

## Chapter 4

### Participant Identification Patterns

Having identified the Kmhmu' inventory of referring expressions and characterised their various functions in discourse in Chapter 3, this chapter explores the patterns of use of these referring expressions in participant identification in narrative text. The participant identification system of a language consists of the rules and patterns of reference and identification that enable the hearer to know who is doing or experiencing what (Callow 1974:30). This system provides for introduction and tracking of participants, signalling participant rank, resolving ambiguities, and maintaining cohesion across discontinuity boundaries.

A description of the ranking system and methods of introduction for participants is given, followed by the proposed default patterns for reference throughout a Kmhmu' narrative. Exceptions to these patterns are discussed, with suggested motivations for deviations from the default patterns. By way of introduction to this analysis, a literature review of some theoretical approaches to examining participant identification systems is presented, followed by a description of the methodology used in this study.

#### 4.1 Theoretical approach to participant identification analysis

According to Dooley and Levinsohn (2001) participant reference systems need to fulfil **semantic**, **discourse-pragmatic**, and **processing** functions. **Semantically**, they must identify referents clearly, disambiguating them from other plausible referents. The greater the risk of ambiguity, the greater the amount of coding material used in a referring expression.

The **discourse-pragmatic** functions have been discussed more fully in section 3.1.2 Identifiability, activation status and thematic salience, and are summarised here. The patterns of participant identification reflect whether the participant is identifiable to the hearer or is a brand new participant. If a participant is

identifiable, the patterns reflect the activation status of the participant. An active concept is the one in focus currently. Inactive concepts are in long-term memory. Accessible concepts are on the periphery of awareness, either because they have been referred to in the text world, i.e. textual accessibility, are present in the speech situation, i.e. situational accessibility, or they belong to a schema, i.e. inferential accessibility from shared cultural knowledge (Chafe 1975, 1994; Prince 1981; Longacre 1990; Lambrecht 1994; Dooley and Levinsohn 2001; Givón 2001b).

Chafe (1987)<sup>5</sup> discusses how activation states may change. The amount of cognitive effort required to change the activation status of a concept is reflected in the amount of coding material in a text. Activation from inactive status requires maximum cognitive effort and is signalled by more coding material than activation from accessible status. Maintaining a concept as active requires less effort than activation, and uses less coding material still, while deactivation requires no effort at all and thus is often not encoded. Once activated, the higher the activation status and/or prominence of a referent, the smaller the amount of coding material needed to maintain it.

The prominence or thematic salience of a referent is signalled by the amount and type of encoding used (Longacre 1990; Dooley and Levinsohn 2001; Givón 2001b). The more difficult a participant is to identify or access, and the more thematically salient a participant is in the narrative, the more coding material is assigned to it according to Givón's iconicity of quantity principle (Givón 1990:969) given in example (43).

In terms of **processing** functions, participant reference systems must maintain clear information flow across thematic discontinuities. Speakers and hearers arrange the information given or received in a text in a hierarchical mental system of chunks or thematic groupings (Paivio and Begg 1981:176<sup>6</sup>). This allows for ease of processing and reflects the semantic content of the text. Thus changes in thematic content, such as time or place, provide natural places to divide the chunks. At these points of thematic discontinuity (Givón 1984:245), generally more coding material is needed, and even information that is not changing may be updated (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001). Within a thematic

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<sup>5</sup> Chafe, Wallace L. 1987. Cognitive constraints on information flow. In Russell S. Tomlin (ed.), *Coherence and grounding in discourse*, 21-51. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, quoted in Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:50.

<sup>6</sup> Paivio, Allan and Ian Begg. 1981. *Psychology of language*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, quoted in Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:36.

grouping, more coding material is used in an initial reference, less in a final reference, and least in a medial reference (Givón 1983:141).

In summary then, participant identification systems must fulfil a semantic function, unambiguously identifying participants. They must fulfil discourse-pragmatic functions, signalling the identifiability, activation status and thematic salience of participants, and they must fulfil a processing function, maintaining clear information flow across thematic groupings.

Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:117) outline two types of strategies for participant reference. A **sequential strategy** seeks to identify a referent by tracking the most recent previous mention of it. This strategy looks back at the previous clause or sentence, and does not necessarily consider the organisational structure of the discourse. It reflects the identifiability and accessibility of a referent. A **VIP (Very Important Participant) strategy** considers the rank of the participant in the narrative as a whole. Participants are introduced and tracked using linguistic signals that reflect their prominence or thematic salience in the narrative. A global VIP, according to Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:121), is recognised by the use of distinctively different patterns of reference from other participants, throughout the entire text. A local VIP is treated distinctively only within a thematic grouping. Thus in a VIP strategy, a specific set of terms is employed based on the rank of the VIP, regardless of what other entities have been recently mentioned (Grimes 1978:viii). Most languages employ both these strategies to some extent, creating considerable complexity as they interact.

## 4.2 Methodology

Using an adaptation of Dooley and Levinsohn's method (2001:44), the texts were charted clause by clause and divided into thematic groupings to provide a basic outline of their surface structure. Span charts, adapted from (Grimes 1975:94), were also used to give a visual representation of the presence of each participant on the stage of the narrative.

Based on the sequential strategy approach of Dooley and Levinsohn (2001), participant identification patterns were initially analysed using Dooley and Levinsohn's (2001:127) eight-step methodology, as outlined below.

1. Construct an inventory of referring expressions used to identify participants.

2. Prepare a chart of identifications used in a text for subjects and nonsubjects.
3. Track the participants by allocating each a number on the chart.
4. Identify the syntactic context of each activated reference. The following contexts are assigned for subjects and nonsubjects:

S1 the subject is the same as in the previous sentence,

S2 the subject is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous sentence,

S3 the subject is involved in the previous sentence in a nonsubject relation other than addressee, and

S4 other changes of subject than those covered by S2 and S3.

N1 the referent occupies the same nonsubject relation as in the previous sentence,

N2 the addressee of a reported speech is the subject (speaker) of a speech reported in the previous sentence,

N3 the referent is involved in the previous sentence in a different relation than that covered by N2, and

N4 other references to nonsubjects than those covered by N1-N3.

5. Propose default encoding values for each context.
6. Identify all occurrences of non-default encodings, and consider reasons for using either less or more encoding material than the default.
7. Modify the proposals in Step 5 to reflect these factors.
8. Generalise the motivations for non-default encodings.

Step 4 in this methodology involves examining the syntactic context of the reference in the previous sentence. The form of the Kmhmu' written sentence is not yet clearly established. In dividing up the texts into sentences, the intuitions of Kmhmu' speakers were followed. Where there were excessively long sentences or inconsistent sentence breaks, I edited them to be more consistent. Thus a sentence is not a reliable unit to compare for referencing patterns. Instead, the reference was compared to that in the previous clause. Only references in independent clauses were included in the analysis, as dependent clauses typically

do not have an overt subject. Also direct speech quotations were excluded from the analysis, but the speech margins were included.

This methodology is particularly applicable to participant reference systems based primarily on a sequential strategy. When no clear patterns emerged from the data under study, the method was adapted to consider the patterns of reference for each separate participant. Thus it became evident that there were different types of patterns, reflecting the rank of the participant.

### 4.3 Introducing participants and participant ranking

Referents in a narrative discourse can be ranked according to the level of their involvement in events, the duration of their presence throughout the narrative (participant span), and the way they are introduced and subsequently referred to in the text.

Grimes (1975:43) differentiates participants from props. Participants initiate or respond to action, while props, although they may be involved in significant events in the story, do not actually do anything. Thus people who are mentioned but never initiate or respond to actions, are classed as props, and animals or inanimate objects which are active in the story are participants.

Animal participants are often seen in folk-tales, and an example of this is the monkey in the Orphan folk-tale, as shown in (101). The orphan is preparing to shoot the monkey when the monkey speaks to him.

(101)Orphan.110

*gəə mɔɔt mɔʔ dee tɕii piŋ gəə nɛ tɕii piŋ*  
 3sgm take\_hold cross-bow co-referent IRR shoot 3sgm aim IRR shoot  
*kʰoʔ ʔoo faʔ niʔ lɛʔ law ʔndʔ ʔoo taaj ʔaaj*  
 EXCL oh! monkey this PRT say that oh! elder\_sibling older\_brother  
*mee taʔ piŋ ʔoʔ*  
 2sgm NEGIMP shoot 1sg

He took his crossbow to shoot (the monkey), he took aim to shoot, (when) "Oh!" the monkey said that, "Oh! older brother, older brother don't you shoot me.

The monkey talks, performs magic and gives advice to the orphan and the princess as the story progresses.

An example of a people who are props is the villagers in Tan's story, as shown in (102). Tan's father borrowed money from *kɔɔn'gaan* 'villagers' to pay for the hospital expenses and the spirit sacrifices. They are mentioned in the narrative 5 times, and each time they are being acted upon rather than initiating action.

(102)Tan.090

*joŋ gɔʔ ʔjiim ki'muul jɔʔ kɔɔn'gaan*  
 father so\_then borrow money with villagers

...father then borrowed money from the villagers...

There are four kinds of participants in Kmhmu' narrative discourse: **central participants, major participants, minor participants, and peripheral participants**. A narrative may have only one central participant, but more than one major participant. Typically, central and major participants are introduced formally, are present throughout a large portion of the story, and play a significant role in events. Minor participants usually have no formal introduction, but are usually first identified using a noun phrase. They are present for a small part of the narrative and play a less significant role in events. Peripheral participants are present only briefly in the narrative and have a small active role to play. Central, major and minor participants are also distinguished by the patterns of reference as they are tracked throughout the narrative. Each of these participant types will now be discussed in more detail with examples given.

#### 4.3.1 Central participants

Central participants are formally introduced at the beginning of the narrative using an NP with a classifier phrase in a presentational clause, typically followed by a series of stative clauses describing the character. The NP with the classifier phrase marks the referent as thematically salient in the discourse. The characteristics given in the description are relevant to the participant's role in the narrative, and foreshadow what the story is about (Taylor 1994:92). An example from the Thief story is shown in (103). The thief is the central participant, and is introduced in the first sentence using a presentational clause *ʔah mooj gon* '(there) was a person'. The narrator goes on to describe this person, in a series of stative clauses, as *gon waj'lun* 'a teenager', *ʔnii ʔnii* 'very badly behaved', and *waj lætɕ* 'good at stealing', or 'an accomplished thief'. The extended description given in this introduction, and its position at the beginning

of the narrative signal to the hearers that this character is the central participant in the story. The content of the description gives clues to the coming narrative. It prepares us for a story about stealing.

(103)Thief.001

*ʔah mooj gon hiʔih giʔni? ɲɔɔŋ məh gon wajʔlun ni?*  
 have one Clf\_people PRT that\_one yet be person teenager this  
*leʔ Ø ʔni ʔni Ø waj lætɕ*  
 PRT thief naughty naughty thief ABIL steal

(There) was a person ok, that one was still a teenager, (he) was very badly behaved, (and he) was adept at stealing.

In all of the third person narratives under study, the central participant is always the first participant to be formally introduced, and is always introduced using a presentational clause. Another feature of some central participant introductions (the orphan and the thief) is the use of the near proximal demonstrative pronoun, *giʔniʔ* 'that one', in the second mention of the participant as shown in (103). This form *giʔniʔ* is used to mark thematically salient participants such as central and major participants, but is only used in the second mention, immediately following the introductory clause, in reference to central participants.

An exception to this kind of introduction of a central participant is seen in the first person narrative, Tan's story. Tan is the central participant, but she does not formally introduce herself because the audience of her friends and family already know her. She is first mentioned using the first person pronoun, *ʔoʔ*, as shown in (104). This is an example of the deictic function of personal pronouns, where the first person singular pronoun points to the speaker.

(104)Tan's\_Story.001

*ʔoʔ tir'dɔh liŋ ɲaam ɽəŋ ɲaam ʔoʔ siʔmaʔ*  
 1sg recount story period\_of\_time long\_time period\_of\_time 1sg have\_fever

I am telling a story from a time long ago, the time I had a fever.

Central participants are present throughout the narrative, introduced first, present in most or all episodes, usually central in the peak episode, and usually present at the end of the narrative. An exception to this last feature is the tiger in the Man-eating Tiger story, which was, thankfully, killed in the peak episode. Not only are they present throughout the narrative, but central participants play

a central role in the events of the story, and other participants are introduced in relation to them.

In the Orphan story, the whole narrative revolves around the orphan. The story begins with the orphan's life of poverty, the death of his parents, and the cruelty of his aunt which drives him to leave the village. The ensuing episodes centre around his journey, his encounter with the princess, and then the king, and finally the monkey. In the peak episode, the king is killed because of his cruelty to the orphan, and because he has responded to an invitation initiated by the orphan. All these characters are described in terms of their interaction with the orphan, and some are introduced only in relation to him. An example of this is shown in (105), where the orphan's mother is introduced using the possessive phrase *ma? gəə* 'his mother'.

(105)Orphan.004

*laŋtɕaak gi'ni? gəə p<sup>h</sup>ɔ'dii bian mooj pii p<sup>h</sup>ɔ'dii ma?*  
 after that\_one 3sgm exactly achieve one Clf\_years exactly mother  
  
*gəə gɔ? haan pəh*  
 3sgm so\_then die separate\_from

After that, (when) he was exactly one year old, just then his mother died.

#### 4.3.2 Major participants

Major participants are introduced formally, are present throughout a large portion of the story, and play a significant role in events. Their introduction is usually shorter than the central participant and occurs later in the story.

In the Orphan story, the princess is a major participant. She is introduced in the second pre-peak episode of the narrative, as shown in (106). A formal introduction is given with a presentational clause *?ah kɔɔn 'nim tɕap ?om'ŋɛɛn* '(there) was a young woman holding a water gourd'. In Orphan.050 she is further described as *blia blia* 'very beautiful', and marked with a classifier phrase to signal her thematic salience. This description hints at her romantic involvement with the orphan to come.

(106)Orphan.049

*?mit jɔh p<sup>h</sup>riah rəh jɔ? sruat gəə ?am da?*  
 instant elapse wake\_up arise time\_of\_day morning 3sgm NEG not\_yet



*rəh sam pʰɔ'dii ʔah kɔɔn'ɲim mooj gon tɕap*  
 arise totally exactly have young\_woman one Clf\_people catch

*ʔom'ɲɛn*  
 water\_gourd

(After) a short time passed waking up in the morning, he was not yet fully awake, just then (there) was a young woman holding a water gourd.

Orphan.050

*ʔah kɔɔn'ɲim blia blia mooj gon tɕap ʔom'ɲɛn*  
 have young\_woman beautiful beautiful one Clf\_people catch water\_gourd

*jɔh*  
 DIR

(There) was a very beautiful young woman carrying a water gourd.

Her role in the events of the narrative is significant. She continues to be present throughout the rest of the story, introducing the orphan to her father, the king, becoming the orphan's wife, prompting the orphan to call on the monkey for help, and participating with the orphan in ruling the village created by the monkey.

### 4.3.3 Minor participants

Minor participants do not typically receive a formal introduction into the narrative, are often introduced in relation to a major participant, and are present only for a section of the text. They have an active role in the events of the narrative, but then the events move on without them.

The hospital staff in Tan's story are an example of minor participants. The doctor does not receive a formal introduction, but is first mentioned with an NP *naaj mɔɔ* 'doctor', as shown in (107).

(107)Tan.041

*naajmɔɔ ɡɔʔ ləŋ jɔŋ ʔoʔ deʔ sah jɔŋ ʔoʔ ʔiaʔ*  
 doctor so\_then scold father 1sg get COMP father 1sg stupid

The doctor then scolded my father that my father was stupid.

The other medical staff are first introduced with the backgrounded third person plural pronoun *baŋ*, and also referred to using the standard third person plural pronoun *nɔɔ*, as shown in (108).

(108)Tan.039

*jɔh rɔɔt ɲi? hootɕ baŋ ?an guut da? hoornɔɔ*  
DIR arrive here and\_then 3pl CAUS enter at hospital

(After) arriving here, then they admitted (me) into hospital.

Tan.040

*le? nɔɔ law sah məh sir'ma? pa'?aat tɕii məh kʰan ?anta'laaj*  
and 3pl say COMP be malaria IRR be level dangerous

*leɛw*  
already

And they said, "(It) is malaria; (it) could be (at) a dangerous level already."

The medical staff are present during one pre-peak episode and the peak episode in the hospital, but are not mentioned again during the post-peak episodes. They do act in significant ways during these episodes, giving advice and medical intervention and treatment to save Tan's life, but are backgrounded particularly during the peak and peak' episodes. After this, the story moves on to the recovery and return to the village, where these minor participants have no part.

In the Bear story, the hunting group that sets out from the village is a minor participant. Their introduction is unusual, in that they are first mentioned by a zero reference in Bear.012, as shown in (109). There is no previous reference to this group, and there is no overt reference to them until sentence 15, where they are referred to using first a zero reference, then a right-dislocated NP *gi? gon* 'many people', and then in a presentational clause using a classifier phrase, *?ah sii ?ah haa gon* '(there) were four, (there) were five people'.

(109)Bear.012

*pʰɔɔ dee bah gi'ni? ɲɔɔŋ bah ɲɔɔŋ pa? da? bah ɲi? ɲɔɔŋ*  
just\_about light that\_one yet light yet NEG not\_yet light here yet  
  
*li'ɲiɲ tɕim'tɕi? ni? Ø pʰoot baaw tɕu? jɔh sah gəə məh*  
dark half\_light this hunters too\_much hurry want go COMP 3sgn be  
  
*too ɲəh jɔh ɲak*  
animal what DIR touch

(When it) was just about light, just light (but) not quite light here, still partly dark, (they) really hurried to go (to know) what animal was it (that) went (and) touched (the grenade).

Bear.015

∅      gɔʔ      ʔɔɔr jɔʔ      jɔh giʔ      gon      ʔah sii ʔah haa  
 hunters so\_then lead together DIR many Clf\_people have four have five

gon      jɔh  
 Clf\_people go

So then (they) went together, many people; (there) were four (or) were five people (who) went.

One explanation for this is that there is an expectation set up earlier in the text which relates to hunting. The context of elicitation of this text provides insight into the audience and their expectations. The narrator's daughter, two other Kmhmu' women who grew up in a neighbouring village, and myself comprised the audience. We had been discussing what kind of stories they could tell, and hunting stories were suggested. The daughter then requested that her mother tell this story about the Bear. In this storytelling context, there was already an expectation of hunters and hunting. At the point in the story where the hunters set off, we know there is a bear raiding the fields, and the uncle, one of the major characters, has already been introduced in Bear.009 as a skillful hunter. Thus when he sets a trap for the bear and it goes off, the ones who set out to investigate while it is still dark are assumed to be readily identifiable as the hunters from the extended family, those who own the rice field. This would include men of an age to be good hunters and able to cope with a potentially dangerous situation. The identity of this group would be assumed to be inferrable from shared cultural knowledge, and from the expectations set up in the text.

#### 4.3.4 Peripheral participants

Peripheral participants have an even less prominent role to play than minor participants. They are not formally introduced, and usually are first mentioned using an NP or a pronoun. They appear only briefly on the discourse stage and although they do act in some way, often they are involved in events that are less crucial to moving the story forward.

In the Bear story, the village people are peripheral participants. They are first mentioned using the NP *ṁuʔ'kuŋ ṁuʔ'gaan* 'villagers', as shown in (110). Their appearance is brief, being mentioned a total of 4 times in only one post-peak episode. They are only involved in speech events where they comment on the main action of the story.

(110)Bear.040

*ṁuʔkuŋ ṁuʔgaan* *gɔʔ nan gɔʔ nian law sah*  
villagers so\_then talk\_about so\_then spread\_news say COMP  
*tʰaa haak* *∅ ʔam bian hual maʔ kɔɔn ŋaak niʔ ʔan məh*  
if 2pl NEG achieve bear mother baby this COND be  
*məʔ jɔh ŋɔɔr gi i ŋɔɔr giʔnaaj ʔan hual pok ∅ hual*  
INDEF go road this\_one road that\_one\_there COND bear bite 3pl bear  
*məh lɛʔ ∅ tɕii mɔɔp kʰaa ŋua ʔan ʔiʔ deʔ sah*  
INDEF and 2pl IRR hand\_over compensation give 1pl get COMP

The villagers talked (and) spread the news saying, "If (you) cannot get this mother bear, (and) if (there) is anyone going on this road (or) that road (and) if a bear bites (them), any bear, then (you) will pay compensation to us," (they) said.

Another example of peripheral participants is the extended family of the narrator in the Bear story, who are always referred to as *ʔiʔ '1pl'*, and are involved in actions like planting the rice field where the trap is set for the bear. These peripheral participants provide a background against which the central, major and minor participants act out the significant events of the story.

#### 4.4 Rules for default encoding patterns

The rank of a participant is also reflected in the way it is referred to as it is tracked through the narrative. The patterns of this participant tracking in Kmhmu' narrative are discussed below. Dooley and Levinsohn (2001) describe sequential and VIP as two possible strategies used in participant reference systems. The sequential strategy involves looking back to the most recently mentioned referent. A VIP (Very Important Participant) strategy considers the rank of the participant in the narrative as a whole.

In a "global VIP" strategy, the VIP is first introduced and then "often referred to by minimum, but virtually constant coding" (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:121), while other participants are referred to using more encoding. A "local VIP" is a participant who is referred to using a different pattern of reference for a part of the narrative, such as one thematic grouping. In Kmhmu' the sequential strategy is seen in all texts to varying extents, and the local VIP strategy is seen in some texts.

The methodology used to analyse these patterns is explained in section 4.2 Methodology, and includes examining sequential patterns for subject and non-subject references. The rules for subject reference patterns are discussed first, and then those for non-subject reference patterns.

#### 4.4.1 Subject reference patterns

In Kmhmu', sequential and local VIP strategies interact to produce subject reference patterns of default encoding which may be described by a series of rules. Each rule was developed in a tentative form and then exceptions to the rule were examined. Where there were predictable patterns in the exceptions, the rules were revised to allow for these. In the following sections, each rule is first given in tentative form with an example, followed by a discussion of predictable exceptions, and then the revised rule.

##### 4.4.1.1 Same subject (S1 context)

The first rule governs references to a subject in the S1 context. The tentative form is:

##### **Tentative Rule for S1 Context**

Where the subject reference is the same as that of the previous clause (S1), a zero identification is given. This rule holds for central, major and minor participants. With peripheral participants, a pronoun or NP is used in the S1 context.

This is exemplified in (111). In Orphan.079 the orphan is identified using a zero reference in all three clauses, because he is the subject in the previous clause in Orphan.078, and remains the subject in all these clauses.

(111)Orphan.078

*gəə gɔʔ ləj mah*  
3sgm so\_then directly eat

So he ate (it) right then.

Orphan.079

Ø mah ʔəə Ø mah biʔ lɛɛw Ø dzuur ʔiak  
 orphan eat yes orphan eat full already orphan DIR drink

ʔom hin'dɔɔr niʔ  
 water\_spout this

(He) ate, yes, (he) ate (till he) was full, (then he) went down (and) drank this spout water.

In an S1 context, where the default encoding is zero, any linguistic coding will be more than the default. One motivation for more than default encoding in S1 context is a discontinuity in the text. A text discontinuity can be a boundary in the surface structure of the text, such as the beginning or end of a thematic grouping; or a switch in the information type, e.g. from mainline events to author comment; or a switch in clause type, e.g. from action to speech events. In these texts, no discontinuity in participant reference is caused by a change from action events to description if the description contains no participant identification. The subject is compared with the most recent clause containing a participant reference.

Often, more than default encoding occurs at a text boundary in the final sentence of a thematic grouping as shown in (112). In Orphan.089, the subject remains the same as the previous clause, an S1 context. The pronoun *gəə* '3sgm' is used to refer to the orphan where one would expect to have a zero reference.

Orphan.089 is the final sentence in that thematic grouping of text. A major boundary occurs here, and a new episode begins in Orphan.090 as they come to the king's palace. There is a change in location, new participants are introduced, such as the king and the palace guard, and an initial connective word *p<sup>h</sup>ɔɔ dii* 'just then' is used to mark the new chunk of text.

(112)Orphan.088

laŋtɕaak gi'niʔ gəə gɔʔ k<sup>h</sup>iin hir'ɔʔ ʔam bian ʔiik  
 after that\_one 3sgm so\_then refuse language NEG can again

After that he could not refuse (her) request any more.

Orphan.089

gəə gɔʔ ɲaɲ gaaj brɔɔm naa  
 3sgm so\_then walk DIR accompany 3sgf

So he walked home accompanying her.

Orphan.090

*p<sup>h</sup>'ɔ'dii rɔɔt da? pi<sup>r</sup>'lon tɕii guut da? gaŋ tɕawsi'wit gi<sup>r</sup>'ni?*  
 exactly arrive at door IRR enter at house king that\_one

*gaŋ gi<sup>r</sup>'ni? baŋ ki<sup>r</sup>'ɔəj sah roŋ tɕawsi'wit kim<sup>r</sup>'mu?*  
 house that\_one 3pl call COMP palace king Kmhmu'

*naam jə? ni?*  
 period\_of\_time long\_ago this

Just then (they) arrived at the gate to enter that king's house, that house people called the king's palace, Kmhmu' people long ago.

Marking a discontinuity with more than default encoding signals to the hearer that there is a change coming. It helps their mental processing of the text by alerting them to the possibility of the need for extra mental effort. This may involve creating new mental representations, such as those required by introduction of new participants, or accessing different schema, such as those triggered in new settings, as another episode in the narrative begins. It may involve recognising a switch from storyline to non-storyline events such as a change in time-setting in a flashback.

As well as a discontinuity in the text, another motivation for using more than default encoding in an S1 context is when the speaker is contrasting participants, or highlighting a participant's characteristics or actions. An example of highlighting a participant's characteristics is shown in (113). The old man is the subject of the first clause in Thief.004, and of the two following clauses, which are therefore an S1 context. In these two clauses he is referred to using the pronoun *gəə* '3sgm' which is more than default encoding. By using more encoding than would be expected, the narrator signals to the audience that the old man's poor vision is a salient characteristic. Because of it, the thief is able to steal the money, the event which gets the story moving.

(113)Thief.004

*gəə ɔun ki<sup>r</sup>'muul ni? hootɕ tɕaw'gəə məh joŋ kɔɔn haan*  
 3sgm put\_away money this CMPL that be father child die

*lot tam ni? gəə ɔam baj guuŋ məh gəə diil*  
 vehicle hit this 3sgm NEG NEG see INDEF 3sgm poor\_sighted

He put away the money, he who was the father (of the) child (who) died (when) the car hit (him); he could no longer see anything; he was poor-sighted.

Highlighting a participant with more than default encoding signals to the hearer that the identity, characteristics, or actions of a participant are particularly salient at this point in the narrative.

In the light of these two predictable patterns of using more than default encoding at text discontinuities and for highlighting, the revised rule for default encoding in an S1 context is:

#### **Revised Rule for S1 Context**

Where the subject reference is the same as that of the previous clause (S1), a zero identification is given, **except when there is a discontinuity in the text, or when the speaker is highlighting a participant's characteristics or actions.** This rule holds for central, major and minor participants. With peripheral participants, a pronoun or NP is used in the S1 context.

#### 4.4.1.2 Subject is addressee of previous clause (S2 context)

In the S2 context, when the referent is the addressee in a previous clause, there is no data for minor or peripheral participants, and there is insufficient data for central and major participants to confidently define default patterns. Further data is needed to clarify this situation. Based on the limited data available, a tentative rule is proposed:

#### **Tentative Rule for S2 context**

Where the referent is the addressee in a previous clause (S2), the default encoding for a central or major participant is zero.

An example of this is seen in (114). The two thieves address the old man in TwoThieves.008<sup>7</sup>. In the following interchange between the speakers, in TwoThieves.009 to 012, the addressees from the previous clause are given zero references. This follows the default pattern for S2 contexts.

(114)TwoThieves.008

<sup>7</sup> This narrator uses the third person singular pronoun, *gəə*, to refer to singular or dual referents, according to her daughter who helped to transcribe the text.



*joh tɕə'mɔɔl ʔe? hootɕ ʔəə ɡəə law joh rɔɔt jɔ? ta?*  
 DIR plant rice\_field and\_then yes 3sgm say DIR arrive with Mr  
*ŋi? ta? tʰaw ʔəəh ɡəə law ta? mee tɕii tɕeŋ məh ʔih*  
 here grandfather EXCL 3sgm say grandfather 2sgm IRR do what IMP  
*ɡəə law ta? mee tɕeŋ məh ʔan ʔo? de? wɛk mee*  
 3sgm say grandfather 2sgm do what give 1sg get knife 2sgm  
*dɛk*  
 a\_little

Having gone to plant (his) rice field, and then, "Hey," he/they said, arriving at the man here, "Grandfather!" he/they said, "Grandfather, what are you going to do, hey?" he/they said, "Grandfather, what are you doing? Give me your knife (for) a short time."

TwoThieves.009

*∅ law tɕii tɕeŋ məh jɔ? wɛk*  
 old man say IRR do what with knife

(The old man) said, "What will (you) do with the knife?"

TwoThieves.010

*∅ ʔoo tɕii pliat sa'ʔɔɔŋ*  
 thieves oh! IRR chop\_up wood

"Oh (I/we) will chop wood."

TwoThieves.011

*∅ mee tɕii tɕeŋ məh jɔ? sa'ʔɔɔŋ*  
 old man 2sgm IRR do what with wood

"What will you do with the wood?"

TwoThieves.012

*∅ ʔəəh tɕii tɕeŋ sɔ'nar tɕii tɕeŋ sɔ'nar*  
 thieves EXCL IRR do walking\_stick IRR do walking\_stick

"Oh (I/we) will make a walking stick! (I/we) will make a walking stick."

Exceptions to this default pattern are again seen where there is a text discontinuity, such as a text boundary or a change in clause type. Where the referent in the S2 context is involved in an action clause rather than a speech clause, this change in clause type triggers the use of more than default encoding, as shown in (115). In Orphan.138 the orphan and the princess are referred to using the pronoun *sɪ'naa* '3du'. This is an S2 context, because they are the

addressees of the previous clause. This is more than the default of zero reference for an S2 context, and signals to the hearer that they may need to give extra mental effort to processing the discontinuity in the text from speech to action.

(115)Orphan.137

*ʔmit faʔ gɔʔ law si'baa laan tɕəm niʔ*  
 instant monkey so\_then say 2du open EMPH this

Suddenly the monkey said, "You two open (your eyes)," (he said) this.

Orphan.138

*si'naa laan jɛɛŋ paa t'oh məh kuŋ məh gaŋ ʔah*  
 3du open look\_at EXCL be village be house have

*kɔɔn'kuŋ kɔɔn'gaŋ*  
 village\_people

Those two opened (their eyes and) looked, wow! (there) were villages, (there) were houses, (there) were village people.

In some instances of a text discontinuity, an NP is used to identify a referent in an S2 context, as shown in (116). The old man is the addressee in TwoThieves.012, and the subject in TwoThieves.013, an S2 context. He is referred to using the NP *taʔ niʔ* 'the man'. This text uses a local VIP strategy, and in this segment of the text, the thieves are the local VIP. When the non-VIP is referenced, an NP is used, while the VIP is referenced with zero or a pronoun depending on the sequential strategy context.

(116)TwoThieves.012

*∅ ʔəəh tɕii tɛɛŋ sɔ'nar tɕii tɛɛŋ sɔ'nar*  
 thieves EXCL IRR do walking\_stick IRR do walking\_stick

"Oh (I/we) will make a walking stick! (I/we) will make a walking stick."

TwoThieves.013

*taʔ niʔ ʔan wɛk*  
 Mr this give knife

The man gave (him/them) the knife.

Use of an NP to refer to the old man signals to the audience that he is not the local VIP at this point in the narrative.

With these predictable exceptions to the use of default encoding in an S2 context, a revised rule is proposed:

### Revised Rule for S2 Context

Where the referent is the addressee in a previous clause (S2), the default encoding for a central or major participant is zero, **except where there is a text discontinuity. At a text discontinuity, a pronoun is used if a sequential strategy is followed, or an NP is used if a VIP strategy is followed and the referent is not the VIP.**

#### 4.4.1.3 Subject is non-subject in previous clause (S3 context)

The third rule governs the S3 context, where the referent which is the subject in the current clause is in a non-subject relation other than addressee in the previous clause. The tentative rule is:

#### Tentative Rule for S3 Context

When the referent is in a non-subject relation other than addressee in the previous clause (S3), the default encoding is a pronoun. This rule applies to central and major participants. For minor or peripheral participants, a pronoun, a kin term, a proper noun or a minimal NP is used.

An example of a default encoding for a central participant in an S3 context is shown in (117). In Orphan.077 the orphan is the recipient of some food, a non-subject relation. In Orphan.078 he is the subject, an S3 context, and is referred to using the pronoun *gəə* '3sgm'.

(117)Orphan.077

*naa taŋ mɔɔt pɔɔn ?an gəə bə? ?nɛɛ*  
3sgf then take\_hold put\_in\_mouth PURP 3sgm eat also

Then as well she picked up (some food and) put (it) in his mouth so that he would eat.

Orphan.078

*gəə gɔ? ləj mah*  
3sgm so\_then directly eat

So he ate (it) right then.

An example of a minor participant is shown in (118). In the first clause, the king is referred to with the NP *joŋ ni?* 'the father' which is the object in the clause. In the second clause, the same referent is in the subject position, an S3 context, and the NP *joŋ ni?* is again used to refer to him, *hootɕ joŋ ni? law* 'then the father said'.

(118)Orphan.100

*jɕh nop jɕh waj joŋ ni? hootɕ joŋ ni? law raaj k<sup>h</sup>ian*  
 DIR greet DIR bow father this and\_then father this say angry AUG  
*law ʔoo baa diaŋ gon dzəʔ gon ɲooŋ gon t<sup>h</sup>uk gon*  
 say oh! 2sgf take person dirty person disgusting person poor person  
*ɲaak jɕh daʔ gaŋ ʔnɔʔ*  
 difficult go at house that

(They) went (and) greeted (and) went (and) bowed to the father, then the father said, (he) became angry (and) said, "Oh! you get a dirty, disgusting, poor, miserable person (and) go to the house like that.

As in the previous rules, exceptions to this pattern were seen where there was a discontinuity in the text or where the participant was being highlighted. In either of these situations more than default encoding was used, namely an NP. Highlighting often occurs in the sentence following a formal introduction, where an NP with the determiner *gi<sup>h</sup>ni?* is used to refer to the participant who was just introduced, highlighting it as a thematically salient participant. An example of this is seen in (119), where the orphan is formally introduced in Orphan.002. In Orphan.003, he is referred to with an NP, *kɔɔn rook gon gi<sup>h</sup>ni?* 'that orphan' in the subject position, an S3 context.

(119)Orphan.002

*lɛʔ ʔah kɔɔn<sup>h</sup>rook mooj gon*  
 and have orphan one Clf\_people

And (there) was an orphan.

Orphan.003

*kɔɔn<sup>h</sup>rook gon gi<sup>h</sup>ni? lɛʔ kəət tɕaak k<sup>h</sup>ɔɔpk<sup>h</sup>ua t<sup>h</sup>uk t<sup>h</sup>ii sut*  
 orphan Clf\_people that\_one PRT be\_born from family poor SUPERL

That orphan, (he) was born from the poorest family.

This use of more than default encoding signals to the hearer that this participant is thematically salient.

Another predictable exception to the S3 rule is seen where more than default encoding is used to disambiguate participants who would not be adequately identifiable using only a pronoun. In this case, an NP is used. An example is shown in (120). The old man is the object in TwoThieves.017 which is repeated as the first clause in TwoThieves.018. In the second clause in TwoThieves.018, *ta? ni? kir'liarŋ ni?* 'the man fell down here', the old man is the subject, an S3 context, and is referred to using the NP *ta? ni?* 'the man', more than default encoding.

(120)TwoThieves.017

*gəə de? sa'ʔɔɔŋ ni? tʰap Ø*  
 3sgm get wood this strike old man

He got the stick (and) struck (the man). OR He (who) got the stick struck (the man).

TwoThieves.018

*tʰap ta? ta? ni? kir'liarŋ ni?*  
 strike Mr Mr this fall\_over here

Struck the man, the man fell down here.

In this story there are three male participants, and the use of the pronoun *gəə* '3sgm' would not distinguish between them. A local VIP strategy is used, that is, the pattern of participant reference used in each segment of the story reflects the relative thematic salience or topicality of the participants at that point in the narrative. The local VIP is referred to using pronouns, while less salient participants are referred to using NPs. The use of an NP not only identifies the participant unambiguously, but also signals to the hearer that it is the less salient participant in this section of the text.

In the light of these predictable exceptions to the use of default encoding in an S3 context, the revised rule is:

#### **Revised Rule for S3 Context**

When the referent is in a non-subject relation other than addressee in the previous clause (S3), the default encoding is a pronoun, **except where there is a discontinuity in the text, the participant is being highlighted, or where a pronoun would not adequately distinguish between referents. In any of these cases an NP is used. If there is a**

**local VIP, the non-VIP is given more encoding.**

This rule applies to central and major participants.

For minor or peripheral participants, a pronoun, a kin term, a proper noun or a minimal NP is used.

#### 4.4.1.4 Not mentioned in previous clause (S4)

The fourth rule governs contexts where the referent is not mentioned in the previous clause, an **S4 context**. The tentative rule is:

##### **Tentative Rule for S4 Context**

Where the participant is not mentioned at all in the preceding clause (S4), the default encoding is an NP.

An example is shown in (121). The husband and the uncle are not mentioned in Bear.027. In Bear.028 they are referred to using the NP *gle? ʔo? kap kuup baar gon gi'ni?* 'my husband and the uncle those two'.

(121)Bear.027

*nɔɔ jɔh bip rarʔkʰɔɔ da? ho? bɨŋ'tɕu? gi'ni?*  
3pl DIR meet civet at over\_there group that\_one

They went (and) found the civet over there, that group.

Bear.028

*le? gle? ʔo? kap kuup baar gon gi'ni? wer*  
and husband 1sg with uncle\_by\_marriage two Clf\_people that\_one return  
*gaaj looŋ kin'ni?*  
DIR direction behind

And my husband and the uncle those two turned back the way they had come (lit. the direction (from) behind).

There are some predictable exceptions to this rule. In an S4 context where there is no risk of ambiguity, a pronoun is used. An example of this is shown in (122). The princess is not mentioned in Orphan.079, but is referred to with the pronoun *naa* '3sgf' in Orphan.080, an S4 context.

(122)Orphan.079

Ø mah ʔəə Ø mah biʔ lɛɛw Ø dzuur ʔiak  
 orphan eat yes orphan eat full already orphan DIR drink

ʔom hin'dɔɔr niʔ  
 water\_spout this

(He) ate, yes, (he) ate (till he) was full, (then he) went down (and) drank the spout water.

Orphan.080

naa law wetɕ wetɕ jɔʔ ʔoʔ wetɕ gaa gaan  
 3sgf say return\_home return\_home with 1sg return\_home climb house

ʔoʔ ʔan mee rak ʔoʔ  
 1sg COND 2sgm love 1sg

She said, "Come back, come back with me; come back (and) climb up (to) my house, if you love me."

There is no ambiguity because she and the orphan are the only participants present, and the feminine form of the pronoun adequately identifies her as the only female participant on stage.

Where there is a local VIP, the VIP is identified using a pronoun in an S4 context. An example is shown in (123). The thieves are not mentioned in TwoThieves.007. In TwoThieves.008 one of the thieves is the subject in the second clause, an S4 context. The pronoun *gəə* '3sgm' is used to refer to him, as the thieves are the local VIP's in this section of the text.

(123)TwoThieves.007

hootɕ taʔ niʔ jɔh tɕə'mɔɔl ʔeʔ  
 and\_then Mr this DIR plant rice\_field

Then the man went to plant (his) rice field.

TwoThieves.008

jɔh tɕə'mɔɔl ʔeʔ hootɕ ʔəə gəə law jɔh rɔɔt jɔʔ taʔ  
 DIR plant rice\_field and\_then yes 3sgm say DIR arrive with Mr

niʔ taʔ tʰaw ʔəəh gəə law taʔ mee tɕii tɕɛŋ məh ʔih  
 here grandfather EXCL 3sgm say grandfather 2sgm IRR do what IMP

gəə law  
 3sgm say

Having gone to plant (his) rice field, and then, "Hey," he/they said, arriving at the

man here, "Grandfather!" he/they said, "Grandfather, what are you going to do, hey?" he/they said

To account for these predictable exceptions to the use of default encoding in an S4 context, the revised rule is:

#### **Revised Rule for S4 Context**

Where the participant is not mentioned at all in the preceding clause (S4), the default encoding is an NP, **except where there is no ambiguity by using pronouns, or if the participant is a local VIP, where a pronoun is used.**

#### **4.4.2 Non-subject reference patterns**

There was much less referencing of participants in non-subject relations than subject relations. With the limited data available, the following rules are tentatively proposed for default encoding patterns of non-subject references. Each rule is first given in a tentative form with an example, followed by a discussion of predictable exceptions, and the revised rule which allows for these.

##### **4.4.2.1 Same non-subject relation as previous clause (N1)**

This rule applies to referents who are in the same non-subject relations as in the previous clause, an N1 context. The tentative rule is:

#### **Tentative Rule for N1 Context**

Where the referent is in the same non-subject relation as that of the previous clause (N1), a zero identification is given. This rule holds for central and major participants. With minor and peripheral participants, an NP is used in the N1 context.

An example of this is shown in (124). In Orphan.093 and Orphan.094 the orphan is in a non-subject relation, that of object of the verb *?an* 'to allow'. In Orphan.093 the pronoun *gəə* '3sgm' is fronted. In Orphan.094 the clause is repeated with the orphan in the same non-subject relation and a zero reference is used. In Orphan.095 the orphan is again in the same non-subject relation and a zero reference is used again.



(124)Orphan.093

*naa guut lɛ? bat gi nɔɔŋ gəə gəə ta'haan ?am ?an*  
3sgf enter and turn this\_one remain 3sgm 3sgm soldier NEG allow

*guut*  
enter

She entered and (at) this time he remained; him, the soldiers would not allow to enter.

Orphan.094

*ta'haan ?am ?an Ø guut*  
soldier NEG allow orphan enter

The soldiers would not allow (him) to enter.

Orphan.095

*tɛɛŋ nɛɛw mə? gɔ? ?an Ø jɛt da? nɔɔk ni?*  
do however so\_then CAUS orphan stay at outside here

Whatever (he) did, (they) made (him) stay outside.

An example of a minor participant in an N1 context is shown in (125)<sup>8</sup>. The elephants are minor participants in the Orphan story. In Orphan.170 the elephants are minor participants in the Orphan story. In Orphan.170 the elephants are in a non-subject relation, and in Orphan.171 they are in the same non-subject relation, an N1 context. They are referred to in Orphan.171 using the unmodified NP *sa'tɕaaŋ* 'elephant(s)'.

(125)Orphan.170

*tʰran nɔɔ ter dar jɔh pʰa'naa gɔ? kʰruk jɔŋ'ma? kʰruk*  
be\_startled 3pl jump run DIR king so\_then fall parents fall

*sa'tɕaaŋ*  
elephant

Being startled they jumped (and) ran off, (and) the king fell, the parents fell off the elephants.

Orphan.171

*ta'haan mə? kʰruk sa'tɕaaŋ*  
soldier INDEF fall elephant

All of the soldiers fell off the elephants.

<sup>8</sup> The only examples of minor participants in an N1 context are animal referents. More data is needed to confirm that this pattern also applies to human referents.

An exception to this pattern is seen when a participant is highlighted, as shown in (126). In Orphan.016 the orphan is the object of the verb *sir'ʔɔh* 'to hate'. In Orphan.017 this clause is repeated with the NP *gəə niʔ* 'this him' being used again. In the following three clauses, the orphan continues in the same non-subject relation, and is referred to each time with the pronoun *gəə* '3sgm'. This is more than default encoding and is used to highlight the suffering of the orphan.

(126)Orphan.016

*mia lian jɔh lian gaaj maʔkin gɔʔ ləj sr'ʔɔh gəə niʔ*  
 when raise DUR raise DUR aunt so\_then directly hate 3sgm this

While raising him as time went on, the aunt began to hate him.

Orphan.017

*sr'ʔɔh gəə niʔ saj gəə tɛɛŋ wiak saj gəə jɔh k'ii jɔh ŋaaj*  
 hate 3sgm this use 3sgm do work use 3sgm go here go there

*lɛʔ ʔam ʔan gəə bəʔ mah*  
 and NEG allow 3sgm eat rice

Hating him, (she) used him to work, used him to go here (and) go there, and did not allow him to eat rice.

When there is a local VIP in the text, a non-VIP in an N1 context is referred to using an NP, as shown in (127). In TwoThieves.017, the old man is given a zero reference and is the object of the verb *tʰap* 'to strike'. In TwoThieves.018, this clause is repeated, but this time he is referenced with the noun *taʔ* 'man'. This is an N1 context with more than default encoding.

(127)TwoThieves.017

*gəə deʔ sa'ʔɔŋ niʔ tʰap Ø*  
 3sgm get wood this strike old man

He got the stick (and) struck (the man). OR He (who) got the stick struck (the man).

TwoThieves.018

*tʰap taʔ taʔ niʔ kir'lian ŋiʔ*  
 strike Mr Mr this fall\_over here

Struck the man, the man fell down here.

Using more than default encoding signals to the audience that a non-VIP referent is being identified.

The rule for N1 contexts has been revised to account for these predictable exceptions. The revised rule is:

#### **Revised Rule for N1 Contexts**

Where the referent is in the same non-subject relation as that of the previous clause (N1), a zero identification is given, **except where the speaker is highlighting a participant, when a pronoun is used; or where there is a local VIP and the referent is a non-VIP, when an NP is used.** This rule holds for central and major participants. With minor and peripheral participants, an NP is used in the N1 context.

#### 4.4.2.2 Addressee was speaker in previous clause (N2)

In the N2 context, the referent is the addressee in the current clause and is the speaker in the previous clause. No data for the N2 context was found in this study.

#### 4.4.2.3 Non-subject has different relation from previous clause (N3)

This rule governs the default encoding of a referent in a non-subject relation that is different from its grammatical relation in the previous clause. The tentative rule is:

#### **Tentative Rule for N3 Context**

When the participant is in a different relation in the previous clause from the non-subject relation in the current clause (N3), the default encoding is a pronoun, except if the participant is a minor or peripheral participant, when an NP is used.

When a referent is in an N3 context a pronoun is the default referring expression, as shown in (128). In the final clause of Man-eater.022, *gon dee tæŋ məh jɔ? gəə ʔam bian* 'we people could not do anything to it', the tiger is referred to by the pronoun *gəə* '3sgm' in a non-subject relation, the object of the preposition *jɔ?* 'with'. In the previous clause, it is the subject of the verb *pok mah* 'to attack (and)

eat'. The reference in the final clause is an N3 context with the default, a pronoun, as expected.

(128)Man\_eater.022

*tɕii jet da? kluan kuŋ jɔh tɪr'di? ŋɔɔr rii jet da? ɽe?*  
 IRR stay at inside village go centre road or stay at rice\_field  
*da? ki'naal ʔan ra'waaj ni? tɕu? pok mə? tɕu? mah mə?*  
 at section COND tiger this want bite INDEF want eat INDEF  
*gəə gɔ? pok mah gon dee tɛŋ məh jɔ? gəə ʔam*  
 3sgn so\_then bite eat person unspecified do INDEF with 3sgn NEG  
*bian*  
 can

Whether (you) stayed at the inside of the village, went down the middle of the road or stayed at the rice fields, if the tiger wanted to attack anyone, to eat anyone, then it attacked (and) ate (them); we people could not do anything to it.

An example of a peripheral participant is shown in (129). In Man-eater.042, the village people are referred to with an NP *pasa'son* 'people' in a non-subject relation. In the previous clause, Man-eater.041, they are referred to using the NP *joŋ'ma? pasason mə?* 'all the people' in the subject. The reference in Man-eater.042 is an N3 context. Because the referent is a peripheral participant, the default encoding of an NP is used.

(129)Man\_eater.041

*joŋ'ma? pasa'son mə? gɔ? ŋɔ? ʔɔɔr jɔ? jɔh jet kuŋ*  
 parents people INDEF so\_then fear lead together DIR stay village  
*baan'loom brɔɔm t'it p'hiw*  
 Ban Lom with Thit Phiv

All the people were afraid, (and) went together to stay (at) Ban Lom village with Thit Phiv.

Man\_eater.042

*t'it p'hiw rɪp ki'muul jɔ? pasa'son gaan mooj man t'hiik*  
 Thit Phiv gather money with people house one Clf\_money receive  
*ki'muul pa'lootɕ haa ban man*  
 money totally five Clf\_thousands Clf\_money

Thit Phiv collected money from the people (from each) house one silver coin,

receiving all together five thousand silver coins.

Predictable exceptions to the default pattern are motivated by highlighting of participants, or the presence of a local VIP. An example of more than default encoding to highlight a participant is shown in (130). In Man-eater.031 the child and mother are the object of the verb *pok* 'to bite, to attack' while in the previous sentence they are the subject of the clause. The reference in Man-eater.031 is an N3 context where a pronoun would be expected for these participants who are major actors in this episode. Instead, there is an appositional pronoun construction, *pa? si'naa kɔɔn ma?* 'both of them, child (and) mother', more than the default.

(130)Man\_eater.030

*ja? p<sup>h</sup>ej pa? ja? ʔɔɔŋ de? hin'la? t<sup>h</sup>ap ra'waaj ni? ʔam bæ*  
Ms Pheng with Ms Ong get spade strike tiger this NEG prevail

Ms Pheng and Ms Ong got the spade (and) struck the tiger, (but they) could not overcome (it).

Man\_eater.031

*ra'waaj pok pa? si'naa kɔɔn ma? haan*  
tiger bite with 3du child mother die

The tiger attacked both of them, child (and) mother, (and they) died.

More than default encoding highlights the participants, and also the event. Not just one, but both of these people were killed.

The presence of a local VIP impacts the amount of encoding used in an N3 context. (131) is an example of this. In TwoThieves.008 the old man is in a non-subject role, the addressee, while in the previous sentence, TwoThieves.007, he is the subject. Thus the reference in TwoThieves.008 is an N3 context. Instead of a pronoun, an NP, *ta?* 'mister, man', is used.

(131)TwoThieves.007

*hootɕ ta? ni? jɔh tɕə'mɔɔl ʔe?*  
and\_then Mr this DIR plant rice\_field

Then the man went to plant (his) rice field.

TwoThieves.008

*jɔh tɕə'mɔɔl ʔe? hootɕ ʔəə gəə law jɔh rɔɔt jɔ? ta?*  
DIR plant rice\_field and\_then yes 3sgm say DIR arrive with Mr

ni? ta? t<sup>h</sup>aw ʔəh gəə law ta? mee tɕii tɕɛŋ məh ʔih  
 here grandfather EXCL 3sgm say grandfather 2sgm IRR do what IMP

gəə law ta? mee tɕɛŋ məh ʔan ʔo? de? wɛk mee  
 3sgm say grandfather 2sgm do what give 1sg get knife 2sgm

dɛk

a\_little

Having gone to plant (his) rice field, and then, "Hey," he/they said, arriving at the man here, "Grandfather!" he/they said, "Grandfather, what are you going to do, hey?" he/they said, "Grandfather, what are you doing? Give me your knife (for) a short time."

At this point in the narrative, the thieves are the local VIP's. More than default encoding signals to the audience that this participant is the non-VIP.

The VIP, on the other hand, is identified by less than default encoding as shown in (132). In Bear.047, the uncle is the object of the verb *graatɕ* 'to scratch', while in the previous clause in Bear.046 he is the subject. The reference in Bear.047 is an N3 context, but he is given a zero reference, less than the default, a pronoun for N3.

(132)Bear.046

gon gi'ni? da? lɔh ʔnɔ? ʔam kɔɔn ʔoh o'baa haŋ məh  
 person that\_one at body that NEG ? wounded PRT as\_if be

too hual gi'ni? nɔɔ law Ø ʔoh liŋ da? ʔɔh muh  
 animal bear that\_one 3pl say uncle wounded only at periphery nose

da? ʔɔh mat kə?  
 at periphery eye like\_that

That person, there on (his) body was not very wounded, you see, as if (it) was that bear, they said, (he) was wounded only at the edges of (his) face (lit. at periphery nose, at periphery eyes), like that.

Bear.047

gəə de? tim'mɔɔŋ gəə graatɕ Ø  
 3sgn get nail 3sgn scratch uncle

It got its claws (and) scratched (him).

At this point in the narrative, the uncle is the local VIP, and this is signalled by less than default encoding.

Taking these predictable exceptions into account, the revised rule for default encoding in an N3 context is:

**Revised Rule for N3 Context**

When the participant is in a different relation in the previous clause from the non-subject relation in the current clause (N3), the default encoding is a pronoun; **except where a participant is highlighted, when more encoding is used; or where there is a local VIP. In this case, the VIP receives less encoding and the non-VIP receives more.** This rule applies to central and major participants. For minor or peripheral participants, an NP is used.

4.4.2.4 Other non-subject references (N4)

Referents in a non-subject relation other than those covered by N1 to N3 are in an N4 context. Data for this context is again limited. The tentative rule governing such contexts is:

**Tentative Rule for N4 Context**

Where the participant is in a non-subject relation other than those covered by N1 to N3 (N4), the default encoding is an NP.

An example of this is shown in (133). In Bear.031 the bear is referred to using the NP *hual ma? koon naak ni?* 'the mother bear (which had) a young cub', which is in a non-subject relation. The previous two sentences are descriptive and contain no references to participants. The participant reference prior to that is in Bear.028, which has no mention of the bear. Thus the reference in Bear.031 is an N4 context with the default encoding of an NP.

(133)Bear.028

<i>le?</i>	<i>gle?</i>	<i>ʔo?</i>	<i>kap</i>	<i>kuun</i>	<i>baar</i>	<i>gon</i>	<i>gi'ni?</i>	<i>wer</i>
and	husband	1sg	with	uncle_by_marriage	two	Clf_people	that_one	return
<i>gaaj</i>	<i>loon</i>	<i>kin'ni?</i>						
DIR	direction	behind						

And my husband and the uncle those two turned back the way they had come (lit. the direction (from) behind).

Bear.031

*p<sup>h</sup>'dii jɔh bip hual ma? kɔɔn ɲaak ni?*  
 exactly DIR meet bear mother baby this

Just then (they) went (and) met the mother bear (which had) a young cub.

Where the gender specificity of pronouns adequately distinguishes the participants on the stage, a pronoun is used rather than an NP in an N4 context, as shown in (134). The orphan is referenced in the final clause *ʔar mit ʔan gəə bə?* 'took it back for him to eat', but not in any of the previous clauses. This is a non-subject relation and an N4 context. The pronoun *gəə* '3sgm' is less than the default. Because the orphan and the princess are the only participants on stage, it is quite clear the only male participant is the orphan.

(134)Orphan.069

*laŋtɕaak plah ʔom hootɕ lɛɛw ∅ gɔ? sɔɔk siŋ'mah*  
 after put water CMPL and\_then princess so\_then seek food  
 ∅ seh da? gook ɲaam jə? gəə məh  
 princess put\_in at round\_gourd period\_of\_time long\_ago 3sgn be  
 gook ∅ seh da? gook ∅ seh da? bɛɛm  
 round\_gourd princess put\_in at round\_gourd princess put\_in at basket  
 ∅ ʔar mit ʔan gəə bə?  
 princess take\_along take PURP 3sgm eat

Having put the water down, then (she) found some food (and) put (it) in a gourd, long ago it was a gourd, put (it) in a gourd, put (it) in a basket, (and) took it back for him to eat.

Taking this into consideration, the revised N4 rule is:

#### **Revised Rule for N4 Context**

Where the participant is not mentioned at all in the preceding clause (N4), the default encoding is an NP, **except where there is no ambiguity by using pronouns, when a pronoun is used.**



## 4.5 Non-default encoding patterns

In the majority of cases, participant identification follows the patterns outlined in these rules. There are some instances in which the default patterns are not followed. By examining the specific contexts of such instances, motivations for deviating from the default can be found. In the following sections, more than default encodings will be discussed first, and then less than default encodings.

### 4.5.1 More than default encoding for subject contexts

There is a section in the Orphan story where more than default encoding is repeatedly used in an **S1 context** to refer to the orphan, see (135). At this point in the story the orphan is the only participant on stage. In Orphan.026 the subject, the orphan, is the same participant as the previous clause, and the default pattern is followed with a zero reference for the S1 context. In Orphan.027 - Orphan.031, the pronoun *gəə* '3sgm' is used in a series of S1 contexts, more than default encoding, before the default pattern is resumed in the final clause of Orphan.031.

(135)Orphan.026

∅      *gaa*   *mok*      ∅      *gaa*   *riŋ'kəŋ*   *jəh*  
orphan climb mountain orphan climb peak      DIR

(He) climbed mountains (and he) climbed peaks (and) went on.

Orphan.027

*jəh*   *pɨ'siam*   *ŋə?*      *gəə*   *sih*      *deh*   *ŋi?*  
go   night   INDEF 3sgm lie\_down EMPH here

Going wherever (at) night, he lay down here.

Orphan.028

*le?*   *pɨ'siam*   *ŋə?*      *gəə*   *kwaatɕ*   *deh*   *ŋi?*  
and night   INDEF 3sgm curl\_up EMPH here

And wherever (he was at) night, he curled up here.

Orphan.029

*le?*   *da?*   *ŋaam*      *gəə*   *ŋaəŋ*   *jəh*   *ni?*   *gəə*   *ʔam*   *ʔah*   *mah*  
and at   period\_of\_time 3sgm walk DIR this 3sgm NEG have rice

And at the time he was walking along he did not have rice.

Orphan.030

*gəə ʔah wək mooj wək kut mooj*  
3sgm have knife one flat\_ended\_knife one

He had one knife, one flat-ended knife.

Orphan.031

*lɛʔ bɪp kwaaj gəə kʰiaŋ kwaaj lɛw Ø gɔʔ mah kwaaj*  
and meet tuber 3sgm dig tuber and\_then orphan so\_then eat tuber  
*niʔ*  
this

And finding a tuber, he dug the tuber up, and then ate the tuber.

The referent is active and clearly identifiable, there is no sense of highlighting of crucial events, nor any discontinuity in the text. When this section of the recorded text is played, the speaker takes on a chanting, sing-song pattern of speech with a rhythmic repetition of sentence patterns. This is especially noticeable for Orphan.027 and Orphan.028, which have the same number of syllables. This narrator learnt this folk-tale as a child from his grandfather. Perhaps this section of the narrative was told and remembered in a chanting, rhythmic style to emphasise the trudging journey of the poor orphan child.

More than default encoding is used in an **S2 context as a reminder after a long speech**, as shown in (136). In Orphan.115, the monkey is responding to the orphan and is referred to in the speech margin with a zero reference, the default for an S2 context. This speech continues for 4 more sentences. At the end of this, in Orphan.119, the speech margin is repeated and the monkey is referenced with a zero reference in situ and a right-dislocated NP *faʔ* 'monkey'.

(136)Orphan.115

*bat gii Ø law ʔəə ʔoʔ tɕii dʒɔɔj mee taaj nɛɛw*  
turn this\_one monkey say yes 1sg IRR help 2sgm elder\_sibling type  
*ʔoʔ tɕii dʒɔɔj mee niʔ mee ʔam nəəŋ sam ʔoʔ tɕii dʒɔɔj mee*  
1sg IRR help 2sgm this 2sgm NEG know totally 1sg IRR help 2sgm  
*ʒaam məʔ gɔʔ ʔam nəəŋ sam*  
period\_of\_time INDEF so\_then NEG know totally

(At) this time (the monkey) said, "Yes, I will help you, older brother; the way I will help you, you do not know at all, I will help you (at) a time (you) do not know at all.

Orphan.119

*tir'gət rɔt ʔoʔ lɛʔ law kʰoʔ ʔoʔ tɕii gaaj dzɔɔj Ø law*  
think arriving 1sg and say EXCL 1sg IRR DIR help monkey say

*nɛɛw niʔ faʔ*  
type this monkey

Think about me and say (what you want), (then) I will come (and) help (you)," (he) said like this, the monkey.

It is not uncommon for speech margins to be repeated at the end of a speech, but the speaker is usually not referred to explicitly the second time. In this case because of the extended length of the speech, the reference is repeated as a reminder for the hearers. This repetition helps the mental processing of the hearer in keeping track of which participant is active in the narrative.

More than default encoding is observed as a **self-correction in an S2 context**. Because of the nature of unrehearsed oral narratives, the speakers sometimes corrected themselves or clarified references to participants as they went along. There is one example where the speaker disambiguates a referent using more than default encoding because the previous speech margin was underspecified. This is shown in (137). In Orphan.125 the only participants on the stage of the narrative are the princess and the orphan and one of them starts speaking. It is not necessarily clear to the hearer which participant this is because the speech margin contains a zero reference. In order to clarify this, the narrator over-specifies the next speech margin in Orphan.126. This is an S2 context, and instead of the default encoding of a zero reference, he uses a modified NP *taʔ kɔɔn'rook niʔ tɕaw gəə kɔɔn'rook* 'the orphan man, he who (was) the orphan'.

(137)Orphan.125

*ʔoo pʰ'dii jɔh rɔt niʔ lɛʔ Ø ʔoo hɛɛm faʔ*  
oh! exactly DIR arrive here PRT princess oh! younger\_sibling monkey  
*niʔ gəə law sah ʔaʔ tɕuʔ deʔ məh ʔan ʔaʔ law nɛɛw niʔ*  
this 3sgm say COMP 1du want get INDEF OBLIG 1du say type this  
*tir'gət gəə law niʔ*  
think 3sgm say this

Now just when (they) arrived here, "Oh younger brother monkey, he said that (if) we two want anything, we two should say like this, (and) think of him," (she) said this.

Orphan.126

*ta? kɔɔn'rook ni? tɕaw'gəə kɔɔn'rook gɔ? ləj law sah ʔoo*  
Mr orphan this that orphan so\_then directly say COMP oh!

*hɛɛm ʔəj kʰi'ni? ʔa? gle? kim'bra? tʰuk hej ʔam ʔah*  
younger\_sibling VOC now 1du husband wife poor very NEG have

*məh gɔ? dʒaa gəə tɕii kʰrɔɔ de? gaŋ mooj*  
INDEF so\_then never\_mind 3sgn IRR request get house one

*ʔaŋ kʰo? lɛ? de? mah mah lɛ? de? ŋu?kuŋ ŋu?'gaŋ*  
Clf\_buildings EXCL and get rice eat and get villagers

*graaw haa hok sip ʔaŋ ŋi?*  
approximately five six Clf\_tens Clf\_buildings here

The orphan man, he who (was) the orphan then said, "Oh younger sister, now we, husband (and) wife, are extremely poor, and don't have anything, (but we) don't mind that; (we) will ask to get one house, and to get rice to eat, and to get villagers, about 50 (or) 60 houses here."

Using more than default encoding disambiguates plausible referents, and helps the hearer to accurately identify the intended referent.

Another example of more than default encoding is seen in an **S2 context at the peak section** of a narrative, as shown in (138). In Tan.112 Tan is referenced with the pronoun *ʔo?* '1sg'. This is an S2 context, as she is the addressee in the previous clause, Tan.111. This pattern is repeated in Tan.114. Default encoding would be a zero reference, so this is more than default encoding.

(138)Tan.111

*∅ ʔauh gi ʔnɔ? ʔam məh ka'lem baa ʔoh tan*  
father EXCL this\_one that NEG be ice-cream 2sgf truly Tan

"Hey! This thing there isn't really your ice-cream, Tan!"

Tan.112

*ʔo? law gɔ? məh ʔadee*  
1sg say so\_then be EXCL

I said, "(it) is."

Tan.113

*∅ ʔa'ni? baa ʔam mah ʔan gəə lootɕ*  
father that\_one 2sgf NEG eat PURP 3sgn all\_gone

"That thing, you didn't eat until it was finished."

Tan.114

*ʔoʔ law tʰɛɛ gəə ʔam lam*  
1sg say truly 3sgn NEG delicious

I said, "Truly it wasn't delicious."

Tan.115

*∅ ʔuh tɕaŋ məɛn ʔiaʔ*  
father EXCL ? be stupid

"Ooh! (You) are stupid.

This incident occurs in a post-peak episode in Tan's story which is itself a mini-narrative. Within this mini-narrative, this exchange occurs in the local peak episode. Because normal patterns of reference are often disturbed in the peak section of a narrative, it may be that this is an example of peak marking. Changing the default pattern for participant identification at the peak of a narrative signals to the hearer to pay more attention to the participant who is being highlighted using more than default encoding, or to the events they are experiencing.

An example of more than default encoding in an **S3 context** is seen in (139). In Man-eater.012, the tiger is referred to using the noun *ra'waaj* 'tiger', which is the subject of the clause. This is an S3 context, because in Man-eater.011, the tiger is in the object relation. A noun in S3 context is more than default encoding.

(139)Man\_eater.011

*maʔ naa tɕap gir hin'laʔ tʰap ra'waaj niʔ*  
mother 3sgf catch handle spade strike tiger this

Her mother took hold of the spade handle (and) struck the tiger.

Man\_eater.012

*ra'waaj ʔam bɛɛ dar duʔ*  
tiger NEG prevail run flee

The tiger couldn't overcome (her), (so it) ran away.

The pattern of participant reference for the tiger follows the rules for default patterns for S1 and S4 contexts, but in the S3 context an NP is used in 5 out of 8 occurrences. It is not clear what the motivation is for more than default encoding in these instances. Possibly there may be some difference in patterns relating to

animals as opposed to people, although pronouns were used in S3 contexts with reference to the bear in the Bear story. It is also possible that it reflects a style difference between storytellers. More data is needed to clarify this issue.

#### 4.5.2 More than default encoding for non-subject contexts

In an N1 context where the default is zero, any linguistic encoding is more than the default. In one instance, a modified NP was used in the N1 context to disambiguate a referent where there was a high risk of wrong identification. This is shown in (140). In the final clause of Orphan.151 the princess's father, the king is referred to using the NP *joŋ tɕawsi'wit tɕawgəə ratɕ pi'du? ni? ʔoh ratɕ si'naa pi'du? ni?* 'the father king, who had chased (and) driven (them) out, yes, chased them (2) (and) driven (them) out'. This NP is the object of the verb *brɔŋ* 'to invite', and is in the same non-subject relation as the reference to the king in the previous clause, the NP *joŋ ni?* 'the father'. This is an N1 context.

(140)Orphan.151

*bat giü joŋ nɔɔ tɕɛŋ si'naaʔa'maat tɕɛŋ luuk'nɔŋ jɔh jɔh*  
 turn this\_one father 3pl CAUS officer CAUS follower go DIR  
*brɔŋ joŋ ni? gaaj hæp brɔŋ joŋ tɕawsi'wit tɕaw'gəə ratɕ*  
 invite father this DIR visit invite father king that chase  
*pi'du? ni? ʔoh ratɕ si'naa pi'du? ni?*  
 drive\_out this truly chase 3du drive\_out this

(At) this time their father made the officers (and) made the soldiers go, go (and) invite the father to come (and) visit, invite the father king, who had chased (and) driven (them) out, yes, chased them (2) (and) driven (them) out.

The area of potential ambiguity is between the orphan and the king. The orphan and the princess have just been made rulers over the village created by the monkey, and so the orphan is now himself a king. He is referred to in Orphan.151 using the NP *joŋ nɔɔ* 'their father', meaning 'their king'. To distinguish between the two kings, the narrator uses the complex NP with the restrictive relative clauses to ensure that the audience knows that the orphan-king is doing the inviting and the father-of-the-princess-king is being invited.

Where there is potential ambiguity, the speaker uses more than default encoding to help the audience accurately identify the referent, and to signal that the distinction being made is significant.

### 4.5.3 Less than default encoding for subject contexts

In S1 and S2 contexts the default is already zero. This section describes instances of less than default encoding in an S3 context, where a zero reference is used instead of a pronoun, and S4 contexts, where a zero reference is used instead of an NP. In both these contexts, less than default encoding is found in the peak sections of narratives, and in contexts where there is a strong expectation of certain behaviours associated with participants due to a schema or shared cultural knowledge by the speaker and hearers.

At the peak of the narrative, patterns of participant reference often deviate from those observed in the rest of the text (Longacre 1996:38). In both the Bear story and the Thief story, there are zero references in S3 contexts in the peak section. An example is shown in (141). In the second clause,  $\emptyset$  *k<sup>h</sup>ruk*  $\emptyset$  *haan* '(and he) fell off (and he) died', the thief is the subject and is given a zero reference. This is an S3 context, because in the previous clause the same referent is the object.

(141)Thief.018

*lot        brian            jɔh   k<sup>h</sup>ruuj        ∅        ∅        k<sup>h</sup>ruk    ∅        haan*  
vehicle other\_people DIR side\_swipe thief thief fall thief die

Another person's vehicle went (and) side-swiped (him), (and he) fell off (and he) died.

There is no ambiguity for the hearers here, and the speaker minimises reference to add to the impact of the rapid succession of events being described.

In the two reported stories involving wild animals, The Man-eating Tiger and The Bear, there are instances of zero encoding in an S3 context without any ambiguity. These involve the animals acting or being acted upon in ways that make it obvious that the referent is an animal. An example is given in (142). In Bear.032, the bear is referred to using a zero reference in the first clause,  $\emptyset$  *jɔh* *ɲap jɔʔgəə məh kuuj gi<sup>h</sup>ni?* '(it) grabbed (the one) who was that uncle'. It is in the subject relation in the clause, but in the previous clause the same referent is referenced with the NP *hual ma? kɔɔn ɲaak ni?* 'the mother bear (which had) a young cub', the object of the verb *bip* 'to meet'. This is an S3 context with less than default encoding.

(142)Bear.031

*p<sup>h</sup>'dii jɔh bip hual ma? kɔɔn ŋaak ni?*  
 exactly DIR meet bear mother baby this

Just then (they) went (and) met the mother bear (which had) a young cub.

Bear.032

*∅ jɔh ŋap jɔ?gəə məh kuɣŋ gi'ni? ∅ ŋap*  
 bear DIR grab REL be uncle\_by\_marriage that\_one bear grab

*∅ mel jɔ? da? klaak gla? ni? hootɕ*  
 bear&uncle roll together at clump elephant\_grass this CMPL

(It) went (and) grabbed (the one) who was that uncle, (and it) wrestled (and they) rolled over together up to a clump of elephant grass.

The reference is not ambiguous because of the schema of a bear and two hunters meeting in a forest, and the expectation this creates in terms of the behaviour of the participants. It is obvious that the bear is the one who will grab the uncle and wrestle with him. Thus a zero reference is adequate.

The same section of text has an example of a zero reference in an **S4 context**, as shown in (143). In Bear.035, the bear is referred to using a zero reference, with a right-dislocated NP, *hual too gi'ni?* 'that bear'. This is an S4 context, where this referent is the subject of the current clause, but is not mentioned in the previous clause. Also the uncle is given a zero reference in an S4 context in the second clause of Bear.035, *∅ sam ʔɔh lɔɔɕ rimboɕ ʔɔh lɔh ni?* '(and he) was wounded all over on (his) face (and he) was wounded on (his) body'.

(143)Bear.034

*gle? ʔo? la? ʔam nəŋ nəew tɕii tɕɛŋ tɕii piŋ ŋɔ? tɕii*  
 husband 1sg PRT NEG know type IRR do IRR shoot fear IRR

*ŋak gon gi'ni?*  
 touch person that\_one

My husband did not know what to do, (whether) to shoot, (he) was afraid to hit that person.

Bear.035

*hootɕ ∅ jɛt ŋap jɔ? kin'druup kim'liɑŋ kin'druup kim'liɑŋ*  
 and\_then bear DUR grab together face\_down\_on\_back face\_down\_on\_back

*hual too gi'ni? ∅ sam ʔɔh lɔɔɕ rim'boɕ ʔɔh*  
 bear animal that\_one uncle totally wounded totally face wounded



*loh ni?*  
body this

And then (it) kept wrestling together (with him), now face down, now face up, this bear, (and he) was wounded all over (his) face (and he) was wounded (on his) body.

The schema of a wild animal and a man wrestling is sufficient to identify who is grabbing and who is being wounded. The inclusion of the right-dislocated NP *hual too gi'ni?* 'that bear' suggests that the narrator is aware that she has underspecified the identity of the participant involved in the first instance, and adds the NP in case there is confusion. There is no correction for the second zero reference. Also, there are clues in the text itself that help the hearer easily identify these referents. The use of the durative aspectual marker, *jet*, in Bear.035, signals that this is a continuing action which was going on in the background while the narrator was describing the events in Bear.034. The audience is referred back to Bear.032, where the narrator had described the bear wrestling with the uncle (see (142)).

Using less than default encoding in these contexts marks the peak of a narrative, quickening the pace of events and heightening intensity. The audience is able to unambiguously identify referents drawing on expectations of participant actions produced in the text and from shared cultural knowledge.

#### 4.5.4 Less than default encoding for non-subject contexts

In N1 context the default is already zero. No data is available for the N2 context. Less than default encoding in N3 and N4 contexts is found in similar situations to those for S3 and S4 contexts, namely at peak sections of a narrative, and where there are expectations produced by the text or a schema.

For an N3 context, where the default is a pronoun, a zero reference is less than default. An example of an N3 context with a zero reference is shown in (144). In Thief.018, the thief is referred to with a zero reference in the object of the first clause, *lot brianj joh k<sup>h</sup>ruuj Ø* 'another person's vehicle went (and) side-swiped (him)'. In the previous sentence, he is given a zero reference in the subject of the clause, *Ø gɔʔ məh ?et lot sɔŋ t<sup>h</sup>εw...* '(he) was the fare-collector on the soong thaew...'. The reference in Thief.018 is an N3 context with less than default encoding.

(144)Thief.017

*k<sup>h</sup>ian sii gi'ni? Ø gɔ? məh ʔet lot soɔŋ t<sup>h</sup>εεw k<sup>h</sup>ian*  
ascend day that\_one thief so\_then be fare\_collector song thaew ascend

*da? waŋ wiaŋ ni? lɛ? k<sup>h</sup>ian rɔɔt da? kin'grəŋ ŋɔɔr ni?*  
at Vang Viang this PRT DIR arrive at middle road this

Going up that day, (he) was the fare-collector (on) the soong thaew going up to Vang Viang, (and it) went up (and) reached half way up the road.

Thief.018

*lot briaŋ jɔh k<sup>h</sup>ruuʔ Ø Ø k<sup>h</sup>ruk Ø haan*  
vehicle other\_people DIR side\_swipe thief thief fall thief die

Another person's vehicle went (and) side-swiped (him), (and he) fell off (and he) died.

The event in Thief.018 is at the peak section of the narrative, where participant reference often varies from the default patterns. The absence of participant reference makes for a high verb density, which is a peak marking device. Also, at this point in the story, the thief is the only participant on the stage. When there is only one participant on the stage of the discourse, a zero reference may be used without ambiguity for the hearers.

In an **N4 context**, where the default is an NP, a pronoun or a zero reference is less than default. An example of this is given in (145). In Man-eater.020, the tiger is given a zero reference as the object in the second clause, *mə? ʔah wɛk gɔ? de? wɛk git Ø* 'whoever had a knife then got the knife and chopped (the tiger)'. This is an N4 context, because the tiger is not mentioned in the previous clause.

(145)Man\_eater.020

*pasa'son saam sip gon ra? naat Ø mə?*  
people three Clf\_tens Clf\_people pull\_away fight\_over Khru ba La INDEF

*ʔah wɛk gɔ? de? wɛk git Ø mə? ʔah si'naat gɔ?*  
have knife so\_then get knife chop tiger INDEF have gun so\_then

*de? si'naat piŋ Ø*  
get gun shoot tiger

The thirty people pulled (and) fought over (him); whoever had a knife got the knife (and) chopped (the tiger), (and) whoever had a gun got the gun (and) shot at (it).

Although this is less than default encoding, there is no ambiguity for the hearer because of the expectation produced by the text in Man-eater.019 where the

tiger attacks, and the schema of a tiger attack. The identity of the participant being chopped with a knife or shot with a gun is clearly inferrable from this schema. A zero reference is used in the N4 context where the participant's identity is inferrable from expectations produced in the text.

## 4.6 Summary

Kmhmu' narratives have central, major, minor and peripheral participants as well as props. These are distinguished by their method of introduction, their role in the events of the narrative, their persistence on the discourse stage, and the patterns of participant identification used to refer to them.

The participant identification strategies used in Kmhmu' narrative include a sequential strategy, which depends on how the participant has been most recently referred to, and a local VIP strategy, which depends on the relative salience of participants in the local thematic grouping. Default encoding patterns for central and major participants are shown in Table 13. There is no data available for N2 contexts, and the patterns proposed for N1 and N3 contexts are tentative due to limited data.

Table 13: Default encodings for Participant Identification

	S1 / N1	S2 / N2	S3 / N3	S4 / N4
Linguistic encoding	∅ / ∅	∅ / -	Pro / Pro	NP / NP

Minor and peripheral participants usually receive more encoding. Where there is a local VIP, the VIP receives less encoding and the non-VIP more encoding.

These default patterns are influenced by the relative rank of the participant in the narrative, highlighting of participants, disambiguating participants, discontinuities in the text, peak marking, and the expectations set up through the text and shared cultural knowledge. Other issues, such as story-telling style, re-iteration to aid the hearers' memory and self-correction by the speaker, also have a bearing on participant identification patterns. In summary, there are discernible sequential patterns, but these are not rigidly held, and other factors play a part in the strategies used as speakers employ referring expressions in narrative text.