CHAPTER 4

TEXTLINGUISTICS STORYLINE ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

Starting with a brief review of Longacre's principle behind the storyline and verb ranking analysis, this chapter will first present definitions of storyline from two different perspectives, i.e. textlinguistics and cognitive linguistics. Secondly, the chapter will discuss textlinguistic storyline and salience scheme analysis of Iu-Mienh narratives, preceded by their profile analysis. In the course of doing so, some rudimentary insights into cognitive-linguistic aspects of storyline analysis will be pointed out. Thus, chapter 4 is a transitional chapter moving from a textlinguistics storyline analysis to a cognitive linguistics storyline analysis.

4.1 Textlinguistics Storyline Analysis in Biblical Hebrew

The second edition of *Joseph* (2003a), a culmination of rigorous empirical research, analytical techniques, comprehensive methodology and the holistic theory of Longacre's version of discourse analysis, stands on the basis of nearly fifty years[54] of his study of Biblical Hebrew among some eighty languages.[55] Obviously Biblical Hebrew[56] is one of the important languages for him, largely

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[54] The earliest mention, perhaps, of the Biblical Hebrew among his publications may be Longacre 1960, where he illustrates hypertagmemic analysis of the clause types, predicate tagmemes and object tagmemes. He testifies that it was in 1944 at seminary that he first encountered so-called *waw*-consecutive as a "special narrative tense", which sounded strange to him, through the Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley Hebrew grammar (1910) (Longacre 2003a:64).

[55] Examples include New Guinea (Longacre 1972a), Colombia, Panama, and Ecuador (Longacre and Woods (eds.) 1976, 1977), India, Nepal, Vietnam, and the Philippines (Longacre ed. 1984), and East and West Africa (Longacre 1987, 1990).

[56] But again why Hebrew? It was perfectly legitimate for Longacre to choose Biblical Hebrew to be one of many soils on which the study of narrative discourse should be cultivated. It is appropriate because of two-fold richness. First, it is because it provides abundant corpus: 484 chapters out of 912 chapters of the whole Hebrew Bible are entirely narratives (other 417 chapters are entirely poems or narratives that contain poetic forms and 11 chapters are written in Aramaic). Second, it is because no other narrative corpus in the world has undergone such an acute scrutiny of literary, linguistic, semantic studies, and textual criticism over two millennia as these texts. Thus, Hebrew of the Bible offers a laboratory where various methodologies can be tested.

through which, if not exclusively, he constructed the theory of storyline and salience scheme.

The first half of this section summarizes Longacre's ten works on storyline analysis in Biblical Hebrew (1961, 1979a, 1981, 1982b, 1985a, 1987, 1989a, 1994a, 1995, 2003a).[57] These works have been compared with five recent authors, and a summary of the comparison will be presented in the second half.[58]

First, having reviewed these ten works, three premises concerning Hebrew narrative discourse can be summarized as follows:

(1) The preterite (i.e. "*wāw* plus prefixal verb") is the special narrative tense[59] for the back-bone of a story (viz. a storyline tense/verb). It is this tense of a verb that pushes the story forward.

(2) A distinction between the foregrounded event-line (i.e. storyline) and supportive material is binary. An implication of this premise is that once the storyline tense is identified, all the other supportive materials will be (almost automatically) eliminated as "off-the-line" materials into a background from the "on-the-line" material.

(3) On the other hand, there is a "spectrum" (i.e. "ranking" or "cline") across the supportive materials.

Concerning the third point, Longacre states:

Possibly Biblical Hebrew narrative is one of the clearest places to posit with confidence a spectrum which involves considerable diversity of verb and clause structure (1981:341) [underline added]

Second, comparing the points above with Buth 1995, Endo 2001, 2003, Fokkelman 1996, Heimerdinger 1999, Levinsohn 2002, four things can be summarized as follow:

(1) The prototypical function of the preterite (*wayyiqtōl* form) verb is to keep sequentiality in recounting past events in a narrative.

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[57] One should be reminded, however, of the fact that Hebrew is not the only language Longacre's theory is built on.

[58] For details see Arisawa 2006.

[59] By assigning the term "preterite," which is non-aspect, Longacre set a right course for the future analysis of Hebrew verb in discourse. See Blau who argues "that in Biblical *prose* the Hebrew verbal system denotes tenses, rather than aspect" (1998b:208-10).

(2) The sequential function of the preterite can be extended to some non-sequential functions off the storyline pragmatically by the author's intention.

(3) The storyline emerges as a foreground phenomenon because of the sequentiality expressed by the sequential verb *wayyiqtōl*, not that this particular form is the storyline verb/tense or foregrounding verb/tense.

(4) A mechanical application of storyline verb form as a measuring stick to all cases of occurrence in order to single out the storyline may either lump subtle semantic differences within a category into a rough grouping or put an exegetical process of texts into a peril of eisegesis.[60]

A difference between Longacre and the others is as follows: Longacre emphasizes the importance of dependence on the preterite verb form in identifying the storyline, while others see the preterite's primary function as the sequential verb; thus the foregrounded storyline is an outcome of the verb's sequentiality.

4.2 Definitions of Storyline: Two Approaches

In this section the definitions of storyline from different authors are summarized into two groups: one is from a textlinguistics perspective, another is from a cognitively oriented approach.

4.2.1 Textlinguistic Definition of the Storyline

Summarizing Hopper's analysis of foreground and background (1979), his version of story line can be defined as follows in the present author's words:

A definition of storyline (1)

> The story line is foregrounded events that are succeeding "one another in the narrative in the same order as their succession in the real world,"[61] and that are

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[60] Waltke and O'Connor say in a footnote, "In reality, a discovery procedure is usually an inductive extension of a definition. Any linguistic analysis results from much more than mechanical application of fully specifiable technique; discovery-procedure linguistics tends to be a form of empiricist extremism" (Waltke and O'Connor 1990:56).

[61] Hopper (1979:214).

denoted by verbs with preterite tense or perfective aspect. The foregrounded story line is in a binary opposition to the background events, which are concurrent with the foregrounded events, and are marked by imperfective aspect of the verbs.

Hopper and Thompson (1980) hypothesized that there is a correlation between the high transitivity of the foreground, and the low transitivity of the background.[62] Their ten transitivity parameters are displayed in Table 16.

	HIGH	LOW
A. PARTICIPANTS	2 or more participants, A and O	1 participant
B. KINESIS	Action	non-action
C. ASPECT	Telic	atelic
D. PUNCTUALITY	Punctual	non-punctual
E. VOLITIONALITY	Volitional	non-volitional
F. AFFIRMATION	Affirmative	negative
G. MODE	Realis	irrealis
H. AGENCY	A high in potency	A low in potency
I. AFFECTEDNESS OF O	O totally affected	O not affected
J. INDIVIDUATION OF O	O highly individuated	O non-individuated

(A = Agent, O = Object)

Table 6. Transitivity parameters (Hopper and Thompson 1980:252)

Longacre, however, questions if transitivity is the only parameter to identify the foreground, that is, the storyline. For him sequentiality is also important. He states, "I have often thought it somewhat curious that, although their [Hopper and Thompson 1980] parameters apply primarily to narrative, a further parameter, sequentiality (sequenced vs. nonsequenced) was not included" (Longacre 1996:24). Furthermore, he asserts, "Sequentiality must in fact be taken as [a] prime characteristic of the storyline, i.e., of foregrounding in narrative" (1996:25).[63]

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[62] They characterize the foreground (i.e. storyline) with two points. "First, the foregrounded portions together comprise the backbone of the text, forming its basic structure; the backgrounded clauses put flesh on the skeleton, but are extraneous to its structural coherence. [...] Second, the foregrounded clauses [...] are ordered in a temporal sequence; a change in the order of any two of them signals a change in the order of real-world events. Backgrounded clauses, however, are not ordered with respect to each other, and may even be movable with respect to the foregrounded portions" (Hopper and Thompson 1980:281).

[63] These two passages seem to be the only places where Longacre emphatically states the importance of sequentiality. Interestingly, he does not relate this importance of sequentiality with wayyiqtōl in Hebrew, though it has been pointed out elsewhere by other researchers (e.g. Buth 1995, Endo 1996, 2003, Myhill

Thus he has included sequentiality as an important semantic value of the storyline in the salience scheme for English narrative (1995c:7, 1996:26) shown in Figure 18 as follows:

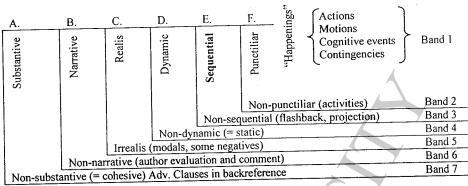| A. Substantive	B. Narrative	C. Realis	D. Dynamic	E. Sequential	F. Punctiliar	"Happenings" { Actions / Motions / Cognitive events / Contingencies }	Band 1
					Non-punctiliar (activities)		Band 2
				Non-sequential (flashback, projection)			Band 3
			Non-dynamic (= static)				Band 4
		Irrealis (modals, some negatives)					Band 5
	Non-narrative (author evaluation and comment)						Band 6
Non-substantive (= cohesive) Adv. Clauses in backreference							Band 7

Figure 18. The parameters for salience scheme for
English narrative (Longacre 1996:26)

Collected from various publications by Longacre (e.g. 1995c:6-8;1996:18, 27, passim), his version of storyline, particulariy in the framework of textlinguistics, is defined as follows:

A definition of storyline (2)

> The storyline is the most foregrounded main line of narrative discourse whose semantic values are substantive, narrative, realis, dynamic, sequential and punctiliar, and whose morpho-syntactic marking is the preterite or completive verb form.[64]

As observable from the above summaries, while both Hopper and Longacre developed the storyline/foreground theory with its correlaton to transitivity, one difference is that Longacre acknowledges the importance of sequentiality as a property of storyline.

This point has been recognized by some Asian scholars and some who have studied languages of Africa (Follingstad 1994, cf. 2.1.8) or Semitic languages

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2001:168). In his second edition of *Joseph* (2003a) he has changed the term BU (build up) of the 1989a edition assigned to *wayyiqtōls* to ST (Sequential Thesis) without reference to these scholars.

[64] This statement is constructed by the present author from several definitions of storyline by Longacre.

(Endo 1996). For example, Somsonge (2002) defines the foreground of a narrative (viz. storyline) as follows:

A definition of storyline (3)

> The clauses which refer to sequenced points on a timeline and present new information, rather than referring anaphorically to happenings that have already occurred, constitute the foreground of a narrative. The foregrounded clauses are thus defined as clauses in which the action of the narrative takes up and time begins to move forward. (Somsonge 2002:142)

In this statement the important thing is that she points out that sequentiality is an essential part of the storyline. Moreover, the presentation of new information is also captured as a component of it. To repeat this, two important components, namely, the sequentiality on a timeline and the increment of new information, constitute the foreground of a narrative, that is, a storyline.

While the textlinguistic storyline analysis in Iu-Mienh in 4.3 is based on the definition (2), Somsonge's definition will be incorporated into a re-definition of storyline in terms of CL in 4.2.2.

4.2.2 Cognitive Linguistic Definition of the Storyline

Dry (1992) has reviewed various authors' different understandings about storyline and the foreground-background issue, and categorized them into two large groups of elements that characterize the foreground. One group views the foreground from importance (i.e. thematic, human, causal, formal (or timeline eventline)); and the other group views foreground from salience (i.e. from unexpectedness, figural properties and cognitive accessibility). It is the latter type of foreground that provides the present study with the definition of storyline from a CL perspective. Together with Dry's reminder that the very notion of foreground is originally from "gestalt theories of perception" (1992:436), two more concepts should be recognized as important: the cluster concept (1992:441) and the continuum concept (1992:445, Hopper and Thompson 1980).

Dry has developed the concept that foreground markings are best described as a cluster concept, proposing it based on Longacre's idea of the "bag of tricks", i.e.

many different items that are available to mark discourse peak (Dry 1992:441). In a similar vein, foreground (i.e. storyline) can be marked by a variety of markers, forming a cluster of markers. Furthermore, different marking features in the cluster are in the continuum relation. This understanding is feasible and plausible when the foreground (i.e. storyline) is perceived as a cognitive phenomenon. The foreground (storyline) in this view is consistent with Buth's and Endo's understanding of the sequentiality factor. For instance, Endo states, "The distinction between 'foreground' vs. 'background' as a result of observation rather seems to be a phenomenon triggered by the 'sequentiality' of verbs" (Endo 2003:88). That is, the foreground is the perceptive outcome of a phenomenon that events expressed by verbs are strung in a sequence: not that it exists ontologically and should be detected by identification of its marks.[65] When recognized in this way, the problem of missing the reality of language by limiting analysis to morpho-syntactic markings, cautioned by Waltke and O'Connor (1990), will be safely avoided. This point is summarized by Dry also as follows:

> Many of the markers identified have aspectual meaning as well as pragmatic function, and this may bolster the identification of foreground with temporally successive clauses, while the identification of specific markers may lead away from conceptualizing foreground as relative" (Dry 1992:448).

In other words, the identification of foreground or storyline is not absolute nor mechanical but relative. A definition of storyline from the CL perspective, therefore, is proposed as follows:

> A storyline is a perceptually foregrounded line of a narrative discourse. The line is foregrounded by two major causes: the sequence of events and the movement of events along a timeline toward its goal or conclusion, which is pragmatically planned by the narrator. The former is referred to as *sequentiality of events*, the latter *transitivity of events*. Thus, storyline consists of sequentiality and transitivity of events.

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[65] As it may be noticeable, sequentiality comes first in CL perspective, and then the foreground is identified subsequently. Once this order is recognized, such an opinion seen as follows may be eased to some extent: "Endo's attempt to take sequentiality as basic rather than foregrounding initially impressed me as a mere terminological squabble. After all, foregrounded clauses in narrative are sequential. Foregrounding is a general term which is extendible to other discourse types (e.g. expository or descriptive) where sequentiality is not a concern" (Longacre 1998:217). ·

Note the expansion of the meaning of the term "transitivity" used in the above definition. Traditionally, as in works in Halliday (1967-8, 1970:146-55, 1994:106-75) or Hopper and Thompson (1980), Hopper and Thompson eds. (1982), transitivity means a transition of energy from an Agent to a Patient/Object within a clause. However, in the above proposal in the present study, the term is used to capture the energy transition both in and across clauses, hence an event transition at the inter-sentence level as well. Thus, the definition is expanded from the standard use so it will be fitted to an analysis of strings of the serial verb constructions (SVCs) and topic chains in 5.3.

4.2.3 Summary

Various understandings from different disciplines on the nature of storyline can be summarized into two fundamental attitudes. One is an ontological approach to the storyline. In this approach, the the storyline is assumed to exsist first, and the linguist's responsibility is to discover it through an identification of the most foregrounded line of development, particulary, an identificaton of a marking on a verb for preterite tense or perfective aspect, and an application of such a verb to text corpus to confirm or check the initial identification. This spiral procedure of finding the storyline will continue until the non-storyline linguistic constructions are ranked in the order of the most dynamic to the most static in a salience scheme.

Another approach to the storyline is epistemological. In this view, the storyline, which is foregrounded, is a result of perceiving the sequenced events and dynamically moving events along the timeline. Just as grouped dots arranged in sequence emerge to form a line, so the sequenced events in a narrative also cognitively stand out to the observer's perception as a foreground, rather than disconected items. Moving events or a transitional relation from clause to clause, sentence to sentence, has more vividness to the perception of an observer of a narrative. Thus, once the narrative is set on a theater stage as a cognitive entity,

the storyline is explained as a foregrounded line of narrative facilitated by the transitivity of events and sequentiality of events.

This subsection is summarized by comparing two different opinions of one linguist in his change with regard to this issue. Compare the Givón's opinion in 1984 quoted in 1.1.3 with the revised one quoted below:

> Like all discrete, binary distinctions we have constructed in the past, the foreground/background distinction is *both* useful and dangerous. It is useful in carrying us the first step toward a function-based definition of an important strand in the thematic coherence of discourse. It is dangerous if we wed ourselves to it rigidly and do not eventually trade it in for more elaborate, more specific, less circular and empirically better grounded notions (Givón 1987:185).

4.3 Textlinguistics Storyline Analysis in Iu-Mienh Narrative

In this section, a profile analysis of the seven stories and a salience scheme of Iu-Mienh narrative will be discussed.

4.3.1. Profile Analysis

A profile of narrative discourse is analysed in terms of its surface and notional structures. The notional structure is "etic and heuristic devices to uncover emic structures in given languages" and "a *schema* on which climactic narrative discourses are built" (Longacre 1996:34). The notional structure is manifested in the surface structure, expressed by various linguistic devices.

A profile of Story 1 (OH) is as follows:

Surface Structure	Sent. No.	Sentence at the boundary	Notional Structure
Aperture		A story of an old husband and bamboo shoots	Surface features only
Stage	1	(1) There was a very very old man who tried to force his daughter to marry that old man.	Exposition
Prepeak Episode 1	2-4	(2) His daughter didn't like the idea.	Inciting moment
Prepeak Episode 2	5-8	(5) As for his daughter, thinking about that old man's wealth, yes, it's true, but too old to be suitable as a husband.	Developing conflict
Peak episode	9-15	(9) Then after that, his daughter came up with an idea and boiled old bamboo shoots which no one could chew.	
Postpeak episode	16	(16) The daughter said,	Climax
Closure	17	(17) As his daughter had her strategy, he could not persuade her any longer. Therefore she did not have to marry that old man.	Conclusion
Finis	none		

Figure 19. A profile of Story 1: A story of an old

husband and bamboo shoots

Usually the Aperture is a formulaic phrase, which appears only on the surface structure (Longacre 1996:36). However, in this short story, the Aperture is only a title of the story.

Story 2 (FG) exhibits a profile as follows:

Surface Structure	Sent. No.	Sentence at the boundary	Notional Structure
Aperture	1	A story of Firefly and Grasshopper	Surface features only
Stage	2-3	(2) In the old days, Firefly and Grasshopper exchanged work	Exposition
Episode1	4-9	(4) When they worked it became dark, then they talked about it.	Inciting moment
Episode 2	10-12	(10) They competed to see who would get home first.	Developing conflict
Pre-Peak episode	13-18	(13) Grasshopper didn't reach his house, so on the way he stayed Sparrow's house.	
Peak episode	19-27	(19) As they slept, a dead tree snapped and woke Grasshopper up...	Climax
Postpeak episode	28–30	(28) This time they brought law to discuss.	Denouement
Closure	31-35	(31) Today, if don't believe, do look at an earthworm's neck and check it.	Conclusion
Finis	None		

Figure 20. A profile of Story 2: A story of firefly and

grasshopper

Story 3 (3PG) has the following surface structure:

Surface Structure		Sent. No.	Sentence at the boundary	Notional Structure
Aperture		1	(1) Now I am going to tell a story of a wolf and piglets.	Surface features only
Stage		2	(2) In the old days, a female pig gave birth to three piglets.	Exposition
Prepeak Episodes	Ep 1	3-16	(3) After bringing them up to big enough, she told them, "Each of you must go and find your own place to live."	Inciting moment
	Ep 2	17-25	(17) The wolf took the first piglet and ate it; and again he went to the second piglet's house and told him again like that, "You, open the door to let me in."	Developing conflict
	Ep 3	26-33	(26) (The wolf) further went to the third piglet's house, (and) called the third piglet to open the door to let him come in.	
	Ep 4	34-38	(34) He again planned to deceive the piglet, enticed to say, "Let's go and dig potatoes tomorrow."	
	Ep 5	39-47	(39) He again planned to deceive the piglet, (saying) "Let's go and collect some fruits, tomorrow; collect apples."	
	Ep 6	48-58	(48) He again planned to entice the piglet, (saying) "Let's go and see the fair tomorrow."	
	Ep 7	59-64	(59) And then the black wolf returned following the piglet.	
Peak episode		65-70	(65) The roof of the piglet's house has a hole; a hole that they made to let smoke go out.	Climax
Closure		71	(71) There, that the piglet's plan really tortured that wolf to death.	Conclusion
Finis		none		Surface features only

Figure 21. A profile of Story 3: A story of three piglets

The prepeak episodes consist of two cycles. One is a cycle of the wolf's eating of two piglets and a failure to eat the third piglet (Ep 1-3). The second is from Ep 4 to 6 where the wolf tried to deceive the third piglet and failed. The second cycle is appended with a conversation between the two and the wolf's failure is emphasized (Ep 7), which suspends the story and prepares for the peak.[66]

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[66] Concerning the Western- (and Thai-) loaned folk tales, Jennings has pointed out that "the pattern of 'three little animals' is a Western discourse feature. The Lao-Thai loans would not be found in Mienh stories in China and Vietnam" (personal communication 2006). A higher level plot scheme which is unique to the Iu-Mienh is an interesting topic of study, whilst a difficulty of excluding elements of language contact remains. With regard to the pattern of three, Purnell points out that "three daughters as primary actors is also found in the Big Snake story" (personal communication).

A profile of Story 4 (CI) is presented as follows:

Surface Structure		Sent. No.	Sentence at the boundary	Notional Structure
Title			A story of why cicadas don't have intestines	Surface features only
Aperture		1-7	(1) I am going to tell you a story.	
Stage		8	(8) In the old days, an owl told a barking-deer; "Olive fruits are ripe, Olive fruits are ripe," deceiving the barking-deer to eat some.	Exposition and inciting moment
Prepeak Episode	Ep 1	9-16	(9) The barking-deer came there to eat those olive fruits.	Developing conflict
	Ep 2	17-26	(17) This time, a wild-chicken scratched the ground carelessly and hit ants accidentally making them to come out.	
	Ep 3	27-59	(27) Talking about that squirrel, he got very angry criticizing that the snake took his place to live.	
Peak episode		60-63	(60) This old man, therefore, has come to the conclusion there, found out the root (of the problem)…	Climax
Postpeak episode		64-	(64) Talking about the cicada,	Denouement
Closure		65-72	This story is like (I) have told, and…	Conclusion
Finis		73-78	(73) Now, one person has one story, is't that right?	Surface features only

Figure 22. A profile of Story 4: Why cicadas don't have intestine

This story is an unedited one; it has a long Aperture and Finis. They are outside the narrative text, though socially or interpersonally they may have some more meanings.

Story 5 (FA) is profiled as follows:

Surface Structure		Sent. No.	Sentence at the boundary	Notional Structure
Title			A story of Faam-Bae' and Aeng-Doi	
Aperture		1	(1) I am going to tell a story of Faam-Bae' and Aeng-Doi.	Surface features only
Stage		2-5	(2) In the old days, there was a man whose name was Faam-Bae'.	Exposition
Prepeak Episode	Ep 1	6-11	(6) She couldn't do anything, but she made a plan.	Inciting moment
	Ep 2	12-25	(12) She didn't know that Faam-Bae' was going (to study).	Developing conflict
	Ep 3	26-34	(26) They indeed arrived at the Meisen school.	
	Ep 4	35-43	(35) After studying for three years, her parents at home felt that their daughter had gone very long and she had never returned home.	
	Ep 5	44-60	(44) The next day, her teacher said,	
	Ep 6	61-80	(61) When Aeng-Doi returned home, she took off men's clothes and put on women's clothes, as a beautiful lady.	
	Ep 7	81-89	(81) (When he) returned home, his heart was sad and only wept without eating (anything).	
	Ep 8	90-99	(90) The next day, his mother and others really went to look for; as they arrived they found that Maajaa had arranged for a marriage with her first.	
Peak episode		100-113	(100) And then when it was a day of wedding, Maaja and the relatives were taking Aeng-Doi back home (as a bride).	Climax
Postpeak episode		114-118	(114) That is, in the past, from the beginning Aeng-Doi had known that she was destined to marry Faam-Bae' but she did not tell him anything.	Denouement
Closure		119-120	(119) Later, (they) really married.	Conclusion
Finis		none		

Figure 23. A profile of Story 5: A story of Faam-Bae'
and Aeng-Doi

A profile of Story 6 (AS) is presented below:

Surface Structure		Sent. No.	Sentence at the boundary	Notional Structure
Aperture/Title			Yun Zoi narrated	Surface features only
Stage		1-3	(1) There was a couple who were very poor.	Exposition
Prepeak Episode	Ep 1	4-15	(4) As they went, it became dark.	Inciting moment
	Ep 2	16-28	(16) Then the couple discussed.	Developing conflict
	Ep 3	29-46	(29) Then another day, like the river down there where we ride a boat, there was a kind of crocodile, which was big.	
	Ep 4	47-64	(47) Then another day, there was a gigantic snake, which fell into a city water source for all the residents.	
	Ep 5	65-89	(65) And then another day, there was a disturbing tiger.	
Peak episode		90-130	(90) Later, the country became unsettled again, like people here have a war nowadays.	Climax
Postpeak episode		131	(131) The officer further let people go to get guns and so forth back.	Denouement
Closure		132-134	(132) Then this time, (the officer) assigned one corner of a region with one capital city for him to make a living.	Conclusion
Finis		135	(135) I have told you.	Surface features only

Figure 24. A profile of Story 6: A story of Aahan

It seems that the tape-recorded data used to have a longer aperture than this.

Finally, a profile of Story 7 (BS) is shown in Figure 26:

Surface Structure		Sent. No.	Sentence at the boundary	Notional Structure
Aperture		none		Surface features only
Stage		1-2	(1) In the old days, there was an old man who had seven daughters and he raised them up.	Exposition
Prepeak episode	Ep 1	3-5	(3) Because their father saw that they were lazy, he then went to look a piece of land.	Inciting moment
	Ep 2	6-7	(6) The following day, then, his daughters went.	Developing conflict
	Ep 3	8-58	(8) The following morning, after having a breakfast, their father shapened his axe; carrying it on his shoulder to chop a tree.	
	Ep 4	59-90	(59) The following forming, after eating breakfast, then, their father told the First daughter, saying "Wrap your blanket, and follow the big snake to be his wife.	
	Ep 5	91-120	(91) Having married for three years, (she) bore and got a baby son.	
	Ep 6	121-139	(121) At night when they went to bed, her husband then asked her,	
	Ep 7	140-178	(140) This time, he has got a permanent servant for the house.	
	Ep 8	179-198	(178) The following morning, his wife get up carring the baby; before she washes his face, the baby cried.	
	Ep 9	199-210	(199) Later when this bamboo grew tall, its middle part became swollen up; so he did not cut it.	
	Ep 10	211-243	(211) Later a son of the shop owner went that old woman's house for a visit.	
Postpeak episode		224-255	(224) He then told that old woman to kill a pig to have a birthday feast.	Climax
Closure		256-258	(256) As for her elder sister, she was boilt to death; she didn't become anything.	Conclusion
Finis		259	(259) The story of the Big Snake has finished.	Surface structure only

Figure 25. A profile of a story of big snake

4.3.2 An Etic Salience Scheme Template

As a working tool for doing a storyline analysis, an "etic salience scheme" is proposed by Longacre. He explains that "[t]his etic salience scheme can serve as a beginning frame of reference for analyzing verb/clause functions in narrative, and so served for a number of languages in various parts of the world" (1996:26-7), shown in Figure 25.

1'. Pivotal storyline (augmentation of 1)
    1. Primary storyline (S/Agent > S/Experiencer > S/Patient
        2. Secondary storyline
           3. Routine (script-predictable action sequences)
               4. Backgrounded actions/events
                  5. Backgrounded activity (durative)
                     6. Setting (exposition)
                        7. Irrealis (negatives and modals)
                           8. Evaluations (author intrusions)
                             9. Cohesive and thematic

Figure 26. An etic salience scheme for narrative

(Longacre 1996:28)

Two modifications are needed for Iu-Mienh: first, concerning "flashback", second, "Routine." Longacre explains "flashback" in this salience scheme for narrative "as an ill-defined category, it [flashback] can group with [Band] (2) or (4); as a well-defined morphosyntactic category it can be added after (5)" (1996:28). Iu-Mienh flashback is not clearly defined if one follows Longacre's explanation. However, a judgment from the context leads to the conclusion that the flashback band in Iu-Mienh has its own position between (5) and (6).

Another modification of the etic salience scheme is the "Routine." This was posited by Longacre to make the etic template operative to capture such materials of Halbi, and often Indo-European language (1996:27-8). However, it is not relevant to Iu-Mienh. As a result, a modified etic salience scheme for Iu-Mienh is presented in Figure 26 as follows:

1'. Pivotal storyline (augmentation of 1)
    1. Primary storyline (S/Agent > S/Experiencer > S/Patient)
        2. Secondary storyline
           3. Backgrounded actions/events
               4. Backgrounded activity (durative)
               5. Flashback
                  6. Setting (exposition)
                     7. Irrealis (negatives and modals)
                        8. Evaluations (author intrusions)
                         9. Cohesive and thematic

Figure 27. An etic salience scheme for Iu-Mienh

narrative

4.3.3 Iu-Mienh Salience Scheme Analysis

A Iu-Mienh salience scheme is obtained by applying the etic salience scheme posited in 4.3.2 (Figure 27) to the seven stories; it is presented in Figure 28. Following Longacre's "peeling off" method, the analysis begins with the most remote band, viz. the cohesive band, going up to the storyline band.

Band 1'. Pivotal storyline	1'.1 Sentence + *mi'aqv* (Resultative aspect)
	1'.2 Sentence + *aqv* (Perfective aspect)
	1'.3 *za'gengh*+V (Realis adverb 'really, indeed, actually')

Band 1. Primary storyline	1.1 Unmarked action (dynamic) verbs
	1.2 *aengx*+V (Developmental adverb)
	1.3 S + *ziouc* + V (Sequential marker 'and then,' 'after which', 'then soon')
	1.4 Serial Verb Constructions (SVC) including: Aspectual SVCs (V+*daaih* 'come,' V+*mingh* 'go,' V+ *ziangx* 'finished V-ing,' V + *nzengc* 'completely V or 'be consumed') Directional SVCs (V+*daaih* 'come,' V+*mingh* 'go,' V+*faaux* 'ascend,' V+*njiec* 'descend')
	1.5 Topic Chains (multiclausal constructions sharing the same topic-subject)
	1.6 Repetition of unmarked verbs

Band 2. Backgrounded actions/events	V₁+*jienv* (in the construction V₁+*jienv*+V₂, where V₁+*jienv*- indicates prolonged, repetitive, ongoing, simultaneous action to modify V₂)

Band 3. Backgrounded activity (durative)	3.1 V+V+V (repetitive), V+*neyi*+V (repetitive)
	3.2 V+*jienv* (Durative aspect)
	3.3 Mimesis/Onomatopoeia + *nyei*+V (descriptive),

Band 4. Flashback	4.1 Unmarked verb
	4.2 *wuov_zanc* 'that time,' *loz-hnoi* 'old days' or 'in the past,' *m'daaih* 'from the beginning'

Band 5. Setting (exposition)	5.1 *maaih*+Subject (Presentational)
	5.2 Stative verb
	5.3 V_{ST}+*nyei* (present state aspect)
	5.4.1 (Eq1) A *benx* B 'be' or 'become'
	5.4.2 (Eq2) A *zoux* B 'be' or 'make'
	5.4.3 (Eq3) A *zeiz* B 'be_correct'
	5.4.4 (Eq4) A *dongh* B 'the same as'
	5.4.5 (Eq5) A *se* B 'that_is'
	5.5 Neg+Vst (Negation of antonym in a synonymous parallel to a positive stative verb)

Band 6. Irrealis (negatives and modals)	6.1 Neg + dynamic/action verb
	6.2 Negative idiom
	6.3 Modal. *oix*+V 'want to do'
	6.4 Unmarked verb in a complemental VP of a causative verb

Band 7. Evaluations (author intrusions)	7.1 1st person pronouns *yie* 'I', *mbuo* 'we' (inclusive)
	7.2 Empathy with participants/audience by an interjection
	7.3 Marginal clause *hnangv...nor* 'like, as' taking an illustration from audience

Band 8. Cohesive and thematic	8.1 Cl+*aeqv* (Topic marker) 'as for'
	8.2 Cl+*nor* (Topic marker) 'talking about'
	8.3 V+*gau* (Indpt. Cl marker 'and then'
	8.4 V+*liuz* 'after finishing V'
	8.5 Tail-head link

Figure 28. Salience scheme for Iu-Mienh narrative

4.3.3.1 Band 8: Cohesive

The most obvious band that does not move the story forward is the cohesive band. The materials in this band repeat what is stated previously. There are two groups

here: one is marked, the other not. In the first group, the adverbial clauses are marked by one of four particles. Two particles are clause final, forming the structure as in (46) and (47). Both can function as a topicalizer. When the clause is topicalized, its meaning can be interpreted as the temporal setting, reason, cause, and condition. The adverbial clause in (46) indicates the temporal setting, and Cl_2 in (47) the reason.

(46) (OH.010)

Cl-adverbial

zouv	*ziangx*	***aeqv***
cook	finish	TOP

'(After) finished cooking,

Cl-main

mbenc	*daaih*	*bun*	*ninh*	*nyei*	*die*	*nyanc*
prepare	come	give	3sg	POSS	father	eat

(she) prepared (food) for her father to eat.'

One more construction of this kind is Cl + *nor* 'talking about' or 'as/when/since' as in (47).

(47) (BS.078)

Cl_1		Cl_2			
Mingh	*gau*	*taux*	*diuh*	*ndoqv*	***nor,***
go	DPCL	reach	CLF	stream	as

'When (they) went, as (they) reached a stream,

Cl_3

ninh	*gomgv*	*mbuox*	*ninh*	*nyei*	*auv*
3sg	speak	tell	3sg	POSS	wife

it (the snake) spoke (and) told its wife

Cl_4

yiem	*wuov*	*ndoqv-hlen*	*zuov*	*ninh*
be_there	there	stream-side	wait_for	3sg

(that she should) stay there at the side of the stream (and) wait for him.'

The other kind of clauses have a post verb markers, forming the construction V + *gau* 'having done V and then' or 'when/as S V-ed...' and V + *liuz* 'after finishing V'. All these four constructions precede the main clause providing the main clause with the old information from the previous sentence. A surface structural difference between the first two constructions and the latter two is that *aeqv* and

nor are clause final while *gau* and *liuz* are clause internal, placed immediately after the verb.

Example (48) shows *gau* functioning as a dependent clause marker (DPCL):

(48) (FG.003)

Buic	***gau***	*gong*
exchange	DPCL	work

wuov_hnoi	*ninh_mbuo*	*gorngv*	*taux*	*ninh_mbuo*	*ganh*	*nyei*	*za'eix*
that_day	3_PL	speak	reach	3_PL	self	POSS	plan

'When/as (they) took turns working for each other, that day they talked about each other's plan.'

Example (49) shows that the aspectual verb *liuz* occupies the same position as *gau* forming an adverbial clause, which precedes the main clause.

(49) (BS.049)

Adverbial Clause

Nyanc	***liuz***	*hnaangx*
eat	finish	rice

Main Clause

ninh	*die*	*aengx*	*heuc*	*Guh_Meix*	*dimc*	*dorngx*
3sg	father	again	order	the first_daughter	overlay	place

bun	*domh*	*naang*	*bueix*
give	big	snake	sleep

'After they finished having a meal, their father told again the first daughter (to) lay out [a bed or mattress on] the place [for the snake to sleep on] (to) let the big snake (to) sleep.'

One more structure, which has no identifying particle, is 'tail-head' linkage. It repeats the last word or phrase of the previous sentence before the main clause as in (50).

(50) (3PG.007)

*Aengx   maaih dungz-dom nyei za'eix longc hui-zun **gomv**   biauv*
and_then have piglet   POSS plan use   brick   build house

'Another piglet's plan was [7.2](that he) built a house with bricks.'

(3PG.008)

***Gomv** jienv mv nangc lauh*
build DUR NEG very long

maaih   dauh hieh_juv_jieqv daaih   nduov   ninh_mbuo nyanc
have CLF wolf_black come deceive 3_PL   eat

'Building (it) not very long, there was a black wolf (and it) came (to) deceive them (to) eat.' (i.e. 'They had not been building it for very long when a black wolf came (and tried to) trick (them) so he could eat them.')

4.3.3.2 Band 7: Evaluations

The evaluation band includes author intrusions by using the first person pronouns *yie* '1sg' and *mbuo* '1pl' ('we' inclusive). Besides the ordinary use of the first person plural *yie_mbuo* '1_PL' which has exclusive meaning, *mbuo* sometimes has inclusive meaning. When the inclusive 'we' uttered by a narrator is directed to the audience, the narrator's intention is to involve the audience in a story (50). Such an involvement or non-forcing invitation may be called a narrator-audience tie. This tie is sometimes expressed by an interjection of empathy *ov* 'oh!', *aah* 'ah!' This interjection is directed from the mouth of a participant in the narrative toward the audience; and sometimes it is addressed to the audience directly from the narrator. The marginal clause preposition *hnangv* 'like' or 'as' is used to draw an illustration from the audience's world or experience and incorporate it in the narrative (51).

(51) (AS.029)

¹   ²   ³
*Da'nyeic hnoi **hnangv** wuov ndiev ndaaih naaic, **mbuo** geh jakv*
second   day   like   that   under river there   1pl   ride boat

⁴   ⁵
maaih douh_taanh   yietc nyungc, hlo   nyei
have   big_lizard   one   kind   big   PRS.ST

'[1]Then another day, [2]like (in) the river down there [3](where) we ride a boat, [4]there was a kind of crocodile, [5](which) was big.'

These rapport-building techniques are highly pragmatic. Though they are far down from the primary storyline, they certainly contribute to the vividness of the narrative and help the audience to be drawn to continue to listen.

4.3.3.3 Band 6: Irrealis and Modals

Negatives and modals belong to this band. Negatives include a simple negation of dynamic/action verbs and idioms which contain the negator *maiv* 'not' (or its shortened form *mv*) as in *maiv_haih_fungc_zoux* 'there is nothing one can do about it.' The idiom that contains a negative marker is used more frequently when the story comes near the peak, in the process of accumulating tension.

The modals *oix* 'want' and *haih* 'can' or 'be possible' do not push the story forward. These modals refer to possibility but not actual happenings, i.e. irrealis.

Another use of verbs which do not carry the storyline ahead should be mentioned. The regular verbs in a complementation of the main verb do not realize the action described in them. In (52) a complement is in brackets. After the actual happening of *heuc* 'call' or 'order', all the following verbs *buov* 'burn', *hnyutv* 'boil', *bun* 'let' and *nzaaux* 'wash' are not realized yet.

(52) (BS.032)

Aengx   **heuc**   [*Guh_Meix*   *buov* *douz* *hnyutv wuom*
further order the_first_daughter burn fire boil water

bun   *domh-naang-gorx*   *nzaaux sin.*]
let big-snake-elder_brother wash body

'(Father) further ordered the first daughter (to) make a fire (i.e. make a fire) (and) boil water (to) let the big snake elder brother take a bath.'

4.3.3.4 Band 5: Settings

In this band, there are four kinds of expressions. The first is a presentational construction using an existential verb *maaih* 'to have, to be, there was…' This verb, in the SVO order, means 'to have' or 'to possess.' However, at the beginning of a story, or at the episode boundary inside a story, it "serves to introduce a new participants into the discourse. The subject NP appears in the

postverbal position normally reserved for objects, the unmarked focus constituent in a predicate focus construction" (Van Valin 2005:71). See (53).

(53) (FA.002)

Loz-hnoi	*maaih*	*dauh*	*m'jangc_dorn*	*heuc*	*Faam-Baeqv*
in_the_old_days	there_is	CLF	man	call	Faam-Bae'

'In the old days, there was a man (whose) name was Faam-Bae'.'

Similar to the function of laying a story out in the presentational construction, temporal adverbs also provide the setting.

The second kind of setting expressions is stative verbs describing the nature and characteristics of the subject. These stative verbs are often accompanied by *nyei* 'present state affirmative' (PRS.ST.AFM.) at the end of the clause. *Nyei* does not occur with negative as in a contrast between (54a) and (54b).

(54a) (BS.187)

Ninh	*nqox*	*nyanc*	*aeqv,*	*kuv*	*nyei*
3sg	husband	eat	TOP	delicious	PRS.ST.AFM

'When her husband ate (it), (it) tasted delicious.'

(54b) (BS.188)

Ninh	*auv*	*nyanc*	*aeqv,*	*maiv*	*kuv*
3sg	wife	eat	TOP	NEG	delicious

'When his wife ate (it), (it) was not delicious.'

The third kind of setting expression has a wide variety, all of which are copulatives or constructions in equative sentences. The construction 'A *benx* B' means 'A is B' describing A's internal characteristic (almost permanent), e.g. *Aengh Doi benx m'sieqv dorn* 'Aeng-Doi was a girl.' The 'A *zoux* B' means 'A is B' in a sense of role, occupation, or social position as in (55abc) (these three examples are all from Lombard and Purnell 1968:158).

(55a) (Lombard and Purnell 1968:158)

zoux	*auq*
be	wife

'to be a wife'

(55b)

    zoux   *baeng*
    be   soldier

   'to be a soldier'

(55c)

    zoux   *bou*
    be   servant

   'to be a servant'

In contrast to the previous two constructions in this subset, 'A *zeiz* B' is associated with evaluation; that is, right or wrong as in (56).

(56)   (FA.077)

    Ninh_mbuo *gengh*   *i*   *dauh* *zorqv* *ninh_mbuo* *nyei* *sou*   *doix*
    3_PL   really two CLF take 3_PL   POSS book match

    za'gengh **zeiz**   *nyei*
    really   right PRS.ST

   'They two indeed took out their books (and) compared; really (they) were right [i.e. they really did match].'

Zeiz is often used in the negative, e.g. *Aengh Doi maiv zeiz m'jangc dorn* 'Aeng-Doin is not a boy' (<lit. Aeng-Doin is not correct a boy). Another example is (57).

(57)   (BS.042)

    Mangc *buatc*   *maiv* **zeiz**   *naang*
    look   see   NEG   right snake

   '(She) looked (and) saw (that) it was not a snake.'

Furthermore, *zeiz* can negate a proposition (58).

(58)   (FG.023)

    Ndiangx-kou   *youc* *gorngv* *mv* **zeiz** *ninh* *ganh* *oix*   *nauv*
    dead_tree   also speak NEG right 3sg   self want snap

   'The dead tree also said (that) it was not that he himself wanted to snap.'

Among this group, *se* is the loosest connector. 'A *se* B' means 'A, that is B.' After presenting A as a topic, the description or explanation follows after *se*. Example (59) is a repetition of (57) with a full ending.

(59) (BS.042)

Mangc	*buatc*	*maiv*	*zeiz*	*naang*
look	see	NEG	be_right	snake

se	*yietc*	*dauh*	*kuv*	*mienh*
that_is	one	CLF	good	person

'(She) looked (and) saw (that) it was not a snake, (but) it was a good man.'

The fifth setting expression is *dongh*, originally meaning 'the same.' Thus, 'A *dongh* B' means 'A is identical with B' or 'A is identified as B.' See (60):

(60) (FA.074)

Zinh_ndaangc	*mbuo*	*juangc*	*horqc*	*domgh*	*doqc_sou*	*wuov*
previously	1pl	share	school	place	study_book	that

dongh	*yie*
that_is	1sg

'The one (who) we studied in the same school before; that's me.'

The last kind of expression in this band is the negation of a stative verb which is used in a synonymous parallel affirmative expression. An example is *maiv kuv, im nyei* 'not delicious, bitter', where the first phrase is in the negative, which is coupled with a synonymous paraphrase in the affirmative stative verb. The whole phrase as a unit functions as a descriptive expression as in (61).

(61) (BS.192)

Ninh	*auv*	*nyanc*	*yaac*	*maiv*	*kuv,*	*im*	*nyei*
3sg	wife	eat	and_yet	NEG	delicious	bitter	PRS.ST

'His wife ate but (it was) not delicious, (it was) bitter.'

Note that a negation of dynamic/acton verbs is not used in this construction. Such a negation belongs to the irrealis band.

4.3.3.5 Band 4: Flashback

Basically, flashbacks are expressed with unmarked verbs; there is no specific marking on the verb for this band. The context has clues to indicate that certain clauses are pointing to a deeper past time reference than the time of narration. In (62) (sentences 1-3), (St$_1$) is on the storyline with the verb *gornv* 'speak' followed by an indirect speech *maiv zeiz ninh dorngc* 'it was not that he was wrong.' This

indirect speech is carried on in (St$_2$) and (St$_3$), which report an event that happened previous to the narrative storyline. Verbs in boldface are all flashbacks.

(62) (FG.025)

St$_1$

Nziouv-mbiauh_loc	*gorngv*	*maiv*	*zeiz*	*ninh*	*dorngc*
termites	speak	NEG	right	3sg	wrong

(FG.026)

St$_2$

Naang-nzung	*ganh*	***zun***	*ninh*	*nyei*	*biauv*
earthworm	self	cement	3sg	POSS	house

(FG.027)

St$_3$

Ninh	*mv*	***maaih***	*dorngx*	*yiem*
3sg	NEG	have	place	live

cingx_daaih	***cuotv***	*naaic*	*daaih*	***ngaatc***	*ndiangx-nzungh*	*dangx*
therefore	come_out	there	come	bite	tree_root	break_off

'[25]The termite said (that) he was not wrong. [26]The earthworm himself was cementing his (termite's) house. [27]He (termite) had had no place to live, therefore (he) had come out from there, (and) bit the tree roots (and the roots) broke off.'

Other than interpreting from the flow of context, flashbacks are marked by such time phrases as *wuov_zanc* 'that time', *loz-hnoi* 'in the old days' or 'in the past' and *m'daaih* 'from the beginning.'

4.3.3.6 Band 3: Backgrounded Activities

The materials in this band do not advance events in the narrative, but they describe how the actions are carried out. They are repetitive, habitual, progressive and durative. The examples are (63) V$_1$ + V$_1$ + V$_1$ +…(repetitive), (64) V + *nyei* + V (repetitive), (65) V + *jienv* 'keeping in the state of V' (durative aspect), and (66) Mimesis/onomatopoeia + *nyei* + V (manner).

(63) (AS.110) Repetitive

Sin	*zinx*	*za'gengh*	***nyanh***	***nyanh***	***nyanh***	***nyanh***	***nyanh***	***nyanh***	***nyanh***
body	tremble	really	jerk	jerk	jerk	jerk	jerk	jerk	jerk

nyanh	***nyanh***	*deix*
jerk	jerk	some

'(His) body really trembled continuously so much.'

Another repetitive construction involves *nyei* 'adverbializer' between V_1 and V_2, where V_1+*nyei* modifies V_2 (64).

(64)　　(AS.084) Repetitive

Baqv	**nyei**	**baqv,**	**baqv**	**daic**	**mingh**
pierce	ADVBLZR	pierce	pierce	die	go

'(They) pierced and pierced (the tiger), (they) pierced (it) dead.' (They stabbed the tiger repeatedly and stabbed until it died.)

(65)　　(FA.063) Durative

Ninh	*za'gengh*	*hnyouv*	*nzauh*	*yiem*	**jienv**
3sg	really	heart	sad	exist	DUR

'He was in a really sad situation.'

Similar to (64) the next example has mimetic words (sometimes onomatopoeia) adverbialized by *nyei*, and as a whole phrase it modifies the main verb *taux* 'reach' as in (66).

(66)　　(AS.075) Descriptive

Nda'maauh	**suoh**	**suoh**	**nyei**	**taux**	**wuov**
tiger	MIM	MIM	ADVBLZR	reach	there

'The tiger arrived there slinking along.'

4.3.3.7 Band 2: Backgrounded Action/Events

The background action and events expressed by the use of *jienv* 'be stable' is syntactically in close connecton with the verbs in Band 1. The verb phrase *nyiemv jienv mingh* 'cry-ing-go' can be translated as 'go while crying', 'go in a state of crying,' 'go at the same time crying' or 'went away crying.' That is, in 'V_1 + *jienv* + V_2', where V_2 is the main verb, the phrase 'V_1 + *jienv*' modifies/explains V_2. The V_1 expresses a simultaneous action with the main verb V_2, thus it is V_2 that carries the storyline (67). Hence, V_1 in this construction belongs to Band 2. Semantically, besides the simultaneous action, V_1 indicates prolonged, repetitive, on-going action. Example (67) consists of sequenced clauses (Cl_1 and Cl_2), where Cl_2 contains an expansion of 'V_1 + *jienv* + V_2', namely 'V_1 + *jienv* NP + V_2.'

(67)   (AS.079)

Cl₁				V₁	V₂
Wuov_deix	*huei,*	*huei*	*nyei*	*zunc*	***jienv***	*daaih*
those_people	MIM	MIM	ADVBLZR	chase	SML.ACT	come

Cl₁ ... V₁ V₂
*Wuov_deix   huei, huei nyei   zunc   **jienv**   daaih*
those_people MIM MIM ADVBLZR chase SML.ACT come

Cl₂
*bungx   **jienv**   congx   daaih*
release SML.ACT   gun   come

'Those people came chasing (the tiger) with a loud noise; (they) came shooting guns.' (or 'shooting as they came.')

Another construction expressing a simultaneous action without using *jienv* is *yietc binc* + V₁, *yietc binc* + V₂ 'V₁-ing and V₂-ing' (lit. one time V₁, one time V₂). However, this will be described in the section of primary storyline (4.3.3.8) for the reason given therein.

4.3.3.8 Band 1: Primary Storyline

Once a narrative is introduced by the presentational expression *maaih* 'there was..', and/or the setting expression *loz-hnoi* 'in the old days' or 'once upon a time', the events following are all in the past in the narrative; hence there is no need to mark the tense as a narrative past. In fact, Iu-Mienh does not have such a coding for this band. Thus, this band employs the unmarked verbs as a default storyline verb. However, they are distinguished from the verbs used in Band 6, which are presentational, stative and equative. As in Somsonge's analysis for Thai storyline (1992:113-4), Iu-Mienh also uses verbs of cognitive experience (e.g. *hiuv_duqv* 'know', *buatc* 'see'), event proper, action and motion in the storyline.

These unmarked verbs are also used in other grammatical constructions such as repetition (for emphatic expression and repetitive action), serial verb constructions, multiclause constructions and topic chains. They are also used with the directional verbs *daaih* 'come,' *mingh* 'go,' *faaux* 'ascend' and *njiec* 'descend.' Among them *daaih* and *mingh* have aspectual meaning when a transportation in space is not involved. They all have the properties of Band 1 that Longacre has listed in Figure 18. The repetition of unmarked verbs signals the dynamics and punctiliar parameters; SVCs and topic chains provide the narrative with clear and

rapid transitivity of actions, and aspectual verbs express the completive and realis aspects of actions.

One more important parameter for the storyline is "sequentiality" as has been discussed previously (in the subsections 2.1.7, 2.1.8, 2.1.10, 2.1.11).[67] In Iu-Mienh sequentiality is overtly marked by the sequential marker *ziouc*, whose approximate translation would be 'and then,' 'then soon' and 'after which.' This conjuntion can be used with all the other verbs and constructions listed above in this subsection. An example of the way this sequential marker *ziouc* is used can be found in (68).

(68)   (BS.116)
    Ninh nziez   ***ziouc*** *nyorng jienv*   *mingh*
    3sg younger_sister then creep SML.ACT go

    taux   *ndiangx-nquaah dueiv-mueiz*   *mi'aqv*
    reach   branch   end_of_tail   RSLT

    (BS.117)
    Ninh dorc   ***ziouc*** *goix*   *ndiangx-gorn, ndiangx* ***ziouc*** *nauv*
    3sg elder_sister then cut_down tree-root   tree   then snap

    (BS.118)
    Ninh nziez   ***ziouc*** *zong*   *njiec*   *wuom-njaangh mi'aqv*
    3sg younger_sister then strike descend water-pond   RSLT

    ziouc *daic*   *wuov*   *njaangh mi'aqv*
    then   die   there   pond   RSLT

    (BS.119)
    Ninh dorc   ***ziouc*** *zorqv ninh nziez*   *nyei lui-houx*
    3sg elder_sister then take 3sg younger_sister POSS clothes

    siou-setv   *daaih zomg jienv*
    a_set_of_woman's_dress come   dress   DUR

    ziouc *nyiex*   *jienv*   *guh_nguaaz nzuonx taux*   *biauv*
    then   carry_on_back DUR   baby   return reach house

    '[116]Her younger sister then went creeping (and) reached the end of the branch. [117]Her elder sister then cut down a tree base; then the tree fell down. [118]Her younger sister then struck down into the pond, then died there in the pond. [119]Then her elder sister took her younger sister's clothes and the whole set of dress (and) put them on; (she) then went home carrying the baby.'

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[67] Cf. Buth (1995:86, 88, 99); Endo (1996:189-90); Follingstad (1994:169, 171, 188); Longacre (1996:25); Ricoeur (1988:15 [1985]); Somsonge (2002:142).

The development adverb *aengx* 'again' should receive some mention. Lombard and Purnell (1968:4) give the definition 'again, still, also.' Panh (1995:4) defines it as 'and, again, another, also, either.' However, longer narrative texts show that it often introduces a new development of the story, rather than just a repeat of the previous happening. Hence another meaning is 'further, furthermore, moreover' as an extention of 'still' and 'also' by the two dictionaries above-mentioned. In (69) a cicada speaking is not a repetition of its previous action but the first mention of the new participant. In the preceding sentence CI.001, an owl talked to a deer (CI.008), a squirrel talked to the deer (CI.010), then comes (69).

(69) (CI.011)

Gaeng-waen **aengx**   *gorngv*
cicada   further/also   speak

'A cicada also spoke up.' [in addition to the owl and the squirrel having spoken]

Example (70) shows that *aengx* functions as a developer of the story. It recounts the sequence of events which led to the injury or damage. This kind of discourse level grammatical device is termed a "development marker" by Levinsohn (1992b:32-37).

(70) (CI.014)

Sopc   *luangh dangx*   *mingh youc* **aengx**   *scpc*   *njangx*
ash_pumpkin vine break_off go   also further ash_pumpkin roll

(CI.015)

Sopc   *njangx jienv*   *njiec*
ash_pumpkin roll   SML.ACT descend

youc   **aengx**   *mborqv zuqc saqv-ndongh*   *kung*
also   further hit   GOAL sesame-container spill_out

(CI.016)

Mborqv zuqc   saqv-ndongh   *kung*
hit   GOAL sesame-container   spill_out

youc   **aengx**   *kung*   *bieqc* *norqc_jai*   *m'zing* *mingh*
also   further spill_out enter wild_chicken eye   go

'[14]The ash pumpkin vine broke and a pumpkin rolled away. [15]The ash punbkin rolled down and smashed into a sesame pod spilling out the contents. [16](The pod) being smashed open, (the seeds) flew out and got into a wild fowl's eye.'

There is a construction which expresses a simultaneous action similar to that of the Band 2-backgrounded actions/events band. However, the sentence containing

this construction is on the storyline. In contrast to (67) in 4.3.3.7 (i.e. V$_1$ + *jienv* + V$_2$), (71) uses *yietc binc* + V$_1$, *yietc binc* + V$_2$ 'V$_1$-ing and V$_2$-ing' (lit. one time V$_1$, one time V$_2$):

(71)   (BS.010)

Ninh	ziouc	*yietc*	*binc*	nyiemv	*yietc*	*binc*	heuc	lungh_ndiev
3sg	then	one	time	weep	one	time	call	world

'He then one time cried, one time called (to) the world.' (i.e. 'So then he was weeping and calling on Heaven and Earth [as witnesses] all at the same time.')

In this construction, both VP$_1$ and VP$_2$ are in equal status (i.e. crying and calling), as opposed to the modifier-modified relationship between V$_1$ + *jienv* and V$_2$ in (67). Nonetheless, as will be seen in Figures 50-52 in 5.4.2.1 (Court 1986:36), VP$_2$ seems to receive more attention by a hearer than V$_1$ due to a fundamental nature of putting more focus on a rightward element in a sentence in Iu-Mienh. However, the two VPs describe one event, hence the whole sentence (71) is on the storyline (note that the sentence has the sequential marker *ziouc*). In regard to the isolated VP *yietc binc* + V$_1$ itself, it encodes a background action.

4.3.3.9 Band 1′: Pivotal Storyline

Though unmarked verbs serve as default verbs for the storyline, there are three more items that are used in a special way to augment or supplement the storyline. They include sentence final aspectual markers *aqv* 'perfective aspect,' *mi'aqv* 'resultative aspect' and an adverb *za'gengh* 'really.' They all belong to the pivotal storyline. Here, *mi'aqv* and *za'gengh* are discussed, leaving *aqv* for 5.2.2.

The pivotal storyline is an augmentation of the primary storyline. Longacre (1996) categorizes it into two groups: "(i) happenings which are marked as pivotal constitute a rough abstract of the story, and (ii) happenings which are marked as pivotal, although they are for some reason weighted, when taken together do not constitute such an abstract" (Longacre 1996:28-9). It is the second group that *aq*, *mi'aqv* and *za'gengh* 'really' belong to.

The construction 'Sentence + *mi'aqv*' (resultative aspect) expresses a strong punctiliarity and a complete passage of an event. For example, *ninh mingh*

mi'aqv 'he is gone' has a sense that 'he is not here any more' besides its explicit meaning. (72) shows that an event of Faam-Bae's death is conclusive, definite and punctiliar. This additional information is indicated by the resultative aspectual particle *mi'aq*, though the unmarked verb *daic* 'die' is enough for indicating the storyline.

(72) (FA.098)

Nqaengx	jaang	sim	baqv	daic	**mi'aqv**
choke_on	throat	needle	pierce	die	RSLT

'(A needle) choked on the throat, the needle pierced (his throat), (and he) died.'

The construction often marks a discrete point of ending at the closure of one paragraph as in (73):

(73) (AS.130)

Buonv	baaic	**mi'aqv,**	ninh_mbuo	biaux	nzengc		**mi'aqv**
shoot	defeat	RSLT	3_PL	flee	consumed		RSLT

'(He) shot (and) defeated (them) all; they all completely ran away.'

(73) is the last sentence at the end of the peak episode (cf. Figure 24). Similarly, the sentence containing *mi'aqv* in (FA.113) in Story 5 and (BS.255) in Story 7 marks the end of the peak episode in both stories (cf. Figure 23 and Figure 25).

The adverb *za'gengh* 'really, indeed, actually, surely,' has two basic usages: 1) as a manner adverb as in '*za'gengh* + Stative Verb,' and 2) as an adverb emphasizing an actual occurence of the action, '*za'gengh* + Action/dynamic Verb.' It is the second kind of usage that is on the pivotal storyline, while the first is used in the setting band ((74a) is in DS.). The first kind of usage is exemplified in (74a) and the second in (74b):

(74a) (AS.026)

"U...,	Meih	**za'gengh**	henv	haic."
Wow!	2sg	really	strong	very

"Wow! You are really very strong!"

(74b) (FA.097)

Ninh	**za'gengh**	nyanc	nc	zeiv	fienx.
3sg	really '	eat	that	paper	letter

'He actually ate the letter.'

An implication of (74b) is "Believe it or not, he actually ate the letter!" emphasizing the actual happening of the action it modifies. Borrowing a term from Whaley (1997),[68] this adverb can be referred to as a "realis adverb." A realis adverb means that it "asserts that an event actually occurs" (cf. Whaley 1997:206).

A contrast between (75a) and (75b) may solidify the definition.

(75a) (AS.101)

Baeng	***za'gengh***	*daaih*
soldier	really	come

'The soldiers really came.'

(75b)

Baeng	***mv gaengh***	*daaih*
soldier	NEG-yet	come

'The soldiers haven't come yet.'

Za'gengh in (75a) indicates realis; hence on the storyline, whereas *mv gaengh* 'not yet' in (75b) indicates irrealis.[69]

The realis adverb *za'gengh* 'really,' 'indeed,' 'actually' is used immediately after direct speech, flashback, the participant's internal thinking and author intrusions in order to bring the audience back onto the storyline. This usage will be discussed in 5.2.2.2.

In contrast to punctiliar adverbs like t^han^1 daj^1 nan^4 'suddenly' in Thai, the Iu-Mienh equivalent *liemh zeih* 'suddenly' does not appear often in Iu-Mienh narratives. Instead, *za'gengh* 'really' is very frequently used for the furtherance of a story, not only in the environment just mentioned above but also in other places which are clearly on the storyline and its augmentation.

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[68] In describing Burmese past tense which is marked by "a realis affix," Whaley defines it: "roughly, this affix is used to assert that an event actually occurs" (1997:206). Thus, for *za'gengh* in Iu-Mienh I have adopted the term "realis adverb," as opposed to a manner adverb, which emphasizes the stative verb.

[69] The component *gengh* itself means 'really' (as in CI.003, FA.077, FA.094, FA.106, passim). Thus, *za'* by itself probably comes from *zien gengh* ('true + really') or *zengh gengh*, with the first part undergoing the common neutralization to *za'* (Purnell, 2006: personal communication). *Za'gengh* and *gengh* mean 'really'; *mv gaenh* means 'not yet.'

In summary, two things should be emphasized. First, the pivotal storyline in Iu-Mienh is the second kind which Longacre (1996:28-9) describes as a non-abstract-constituting pivotal storyline, as opposed to an abstract-constituting pivotal storyline. Hence, one should be reminded of the primary function of an unmarked verb is as a storyline verb. Second, belonging to the non-abstract-constituting pivotal storyline band, *aqv*, *mi'aqv* and *za'gengh* occur to supplement the primary storyline. That is, other constructions in the primary storyline band and the three constructions in the pivotal storyline band are not mutually exclusive; the latter reinforces the effect of the former.

4.4 Finding Narrative Timeline through Temporal Movement

Somsonge, mainly working within the framework of Longacre, seems to have been aware of the need for a method to identify the storyline in languages without verbal morphological inflections such as Thai (1991a:76). She states:

> Even though these four categories of on-the-line verbs [i.e. verbs of cognitive experience, event proper, motion and action] are recognized as being on the storyline, one should not expect that whenever they are present, they are always on the storyline. (Somsonge 1991a:99)

The following subsections will recapitulate an observation of the Iu-Mienh salience scheme in the similar vein with Somsonge's caution, and will mention briefly that her proposed alternative is in concordance with the identification of storyline in Iu-Mienh.

4.4.1 Methodological Consideration

From the observation of verbs and clauses in arranging the salience scheme in Iu-Mienh, the same construction is used in different bands. First of all, the fact that the verbs on the storyline are unmarked is a complication for a morpho-syntactic based methodology of identifying the storyline. For example, the forms in the flashback band are the same as those in the storyline. There is no morphological distinction between irrealis verbs in complementation in Band 6 and storyline verbs in Band 1. Other examples include the verb *mingh* as a regular verb 'go'

and the directional verbs in different bands, and *jienv* in different bands, *zoux* as a regular verb 'do' or 'make' and a copular 'be'. In the Iu-Mienh case, it is difficult to identify the storyline by searching for a particular verb form. This situation is due to the fact that many aspectual particles and auxiliaries were originally regular verbs and the same forms are still used.[70]

A similar phenomenon has been recognized in other genetically unrelated languages such as Greek (Tehan 2000:8-10). He acknowledges that 1) different verb forms can be on a storyline band without excluding each other, 2) therefore, an exclusion of either form will lose significant information from the macrostructure (viz. semantics).[71]

4.4.2 Non-Verb-Morphology Dependent Method

As a proposal of a non-verb-morphology dependent method of identifying the storyline, taking the contextual and semantic information into consideration, Somsonge argues for two parameters: time-movement in sequence and presentation of new information in sequence (2002:142). They are inseparable. According to her, these parameters are found in four types of grammatical constructions in Hlai (Li) narrative discourse: 1) a sequential indicator *fan*[53] 'then,' 2) topic subject, i.e. "the noun phrase designating the topic of the discourse used as the subject of a clause" (2002:148-9), 3) temporal connectives and 4) anaphoric temporal clauses. Likewise, four corresponding groups of constructions are evident in Iu-Mienh.

First, in Iu-Mienh narratives, the sequential marker *ziouc* belongs to Band 1. In discussing the sequential marker in Hlai, Somsonge also mentions an adverb *lom*[11] 'again,' whose equivalent in Iu-Mienh is the development adverb *aengx* 'again,'

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[70] A similar situation in Thai is discussed in Kingkarn (1986:245): "...lexical verbs are used to perform what a speaker of other languages might expect to be performed by two types of elements: lexical and grammatical. In fact, lexical verbs in Thai still retain their semantic properties in every case."

[71] The exclusion of present indicative, as opposed to aorist which appears to be a storyline verb, would lead an exegete to a deficiency because such a mechanical application of alleged storyline criterion will eliminate substantive information. See Tehan 2000:9.

'further,' 'moreover.' Belonging to the primary band, both *ziouc* and *aengx* carry the storyline forward: the former by keeping the sequentiality, the latter by developing an event and presenting a new happening (discussed in 4.3.3.8 and 5.4.1).

Second, what Somsonge refers to as the "topic subject" is discussed as "topic chains" within Band 1 in 4.3.3.8. This construction is also a significant device to keep sequentiality while presenting new events at the same time.

Third, the temporal connectives in Iu-Mienh are assigned to Band 5: settings.

Fourth, the anaphoric temporal clauses in Iu-Mienh belong to Band 8: cohesive band. Particularly, the two expressions, V + *gau* (independent clause marker) 'after V,' 'V and then,' and V + *liuz* (aspectual verb) 'after finishing V' have both a connecting function with the previous sentence and a presenting function of a new development.

The third and fourth groups are not main-verb-related constructions; they even belong to "supportive materials" bands. However, they play a significant role in advancing the storyline forward.

4.5 Summary of the Chapter

In this chapter the storyline analysis theorized by Longacre has been reviewed with particular focus on the storyline verb or the preterite. In doing so, the importance of sequentiality was pointed out as a common characteristic of the foregrounded storyline studied by many scholars. Subsequently two types of definition as to storyline were compared: one being ontological and the other epistemological. Belonging to the latter, the cognitive approach sees the foregroundedness as a result of the sequentiality phenomenon. At the end of the chapter, a salience scheme for Iu-Mienh narrative discourse was presented according to the textlingusitics storyline analysis. Finally, it was observed that the same verb form is used across different bands and that different constructions are used in one band. This phenomenon has suggested that a "spectrum" can be recognized not only across the supportive materials but even within a band, e.g.

inside the storyline band. In dealing with this phenomenon Somsonge's four categories of constructions were considered: the sequential and development markers, topic-subject (i.e. topic chains), temporal connectives and anaphoric temporal clauses.