subject referents in two
consecutive clauses, and provided there is no desire on the part of the speaker
to make the referent more prominent.

(21) DRAM 01:54-55:

Mɨ	ɨna	swoki	am-ɨn	Pae	wh-is-a
and.then	th.subj	again	come-m.sg	tree	long-two-f.sg

swokɨ-ni	ɨi-n-aki.
again-come?	cut-pres-come

'And then I came again. I cut two trees again and came.'

(22) DRAM 58-61:

Mɨ	krɨm-a	ɨna	y-ap-naid-am	y-am	y-am	y-am.
and.then	we-nom	th.subj	p.t-walk-up-go	p.t-go	p.t-go	p.t-go

omaka	haiwao	nɨnop-kai-n-am.
house	open	inside-inside-pre-gl

'And then we walked up and went and went. We opened the house and went inside.'

11. Affix Rule. A verbal affix may be used for identification of a participant
as subject provided there is no ambiguity, i.e. no change in subject referent in
two consecutive clauses and provided there is no desire on the part of the speaker
to make the referent more prominent.

(23) DRAM 01:29-30:

kar-ir	kwoɨn-ɨn	hɨk	Ɨrik.	nhɨrid-a	kwa-haig-ɨn.
I-obl	thoughts-m.sg	thrill	that.is.all	knife-fem.sg	p.t-put-m.sg

'I was thrilled. That's all. I put my knife (down.'

(24) DRAM 01:91

Si-ya	n-ɨt-kɨswo	pɨ	y-ɨi-yɨn.
he-nom	pres-come-?	p.t	p.t-sit?-m.sg

'He came and sat.'

12. Thematic subject switch reference rule. Thematic subject marker ɨna can be used to mark change of subject of two successive clauses, but only if the subject of the secondclause is sentence topic.

(25) Pae   si-ya   n-ɨi-yɨn   ɨna   y-amɨ-kɨi-yɨu-wɨn.
     tree   he-nom   pres-cut-m.sg th.subj p.t-fall-from.above-there-m.sg

'As for the tree, he cut it and it fell down there.'

If pae 'tree' is not sentence topic, then ɨna is insufficient by itself but pae must appear again as subject of the second clause:

(26) si-ya   pae   n-ɨi-yɨn   mɨ   pao-yɨn   ɨna   y-amɨ-kɨi-yɨ-wɨn.
     he-nom   tree   pre-cut-m.sg and.then tree-m.sg   th.subj p.t-fall-from.above-there-

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

These rules are summarized in the following choice hierarchy chart.

Init ──
  ├─ unm (spkr assumes new) ──┬─ NP 1 (NP may include proper name) ± affix
  │   ├─ Eq Cl 2
  │   └─ NP 4 (NP with generic noun only)
  └─ Marked (spkr assumes given) ── pro ± affix 3

Non-init ──
  ├─ Marked ──┬─ NP ──┬─ Different subject, same person, number, gender 6
  │   │   └─ semantic overload in sentence with initial identification 5
  │   └─ pro ── prominence 9
  └─ Unm ── ina ± affix ──┬─ same subject 8
                          └─ different subject 8, 12
             ── Ø 10
             ── pro 7 (difference in person or number, or gender)
             ── affix 11