IDENTIFICATION AND MOVEMENT OF PARTICIPANTS
IN WERI NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

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0. INTRODUCTION

A tentative investigation of discourse in Weri[1] lists four discourse
types: narrative, procedural, expository and hortatory.[2] Narrative
discourse includes contemporary narrative, history, and legend, and
expository discourse includes description and explanatory sub-types.

Narrative discourse is mainly presented in the past tense, though
habituative tense commonly occurs in legends, with Temporal Sentences
being the most common sentence type. Narrative discourse focuses on
participants. In contrast, procedural discourse is goal oriented,
with present and habituative being the normal tenses. The normal tense
of expository discourse is present or past, and a pro-verb linking
sentences is notably absent (see section 1.3.). The pro-verb is the
common form of linkage between sentences in narrative and procedural
discourses. Hortatory discourse is marked by present or future imper-
ative, and a predominance of second person.

This paper is confined solely to a description of some aspects of
narrative discourse. First of all the general features of narrative
discourse, and its tagmemes and fillers, are briefly described. Then
the characteristics of paragraph and sentence are described. In Weri
narrative discourse, participants are clearly identified, introduced,
removed and re-introduced onto the stage where the action is viewed.
Related to this, and partially overlapping, is the way in which a sub-
ject is expanded to incorporate a new participant and then contracted
as one of the participants is deleted from the subject. This is
described in the final section of the paper.

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1. GENERAL FEATURES OF NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

1.1. *TAGMEMES OF DISCOURSE*

Narrative discourse in Weri is a multi-base construction with a nucleus of at least one episode, a periphery with optional title and introduction tagmemes, and an obligatory finis tagmeme. A tagmemic formula with slots and fillers is:

$$NarrD = \pm Title{:}NP \pm Intro{:}Narr\ Par + Nuc{:}Ep^n + Finis{:}yok\ (StatS)^3$$

A title is normally manifested by a possessive or attributive noun phrase. This is usually a simple phrase or a phrase with embedded material. The title specifies the general content of the discourse. Examples (1) to (3) are three titles with varying degrees of complexity. Example (1) is a simple possessive noun phrase, and example (2), a possessive noun phrase with a descriptive noun phrase embedded in the possessor slot. Example (3) is an attributive noun phrase with a pos-sessive noun phrase embedded in the attributor slot and in turn a temporal sentence embedding in the head slot of the possessive noun phrase.

(1)   kou-t-a   ngön-te
      dark-cl-pos *story*-sg.cl
      'the eclipse story'

(2)   koö tap-t-a   ngön-te
      dark same-cl-pos *story*-sg.cl
      'the story of the same eclipse'

(3)   ne-m Sim ka-k   së rë-ak   wais-a   ngön-te
      I-pos *Sim village*-loc *go break*-comp *come*-pst *story*-sg.cl
      'the story of my going to Sim and back'

An introduction tagmeme is manifested by a narrative paragraph of one or two sentences in which the setting for the whole discourse is established and the main participant(s) is introduced. Example (4) is a single sentence paragraph with two of the three main participants, the narrator and a man and his wife as a group, introduced. The time phrase, wangam kan röökëër *'early in the morning'*, sets the time for the beginning of the discourse, in which the events spread over three days. Location setting is less important at the beginning of a dis-course and is not always given. In example (4), however, e *'here'* sets the location for the beginning of this travel narrative.

(4)   Ne wangam kan rö-ök-ëër   e   wir waur ë-ak   peret
      I morning road night-loc-*only here come work do*-comp *plate*

      iir wi ulmë-ak it-aangk-ën omn-arö   om wë-ën o
      wash put put-comp *eye-see*-ds *person*-pl.cl *only stay*-ds *up*

Kasngar-aan omp Petoro-ore öng-öp   ye-s-ën   piarip-ring
Kasngar-from man Petoro-and wife-sg.cl *pres-go*-ds *they*-dl-*with*

s-aup
go-sg.pst

'Very early in the morning I came here, and when I had worked
and washed and put the plates away, I saw the people were there
and Petoro and his wife were going, and I went with them.'

Example (5) is an introduction manifested by a narrative paragraph
with two sentences. No time word or phrase is used to establish the
time setting, but the setting is implied in the reference to worship,
which is only done on Sunday. The location is clearly in the village
because of the reference to sant ka kaati *'in the Church'*.

(5)   Ten   sant   wel aisë-ak wë-ën sant   ka   ka-at-i
      we.pl *worship sit sit*-comp *stay*-ds *worship house house*-cl-loc

      Mante-et-ak   koö ola-pnaan ya-ë   pë-l   y-a.   Pë-l
      Monday-cl-loc *dark throw*-3.f *pres-do that-way pres-say that-way*

      ë-ën kat wi-ak   wais ka   ur-aut.
      do-ds *ear put*-comp *come sleep sleep*-sg.pst

      'When we had worshipped (someone) in the Church, said, "Darkness
      will fall on Monday". Then we heard, and came, and slept.'

Finis appears in all the texts recorded and formally closes the
discourse. It is formulaic and is usually manifested by yok *'right'*
or yok pi tapët *'right, that's it'*.

A nucleus consists of one or more episodes, each manifested by a
paragraph. The predominant tense of narrative discourse is past. This
can be seen from example (4) and the second sentence of example (5), as
well as many examples in the text in the appendix. Present tense may
occur, but never in the final sentence of a paragraph. Thus in example
(6) the final verb, yamëngk *'blow'*, of the first sentence is in the
present tense, and waisaut as the final verb of the paragraph, occurs
with the past tense suffix. Similarly in example (7), the verb of the
first sentence, yoola *'throw'*, is in the present tense and because ka
uraut *'slept'* is the final verb of the paragraph it is in the past
tense.

(6)   ...kuup   ya-mëngk. ...Asi wiap kan ek   wes-ak
         conch.shell pres-blow   Asi weak road directly make-comp

      kan wais-ën ne kaaö ya-ë-ën   ka   ur-ak   ëlpam-ök
      road come-ds *I   dislike pres-do*-ds *sleep sleep*-comp *tomorrow*-loc

      wais-aut./
      come-pst

      '...(someone) blew the conch shell. ...and Asi came directly,
      but I didn't want to, and slept and came the next day.'

(7)   ...yang-et   koö yo-oia.   Pë-1   ë-ën wais ten   Eren
        ground-sg.cl *dark* pres-*throw* *that-way* *do*-ds *come* *we.pl* *Helen*

        ka   ur-aut./
        sleep sleep-pst

        '...*darkness fell. Then I came and Helen and I slept.*'

The occurrence of the present tense in a clause normally indicates
that that clause is background information. Thus in examples (6) and
(7), the blowing of the conch shell and the falling of darkness, which
are in present tense, express background information and are not in the
main event line of the narrative.[4]

A special type of background information is reported speech. The
direct quotation complements the verb *'say'*. In this case the back-
ground information, that is the quotation, is not necessarily in the
present tense, but the verb *'say'*, which signals this background infor-
mation, is always in the present tense. Thus in examples (8) and (9),
because the verb *'say'* indicates the presence of a direct quotation
giving background information, it occurs in the present tense.

(8)   ...Moris-ë   naë wais ngön kopëta wes-ak   kou-t
        Maurice-pos *near come talk prepare make*-comp *dark*-cl

        Mante-et-ak   ola-pnaan ya-ë   pë-1   y-a.
        Monday-sg.cl-loc *throw*-3.f pres-*do* *that-way* pres-*say*

        '...*came to Maurice and when we had discussed it (he) said,*
        "*Darkness will fall on Monday*".'

(9)   ...ne kaalak Moris-ë   naë wais kat wi-in yok   won s-a
        I again Maurice-pos *near come ear put*-ds *right no go*-3.pst

        pë-1   y-a.
        that-way pres-*say*

        '...*I came to Maurice again and heard him say,* "*It has gone*".'

Present tense is used in another but less frequent way in narrative
discourse. Sometimes a speaker uses a dummy present tense on all but
the final sentence of a paragraph. Present tense in this instance does
not signal background information and carries no temporal meaning; it
exists because the grammar requires tense on the final verb of the
sentence. The speaker then uses past tense on the final sentence of a
paragraph, which expresses the tense for all events of the paragraph.
This feature is more of a stylistic device, employed by some speakers.
In example (10), the sun is acting as a participant, but the sentence
final verb yarë *'break'* is in the present tense though its meaning in
context is clearly past tense.

(10)   ...kët-ëp   yok apër pi-m ur-öt-ak   ya-rë.
        sun-sg.cl *right come.up he*-pos *place*-cl.loc pres-*break*

        '...*the sun came up and went into its place.*'

1.2. PARAGRAPH

The commencement of a paragraph in narrative discourse is marked by
a new time and/or location setting. It may be linked to the preceding
paragraph by the recapitulation of the final verb or it may have no
grammatical linkage at all. The recapitulation may use the same verb
or a more specific synonym. Recapitulation of a specific verb between
paragraphs distinguishes paragraph linkage from sentence linkage, in
which the common linkage is a general pro-verb pëi ëen or pëi ëak
'having done that'. In example (11) the recapitulation at the beginning
of the new paragraph involves the same verb, where së is the medial
form[5] of the verb 'go', and sauwaar is the final form with full person,
number, tense affixation.

(11)   ...tenip pou-waar   s-auwaar./ Öngk Sim-ë   kou-t-ak   së...
           we.dl both-dl.cl go-dl.pst   down Sim-pos bank-cl-loc go

        '...we both went.
           We went down to the bank of the Sim River and...'

In example (12), recapitulation involving a more specific synonym
occurs at the beginning of the new paragraph. The word un, which
indicates going along on the level, is more specific than saup 'went'.

(12)   ...ënëm   rë   no-oïë-ak   s-aup./ Ëngk Iil Urweri un...
           behind break I-throw-comp go-sg.pst along Iil Urweri go.along

        'he left me behind and went on.
           He went along to Ili Urweri and...'

Sometimes the latter type of recapitulation involves two synonyms
in successive clauses. In example (13), both im 'go' and is 'go up'
are more specific than sauwaar 'went'. They are linked together in a
paraphrase sentence as recapitulation at the beginning of a new para-
graph.

(13)   ...apr-ö   koin pip-ö-ök   s-auwaar./   Im o
           come.up-pur grass that-sg.cl-loc go-dl.pst   go up

        Sërëm-ë   l-it-ak   is...
        Sirim-pos blood-cl-loc go.up

        '...coming up we went to the grass area.
           We went up to the place of Sirim's blood and...'

The absence of linkage between paragraphs is seen in the following
example, where there is no recapitulation of the verb 'sleep' at the
beginning of the new paragraph.

(14)   Pë-l   ë-ën kat wi-ak   wais ka   ur-aut./ Ëlpam-ök
           that-way do-ds ear put-comp come sleep sleep-pst tomorrow-loc
        rö-ök-ëër   wai ë...
        night-loc-only rise do

'Then having heard we came and slept.
   Early next morning we rose and...'

Note that in each new paragraph a new location or time setting is
specified. Examples (11), (12), (13), and (15) all have a new location
setting at the beginning of the new paragraph, and example (14) has a
new time setting. These new time or location settings signal the be-
ginning of a new paragraph when there is a no pro-verb sentence linkage
(see section 1.3.). Occasionally a detailed new time setting is given
in the final clause of a paragraph.

(15)   ...ka   ur-ak   ëlpam-ök   Sante-et-ak   rö-ök-ëër
          sleep sleep-comp tomorrow-loc Sunday-cl-loc night-loc-only

        ëlëëp   apr-ö   s-aup./   0 Moris-re   Eren-ë
        carefully come.up-pur go-sg.pst   up Maurice-and Helen-pos garden

        kot-t-ak   ls...
        small-sg.cl-loc go-up

        '...I slept and very early the next day, Sunday, I went up
        carefully.
           I went up to Maurice and Helen's small garden and...'

Several things should be noted from the above example. The speaker
made the time setting very explicit with the three separate time
tagmemes, ëlpamök *'tomorrow'*, Santeetak *'on Sunday'*, and röökëër *'very*
early'. Normally the time setting occurs at the beginning of the next
paragraph. However, since there is already a new location setting
given in the next paragraph, the initial clause would be clumsy if the
lengthy time setting were also given there. The time setting is pos-
sibly highlighted in this abnormal position.

Identification of participant is very minimal between paragraphs.
Change of subject between sentences only occurs within paragraphs, so
that very little overt identification is given paragraph initially.
The pattern of recapitulation of the final verb of the preceding
paragraph immediately identifies the participant of the new paragraph.
Likewise, when there is no recapitulation, the absence of pël ëën, the
pro-verb with different subject suffix and the common linkage between
sentences, indicates that the same participant is involved. Thus in
example (16), no identification is needed to indicate that the subject
of wal ë *'rise'* in the new paragraph is the same as that for ka uraut
'slept' in the preceding paragraph.

(16)   Pë-l   ë-ën kat wi-ak   wais ka ur-aut./ Ëlpam-ök
        that-way do-ds ear put-comp come sleep sleep-pst tomorrow-loc
        rö-ök-ëër   wal ë...
        night-loc-only rise do
        'Then having heard we came and slept.
           Very early the next day we rose and...'

The participant at the close of one paragraph and the beginning of
the next must be the same. Where the narrator wishes to change or
introduce another participant for a new paragraph, he must do so at
the end of the preceding paragraph. The new paragraph then begins
without any further identification.

(17)   Pë-l   ë-ën koir-ak   tenip pou-waar   s-auwaar./ Öngk
       that-way do-ds *find*-comp *we*-dl *both*-dl.cl *go*-dl.pst *down*

       Sim-ë   kou-t-ak   së...
       Sim-pos *bank*-cl-loc *go*

       'Then I met him and we both went.
           We went down to the Sim River and...'

In the above example, the first person singular participant is
expanded to first person dual, with the identification made more explicit
by the dual person pronoun tenip because of the change in composition
of the subject. The new paragraph then commences without change of
subject or further identification.

1.3. *SENTENCE*

Sentence closure is clearly marked by final intonation and person-
number-tense on the final verb. Tense is normally past, but it may be
present in the situations already described: suffixed to the quote verb
in reported speech, suffixed to the final verb in sentences, non-final
in the paragraph where tense is relative to the other events in the
paragraph and not to the time of narration, and also suffixed to verbs
presenting background information.

Normal linkage between sentences in a narrative paragraph is mani-
fested by the pro-verb pël ëën which usually is translated as *'then'*.
The pro-verb recapitulates in general form the final clause of the
preceding sentence and indicates change of subject in the following
clause. The pro-verb pël ëak *'then (with same subject)'* also occurs,
but is less common. That is, sentence breaks normally occur where
there is a change of subject. In example (18), the subject of apra
'came up', the final verb of the first sentence, is different from the
subject of koirak *'find'*, the first event verb of the new sentence.
The pro-verb pël ëën signals this change of subject.

(18)   ...apr-a.   Pë-l   ë-ën koir-ak...
         come.up-3.pst *that-way do*-ds *find*-comp
       '...they came up. Then I met them and...'

In example (19) the pro-verb pël ëak does not indicate change of
subject. Thus the subject of ka uraut *'slept'*, the final verb of the
first sentence, and wëënak *'stayed'*, the first event verb of the new

sentence, are the same. Though the new sentence has a new time setting,
it is not a new paragraph because of the normal pro-verb sentence
linkage used here.

(19)   ...wais ten   Eren   ka   ur-aut. Pë-i   ë-ak   ëipam-ök
         come we.pl Helen sleep sleep-pst that-way do-comp tomorrow-loc
         wë-ën-ak...
         stay-ds-comp
         '*...I came and Helen and I slept together. Then we stayed the
         next day and...*'

   Sentences may also be joined by juxtaposition when the second
amplifies the final clause of the first. In example (20) the second
sentence repeats the final clause of the preceding sentence, not with
the identical verb, but with a synonym, and adds additional locational
information. This amplification differs in an important way from
specific verb recapitulation, which is characteristic of a new para-
graph. In the type of amplification seen in example (20), the two
verbs have the same grammatical form. The form kangk ëa '*lasted*' in
each case is a final verb in the past tense. In contrast to this,
recapitulation signalling a new paragraph always involves the sequence:
final verb (paragraph 1 conclusion) – medial verb (paragraph 2 initial)
(see section 1.2.).

(20)   ...ka   ur-ak   kangk wë-ën   kot   nent rö-ök
         sleep sleep-comp wait stay-ds small one   dark-loc
         wi-imaap   kangk ë-a. Ten-im   wë-au-t-ë   koö
         put-1.sg.f wait do-pst we.pl-pos stay-pst-cl-loc dark
         oie-maap   kangk ë-a.
         throw-1.sg.f wait do-pst
         '*...we slept and waited and darkness lasted for a little while.
         Darkness lasted where we live.*'

2.   IDENTIFICATION AND MOVEMENT OF PARTICIPANTS

   Features which are independent of the hierarchical structure also
serve to define narrative discourse. These features include intro-
duction and movement of participants and answer the following questions:
How are participants introduced into narrative discourse? Once intro-
duced, how are they identified from then on? How are participants
taken out of the action of the narrative, and how are they re-introduced?
Who are the main participants? Who are the lesser ones? What are the
props or background information? These are important questions for the
correct interpretation of a given narrative. Control of the degree of
involvement of participants, props or background information is important
if the speaker wants to communicate clearly what is in his mind. In

Weri, verbs form the skeleton of narrative discourse giving the events, but the primary orientation is toward the participants.

There is a basic distinction between participants and props or background information. Participants are usually the human agencies involved in the actions, and props, the non-human. In some discourses, especially origin myths, animals are more important than normal and assume the role of participants. This can be true even of inanimate objects. In one discourse on a spoilt battery, the battery is treated as the main participant. Similarly, in two of three parallel discourses on an eclipse, by three different witnesses, the sun is given a much more prominent role than normal, and is treated as a participant. This contrasts with the third discourse where the human activity and reaction to the eclipse is more in focus, and the sun assumes its expected role of a prop.

Thus, a participant is distinguished from a prop or background information by its level of involvement in a narrative. A participant continued to interact with other participants, whereas a prop or background information does not interact with participants, and normally is named once only. Participants and props are further distinguished by the particular means of introduction onto the stage. Stage introduction of participants and props is described in section 2.1.2. Once introduced, props or background are not named again and do not need to be formally removed from the stage as they do not interact with the participant.

2.1. INTRODUCTION OF PARTICIPANTS, PROPS, AND BACKGROUND INFORMATION

2.1.1. First Participant

The first participant of the narrative discourse is simply named in the first clause along with background information such as time or location, which form the setting. Most of the narrative discourses analysed are first person accounts so that the initial participant in such cases is the narrator with pronominal identification ne *'I'* or ten *'we'*. This does not necessarily imply that the narrator is the main participant in the narrative. He may simply introduce a more major participant and then fade out of focus.

In examples (21) and (22) the first participant is the narrator, or includes him, as signalled by ten *'we plural'* in example (21) and ne *'I'* in example (22), whereas in example (23) the main participant is an inanimate object, the battery.

(21)   Ten   Sante-et-ak   sant   wel aisë-ak   orö-ak...
       we.pl Sunday-cl-loc worship sit sit-comp emerge-comp

       '*On Sunday after we had worshipped and come out...*'

(22)   Ne wangam   kan   rö-ökëër   e   wir   waur ë-ak...
       I morning road   night-loc-only here come work do-comp

       '*I came here early in the morning and when I had worked...*'

(23)   Pateri-it   utpet ë-ën   yokot-aar   ma-ngk-ën w-ak   Karain
       battery-cl bad   do-ds   boy-dl.cl   3-give-ds get-comp Garaina

       ka-k   së...
       village-loc go

       '*The battery was discharged and he gave it to the two boys and
       they took it to Garaina and...*'

2.1.2. Other Participants, Props, and Background Information

   Normally, a new participant is introduced by the verb itaangkën '*see*',
the cue that a new participant is to be introduced in the following
clause. The word itaangkën is the medial verb form with different
subject suffix -ën, so that the complement of '*seeing*' or what is seen
then comes on stage.

   In a particular travel narrative in which there is constant inter-
action between three main participants, the second participant,
Petoroore öngöp '*Petoro and his wife*', is introduced, together with
background information regarding some other people, by itaangkën.
Normally, the participants are introduced in the clause immediately
following itaangkën, but in example (24) Petoro and his wife are
introduced two clauses later. Because of this separation from
itaangkën, a secondary introductory signal, wëën, (see later in this
section) is used to support the introduction of the participant.

(24)   ...peret iir wi ulmë-ak   it-aangk-ën omn-arö   om
       plate wash put put-comp eye-see-ds person-pl.cl only

       wë-ën   o   Kasngar-aan omp Petoro-ore öng-öp   ye-s-ën...
       stay-ds up   Kasngar-from man Petoro-and wife-sg.cl pres-go-ds

       '*...when I had washed and put away the plates I saw the people
       were there and Petoro and his wife from up at Kasngar were
       going and...*'

   The third participant, Asi, comes on stage immediately following
itaangkën in example (25) and becomes involved there in the action for
the first time, though he is mentioned a few clauses earlier.

(25)   ...ne wet   kaal ë-ak   im im ëngk un it-aangk-ën Asi Pol
       I   first first do-comp   go go along go eye-see-ds Asi Pol

       Këërak ënëm   rë   no-olë-ak   s-aup
       Kiirak behind break 1-throw-ds go-sg.pst

       '*...I went and saw that Asi overtook me at Pol Kiirak and went
       ahead.*'

Sometimes the speaker considers non-human objects important enough
to class as participants. In one account of an eclipse, the sun and
moon are introduced by itaangkën, just like a human participant:

(26)   ...waam   kan-ö-ök   nain kirook kët-ëp   rö-ök
        morning road-sg.cl-loc *nine o'clock sun*-sg.cl *night*-loc

        wi-imaap   kangk ë-ën it-aangk-ën ngoon-öp së kët-ëp-ë
        put-1.sg.f *wait do*-ds *eye-see*-ds *moon*-sg.cl *go sun*-sg.cl-pos

        iri ilë-a.
        under enter-3.pst

        '*...at nine o'clock in the morning it became dark and we saw
        the moon go behind the sun.*'

Similarly, in the story of the killing of a snake, the snake is the
main participant and is introduced by the verb *'see'*, in this case,
itna, a variant of itaangkën.

(27)   ...Poonu-ak o ngaar-ëk it-n-a   pö-t   kamal-mor
        Poonu-ag up above-loc *eye-see*-pst *that*-cl *snake*-sg.cl

        wir ka ëpla-ö-ök-ë   rangk wë-ën...
        come house wall-sg.cl-loc-*to on   stay*-ds

        '*...Poonu saw up above a snake come and stay on top of the
        wall and...*'

There is one unusual use of itaangkën where the introduced item is
not an object but a state. It is in the account of the spoilt battery.
In example (28), the battery has already been named in the first clause
as the first and main participant. Then it was discovered that the
battery was still discharged. As this fresh information is the major
turning point for the rest of the narrative, its introduction is on
the level of a new participant.

(28)   ...w-ak   wais ma-ngk-ën ök ë-ak it-aangk-ën pangk
        get-comp *come* 3-*give*-ds *try do*-ds *eye-see*-ds *correct*

        na-ë-n.
        neg-*do*-neg

        '*...(they) brought it and gave it to him and he tested it and
        saw that it was no good.*'

Participants may be introduced in two other ways, that do not
involve itaangkën, but these occur much less frequently. The first is
as the object of a verb. By this means the new participant is brought
on stage and continued to interact with any other participant. Thus
in example (29), the single group participant (i.e. a group partici-
pating as a unit), Kuup, Yunangmu and Rei, is introduced as the object
of the verb koir *'find'*, and becomes part of the subject of the fol-
lowing verb së *'go'*.

(29)   ...o ka-at-ak   is Kööp-re Yönangmö-öre Rei-re ë-ak
        up house-cl-loc go Kuup-and Yunangmu-and Rei-and do-comp

        koir wawaö o ya   ël-ö-ök   së...
        find search up garden old-sg.cl-loc go

        '...*(I) went up to the house and found Kuup, Yunangmu and Rei*
        and we went up to the disused garden and...'

Similarly in example (30), a new participant, yokotaar *'two boys'*,
is introduced as object of mangkën *'give'*, and that participant becomes
subject of the following clause.

(30)   Pateri-it utpet ë-ën yokot-aar ma-ngk-ën w-ak   Karain
        battery-cl bad   do-ds boy-dl.cl 3-give-ds get-comp Garaina

        ka-k   së...
        village-loc go

        '*The battery was discharged so he gave it to the two boys, and*
        they took it to Garaina and...'

The second way in which a participant may be introduced is by naming
him in the quotation of a direct quote sentence. In example (31), both
the narrator and Helen are introduced this way for the first time quite
late in the story of the spoilt battery.

(31)   ...së-pna-k ye-e-m   ne-en ar   Eren ka   ur-ön
        go-3.f-1m pres-do-ss I-io you-pl Helen sleep sleep-pl.f

        rö   kan pö-t   pë-l   ne-a-k...
        night road that-cl that-way 1-say-comp

        '...*as he was about to go he said to me, "You and Helen sleep*
        together tonight", and...'

At first sight example (32) appeared to be one example of a par-
ticipant being introduced without any signal:

(32)   Pë-l   ë-ën ka   ur-ak   ëlpam-ök   Moris   pi-mënt
        that-way do-ds sleep sleep-comp morning-loc Maurice he-only

        w-ak   Sim-ë s-aut   omn-arö-aring.
        get-comp Sim-to go-pst person-pl.cl-with

        '*Then when he had slept Maurice took it to Sim with the people.*'

This is the first mention of Maurice in the discourse exactly halfway
through it. However, he actually is the first animate subject of the
discourse as the one who gives the battery to the boys (see example
(30)). He is quite clearly understood from the context, but is unnamed
in order to deliberately downplay the human agencies and focus on the
inanimate battery as the main participant.

The verb wëën *'stay'* is used to introduce a prop or background
information and like itaangkën, is the cue that the new item will be
introduced in the following clause. This word wëën is the medial verb
form with the different subject suffix -ën.

Another way in which background information is introduced is through
a direct quotation. The direct quotation is preceded by wëën, and the
speaker of the quotation is unspecified, focusing on the information
rather than the participant. Thus in example (33), background infor-
mation about a coming eclipse is introduced as complement of the verb
'say' and following wëën. Similarly in example (34), background
information about an injury to a man's leg is introduced following
wëën and as complement of the verb 'say'.

(33)   Ten Sante-et-ak   sant   wel aisë-ak wë-ën   Mante-et-ak
       we.pl Sunday-cl-loc worship sit sit-comp stay-ds Monday-cl-loc

       koö ola-pnaan ya-ë   pë-i   y-a.
       dark throw-3.f pres-do that-way pres-say

       'On Sunday after we had worshipped (someone) said, "Darkness
       will fall on Monday".'

(34)   ...ëngk ka-k   së orö-ak   wë-ën   wiap kan Karong
          along village-loc go appear-comp stay-ds weak road Karong

       ing-es-i   këra kaö waal-a   pë-i   y-a.
       leg-sg.cl-loc wood end pierce-3.pst that-way pres-say

       '...we went along to the village and when we had arrived
       (someone) said, "The end of a stick pierced Karong's leg".'

In two of three texts on an eclipse, the announcement of the eclipse
comes as background information following wëën, and with the speaker
unspecified (see example (33)). In the third text, the quotation is
not introduced as background information. Hence the signal wëën is
not used, and the speaker, Maurice, is named:

(35)   Ten Sante-et-ak   sant   wel aisë-ak orö-ak   Moris-ë
       we.pl Sunday-cl-loc worship sit sit-comp emerge-comp Maurice-pos

       nae wais ngön kopëta wes-ak   kou-t   Mante-et-ak
       near come talk prepare make-comp dark-sg.cl Monday-cl-loc

       ola-pnaan ya-ë   pë-i   y-a.
       throw-3f pres-do that-way pres-say

       'When we had worshipped on Sunday we came out and came to
       Maurice and had a discussion and he said, "Darkness will fall
       on Monday".'

This playing down of the role of the participant when background
information is given occurs in situations apart from a direct quote.
In the following example the background information, in this case about
blowing a conch shell, is introduced by wëën and again the subject is
unspecified.

(36) Pë-l   më-a-k   pö-r-ek   wë-ën kuup   ya-mëngk.
      that-way *3-say*-comp *that-cl*-comp *stay*-ds *conch.shell* pres-*blow*
      'Having said that I was there and (someone) blew the conch shell.'

Background information is never part of the event line of a narrative
discourse, but adds additional information. Thus, time elements may be
introduced following wëën. In example (37), *'after a little while'*,
which is expressed by a clause, is introduced following wëën.

(37) Pë-l   ë-ën ka ka-at-i   së wë-ën   kot   nent won
      that-way *do*-ds *house* *house*-cl-loc *go* *stay*-ds *small* *one* *no*

      së-ën ne kaalak Moris-ë   naë wais...
      go-ds *I* *again* *Maurice*-pos *near* *come*
      'Then we went inside and after a little while I came again to
      Maurice and...'

One unusual use of wëën occurs in one of the eclipse accounts. It
is one in which the sun appears to be a participant because of the
prominence placed on it, but it is introduced by wëën. This may reflect
the three narrators' uncertainty as to the role of the sun, with it
clearly introduced as a participant in one text, not even named in
another, so obviously not a participant, and here in the third mani-
festing some elements of both participant and prop.

(38) Ëlpam-ök   rö-ök-ëër   wal ë we-ën   kët-ëp   kot
      tomorrow-loc *night*-loc-*only* *rise* *do* *stay*-ds *sun*-sg.cl *small*

      nent me-maap   ya-ë.
      one *shine*-l.sg.f pres-*do*
      'The next day we got up early and the sun shone for a little
      while.'

A significant difference between background information and par-
ticipants is that background information is named only once and not
mentioned again. Participants, however, interact with the other
participants and appear and re-appear at various stages through the
narrative.

2.2. *INTERACTION OF PARTICIPANTS*

After a participant has been introduced, he is on stage and interacts
with other participants on stage. Though he may not take a major part
in the action, he remains on stage until he is specifically taken off.
Normally no more than two participants are on stage at any one time.
A participant may be a group acting as a unit or a single individual.
    There is a minimum of specific identification of participants.
Usually the only time a particular participant is specifically identi-
fied by name, phrase or pronoun is when he is introduced, taken off

stage, or re-introduced. Once he has been identified and brought on
stage, normally the only means of identification is through the dif-
ferent subject suffix which indicates that there is to be a switch in
the following clause to another participant on stage. That person in
turn may remain in focus for a number of clauses until there is a
switch back to the former participant by means of the different subject
suffix. Identification of participants by different subject suffix is
employed across sentence and paragraph boundaries as well as within
sentences.

The following sentence of eleven clauses maintains identification
of the participants after they are introduced in the first two clauses.
This is done solely through verb affixation, by the presence or absence
of the different subject suffix -ën.

(39)   Pateri-it utpet ë-ën yokot-aar ma-ngk-ën w-ak   Karain
       battery-cl *bad*   *do-ds* *boy-dl.cl* *3-give-ds* *get-comp* *Garaina*

       ka-k   së ompyaö wes-ak   w-ak   wais ma-ngk-ën
       village-loc *go good*   *make-comp* *get-comp* *come* *3-give-ds*

       ök ë-ak   it-aangk-ën pangk   na-ë-n.
       try do-comp *eye-see-ds* *correct* *neg-do-neg*

       'The battery was discharged so he gave it to the two boys and
       they took it to Garaina, fixed it and brought it back and gave
       it to him and he tested it and saw that it was no good.'

The following example demonstrates a typical structure with no means
of identification across sentence boundaries, apart from the presence
or absence of the different subject suffix -ën on the verb. This
example gives the end of one sentence and beginning of another in a
narrative discourse. The most common linkage between sentences in nar-
rative discourse is the pro-verb pël ëën *'he (she, it) did that'* which
has the different subject marker -ën suffixed to the medial form of the
verb *'do'*. This means that the second clause of the new sentence has a
different subject from the final clause of the preceding sentence.

(40)   ...ne o tang-it-ak   is   kora-kaim wë-ën apr-a.
        I up steep-sg.cl-loc *go.up* *wait-cont* *stay-ds* *come.up-3.pst*

       Pë-l   ë-ën koir-ak   im o kan kou-r-ak   is
       that-way do-ds *find-comp* *go up road side-cl-loc* *go...up*

       '...I went up the steep slope and waited and went on up, up
       that way, and waited and they came up. Then I met them and we
       went on, up along the track...'

2.3. *REMOVAL OF PARTICIPANT*

If there are no more than two participants, very often both remain
on stage all the time. With the identification of each participant
controlled almost exclusively through the different subject marker on
the verb, there is no problem in clearly distinguishing two partici-
pants. Once a third participant is introduced, however, there is
confusion. To maintain unambiguous identification when a third
participant is introduced, one of the participants already on stage
is expanded to include the newcomer (see section 3.1.) or one of the
participants on stage is first taken off.

A motion verb is used to take a participant off stage, with the
participant usually clearly identified by name, noun phrase or pronoun.
In each of the following examples the participant going off stage is
named and removed by a motion verb. Thus in example (41), the non-
human participant ngoonöp *'moon'*, is taken off stage by the motion
verb yengma *'went down'*, and in examples (42) and (43) the partici-
pants Maurice and Asi are respectively taken off stage by the motion
verbs saut *'went'* and waisën *'came'*.

(41)   ...ngoon-öp   kët-ëp-ë   kasngaël ye-ngma.
        moon-sg.cl *sun*-sg.cl-pos *behind*   pres-*go.down*

        '*...the moon went down behind the sun.*'

(42)   ...Moris   w-ak   s-aut.
        Maurice get-comp *go*-sg.pst

        '*...Maurice took it.*'

(43)   Asi wais-ën ne om   kaaö   ya-ë-ën...
        Asi come-ds *I only dislike* pres-*do*-ds

        '*Asi came but I didn't want to and...*'

Pronominal identification of the participant going off stage is
also very common and is used when the person and/or number of the
pronoun positively identifies which participant is going.

(44)   ...ëngk Wang-ë   kou-t-ak   un   pit kau ya-ë
        along Wang-pos *bank*-cl-loc *go-along they behind* pres-*do*

        pityak ne o tang-it-ak   is...
        conj.ds *I up steep*-sg.cl-loc *go.up*

        '*...we went along to the banks of the Wang River and they
        dropped behind but I went up the steep slope and...*'

In the above example, pit *'they* plural' is enough to identify the
participant going off stage, because the other participant is the
narrator. The same is true in example (45), where piarip *'they* dual'
and the narrator are the only two participants involved.

(45) Pë-l   ë-ën pö-r-ek-aan   koir-ak   pö-r-ek   piarip
      that-way *do-ds* *that-cl-loc-from* *find-comp* *that-cl-loc* *they.dl*

      kau   ya-ë-ën   ne...
      behind *pres-do-ds* *I*

      'Then I met them there and while they stayed behind there I...'

The last two examples use a slightly different type of verb to take
the participant off stage. It is a pseudo-motion verb. Actually it
doesn't take the participant off stage but rather leaves him behind
while the stage moves on with the remaining participant and the action.
It is possible in Weri for the narrator to be left behind, and for
action to be described from another participant's viewpoint. Thus in
example (46) Asi leaves the narrator behind using another pseudo-
motion verb, ënëm rë noolëak *'left me behind'*, and the stage and action
goes on with him.

(46) Asi Pol Këërak ënëm   rë   no-olë-ak   s-aup.
      Asi Pol Kiirak behind break 1-throw-comp go-sg.pst

      'Asi left me behind at Pol Kiirak and went on.'

Other examples of pseudo-motion verbs are ënëm rë moolëak *'I left
him behind'* as in examples (47) and (48), and wet kaal ëak sa *'he went
ahead'*. Sometimes, as in examples (47) and (48), two pseudo-motion
verbs are used in combination, one dropping behind and the other
participant leaving him behind, or leaving one participant behind and
going on ahead.

(47) ...o kan kou-r-ak   is   pit   kau   ya-ë-ën
         up road side-sg.cl-loc *go.up* *they.pl* *behind* *pres-do-ds*

      ënëm   rë   mo-olë-ak...
      behind break 3-throw-comp

      *'...we went up the track and while they dropped behind I left
      them behind and...'*

(48) Pë-l   ë-ën koir-ak   pi pö-r-ek   kangiir ënëm
      that-way *do-ds* *find-comp* *he that-sg.cl-loc* *exchange behind*

      rë   mo-olë-ak   ne-mënt wet   kaal ë-ak   im...
      break 3-throw-comp I-only first first do-comp go

      *'Then I joined him and in turn left him behind and I went ahead
      and...'*

2.4. RE-INTRODUCTION OF PARTICIPANT

Having removed a participant from the stage, it is not as major an
operation to re-introduce him as it was to introduce him in the first
place, since he has already been involved in the action and is only
coming back from off stage. For this reason the cue for re-introduction
is wëën *'stay'* and not itaangkën *'see'*. This is the cue which signals

that a participant will be re-introduced in the following clause, and
he is brought back on stage with a motion verb. Participants being
re-introduced may be identified but there is less pressure for it than
with the removal of participant, presumably because it is usually clear
from context, as normally only one participant is off stage at a given
time. In example (49), the participant is not named in any way when
re-introduced after wëën as the subject of apra 'came up'. This is
possible because at that point in the narrative only two participants
are involved.

(49)   ...o-ol   koliil   pö-r-ek   së kora-kaim wë-ën
        up-way direction that-sg.cl-loc go wait-cont stay-ds

        apr-a.
        come-up-3.pst

        '...(I) went up there and waited and they came up.'

When more than one participant is off stage as in examples (50) and
(51), the tendency is to identify the participant being re-introduced.
Thus, in example (50), the pronoun pi 'he' identifies the participant
being re-introduced and in example (51), ne 'I' identifies the narrator
being re-introduced.

(50)   Pë-1   ë-ën-ak   ëngk Sakaria-ë   Këra-ö-ök   së wë-ën
        that-way do-ds-comp along Sakaria-pos wood-sg.cl-loc go stay-ds

        pi ëngk Enweröök wals...
        he along Enweruuk come

        'Then (I) went along to Sakaria's Timber and he came along to
        Enweruuk and...'

(51)   Së it-en-ak   wë-ën   ne wlap kan së...
        go eye-see-comp stay-ds I weak road go

        '(He) went and saw (him) and I came in the afternoon and...'

One exception to the use of wëën to signal re-introduction of
participant has been observed. In this case the participants have been
off stage for so long that their coming back is treated as an initial
introduction rather than re-introduction. That is, itaangkën rather
than wëën is used. Coupled with the use of itaangkën in this instance
is the naming of the participant, Petoro and his wife and children,
which is obligatory for introduction of participants.

(52)   ...o Sërëm-ë I-it-ak   is   it-aangk-ën Petoro-ore
        up Sirim-pos blood-cl-loc go.up eye-see-ds Petoro-and

        öng-re   ru-ut   Paiarö wlr...
        wife-and child-pl.cl Paiaru come.along

        '...we went up to the place of Sirim's Blood and saw Petoro and
        his wife and children come to Paiaru and...'

In a few cases, a participant has been re-introduced without the
signal of wëën and without a motion verb. In each of these cases the
participant was removed from the stage by a pseudo-motion verb and re-
introduced by a pseudo-motion verb. In example (53), the narrator is
taken off stage by the pseudo-motion verb ënëm rë noolëak *'left me
behind'* and re-introduced by the pseudo-motion verb koirak *'find'*.

(53)   Asi Pol Këërak ënëm   rë   no-olë-ak   s-aup.   ...Pë-l
       Asi Pol Kiirak behind break 1-throw-comp go-sg.pst   that-way
       ë-ën koir-ak...
       do-ds find-comp

       *'Asi left me behind at Pol Kiirak and went on....Then I caught
       up and...'*

Chart 1 illustrates introduction, removal and re-introduction of
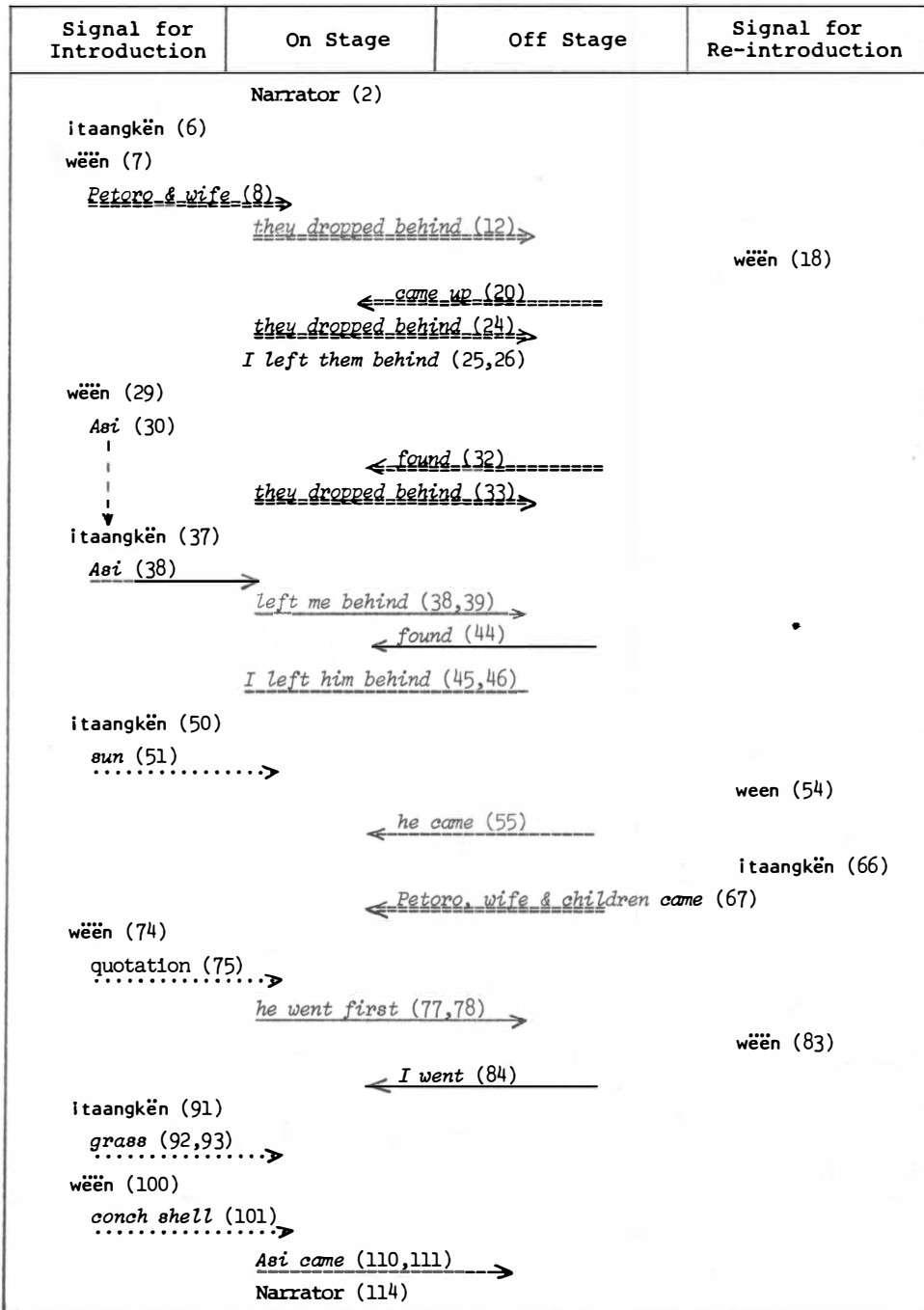participants in the narrative discourse, *'To Sim and back'*, found in
the appendix.

3. EXPANSION AND CONTRACTION OF PARTICIPANT

Related to the question of movement of participants on or off stage,
is that of expanding the subject to include another participant as part
of an enlarged subject, and contraction of the subject when one or more
of a group leave. Expansion can only take place when both participants
are already on stage, and the resultant expansion comprising a single
group participant, is different from the two separate participants each
maintaining his individual identity.

While investigating the mechanics of expansion and contraction of
participant in one text, a recurring cycle of expansion, contraction
and switch of participants was noticed. That is, subject A is expanded
to AB by inclusion of B. Then it is reduced to either A or B as one
of these participants goes off stage. Finally there is a switch to
either B or A, whichever went off stage. This cycle repeats itself a
number of times throughout the text.

This cyclic pattern was found to occur in other narrative discourses
but not always as completely or as frequently because there was less
interaction of participants. For ease of description all examples in
this section are taken from the one text, though the pattern and the
mechanics of change were found to be the same in all texts examined.
The text used is *'To Sim and back'*, given in the appendix of this
paper. Chart 2 shows the cycles of expansion, contraction and switch.

CHART 1

Movement of Participants in text *'To Sim and back'*

Signal for Introduction	On Stage	Off Stage	Signal for Re-introduction
	Narrator (2)		
ïtaangkën (6)			
wëën (7)			
Petoro & wife (8) →			
	they dropped behind (12) →		
			wëën (18)
		← *came up* (20)	
	they dropped behind (24) →		
	I left them behind (25,26)		
wëën (29)			
Asi (30)			
		← *found* (32)	
	they dropped behind (33) →		
ïtaangkën (37)			
Asi (38) →			
	left me behind (38,39) →		
	← *found* (44)		
	I left him behind (45,46)		
ïtaangkën (50)			
sun (51) ·······>			
			ween (54)
			ïtaangkën (66)
		← *Petoro, wife & children came* (67)	
wëën (74)			
quotation (75) ·······>			
	he went first (77,78) →		
			wëën (83)
		← *I went* (84)	
ïtaangkën (91)			
grass (92,93) ···>			
wëën (100)			
conch shell (101) ···>			
	Asi came (110,111) →		
	Narrator (114)		

Key: Narrator ———— , Asi —————, Petoro, wife (& children) =========

Background information ·········

CHART 2

Expansion, Contraction and Switch of Participants

Clause	Participant involvement	Grammatical marker	Lexical signal	Identification
10	Expansion	no ds	-ring (9)	piarip (9)
12	Contraction	no ds		pit
13	Switch	ds		ne
22	Expansion	no ds	koirak (21)	-a (19)
24	Contraction	no ds		pit
25	Switch	ds		mo-(26)
32	Expansion	no ds	koirak	
33	Contraction	no ds		piarip
34	Switch	ds		ne
60	Expansion	no ds	koirak (59)	tenip pouwaar, -auwaar
79	Contraction	no ds		Asi pi; -a (80)
84	Switch	ds		ne; -aup (89)
108	Expansion	no ds	-iring (107)	pöaar (107)
110	Contraction	no ds		Asi
112	Switch	ds		ne; -aut (114)

3.1. *EXPANSION OF PARTICIPANT*

In the expansion of the participant, the different subject suffix never occurs on the verb of the preceding clause, because the expanded subject still contains the original participant.

Some specific means of incorporating another participant into the expanded subject is almost always used. In the text under consideration there is some means of incorporation used in each case, but in other texts this incorporating marker is sometimes missing. One incorporating device is the accompaniment marker -ring ᴠ -iring (clauses 9, 107) which is suffixed to the new participant in the clause preceding the expansion. Another means, and the most common, is the use of the verb koir *'find'* which usually occurs in the clause preceding the expansion (see clauses 21, 59) though in clause 32 it is telescoped and occurs in the same clause in which the expansion is made. A third means noted in another text is that of motion towards a person so that that person is then incorporated into the expanded subject in the following clause:

(54)   ten Moris-ë   naë wais ngön kopëta wes-ak
        we.pl Maurice-pos *near come talk prepare make*-comp
        'We came to Maurice and we (all) had a discussion and...'

That is, Maurice is approached and then he is incorporated into the
expanded subject in the following clause, ngön kopëta wesak *'had a
discussion'*.

Normally participants of the expanded subject are identified,
usually by pronominal reference but sometimes by verb inflection for
person and/or number. In the identification column for expansion of
participant of Chart 2, three of the four means of identification
involve pronouns: piarip *'they* dual', tenip pouwaar *'we both'* and
pöaar *'those* dual'.   Two of these, piarip and pöaar, occur on the
clause preceding the expansion and identify the new participant about
to enter into the expansion. The third, tenip pouwaar, a phrase,
occurs in the expansion clause and identifies the expanded subject.
In this case pouwaar *'both'* emphasises the expansion as the original
individual participants were both singular in number. No pronominal
identification of the new participant in the expansion of subject in
clause 22 is given. However, clause 19 does give some identification
in the verb suffix, -a 'third person past tense'. At this stage of
the discourse two participants have been introduced, the narrator and
a man and his wife as a group, so that the identification, being third
person, can only be of the latter pair. Clause 60, in addition to the
pronominal identification of the expanded subject, also identifies the
participant by means of -auwaar 'dual past tense', the verb suffix.
In one example, clause 33, no identification at all is given, and
context is relied on. However, there is clear identification in the
following clauses, 33 and 34, where the participants involved in the
contraction of subject, piarip *'they* dual', and switch, ne *'I'*, are
named. Though no examples have been observed to date, it is to be
expected that nouns and names could also serve as subject identifiers
in expansion of a subject. They have been observed in contraction of
subject.

3.2. CONTRACTION OF PARTICIPANT

In the contraction of the participant, as with the expansion of the
participant, there is no different subject grammatical marker on the
verb of the preceding clause, because the participant of the contracted
subject was part of the expanded subject.

Unlike the expansion of the participant, however, no lexical signal
is given to show that the contraction of the participant has occurred,

but the contracted subject is always clearly identified. This is by
either noun or pronoun. In the identification column of contraction
of participant of Chart 2, three of the five examples are pronominal,
pit (clauses 12, 24) *'they* plural' and piarip *'they* dual' (clause 33).
The other two involve a name, Asi *'Asi'* (clause 110) and Asi pi *'Asi,
he'* (clause 79). Clause 83 gives supplementary identification by the
verb suffix -a 'third person past tense'.

3.3. *SWITCH OF PARTICIPANTS*

After contracting the participant, when the narrator wants to switch
to the other participant of the original expanded subject, he must
signal this by the different subject suffix -ën on the verb of the
clause preceding the switch.

In addition, there is always some clear identification. The identi-
fication column of the switch of participant of Chart 2 shows that four
of the five examples use the free form pronoun ne *'I'*, and the fifth
uses mo- a third person referent verb prefix. It is to be expected
that names or nouns could also be used for the contraction of the
participant, but they have not been observed to date. Clauses 89 and
114 also provide supplementary identification with the verb affixation
-aup and -aut 'singular past'.

APPENDIX

'To Sim and back'

Clause

Title: Attributive noun phrase

1   Ne-m Sim ka-k   së rë-ak   wais-a   ngön-te
    *I-pos Sim village-*loc *go break-*comp *come-*3.pst *story-*sg.cl

    'The story of my going to Sim and back.'

Introduction: Narrative paragraph

2   Ne wangam kan rö-ök-ëër   e   wir
    *I morning road night-*loc-*only here come.along*

3   waur ë-ak
    *work do-*comp

4   peret iir
    plate wash

5   wi ulmë-ak
    *put put-*comp

6   it-aangk-ën
    *eye-see-*ds

7   omn-arö   om wë-ën
    *person-*pl.cl *only stay-*ds

8   o Kasngar-aan omp Petoro-ore öng-öp   ye-s-ën
    *up Kasngar-from man Petoro-and wife-*sg.cl *pres-go-*ds

9   piarip-ring s-aup./
    *they-*dl-*with go-*sg.pst

    'I came here early in the morning and when I had worked and washed and put away the plates I saw that the people were there, and that Petoro and his wife, from up at Kasngar, were going, and I went with them.'

Episode 1: Narrative paragraph

10   Im im
    go go

11   ëngk Wang-ë   kou-t-ak   un
    *along Wang-*pos *bank-*cl-loc *go.along*

Clause

12   pit kau ya-ë   pityak
      they behind pres-do conj.ds

13   ne o tang-It-ak   is
      I up steep-sg.cl-loc *go.up*

14   kora-kaim
      wait-cont

15   kaalak o së
      again up go

16   o-ol koliil   pö-r-ek   së
      up-way direction that-cl-loc *go*

17   kora-kaim
      wait-cont

18   wë-ën
      stay-ds

19   apr-a.
      come.up-3.pst
      '*We went on and on, along to Wang River, and as they dropped
      behind I went up the steep slope and waited, and went on
      again, up the other side, and waited, and they came up.*'

20   Pĕ-l   ë-ën
      that-way do-ds

21   koir-ak
      find-comp

22   im
      go

23   o kan kou-r-ak   is
      up road side-cl-loc *go*.up

24   pit   kau   ya-ë-ën
      they.pl behind pres-*do*-ds

25   ënëm rë
      behind break

26   mo-olë-ak
      3-*throw*-comp

27   im
      go

28   o Pol Këërak is
      up Pol Kiirak go.up

29   wë-ën
      stay-ds

Clause

30   Asi ënëm   wais-a.
        Asi behind come-3.pst

        '*Then I met them and we went up along the track, and as they
        dropped behind I left them and went up to Pol Kiirak and Asi
        came later.*'

31   Pë-l   ë-ën
        that-way do-ds

32   pö-r-ek-aan   koir-ak
        that-cl-loc-from find-comp

33   pö-r-ek   piarip kau   ya-ë-ën
        that-cl-loc they-dl behind pres-do-ds

34   ne wet   kaal ë-ak
        I first first do-comp

35   im im
        go go

36   ëngk un
        along go.along

37   it-aangk-ën
        eye-see-ds

38   Asi Pol Këërak ënëm   rë
        Asi Pol Kiirak behind break

39   no-olë-ak
        1-*throw*-comp

40   s-aup./
        go-sg.pst

        '*Then I met them there, and they dropped behind, and I went
        ahead, on and on, and saw that Asi had left me behind at Pol
        Kiirak and went on.*'

        Episode 2: Narrative paragraph

41   Ëngk Iil Urweri un
        along Iil Urweri go.along

42   wë-a.
        stay-3.pst

        '*He went along to Iil Urweri.*'

43   Pë-l   ë-ën
        that-way do-ds

44   koir-ak
        find-comp

45   pi pö-r-ek   kangiir   ënëm   rë
        he that-cl-loc in.exchange behind break

Clause

46   mo-ol ĕ-ak
       *3-throw-*comp

47   ne-mĕnt wet   kaal ĕ-ak
       *I-only   first first do-*comp

48   im
       go

49   ĕngk Paiaru un
       along Paiaru go.along

50   it-aangk-ĕn
       *eye-see-*ds

51   kĕt-ĕp   lup-t-ak   wĕ-a-ap.
       *sun-*sg.cl *middle-*cl-loc *stay-*pst-sg.cl

       '*Then I joined him and in turn left him behind, and I went*

       along to Paiaru and saw that it was midday.'

52   Pĕ-l   ĕ-ĕn-ak
       *that-way do-*ds-comp

53   ĕngk Sakaria-ĕ Kĕra-ö-ök   sĕ
       *along Sakaria-*pos *wood-*sg.cl-loc *go*

54   wĕ-ĕn
       *stay-*ds

55   pi ĕngk Enweröök wais
       he along Enweruuk come

56   es   mer-eim wi-ak
       *fire burn-*cont *put-*comp

57   wir-a.
       *come.along-*3.pst

       '*Then I went along to Sakaria's Timber, and he came along to*

       Enweruuk, lit a fire and came.'

58   Pĕ-l   ĕ-ĕn
       *that-way do-*ds

59   koir-ak
       *find-*comp

60   tenip pou-waar   s-auwaar./
       *we.*dl *both-*dl.cl *go-*dl.pst

       '*Then I met him and we both went.*'

      Episode 3: Narrative paragraph

61   Öngk Sim-ĕ   kou-t-ak   sĕ
       *down Sim-*pos *bank-*cl-loc *go*

62   ngenti-ak
       *drop-*comp

Clause

63   apr-ö   koin pip-ö-ök   s-auwaar./
       come.up-pur *grass that*-sg.cl-loc *go*-dl.pst
       'We went down to the bank of the Sim River and crossed and
       went up the grassy area.'

       Episode 4: Narrative paragraph

64   Im
       go

65   o Sërëm-ë   i-it-ak   is
       up Sirim-pos *blood*-cl-loc *go.up*

66   it-aangk-ën
       eye-see-ds

67   Petoro-ore öng-re   ru-ut   Paiaru wir
       Petoro-and wife-and child-cl *Paiaru come.along*

68   es   ye-mer-a.
       fire pres-*burn*-3.pst
       'We went up to Sirim's Blood and saw that Petoro and his wife
       and children had come to Paiaru and were lighting a fire.'

69   Pë-l   ë-ën
       that-way do-ds

70   it-en-ak
       eye-see-comp

71   im
       go

72   ëngk ka-k   së
       along village-loc *go*

73   orö-ak
       emerge-comp

74   wë-ën
       stay-ds

75   wiap kan Karong ing-es-i   këra kaö waal-a   pë-l
       weak road Karong leg-sg.cl-loc *wood end pierce*-3.pst *that-way*
       y-a.
       pres-*say*
       'Then having seen (them) we went on along to the village, and
       when we had arrived (someone) said, "Karong has pierced his
       leg with a stake".'

76   Pë-l   ë-ën
       that-way do-ds

77   pö-r-ek-aan   ten   Asi-en ngon ë-akaim-ën
       that-cl-loc-*from we*.pl *Asi*-io *talk do*-cont-ds

Clause

78   tenip s-auwaar.
        we.dl go-dl.pst

        'Then when they had talked to us there, we went.'

79   Asi pi wet   kaal ë-ak
        Asi he first first do-comp

80   s-a./
        go-3.pst

        'Asi went first.'

Episode 5: Narrative paragraph

81   së
        go

82   it-en-ak
        eye-see-comp

83   wë-ën
        stay-ds

84   ne wiap kan së
        I weak road go

85   it-en-ak
        eye-see-comp

86   rö   kan apr-ö   wais
        night road come.up-pur come

87   o ka-k   wais
        up village-loc come

88   ka   ur-ak
        sleep sleep-comp

89   ëlpam-ök   Sante-et-ak   rö-ök-ëër   ëlëëp
        tomorrow-loc Sunday-cl-loc night-loc-only carefully

        apr-ö   s-aup./
        come.up-pur go-sg.pst

        'He went and saw him, and in the afternoon I came and saw
        him, and came up at night, up to the village, and slept and
        early the next day, on Sunday, I went up quietly.'

Episode 6: Narrative paragraph

90   O Moris-re   Eren-ë   ya   kot-t-ak   is
        up Maurice-and Helen-pos garden small-sg.cl-loc go.up

91   it-aangk-ën
        eye-see-ds

92   piarip-im omn-ant nön   ngep ë-ak
        they.dl-pos thing-cl grass cover do-comp

Clause

93   wë-a.
      stay-3.pst
      'I went up to Maurice and Helen's small garden and saw that
      it was covered with weeds.'

94   Pë-l   ë-ën
      that-way do-ds

95   së
      go

96   it-en   ulmë-ak
      eye-see *put*-comp

97   wais
      come

98   Könwi-in ök më-a-k
      Kunwi-io *say* 3-*say*-comp

99   ni   wë   pö-t   kët-ëk së këa ti   olë-ak   ket
      you.sg *stay* *that-cl* *sun-loc* *go weed* *pull.up* *throw*-comp *make*
      ë   mo-wi-im   pë-l   më-a-k
      do 3-*put-sg.f* *that-way* 3-*say*-comp

100   pö-r-ek   wë-ën
      that-cl-loc *stay*-ds

101   kuup   ya-mëngk.
      conch.shell pres-*blow*
      'Then I went and having seen, came and said to Kunwi, "If you
      are here at midday, pull up the weeds and throw them away,
      and tidy up", and then someone blew the conch shell there.'

102   Pë-l   ë-ën
      that-way do-ds

103   së
      go

104   sant   ka   ka-at-i   ilë-ak
      worship *house* *house-cl-loc* *enter*-comp

105   omn-arö   won om kopët naar.
      person-pl.cl *no* *only* *one* *two.cl*
      'Then I went and entered the Church, but there were only a
      few people.'

106   Pë-l   ë-ën
      that-way do-ds

107   pö-aar-iring   së
      that-dl.cl-with *go*

108   ka   ka-at-i   ilë-ak
      house *house-cl-loc* *enter*-comp

Clause

109   orö-ak
       emerge-comp

110   Asi wiap kan el   wes-ak
       Asi weak road directly make-comp

111   kan wais-ën
       road come-ds

112   ne om kaaö   ya-ë-ën
       I only dislike pres-*do*-ds

113   ka   ur-ak
       sleep sleep-comp

114   ëlpam-ök   wais-aut./
       tomorrow-loc *come*-pst

       'I went to Church with them, and when we came out Asi came
       straight away in the afternoon, but I didn't want to, but
       slept and came the next day.'

Finis: Stative sentence

115   Yok   pi tap-ët.
       right it same-sg.cl

       'Right, that's it.'

N O T E S

1. Weri is a non-Austronesian language of the Goilalan language family
spoken by approximately 4,200 people living in the headwaters of the
Waria River and in the Ono and Biaru valleys of the Wau Subprovince of
the Morobe Province in Papua New Guinea. Material for this paper was
collected under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics
from 1962-1975.

   The phonetic symbols for the orthography used throughout this paper
are as follows: p [p], t [t], k [k], s [s], m [m], n [n], ng [ŋ], l [l],
r [ɣ], w [w], y [y], i [ɪ], ë [ɪ], e [ɛ], a [a], o [o], ö [ʊ], u [u].

   I am indebted to Marshall Lawrence of the Summer Institute of
Linguistics for valuable assistance during analysis, especially for
observations which resulted in section 2, and for helpful editorial
comments.

2. The breakdown of discourse types is described briefly in Helen
Boxwell, forthcoming.

3. The following abbreviations and symbols are used in this paper:

ag	agentive
cl	noun classifier
comp	completed action
conj	conjunction
cont	continuative aspect
dl	dual
ds	different subject
Ep	episode
f	future
im	imminent
Intro	introduction

io	indirect object
loc	locative
n	may occur any number of times
Narr	narrative
NarrD	narrative discourse
neg	negative
NP	noun phrase
Nuc	nucleus
Par	paragraph
pl	plural
pos	possessive
pres	present
pst	past
pur	purposive
sg	singular
ss	same subject
StatS	stative sentence
1	first person
3	third person
+	obligatory
±	optional
–	morpheme break
.	partmanteau morpheme (in literal translation)
.	sentence boundary in vernacular
/	paragraph boundary in vernacular

4. Background information is described in Joseph E. Grimes, 1971.

5. Many highland languages of Papua New Guinea manifest difference of morphology between verbs which occur sentence medially and those which occur sentence finally. In Weri, medial verbs have a minimum of affixation with the presence or absence of a morpheme signalling different subject in the following clause being its most significant feature. Final verbs carry person-number-tense affixation with the tense applying to all verbs of the sentence.

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