

# Discourse functions of auxiliaries in the Bouyei origin myth

SOMSONGE Burusphat\*

Institute of Language and Culture for Rural Development  
Mahidol University

## 1. Introduction to the Bouyei people and their language

The Bouyei language belongs to the northern group of the Tai language family (Li 1960). It is spoken by a Tai ethnic group with a population of more than 2,500,000. The main areas inhabited by the Bouyei people are in the south, south-west, and central parts of Guizhou Province in China. In Guizhou province, seventy percent of the total Bouyei population live in Qiannan and Qianxinan prefectures (Snyder 1995). A small number of Bouyei also live in Yunnan, Sichuan, and the mountainous areas of northern Vietnam (Zhou Guoyan, Forthcoming).

The Bouyei people are also known by the names of *pu<sup>4</sup>?jai<sup>4</sup>*, *pu<sup>4</sup>?ji<sup>4</sup>*, or *pu<sup>4</sup>?joi<sup>4</sup>*. Yay [jei] is the most frequently used autonym of the Bouyei (Synder 1995). In Thailand, Bouyei are known by the name Tai Dioi (Tai Yoi) which refers to Bouyei people residing in Vietnam.

The variety of Bouyei language used in this study is called Niuchang<sup>1</sup> Bouyei language, which is spoken in the town of Zhenfeng county, Guizhou Province. The data were collected and transcribed in phonetic symbols by a native speaker of Bouyei language<sup>2</sup>. Though the origin myth was mainly treated in this study, two additional texts are also used as supplementary data. The two texts were “How the Sun and the Moon came into being” and “The flood.”

The phonology of Bouyei is described by Zhou Guoyan (Forthcoming) as follows:

The Niuchang Bouyei variety has twenty-nine initial consonants. The underlined symbols below are consonants found in modern Chinese loan words.

---

\*I would like to extend my thank to Anthony Diller for encouraging me to apply Functional Grammar (Foley and Valin 1984) to this paper and for providing me with useful materials. I also thank Megan Sinnott for editing the first draft of the paper.

<sup>1</sup>Niuchang is a small town in Zhenfeng county, Guizhou Province. The name of the town has now been changed to Xingbei.

<sup>2</sup>The data were part of the collaborative work entitled *Kam-Tai Oral Literatures* (1998) compiled by the linguists of the Institute of Language and Culture for Rural Development, Mahidol University and the Kam-Tai Institute, the Central University for Nationalities (CUN), Beijing. The Bouyei oral literature was collected by Zhou Guoyan, a linguist of CUN.

p		t		k
<u>ph</u>		<u>th</u>		kh
ʔb		ʔd		
<u>f</u>	θ	s	ɕ	h
v~w	ð	<u>z</u>		ɣ
		<u>ts</u>	tɕ	
		<u>tsh</u>	tɕh	
m		n	ɲ	ŋ
		l	j	
ʔw			ʔj	

The vowel system has seven simple vowels and five diphthongs as follows:

i	ɯ	u	ie	iu	ue
e	ə	o			
	a		ia	ua	

The Niuchang variety has six non-stopped tones as follows:

	Tone categories	Tone shapes	Tone value	Samples
1	mid level	33	na <sup>1</sup>	‘thick’
2	mid falling	31	na <sup>2</sup>	‘rice field’
3	high level	55	na <sup>3</sup>	‘face’
4	high falling	42	na <sup>4</sup>	‘mother’s or wife’s younger brother’
5	low rising	24	na <sup>5</sup>	‘arrow’
6	low level	11	na <sup>6</sup>	‘otter’

Before proceeding to the discussion of Bouyei auxiliaries, there are some disclaimers to make. This paper does not cover all auxiliaries found in the Bouyei language. The auxiliaries to be treated here are limited to those that display discourse functions in one lengthy text (the origin myth), and two supplementary texts. Examples given in this paper are from the origin myth unless otherwise indicated.

2. Theoretical framework

Since the roles of auxiliaries are closely interwoven with various kinds of discourse information, the models of discourse information as developed by Longacre (1990, 1996), and Grimes (1975) were used as the guidelines of this study.

Grimes (1975) classifies the information in a narrative discourse into participants (and props), events, and nonevents. Nonevents are classified as setting, background, evaluation, and collateral (irrelis). Setting includes expository and descriptive materials which report the place, time, and circumstances under which actions take place. Background includes nonpunctiliar, nonsequential activities and states that do not advance the storyline but temporarily overlap with storyline actions and events. Evaluation is intrusive material which includes the author's own evaluation. Collateral or irrelis has to do with all possible events which might or might not happen. It consists of anything that suggests possible alternatives, such as negation, questions, futures, imperatives, or predictions.

Longacre (1990) proposes that a text is seen as an intricate interweaving of noun phrases (for participants and props) and verb phrases (for events and many nonevents). He makes a distinction between events and non-events by pointing out that events determine an 'event-line' or 'storyline' which is referred to as any happening that pushes the story forward whereas non-events are the rubric, supportive or tributary material. The storyline is semantically defined as any happenings that indicate punctuality, sequentiality, and (most often) volition. Punctiliar happenings include actions and events that are well articulated as to inception, terminus, or both. The sequential happenings involve the regular chronological succession of actions and events. The volitional happenings are actions or events that are conscious or planned.

### **3. Semantic categories of auxiliaries and their realizations**

In this study, auxiliary is defined as verbal elements that modify the meanings of the co-occurring verbs in terms of aspect, modality, additive, and directionality.

Aspect is defined as "the category expressing the temporal structure of the event itself without regard to its participants" (Foley and Valin 1984:209). Comrie (1981:3) gives a general definition of aspect as "different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency" and classifies aspect into two main categories, i.e. perfective and imperfective. The perfective denotes a complete situation, with beginning, middle, and end. The semantic element of perfective is the termination of the situation, that is, the situation is viewed as a single complete whole. The imperfective indicates a situation in progress and pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation (duration, phasal sequences). It is further subcategorised into habitual and continuous.

Modality is characterised as "the speaker's estimate of the relationship of the actor of the event to its accomplishment, whether he has the obligation, the intention, or the ability to perform it" (Foley and Valin 1984:214).

Additive is defined as “a related pattern, that of semantic SIMILARITY, in which the source of cohesion is the comparison of what is being said with what has gone before” (Halliday and Hasan 1976:247). Additive has to do with discourse cohesion/coherence in that it characterises the repeated occurrences of identical events.

Directionals are treated as nuclear operators<sup>3</sup> which “express a directional orientation of the nucleus, whether the action is up, down, toward, or away from some point of reference” (Foley and Valin 1984:212).

The semantic categories of Bouyei auxiliaries are realized by the following auxiliaries:

Semantic categories	Realizations <sup>4</sup>
Aspect	Preserial verbs <i>ɕi</i> <sup>3</sup> ‘then, consequently’ <i>ʔdai</i> <sup>4</sup> ‘to experience’ Postserial verbs <i>leu</i> <sup>4</sup> ‘already, completive’ <i>pai</i> <sup>1</sup> ‘continuous’ <i>ʔju</i> <sup>5</sup> ‘continuous’
Modality	Preserial verbs <i>ma</i> <sup>4</sup> ‘must’ <i>ɣa</i> <sup>2</sup> ‘will’ <i>ðo</i> <sup>4</sup> ‘able’ <i>pai</i> <sup>1</sup> ‘able’ <i>juan</i> <sup>6</sup> ‘be willing to’ <i>tɕai</i> <sup>2</sup> ‘want to’ Postserial verb <i>ʔdai</i> <sup>4</sup> ‘able’
Additive	Preserial verb <i>je</i> <sup>4</sup> ‘also’
Directional	Postserial verbs <i>pai</i> <sup>1</sup> ‘direction away from the speaker’ <i>ma</i> <sup>1</sup> ‘direction toward the speaker’

<sup>3</sup>According to Foley and Valin (1984), the nucleus is the innermost layer of the clause which contains the predicate.

<sup>4</sup>Some auxiliaries are grammaticalized forms of the main verbs such as *ʔdai*<sup>4</sup> ‘to get, to obtain,’ *pai*<sup>1</sup> ‘to go,’ *ma*<sup>1</sup> ‘to come,’ *ʔju*<sup>5</sup> ‘to be at,’ and *ðo*<sup>4</sup> ‘to know.’



#### 4. Discourse functions of Bouyei auxiliaries

The functions of aspectual auxiliaries, modal auxiliaries, and additive auxiliary are tied to the status of discourse information, i.e. storyline vs non-storyline, whereas directional auxiliaries have the function of reporting the movement of a participant towards or away from the locus of the action proper. The following section will discuss the discourse functions of each category in detail.

##### 4.1 *Aspectual auxiliaries*

The aspectual auxiliaries consist of the perfective auxiliaries  $\text{ci}^3$ ,  $\text{leu}^4$ ,  $\text{?dai}^4$  and the imperfective auxiliaries  $\text{pai}^1$  (continuous) and  $\text{?ju}^5$ . Of all the aspectual auxiliaries, the preserial verb  $\text{ci}^3$  has the most frequent occurrence, i.e. thirty-six occurrences. Second to  $\text{ci}^3$  is the occurrence of  $\text{leu}^4$ , i.e. twenty-four occurrences. The rest of the aspectual auxiliaries have sporadic occurrences, i.e. one to three occurrences. The frequent occurrence of the preserial verbs  $\text{ci}^3$  and  $\text{leu}^4$  implies that these two aspectual auxiliaries must play a crucial role in the narrative. The discourse functions of each aspectual auxiliary are discussed below.

##### 4.1.1 *The preserial verb ci<sup>3</sup>*

As expounded by Longacre (1996), a major feature of narrative is contingent succession, that is, temporal succession in which events or doings are contingent on previous events or doings. The narrative is further classified into two subtypes by using projection parameter, that is, a situation or action which is contemplated, enjoined, or anticipated, but not realized. A narrative story such as the origin myth is minus projection in that the events are represented as having already taken place whereas prophecy is plus projection, i.e. the events are not realized.

The origin myth consists of some events or happenings which are in the past or accomplished time and recounted in a chronological order. These events or happenings constitute the storyline of the narrative. Interwoven with the storyline are some predictive happenings which occur in projected time, i.e. something is told before it happens or other happenings which occur in accomplished time but are out of narrative sequence, such as flashback. These happenings are characterised as non-storyline information.

The main function of the preserial verb  $\text{ci}^3$  in the origin myth is to indicate a sequential order of happenings both in accomplished and projected time. As pointed out by Longacre (1996), sequentiality is the prime characteristic of the storyline, i.e. of foregrounding in narrative. Therefore, in marking the sequential order of happenings which take place within the narrative accomplished timeframe, the

preserial verb  $\epsilon i^3$  functions to give prominence to a happening which advances the storyline. The discussion below will cover the functions of  $\epsilon i^3$  within storyline information and non-storyline information.

*Functions of  $\epsilon i^3$  within storyline information*

The preserial verb  $\epsilon i^3$  occurs with great frequency in the parts of text which are within the storyline. A good abstract of the myth can be extracted by listing all the clauses introduced by  $\epsilon i^3$ . Therefore,  $\epsilon i^3$  can be regarded as an indicator of storyline of the origin myth. As a storyline indicator,  $\epsilon i^3$  not only signals temporal sequence but also implies a consequence of the previous happening. That is, when  $\epsilon i^3$  occurs between foregrounded happenings, a happening does not just occur after the completion of a prior happening but they rather occur in a cause-effect relationship as illustrated in example (1) below.

- (1) pau<sup>5</sup>po<sup>6</sup> θoŋ<sup>1</sup> pi<sup>4</sup>nuaŋ<sup>4</sup>                      ni<sup>4</sup>    vo<sup>2</sup>?wan<sup>4</sup>  
 father      two    brother and sister      this    angry  
 $\epsilon i^3$     pai<sup>1</sup> kuŋ<sup>2</sup>?bun<sup>1</sup> ða<sup>1</sup>              tu<sup>2</sup>pia<sup>3</sup>              ka:ŋ<sup>3</sup>li<sup>4</sup>  
 then   go   in the sky    look for   the Thunder God    reason with somebody  
 'The father of the boy and the girl was very angry. (He) then went up to  
 Heaven to reason with the Thunder God.'

In example (1), the first happening (cognitive event) is tied sequentially and consequently to the following happening (volitional act) by the preserial verb  $\epsilon i^3$ .

Besides linking two clauses in a cause-effect manner,  $\epsilon i^3$  also functions to highlight the culminating event within a series of foregrounded events which are expressed by a serial clause construction. The serial clause construction consists of a series of clauses with perfective meaning which are juxtaposed sequentially. The sequence of clauses indicates a sequence of events. The last clause expresses the culminating event which is highlighted by  $\epsilon i^3$  as in example (2).

- (2) te<sup>1</sup>    vo<sup>2</sup>teŋ<sup>3</sup>    tu<sup>2</sup>ða:i<sup>4</sup>,  
 he    angry    really  
 θat<sup>7</sup>    pai<sup>1</sup>    ?dai<sup>1</sup>    voŋ<sup>2</sup>    ðam<sup>4</sup>    te<sup>1</sup>,  
 jump   go    inside    pool    water    that  
 pan<sup>3</sup>    ?dai<sup>4</sup>    vo<sup>2</sup>    tu<sup>2</sup>pia<sup>3</sup>               $\epsilon i^3$     pa<sup>4</sup>    te<sup>1</sup>    kap<sup>8</sup>    ma<sup>1</sup>    la<sup>3</sup>?bun<sup>1</sup>  
 grasp   able   collar   the Thunder God   then   prep.   him   hold   come   the earth  
 'He was very angry. (He) jumped into the pool, caught the Thunder God by the  
 collar, and dragged him down to the earth.'

Example (2) consists of three clauses expressing three foregrounded happenings which have occurred in the order in which they are presented in the text. The first clause is cognitive event whereas the rest are volitional acts. The final clause is preceded by  $\text{ci}^3$  as an indicator of the culminating happening.

*Functions of  $\text{ci}^3$  within non-storyline information*

As mentioned earlier, the default timeframe of the narrative is past time or accomplished time. When the preserial verb  $\text{ci}^3$  occurs in an accomplished time, it indicates the temporal succession and a cause-effect relationship of foregrounded events. However, when it takes place in a projected time as in a quotation, it indicates the temporal succession and a cause-effect relationship of events which have not yet occurred as well as serves as a conditional connector as in examples (3) and (4) respectively.

- (3) tai<sup>5</sup>    neŋ<sup>2</sup>    te<sup>1</sup>    wai<sup>5</sup>    soŋ<sup>6</sup>    ʔdeu<sup>1</sup>,    ʔau<sup>1</sup>    ŋui<sup>6</sup>    te<sup>1</sup>    ma<sup>1</sup>    ɔo<sup>6</sup>,  
 from    top    that    carve    hole    one    take    kernel    it    come    out  
 sa<sup>3</sup>    miau<sup>2</sup>    lai<sup>2</sup>       pan<sup>2</sup>    ɔam<sup>4</sup>    la:u<sup>4</sup>    leu<sup>4</sup>,  
 wait    year    which    have    water    big    already  
 ʈu<sup>1</sup>    ci<sup>3</sup>    tu<sup>2</sup>    kai<sup>5</sup>kuŋ<sup>1</sup>    kai<sup>5</sup>juŋ<sup>6</sup>    ku<sup>3</sup>    pai<sup>1</sup>    ʔdai<sup>1</sup>    ɔo<sup>3</sup>    te<sup>1</sup>  
 you    then    bring    the eating    the using    hide    go    inside    gourd    that  
 'Carve a hole on its top, wait for the year which has a big flood, then you bring  
 your food and anything needed into the gourd.'

- (4) pau<sup>5</sup>ŋau<sup>5</sup>    te<sup>1</sup>    nau<sup>2</sup>  
 old man    that    say  
 su<sup>2</sup>ni<sup>4</sup>    ʈu<sup>1</sup>    ʈoŋ<sup>1</sup>    pi<sup>4</sup>nuaŋ<sup>4</sup>       ʈi<sup>1</sup>    teu<sup>1</sup>ɔan<sup>1</sup>    ni<sup>4</sup>  
 now    you    two    brother and sister    along    road    this  
 le<sup>3</sup>    tai<sup>5</sup>    pai<sup>1</sup>    ʈoŋ<sup>1</sup>    pa:i<sup>6</sup>,    kua<sup>5</sup>    ɕau<sup>6</sup>    jaŋ<sup>1</sup>    ʔdeu<sup>1</sup>,  
 run    from    go    two    side    pass    cls.    joss stick    one  
 ʔji<sup>3</sup>nau<sup>2</sup>mi<sup>2</sup>    tuŋ<sup>4</sup>       sap<sup>7</sup>,    ʈu<sup>1</sup>    ci<sup>3</sup>    te<sup>1</sup>    pi<sup>4</sup>nuaŋ<sup>4</sup>       ɔai<sup>4</sup>,  
 if    not    each other meet    you    then    are    brother and sister    as before  
 ʔji<sup>3</sup>nau<sup>2</sup>le<sup>3</sup>    ma<sup>1</sup>    tuŋ<sup>4</sup>       sap<sup>7</sup>    ʈu<sup>1</sup>    ci<sup>3</sup>    ma<sup>3</sup>    ku<sup>6</sup>    pau<sup>5</sup>ja<sup>6</sup>  
 if    run come    each other meet    you    then    must    do    husband and wife  
 'The old man said, "Now you two run in opposite directions along the road.'

Other instances where  $\text{ci}^3$  occurs with non-storyline elements are negation and conclusion in which  $\text{ci}^3$  simply marks a concluding result of all preceding events and there is no time reference as exemplified in examples (5) and (6) respectively.

- (5) nuw<sup>2</sup>    taŋ<sup>2</sup>    ni<sup>4</sup>    ɕi<sup>3</sup>    mi<sup>2</sup>    kuan<sup>3</sup>    te<sup>1</sup>    pai<sup>1</sup>,  
 think    at    this    then    not    care about him    fp.  
 ‘(After) thinking about this, he then didn’t care about him.’
- (6) kai<sup>5</sup>    θa:u<sup>5</sup>    pai<sup>1</sup>    kuw<sup>2</sup>    ko<sup>1</sup>    ma<sup>3</sup>puk<sup>8</sup>    te<sup>1</sup>    ɕi<sup>3</sup>    jon<sup>5</sup>    “tshun<sup>2</sup>,”  
 those scatter go on cls. chaddock tree that then named Chen  
 θa:u<sup>5</sup>    pai<sup>1</sup>    ja:ŋ<sup>1</sup>    nau<sup>2</sup>po<sup>1</sup>    ɕi<sup>3</sup>    pan<sup>2</sup>    pu<sup>4</sup>jau<sup>2</sup>,  
 scatter go middle mountain top then become the Miaos  
 θa:u<sup>5</sup>    pai<sup>1</sup>    ja:ŋ<sup>1</sup>    ʔdoŋ<sup>1</sup>    ja:ŋ<sup>1</sup>    ʔduw<sup>3</sup>    ɕi<sup>3</sup>    pan<sup>2</sup>    pu<sup>4</sup>ya<sup>3</sup>,  
 scatter go middle forest middle valley then become the Hans  
 θa:u<sup>5</sup>    pai<sup>1</sup>    ja:ŋ<sup>1</sup>    toŋ<sup>6</sup>    pa:ŋ<sup>4</sup>    ɔam<sup>4</sup>    ɕi<sup>3</sup>    pan<sup>2</sup>    pu<sup>4</sup>ʔjai<sup>4</sup>.  
 scatter go middle plain side water then become the Bouyei  
 wun<sup>2</sup>paŋ<sup>2</sup>    ɕi<sup>3</sup>    sa:u<sup>4</sup>kok<sup>7</sup>    tai<sup>5</sup>    kuw<sup>2</sup>ni<sup>4</sup>    ma<sup>1</sup>,  
 people in the world then begin from here come  
 wun<sup>2</sup>paŋ<sup>2</sup>    ɕi<sup>3</sup>    sa:u<sup>4</sup>wan<sup>1</sup>    tai<sup>5</sup>    kuw<sup>2</sup>ni<sup>4</sup>    tau<sup>3</sup>.  
 people in the world then develop from here out  
 ‘Those who fell on the chaddock trees named themselves “Chen”; those who landed on the mountain tops became the Miaos; those dropped in the forest and deep in the valley became the Hans; those who landed into the rice field plains, or on the bank of streams and rivers became the Bouyei. Thus human beings were created, and the world was full of people again.’

#### 4.1.2 The postserial verb *leu*<sup>4</sup>

Similar to Thai, the Bouyei language has no specific markers of past versus present tense. Clauses are ambiguous as to time reference. Types of verbs such as nonstative<sup>3</sup> verbs having perfective meaning, perfective auxiliaries, temporal expressions, and context will work in conjunction with each other to imply time.

The postserial verb *leu*<sup>4</sup> is a perfective auxiliary which signals the completion of a situation, i.e. a telic situation viewed in its entirety and thus has a past or accomplished time implication. Since the story is presented as occurring in the past/accomplished time, there is a strong tendency for the perfective *leu*<sup>4</sup> to occur with a past event expressed by a nonstative verb which implies that the function of *leu*<sup>4</sup> is tied to the storyline information. Even though the perfective *leu*<sup>4</sup> usually occurs with storyline information, it also appears with the non-storyline information in both accomplished and projected timeframes as discussed below.

*Functions of leu<sup>4</sup> within storyline information*

Occurring both with storyline and non-storyline information, the perfective *leu<sup>4</sup>* always indicates a telic situation in which a process leads up to a well-defined terminal point, beyond which the process cannot continue. However, with the storyline information, the use of *leu<sup>4</sup>* is for indicating the completion of the preceding foregrounded event. That is, the event tagged by *leu<sup>4</sup>* has already happened before the following foregrounded event starts.

The postserial verb *leu<sup>4</sup>* is closely related to the preserial verb *ɕi<sup>3</sup>*. All clauses tagged by *leu<sup>4</sup>* and preceded by *ɕi<sup>3</sup>* will encode foregrounded events which are the most salient discourse information in the whole story. The co-occurrences of both auxiliaries are as follows:

## 1. cause-effect construction

cause-Clause<sub>1</sub> + *ɕi<sup>3</sup>* effect-Clause<sub>2</sub> *leu<sup>4</sup>*

- (7) pa<sup>4</sup>    lu<sup>3</sup>ðuŋ<sup>5</sup>    pia<sup>1</sup>    wa:i<sup>6</sup>,  
       prep. coop        burn    ruin  
 ɕi<sup>3</sup>    θat<sup>7</sup>    tai<sup>5</sup>    ʔdai<sup>1</sup>ðuŋ<sup>5</sup>    ma<sup>1</sup>    ðo<sup>6</sup>        leu<sup>4</sup>  
 then jump from coop        come outside already  
 'The coop was burnt. Then (he) came outside.'

2. tail-head-linkage construction<sup>5</sup>

repetitive clause *leu<sup>4</sup>* + *ɕi<sup>3</sup>* clause (*leu<sup>4</sup>*)<sup>6</sup>

- (8) tu<sup>2</sup>pi<sup>3</sup>                nau<sup>2</sup> leu<sup>4</sup>,    ɕi<sup>3</sup>    ʔbin<sup>1</sup> ta:u<sup>5</sup>    pai<sup>1</sup> ʔbu<sup>1</sup>n<sup>1</sup>    pai<sup>1</sup> leu<sup>4</sup>  
 the Thunder God say finish then fly back go sky go already  
 'After the Thunder God had finished saying, he then flew back to the sky.'

## 3. serial clause construction

clause + clause + *leu<sup>4</sup>* *ɕi<sup>3</sup>* clause (encoding a culminating event)

- (9) ʔau<sup>1</sup>    wa<sup>6</sup>ta:u<sup>1</sup> tai<sup>5</sup>    neŋ<sup>2</sup> te<sup>1</sup>    kuen<sup>2</sup> pan<sup>2</sup>    soŋ<sup>6</sup> ʔdeu<sup>1</sup>,  
 use knife from top it carve have hole one  
 ʔau<sup>1</sup>    wa<sup>6</sup>kuu<sup>3</sup> pa<sup>4</sup>    ŋui<sup>6</sup>    te<sup>1</sup>    wau<sup>6</sup>    ma<sup>1</sup>    ðo<sup>6</sup>,  
 use hoe prep. seeds it dig come out

<sup>5</sup>Tail-head linkage is a kind of cohesive device which has a clause repeating the previous main event. The tagging of the clause by the postserial verb *leu<sup>4</sup>* emphasizes the completion of the previous happening.

<sup>6</sup>The postserial verb *leu<sup>4</sup>* may be added at the end of the second clause if the completion of happening is highlighted.

leu<sup>4</sup> ɕi<sup>3</sup> ʔau<sup>1</sup> su<sup>5</sup> ku<sup>2</sup>ʔda:t<sup>7</sup> pa<sup>4</sup> te<sup>1</sup> ta<sup>3</sup> ɔo<sup>2</sup>.  
 finish then take in hot place prep. it dry dried out  
 ‘(The boy and the girl) carved a hole from the top with a knife, took the  
 kernels out with a hoe, then dried it out under the sun.’

*Functions of leu<sup>4</sup> within non-storyline information*

With non-storyline information, the postserial verb *leu<sup>4</sup>* may occur both in accomplished and projected time. In accomplished time, it marks the completion of durative happenings (background information) as well as the completion of past happenings (flashback information). In projected time, the perfective *leu<sup>4</sup>* signals the completion of a predictive situation within a quote.

Example (10) illustrates the occurrence of *leu<sup>4</sup>* within the setting of the story. The second clause tagged by *leu<sup>4</sup>* is a background happening which is complete with duration. At the beginning of the story, the narrator gives the audiences the situation or setting of the story before the main event is initiated.

- (10) ɔiau<sup>2</sup>nau<sup>2</sup> ɕau<sup>6</sup>kuan<sup>5</sup> tu<sup>2</sup>pia<sup>3</sup>      ɔiaŋ<sup>2</sup> tu<sup>2</sup>luan<sup>2</sup> suan<sup>5</sup>      ɔam<sup>4</sup>  
 it is said before the Thunder God and dragon let out of water  
 ma<sup>1</sup> tum<sup>6</sup> la<sup>3</sup>ʔbun<sup>1</sup>, ku<sup>2</sup>lai<sup>2</sup> tu<sup>3</sup> tum<sup>6</sup> to<sup>6</sup>      leu<sup>4</sup>,  
 come submerge the earth place all submerge complete already  
 ‘It was said that the Thunder God and the dragon let the water out of Heaven  
 to submerge the earth. All places had been submerged already.’

Example (11) illustrates the occurrences of *leu<sup>4</sup>* within a quote in which what is said is a preview of events before they actually happen. And example (12) illustrates a completed past happening (flashback) that is within a quote and out of the narrative sequence.

- (11) su<sup>2</sup>ni<sup>4</sup> ku<sup>1</sup> pa<sup>4</sup> kai<sup>5</sup> wan<sup>1</sup> luk<sup>8</sup>ɔo<sup>3</sup> ni<sup>4</sup> ʔau<sup>1</sup> vai<sup>3</sup> ɔu<sup>1</sup>,  
 now I prep. cls. seed gourd this take give you  
 ɔu<sup>1</sup> pa<sup>4</sup> te<sup>1</sup> ʔdam<sup>1</sup> su<sup>5</sup> ʔdai<sup>1</sup> ɔuan<sup>1</sup>,  
 you prep. it plant inside garden  
 suŋ<sup>2</sup> te<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>3</sup> la:u<sup>4</sup> leu<sup>4</sup>, pan<sup>2</sup> ʔdan<sup>1</sup> leu<sup>4</sup>,  
 wait it grow big already have fruit already  
 ɔu<sup>1</sup> ɕi<sup>3</sup> ʔbunt<sup>7</sup> ʔdan<sup>1</sup> tsui<sup>5</sup> la:u<sup>4</sup> te<sup>1</sup> ma<sup>1</sup> la<sup>3</sup>  
 you then pick cls. biggest that come down  
 ‘“Now, I will give you some gourd seeds. You can plant them in the garden.  
 Wait until the gourd plants have gourds. Then you pick the biggest one.”’

- (12) te<sup>1</sup> nau<sup>2</sup>: “wun<sup>2</sup>paŋ<sup>2</sup> tu<sup>3</sup> ta:i<sup>1</sup> leu<sup>4</sup> lo”  
 he say people in the world all die already fp.  
 ‘He said, “People were all dead already.’

#### 4.1.3 The preserial verb ?dai<sup>4</sup> ‘to experience, to have an opportunity’

Syntactically, the auxiliary ?dai<sup>4</sup> may function as a main verb meaning ‘to get, to receive’, a preserial verb meaning ‘to experience, to have an opportunity’, and a postserial verb meaning ‘able, can.’

When ?dai<sup>4</sup> occurs in accomplished time either in the preserial or postserial verb positions, it has a semantic function of aspect implication, that is, the completion of the happening. The discourse function of ?dai<sup>4</sup> here is to indicate that the event has already happened. In the preserial verb position, ?dai<sup>4</sup> marks the reiteration of an event as in examples (13) and (14). Note also that the storyline status of the event is further signalled by the preserial verb ɕi<sup>3</sup>. In the postserial verb position and followed by a temporal phrase, ?dai<sup>4</sup> marks the completion of happening with duration and hence it signals the status of discourse information as background happening which is outside the storyline as exemplified in example (15). It should be noted that as a completive marker, ?dai<sup>4</sup> usually co-occurs with the postserial verb leu<sup>4</sup> as in example (13).

- (13) ku<sup>1</sup> ?dai<sup>4</sup> va:n<sup>1</sup> san<sup>2</sup>va:u<sup>5</sup> pu<sup>4</sup>waŋ<sup>2</sup> leu<sup>4</sup>  
 I to experience answer word the king already  
 ‘“I have promised the king already.”’  
 (“How the sun and the moon came into being”)
- (14) tu<sup>2</sup>pi<sup>3</sup> ?dai<sup>4</sup> kun<sup>1</sup> ɔam<sup>4</sup>, ɕi<sup>3</sup> pan<sup>2</sup> ɔeŋ<sup>2</sup> pai<sup>1</sup>  
 the Thunder God to experience drink water, then have strength fp.  
 ‘After drinking the water, the Thunder God then had enough strength.’
- (15) ɔiau<sup>1</sup>nau<sup>2</sup> ɔam<sup>4</sup> tum<sup>6</sup> ?dai<sup>4</sup> ɣau<sup>3</sup>tɕi<sup>3</sup> pi<sup>1</sup>,  
 it is said water submerge complete several year  
 ‘It was said that the flood didn’t disappear until several years later.’

#### 4.1.4 The postserial verb pai<sup>1</sup>

When pai<sup>1</sup> syntactically functions as a postserial verb, it has several semantic functions. The focus here will be on its semantic function as an aspectual auxiliary. As an aspectual auxiliary, it indicates that something continues to happen (continuous aspect).

Example (16) illustrates the use of a directional auxiliary *pai*<sup>1</sup> for continuous aspectual meaning (imperfective). The directional auxiliary *pai*<sup>1</sup> is repeated to express the continuation of an action which is a background activity.

- (16) *ðam*<sup>4</sup> *wok*<sup>8</sup>*wa:t*<sup>8</sup> *pai*<sup>1</sup>*ta:u*<sup>5</sup>*pai*<sup>1</sup>*ti*<sup>1</sup>  
 water surge back and forth  
 'The water surged back and forth.'

#### 4.1.5 The postserial verb *?ju*<sup>5</sup> 'continuous'

The primary function of the postserial verb *?ju*<sup>5</sup> is locative. This ethnologically locative verb comes to be used as a progressive auxiliary which marks the progressive aspect (imperfective). When *?ju*<sup>5</sup> functions to mark the progressive aspect, it indicates that the event stays that way as in example (17). The presence of *?ju*<sup>5</sup> as an indicator of the progressive aspect tells us that the event is backgrounded and thus out of the storyline.

- (17) *tɕaŋ*<sup>1</sup> *?ju*<sup>5</sup> *?dai*<sup>1</sup> *ðuŋ*<sup>5</sup> *te*<sup>1</sup> *te*<sup>1</sup> *tu*<sup>3</sup> *pun*<sup>5</sup> *mi*<sup>2</sup> *?o*<sup>3</sup> *ma*<sup>1</sup>  
 put stay inside coop that he even struggle not out come  
 'Having been put inside the coop, he could not get out of the coop.'

## 4.2 Modal auxiliaries

The major function of all modal auxiliaries in the origin myth is to convey collateral or irrealis information which has to do with all possible events which might or might not happen. Based on their status along the realis-irrealis continuum,<sup>7</sup> these modals are categorised as necessity modals, potentiality modals, intention modals, and ability modals as follows:

### 4.2.1 Necessity modal

The necessity modal has one member, *ma*<sup>4</sup> 'must', which signals the necessity of the event. Any clause that has this modal auxiliary normally conveys the most probable event that will actually take place later on as exemplified in a quote in example (18).

- (18) *θu*<sup>1</sup> *θoŋ*<sup>1</sup> *pi*<sup>4</sup>*nuaŋ*<sup>4</sup> *ma*<sup>3</sup> *ku*<sup>6</sup> *pau*<sup>5</sup>*ja*<sup>6</sup>  
 you two brother and sister must do husband and wife

---

<sup>7</sup>Foley and Valin (1984:213) see modality as "the variable of actuality of the event, whether it has been realized or not" and use the term status to refer to this notion. Status is viewed as a binary distinction between realis-irrealis. So within the realis-irrealis poles, a continuum can be posited as real ← necessary - probable - possible → unreal



sa:u<sup>4</sup> wan<sup>1</sup>wuon<sup>2</sup>,

create human kind

‘“You two, brother and sister, must become husband and wife (and) create human beings.”’

#### 4.2.2 Potentiality modal

The potentiality modal is the preserial verb *ɣa*<sup>2</sup> ‘will’ which signals the potentiality of the event. With this auxiliary, the event is more likely to happen as in example (19). Note also that the first clause of this example is tagged by the postserial verb *leu*<sup>4</sup> which marks a completion of action in projected time.

- (19) *wuon*<sup>2</sup>*paŋ*<sup>2</sup>      *ɣa*<sup>2</sup> *ku*<sup>6</sup> *miau*<sup>2</sup> *leu*<sup>4</sup>,      *te*<sup>1</sup> *ɕi*<sup>3</sup> *suaŋ*<sup>5</sup> *wuon*<sup>1</sup>  
 people in the world will plant crops complete he then let rain  
*ðam*<sup>4</sup> *ma*<sup>1</sup> *la*<sup>3</sup> *vai*<sup>3</sup> *wuon*<sup>2</sup>*paŋ*<sup>2</sup> *tu*<sup>2</sup>*na*<sup>2</sup>  
 water come down give people rake field  
 ‘(When) people on the earth wanted to plant crops, he then let the rain fall down for the people to rake fields.’

#### 4.2.3 Intention modals

The intention modals include the preserial verbs *juan*<sup>6</sup>, ‘be willing to’, and *tɕai*<sup>2</sup> ‘want to.’ These modal auxiliaries signal that the actor has an intention to do something. However, it is uncertain if the act will be performed or not. In example (20), the event never happens in the following part of the story whereas in example (21), the event is actually realised.

- (20) *ku*<sup>1</sup> *juan*<sup>6</sup>      *?au*<sup>1</sup> *pio*<sup>6</sup> *ði*<sup>6</sup>*na*<sup>2</sup>      *ku*<sup>1</sup> *pan*<sup>1</sup> *vai*<sup>3</sup> *te*<sup>1</sup>  
 I be willing to use half farmland my share give him  
 ‘“I am willing to share half of my farmland with him.”’  
 (“How the Sun and the Moon came into being.”)
- (21) *nu*<sup>2</sup> *tɕai*<sup>2</sup> *?au*<sup>1</sup> *tu*<sup>2</sup>*mu*<sup>1</sup> *tu*<sup>2</sup>*ma*<sup>1</sup> *pai*<sup>1</sup> *pa:ŋ*<sup>1</sup>      *te*<sup>1</sup> *sai*<sup>1</sup> *ði*<sup>6</sup>  
 think want use pig dog go help him plough farmland  
 ‘He thought of forcing the pig and the dog to help him with the ploughing.’  
 (“The Flood”)

#### 4.2.4 Ability modals

The ability modals consist of the pre-serial verbs *ðo*<sup>4</sup> ‘able,’ *pai*<sup>1</sup> ‘able’ and the post-serial verb *?dai*<sup>4</sup> ‘able.’ These modals indicate the actor’s ability to do

something. Having these modals, the actual happening of an event may or may not be real. Example (22) illustrates the use of *ðo*<sup>4</sup> ‘able’ and *ʔdai*<sup>4</sup>. The auxiliary *ʔdai*<sup>4</sup> in preserial verb position also functions as a modal only when it occurs in projected time as in example (23). The preserial verb *pai*<sup>1</sup> always appears in a rhetorical question and frequently co-occurs with *ðo*<sup>4</sup> ‘to know’ functioning as a main verb as in example (24).

- (22) *kuw*<sup>2</sup>*lai*<sup>2</sup> *ðo*<sup>4</sup> *pai*<sup>1</sup> *va:i*<sup>4</sup> *ʔdai*<sup>4</sup> *ʔdan*<sup>1</sup>*ʔda:t*<sup>7</sup> *kuw*<sup>2</sup>*ʔbun*<sup>1</sup> *tok*<sup>7</sup> *ma*<sup>1</sup> *la*<sup>3</sup>  
 how can go shoot can the sun in the sky drop come down  
 ‘“How can I shoot the suns from the sky (with only a bow)?”’  
 (“How the sun and the moon came into being”)

- (23) *tu*<sup>3</sup>*jaŋ*<sup>6</sup> *te*<sup>1</sup> *va:i*<sup>4</sup> *ʔdai*<sup>4</sup> *ta*<sup>5</sup>*ŋuan*<sup>2</sup> *kuw*<sup>2</sup>*ʔbun*<sup>1</sup> *te*<sup>1</sup> *tok*<sup>7</sup>  
 if only he shoot can the sun in the sky that drop  
*vai*<sup>3</sup> *wun*<sup>2</sup>*paŋ*<sup>2</sup> *ʔdai*<sup>4</sup> *ku*<sup>6</sup> *miau*<sup>2</sup> *kua*<sup>5</sup> *ʔdian*<sup>1</sup>*kuan*<sup>2</sup>  
 give people in the world can plant crops spend life  
 ‘Only if he can shoot the suns down can people plant crops.’  
 (“How the sun and the moon came into being”)

- (24) *vo*<sup>3</sup>*te*<sup>1</sup> *kuw*<sup>2</sup>*lai*<sup>2</sup> *pai*<sup>1</sup> *ðo*<sup>4</sup> *pau*<sup>5</sup>*ŋau*<sup>5</sup> *te*<sup>1</sup> *te*<sup>1</sup> *sun*<sup>2</sup>*ɕian*<sup>1</sup>  
 they how able know old man that is supernatural being  
 ‘How can they know that the old man is a supernatural being?’

#### 4.3 Additive auxiliary

The additive auxiliary *je*<sup>4</sup> is a connective modal which is used for discourse cohesion/coherence. It has a linking function in discourse. *je*<sup>4</sup> is used to connect clauses which are of equal rank and their conjoining relation needs to be strengthened. The clauses linked by *je*<sup>4</sup> combine to make an event whole.

In example (25), the additive auxiliary *je*<sup>4</sup> ‘also’ functions to tie simultaneous events which are identical.

- (25) *wun*<sup>2</sup>*paŋ*<sup>2</sup> *je*<sup>4</sup> *ta:i*<sup>1</sup> *leu*<sup>4</sup> *lo*.  
 people in the world also die already fp.  
*tuw*<sup>2</sup>*no*<sup>6</sup> *tuw*<sup>2</sup>*ye*<sup>4</sup> *je*<sup>4</sup> *ta:i*<sup>1</sup> *leu*<sup>4</sup> *lo*,  
 livestock wild animal also die already fp.  
*ko*<sup>1</sup>*ŋa*<sup>1</sup> *ko*<sup>1</sup>*wai*<sup>4</sup> *je*<sup>4</sup> *mi*<sup>2</sup> *tau*<sup>3</sup> *lo*.  
 grass tree also not grow fp.  
 ‘People in the world all died, and so did livestock and wild animals. Grass and tree didn’t grow either.’

#### 4.4 Directional auxiliaries

The directional auxiliaries which play an important role in the origin myth are the postserial verbs *pai*<sup>1</sup> ‘direction away from the speaker’ and *ma*<sup>1</sup> ‘direction toward the speaker.’ Of all the auxiliaries found in the text, the directional auxiliaries whose semantic component is directionality have the most functional load, that is, there are forty-three occurrences of them. Their main function in the discourse is to express an orientation of action as to its direction in time and space. In the previous section, the temporal orientation of action is discussed. The focus here will be on the spatial orientation of action.

The directional auxiliaries *pai*<sup>1</sup> and *ma*<sup>1</sup> are frequently used in the origin myth to signal the viewpoint of the narrator. That is, they tell the listeners which participant is in focus or thematized and the story will be told through the viewpoint of that participant. In example (26), the directional auxiliary *pai*<sup>1</sup> indicates that the brother and sister are the participants in focus and the action is carried out away from these two participants.

- (26) θoŋ<sup>1</sup> pi<sup>4</sup>nuaŋ<sup>4</sup>            te<sup>1</sup> ʔju<sup>1</sup>    san<sup>2</sup>    tu<sup>2</sup>pia<sup>3</sup>            nau<sup>2</sup> te<sup>1</sup>,  
 two   brother and sister   that   follow   word   the Thunder God   say   fp.  
 pa<sup>4</sup>    wan<sup>1</sup>    lu<sup>8</sup>k<sup>8</sup>ðo<sup>3</sup>    ʔdam<sup>1</sup>    **pai**<sup>1</sup>    su<sup>5</sup> ʔdai<sup>1</sup>    θuan<sup>1</sup>    te<sup>1</sup>.  
 prep.   seeds   gourd   plant   go   in inside   garden   fp.  
 ‘The boy and the girl followed what the Thunder God had said. (They) planted the gourd seeds in the garden.’

Besides signalling the thematicity of participants, *pai*<sup>1</sup> and *ma*<sup>1</sup> also play a crucial role in establishing a spatial setting. They are included in a series of verbs to move participants on or off the stage. In example (8) above, the directional auxiliary *pai*<sup>1</sup> signals that the Thunder God is in focus and he is moving off the stage, that is, from the earth to the sky.

#### 5. Conclusion

The Bouyei auxiliaries which play important roles in the discourse are semantically classified into four categories, namely; aspect, modal, additive, and directional auxiliaries.

Given that an event is viewed perfectly as “a dynamic situation as a single complete whole” (Comrie 1981:51), the aspect auxiliaries *ci*<sup>3</sup> ʔdai<sup>4</sup> leu<sup>4</sup> function to highlight the storyline whereas the repetitive use of *pai*<sup>1</sup> and the postserial verb *ju*<sup>5</sup> function to indicate background happenings which are not part of the actual storyline.

Modal auxiliaries function to mark irrealis information in the discourse. Foley and Valin (1984:214-215) point out that there is a connection between modality and status in that “when an actor is obliged to carry out an action, one might infer a high likelihood that the event will become a reality, but when he is merely able to perform it, one would infer no such probability.”

Since the temporal orientation of an event is crucial to the reality status of the event, the real in the origin myth is expressed by the aspect auxiliaries *ɕi*<sup>3</sup>, *ʔdai*<sup>4</sup>, *leu*<sup>4</sup>, *pai*<sup>1</sup>, and *ju*<sup>5</sup>. The middle points of the scale are expressed by the modal auxiliaries which may be ranked according to the real-unreal continuum as follows:

real ←	the action is necessary - or likely (probable) - or merely possible →	unreal
<i>ma</i> <sup>4</sup> ‘must’	<i>ɣa</i> <sup>2</sup> ‘will’	<i>ðo</i> <sup>4</sup> , <i>ʔdai</i> <sup>4</sup> , <i>pai</i> <sup>1</sup> ‘able’
		<i>juan</i> <sup>6</sup> ‘be willing to,’
		<i>tɕai</i> <sup>2</sup> ‘want to’

The additive auxiliary *je*<sup>4</sup> serves to connect clauses that strengthen each other in their descriptive or narrative force. In so doing, they function to tie identical events together.

The crucial function of the directional auxiliary *pai*<sup>1</sup> is to signal the narrator's viewpoint. As pointed out by Longacre (1996), the narrator's viewpoint is of great importance to narrative discourse. The narrator may inject himself into the story as a participant and adopt the viewpoint of the character as his vantage point.

The discussion presented so far will give the reader who knows Thai and Chinese an impression that the functions of auxiliaries, especially aspect auxiliaries, in the Bouyei language are very similar to Thai and Chinese. A survey of literature reveals that *ɕi*<sup>3</sup> has a similar function to *cun*<sup>1</sup>; and *ʔdai*<sup>4</sup>, *leu*<sup>4</sup>, *pai*<sup>1</sup>, *ʔju*<sup>5</sup> have their discourse functions similar to their cognates *daj*<sup>3</sup>, *læ:w*<sup>4</sup>, *paj*<sup>1</sup>, *ju*<sup>2</sup> respectively in Thai narrative (Somsong 1991). The connective auxiliary *je*<sup>4</sup> has its function close to the auxiliary *kɔ*<sup>3</sup> ‘also, too’ in Thai when *kɔ*<sup>3</sup> functions as a connective marker (Yajai 1985) and to the adverb *you* ‘again’ in Mandarin Chinese (Chauncey, Forthcoming). The function of directional auxiliaries in Bouyei is not different from the directionals *paj*<sup>1</sup> and *ma*<sup>1</sup> in Thai (Hatton 1975).

The similarity of auxiliaries between the Bouyei language and other related languages such as Thai and Chinese may bring interest to those historical linguists who are interested in language contact. However, the ethnological study of these auxiliaries is still a controversial issue. For example, the behaviour of the postserial verb *læ:w*<sup>4</sup> in Thai is almost the same as the verbal particle *-le* in Mandarin Chinese.

This leads some linguists to a conclusion that *læ:w<sup>f</sup>* is a Chinese loanword (Schlegel 1902) which is strongly rejected by Scovel (1970).

Whether the original source of auxiliaries in the Tai languages can be determined or not, the present study seems to support the claim made by Scovel (1970:104) as follows:

“1) probably all members of the Tai and Chinese language families have a syntactic device whereby completed time is marked by the choice of two postverbs, both occurring together or either one occurring separately,

and 2) these post-verbs are often related to words like ‘come,’ ‘go,’ or ‘finish’ in the particular language.”

## **Appendix**

### **Plot structure of the Bouyei origin myth**

An analysis of the plot structure of the origin myth was carried out so that the reader would get the content of the story and understand the examples given in this paper. The analysis was based on Longacre's notional structure features as follows:

#### **Exposition**

It was said that the Thunder God and the dragon let the water out of Heaven to submerge the earth. The flood didn't disappear until several years later. Everybody died except a boy and his younger sister who hid in a gourd and could survive the flood. Where did they get the gourd? There is a story about it.

**Embedded narrative** "Where did the boy and his younger sister get the gourd?"

#### *Exposition*

It was said that the father of the boy and the girl was the leader of the people at that time. He took charge of everything on the earth and something in Heaven. The Thunder God who lived in Heaven took charge of rainfall. He let the water out of Heaven when people on the earth wanted to plant crops.

#### *Inciting incident*

At that time, the Thunder God was evil-minded and hateful. For several years he had not let water out of Heaven during the farming seasons. People in the world could not plant crops.

#### *Developing conflict*

The father of the boy and the girl was very angry. He went to see the Thunder God in Heaven and dragged him down to the earth. He put the Thunder God into a big woven coop and didn't give him any water to drink. Without water, the Thunder God was so weak that he couldn't get out of the coop.

#### *Climax*

One day, while the father was out, the boy and the girl gave the Thunder God some water to drink since the Thunder God promised he

would perform conjuring tricks for them. When the Thunder God drank the water, he had enough strength to burn the coop with a puff of fire from his mouth. To pay for the children's kindness, he gave them some gourd seeds and told them to plant them in the garden and to hide in a full grown gourd when a flood came. Then he went back to the Heaven.

### *Denouement*

When the father came back, he was angry at first but felt all right later on since he thought that only if the Thunder God went back to heaven, could they then get water.

### *Conclusion*

The boy and the girl followed what the Thunder God had said. They planted the gourd seeds until they were full grown.

## **Inciting incident**

The boy and the girl hid themselves inside the gourd for several years until the water disappeared. They came out of the gourd and found out that nobody survived. An old man came down from the Heaven and told them to be man and wife in order to create human beings. The boy and the girl didn't agree with the old man since they were blood brother and sister.

## **Developing conflict**

The old man set a condition for the boy and the girl by telling them to run in opposite directions along the road. During the burning of a joss stick, if they didn't meet each other, they were brother and sister as usual. If they met each other, they needed to be man and wife. The boy and the girl agreed. The old man was a supernatural being. He bent the road from two ends and put them together. So the boy and the girl met each other.

The boy and the girl didn't agree since they thought it was the old man's trick. The old man then set another condition. He told them to roll millstones from two mountain tops. If the millstones rolled in different directions, the boy and the girl remained brother and sister. If not, they became man and wife. Even though the boy and the girl rolled the millstones in different directions on purpose, the millstones turned to the same side. The boy and the girl still disagreed to be man and wife since they thought it was the old man's trick.

The old man then set the last condition by telling them to climb up a mountain and throw a needle and thread in the middle of the valley. If the thread went directly to the eye of the needle, they had to be man and wife and create human beings. The boy and the girl did what they were told and the thread went into the eye of the needle. This time, they could not argue with the old man. They had to be man and wife.

### **Climax**

One year had passed. A baby was born but it was a round piece of meat. They were very afraid of it and didn't know what to do.

### **Denouement**

The old man appeared again and told them to cut the meat into strips, chop them into pieces, and scatter them everywhere. The boy and the girl followed the old man's word. Not long after that, people of different races came out from all directions. Thus human beings were created and the world was full of people again.



## REFERENCES

- Chauncey C. Chu. (Forthcoming) *A Discourse Grammar of Mandarin Chinese*. To appear in Benjamins.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1981. *Aspect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Foley, William and Robert D. Van Valin. 1984. *Functional Syntax and Universal Grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grimes, Joseph. 1975. *The Thread of Discourse*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Hatton, Howard. 1975. "A Thai discourse pattern." In Harris, Jimmy G. and James R. Chamberlain eds., *Studies in Tai Linguistics: In Honor of William J. Gedney* 231-251. Bangkok: Allied Printers.
- Halliday, M.A.K. and Ruqaiya Hasan. 1976. *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.
- Li, Fang Kuei. 1960. "A tentative classification of Tai dialects." In Stanley Diamond ed., *Culture in History, Essays in Honor of Paul Radin* 951-959. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Longacre, Robert E. 1996. *The Grammar of Discourse*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Longacre, Robert E. 1990. *Storyline Concerns and Word-order Typology in East and West Africa*. Studies in African Linguistics Supplement 10. Los Angeles: The James S. Coleman African Studies Center and the Department of Linguistics, University of California at Los Angeles.
- Palmer, F. R. 1986. *Mood and Modality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schlegel, Gustave. 1902. *Siamese Studies*. Supplement to Series II, Volume II of the T'oung-pao, E.J. Brill, Leiden.
- Scovel, Thomas Scott. 1970. "A grammar of time in Thai." Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Michigan.
- Somsong Burusphat and Megan Sinnott (eds.). 1998. *Kam-Tai Oral Literature*. Bangkok: T & D Printing Ltd., Part.
- Somsong Burusphat. 1991. *The Structure of Thai Narrative*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Texas at Arlington Publications in Linguistics. Publication 98.
- Snyder, Donna Marie. 1995. "Variation in Bouyei." M.A. thesis, The University of Texas at Arlington.
- Yajai Chuwicha. 1985. "koo<sup>3</sup>-the multi-purpose marker in oral Thai narrative: a discourse analysis." *Paper in the 18th International Conference on Sino Tibetan Languages and Linguistics*, Bangkok.
- Zhou Guoyan. (Forthcoming) "An introduction to the culture and language of the Bouyei in China." To appear in *The Bouyei-Chinese-Thai-English Dictionary*, Somsong Burusphat et al. eds., Bangkok: Sahadhammika Co, Ltd.

