

Pronoun Systems in Sepik Iwam Oral Narratives*

Robert J. Conrad

Summer Institute of Linguistics, Papua New Guinea

1 Introduction

This paper is a tentative analysis of the function of three sets of free pronouns and two sentence or clause topic markers in Sepik Iwam (SI), a Papuan language of the Iwam family, Upper Sepik stock, Sepik super-stock, Sepik sub-phylum, Sepik-Ramu phylum (Wurm 1982:210). This language, termed Sepik Iwam (downriver dialect) by Laycock (1973:20), is spoken by the inhabitants of the following villages on the Sepik River or its tributaries: Hauna (Yauenian), Oum 1, Oum 2, Tauri and Iniok. The language is related at the 61% probable cognate level to May River Iwam (Conrad 1988:250) which is called Sepik Iwam (upriver dialect) by Laycock.

Separate sets of free pronouns are not common in Papuan languages. They have been reported in Urat in the Torricelli Phylum (Barnes 1992, personal communication) and in Mende of the Sepik-Ramu phylum (Hoel 1992, personal communication), which are spoken in the East Sepik and Sandaun provinces respectively.

I will present some hypotheses concerning the function and distribution of three sets of free pronouns and their relationship with two sentence topic markers. Following Grimes (1976), Givón (1985) and many others, I will postulate an identification hierarchy for SI, which operates within the episode/paragraph model of discourse (Tomlin 1987:455-9). The data are from texts in Laszlo, Conrad and Hunney (1981abcde) and four examples (29ab, 30ab) obtained by the process of experimental syntax.

My conclusion, tentative due to insufficient data, is that these three sets of pronouns do have distinctive functions as indicated below.

Class I free pronouns occur with verbs in future tense and in non-indicative moods and whenever the pronoun is second person and not functioning as grammatical subject, that is, when it is functioning as possessive, direct object or indirect object.

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2) DRAM 5-6

si-ya ha n-ap-nini-yin si-ya ina
 3sm1-NOM ST PR-walk-down-TOP.sm 3sm1-NOM UT
boin-ani-ni-yin, nabie kim-a. nim ina mi
 say-IO.2p-out-TOP.sm hello 2p1-NOM 1p2 UT and
boin-win-im, nabie kir-a.
 say-IO.3sm-TOP.p hello 2s1-NOM
 'He was walking down and he said while coming down, "Hello, all of
 you." And then we said, "Hello to you."'

The morpheme *-a* 'nominative' which occurs with class 1 and class 3 pronouns is homophonous with the form *-a* 'feminine singular' (when suffixed to nouns or demonstratives) and 'feminine singular topic past tense' (when suffixed to verbs) as illustrated in (3).

3) FOLK 06:19-21

19. *yio ina boin-in,* 20. *wabiyie, pana kir-a kay-r*
 3sm2 UT say-TOP.sm old.woman now 2s1-NOM 1s1-OBL
kikid a-ir-ar-a wami kiyop itkiyiu-ki.
 arrow 3sf-OBL-LIM-? there.above pull.out throw.come.down-DR
 21. *ipiyin-a, kir-ar ha hai naowit.*
 bird-sf 2s1-LIM IMP take hold
 '19. He said, 20. "Old woman, now you pull out my arrow and throw it
 down. 21. As for the bird, you take it."'

First person subject participants in conversation are encoded by class 1 pronouns just in case there is an oblique (non-subject) pronoun referring to the same participant in the same clause as in (4).

4) FOLK 06:16

kar-a kar-ir ipiyin a-ir-im n-it-k-in.
 1s1-NOM 1s1-OBL bird 3sf-OBL-PUR PR-come-return-TOP.sm
 "I came for my bird."

In contrary to fact conditional clauses, only class 1 pronouns occur as grammatical subject as in (5).

5) DRAM 09:0003

krim-a ombud-k-in n-am-kiswo mi-pi si-r pi
 1p1-NOM many-be-TOP.sm PR-go-CFC 1p2-INCPT 3sm1-OBL IGFUT
y-it-ki-k-in-gik-in.
 PT-shoot-DR-PT?-return-TOP.sm
 'If many of us would have gone, we would have been able to shoot it.'

Any attempt to define exhaustively the contexts for these three classes of pronouns is beyond the scope of this study and may well be impossible. There are contexts where native speakers cannot decide which pronoun should be used. However, in the majority of cases they are sure. The following comments on the function and distribution of these three pronoun sets are general tendencies and not exhaustive.

Class 2 pronouns occur in conversation, particularly in first person nonsingular as in (2) above and (6-8).

6) DRAM 01:100-1-2

mi ina swoki-boin-im, waka-e-yim nim pae t-i swoki-whin
and UT again-say-TOP.p hear-TOP.p 1p2 tree NDEM-M again-help
ii-naki.

cut-come

‘And they said again, “Listen! We will help him cut trees and bring them again.”’

7) FOLK 06:6

nabie. nir whis krip-i wh-is hai-naki.
come.on 1d2 vine cut-NPST NC3-two hold-come

‘Come on! Let’s cut the vines and bring them.’

8) DRAM 01:65-68

ina boin-im, kim-a pae-yim purik hariga y-ii?
UT say-TOP.p 2p1-NOM tree-PL how.many many PT-cut

yim ina boin n-am-im. an kam nw-ir. an kam nw-ir.

3p2 UT say PR-go-TOP.p 1s2 man NC5-one 1s2 man NC5-one

an kam nw-ir.

1s2 man NC5-one

‘Then they asked, “How many trees did each of you cut?” They continued to say, “I cut twenty.” “I cut twenty.” I cut twenty.”’

The comment of a linguistically aware native speaker concerning (2) and (6-7) is helpful. While in (2) and (6) it is possible to substitute a class 1 pronoun for the class 2 pronouns, in (7), a conversation between two brothers, this is not possible because of the close interpersonal relationship between the brothers. With some slight modification in (7) it is possible to substitute a class 3 pronoun, but not class 1.

In example (8), as in (2) and (6), it is possible to substitute a class 1 pronoun with minimal meaning difference. The hypothesis presented in this paper is that using the class 2 pronoun gives slightly greater prominence to the participants and also encodes a slightly closer interpersonal relationship.

Class 2 pronouns also encode contrast. In (9) the contrast is between another group “they” and the speaker.

9) DRAM 04:18-19

yim ha n-am-yakwok-im, an tir-ar
 3p2 PT PR-go-morning-TOP.p 1s2 here-LIM
y-idwo-kao-ki-yakwok-in.
 PT-sit-inside-DR-morning-TOP.sm
 ‘They went in the morning, but I just sat right here inside (the house).’

Class 2 free pronouns also occur in contexts encoding the unity of a group or close interpersonal relationships as in (6) and (8) and especially in (7). In many of these contexts class 3 pronouns can also occur, often with slight grammatical modifications.

Class 2 pronouns can also encode return to event line. When occurring with this function the pronouns are often followed by *ina* ‘unmarked clause topic’ as in (10).

10) DRAM 01:62-4

kar-ir nib-in pi inkam nw-ir-in kipi n-iibimbir.
 1s1-OBL basket-3sm IGFUT man NC5-one-3sm NEG.IMP PR-open
irik yim ina y-it-im.
 that’s.all 3p2 UT PT-come-TOP.p
 ‘‘No one should open my basket. That’s all.’’ They came.’

In summary, class 2 pronouns occur primarily in conversation, encoding contrast of two groups of participants, psychological or physical closeness and return to the event line.

Class 3 pronouns occur in the following four types of contexts: contexts encoding psychological or physical closeness as in (11); emphatic contexts which include emphatic statement as in (15), emphatic contrast as in (12) and emphatic reply as in (14); promotion from direct object to grammatical subject as in (16); and return to event line as in (17).³

In (11) the class 3 pronoun *nim krima* ‘we’ is used to signal contrast with an ‘I’ and also to indicate change of subject and change of local theme from what it was in the preceding sentence. At the same time it is used to encode the psychological closeness and unity of the group referred to—the Hauna men and their SIL linguist-translator, Marilyn.

³ In these and all examples involving class 3 pronouns, the class 3 pronoun, which is a combination of the class 2 pronoun followed by the corresponding class 1 pronoun, will be glossed as class 2 followed by class 1.

11) PROX:1244-1245

mi an kimidiniya sa-ir yaka haru mi nim krim-a
 and 1s2 first 3sf1-OBL give and 1p2 1p1-NOM
ina y-idwo-dwo-kai-yim sim-ir yapa yapa ipi im-ir.
 UT PT-sit-sit-inside-TOP.p 3p1-OBL each.one each.one chair 3p-OBL
 'Then I gave it to her. And then we sat down inside (the house), each in his
 own chair.'

Example (12) illustrates class 3 pronouns encoding emphatic contrast.

12) DRAM 04:182-183

ya sae-ya ha mi kwis an kar-a kwis, mi ini adi
 3sf2 3sf1-NOM PT and close 1s2 1s1-NOM close and MT father
komi si-ir-am-a srii-ki.
 important 3sm1-OBL-PUR-DISTR ask-DR
 'She closed (her eyes) and I closed (my eyes) and we asked the important
 Father.'

In (13) the speaker and another group of people—"they" and "I"—are contrasted using class 3 pronouns.

13) DRAM 01:23-24

yim sim-a kam nw-i nw-ir-a bidi y-ii
 3p2 3p1-NOM man NC5-one NC5-one-DISTR COMPL PT-cut
dig-ki-yim an kar-a wh-is kiin-gi siyu hir yani
 finish-DR-TOP.p 1s2 1s1-NOM NC3-two only-? path there outside
ki-yaigin-gik
 pull-put-return
 'They had finished cutting twenty (poles) each, but I had pulled out two to
 the road and returned.'

Example (14) illustrates the use of class 3 pronouns in conversation encoding two contrasting participants.

14) *ni kir-a pinda n-am-i? an kar-a nda n-am-i.*
 2s2 2s1-NOM where PR-go-NPST 1s2 1s1-NOM MDEM PR-go-NPST
 "Where are you going?" "I am going over there."

In (15) class 3 pronouns are used to encode statements involving emphatic assertion that they are true. These two assertions were made by the heroine of this third person contemporary narrative validating her recovery from a serious illness.

15) DRAM 04:129-130

an kar-a wadie y-wo-wa. mi an kar-a sip
 1s2 1s1-NOM well PT-be-TOP.sf and 1s2 1s1-NOM step
min-im ina wid-wii-yin, niiyar.
 thing-PL UT tie-night-DO.sm night
 'I am (really) well. I even tied up the step (ladder) and things last night.'

In (16) a class 3 pronoun followed by the unmarked topic marker *ina* is used to promote a participant from Indirect Object to Subject as actor.

16) XYZ 35-36

mi Bob si-ya bidiu-win yiukid Ø-ir-in si
 and Bob 3sm1-NOM sugar-3sm bottle NC1-one-DO 3sm1
haigi-k-in mi kimidiniya s-ir kwa-hau-ki kar-ir.
 put.in-PT-TOP.sm and then 3sm1-OBL INCPT-give-DR 1s1-OBL
ha hau-gi-yin, an kar-a ina hai
 ST give-DR-TOP.sm 1s2 1s1-NOM UT carry
y-ap-nani-ni-yin.
 PT-walk-come-outside-TOP.sm
 'And then Bob got one bottle which he had put sugar in and then he gave it to me. Having given it, I carried it outside.'

In (17) a class 3 pronoun is used in returning to the event line after the high level episode marker *irik* 'that's all' has terminated this section of the discourse.

17) HORT 04:2

kir-a whisari dimusi prii diriraerar-am-k-im kar-a
 2s1-NOM reason why nothing do-go-PT-TOP.p 2s1-NOM
boin-ki-k-in irik an kar-a umir pa hai
 say-DR-PT-TOP.sm that's.all 1s2 1s1-NOM shells IFUT take
n-am-i.
 PR-go-NPST
 'I told you why you went and did nothing. That's all. I will go and take some shells.'

For another example of a class 3 pronoun with this function, see FOLK 6:16-19 in the Appendix.

4 Participant Identification and Topic Markers

The definition of sentence or clause topic to be used in this study is: what the sentence or clause is talking about. As in many Papuan languages, topic in SI is signalled by fronting, especially in indicative clauses. In sentence 20 of (18), the topic of an imperative sentence occurs in clause initial position and also has a special intonation, represented by the comma following it. In sentence 21 of (18), the clause topic *ipiyina* ‘bird’ is encoded in the same way.

18) FOLK 06:20-21

20. *wabiyie, pana kir-a kar-ir kikiid a-ir-ar-a*
 old.woman now 2s1-NOM 1s1-OBL arrow 3sf-OBL-LIM-?
wami kiyop itkiyu-ki.

there.above pull.out throw.come.down-DR

21. *ipiyin-a, kir-ar ha hai naowit.*

bird-3sf 2s1-LIM IMP take hold

‘20. “Old woman, now you pull out my arrow and throw it down. 21. As for the bird, you take it.’

Two sentence topic markers, *ina* and *ini*, are used along with the three classes of pronouns to identify participants in discourse. One of these two forms can occur by itself or following any one of the three classes of pronouns. In narrative text, the form *ina* is the unmarked form. By actual count of 109 occurrences of one or the other of these two forms in narrative texts, there were 90 occurrences of *ina* and 19 occurrences of *ini*. This pair of topic markers occur quite frequently, on an average of about one in every four clauses in a count of 803 clauses. These two forms have been observed only with verbs in the past tense, as in (19), and have never been observed with negatives, future tenses, or non-indicative moods.

Example (19) illustrates the unmarked topic marker *ina* as it occurs following class 1 and class 2 pronouns in conversation. In each case the verb is in the past tense which occurs as the final verbal affix which indicates gender, number and topic as well.

19) DRAMA 3-8

si-ya ha n-ap-nini-yin, si-ya ina
 3sm1-NOM ST PR-walk-go.down-TOP.sm 3sm1-NOM UT
boin-ani-ni-yin, “nabie kim-a.” nim ina mi
 say-come-down-TOP.sm hello 2p1-NOM 1p2 UT and
boin-win-im, “nabie kir-a.” ha n-ap-nini-yin..

say-IO.3sm-TOP.p hello 2s1-NOM ST PR-walk-go.down-TOP.sm

‘He, having gone down, said while coming down, “Hello, all of you.” And then we said to him, “Hello to you.” Having walked down, he...’

There is another form *ha* ‘same topic’ which signals same topic as the previous clause as shown in (20-21). Most of the time it marks sentence topic which is the same as grammatical subject. In (20) the first *ha* ‘same topic’ refers to the man Tobi, not the woman Marilyn. This is confirmed by the masculine singular topic past tense suffix *-win* which occurs on the second verb *swokikwo-win* ‘stand again’.

20) XYZ 12:7

bii-yin Marilyn sae-yar, mi ha swoki-k-wo-win tobi
 first-3sm Marilyn 3sf1-LIM and ST again-PT-stand-TOP.sm Tobi
yaka okwo-kai-na, mi Bob si-ya swok-aka okwo-kai-na
 close stand-inside-? and Bob 3sm1-NOM again-ACC stand-inside-?
mi ha swoki-k-wo-win Tom mi mhoii-gi mhoii-ya
 and ST again-PT-stand-TOP.sm Tom and later-? later-3sf
kar-ar y-wo-ki. irik.
 1s1-LIM PT-be-DR that’s.all

‘First only Marilyn was (there) and came and then Tobi (came) and stood close inside and then Bob (came) and stood inside with them and then Tom later and I myself was later (last). That’s all.’

In (21) *ha* ‘same topic’ is used to mark topic (and subject) in a repeated verb construction. The topic is also identified by the final suffix on the verb.

21) XYZ 3:13

mi sae-ya ina kwa-hai y-ap-nani-yam-a ha hai
 and 3sf1-NOM UT INCPT-get PT-walk-outside-go-TOP.sf ST get
y-ap-nani-yam-a kimidiniya op two-wa yapa
 PT-walk-outside-go-TOP.sf first water black.palm-3sf outside
n-wo-wi-ya.
 PR-be-CUST-TOP.sf

‘She took it and walked outside. She walked outside first where the water tank customarily was.’

Examples (22-24) illustrate the use of *ina* ‘unmarked clause topic’ and show that it marks topic rather than subject.⁴ In (22) the fronted sentence topic is *pae* ‘tree’. It is the topic (and grammatical subject) of the second clause as well as the first. In the noun class system in SI, *pae* ‘tree’ is masculine singular.

22) *pae si-ya n-ii-yin ina y-ami-kii-yiu-win.*

tree 3sm1-NOM PR-cut-TOP.sm UT PT-fall-from.above-there-TOP.sm
 ‘As for the tree, he cut it and it fell down there.’

⁴ For an overview of the use of *ini*, see FOLK 06:7, 8, 12 in the Appendix.

Since the sentence topic in (23) is *siya* 'he', the sentence topic marker *ina* refers to 'he' instead of to the tree.

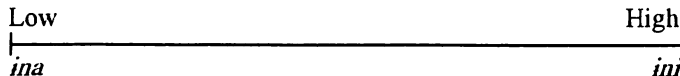
- 23) *si-ya pae n-ii-yin ina y-ami-kii-yiu-win.*
 3sm1-NOM tree PR-cut-TOP.sm UT PT-fall-from.above-there-TOP.sm
 'He cut the tree and he (the cutter of the tree) fell down.'

A strategy for making the tree the subject of the second clause when the sentence topic is *siya* 'he' is illustrated in (24). Without this strategy, the man would be the topic and subject of the second clause since he is in the first clause.

- 24) *si-ya pae n-ii-yin mi pae-yin ina*
 3sm1-NOM tree PR-cut-TOP.sm and tree-3sm UT
y-ami-kii-yiu-win.
 PT-fall-from.above-there-TOP.sm
 'He cut the tree and then it fell down there.'

One approach to use in describing the distribution of these two sentence topic forms is to consider the following continuum.

Locational proximity, psychological closeness or contrast:



This continuum indicates that in contexts encoding physical proximity as in (25), psychological closeness or deep emotion as in (25, 26, 30ab), or strong contrast with another participant as in (27, 28, 29ab), the probability is that the form *ini* will be used instead of *ina*. In cases where none of the above apply, the probability is that the form *ina* will be used.

In (25) it is possible to substitute the form *ina* 'unmarked topic' for *ini* 'marked topic' with minimal modifications involving word order, deletion, or additional suffixation in one clause. One significant modification in sentence 4 involves shifting the phrase *kingin tirar* 'right near here' to clause final position.

- 25) DRAM 04:274-277, 290-293
1. *ya sae-ya kar-ir-in igao-kak-a n-wo-wi.*
 3sf2 3sf1-NOM 1s1-OBL-IO.3sm anger-have-TOP.sf PR-be-?
 2. *kir-a hir-ir kipi srii-ri.* 3. *kar-a hapi*
 2s1-NOM there-LIM NEG ask-ask 1s1-NOM over.there
m-wo-rani. 4. *ini kingin tir-ar n-wo-wa.* 5. *an ina*
 PR-be-NEG MT near here-LIM PR-be-TOP.sf 1s2 UT
boin-in, ini kaimwo-wa y-wo-wa. 6. *kar-ir yai-ya mi*
 say-TOP.sm MT true-3sf PT-be-3sf 1s1-OBL talk-3sf and

ina swoki-it-a. 7. *mi t-i* *kar-ir niwi-yin ini*
 UT again-come-TOP.sf and NDEM-M 1s1-OBL story-sm MT
dig y-wo-ki-yin. 8. *hiri-nan-k-in.*
 finish PT-be-DR-TOP.sm that-be-PT-TOP.sm

'1. She was angry with me. 2. (She said) "Don't ask anymore." 3. I am not over there. 4. I am here. 5. I said, "This talk of yours (the talk of the speaker's wife) is true. 6. My talk has returned (it has been answered). 7. This my story is finished. 8. That's all."

As was the case with predicting the distribution of the three classes of pronouns, so it is with the two forms for marked and unmarked topic, *ini* and *ina* respectively. The distribution suggested is to be taken as general tendency, not as an absolute rule. Native speakers can decide which is the correct form in many contexts, but there are some where they claim it does not matter which form is used as in (25). If the above continuum is correct, then these indeterminate cases should be somewhere in the middle of the proximity/involvement/contrast continuum.

In (26) the marked topic *ini* is used in the context of the expression of joy.

26) DRAM 01:81-82

mi sim-a ini margimarga y-wo-ki-yim. sim-a ina
 and 3p1-NOM MT happy PT-be-DR-TOP.p 3p1-NOM UT
boin-im, mi kir-a pupi kwii-n-ak-i-k-in.
 say-TOP.p and 2s1-NOM where dig-PR-get-come-PT-TOP.sm

'And they were happy. They said, "And where did you dig (and find it) and bring it?"'

In (27) the marked topic *ini* is used to refer to the prayer they have just finished.

27) DRAM 01:15

... *mi u nhirid-im pi krim-ir is kipi n-ii. krim-a*
 and axe knife-PL IGFUT 1p1-OBL skin NEG.IMP PR-cut 1p1-NOM
kir-ir kirie-ya sa-ir-im srii n-am-yakwok-i panao-in.
 2s1-OBL strength-3sf 3s1-OBL-PL ask PR-go-morning-NPST now-DO
irik ini dig y-wo-ki mi ina kw-ae n-am-im.
 that's.all MT finish PT-be-DR and UT INCPT-eat PR-go-TOP.p
 "'...And we ask that we will not cut ourselves with our axes and knives. We ask for your strength now, this morning. That's all.' It (this prayer) is finished and has gone to another place. And then we went and began to eat.'

In (28) the marked topic *ini* occurs identifying the good thoughts of a participant.

28) DESC 01:1

mi kar-a hir n-ap-ririr-in mi kar-ir
 and 1s1-NOM there PR-walk-around-TOP.sm and 1s1-OBL
kwoin-in ini ukarumpa s-ir-im-a y-angwo
 thinking-3sm MT Ukarumpa 3sm1-OBL-PUR-3sf PT-think
tibmi-ki-yin om kibie-k-in
 believe-DR-TOP.sm village good-be-3sm
 ‘And I walked around there at Ukarumpa and my thoughts were very good
 towards that village.’

The next two pairs of contrasting examples illustrate the use of the marked topic *ini* versus the unmarked topic *ina*. In (29) the contrast is in the context of the actor-focus marker *-k*, while in (30) the topic (which is also grammatical subject) is a deeply affected patient. In both examples the subject is in greater prominence when the marked topic occurs than when the unmarked topic is used.

29) a. *kam biir-kak inkam-k-in ini aekwir a-ir*
 man tinea-have person-ACT-3sm MT shell 3sf-OBL
kwa-hai-yin
 INCPT-take-TOP.sm

‘The man with tinea himself took a shell.’

b. *kam biir-kak inkam-in ina aekwi a-ir kwa-hai-yin*
 man tinea-have person-3sm UT shell 3sf-OBL INCPT-take-TOP.sm
 ‘The man with tinea took a shell.’

30) a. *si-ya ini dimop-kak y-anka hikai-ki-yin*
 3sm1-NOM MT back-have PT-move.around be.bent.over-DR-TOP.sm
 ‘He moved around and his back became bent over.’

b. *s-ir dimop-in ina y-anka hikai-ki-yin*
 3sm1-OBL back-3sm UT PT-move.around be.bent.over-DR-TOP.sm
 ‘As for his back, he moved around and it became bent over.’

5 Identification Hierarchy

The concept of a hierarchy which ranks participant identifications in a discourse was first mentioned by Grimes (1975:92-93). His hierarchy for English was:

Proper name
 Relative Clause
 Common Nouns
 Generic Nouns
 Free Pronouns
 Ø

Given the following definitions and conventions, it is possible to suggest a tentative identification hierarchy for SI. The symbol <ina> stands for the two sentence topic markers *ina* and *ini* and means that in every occurrence the free pronoun occurring with *ini*, if there is one, outranks the corresponding pronoun occurring with *ina*. For example, *siya ini* 'he, marked topic' outranks *siya ina* 'he, unmarked topic'.

If no free pronoun occurs, then <ina> still stands for both of the two topic markers, but with the understanding that *ini* outranks *ina*. The suggested hierarchy is as follows:

Proper Name + Class 2 pronoun
 Proper Name + Class 1 pronoun
 Proper Name
 Relative Clause
 Noun Phrase
 Class 3 pronoun + <ina>
 Class 3 pronoun
 Class 2 pronoun + <ina>
 Class 2 pronoun
 Class 1 pronoun + <ina>
 Class 1 pronoun
 Verb affix + <ina>
 <ina>
 Verb affix
 Ø

This is analogous to Givón's (1985:196) ranking of various topic-coding devices along the continuum of degree of continuity/predictability/accessibility of the topic NP, which is shown below for the portion relevant to this study.

Least continuous/predictable	modified full NP's full NP's stressed pronouns unstressed pronouns/verb agreement zero anaphora
Most continuous/predictable	

If Givón's distinction between full NP's and modified full NP's is ignored, the SI ranking is analogous to his. SI gives verb agreement a separate ranking just above zero anaphora and below unstressed pronouns. Instead of one set of free pronouns, SI has three. Then the ranking of stressed pronouns above unstressed pronouns would correspond to the ranking of any of the 3 classes of pronouns occurring with <ina> above these three classes occurring without <ina>. Beyond this, the richer SI system has a further gradation between these pronouns occurring with *ini* or with *ina*.

There is not enough data to decide whether relative clause should be above or below proper name. The combination "proper name + class 3 pronoun" does not occur in this data.

This hierarchy is compatible with the assumption that these functions are more intense or emphatic if a class 3 pronoun is used instead of class 2. It is an illustration of the principle underlying Givón's hierarchy:

The less predictable/accessible/continuous a topic is, the more coding material is used to represent it in language. (Givón 1985:197)

There are only two known exceptions to this principle in this data. One is the ranking of "proper name", which is usually shorter in numbers of phonemes than many of the items which are below it in the hierarchy. The other is that in every case the class 2 pronouns are shorter than class 1. This is usually caused by the obligatory nominative or oblique suffixes which occur with class 1.

This hierarchy and its application to text FOLK 06 in the Appendix agree in general with psychological, linguistic and artificial intelligence studies (Tomlin 1987:456-457), in which participants in "high focus" (foregrounded) are realized/identified as pronouns in a particular context, whether a conceptual or linguistic paragraph. Full NP's are used for participants in lower focus. Chafe's (1987:21-52) viewpoint is also similar.

There is a rich inventory of different pronominal forms (classes 2 and 3 and the two topic markers) to mark a participant occurring as grammatical subject for psychological or physical closeness or various types of contrast.

The two topic markers *ina* and *ini* can be viewed as a dichotomy analogous to the dichotomy of class 1 pronouns in contrast to the other two classes. The unmarked form *ina* is analogous to Class 1 pronouns, and the marked form *ini* encodes increased psychological closeness or physical proximity, contrast or prominence. This results in an economical system. These same features encoded by class 2 and class 3 pronouns, but not by class 1 pronouns, can be expressed by the corresponding topic markers *ini* and *ina* respectively (see FOLK 06:6,7 in the Appendix) without using a full pronoun form. One exception would be a participant in such low focus that the speaker felt the need to use a higher ranking identification than either of these two forms in order to maintain participant reference.

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SIL, Box 145

Ukarumpa via Lae

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Appendix: Text

FOLK 06

- 1) *ii-ya ha pirkin-ki-yakwok-a.*
day-sf PT dawn-DR-morning-TOP.sf
'The day dawned.'
- 2) *yaowae ina kanau-win.*
older.brother UT hunt.hiding-TOP.sm
'The older brother hid, hunting (for birds).'
- 3) *ha kanau-win.*
ST hunt.hiding-TOP.sm
'Having hunted.'

- 4) *ina kig-in inmaba paekwo n-ae-ka.*
 UT see-TOP.sm dove leaf PR-eat-TOP.sf
 ‘..he saw a dove eating a leaf.’
- 5) *ha kw-am-in.*
 ST INCPT-go-TOP.sm
 ‘He started to go.’
- 6) *ina yaka igrio-ki-yin. irik.*
 UT up shoot-DR-TOP.sm that.is.all
 ‘(and) he shot upward. That’s all. (He hit the bird).’
- 7) *ini kikid-kak-a hai sinam-a.*
 MT arrow-?-3sf take.carry fly-TOP.sf
 ‘It (the bird) flew carrying the arrow.’
- 8) *ini t-ik-i nomousim-in si-ir siyiu*
 MT NDEM-M-NEUT younger.brother-3sm 3sml-OBL path
i-ir-ar swoki-hai
 NEUT-OBL-LIM again-carry
 ‘It (the bird) carried (the arrow) and flew following the younger brother’s path.’
- 9) *kimidina t-a-k-a waibiyie-ya sa-ir hir-ar*
 then NDEM-F-NEUT-F old.woman-3sf 3sf1-OBL there-LIM
y-anat-kin-iu.
 PT-alight-?-sit
 ‘Then it alighted and sat there near this old woman.’
- 10) *ya ina ungronikwror hai-gi-ya sa-ir hamna*
 3sf2 UT break put-under-TOP.sf 3sf1-OBL fish.net
aowa.
 underneath
 ‘She broke several of its bones (so it wouldn’t fly away) and put it under her fish net.’
- 11) *sae-ya hamna hiu-k-a.*
 3sf1-NOM fish.net make-PT-TOP.sf
 ‘She made the fish net.’
- 12) *yio ini nhie im-ir-ar siu yok-yok-ii-y-am-in.*
 3sm2 MT blood 3p-OBL-LIM path go-go-?-PT-go-TOP.sm
 ‘He followed the trail of blood and went a long way.’
- 13) *ina kig-iu-win.*
 UT look-go-TOP.sm
 ‘He went and looked.’

- 14) *si-ya ina ini boin-iu-win.*
3sm1-NOM UT there.then talk-go-TOP.sm
'Then and there he went and talked.'
- 15) *sae-ya waibiyie-ya si-ya boin-a.*
3sf1-NOM old.woman-3sf 3sm1-NOM say-TOP.sf
'He told the old woman.'
- 16) *kar-a kar-ir ipiyin a-ir-im n-it-k-in.*
1s1-NOM 1s1-OBL bird 3sf-OBL-PUR PR-come-return-TOP.sm
'I came for my bird.'
- 17) *ya ina boin-a,*
3sf2 UT say-TOP.sf
'She said.'
- 18) *kir-ir ipiyin-a t-a-si tir-ar n-wo-wa.*
2s1-OBL bird-3sf NDEM-F-here here-LIM PR-be-3sf.TOP
'Your bird is here.'
- 19) *yio ina boin-in,*
3sm2 UT say-TOP.sm
'He said.'
- 20) *wabiyie, pana kir-a kay-ir kikid a-ir-ar-a wami*
old.woman now 2s1-NOM 1s1-OBL arrow 3sf-OBL-LIM-? there.above
kiyop itkiyiu-ki.
pull.out throw.come.down-DR
'"Old woman, now pull out my arrow and throw it down."'
- 21) *ipiyin-a, kir-ar ha hai naowit.*
bird-3sf 2s1-LIM IMP take hold
'"As for the bird, you take it."'

COMMENTS ON TEXT FOLK 06

The episode/paragraph model (Tomlin 1987:455-459) is helpful in analyzing the referential syntax of this text. I assume the full NPs or class 2 or 3 pronouns, with or without the unmarked topic marker *ina*, rank higher than class 1 pronouns and verbal affixes with or without a topic marker <*ina*>. These higher ranking items occur with referents in 'lower focus' (Tomlin 1987:456-457) which the speaker has decided need to be raised to higher prominence in the hearer's consciousness. These items—the full NPs or class 2 or 3 pronouns, with or without a topic marker *from*<*ina*>, occur in the context of return to event line and new episode/paragraph as defined independently by a new time, location, or new participants. The comments on these items are listed below.

If the identification is simultaneously sentence topic and subject, it will be labelled TS. If it is topic but not subject, it will be labelled T. If it is subject but not topic, it will be labelled

S. Fronting and verb morphology marking topic in past tense are the most frequent markers of topic. The horizontal line divisions represent episode/paragraph boundaries as defined above. In this text topic is simultaneously subject in every clause except number 15 and number 21, in which case the fronted topic is not subject.

Sent	Referent	Identification	Comment
2	hunter	<i>yaowae ina .. -win</i> older.bro UT -TOP.sm	TS, new participant
3	hunter	<i>ha ... -win</i> ST -TOP.sm	TS, high focus, repeated verb
4	hunter	<i>ina ... -in</i> UT -TOP.sm	TS
		<i>inmaba-a</i> dove-TOP.sf	embedded clause which is direct object of main clause
5	hunter	<i>ha ... -in</i> ST -TOP.sm	TS, same topic (hunter)
6	hunter	<i>ina ... -yin</i> UT -TOP.sm	TS, topic in high focus
<hr/>			
7	bird	<i>ini ... -a</i> MT -3TOP.sf	TS, bird promoted to subject
8	bird	<i>ini ... -a</i> MT -3TOP.sf	TS, contrast with hunter
9	bird	Ø	TS, high focus, zero anaphora (bird)
		<i>waibiyie-ya sa-ir</i> old.woman-3sf 3sf1-OBL	location, non-subject
<hr/>			
10	old woman	<i>ya ina ... -ya</i> 3sf2 UT -TOP.sf	TS, woman promoted to subject
11	old woman	<i>sae-ya ... -a</i> 3sf1-NOM -TOP.sf	TS, background information
<hr/>			
12	hunter	<i>yio ini ... -in</i> 3sm2 MT -TOP.sm	return to event line, TS

13	hunter	<i>ina ... -win</i> UT -TOP.sm	TS in high focus
14	hunter	<i>si-ya</i> <i>ina ... -win</i> 3sm1-NOM UT -TOP.sm	TS, new time, location
15	old woman	<i>sae-ya waibiyieya ... -a</i> 3sf1-NOM old.woman -TOP.sf <i>si-ya</i> 3sm1-NOM	T, QF S, relatively high focus, but not T, so not a class 2 pronoun
16	old woman	<i>kar-a ... -in</i> 1s1-NOM -TOP.sm	TS, quote
17	old woman	<i>ya ina ... -a</i> 3sf2 UT -TOP.sf	new TS, QF
18	dead bird	<i>kir-ir ipiyin ... -wa</i> 2s1-OBL bird -TOP.sf	new TS, (dead bird) quote
19	hunter	<i>yio ina ... -in</i> 3sm2 UT -TOP.sm	new TS, QF
20	old woman	<i>wabiyie</i> old.woman	new TS, quote
21	dead bird	<i>ippiin-a</i> bird-3sf	T
	old woman	<i>kir-ar</i> 2s1-LIM	S, quote imperative