

CHAPTER 4

COHESION THROUGH PARTICIPANTS

In the preceding chapter, we examined how linkage and conjunction contribute to cohesion in a Sgaw Karen folk narrative text. In this chapter we shall discuss how the participants in the folk narratives serve as another source of cohesion in the text.

A narrative discourse is inevitably involved with two major kinds of information. These are events and participants. Events and participants exhibit an inter-dependent relationship in which participants are the performers or receivers of actions. In many cases, a participant is involved both as a performer and a receiver.

The realisation of how a participant is initially identified, maintained and re-introduced in the discourse provides textual cohesion for it enables the audience to know "which participant is being introduced or which one is being referred to or how that participant is brought back to the scene" (Chuwicha 1986:10). According to Grimes:

The information that identifies the participants in an event not only links participants to events [who does what], but also links one mention of a participant with other mentions of the same participant [who is who].
(Grimes 1984:43)

Thus, any text that fails to exhibit these two kinds of connection will be confusing even though it is grammatically correct, as states Callow:

Imagine, for instance, a discourse consisting of six or ten well-marked paragraphs, signaled by that usual initiating and closing particles, but mentioning a new participant every sentence and never mentioning a single participant twice. Such a conglomeration of unconnected materials could not possibly be called a discourse; at best it would be a list, at worst a caricature of normal speech. (Callow 1974:29)

The first section of this chapter (4.1) will discuss the participant categories in Sgaw Karen folk narratives and how they are introduced. Section 4.2 will examine textual cohesion achieved by the various devices by which participants are maintained in the discourse. Section 4.3 will discuss the re-introduction of a participant (i.e., how a participant is brought back to the scene after a temporary removal). The summary of this chapter's discussions will be in section 4.4.

4.1 Participants and Their Initial Identification

In the Sgaw Karen folk narrative discourses studied, there may be up to ten participants taking part in a story. Three criteria determine the category to which a participant belongs: a) the grammatical features used at the initial identification and maintenance of the participant (see section 4.2), b) the presence of a participant in discourse surface structure sections and c) the participant's role in important sections of the discourse. In the Sgaw Karen folk stories examined, there are four categories of participants in addition to Props. They are Main Participant, Secondary Participant, Tertiary Participant and Incidental Participant.

4.1.1 Main Participant

In the Sgaw Karen stories used in this study, the main participant is usually present throughout the discourse, almost always as a performer of events. The main participants of most legends examined differs from those of the entertainment stories in the sense that s/he is not, in Ennulat's (1978:143) words, "a hero in the European sense" for s/he does not become successful at the end of the story; whereas the main participants of most of the entertainment stories studied eventually received what they had hoped for.

In one of the legends studied, "The Story of Mueyaephae", for example, the main participant (Mueyaephae) was finally given a death penalty by the Thai king even though she had not done anything wrong. Similarly, Khunawlei, the main participant of another legend, "The Story of Khunawlei and Nawmuey", eventually had to cut his throat in order for his wife, Nawmuey, to survive. See examples 1 and 2.

(1) "The Story of Mueyaephae" (S 28)

teb⁶ xɔ⁶ sɔ³ pə³ he⁴ lɔ³ ʔə kel² lə⁶ pɣə³ kə
 at once king give down his word that people will
mə³ θɔ⁶ m² jæ³ p^hæ⁶ lɔ³
 kill Mueyaephae SEP.

'Suddenly, the king ordered the people (palace soldiers) to execute Mueyaephae.'

(2) "The Story of Khunawlei and Nawmuey" (S 40-42)

ʔexo⁶ θeta⁵ dɔ⁵ lə⁶ k^hɔ⁶ ketə² læ³ ʔo⁴ wæ⁶ lə⁶ tə² pu³
 thus therefore finally go stay SC. at hole
k^ho⁴ t^hɔ⁵ dɔ⁵ ku⁵ lɔ³ ʔə ko¹ lɔ³
 mouth and cut down his throat SEP.

'Therefore, finally, he went to the mouth of the hole and cut his throat.'

ʔə ko¹ ʔə θwɪ⁴ læ³ lɔ³ s^hl⁶ kelɔ³ ʔə pu³ lɔ³
 his throat its blood go down to python its hole SEP.

'The blood from his throat flew down into the python's hole.'

kelɔ³ nə⁶ kwa² dɔ⁵ s^ɕ lə⁶ ʔə me² ʔə ko¹
 python sniff look and say that it be his throat
ʔə θwɪ⁴ ʔexo⁶ pla² kwɪ¹ ʔə mə⁶ lɔ³
 its blood thus let away his wife SEP.

'The python sniffed the blood and, saying that it was his throat blood, set his wife free.'

In the entertainment stories, on the other hand, the main participants become successful at the end of the story where they are doubly rewarded; such that they not only receive what they have endeavoured to get, but are also elected by the people to succeed to the throne after the deaths of the kings. The following excerpts come from the post-peak Episodes and Closures of "The Story of the Strong Orphan" and "The Story of the Brave Orphan".

(3) "The Story of the Strong Orphan" (S 26-27)

sɔʔpəʔ *ʔə* *pʰoʔmɪʔ* *ʔoʔ* *dɔʔ* *pʰoʔxæʔ* *təsoʔtəloʔ*
king his daughter live with orphan at times

dɔʔ *sɔʔpəʔ* *θβ* *wæʔ* *loʔ*
and king die SC. SEP.

'The king's daughter occasionally stayed with the orphan, and then the king died.'

tʰβpʰoʔkoʔpʰoʔ *xʰβtʰəʔ* *pʰoʔxæʔ* *ləʔ* *ʔə* *kə*
countrymen elect orphan that he will

kæʔtʰɔʔ *sɔʔpəʔ* *loʔ*
become king SEP.

'The countrymen chose the orphan to become king.'

(4) "The Story of the Brave Orphan" (S 38-39)

ʔəwæʔ *pʰloʔ* *pʰoʔxæʔ* *ləʔ* *ʔə* *pʰoʔmɪʔ* *loʔ*
he marry orphan with his daughter SEP.

'He married the orphan to his daughter.'

pʰæʔ *sɔʔpəʔ* *θβ* *ʔəkʰəʔpʰoʔxæʔ* *kæʔtʰɔʔ*
time king die when orphan become

sɔʔpəʔ *loʔ*
king SEP.

'When the king died, the orphan became king.'

Another key characteristic of the main participant in the stories studied is that s/he is a human being or, at least, finally becomes a human being in the Peak of the discourse. In "The Story of Nyali", Nyali remained in the form of a fish from the beginning of the story till the Peak where he became a full human being, and could not become a fish again, as in the following example.

(5) "The Story of Nyali" (S 30-32)

<i>ɲa⁴ ɲa⁴ tək^hɔ⁶</i>	<i>s^ho⁶ kəmo⁴</i>	<i>wæ⁶ ɬə⁶</i>	<i>ʔə</i>	<i>p^hɬ⁶</i>	<i>dɔ⁵</i>
Nyali as for	think	SC. that	his	grandmother	and
<i>ʔə ma⁶ ɬæ³</i>	<i>s^hu⁶ k^hɔ⁵</i>	<i>pu³ ɬɬ⁶</i>	<i>ʔəxo⁶ ɬo⁴ t^hɔ⁴</i>		
his wife go	to field	inside already	thus	transfigure	
<i>ʔəθə⁵</i>	<i>ɬə⁶</i>	<i>pya³ kəɲɔ⁶</i>	<i>ɬɔ³</i>		
himself	to	people	SEP.		

'As for Nyali, since he thought that his grandmother and his wife had gone to the field, he transfigured himself into a human being.'

<i>p^hæ⁶ ʔəwæ⁶</i>	<i>p^hɔ⁶ tə²</i>	<i>ʔək^hə⁶ ʔə</i>	<i>ma⁶ ɬæ⁶ t^hɔ⁴ ɬə⁶</i>
time he	cook thing	while his	wife come up from
<i>p^hɬɔ⁴ t^hɬ⁶</i>	<i>ʔəpu³ dɔ⁵</i>	<i>p^hɔ⁴ nɛ² ʔɔ³ ɬɔ³</i>	
mat roll	inside and	catch for him	SEP.

'While he was cooking things, his wife came out of the mat roll and caught him.'

<i>ʔəxo⁶ ʔəwæ⁶</i>	<i>kæ⁶ t^hɔ⁴</i>	<i>kə³ ɲa⁴</i>	<i>tə</i>	<i>θə⁶ ɬə³ bə⁴</i>
thus he	become	back fish	not	can at all

'Therefore, he could not become a fish again.'

In regard to the initial identification of a main participant, the most significant grammatical indication of the main participant of every Sgaw Karen folk story studied is that s/he is introduced in the title of the story. In the body of the text, the initial identification of

the main participant is usually by a classified noun phrase or a serialised noun phrase¹ functioning as the subject of the discourse-initial existential clause. In most legends and entertainment stories studied, the initial identification of the main participant is followed by a series of sentences filled with stative and/or locative clauses presenting important information about the main participant, such as name, description, location and family background.

As example 6 illustrates, *p^hɔ̃⁶ mɔ̃⁴ tɔ̃⁴* 'grandfather Mawtaw', the main participant of the legend 'The Story of Phue Mawtaw', is introduced by a classified noun phrase *pɔ̃³ kəŋɔ̃⁶ θə⁵ pɔ̃² tə ɔ̃³* 'an old Karen man' being the subject of the discourse-initial existential clause (sentence 1). His introduction is then followed by important information about him, i.e., name (sentence 2), age (sentence 3) and location setting (sentence 4).

(6) "The Story of Phue Mawtaw" (S 1-4)

<i>lə⁶ plə³</i>	<i>ne⁴</i>	<i>pɔ̃³ kəŋɔ̃⁶</i>	<i>θə⁵ pɔ̃²</i>	<i>tə</i>	<i>ɔ̃³</i>	<i>ʔə⁴</i>
former time	that	Karen man	old	one	N.Cl.	have

wæ⁶ lɔ̃³
SC. SEP.

'In former time, there was an old Karen man.'

<i>ʔə</i>	<i>mɪ³</i>	<i>ne²</i>	<i>wæ⁶</i>	<i>p^hɔ̃⁶</i>	<i>mɔ̃⁴ tɔ̃⁴</i>	<i>lɔ̃³</i>
his	name	be	SC.	grandfather	Mawtaw	SEP.

'His name was Grandfather Mawtaw.'

<i>ʔə wæ⁶</i>	<i>ʔə</i>	<i>θə⁵ pɔ̃²</i>	<i>lɔ̃⁶</i>	<i>lɔ̃³</i>
he	Verbaliser	old	already	SEP.

'He was old already.'

¹A serialised noun phrase is a kind of noun phrase which consists of two head nouns in the same semantic domain (e.g., *mə⁶ wə³* 'wife and husband'). Like verb serialisation, the two nouns occur in fixed positions and not ordered otherwise.

$\gamma\theta w\alpha^6$ $\gamma\theta^4$ $w\alpha^6$ $l\theta^6$ $p\gamma\theta^3 k\theta\gamma\theta^6$ $\theta\theta w\alpha^6$ $t\theta$ $p^h l\theta^4$
 he live SC. at Karen village one N.Cl.

$\gamma\theta p\upsilon^3$ $l\theta^3$
 inside SEP.

'He lived in a Karen village.'

Example 7 below illustrates a similar way a main participant is introduced. In this entertainment story, "The Story of Nyali", the initial identification of the main participant, Nyali, is also by a classified noun phrase functioning as the subject of the discourse-initial existential clause (sentence 1) followed by the information about his family and how he lived his life (sentences 2-4).

(7) "The Story of Nyali" (S 1-4)

$l\theta^6 p l\theta^3$ $n\theta^4$ $n\theta^4 l l^4$ $t\theta$ $b\theta^6$ $\gamma\theta^4$ $d\alpha^5$ $p^h \beta$ $\theta\theta^5 p\gamma\theta^2$
 former time that Nyali one N.Cl. live with grandmother old

 m^4 $t\theta$ $\gamma\theta^3$ $l\theta^6$ $d\alpha^6$ $\chi\theta^5 \theta \beta$ $t\theta$ $p^h l\theta^4$ $\gamma\theta p\upsilon^3$ $l\theta^3$
 female one N.Cl. at hut dilapidated one N.Cl. inside SEP.

'In former time, a Nyali fish lived with his old grandmother in a dilapidated hut.'

$\gamma\theta$ $p^h \beta$ $l^2 \gamma\theta^4$ $\gamma\theta^3$ $l\theta^6$ $t\theta^2 p^h \alpha^5 \gamma\theta^4 k^h \beta$ $l\theta^3$
 his grandmother feed him with farming SEP.

'His grandmother fed him with food from the field.'

$n\theta^4 l l^4$ $t\theta k^h \alpha^6$ $\gamma\theta^4$ $d\theta^4$ $l\theta^6$ $t^h \beta$ $\theta\theta p\theta^3$ $p\upsilon^3$ $l\theta^3$
 Nyali as for live just at water jar inside SEP.

'As for Nyali, he lived in the water jar.'

$\gamma\theta$ $p^h \beta$ $p^h \theta^6$ $n i^1$ $n\theta^2$ $\gamma\theta^3$ $m\theta^3$ $t\theta$ $n i^3$ $k^h \beta$
 his grandmother put into for him rice one day two

bɔʔ⁶ θə⁶ bɔʔ⁶ ɔʔ³
time three time SEP.

'His grandmother gave him rice two or three times a day.'

4.1.2 Secondary Participant

As observed in the stories in this thesis, a secondary participant is a participant who is present throughout or in important sections of the discourse, including the Peak if the story is climactic. According to the criterion adopted by Ennulat (1978:145), a secondary participant plays "a minor part in events". His/her part "may range from being on the scene for the whole story in a subsidiary role to playing a role for a short passage only" (Ennulat 1978:145). In some entertainment stories studied (e.g., "The Story of Nyali", "The Story of Saw Ker"), the role of the secondary participants are to support the main participants.

Regarding the grammatical feature criterion, a secondary participant may be introduced in the story title and as a co-subject of the discourse-initial existential clause, but only together with the main participant, as *pʰɔ⁶* 'grandmother' in example 8, or in an existential clause occurring elsewhere in the discourse (example 9).

(8) "The Story of Saw Ker" (S 1)

lə⁶ pɔʔ³ ne⁴ pɔʔ³ dɔʔ⁶ pʰɔ⁶ ɬ³ ʔo⁴
former time that people relationship grandmother grandchild have
wæ⁶ kʰɔ⁶ ɣa³ ɔʔ³
SC. two N.CI. SEP.

'In former time, there was a **grandmother** and her grandchild.'

(9) "The Story of Phue Mawtaw" (S 11)

bə⁴ sʰə⁴ tə³ ʔɔ⁴ ʔo⁴ tə pʰɔ⁵ lə⁶
but monkey have one group at

pye²le² *kle⁶ lo³*
 forest middle SEP.

'But there was a **group of monkeys** in the middle of the forest.'

In contrast to the main participant, the initial identification of a secondary participant may occur in the subject or object slot of a transitive clause, as illustrated in examples 10 and 11, or the complement of an intransitive clause, as in example 12. Sometimes it also occurs in reference to another participant (example 11).

(10) "The Story of the Strong Orphan" (S 4)

ʔeket² *p^hæ⁶ ne⁴ ba⁴* *p^hæ⁶ so³ pa³* *he⁴ lo³*
 time time that happen time king give down

ʔe *kel² le⁶* *pye³ le⁶* *ʔæ⁴ do⁵* *ʔe* *p^ho⁶ m⁴* *θe⁶ da⁶*
 his word that people that want his daughter youngest

le⁶ *ʔe* *p^ho⁶ m⁴* *nw⁶ ya³* *ʔekle⁶ ne⁴* *ke* *ba⁴ hæ⁶*
 in his daughter seven N.Cl. amongthat will must come

le⁶ *m² ni³ le⁶* *te² ke* *ma³ bu⁴* *p^hæ⁵ do⁴* *lo³*
 on day that thing will do feast big SEP.

'At that time, the **king** ordered that the man who wanted the youngest of his seven daughters would have to come on the day of the big feast.'

(11) "The Story of Nyali" (S 9)

ba⁴ *te* *ni³* *ne⁴ li⁴ me⁶* *ʔe* *p^hæ⁶* *le⁶ xe⁶*
 happen one day Nyali ask his grandmother go beg

ne² *ʔo³* *so³ pa³* *ʔe* *p^ho⁶ m⁴* *θe⁶ da⁶* *le⁶ ke*
 for him king his daughter youngest that will

kae⁶ t⁴ *ʔe* *ma⁶* *ʔeyo²* *lo³*
 become his wife purpose SEP.

'One day, Nyali asked his grandmother to go and beg the king to give him **his youngest daughter** to be his wife.'

(12) 'The Story of Thawmepa' (S 2)

<i>ʔe wæ⁶</i>	<i>ʔo⁴</i>	<i>wæ⁶</i>	<i>do⁵</i>	<i>ʔe</i>	<i>p^ho⁶</i>	<i>ʔe</i>	<i>li³</i>
he	live	SC.	with	his	children	his	grandchildren
<i>θe⁴ tɔp^ha⁴</i>	<i>lo³</i>						
Plural	SEP.						

'He lived with **his children and grandchildren.**'

4.1.3 Tertiary Participant

The boundary between the secondary and tertiary participants is not as clearcut as that between the main and the secondary participants. However, the criterion of a participant's presence in surface structure sections does enable us to differentiate a tertiary participant from a secondary participant. A participant is considered tertiary if s/he is present in at least two but not more than three successive sections of the discourse, in a role of "lesser important than the secondary participants" (Chawla 1992:63).

A further characteristic of a tertiary participant is that a tertiary participant may be human, animate (treated as sentient)² or super-natural. An animate being that is not treated as sentient is categorised as an Incidental Participant.

According to the Sgaw Karen stories in this study, the introduction of a tertiary participant may be by a noun phrase--usually modified--in the subject or object slot of a transitive clause (examples 13 and 14), or in the subject slot of a motion clause (example 15), but never by an existential clause.

(13) "The Story of Khunawlei and Nawmuey" (S 16)

<i>ba⁴</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ni³</i>	<i>na² hu⁶</i>	<i>wæ⁶</i>	<i>ʔe</i>	<i>t^ho⁵</i>	<i>ko⁵</i>	<i>θu⁶</i>
happen	one	day	hear	SC.	her	pig	groan	out

²"Sentient" means "sensible, conscious and able to think" and is used here to indicate an animal having human characteristics.

ʔəxo⁶ ʔəwæ⁶ kwe² lɔ³ wæ⁶ dɔ⁵ tʰ⁴ lɛ⁶ kəɬɔ³ bɔ⁶
 so she look down SC. and see that python yellow
 pʰə⁵dɔ⁴ tə bo⁶ bɸ tɛxə¹ ʔə tʰɔ⁵ pʰo⁶ lɔ³
 huge one N.Cl. coil Continuous her pig little SEP.

'One day, she heard her pig groan, so she looked down and saw a **huge yellow python** coiling itself around her little pig.'

(14) "The Story of Khunawlei and Nawmuey" (S 6)

ʔəwæ⁶ ʔo⁴dɔ⁵ ʔə tʰo⁴lw² pʰo⁶ tə be⁴ lɔ³
 he have his dove little one N.Cl. SEP.

'He had a **little dove**.'

(15) "The Story of Thawmepa" (S 5)

be⁴ tə blɔ⁶ tʰɔ⁵ tɪ² pʰə⁵dɔ⁴ tə dɸ hæ⁶
 happen one time pig grown huge one N.Cl. come
 ʔo⁴ tɔ² lɛ⁶ ʔəwæ⁶θe⁴ ʔə kʰɪ⁵ ʔəpu³ lɔ³
 eat thing at they their field inside SEP.

'One time, a **big pig** came and ate the crops in their field.'

4.1.4 Incidental Participant

The distinction between a tertiary participant and an incidental participant can be made clear by the surface structure criterion. From the standpoint of the surface structure criterion, an incidental participant is usually present in one surface structure unit, or two, at the maximum. This may include the Peak. However, in any surface structure unit, the role of an incidental participant is subsidiary.

In addition, the removal of an incidental participant in each of the legends and entertainment stories studied is always permanent; s/he is not brought back to the scene again. The palace guard in "The Story of the Brave Orphan" is an example of an incidental participant who acts in the Peak. However, all he did, after having seen the orphan (the

main participant) lick the dragon's blood from the king's daughter's cheek, was to arrest the orphan, after which he was not mentioned again in the story. See example 16 below.

(16) "The Story of the Brave Orphan" (32)

ʔek^ha⁶p^hæ⁶ne⁴ *pya³k^ho⁵tə²p^ho⁶* *pə²* *t^hɔ⁴* *dɔ⁵* *t^hA* *lə⁶*
 at that moment guard wake up and see that
ʔəwæ⁶ *lə⁴* *tə²* *ʔəxo⁶p^hɔ⁴* *ʔɔ³* *lɔ³*
 he lick thing thus arrest him SEP.

'At that moment, the guard woke up and, seeing him licking the blood, caught him.'

In the above example, even though an incidental participant (the palace guard, in this case) acts in the Peak, his role is limited to this one scene.

Incidental participants in some of the stories studied appear as a group and are present in one section of the discourse. In the legend, "The Story of Mueyaephae", the Thai people who gathered together to have a close look at Mueyaephae belong to this category of participant (example 17). They are not referred to again after this Episode.

(17) "The Story of Mueyaephae" (S 12-13)

jo³do⁴ *na²hu⁶* *ʔə* *ye²* *ʔəxo⁶hæ⁶* *kwa²* *ʔɔ³* *lɔ³*
 Thai hear her story so come look her SEP.

'Thai people heard about her, so they came to look at her.'

ba⁴s^ha⁴ *t^hA* *wæ⁶* *lə⁶* *ʔə* *ɲa⁴* *θu⁶* *ʔəxo⁶tə*
 but see SC. that her skin black so not

ba⁴ʔəθa⁵ *ba⁴*
 content NC.

'But seeing that she had dark complexion, they were not satisfied.'

The initial identification of an incidental participant is usually by a non-modified noun phrase. In general, as observed in the Sgaw Karen narratives in this study, the initial identification of an incidental participant is not limited to specific clause types as in the case of that of a main or secondary participant. An incidental participant may be introduced as the subject or object of a transitive clause, as the subject or complement of an intransitive clause, as the subject of a motion clause or even as the subject or complement of an existential clause. However, this last possibility needs further research since it was observed only once.

4.1.5 Props

A key difference between props and incidental participants is that incidental participants do have some active role even though it is subsidiary. Props, on the other hand, have very little or no active role but their presence in the discourse is obligatory because the discourse would have been to a certain degree affected should they be removed before the proper time.

A good example of a prop is the king's daughter in "The Story of the Brave Orphan". Although she was in three surface structure units, she did nothing. Her presence, however, is essential to the discourse; if she were not present, the (brave) orphan would never have asked his grandmother to beg the king to give him a job in the palace. He would never have saved the king's life from the devil, and, consequently, this story would never have been told.

Another example of a prop is Nawmuey's little pig in "The Story of Khunawlei and Nawmuey". This pig is present in two Pre-peak Episodes but its only action is to groan, when being attacked by the python. This pig is essential to the discourse in that, being Nawmuey's beloved animal, it became the cause of the problem that followed. That is,

when Nawmuey saw the pig being caught by a python, she came down to the ground to rescue it but was herself captured by the python.

As for the matter of a prop's initial identification, it should be noted, according to the data, that in each story that contains a prop, the introduction of the prop is only by a noun phrase that functions as the object of a transitive clause or as the complement of a stative clause³. This is illustrated in the following examples.

- (18) 'The Story of Khunawlei and Nawmuey' (S 13)

<i>no²mi⁴ɽe⁶</i>	<i>se²ko⁵</i>	<i>ɽo⁴dɽ⁵</i>	<i>ɽe</i>	<i>t^hɽ⁵</i>	<i>p^ho⁶</i>	<i>le⁶</i>	<i>ɽe</i>
Nawmuey	also	have	her	pig	little	that	she
<i>ɽæ⁴</i>	<i>wæ⁶</i>	<i>ɽ³</i>					
love	SC.	SEP.					

'Nawmuey, too, had **a little pig** whom she loved.'

- (19) 'The Story of the Brave Orphan' (S 5)

<i>ba⁴</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ni³</i>	<i>t^hɽ⁴</i>	<i>wæ⁶</i>	<i>so³pa³</i>	<i>ɽe</i>	<i>p^ho⁶mi⁴</i>
happen	one	day	see	SC.	king	his	daughter
<i>xi⁶la³</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ya³</i>	<i>ɽ³</i>				
pretty one	N.Cl.	SEP.					

'One day, he saw **the king's pretty daughter**.'

4.1.6 Summary

In this section, we considered the initial identification of each type of participant in the Sgaw Karen folk stories studied in this thesis. The main participant of each story studied is introduced in the title of the story. In the text, the initial identification of a main

³This type of stative clause is similar both in function and meaning to the English 'She has...' or the Thai 'เธอมี...'

participant is usually by a noun phrase functioning as the subject of the discourse-initial existential clause. In most stories studied, a main participant's introduction is usually followed by a series of sentences giving important information about the main participant and the story itself.

The introduction of a secondary participant may be in the story title though this is rare. The introduction may also occur in a discourse-initial existential clause. In contrast to a main participant, there usually is no further information given about a secondary participant. A secondary participant may also be introduced in a transitive or an intransitive clause.

A tertiary participant is usually introduced by a modified noun phrase in a transitive, an intransitive or a motion clause. The initial identification of an incidental participant may also occur in a transitive, an intransitive or a motion clause. However, in contrast to a tertiary participant, an incidental participant is usually introduced by a non-modified noun phrase. In addition, it was also found in an existential clause, but it is the only case in the entire data. Thus further research is needed.

Finally, it should be noted that the initial identification of a prop is usually by a noun phrase in the object slot of a transitive clause or as the complement of a stative clause. Our discussion in this section may be summarised in the following figure.

Participant types		Main	Secondary	Tertiary	Incidental	Prop
Introduction Devices						
Title		yes	yes*			
Existential	Subject	yes	yes		yes*	
	Complement				yes*	
Transitive	Subject		yes	yes	yes	
	Object		yes	yes	yes	yes
Intransitive	Subject				yes	
	Complement		yes		yes	
Motion				yes	yes	

Note : * Rare, needs more study

Figure 13. The Initial Identification of Each Type of Participant.

4.2 Participant Maintenance as a Feature of Cohesion

This section examines how participants who have once been introduced continue to be identified throughout the discourse. The maintenance of a participant's identification plays a major role in providing cohesion throughout the discourse since it enables the audience to keep track of which participant the narrator is talking about.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the two major kinds of important information involved in a discourse are events and participants. Maintaining identification of a participant not only indicates a connection between a participant and an event, but also "links one mention of a participant with other mentions of the same participant" (Grimes 1984:43). Thus, it helps the audience to trace each participant through the discourse.

In Sgaw Karen folk stories, maintenance of a participant's identification in a discourse can be manifested by various kinds of identification. Six types of participant identification were observed to occur in Sgaw Karen folk narrative data and include Name Identification (4.2.1), Pronominal Identification (4.2.2), Identification by different types of

Reiteration (4.2.3), Identification by a Kinship Term (4.2.4), Identification by a Status Term (4.2.5) and Zero Identification (4.2.6).

4.2.1 Name Identification

Identification by a name is most commonly used with a main participant. A secondary or an incidental participant's identification may be maintained by this method though only one occurrence has been observed in the data. This device for participant maintenance was observed to occur extensively in the legends since the main participant of each legend studied has a name, while in the four entertainment stories, only one has a named main participant.

In the legends, identification maintenance of the main participant by a name usually occurs at the beginning of the discourse section in which s/he is prominent. If several participants are acting in that discourse section, the main participant is usually maintained by name. In example 20 below, the identification maintenance of Mueyaephae is by her name. It occurs several times in the Peak.

(20) "The Story of Mueyaephae" (S 23-32; pp. 139-140)

(23) One time, the queen went to the graveyard, dug up children bones, brought them back and secretly hid them in **Mueyaephae's** compound. (24) And she told the king that this **Mueyaephae** had been practising witchcraft. (25) As for the king, he did not believe it. (26) Therefore, the queen pleaded the king, saying that if the king did not believe in her words, he should go and dig in **Mueyaephae's** compound. (27) The people (the palace servants) went digging and saw children's bones. (28) Suddenly, the king ordered the people to execute **Mueyaephae**. (29) Before the people would kill her, she asked them if she could go to see her mother. (30) And the people allowed her to go. (31) Arriving at her mother's place, she told her mother that should blood drip on the weaving machine while she was weaving, she would have to wipe it out with cotton. (32) And she came back.

When focus shifts from one participant to another, there is tendency for the use of name identification. The focus shift is often signalled by *tək^hɔ⁶* 'as for'. Example 21 below is from Episode 5 of 'The Story of Thawmepa'. The focal participant in the first two sentences of the Episode is the group of Thawmepa's children and grandchildren. When the focus shifts to the main participant, signalled by the word *tək^hɔ⁶*, he is identified by his name *p^hɔ⁶ t^hɔ⁵mæ⁶pə²* 'grandfather Thawmepa'.⁴

(21) 'The Story of Thawmepa' (S 41-44; pp. 134-135)

(41) While his children and grandchildren came after him, they saw banana shoots growing up, so they thought that their grandfather had gone too far for them to follow; therefore, they stayed at that place. (42) Because his children and grandchildren did not have the pig-fang comb, they grew older and died. (43) As for grandfather Thawmepa (*p^hɔ⁶ t^hɔ⁵mæ⁶pə² tək^hɔ⁶*), because he had the pig-fang comb, he did not grow old. (44) He did not die at all.

4.2.2 Pronominal Identification as a Feature of Cohesion

Pronominal identification consists only of third-person pronominalisation as none of the narratives examined contain direct quotes in which we would expect to find first- and second-person pronouns. There are four third-person pronouns in Sgaw Karen, distinguished by number, as shown in figure below.

Pronouns	Subject		Object
	Regular Form	Short Form	
Singular	<i>ʔəwæ⁶</i>	<i>ʔə</i>	<i>ʔɔ³</i>
Plural	<i>ʔəwæ⁶θe⁴</i>	<i>ʔə</i>	<i>ʔəwæ⁶θe⁴</i>

Figure 14. Sgaw Karen Third-person Pronouns.

⁴In this case, the name *t^hɔ⁵mæ⁶pə²* 'Thawmepa' is more definite than the kinship term *p^hɔ⁶* 'grandfather'. Thus it is presumed as the maintenance identification of this participant.

According to the legends and entertainment stories studied, a pronoun may identify a human participant of any category except a prop. A sentient non-human participant may also be identified by a pronoun.

The singular subject pronoun $\gamma\theta w\alpha^6$ 'he, she' is used to identify a singular referent (example 22) and the plural subject pronoun $\gamma\theta w\alpha^6\theta e^4$ is used to identify plural referents (example 23). These pronouns normally initiate a sentence while a short form of the pronoun, $\gamma\theta$, rarely occurs at the beginning of a sentence.

- (22) "The Story of Khunawtei and Nawmuey" (S 35)

$\gamma\theta w\alpha^6$ b^6 $k\theta l^3$ $t\theta$ ne^4 ba^4
 he lie python not able NC.

'He could not deceive the python.'

- (23) "The Story of Thawmepa" (S 32-33)

$\gamma\theta$ $p^h\theta^6$ $\gamma\theta$ l^3 $t\theta$ du^4 ne^4 $k^h\theta^6$
 his children his grandchildren one group that boil

$\gamma\theta^4$ $k^h\theta^4$ b^3
 eat snail SEP.

'A group of his children and grandchildren boiled a snail for food.'

$\gamma\theta w\alpha^6\theta e^4$ me^2 $p\gamma\alpha^3kes^h\theta^2k^h\theta^4p^h\theta^6$ $t\theta p^h\theta^4$ $\gamma\theta x\theta^6$ $t\theta$ $\gamma\theta^4$ ba^4
 they be mountain people Plural so not eat NC.

te^2 $w\alpha^6$ $k^h\theta^4$ $n\theta^6$ $t\theta$ bl^6 ba^4
 ever SC. snail even one time NC.

'Because they were mountain people, they had never eaten a snail.'

Generally, when a human participant and a sentient non-human participant are present, the human participant is more likely to be identified by a pronoun and the non-human one by a different device. In the following example, the human participant (in this

case, the main participant) and a non-human participant (in this case, a tertiary participant) are present. The human participant is identified by the pronoun ʔəwæ^6 'he' while the python's identification is the word kəb^3 'python'.

(24) "The Story of Khunawlei and Nawmuey" (S 34-37)

kəb^3	nə^6	kwa^2	$\text{tə}^2\theta w^A$	dɔ^5	sɪ^5	wæ^6	lə^6	tə	mɛ^2
python	sniff	look	blood	and	say	SC.	that	not	be
$\text{pɪ}^3\text{kəjɔ}^6$	ʔə	θw^A	bɛ^4						
man	his	blood	NC.						

'The **python** sniffed (to test) the blood and said that it was not a man's blood.'

ʔəwæ^6	b^6	kəb^3	tə	nə^4	bɛ^4
he	deceive	python	not	able	NC.

'He could not deceive the python.'

ʔəxɔ^6	ʔəwæ^6	kʉ^5	b^3	ʔə	$\text{k}^h\text{ɔ}^4$	ʔə	θw^A	ʔə	sɪ^6
so	he	cut	down	his	foot	its	blood	his	hand
ʔə	θw^A	dɔ^5	lʉ^6	b^3	wæ^6	b^3			
its	blood	and	pour	down	SC.	SEP.			

'Therefore, **he** cut his hand and leg and poured down the blood.'

$\text{bɛ}^4\text{s}^h\text{ɛ}^4$	kəb^3	sɪ^5	wæ^6	lə^6	mɛ^2	dɛ^4	ʔə	sɪ^6	ʔə
but	python	say	SC.	that	be	just	his	hand	its
θw^A	ʔə	$\text{k}^h\text{ɔ}^4$	ʔə	θw^A	b^3				
blood	his	foot	its	blood	SEP.				

'But the **python** said that it was just the blood of his hand and leg.'

In a sentence containing a number of event clauses performed by a single participant, the subject pronoun occurs in the first clause and the subject slots of the rest of

the clauses are usually filled with zero identification (see example 25). This kind of run-on sentence is frequently found in the Peak of a climactic story (see also section 2.2.1.5).

(25) 'The Story of Khunawlei and Nawmuey' (S 26)

<i>ʔəwæ⁶</i>	<i>hæ⁶</i>	<i>ke³</i>	<i>tɪ³</i>	<i>s^hu⁶</i>	<i>ʔə</i>	<i>hɪ⁴</i>	<i>dɔ⁵</i>	∅	<i>ko⁵</i>
he	come	back	reach	to	his	house	and	∅	call
<i>t^hɔ⁴</i>	<i>ʔə</i>	<i>plæ²</i>	<i>nwɪ⁶</i>	<i>yə³</i>	<i>dɔ⁵</i>	∅	<i>læ³</i>	<i>lu³</i>	<i>ke³</i>
up	his	follower	seven	N.Cl.	and	∅	go	follow	back
<i>ʔə</i>	<i>ma⁶</i>	<i>ɪ³</i>							
his	wife	SEP.							

'He came back to his house and called his seven followers and together they went searching for his wife.'

4.2.3 Reiteration

Halliday and Hasan (1976:278) state that:

Reiteration is a form of lexical cohesion which involves the repetition of a lexical item, at one end of the scale; the use of a general word to refer back to a lexical item, at the other end of the scale; and a number of things in between—the use of a synonym, near-synonym, or superordinate.

In the Sgaw Karen folk narratives studied, two reiterative devices used as participant identification were observed. The sections that follow will discuss these two types of reiteration: Repetition (4.2.3.1) and Superordinate Reiteration (4.2.3.2).

4.2.3.1 Repetition

The repetition type of reiteration occurs extensively in the stories studied and includes partial repetition, a process in which the Head of a nominal group is repeated while the Modifier is omitted (e.g., 'an ugly man' is re-identified as 'a man').

In the Sgaw Karen entertainment stories, repetition may be used to continue identification of a main participant whereas in the legends, repetition usually refers to a tertiary or an incidental participant.

As illustrated in sentence 7 of example 26 below, the word *tʰo⁴lwi² pʰo⁶* 'little dove' is a partial repetition referring back to the tertiary participant, first mentioned in a classifier phrase in sentence 6, *tʰo⁴lwi³ pʰo⁶ tɔ be⁴* 'one little dove'. In "The Story of the Brave Orphan" (example 27), the maintenance identification of the main participant, an orphan, is a repetition *pʰo⁴xæ⁶ pʰo⁶* 'little orphan'.

(26) "The Story of Khunawlei and Nawmuey" (S 6-7)

<i>ʔəwæ⁶</i>	<i>ʔo⁴dɔ⁵</i>	<i>ʔə</i>	<i>tʰo⁴lwi³</i>	<i>pʰo⁶</i>	<i>tɔ</i>	<i>be⁴</i>	<i>lɔ³</i>
he	have	his	dove	little	one	N.CI.	SEP.

'He had a **little dove**.'

<i>ʔəwæ⁶</i>	<i>mɔ³lo¹</i>	<i>ʔə</i>	<i>tʰo⁴lwi²</i>	<i>pʰo⁶</i>	<i>lɔ⁶</i>	...
he	warn	his	dove	little	that	

'He ordered his **little dove** to ...'

(27) "The Story of the Brave Orphan" (S 28-30)

<i>pʰo⁴xæ⁶</i>	<i>pʰo⁶</i>	<i>klɔ⁶</i>	<i>θɔ⁶</i>	<i>kwi¹</i>	<i>pəjɔ³</i>	<i>ne⁴</i>	<i>lɔ³</i>
orphan	little	slash	die	away	dragon	that	SEP.

'The **little orphan** slashed that dragon dead.'

<i>pəjɔ³</i>	<i>ʔə</i>	<i>θwɪ⁴</i>	<i>pʰlɔ⁵</i>	<i>bɔ⁴</i>	<i>sɔ³pɔ³</i>	<i>ʔə</i>	<i>pʰo⁶mɪ⁴</i>
dragon	its	blood	splash	at	king	his	daughter

<i>ʔə</i>	<i>bɔ⁵kəpɔ³</i>	<i>lɔ³</i>
her	cheek	SEP.

'The dragon's blood splashed at the king's daughter's cheek.'

p^ho⁴xæ⁶ *p^ho⁶* *læ³* *kwi¹lɔ³* *pejo³* *ʔeθ⁶* *le⁶* *tə²tro⁶*
 orphan little go throw away dragon dead at ravine

pu³ *lɔ³*
 inside SEP.

'The **little orphan** threw away the dead dragon in the ravine.'

4.2.3.2 Superordinate Reiteration

A second type of reiteration observed to maintain participant identification in the Sgaw Karen folk stories studied is the use of a superordinate reiteration. Halliday and Hasan (1976:278) describe a superordinate as "a name for a more general class" (e.g., 'bird' is a superordinate reiteration of 'parrot'). According to the Sgaw Karen folk stories studied, identification by a superordinate reiteration generally refers to a non-human tertiary or an incidental participant.

As example 28 below illustrates, *ɣ²* 'snake' in sentence 19 is a superordinate reiteration of the tertiary participant, *kəlɔ³* 'python' (sentence 18).

(28) 'The Story of Khunawei and Nawmuey' (S 18-19)

p^hæ⁶ *ʔəwæ⁶* *hæ⁶* *lɔ³* *xɔ⁶θwə⁶* *tə* *θwə⁶* *dɔ⁵* *kəlɔ³*
 time she come down ladderstep one step and python
xə⁴lɔ³ *t^hɔ⁵* *tə* *wɔ⁶* *lɔ³*
 release pig one round SEP.

'With each step she made, the **python** released the pig one round.'

p^hæ⁶ *ʔəwæ⁶* *hæ⁶* *lɔ³* *tɪ³* *hɔ⁴k^ho⁴lɔ³* *dɔ⁵* *ɣ²* *ne⁴*
 time she come down reach ground and snake that
plə² *kwi¹* *t^hɔ⁵* *dɔ⁵* *b⁶* *ʔɔ³* *lɔ³*
 let away pig and coil her SEP.

'When she reached the ground, that **snake** freed the pig and coiled itself around her instead.'

Another example comes from the entertainment story, "The Story of Saw Ker". In this story, the word *tʰoʰ⁴* 'bird' is used as a superordinate reiteration to refer back to an incidental participant *tʰoʰ⁴læ³wə⁶* 'egret', as illustrated below.

(29) "The Story of Saw Ker" (S 12-13)

ɾəwə⁶ *læ³* *tʰæ⁵* *ne²* *po¹ne⁶k⁶* *tə* *bo⁶* *dɔ⁵* *sə⁶*
 he go pull get lemon grass one N.Cl. and tie
tʰɔ⁴ *wə⁶* *lə⁶* *tʰoʰ⁴læ³wə⁶* *ɾə* *kʰɔ⁴* *lo³* *lɔ³*
 up SC. at egret its leg both SEP.

'He pulled a plant and tied the egret's legs with it.'

dɔ⁵ *mə⁶* *tʰoʰ⁴* *læ³* *ju³* *sʰu⁶* *ɾə* *pʰɿ⁶* ...
 and ask bird go fly to his grandmother

'And he asked the bird to fly to his grandmother's ...'

4.2.4 Identification by a Kinship Term

A participant of any category may be maintained in the story by the use of a kinship term. Generally, a kinship term is used to refer to a participant when s/he is in the presence of his/her kinsperson. In example 30 below, the kinship term *pʰɿ⁶* 'grandmother' maintains the identification of a secondary participant in "The Story of Saw Ker". Similarly, in "The Story of Thawmepa", the kinship term *ɾəpʰoʰ⁶ɾəɿ³* 'his children (and) grandchildren' identifies the secondary participant, Thawmepa's children and grandchildren while the main participant, Thawmepa, is referred to by *pə²θə⁵pɿə²* 'old father' (example 31).

(30) "The Story of Saw Ker" (S 17-19)

ɾə *pʰɿ⁶* *təkʰɔ⁶* *sɿ⁵* *plɿ²* *ɾɔ³* *lɔ³*
 his grandmother as for say foolish him SEP.

'His grandmother told him how foolish he was.'

ʔə pʰɸ sɿ⁵ ʔɔ³ lə⁶ tʰo⁴ læ³ wə⁶ ne⁴ kə bə⁴
 his grandmother say him that egret that will must
 tɔ² θɸ ʔɔ³ wɿ³ mə⁵ bə⁴ hæ⁶ ke³ so¹ lɔ³
 hit die it then more must come back carry SEP.

'His **grandmother** said to him that for an egret like that, he (Saw Ker) had to beat it to death and carry it home.'

ʔewæ⁶ ʔe⁴ lɔ³ ʔə pʰɸ lə⁶ lə⁶ kʰɸ kə
 he promise his grandmother that later will
 mə³ wæ⁶ dɿ⁵ ne⁴ lɔ³
 do SC. as that SEP.

'He (Saw Ker) promised his **grandmother** that next time he would do as he was told.'

(31) "The Story of Thawmepa" (S 15-16)

bə⁴ sʰə⁴ ʔə pʰo⁶ ʔə lɿ³ læ³ xɿ⁶ tʰɔ⁵
 but his children his grandchildren go search pig
 tə bə⁴ bə⁴
 not find NC.

'But his **children** and **grandchildren** did not find the pig.'

hæ⁶ ke³ tæ⁶ ke³ ʔə pə² θə⁵ pɿə² lɔ³
 come back tell back their father old SEP.

'They came back and told their old **father**.'

4.2.5 Identification by a Status Term

According to the data, participant identification maintenance by a status term is less common than other devices. However, it was observed to occur in both the entertainment stories and the legends. Secondary and tertiary participants may be maintained by a status term. The status term found most often in the entertainment stories is *sɔ³ pə³* 'king'.

Participants who are kings are referred to by this term. In the following example, the king,

the secondary participant in the entertainment story "The Story of the Brave Orphan", is identified by this term.

(32) "The Story of the Brave Orphan" (S 25)

<i>pʰæ⁶</i>	<i>sɔ³pə³</i>	<i>læ³</i>	<i>tɪ³</i>	<i>sʰu⁶</i>	<i>tʰp̚klo⁶</i>	<i>dɔ⁵</i>	<i>bu⁵</i>	<i>lə⁶</i>			
time	king	go	reach	to	river	and	about	that			
<i>kə</i>	<i>kʰɔ⁶</i>	<i>tɔ³</i>	<i>ʔəkʰə⁶</i>	<i>se²ko⁵</i>	<i>ʔəwæ⁶</i>	<i>he⁴pəb²</i>	<i>sɔ³pə³</i>				
will	cross	bridge	while	also	he	caution	king				
<i>dʰθo⁵</i>	<i>lə⁶</i>	<i>ne⁶</i>	<i>ʔəxo⁶</i>	<i>kəθe⁴</i>	<i>xə⁴</i>	<i>pu³</i>	<i>dɔ⁵</i>	<i>tɔ³</i>	<i>kə²</i>	<i>lɔ³</i>	<i>lɔ³</i>
such	before	so	horse	run	past	and	bridge	break	down	SEP.	

'When the **king** came near the river and was about to cross it, the orphan warned him (the **king**) like the first time; thus, the horse dashed past before the bridge broke down.'

In the legend "The Story of Khunawlei and Nawmuey", the secondary participant, Nawmuey, is once referred to using this device (example 33).

(33) "The Story of Khunawlei and Nawmuey" (S 7)

<i>ʔəwæ⁶</i>	<i>mə³lo¹</i>	<i>ʔə</i>	<i>tʰo⁴</i>	<i>twɪ²</i>	<i>pʰo⁶</i>	<i>lə⁶</i>	<i>ʔə</i>	<i>kə</i>
he	warn	his	dove	little	that	it	will	
<i>kwa²</i>	<i>ʔə</i>	<i>kəsa²</i>	<i>mɪ⁴</i>	<i>ye³</i>	<i>ye³</i>	...		
look	its	master	female	good	good			

'He ordered his little dove to carefully look after its **mistress**...'

4.2.6 Zero Identification

Zero identification may be used to identify a participant of any category. In a sentence consisting of two or more clauses with the same subject, the subject slot of the initial clause is usually filled with a maintaining identification term while the subject slots of

the following clauses are usually filled with a zero identification. In addition, in a series of sentences having a single actor, zero identification usually occurs in each sentence except the first. As example 34 below shows, all clauses in sentences 21, 22 and 23 have a single subject, the little dove (a tertiary participant). In sentence 21, the bird is referred to as the subject of the first clause by *tʰo⁴lwɪ² pʰo⁶* 'little dove'. Then in sentences 22 and 23, it is referred to by a zero identification (indicated by \emptyset).

(34) "The Story of Khunawlei and Nawmuey" (S 21-23)

tʰo⁴lwɪ² *pʰo⁶* *tʰA* *tə²* *ɾi³* *kʰæ⁶le¹* *lɔ³*
 dove little see thing this all SEP.

'The little dove saw everything.'

ɾəxo⁶ \emptyset *ju³* *wə³wɔ³* *dɔ⁵* \emptyset *xɪ⁶* *ke³* *wæ⁶*
 so \emptyset fly wander and \emptyset search back SC.

kʰu⁴nɔ²le⁶ *lɔ³*
 Khunawlei SEP.

'Therefore, it flew to many places in order to search for Khunawlei.'

le⁶kʰɪ⁶kətə² \emptyset *tʰA* *wæ⁶* *kʰu⁴nɔ²le⁶* *lɔ³*
 finally \emptyset see SC. Khunawlei SEP.

'Finally, it saw Khunawlei.'

4.2.7 Summary

In this section, we discussed six devices of participant maintenance found in the Sgaw Karen data. Identification by a name usually occurs with a main participant of a legend. A pronoun is usually used to refer to a human participant but a sentient non-human participant may also be identified by a pronoun.

Two reiterative devices, repetition and superordinate reiteration, were observed in the data. These usually refers to a tertiary or an incidental participant or a prop. Besides, the main participants of some entertainment stories are also identified by this device.

Kinship term identification or zero identification may be used to maintain the identity of a participant of any category while status term identification was observed only with a secondary or a tertiary participant. Figure 15 summarises our discussion in this section.

Participant Types	Name Identification	Pronoun Identification	Reiteration		Kin Term Identification	Status Term Identification	Zero Identification
			Repetition	Superordinate			
Main	yes	yes	yes		yes		yes
Secondary	yes	yes			yes	yes	yes
Tertiary		yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Incidental	yes*	yes	yes	yes	yes		yes
Prop			yes		yes		yes

Note : * Rare

Figure 15. Participant Maintenance.

4.3 Participant Re-introduction as a Feature of Cohesion

As described in chapter 2, participant re-introduction may function as a signal of a new discourse section (see section 2.2.1.4). In Sgaw Karen, participant re-introduction also contributes to the maintenance of textual cohesion although not many instances were observed. The re-introduction of a participant means the return of a participant who has temporarily been absent from the scene. According to the data, four devices of participant re-introduction were observed: re-introduction by a name, re-introduction by repetition reiteration, re-introduction by a kinship term and re-introduction by a status term.

As observed in the stories, the re-introduction of a main participant is by his/her name while a secondary participant may be re-introduced by a name or a kinship term. In

contrast to a main and secondary participants, a tertiary participant may be re-introduced by repetition reiteration, a kinship term or a status term. Finally, the re-introduction of an incidental participant and a prop was observed to be by a kinship term. However, this feature needs more research since only a few instances of the re-introduction of each type of participant were found in the data. This discussion is summarised in Figure 16 below.

Participants	Name	Repetition	Kinship Term	Status Term
Main	yes			
Secondary	yes		yes	
Tertiary		yes	yes	yes
Incidental			yes	
Prop			yes	

Figure 16: Participant Re-introduction.

4.4 Summary

The cohesion of the text can be achieved by the introduction and maintenance of a participant. These help the audience keep track of the participants in a story. The introduction of a participant gives the audience a clue to the type of participant being introduced while the maintenance of a participant links one mention of a participant to another mention of the same participant, thus helping the audience realise which participant is doing what.

Five types of participants were observed in the Sgaw Karen spoken folk narratives in the study. They are main, secondary, tertiary and incidental participants, and props. The most distinctive indication of a main participant is that s/he is introduced in the story title. His initial identification in the body of the text is usually in the discourse-initial existential clause, generally followed by a few sentences giving background information. A secondary participant may also be introduced at the beginning of the story, together with the main

participant. However, only a little information is normally given about a secondary participant.

The initial identification of a tertiary and an incidental participant is generally not restricted to any particular clause type, but the noun phrase introducing a tertiary participant is usually modified while that introducing an incidental participant is not. Finally, in each story that contains a prop, the prop was observed to be introduced only by a noun phrase functioning as the object of a transitive clause.

Regarding the maintenance of participants, six devices for the maintenance of a participant's identification were observed. Name identification is most commonly used to identify a named main participant. Pronominal identification is generally employed to refer to a human participant while a non-human one is usually referred to by reiteration. In addition, identification by a kinship term and identification by a status term were also observed. Zero Identification usually occurs in the subject or object slot of any non-sentence-initial clause. These maintenance devices are cohesive on two principal counts. First, they help the audience to know which participant is doing what, and, second, they enable the audience to keep track of each participant in the story--that is, to know which participant is being referred to.

Finally, participant re-introduction is also a factor in the maintenance of textual cohesion although the data does not show frequent instances of each device.