# Chapter 5

## Participant reference

This chapter presents a literature review on participant reference, and proposes a schema for the participant reference system of Makuri narrative.

### 5.1 Literature review

Dooley and Levinsohn present two reasons to analyze how participants are referred to: firstly "a hearer needs to understand who is doing what to whom, secondly a producer of discourse needs to be able to make the same kind of information clear to the hearers or readers" (2001:111). There are different ways to refer to the participants that have already been introduced. The system of reference within a text accomplishes three tasks: semantic, discourse-pragmatic and processing (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:112). 'Semantic' means indentifying the referents unambiguously to distinguish them from other possible ones. 'Discourse-pragmatic' means signaling the activation status and prominence of the referents or the actions they perform. 'Processing' means overcoming disruptions in the flow of information.

According to Givón (1983), the grammatical devices used for participant reference have a ranking scale. This scale moves from the most coded material, which is a full noun phrase, to the least coded material, which is null reference. When a participant has high activation status in a narrative, it requires less

encoding. The increased encoding, such as a full noun phrase, is needed for participants that have low activation status.

Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:117-119) posit two strategies to analyze the system of participant reference: sequential and VIP (very important participant). In a sequential strategy, the referent of the subject of the main clause looks back to the subject of the previous main clause. Regarding the VIP strategy Grimes, as quoted in Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:119), states that "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". Even though the sequential strategy is used to analyze the activated subjects in Makuri narratives, these stories also employ the VIP strategy to refer to participants. In this strategy the main participant is active throughout the text and has less encoding than the other participants.

Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:130) suggest a methodology to identify the contexts where the activated subjects occur. There are four contexts: S1, S2, S3, and S4. The current subject is in an S1 context when it is the same as the subject of the previous sentence. If the subject was the addressee of a speech reported in the previous sentence, it is an S2 context. The subject is in an S3 context if it was a non-subject in the previous sentence. An S4 context refers to any other changes of the subject other than S2 or S3. This method proposes a default pattern of reference for each context, and investigates the motivation for the references which have marked encoding.

In addition, there are extended environments in two of these contexts.

When the subject and other participants in the action of the previous clause are included in the next clause, this is usually treated as the same subject (S1) for the purpose of participant encoding. ... When a member of a group of participants that featured in the previous clause becomes the subject of the next clause, this is treated as S4 (Levisohn 2000:3).

The participant encodings for Makuri narratives are discussed below.

## 5.2 The proposed rules for participant reference in Makuri texts

This section describes participant reference in each of the three texts and proposes a tentative default encoding for the participants which are in subject position in Makuri texts. The number of occurrences in each context for the activated subjects is counted to determine the default encoding. Then the type of encoding that has the highest percentage is chosen as default. The three types of participant reference employed in these texts are zero anaphora, pronoun, and noun phrase[7]. The detailed charts of participant encodings are included in Appendix 1, 2 and 3 for reference.

### 5.2.1 Wild Pig Hunting

This text is a first person narrative and it has two human participants, the narrator and his friend, and the wild pig which was shot. The main participant is the narrator himself. He is active throughout the text. There is no explicit reference to him until another participant comes into the scene in sentence 009, where they are introduced with the noun phrase *yepu Yongcüv mjë* 'friend Yongcuv, the two of us'. The introduction of another participant, the friend, much later indicates that he is a less important participant than the narrator.

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[7] Noun phrase appositions are simplified as one NP in this analysis, e.g., *yepu Yongcüv mjë* 'friend Yongcuv we (dual)' is a noun phrase in Wild Pig 009.

Moreover the friend appears and disappears from the scene. Then there are the wild pigs, of which the third one is the one they were following. This one is introduced with a modifier *ateikhat* 'big' as in example (120), whereas the preceding ones are introduced with a simple NP as *mëlüt khat* 'a boar'.

(120) Wild Pig.011

> lüh    tiu   rong  li-vu     në   **mëlüt ateikhat** zhat  lei     net
> ···banana tree  to    near-go and  **boar  big**      stand STAT PAST.RL

... near the banana tree a big boar was standing.

The last part of this text in sentences 046-059 is the author's evaluation and the teaching; this does not fit in the narrative discourse. It is more like a hortatory discourse. Therefore it is excluded from the analysis of participant reference.

5.2.1.1 Default encoding

Table 20 below shows the default encoding in Wild Pig Hunting in each context. The S1 context, where the subject is the same as the subject of the previous sentence, uses zero anaphora for 90% of the occurrences. Zero anaphora is therefore proposed as the default for the S1 context.

| Context | S1 (same as previous) | | S2 (addressee of previous) | | S3 (non-subj of previous) | | S4 (others) | |
|---------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Participant encoding | NP | ... | NP | ... | NP | (5) | NP | (4) |
| | PRO | (5) | PRO | ... | PRO | (5) | PRO | (3) |
| | Ø | (48) | Ø | (1) | Ø | (9) | Ø | (22) |
| Total | | 53 | | 1 | | 19 | | 29 |
| Default | Ø | 48 | | | Ø? | 9 | Ø | 22 |
| % | | 90% | | | | 48% | | 76% |

Table 20: Proposed default encoding for the subject slot in Wild Pig Hunting

The S3 context, where the subject is a participant which was non-subject in the preceding clause, uses zero anaphora for 48% of the occurrences. The default for this context cannot be proposed. Also the default for the S2 context cannot

be proposed at this point for there is only one occurrence in the whole narrative. The S4 context employs zero anaphora in 76% of the occurrences. Therefore the default for the S4 context can be proposed as zero anaphora.

In the S4 contexts the use of zero anaphora can be explained by the contexts where they occur. However, the references to the participants at the beginning (001) and at the end (045) of this story are not clear; they can be a dual first person pronoun or a singular first person pronoun. Thirteen out of 22 instances of zero anaphora occur in the context where the participants are human versus non-human, which explains who the actor is, as in sentences 005b, 006b, 010c, 012a, 027a, etc. In sentences 009b, 036b and 043c the subject is identified by the presence of the object (the third person pronoun which refers to the friend) since there are only two human participants in this story.

In the case of an instance of zero anaphora referring to the boar, it is clarified by the use of directional verbs, such as *ali* 'come towards the speaker' which tells that it was the boar that came close to him in sentence 028, and *tsei* 'go away from the speaker' in sentence 029. Then there is one occurrence of zero anaphora referring to the friend. This reference is clear from the content of the quote as in example (121).

(121) Wild Pig.034

| *këtë* | *më* | *süh* | *a* | *këtë* | *më* | *lokngak* | *a* | *zë* | *tsang* |
|--------|------|-------|-----|--------|------|-----------|-----|------|---------|
| what | NEG | happen | INT | what | NEG | hurt | INT | QUOT | ask | ··· |

(He) asked (me), "Nothing happened (to you)? Nothing hurt (you)?" ...

## 5.2.1.2 Marked encoding

The marked encodings other than default are studied to propose the rules or the contexts under which they may occur. In this text the S1 context uses five more encodings. Table 21 presents them with the encodings used for the grammatical subject and the context in which they occurred.

| S# | Marked encoding | Text | Context |
|----|-----------------|------|---------|
| 027a | PRO + V (=N+V) | *M  kësüt  sa*<br>1S  voice  shout | -a compound verb that requires a pronoun |
| 033a | PRO | *amitpi*<br>3S | -a change from speech to narrative |
| 037b | PRO + ADV | *M  ket*<br>1S  also | -relating the preceding event where he sent his friend to track the animal in 36b |
| 038b | PRO + CASE | *M  në*<br>1S  ERG | -the narrator and the boar are compared |
| 044b | PRO + CASE + ADV | *amitpi  në    ket*<br>3S      ERG  also | -the action verb *kat* 'shoot' from 42c is repeated here by another person |

Table 21: Marked encoding for the subject slot in Wild Pig Hunting

In sentence 027a (line 1 in the chart) the subject is the narrator. Following the back reference clause, zero anaphora is expected here. But the pronoun *m* 'I' is used, because this type of verb usually requires a pronoun. This kind of verb consists of a verb and a noun, which is usually a body part. This occurrence of a pronoun is like a possessive pronoun to the noun *kësüt* 'voice', and together this noun phrase could be the subject.

The use of a pronoun in sentence 033a (line 2) is due to the change from speech to the narrative. Sentences 037 and 044 (lines 3 and 5) are relating the present event with the preceding event; the same event is acted again by another participant; thus a reference is required for clarity. In such cases the subject or

the subject with the case marker is usually followed by *ket* 'also'. Then in sentence 038b (line 4) the narrator and the boar are mentioned in relation to getting to a place where the boar was, before the narrator arrived there. It is also noted that in the preposed clause with *nü* 'before/ not-yet' the subject is provided in all instances 027a, 033a and 038b. So the motivations for all of the exceptions to the rule that should appear in S1 context are accounted for.

In the S3 contexts the default is zero anaphora, and the increased encoding is used when there is a comparison with the previous event as in sentence 006a *u ket* 'that also', the pronoun and the adverb. Then there are more encodings for the narrator at the peak episode in sentences 027h, 029d and 031b. They occur in the detailed description of the scene when he was attacked by the boar. The increased participant encoding could be a peak-marking feature.

In the S4 contexts the increased encoding is used for minor participants, and is used to refer to the boar three times using *mëlüt u* 'the boar' as in 012a, 014c, and 022a. The last two of them occur at the boundary break of a new episode. Also two other noun phrases are used to refer to *pong thëzhitpu* 'the eighth place' in sentence 20b, and the *khëvok si* 'dry bamboo' in 027k. These are the peripheral references, thus requiring more encoding. Also in the S4 context pronouns are used in 013a, 024, 026a and 038c. The first three occurrences *m* '1S' is used only for the narrator and *mjë* '1DU_incl' is used only for the narrator and his friend. Since these pronouns are used only for the narrator and his friend, using them is as clear using a noun phrase. Then the use of *amitpi* 'it' for

the boar is clear from the clauses that follow it as in example (122). Thus the stimulus for all these exceptions to the rule can be justified in this context.

(122) Wild Pig.038

> *amitpi* *në* *shi-phëlet* *rë* *a-* *nyüktsü* *në* *song* *a* *züng* *zë*
> ··· 3S ERG turn-around then 3S- eye INST red ADVR see MAN

> *a-* *phüh* *khüv* *në* *katkatmi* *a-* *khëmüv* *ra* *ceot* *a* *zhat* *lei*
> 3S- tooth sound PRT ONOM 3S- hair spread COMPL and stand STAT

> *net*
> PAST.RL

...before I arrived at the place where I was to close the way it turned around and stood (there) looking (at me) with its eyes red and grinding its teeth, (and) spreading its hair.

### 5.2.2 Barking Deer Hunting

This text is another first person narrative. Here the main participants are the narrator and his friend. They are introduced at the beginning of the story as *m yepu mjë* 'my friend, the two of us' as in example (123).

(123) Barking Deer.003

> *khatnikhat pë* *M* *yepu* *mjë* *ceitei* *net*
> at.one.day TOP 1S friend 1DU.excl discuss PAST.RL

One day my friend and I talked.

It has many minor participants and they are introduced with a noun phrase, such as *m pilë* 'my mother (and family)' (036b), *m pok* 'my father' (040a), *thëliulë* 'villagers' (043b), and *thongpu* 'chief' (044a). All of these minor participants are mentioned in the post-peak episode. The prop *shokmëchei* 'barking deer' is introduced in sentence 017c with an adverb *pushit* 'just' indicating emphasis.

## 5.2.2.1 Default encoding

Table 22 presents the default encodings in each context for Barking Deer Hunting. Zero anaphora is proposed as default encoding for the S1 and S3 contexts. In the S2 context the default is a noun phrase. The noun phrase is used for participants other than the narrator. The pronoun is employed only for the narrator in this text.

| Context | S1 (same as previous) | | S2 (addressee of previous) | | S3 (non-subj of previous) | | S4 (others) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Participant encoding | NP | (2) | NP | (5) | NP | (1) | NP | (14) |
| | PRO | (6) | PRO | (3) | PRO | (2) | PRO | (13) |
| | Ø | (37) | Ø | (1) | Ø | (8) | Ø | (6) |
| Total | | 45 | | 9 | | 11 | | 33 |
| Default | Ø | 37 | NP? | 5 | Ø | 8 | NP | 14 |
| % | | 82% | | 56% | | 72% | | 42% |

Table 22: Proposed default encoding for the subject slot in Barking Deer Hunting

So in the S4 context also the subject slot employs only the pronoun (*m* '1S') for the narrator twelve out of thirteen times, except *va* '1Pl.excl', which is used once for the family in sentence 042b, and even though in this case the narrator is included. Noun phrases are used for the friend and other references. Thus the default for the S4 context is a noun phrase, even though the number of occurrences for the noun phrase is nearly the same as for the pronoun.

## 5.2.2.2 Marked encoding

There are eight instances of increased encoding found in the S1contexts in this text. They are listed below in Table 23. The last two shown in the list (sentences 044b & 050a) are noun phrases and the other occurrences are pronouns.

| S# | Marked encoding | Text | Context |
|---|---|---|---|
| 006a | PRO + CASE | *mjë     o*<br>1DU.excl  ABS | -expansion of sentence 005b 'go' for emphasis |
| 018b | PRO + V (N + V) | *M   shok-cat*<br>1S   flesh-cry | -a compound verb with a noun |
| 019a | PRO + V (N + V) | *M   mëliu   süh-kiu*<br>1S   heart  do-courage | -a compound verb with a noun |
| 033a | PRO | *mjë*<br>1DU.excl | -clarity (evaluation in quotation) |
| 041d | PRO | *mjë      si    riu    -tei*<br>1DU.excl  hold  help  -RECP | -(verb with reflexive particle) |
| 041f | PRO | *mjë      rüt    a       she*<br>1DU.excl  even  ADVR  divide | |
| 044b | N + PRO | *thongpu  mjë*<br>chieftain  1DU.excl | -title |
| 050a | PRO + N | *M   pok*<br>1S   father | -kinship term with a possesive pronoun |

Table 23: Marked encoding for the subject slot in Barking Deer Hunting

The increased encodings for the S1 context in sentences 018b and 019a are pronouns; they occur with the verbs that are made up with a noun (see also 5.2.1.2 Wild Pig 027a). Because these nouns are body parts, they need a type of possessive pronoun occurring in the subject slot. On the other hand they occur in the detailed description of the situation, which has an increased tension.

Then there is the use of dual pronouns in sentences 006a, 033a and 041d&f. The increased encoding in 006a occurs in the explanation of the preceding event, marking the prominence of the participants. The one in 033a is a special occurrence of the S1 context where the preceding sentence has both parties in the subject and in the object. In the preceding clauses there are initiative moves (IM) and resolving moves (RM) repeated twice (see Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:4-5). This is the third RM of the speech act, and this occurrence of increased encoding gives clarity to the event. The last increased encodings in the S1

context are found in clauses 041d&f; both are used for emphasis as well as for clarity. Here the narrator and the friend are in the company of the narrator's family; the narrator made sure that it was *mjë* 'we (dual)' who *si riu tei* 'helped each other' and *mjë* 'we (dual)' who shared the meat equally.

There are also two noun phrases in the S1 context in sentences 044b and 050a. The former uses *thongpu mjë* 'chief the two of us', a title with a dual pronoun, and the latter uses *m pok* 'my father', a possessive pronoun with a kinship term. Besides the narrator's relationship to the referents, more encoding is needed because they are the minor participants in this narrative.

In the S2 contexts and S4 contexts there is less encoding, such as pronoun and zero anaphora. The instance of zero anaphora in sentence 037a of the S2 context is identified from the statement inside the quote as in example (124).

(124) Barking Deer.037

| *tanëket* | *atiti* | *süh* | *tengla* | *tsühtsa* | *më* | *lengsut* | *ti* | ***acang*** | ***a*** | ***la*** | *zë* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| but | first | be | because | well | NEG | believe | NEG | **truly** | **INT** | **INT** | QUOT |

| *mënitri* | *zë* | *tsang* | *net* |
|---|---|---|---|
| smile | and | ask | PAST.RL |

But (she) did not believe (me) really because it was the first time, (she) smiled and asked, "Is it true?"

There are also six occurrences of zero anaphora in the S4 context. Except for 043b, these occurrences (015a, 017b, 022a, 022b and 022c) are in a context where there are only two kinds of participants, human vs. non-human. The narrator is the only human actor involved here. The only reference to the barking deer is in sentence 022b, stated in a conditional clause. In sentence

043b the zero anaphora is understood from the phrase *m tengshe ta yeng në* 'from my share' within the sentence, as in example (125).

(125) Barking Deer.043

| *M* | *tengshe* | *ta* | *yeng* | *në* | *tëliulë* | *khepi* | *yeng* | *mësak* | *hühtsühzang* | *pit* |
|-----|-----------|------|--------|------|-----------|---------|--------|---------|--------------|-------|
| ···1S | share | in | POSS | INST | villager | all | RECIP | gift.meat | little.each | give |

*net*
PAST.RL

... (I) gave a gift of some meat [each] to all the villagers from my share. Then the rest of the less encoded participant references in S2 and S4 contexts employ the first person pronoun, which is used only for the narrator. Thus the motivation for all exceptions to the rule are accounted for.

### 5.2.3 Thief on Bus

The Thief on Bus text is a third person narrative where the narrator is mostly the audience of the action, thus indicating that the other participant is more important than the narrator. In sentence 001 the reference to the narrator is with a zero anaphora; then inside the quote in sentence 002 he is mentioned with a pronoun *m* 'I'. The other participant is introduced at the beginning of the narrative as *azeipu Cüvpi* 'teacher Cuvpi', using a title and a name. Later he is referred to with the title *azeipu* 'teacher', pronouns *amiut* '3S', *në* '2S', *nësa* '2PL' referring to the teacher with the thief and his friends, and zero anaphora. In addition, *mjë* '1DU_incl' is employed only for the narrator and the teacher.

Then there are minor participants such as *khënupilë mit khat* 'a woman', *teoshatlë* 'drunkards', *akhutlë mit khat* 'a thief', and bystanders. These minor participants are introduced with an indefinite noun phrase; for instance the woman is first

introduced with a noun, classifier and number, a typical non-specific reference as in example (126).

(126) Thief on Bus.007

| *khënupilë* | *mit* | *khat* | *o* | *pasë* | *mëkühla* | *rong* | *kë* | *a-kat* | *rë* | *zhat* | *net* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ···**woman** | **person** | **one** | ABS | bus | door | near | at | come-up | then | stand | PAST.RL |

... a woman got on and stood near the bus door.

### 5.2.3.1 Default encoding

Table 24 presents the default encodings for the Thief on Bus text.

| Context | S1 (same as previous) | | S2 (addressee of previous) | | S3 (non-subj of previous) | | S4 (others) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Participant encoding | NP | (3) | NP | (1) | NP | (4) | NP | (4) |
| | PRO | (8) | PRO | (5) | PRO | (2) | PRO | (7) |
| | Ø | (22) | Ø | (5) | Ø | (1) | Ø | (2) |
| Total | | 33 | | 11 | | 7 | | 13 |
| Default | Ø | 22 | | | NP | 4 | PRO | 7 |
| % | | 66% | | | | 57% | | 53% |

Table 24: Proposed default encoding for the subject slot in Thief on Bus

In the S1 context, zero anaphora occurs 66% of the time; thus it is considered as the default encoding. The default for the S2 context is weak and there is not enough evidence to propose whether it is a zero anaphora or a pronoun at this stage. Also in this text, the occurrences of the S3 context is too small to propose a default. The default for the S4 context is proposed as a pronoun, which has the highest percent of the total occurrences. However, a noun phrase is likely to be the default, since in the occurrences of the two pronouns *m* '1S' and *mjë* '1DU' in this context, it is predictable who the referent is.

## 5.2.3.2 Marked encoding

In the S1 context there are eleven increased encodings; eight pronouns and three noun phrases as listed in Table 25.

| S# | Marked encoding | Text | Context |
|----|-----------------|------|---------|
| 008 | PRO + CASE | *amiut o*<br>3S    ABS | -irrealis, author's evaluation |
| 010b | PRO + CASE | *amiut në*<br>3S    ERG | -for clarity because there are many participants |
| 026 | PRO + CASE + ADV | *M në   ket*<br>1S  ERG  also | -prominence highlighting |
| 027a | PRO + ADV | *M  ket*<br>1S  also | -prominence highlighting |
| 032 | PRO + CASE | *M  në*<br>1S  ERG | -prominence highlighting |
| 040a | PRO + CASE | *mjë     o*<br>1DU.excl ABS | -episode break<br>-dual (X+Y= Z) |
| 045 | PRO + CASE | *M  në*<br>1S  ERG | -prominence highlighting<br>-make amends |
| 047 | PRO + CASE | *mjë     o*<br>1DU.excl ABS | -episode break<br>-dual (X+Y= Z) |
| 021 | PRO + CASE + ADV | *hu   në    ket*<br>who ERG even | -bystanders<br>-neg, |
| 022a | NP (PP + REL + ADV) + CASE | *u   ta pa - lë     akhepi*<br>that in sit - persons   all<br><br>*o*<br>ABS | - bystanders<br>-contrast with no one vs all<br>-emphasis |
| 039 | N + CASE | *zeipu  në*<br>teacher ERG | -key moral prominence |

Table 25: Marked encoding for the subject slot in Thief on Bus

The pronoun in sentence 008 occurs in a situation when the narrator made an evaluation of what the woman might have done. Here the subject *amiut* '3S' is topicalized with the case marking *o*. In sentence 010 there are many other participants and props involved: "the teacher", "the drunkards" and "the thief",

and "the money". The use of the increased encoding with a pronoun clarifies that the referent is the teacher.

Other instances of increased encoding with a pronoun are used for the narrator in sentences 026, 027a, 032 and 045 to express prominence. Moreover in sentence 040a and 047 there are dual pronouns. This increased encoding occurs in the S1 context at the break of the episode. The occurrences of a pronoun in sentence 021 and a noun phrase in sentence 022a refer to the bystanders in the bus. They need more encoding because they are minor participants in the narrative. Then the occurrences of two consecutive noun phrases in the S1 context are due to the contrastive statement of them 'no one' vs. 'all' as in example (127).

(127) Thief on Bus.021

| tanëket | hu · | në | ket | ye | khe | kho | zë | më | shüh |
|---------|------|-----|------|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|------|
| but | **who** | **ERG** | even | oh | finish | IMP | QUOT | NEG | say |

But nobody said, "Oh, enough."

Thief on Bus.022

| u | ta | pa | - | lë | akhepi | o | këcei | - | sat | ceot | rë |
|------|-----|------|---|---------|--------|-----|-------|---|------|------|-----|
| **that** | **in** | **sit** | - | **persons** | **all** | **ABS** | shock | - | INTS | COMPL | then ⋯ |

All the people sitting on that (bus) also were so shocked...

Another noun phrase in sentence 039 refers to the teacher in the S1 context. It highlights the key moral prominence inside the quote as in example (128).

(128) Thief on Bus.039

| u | shüv | shë | azeipu | në | Atengpu | më | mëtsi | tatla | thokni | pë | M | në | ket |
|------|------|------|--------|-----|---------|-----|-------|-------|--------|-----|-----|-----|------|
| that | after | only | teacher | ERG | God | NEG | know | if | today | TOP | 1S | ERG | also |

| shu | mëlei | ceot | khüvt | tanëket | Tengpu | philüv | süh | - | lë | në | u |
|------|-------|------|-------|---------|--------|--------|-----|---|-----|-----|-----|
| hit | get.back | COMPL | PFT | but | God | field | do | - | persons | ERG | that |

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| zë | süh | a | më | tsüh | tengla | më | shong | mëlei | ti | süh | net |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|--------|-----|-------|-------|-----|-----|-----|
| MAN | do | INF | NEG | good | because | NEG | stretch | get.back | NEG | do | PAST.RL |

| zë | shüh | net |
|-----|------|-----|
| QUOT | say | PAST.RL |

After that, the teacher said, "If I did not know God, today (I) would have (fought) [hit back]. But (I) did not fight back since it is not good for a minister to do [like] that."

In the S4 context there are nine instances of less encoding: seven pronoun occurrences and two zero anaphora. The context makes it clear that the pronoun *m* '1S' (016, 025, 028b, 042 and 044c) is employed only for the narrator and *mjë* '1DU' (004 and 006) is used only for the narrator and the teacher. In this text the use of pronouns is as clear as the use of noun phrases.

There are two occurrences of zero anaphora employed for the thief and his friends. This referent is made clear by the event they performed. The only actors who *shu* 'hit' are the thief and his friends in this text. All exceptions to the rule have some kind of motivation for them, either by the event they performed or by the context.

## 5.3 Summary

This chapter has analyzed participant reference in three Makuri narratives using the methodology presented by Dooley and Levinsohn. Noun phrases are employed to introduce participants either in the subject position or object position. There are default strategies to track participants once they are introduced. When all the occurrences of the S1 context in all three texts are merged, zero anaphora has 80% of occurrences as in Table 26. The evidence is even stronger in the first person narrative genre, which has 87%. Therefore we

can clearly propose that the default for S1 context is the zero anaphora for this small sample.

| Context | total S1 in all the narratives | | total S1 in two first person narratives |
|---|---|---|---|
| Participant encoding | NP | (6) | (2) |
| | PRO | (19) | (11) |
| | Ø | (59) | (85) |
| Total | | 132 | 98 |
| Default | Ø | 59 | 85 |
| % | | 80% | 87% |

Table 26: Proposed default encoding for the S1 context

All the exceptions to the rule in this context have one of the following motivations why the participant is marked as such. The subject needs more encoding when there is discontinuity, when two events or two actors are contrastive and when the compound verb requires a pronoun. More encoding is also needed for prominence, clarity, for kinship terms, and for minor participants.

The rest of the S2, S3 and S4 contexts for the three texts have to be considered differently as the results from analysis of each text differ from each other. The differences are due to two factors interacting between them. First, the text genre is different. The Wild Pig Hunting and the Barking Deer Hunting narratives are first person narratives and the Thief on Bus is a third person narrative. The first two narratives have the narrators as the main participants, but in the third person narrative the main participant is other than the narrator. Second, the number of participants involved is different. The Wild Pig Hunting text has only two human participants, with the narrator being the major participant, whereas the other two narratives have two participants with other bystanders.

According to the analysis of each of the texts, the second factor, which is the number of participants, is more important for grouping the narratives. Thus, the Barking Deer Hunting and the Thief on Bus narratives are studied separately from the Wild Pig Hunting narrative. Based on this analysis of Wild Pig Hunting, in a narrative where only two participants are involved and one of them as the main participant, the default encoding is mostly zero anaphora in all four contexts. In this text if the participants are human versus non-human, zero anaphora is commonly employed, and when there are two human participants involved the context makes it clear who the subject is.

The proposed default encoding for narratives that have more than two participants is displayed in Table 27.

| Context | S1 (same as previous) | | S2 (addressee of previous) | | S3 (non-subj of previous) | | S4 (others) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Participant encoding | NP | (5) | NP | (6) | NP | (5) | NP | (18) |
| | PRO | (14) | PRO | (8) | PRO | (4) | PRO | (20) |
| | Ø | (59) | Ø | (6) | Ø | (9) | Ø | (8) |
| Total | | 78 | | 20 | | 18 | | 46 |
| Default | Ø | 59 | PRO | 8 | Ø | 9 | PRO | 20 |
| % | | 76% | | 40% | | 50% | | 43% |

Table 27: Proposed default encoding for the subject slot in Makuri narrative

In the S1 context the default is zero anaphora, which occurs 76% of the time. In the S4 context the pronoun is used for the narrator, and the noun phrase is used for other participants. Thus the default can be a noun phrase or a pronoun. If the narrator's involvement in the mainline of the story is less, this context might employ a noun phrase more often. When the participant is the addressee of the previous speech act (S2), a pronoun is used for the participant in 40% of the occurrences. The only sample of the S2 referent found in Wild Pig Hunting is a

zero anaphora. Since the evidence is not strong in the S2, we cannot propose default encodings for this context in this analysis. When the participant is the object of the previous statement (S3), null reference is used for 50% of the occurrences. Thus the default for the S3 context can be proposed as zero anaphora for this small sample.