

## CHAPTER 4

### PARTICIPANT REFERENCE

#### 4.0 Introduction

Participant reference tracks the participants, or actors, and props throughout a story and seeks to find patterns of address or reference to those participants. According to Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:111), there are two reasons to study participant reference: (1) because the audience needs to understand who is doing what, and (2) because a producer needs to be able to make that same information clear. A fuller description of Dooley and Levinsohn's assumptions and methods follows.

There are three systems of reference: semantic, discourse-pragmatic and processing. Semantic reference determines the amount of coding to be used in referring to a participant, thus identifying the participants unambiguously to distinguish the participants from other possible ones. Discourse-pragmatic reference "signal[s] the activation status and prominence of the referents or the actions they perform" (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:112). If a participant has high activation, less coding is needed. Thus activation is often shown with a full noun phrase. Maintaining active status needs only minimal coding, such as pronouns or agreement. Deactivation usually has no formal means. Increasing activation of a reference causes disruptions in the flow of information, often requiring more coding.

Two strategies may be used in a language: sequential and VIP. The sequential strategy normally looks to the most previously mentioned reference or to the referent of the main clause subject. In the VIP strategy "one referent is distinguished from the rest when introduced, and a special set of terms refer to it no matter how many other things have been mentioned more recently" (Grimes 1978:viii in Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:119).

Primarily the Lahu Si texts use subject-oriented sequential strategies where the participant reference looks back to the previously mentioned participant in the subject

position. Lahu Si does not strictly use a VIP strategy but it does use some features similar to a VIP strategy. “The Story of the Cat and Dog” seems to play with the idea developed in the VIP strategy that the main participants of the story are activated throughout the text once they are introduced (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:119). Therefore, the main participants need less coded material throughout the text, whereas, the minor participants will use more coded material. This can be seen in the discussion about “The Story of the Cat and Dog” in 4.1.

Also the major, important participants in each of the texts are introduced in a presentational sentence. According to Dooley and Levinsohn, often this presentational sentence contains a verb of existence. In Lahu Si the presentational sentence contains the verb *cawg* ‘have’ or ‘is’. This sets those participants apart as important throughout the rest of the text. “Thus, an entire proposition is used to activate the entity and establish its special status: participants thus introduced usually figure prominently in what is to follow” (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:120).

The methodology which has been applied to the Lahu Si text for analyzing reference patterns was developed by Dooley and Levinsohn. They utilize eight steps: (1) draw up an inventory of ways of encoding reference to participants, (2) prepare a chart of participant encoding in the text, (3) track the participants, (4) identify the context in which each reference to a participant occurs, (5) propose default encoding for each context, (6) inspect the text for other than default encoding, (7) incorporate any modifications needed based on non-default encoding and (8) generalize the motivations for deviances from the default encoding (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:127-134).

The first step in the analysis of the Lahu Si texts is to determine the resources for participant reference found in Lahu Si, the ranking of participants, and the operations that are filled. Resources to reference participants can be hierarchically ranked. The resources for participant reference are the grammatical category which is represented in the lexical form of the reference, such as noun phrase, pronoun and null reference. The resources are hierarchically ranked by the amount of encoding each grammatical

category receives. For example a noun phrase has more encoding so it is a more highly ranked resource than a null reference which has no encoding.

Ranking of participants categorizes the participants of the story into groups, such as major participants, minor participants and props. These also are hierarchically ranked by importance; thus the major participants are higher in ranking while the props have lower ranking. Since all of the texts have more than one main participant, Givón's notion of topic/participants is applied to determine which participant is the most important. Givón proposes that

... within the thematic paragraph it is most common for one topic to be the continuity marker, the leitmotif, so that it is the participant most crucially involved in the action sequence running through the paragraph; it is the participant most closely associated with the higher-level 'theme' of the paragraph; and finally, it is the participant most likely to be coded as the primary topic – or grammatical subject – of the vast majority of sequentially ordered clauses/sentences comprising the thematic paragraph. It is thus, obviously, the most continuous of all the topics mentioned in the various clauses in the paragraph (Givón 1983:8).

Givón ranks participants by measuring the referential distance and the persistence of the participants. Referential distance measures "the gap between the previous occurrence in the discourse of a referent/topic and its current occurrence in a clause, where it is marked by a particular grammatical coding device" (Givón 1983:13). The averages of these measurements results in the referential distance for the participant.

The measurement of referential distance mentioned so far can be used to determine the participant who is mostly continuous, i.e., the one who has the least absence, as the most important participant in a discourse. In terms of [referential distance] the participant who receives the least amount of [referential distance] is considered to be the main participant in a discourse (Somsonge 1991:126).

The persistence of a participant is another measurement of topic continuity.

We measure persistence in terms of number of clauses to the right – i.e. in subsequent discourse from the measured clause – in which the topic/participant continues an uninterrupted presence as a semantic argument of the clause, an argument of whatever role and marked by whatever grammatical means. The minimal value that can be assigned is thus zero, signifying an argument that decays immediately, i.e. of the lowest persistence. There is no maximal value assigned by definition in this case (Givón 1983:15).

The participant that has the highest persistence value is ranked as the most important participant

The second step in the analysis is to identify the context of each reference of the participants in the text. Dooley and Levinsohn suggest five contexts in which participant's references occur. The first of these is the introduction (INTRO) of the participant when the participant has not yet entered the story. The second operation or context of participant reference is when the participant has been out of the story for a while, or off stage, and then reappears and is reintroduced to the reader. Dooley and Levinsohn label this context as S4. Another context of participant reference is when the participant is continuously referenced throughout a section. Here the participant is mentioned as the subject of the previous clause. This is the S1 context or tracking of a participant. The next operation is the S2 context, which is where the subject of the current clause was the addressee of a speech act in the previous clause. The final context of participant reference, S3, covers all other changes in subject that is not covered by the previous contexts.

The labels S1-4 identify the context for activated subjects within the text. Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:131) also identify the context for non-subjects in the text. For non-subjects Dooley and Levinsohn postulate four contexts. The first context is when the non-subject of the current sentence was the non-subject of the previous sentence. This is referred to as the N1 context. N2 is when the addressee of a speech act in the present sentence was the speaker of a speech act in the previous sentence. The next context, N3, is when the non-subjects of the current sentence “was involved in the previous sentence in a different role than that covered by N2” (Dooley and Levinsohn

2001:131). The final non-subject context is N4. The N4 context is all other non-subject context that are not covered by the previous contexts.

The operations of participant referencing within the Lahu Si texts and their default markers (with percentages) are given below. These averages are gathered from all four Lahu Si texts: “The Story of the Cat and the Dog,” “The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth” text, “The Story of the Monkey and the Turtle” and “The Monkey Chops the Branch” text.

The operations and percentages can be seen as:

1. INTRO: The introduction into the story has the default marker noun phrase (95%). Null marker is also used (5%) but only in relation to dual introductions.
2. S4: The reintroduction if the participant who has been off stage has the default marker noun phrase (84%). Pronoun references (12%) and null references (4%) are used exclusively for dual references.
3. S1: The tracking of participants through the text has the default marker null reference without qualifiers (48%). Also noun phrase (30%) and pronoun phrase (21%) are used for tracking in the texts.
4. S2: The addressee of the previous speech act has the default marker noun phrase (94%). Other addressee references include the null reference (5%).
5. S3: When a reference is involved in the previous sentence as non-subject the default marker is a noun phrase (60%). A null reference (40%) is also used in the S3 context.

#### **4.1 The Story of the Cat and Dog**

The following resources for participant reference in “The Story of the Cat and Dog” were found along with the ranking of participants. Both resources and ranking of participants can be hierarchically arranged.

The participant reference resources found with this text are:

1. noun phrase
2. pronoun phrase
3. null reference

Figure 3: Participant reference resources in “The Story of the Cat and Dog.”

The ranking of participants within this text are:

1. major participants: primary participant: Cat secondary participant: Dog
2. minor participants: Husband, Wife, Large fish, Otter, Crow, King crow, King, Assistant, Soldier
3. props: amulet

Figure 4: Ranking of participants in “The Story of the Cat and Dog.”

The major participants can be distinguished as primary and secondary participants based on Givón’s notion of topic/participants. In the text the Cat has a referential distance of 2.03 and a persistence value of 12, whereas the Dog has a referential distance of 2.92 and a persistence value of 7. Through Givón’s analysis the Cat stands out as the most important participant in the text because it’s referential distance is lower and the persistence value is higher than the Dog.

#### 4.1.1 Major Participants

The major participants are the Cat and the Dog. Unlike most Lahu Si texts, these participants are not introduced into the story until the first episode. This section contains a presentational sentence in which the Cat and the Dog are introduced.

In this text the presentational sentence is emphasizing both the Cat and the Dog as major participants and central to the entire story. In the text the presentational sentence is seen below in (1).

## (1) C&amp;D 015

Awg phad	mawd	awg mid	ma	ix mag	geh	chaw	khuhd	sir	vix	jad
husband		wife		3Dual	with	person	language	understand	good	very
n		n		pro	PREP	n	n	v	v	adv
che	Na mix	khawehr	he lehq	Phid	niq	kkeh	<b>cawg</b>	che	yaog.	
CHE	cat		and	dog	two	animal	<b>have</b>	CHE	DECL	
Pu	n		conj	n	num	clf	v	Pu	Pf	

**There was** a dog and a cat that were as clever as people with the husband and wife.

Interestingly, the amulet is also introduced in a presentational sentence in the same way as the Cat and the Dog. This shows the importance and central role the amulet plays throughout the entire text. This can be seen in example (2).

## (2) C&amp;D 003

Ix mag	geh	daq	jad	che	Sehx	sir	teq	sir	<b>cawg</b>	che	yaog.
3rd Dual	with	good	very	CHE	amulet	one	round	<b>have</b>	DECL		
pro	PREP	adj	adv	Pu	n	num	clf	v	Pu	Pf	

**There was** a very good amulet with those two.

The presentational sentence of the Cat and the Dog mentioned above in example (1) is followed by (3) in the text. This is the first time the Cat and the Dog occur in the subject position and is coded with a dual reference pronoun.

## (3) C&amp;D 017

<b>Ix mag</b>	tuhz	kae	lehq	med	pad	lo	gag	vehr	che	yaog.
<b>3Dual</b>	leave	go	CONJ	city	near	LOC	place	arrive	COMPLETE	CHE DECL
<b>pro</b>	v	v	Pnf	n	adj	Pn	v	Vv	Pu	Pf

**The two** left and arrived near the city.

The examples above are the introduction of both the Cat and the Dog together. When the Cat and the Dog are referenced separately<sup>18</sup> in the story, they are coded with a noun phrase, the default for introduction.

<sup>18</sup> When participants are referenced together, i.e. dual reference pronoun, the simultaneous references follow the default rules for a participant. This is also true when the same participants are referred to individually. Thus for the present analysis the dual references and the individual references are analyzed separately in each of the texts.

## (4) C&amp;D 018

Kheh	te lehq	<b>Na mix khawehr</b>	Phid	haq	koz	vid	che	"Nawg	vawr	chuh	huh
And so	therefore	<b>cat</b>	dog	OM	speak	to	CHE	2per	FOC	here	
CONJ		<b>n</b>	n	Pn	v	Pv	Pu	pro	prt	n	

chehd lawz.  
 dwell +pleasant  
 v Pf

Then **the cat** said to the dog, "You stay here please.

The default S1 context for tracking major participants throughout the story is null reference. Here the Cat is reintroduced into the text by a noun phrase (shown in italics in the example below), and following that reintroduction he is referred to with a null reference (shown in bold).

## (5) C&amp;D 026

Kheh	te lehq	<i>Na mix khawehr</i>	ta	kor	haq	cheq	pawr	gha	vehr
And so	therefore	<i>cat</i>	trunk	OM	bite	make	hole	able to	COMPLETE
CONJ		<i>n</i>	n	Pn	v	v	v	Vv	

lehq      Sehx sir    haq    mawg    che    yaog.  
 CONJ    **Ø**    amulet    OM    see    CHE    DECL  
 Pnf      n            Pn    v        Pu    Pf

And so, the cat was able to bite a hole into the trunk and **[he]** saw the amulet.

There are three exceptions to the default S1 context in the story. All of these instances have more coding material. The first instance occurs in S#017 where the Cat and the Dog are tracked together with a dual pronoun. In this case, when the participants who are being tracked are plural, such as the Cat and the Dog, it might be that the smallest coded reference to include both participants is the dual pronoun *ix mag*. In this text the dual reference *ix mag* is a special reference primarily used for the main participants together once they are introduced.<sup>19</sup> This occurs in reference to the Cat and the Dog 7 times in the text.

The second exception to the tracking pattern occurs in S#021. In this sentence the Cat is tracked from the previous sentence, i.e. S1, yet it is still referred to with a pronoun. Perhaps a pronoun is used because it is the only reference in this particular sequence

<sup>19</sup> The dual pronoun *ix mag* occurs once in the Stage to refer to the husband and wife. At this point in the story the Cat and the Dog are not yet introduced and the husband and wife are the local main participants.



of tracking the Cat where there is an animate object, the guards, juxtaposed; thus it would be necessary to state the subject in order to prevent confusion.

The final instance of a tracking exception in the text is again where the Cat and Dog are referred to with a pronoun reference, found in S#034. In this case, the object of the sentence, the otter king, is fronted, thus creating an OSV sentence pattern. Because of this object fronting, it might be necessary to state the subject, instead of keeping it a null reference.

When a major participant is the addressee of a previous speech act, i.e. the S2 context, the default is referenced by a noun phrase. This can be seen in example (6) where the Dog asks the Cat something and the Cat replies. The Cat is referred to by name.

(6) C&D 052

Khaz	jad	lo	gaeg	lehq	Phid	kawq	koz	che	
village	edgeof	LOC	place	arrive	CONJ	dog	again	speak	CHE "...
n	n	Pn	v	Pnf	n	v	v	Pu	

[They] arrived at the edge of the village and **the dog** again said, "...

C&D 053

lehd	koz	vid	che	yaog.
"	thus	speak	to	CHE DECL
...	disc	v	Pv	Pu Pf

..." thus [the dog] said to [the cat].

C&D 054

Na mix	khawehr	kawq	koz	che	lehd	koz	vid	che	yaog.
cat		again	speak	CHE "..."	thus	speak	to	CHE DECL	
n		v	v	Pu	disc	v	Pv	Pu	Pf

**The cat** spoke again, "... " thus [the cat] said to [the dog].

When the participant is the non-subject of the previous sentence, i.e. the S3 context, the participant is referred to with a noun phrase as default. However within this text there is only one occurrence of a main participant in the S3 context. Here the Cat allows the Dog to hold the amulet, and in the next sentence the Dog is referred to with a noun phrase.

## (7) C&amp;D 030

Kheh te lehq	Na mix	khawehr	<b>Phid haq</b>	ke	mehg	cuh	vid che
And so therefore	cat		<b>dog OM</b>	place	holdin mouth	cause to	to CHE
CONJ	n		<b>n Pn</b>	v	v	Pv	Pv Pu

yaog.  
DECL  
Pf

So the cat had **the dog** to hold [it] in its mouth.

## C&amp;D 031

<b>Phid u ve</b>	Sehx sir	haq	ke	mehg	lehq	kae tod	che	teq theh	gaeg
<b>dog that</b>	amulet	OM	place	holdin_mouth	CONJ	go walk	CHE	short distance	arrive
<b>n det</b>	n	Pn	v	v	Pnf	v v	Pu	adj	v

lehq	cog	ted	mag	haq	mawg	lehq	cog	u ve	thag	lo	chaw
CONJ	bridge	one	piece	OM	see	CONJ	bridge	that	top	LOC	place walk_on_top_of
Pnf	n	num	clf	Pn	v	Pnf	n	det	adj	Pn	v

kae che yaog.  
go CHE DECL  
v Pu Pf

**The dog** held the amulet in its mouth and arrived a short distance walking and [he] saw a bridge and [he] walked on top of that bridge.

When a participant has been off stage and has been brought back on stage, the S4 context, they are normally encoded with a noun phrase. In the previous sentences the focus was on the Otters and when the focus shifts back to the Cat in example (8) it is referred to with a noun phrase.

## (8) C&amp;D 037

<b>Na mix khawehr</b>	<b>u ve</b>	Sehx sir	haq	ke	mehg	ve	lehq	kawq
<b>cat</b>	<b>that</b>	amulet	OM	place	holdin_mouth	motion	CONJ	return
<b>n</b>	<b>det</b>	n	Pn	v	v	Pv	Pnf	v

veh che yaog.  
continuing CHE DECL  
Vv Pu Pf

**That cat** placed the amulet in it's mouth and returned.

There are quite a few exceptions to this pattern in this story. When the Cat or the Dog have not been mentioned and are reintroduced individually into the story a noun phrase is used. This occurs in S#026, 037, 038, 041, 045, 047, 048 and 058. However, where both the Cat and the Dog as a pair are reintroduced into the story, or the S4, the coding is diminished. Here, either, a pronoun phrase (S#029, 033, 041,

043 and 047) or a null reference (S#055 and 058) is used. An example of each, the use of a pronoun phrase in (9) and a null reference in (10), can be seen below.

(9) C&D 033

Te pawz lehr **ix mag** ca duhd ma tuhz lehq  
 one time[event] after **3Dual** go and think NEG out CONJ ...  
 num adv Puf **pro** v v adv v Pnf

After that, **those two** couldn't think and ...

(10) C&D 055

Ghoq chi pad lo gaeg lehq  
 stairs near LOC place  $\emptyset$  arrive CONJ ...  
 n adj Pn v Pnf

{**They**} arrived near the stairs and ...

According to Dooley and Levinsohn major participants are activated or are playing a leading role throughout a larger section of the text. Once the major participants are activated, they can “have a different overall pattern of reference and a different way of being introduced” (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:119), such as having less coding because they are already in focus or activated. On the other hand the minor participants need more coding because they are only activated in the readers memory for a very short time. Minor participants will be discussed in the following section.

#### 4.1.2 Minor Participants

The minor participants in the text include the husband, the wife, the king, the assistant, the soldiers, the large fish, the otter, the crow and the king crow. The husband, the wife, the king, the assistant and the soldiers occur in the setting and episode 1. The husband and wife are in the opening sentence of episode 2 only as a means of introducing the main participants. The soldiers have a cameo appearance in the middle of episode 2. Episode 3 features the fish and the otter, and episode 4 features the crow and the king crow.

Minor participants are introduced and reintroduced (the S4 context) into the text with a noun phrase, the default. For minor participants they are introduced and reintroduced in the same way, with a noun phrase. Other examples are found in S#002, 004, 006, 007, 012, 013, 014, 015, 032, 042, 044 and 046. Example (11) demonstrates the introduction of the fish into the story.

(11) C&amp;D 032

ngad	lux	maz	teq	kheh	lehd	dawg	ve	vehr	che
fish	large	much	one	animal	immediately	swallow	motion	COMPLETE	CHE
n	adj	adj	num	clf	Pv	v	Pv	Vv	Pu

yaog.  
DECL  
Pf

... one very large fish swallowed [it].

In general, in the S1 context the minor participants are also tracked throughout the story with null reference as in example (12).

(12) C&amp;D 035

Kheh	te	lehq	Ghig	phid	u	ve	yawd	ved	awg	yad	teq	pa	haq	kug	phawg	lehq
And	so	therefore	otter	that	3S	genitive	offspring	group	OM	call	gather	CONJ				
CONJ			n	det	pro	Pn	n	n	Pn	v	v					Pnf

	ngad	lux	u	ve	haq	ghaq	yug	cuh	che	yaog.
Ø	fish	large	that	OM	follow	grab	cause	CHE	DECL	
	n	adj	det	Pn	v	v	v	Pu	Pf	

And so, the otter king called together his children and [he] caused [them] to follow [and] grab that large fish.

There are six exceptions to this in the text. The first is the king tracked with a pronoun phrase in S#005. The second exception S#009 and third and fourth exceptions, both occurring in S#025, are tracked with a noun phrase. In the second occurrence the assistant is tracked with a noun phrase. The third and fourth occurrences are the soldiers tracked with an adjective acting as a substantive reference<sup>20</sup>. Example (13) demonstrates this later situation.

(13) C&amp;D 025

Ted	pehg	pehag	koz	che	lehd	koz	daq	che	yaog.		
some	of	some	-DIMIN	speak	CHE	"..."	thus	speak	reciprocal	CHE	DECL
n		n	-prt	v	Pu	disc	v	Pv		Pu	Pf

Some others said, "..." thus [they] were saying to each other.

The later two exceptions, of the soldiers tracked with an adjective acting as a substantive reference in S#025 might occur because the minor participants need more coded material than default. For instance in this case instead of tracking (S1) the

<sup>20</sup> "The Story of the Cat and the Dog" is the only text in which an adjective acts as a substantive reference in this corpus. In this instance the king's guards are referred to twice as 'some of' or 'a group of' with no noun or pronoun to accompany. The king's guards are also the only participants in the text which have this type of reference. Because there are only two occurrences within one of the texts there is not enough data to explain why this occurs.

participant with the default null reference a more coded reference is used, such as a pronoun. The main participants are prominent and thus activated throughout the entirety of the text. Therefore they need less coding because they are already activated. However minor participants are not prominent and thus not activated throughout the text so when they are referenced more coding is necessary.

The last two exceptions in the text both are the dual pronoun phrase used for tracking the husband and wife in S#003 and 016. In the embedded narrative in the Stage, the husband and wife serve as the main participants and thus are the focus of the embedded narrative. Using the dual pronoun might also be the least coded material available to track both the husband and wife in S#003 and 016.

When minor participants are the addressee of the previous speech act, or the S2 context, they are referred to with a noun phrase as default. However in this text this pattern only occurs once. The king crow is the addressee of the cat's speech, which occurs in the previous sentence found in example (14). The king crow is referred to with a noun phrase in example (15).

(14) C&D 045

Kheh	te	lehq	Na	mix	khawehr	u	ve	a	yax	yax	jaz	kae	lehq	Naz	kag	jawd	mawd
And	so	therefore	cat			that	slowly	sneak	go	CONJ	crow	king					
CONJ			n			det	adv	v	v	Pnf	n	n					
u	ve	haq	pawz	yug	kix	lar	lehq	koz	che	lehd	koz	vid	che				
that	OM	jump	grab	put	in	leave	set	CONJ	speak	CHE	"..."	thus	speak	to	Ø	CHE	
det	Pn	v	v	v	v	Pnf	v	Pu		disc	v	Pv	Pu				

yaog.  
DECL  
Pf

And so that cat slowly sneaked and jumped [and] grabbed the king of the crows and said, "... " thus [he] said to **[the king of the crows]**.

(15) C&amp;D 046

Kheh te lehq Naz kag jawd mawd liz suhz cehg thag lo nad chehd  
 And so therefore crow king FOC tree top LOC place roost CONT.  
 CONJ n n disc n adj Pn v Vv

che Naz kag haq tawd yaw vid lehq Naz kag u ve liz Seh x sir u ve haq kawq  
 CHE crow OM to talk to CONJ crow that FOC amulet that OM again  
 Pu n Pn v Pv Pnf n det disc n det Pn v

yug khuhq vea che yaog.  
 bring to to return motion -toward CHE DECL  
 v v Pv -prt Pu Pf

So the king of the crows talked to the crow roosting on top of the tree and that crow again brought [and] returned the amulet.

Minor participants, in “The Story of the Cat and the Dog,” do not occur as the non-subject of the previous sentence, i.e. the S3 context. Therefore there are no examples of the S3 context in the text.

#### 4.2 The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth

This section describes the participant reference resources found in “The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth” as well as the ranking of participants. Both resources and ranking of participants can be hierarchically ranked.

The participant reference resources found with this text are:

1. noun phrase
2. null reference

Figure 5: Participant reference resources in “The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth.”

The ranking of participants within this text are:

1. major participants: primary participant: Son secondary participant: Father tertiary participant: Headman
2. props: water buffalos

Figure 6: Ranking of participants in “The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth.”

In “The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth” there are three participants that are all central to the story. However, after applying Givón’s notion of topic/participants, it is apparent that the Son is the most important participant because his referential distance is lower than all the other participants at 2.6 and his persistence value is higher than the other participants at 3. The father is the secondary participant because his referential distance is 2.8 and his persistence value is 2. The headman is the least important participant in the text as his referential distance is 3.28 and his persistence value is 1.

#### 4.2.1 Major Participants

The major participants are the Father, the Son and the Headman. The text opens with the Father and Son as a noun phrase in a presentational sentence.

(16) MWBGB 003

A	mig	thad	lo	awr pa	awg yad	par	nehax	ted	yehg ka	<b>cawg</b>	che
long ago	TEMP	LOC	time	father	offspring	male	small	one	family	<b>have</b>	CHE
adv:tm	Pu	Pn		n	n	adj	adj	num	n	v	Pu

yaog.  
DECL  
Pf

Long ago, **there was** a family (consisting of) a father and his young son.

The Headman is also introduced with the stative verb *cawg*. However, in this sentence an object also occurs which changes the verb *cawg* from ‘is’ to ‘have’. This can be seen in sentence #006.

(17) MWBGB 005

Awr pa	vawr	nud kar	awg ma	teq	kheh	hu lar	lehq	khaz	kehx	var	vawr
father	FOC	water buffalo	female	one	animal	take care	CONJ	headman			FOC
n	prt	n	n	num	clf	v	Pnf	n			prt

nud kar	par	teq	kheh	<b>cawg</b>	che	yaog.
water buffalo	male	one	animal	<b>have</b>	CHE	DECL
n	adj	num	clf	v	Pu	Pf

The father took care of the female water buffalo, and the village headman **had** a male water buffalo.

A presentational sentence is used to emphasize a particular participant (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:120). In this text the presentational sentence is emphasizing the father and the son as more important characters. At the same time, the headman is

also introduced with the same stative verb *cawg*. Therefore he is maintained as a major participant. But it can be noted that his importance is less than the other two major participants.

The example above (16) is the introduction of both the Father and the Son together. When the Father and the Son are introduced separately in the story, they both are coded with the default noun phrase.

(18) MWBGB 004

Kheh te lehq	<b>awr pa</b>	koz	che	"Yad	paor	mend	khuhn	lo			
And so therefore	<b>father</b>	speak	that	offspring	male	-oh	city	in	LOC place		
CONJ	<b>n</b>	<b>v</b>	REL	n	n	-voc	n	Pn	Pn		
cud yiq	ca	hend	lor	mehr."	Awr pa	koz	vid	che	heh	<b>yad</b>	<b>par</b>
wisdom	go and	study	EMPH	POLITE	father	speak	to	CHE	while	<b>offspring</b>	<b>male</b>
n	v	v	disc	Pf	n	v	Pv	Pu	Pnf	<b>n</b>	<b>adj</b>
<b>nehax</b>	liz	liq	ca	hend	veh	che	yaog.				
<b>small</b>	FOC	book	go and	study	continuing	CHE	DECL				
<b>adj</b>	disc	n	v	v	Vv	Pu	Pf				

And so, while **the father** said, "Son, go [and] study wisdom in the city," thus the father spoke, **the son** went to study books.

The S1 context for major participants, tracking throughout the story, is null reference. In (18) the Father is introduced initially by a noun phrase; however, following that introduction he is referred to with a null reference as expected.

(19) MWBGB 010

Te	pawz	lehr	awr pa	u ve	ca	duhd	ma	tuhz	vehr	lehq
one	time[event]	after	father	that	go and	think	NEG	out	COMPLETE	CONJ
num	adv	Puf	n	det	v	v	adv	v	Vv	Pnf
awg yad	par	haq	sanr	kuhq	che	yaog.				
offspring	male	OM	order	to return	CHE	DECL				
n	adj	Pn	v	v	Pu	Pf				

After that, the father did not know what to think and, **[he]** ordered his son to return.

The one exception to the tracking (S1) default in the text, which has more coding material, is found in example (18). This marked form occurs in sentence S#004 where the father is tracked with a noun *awr pa* 'father' in the quote formula. Quote formulas<sup>21</sup> in Lahu Si contain an opening quote formula, followed by the quote and a

<sup>21</sup> Quote formulas have been a problem in analyzing participant reference in Lahu Si. It remains to be answered which part of the quote formula should hold the main weight in participant reference analysis. The opening quote formula holds the new information while the final quote formula contains the non-final particles. In the



then final quote formula repeating very much the same information in the opening quote formula. This instance is found in the final quote formula. There is no clear indication of why this occurs in the text.

When a major participant is the addressee of a previous speech act, the S2 context, by default they are referred to by a noun phrase. In this text all the occurrences of the S2 context use a noun phrase. In example (20) the Son addresses the Headman, and following this the Headman is coded with a noun phrase. Then, in example (21), the Headman replies to the Son, and the Son's response is referenced with a noun phrase.

(20) MWBGB 016

Yad par u ve koz che  
 offspring male that speak CHE "..."  
 n adj det v Pu

That son said, "..."

MWBGB 017

**Khaz kehx var** ded lehq koz che  
**headman** scold CONJ speak CHE "..."  
 n v Pnf v Pu

**The headman** scolded [him] and said, "..."

MWBGB 018

Te pawz lehr yad pa nehax u ve koz che  
 one time[event] after son small that speak CHE "..."  
 num adv Puf n adj det v Pu

After a moment, **that young man** said, "..."

When the participant is the non-subject of the previous sentence, the S3 context, the participant is referred to with a noun phrase as default. However within this text there is only one occurrence of a main participant in the S3 context, which does not conform to the S3 default. In example (21) the Father sends his son to study and in the next sentence the son, referred to with a null reference, uses the wisdom he acquired to get the buffalo back.

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present analysis both the opening quote formula and the final quote formula are included individually in the analysis of participant reference.

## (21) MWBGB 021

Khawehd	te	le	ghod	ver	awg	yad	par	haq	cud	yi	ca	hend	cuh		
how			because	since	offspring	male	OM	wisdom	go	and	study	cause	to		
INT			Pnf		n	adj	Pn	n	v	v	v	Pv			
lar	che	heh			cud	yi	haq	yehd	lehq		nud	kar	yad	u	ve
leave	set	CHE	while	Ø	wisdom	OM	use	CONJ	Ø	water	buffalo	offspring	that		
v		Pu	Pnf		n	Pn	v	Pnf		n	n	n	det		
khuhq	gha	che	yaog	ced.											
to	return	able	to	CHE	DECL	REPORTED									
v		v		Pu	Pf	disc									

Because as the son was sent to go [and] study wisdom, [he] used that wisdom and [he] was able to get the water buffalo calf returned.

When a participant has been off stage and is brought back on stage, the S4 context, the default encoding is a noun phrase. In the previous sentence, S#008, the water buffalo took center stage. When the Headman is reintroduced he is coded with a noun phrase as seen in example (22).

## (22) MWBGB 008

Kheh	te	lehq			khaz	kehx	var	che	kheh	koz	che	yaog	ced		"Nud	kar
And	so	therefore			headman			like	this	speak	CHE	DECL	REPORTED		water	buffalo
CONJ					n			det	v	Pu	Pf	disc		n		
yad	u	ve	awg	par	law			ngag	ved	yad	yaog.					
offspring	that	male	experiential	IS	genitive	offspring	DECL									
n	det	n	Pnf		pro	Pn	n	Pf								

Then, **the headman** reportedly spoke like this, "That male water buffalo calf is the offspring of mine (water buffalo)."

## 4.2.2 Minor Participants

In "The Male Water Buffalo Gives Birth" there are no minor participants.

## 4.3 The Story of the Monkey and the Turtle

The following section outlines the resources for participant reference and the ranking of participants found in "The Story of the Monkey and the Turtle." Both resources and ranking of participants can be hierarchically ranked.

The participant reference resources found with this text are:

1. noun phrase
2. pronoun
3. null reference

Figure 7: Participant reference resources in “The Story of the Monkey and the Turtle.”

The ranking of participants within this text are:

1. major participants: primary participant: Monkey secondary participant: Turtle
2. props: tree

Figure 8: Ranking of participants in “The Story of the Monkey and the Turtle.”

The Monkey’s referential distance throughout the text is 1.82 and his persistence value is 5. This places the Monkey as the most important participant throughout the text, because his referential distance is lower and his persistence value is higher than that of the Turtle. The Turtle’s referential distance was 2.06 and his persistence value is 3.

### 4.3.1 Major Participants

The major participants are the Monkey and the Turtle. The text opens with both of these participants in a presentational sentence.

(23) M&T 003  
 A sawehd lo pawd pehg he lehq mawq niq kheh **cawg** che yaog.  
 n Pn n conj n num clf v Pu Pf  
 long ago LOC time turtle and monkey two animal **have** CHE DECL  
 Long ago **there was** a turtle and a monkey.

The presentational sentence introduces both the Monkey and the Turtle as major participants and central to the entire story.

The example above is the introduction of both the Monkey and the Turtle together. When the Monkey and the Turtle are reintroduced separately in the story, they are coded with the default noun phrase.

(24) M&amp;T 004

<b>Pawd pehg</b>	u ve sawx	gha lia	ver	pehg puhg	huh	tuhaz
<b>n</b>	det n	adj	Pnf	n	Pn	v
<b>turtle</b>	that morning	every	CONDITION	edge of moving water	LOC place	surface
lehq	muhd cha	lehq	chehd che	yaog.		
Pnf	Ø n	v	v	Pu Pf		
CONJ	sunshine	shine	dwel	CHE DECL		

Every morning **the turtle** comes to the edge of the river and surfaces to be in the sun.

The S1 context for major participants, tracking throughout the story, is null reference. In example (25) the Monkey is introduced initially, and following that introduction he is referred to with a null reference.

(25) M&amp;T 005

Mawq	liz	sawx	gha lia	cix sir	cad buhz	vehr	ver	lawg kax
n	disc n		adj n	v v	Vv	Pnf	Ø n	
monkey	FOC	morning	every	fruit	eat full	COMPLETE	CONDITION	river
lo	a kaz	ca	daweg	che	yaog.			
Pn	n	v	v	Pu Pf				
LOC place	water	go_and	drink	CHE DECL				

If the monkey each morning eats his full of fruit, **[he]** goes and drinks water at the river.

There are six exceptions to the tracking default in the text all of which have more coding material. Four of these exceptions use a noun phrase (S#010, 016, 018, 026). All of these occur in the opening quote formula or the reference following the final quote formula. This could explain the extra coding added to the reference. The remaining two exceptions occur as a pronoun (S#021, 026).

When a major participant is the addressee of a previous speech act, the S2 context, the default is a noun phrase. This can be seen in (26) where the Turtle makes a proposal to the Monkey and the Monkey replies. The Monkey is referred to by a noun phrase.

## (26) M&amp;T 017

U kheh te peg lehq pawd pehg koz che "Mawq -o pawd cehg che  
 det v v Pnf n v REL n -prt n n REL  
 like that do finish CONJ turtle speak that monkey -polite banana plant that

ve haq kha lehq teq geha pehg cad -ag veg" lehd koz vid  
 Pn Pn v Pnf adj n v -Pv Pf disc v Pv  
 genitive OM plant CONJ together some eat -PURPOSE INVIT thus speak to

a mehx **mawq** kawq koz che "Ix u kheh taq te pehg daq  
 adv n v v REL interjection det adv v v Pv  
 when **monkey** return speak that NEGATIVE like that don't! do divid reciprocal

lehq a sug yawd ved te kha cad -ad veg" lehd koz che yaog.  
 Pnf pro v v v -Pv Pf disc v Pu Pf  
 CONJ his/her own do plant eat -particle INVIT thus speak CHE DECL

After that the turtle said, "Monkey, let's plant our banana tree and eat it together", thus he said.  
**The monkey** replied saying, "[I] will not. Let's divide it and each of us plant and eat our own,"  
 thus he said.

There are two exceptions to the S2 context in the text where a null reference is used. Here there is less coding as in replying to the Turtle the Monkey is referred to with a null reference. This context of participant reference occurs within the peak and could be caused by tension. An example of this exception of the S2 context can be seen below in (27).

## (27) M&amp;T 026

Kheh te lehq pawd pehg mawq haq koz vid che lehd koz vid a mehx  
 CONJ n n Pn v Pv REL "..." disc v Pv Pnf  
 And so therefore turtle monkey OM speak to that "..." thus speak to when

taez lehq awg kawz lo mi lar lehq yawad lehax cad vehr  
 Ø v Pnf n Pn v v Pnf n v Vv  
 go up CONJ produce LOC place sit leave set CONJ himself eat COMPLETE

che yaog.  
 Pu Pf  
 CHE DECL

So then when the turtle said to the monkey, "..." **[the monkey]** got the banana's and ate them himself.

When the participant is the non-subject of the previous sentence, the S3 context, the default reference for the participant is a noun phrase. An example of the S3 context follows. In the opening sentence S#016 of example (28) the monkey helps the turtle, and in S#017 the turtle speaks being referred to with the default noun phrase.

## (28) M&amp;T 016

lehq mawq liz ga yug tuhz vid che yaog.  
 Pnf n disc v v v Pv Pu Pf  
 CONJ monkey FOC help take to out to CHE DECL

... and the monkey helped take it out.

## M&amp;T 017

U kheh te peg lehq pawd pehg koz che "Mawq -o pawd cehg che  
 det v v Pnf n v REL n -prt n n REL  
 like that do finish CONJ turtle speak that monkey -polite banana plant that

ve haq kha lehq teq geha pehg cad -ag veg" lehd koz vid  
 Pn Pn v Pnf adj n v -Pv Pf disc v Pv  
 genitive OM plant CONJ together some eat -PURPOSE INVIT thus speak to

a meh x mawq kawq koz che "Ix u kheh taq te pehg daq  
 adv n v v REL interjection det adv v v Pv  
 when monkey return speak that NEGATIVE like that don't! do divid reciprocal

lehq a sug yawd ved te kha cad -ad veg" lehd koz che yaog.  
 Pnf pro v v v -Pv Pf disc v Pu Pf  
 CONJ his/her own do plant eat -particle INVIT thus speak CHE DECL

After that **the turtle** said, "Monkey, let's plant our banana tree and eat it together", thus he said.  
 The monkey replied saying, "[I] will not. Let's divide it and each of us plant and eat our own,"  
 thus he said.

An exception to the S3 context is in the following sentence, S#018. The sentence opens with the turtle as the addressee of the monkey's speech. However, when the turtle is next referred to, a null reference is used.

## (29) M&amp;T 018

Kheh te lehq mawq koz che heh awg kaw jen tawz chez lehq  
 CONJ n v REL Pu  $\emptyset$  adv v v Pnf  
 And so therefore monkey speak that while center middle to chop sever CONJ

mawq haq awg kawd lez yug cuh vid che yaog.  
 n Pn adv v v v Pv Pu Pf  
 monkey OM first choose take to cause to CHE DECL

And so, as the monkey spoke, **[the turtle]** cut the tree in the middle and [he] made the monkey choose a half first.

When a participant has been off stage and has been brought back on stage, the S4 context, they are encoded with a noun phrase. In the previous sentences the focus is on the Turtle, and when the focus shifts back to the Monkey in S#016, it is referred to with a noun phrase.

(30) M&amp;T 016

Mawq koz vid che heh pawd pehg liz a kaz khuhn si tod che  
 n v Pv REL Pu n disc n Pn v Vv REL  
 monkey speak to that while turtle FOC water in float drift moving that  
  
 pawd cehg u ve ca yug ve kawaq lehq pehg  
 n n det v v Pv v Pnf n  
 banana plant that go\_and bring to TRANSPORT MOTION return CONJ edge  
  
 puhg huh gaeg lehq mawq liz ga yug tuhz vid che  
 Pn v Pnf n disc v v v Pv Pu  
 of moving water LOC place arrive\_at CONJ monkey FOC help take to out to CHE  
  
 yaog.  
 Pf  
 DECL

While the monkey spoke, the turtle was in the water and brought the banana tree back and arrived at the edge and **the monkey** helped take it out.

### 4.3.2 Minor Participants

In “The story of the Monkey and the Turtle” there are no minor participants.

### 4.4 The Monkey Chops the Branch

The resources for participant reference found in “The Monkey Chops the Branch” and the ranking of participants are examined at first.

The participant reference resources found with this text are:

1. noun phrase
2. pronoun
3. null reference

Figure 9: Participant reference resources in “The Monkey Chops the Branch.”

The ranking of participants within this text are:

1. major participants: primary participant: Monkey secondary participant: Person
2. props: branch, hat, knife

Figure 10: Ranking of participants in “The Monkey Chops the Branch.”

The Monkey is the most important participant in this story. The Monkey's referential distance was 1.5, half of that of the Person's referential distance which was 3.1. The Monkey's persistence value was 13, double that of the Person's persistence value of 7.

#### 4.4.1 Major Participants

The major participants are the Monkey and the Person. Unlike most Lahu Si texts, the main participants are not introduced with a presentational sentence. Rather the Monkey is introduced in the opening sentence with a very descriptive sentence, which is made up of two clauses but only one verb *chaw khuhd nuhd* 'clever'.

(31) MCB 002

Mawq ted ceng vavr to saz awg kag awg nuz veaq keh  
 n num class prt n adv adv  
 monkey one kind FOC wild mammals different than general greater more  
 chaw khuhd nuhd lehq awg to awg hoq awg han liz chaw haq sur jad che  
 v Pnf n n n disc n Pn n adv Pu  
 to be clever CONJ body picture type FOC person OM same very CHE  
 yaog.  
 Pf  
 DECL

The monkey is more clever than all other animals; it's body looks very much like people.

The opening sentence only introduces the Monkey. The Person is not introduced until S#006 and is introduced by a noun phrase.

(32) MCB 006

Yaq kaw u ve haq lag che **chaw** nuhg cehg u ve huhx gaeg ver  
 n det Pn v REL n n n det Pn v Pnf  
 path that OM come which **person** fig plant that LOC under arrive verb particle  
 mi lehq awg ghad jehd che yaog.  
 v Pnf n v Pu Pf  
 sit CONJ strength rest CHE DECL

**A person** who was coming down that trail arrived under the fig tree to sit and rest.

In this text both participants are introduced separately.

In the S1 context for major participants the default form for tracking throughout the story, is null reference. In example (33) the Monkey is named initially, and following that introduction he is referred to with a null reference.



(33) MCB 015

Mawq u ve nuhg cehg thag lo gaig lehq nuhg kax teq kax  
 n det n n adj Pn v Pnf Ø n n num n  
 monkey that fig plant top LOC place arrive CONJ fig branch one branch

haq chaw kae lehq awg buhd phawd-awr mi che yaog.  
 Pn v v Pnf Ø adj n v Pu Pf  
 OM walk\_on\_top\_of go CONJ to have many leaves half side sit CHE DECL

That monkey arrived at the top of the tree and [he] walked on one of the branches of the fig tree and [he] sat on the leafy side.

There are quite a few exceptions to the previously established tracking default in the text, all of which have more coding material. These occur in the text as a noun phrase (S#002, 003, 004, 010, 011, 013, 014, 015, 018, 019, 020, 021) and a pronoun (S#009, 016, 021)<sup>22</sup>.

When a major participant is the addressee of a previous speech act, the S2 context, they are referred to, by default, as a noun phrase. However, this does not occur within this text as there is no dialogue between the Monkey and the Person.

When the participant is the non-subject of the previous sentence, the S3 context, a noun phrase is used to refer to the participant. Again in this text there are no occurrences of the S3 context.

When participants have been off stage and are brought back on stage, the S4 context, they are encoded with a noun phrase. An example can be seen below. In the example in the previous section, the Person was in focus and the focus changes to the Monkey with the noun reference.

(34) MCB 011

Chaw u ve yuhq mir ka chehd huh mawq nuhg cehg haq yaeg lehq chaw  
 n det v Vv Pnf n n n Pn v Pnf n  
 person that sleep CONT. PROG monkey fig plant OM go down CONJ person

teh lar che ux cuhr yug khuhz che yaog.  
 v Pv REL n v v Pu Pf  
 store leave set which hat take to put on CHE DECL

While the person was sleeping, **the monkey** came down from the fig tree and took [and] put on the hat which the person had put down.

<sup>22</sup> The high frequency of exceptions to the tracking default in this text could possibly be accounted for by such reasons as; a different textual style, personal story telling style, or the text could be written poorly.

#### 4.4.2 Minor Participants

In “The Monkey Chops the Branch” story there are no minor participants.

#### 4.5 Summary

This chapter has looked at participant reference found in the four Lahu Si texts through Dooley and Levinsohn’s method. The participant reference resources, participant ranking, and the operations of participant reference in the texts are described.

All of the texts use noun phrases and null references as participant reference resources. Pronoun phrases are used in three of the four texts.

Each of the texts have major participants and props. Only “The Story of the Cat and Dog,” which is the longest of the four texts, adds minor participants.

From the discussions of each of the texts we find the operations used in Lahu Si. Participants in Lahu Si are normally introduced (90%) and reintroduced (81%) into the story after being off stage with a noun phrase. Participants are normally tracked within a story with a null reference (48%). This supports the contentions that Lahu Si primarily uses a subject-oriented sequential strategy in reference to participant reference. When the participant is the addressee of the previous speech act, Lahu Si usually codes the participant with a noun phrase (94%). When the participant is the object or non-subject of the previous statement a noun phrase is used (60%). The default participant operations are summarized in Table 27.

Participant Operations	Participant Reference
INTRO:	NP
S1:	Null reference
S2:	NP
S3:	NP
S4:	NP

Table 27: Summary of Default Participant Operations

These rules presented above predict 71% of all participant references which occur within the corpus. Exceptions to the participant operations are found throughout each

of the texts. Of all the exceptions found in the corpus 40% have contextual factors which can explain why the participant is marked as such.

It is interesting to note that 76% of the exceptions found in the corpus occur within the S1 context. Within those S1 context exceptions 48% occur in the “The Monkey Chops the Branch” text. This could occur for various reasons; such as, this text could be a different style than the others, this text could be written poorly or it could be the personal style of the author.

These participant reference rules are clear and easily predict the referencing of participants throughout the texts. Each of the texts, with the exception of the “The Monkey Chops the Branch” text, seems to follow the rules without many exceptions.

Further study is needed to examine the exceptions found within this analysis. “The Monkey Chops the Branch” text could be tested with native speakers to determine the quality of the text and possibly the style of the text, which both might have influenced the results found in this analysis. Beyond that other texts, within the narrative folk genre and other genres, should be analyzed and compared for a broader view of participant reference in Lahu Si. Also the S1 context could be considered with greater detail to refine and define the rule, since there were so many exceptions found within the S1 context in this analysis.