DISCOURSE ELEMENTS IN A PACOH NARRATIVE[1]

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0. *Introduction.*

In this paper I propose to analyze the discourse elements in a Pacoh text, *Do Ân Mmín* 'The Industrious Man', and to suggest some of its implications for a theory of discourse. The full text[2] and its translation, both literal and free, are given at the end of section 1.

Features of the text which are of particular interest are: *(a)* the use of quotations of the hero's thoughts to describe his character and to represent his actions, *(b)* the importance of three theme-lines (not just one or two), namely the participant theme, the event-line theme, and the concept theme, and

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[1]Pacoh is the language of a tribal group of about 10,000 people living on both sides of the border between Laos and Vietnam in the mountains west of Hue. The author studied Pacoh in the field from 1961 to 1965 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. David Thomas has given much helpful advice during the analysis for and the writing of this paper. He introduced me to the idea that there could be more than one theme-line.

[2]This text was chosen from a collection of seventy-two, representing 325 pages of material, which is now part of the Vietnam Data Microfiche Series; this is No. VD43-82. A concordance of sixty pages of texts made on an IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma, a project sponsored by Grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation, was helpful in making comparisons with other texts. With a few exceptions, the orthography used is adapted to Vietnamese: *b, d* and *dy* mark the implosive stops /ɓ, ɗ, ʔj/ respectively; *c* marks /k/ except before front vowels, where *k* is used; *x* marks /s/; *ng* and *nh* mark /ŋ/ and /ñ/. The acute (´) marks short vowels, but is omitted in the case of *a* or *â* before *u* or *y*. The breve (˘) is used to mark tense vowels. The hyphen (-) marks glottal /ʔ/ word-medially while *q* marks it word-finally. The circumflex (^) marks mid vowels except *ɗ*.

(c) twelve devices marking prominence.

That the text is clearly narrative is seen by its conformance to the following criteria (see Longacre, 1968: 1):

> *Person orientation:* it begins with the narrator in the first person and continues with the participants in the third person.
>
> *Function:* it tells a story (and teaches a value).
>
> *Focus:* actors (initiator vs. responder).
>
> *Linkage:* chronological sequence (and grounds-consequence).
>
> *Time:* past time is established by temporal settings.
>
> *Formula:* Title - Introduction - Development - Climax - Dénouement - Overlay - Conclusion.
>
> *Type:* diclimactic.

I discuss first the plot structure, which is the taxonomic semantic organization of the text, and then the grammatical structure, which is the taxonomic surface organization of the text. Information, prominence and cohesion are "prosodic" features running through the narrative.

1. *Plot Structure.*

The plot structure of a discourse is its organization into large semantic chunks carrying the main points of the discourse.

1.1. *Title Tagmeme.*

The Title is the briefest summary of the text. It functions as a conventional identification or "handle" by which the text can be remembered and referred to.

In the present case the title refers to the main participant as *do* 'he' and describes him as *mmín* 'industrious', which is the conceptual theme of the text.

1.2. *Introduction Tagmeme.*[3]

The Introduction tagmeme provides the aperture and the

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[3]See Wendland, 1975: 40, 41, for a discussion of the terms Introduction, Development, Climax, and Resolution.

stage. The aperture is the first sentence, which states the
Time/Location setting and the narrator's first-hand knowledge
of the main participant: "When living in the village, I saw an
industrious man." The stage proceeds to introduce the indus-
trious man by name, the villagers as a group, a place that has
a barrier, the barrier itself, and the road which the barrier
blocked. Thus we have all the participants and props and the
problem in one topic paragraph.

Sentence 3 contains two events, but these are made general
by the word 'always' and hence belong to the staging, not to
the event-line. Sentences 3 and 4 have the simultaneous func-
tion of providing staging for the entire discourse and the set-
ting for Episode 1.

1.3. *Development Tagmeme.*

A Development tagmeme is filled by one or more Episodes,
defined broadly as major happenings.[4] An Episode (Ep.) may
contain a setting, one or more Build-ups (BUs), and a terminus.
Episodes are usually signalled by change of actor or "initia-
tor."

Episode 1. The setting for this episode was given in the
Introduction tagmeme above, i.e. the time/location, the parti-
cipants, and the problem of the barrier. The BU contains the
initiator "everyone" and an action, "enter and squeeze under
that barrier." The terminus contains the people's attitude:
"All see it is very difficult but don't want to chop [it] away,
rather enter."

Episode 2. A setting provides further information about
the hero: "But there is Uncle Tum, very good heart, knows sym-
pathy for others, and he is an industrious person." BU 1 is a
sequence of actions: "So on that day [he] went to the field
too, saw that barrier everyone entering, so he thought..." BU

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[4]For further definition of the term episode and constituent
terminology see Callow, 1974: 25, and Wendland, 1975: 35 ff.

2 is a series of actions contained in Tum's thought, "Well,
I'll get axe, get bushknife, then chop away, chop in two." Ap-
parently, stating the intention to act is to be taken as a
statement that he did act, since the next sentence indicates
that the deed has been completed. It can therefore be said that
there is a zeroed sentence (BU 3) stating that he did what he
intended.

1.4. *Climax Tagmeme.*

The "chopping" action of the preceding Episode is followed
immediately by the short statement, "So that road was no long-
er difficult." The Climax seems at the same time to be the
terminus or peak of the Development tagmeme and the setting of
the Dénouement. The very fact of its pivotal nature, i.e. that
it could go with either tagmeme, may be reason enough for con-
sidering it a separate tagmeme. At least it functions as a cli-
max to the problem and to the actions of the participants. (For
further discussion of climax see section 4.3.)

1.5. *Dénouement Tagmeme.* [5]

The Dénouement describes a second result of the hero's ac-
tion. It is filled by an Episode which consists of a setting, a
BU, and a terminus.

The setting is a long, informative sentence following up on
the Climax: "So all they who of the village and they who went
by that road in the past saw that road very difficult but now
already gone [i.e., the difficulty]; so knew there was one who
chopped away."

The BU is a statement of praise given in two sentences. The
second is a paraphrase of the first, i.e. a micro-overlay: "So
everyone really praised, saying, 'To the person who did this
give long life, give full pots and many children.' The whole

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[5]Longacre, 1968: 7, appears to use the term dénouement as
equivalent to climax. I am using climax for the first peak and
dénouement for the second peak, which may be considered as a
second result of the action or as a wind-down.

village they praised that man, 'knew sympathy for others and
very good heart'."

The terminus is the last clause of the Dénouement: "All
this village doesn't/didn't have anyone like him." This is ap-
parently a direct quote by the people, thus filling a second
object of the verb 'praise', and at the same time a comment
supplied by the narrator. In either case the narrator uses it
to terminate the Dénouement and to provide a link to the sec-
tion which follows.

1.6. *Overlay Tagmeme*.[6]

The Overlay is considered a single tagmeme because it main-
tains a single actor focus (the villagers), though it consists
of a restatement of the Introduction, Development, Climax and
Dénouement tagmemes described above. The Overlay proceeds in
the same sequence as the foregoing tagmemes but is condensed
and presented from a different perspective.

The Introduction′ is summed up in the time phrase 'From the
past'.

The Development′ contains both Episodes of the Development
tagmeme. Ep. 1′ repeats the BU "everyone enters, grabs, rather
bear difficulty," but it changes the terminus to "there is no
one with a heart like his heart." Ep. 2′ switches to Tʉm's
thoughts again: "Like this were his thoughts from the heart,
..." However, his thoughts are given a different perspective,
with the villagers in focus. Two hypothetical statements are
placed in antithesis: "If everyone just enters, then this bar-
rier can't be done away with, but if chopped away, then it will
be easy to go and they will praise me."

The Climax′ is now included in the hero's thoughts just as
the actions are. As in the original Climax, the difficulty is
eliminated but this time it is restated in the positive, "so it

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[6]By "overlay" here I mean the paraphrase of a stretch of
discourse in which some new information is introduced.

will be easy to go."

A flash-forward to the Dénouement´ is also included in
Tư m's thoughts, "and they will praise me." This further de-
monstrate's that the Climax and the Dénouement are considered
to be two results of the same action.

The Dénouement´ repeats the praise of the original Dénoue-
ment while adding new information: "so everyone loves and re-
spects, not hates and dislikes. Everyone says melodious speech
and musical language." This Overlay is reduplicative in form,
as is the original Dénouement. It even includes a reduplicative
saying, as did the original, using syntactic, semantic and pho-
nological reduplication. The phrase "melodious speech and musi-
cal language" is a semantic doublet using the nearly synonymous
terms *speech* and *language* on the one hand and, on the other,
the nearly synonymous terms *melodious* and *musical*. Moreover, in
the Pacoh text the first and thirds words rhyme, the third and
fourth words rhyme, the third and last words alliterate, and
the relative pronoun ân 'which' is repeated in both halves, al-
together producing a stylistically chiasmic arrangement: *tam-
mông ân alang cang ân abel*.[7]

1.7. *Conclusion Tagmeme*.

The Conclusion is filled by a Moral. The Moral is a hypo-
thetical antithesis to the theme of the text. It consists of an
episode containing a setting, two BUs, and a terminus. The con-
junction *if* is a setting in the sense of "If it should happen
that..." The first clause following *if* might be understood as
both setting and first BU collapsed into one, since the evalu-
ation of Tư m in the Development was stative and thus setting,
whereas the verbal action occurred in the BUs. Here the evalu-
ation and action are collapsed into one clause: "...someone
acts lazy, acts unethical."

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[7]See Watson, 1966b, for fuller information on reduplication
in Pacoh. Compare also Wendland's reference to ideophones,
1975: 41.

BU 2 is "then everyone will warn, saying, 'Don't act like him', 'vulgar sounds, cursing sounds'."

The terminus is "So he wouldn't like language like that."

This gives a cycle[8] in that it contains an entire micro-discourse parallel but counter to the main discourse and emphasizing the theme by contrast (see 4.6).

1.8. *The Narrative.*

DO ÂN   MMÍN

he who industrious

I. (1) At callúng věl   cư vi hôm mâh náq do ân
        living in village I did see a person he who in-

mmín. (2) Nôh do Túm. (3a) Ngéq ngai ân ti   věl
dustrious.   Name his Túm.   All them who from village

nnéh nong nong pôc tôq piday, (3b) côh phai   cray mâh ntúq
this always went to field,   so must run-into a place

ân   vi cong. (4) Cong   ncôh tacáng carna.
which had barrier.   Barrier that blocked road.

II. (1) Côh damo damo ma   môt   plean   na arúm tôh
        So everyone just entered squeezed way   under

cong   ncôh. (2a) Ngéq hôm lư   diaiq (2b) ma lâyq ính
barrier that.   All saw very difficult   but not want

treal vít,   (2c) nthe   môt.
chop dispose,   rather enter.

III. (1) Côh ma   vi anhi Túm, lư o   lom, chom
        But there-wa uncle Túm, very good heart, knew

amôih ngai cannóh, môi do la ticuai   mmín. (2a) Côh tôq
pity them others, and he was person industrious.   So arrived

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[8]See Wendland, 1975: 34, for a discussion of cycles.

ingay ncôh pôc tôq piday túi, (2b) hôm cong ncôh damo damo
day that went to field too, saw barrier that everyone

ma mŏt. (3) Côh do rngíh inéh, (3'a) "Châq day dyeal
just entered. So he thought like-this, "Well I'll get

achât, dyeal acŏq, (3'b) côh bâq treal vít, treal tâq bar
axe, get bushknife, then chop dispose, chop make two

tarcál."
pieces."

    IV. (1) Côh carna ncôh búih nnáng diaiq.
        So road that mo longer difficult.

    V. (1a) Côh ngéq ngai te vĕl mŏi ngai ân pôc na
       So all them from village and them who went by

carna ncôh inô-ntra hôm ntúq ncôh lú diaiq côh ma ncôh
road that past saw place that very difficult but now

khoiq pít, (1b) côh chom vi do ân treal vít.
already disposed, so knew there-was he who chopped disposed.

(2) Côh damo damo ma lú ayô, tông, (2'a) "Ticuai ân
So everyone just really praised, said, "Person who

tâq nnéh dyŏn o toi tumŏng, (2'b) dyŏn o rúh adéh chéh
did this give so long live, give so fill pots bear

acay." (3) Vĕl dúng ngai ayô cŏnh ncôh, (3'a)
children." Villages houses they praised men that,

"chom amŏih ngai mŏi lú o lom, (3'b) ngéq mâh
"knows-how-to pity them and very good heart, all

vĕl nnéh lâyq bôn nnau ân arâq do côh."
village this not have anyone who like him."

    VI. (1a) Te lám-lŏi nnéh damo damo ma mŏt ma
       From past this everyone just entered just

côp, (1b) nthe chiuq diaiq túh, (1c) lâyq bôn vi lom arâq
grabbed, rather bear difficulty, not have heart like

lom do côh. (2) *Inéh vi parngíh do te lom,* (2'a)
heart his.   Thus were thoughts his from heart,

"Lấh ngéq damo damo ma   môt (2'b) *côh cong   nnéh lâyq hôi*
"If   all   everyone just enters   so barrier this   not able

pít. (2"a) *Côh ma nấm itreal   vít* (2"b) *côh ian   ipôc,*
dispose.   But   if one-chops disposes   so   easy to-go,

(2"c) *môi ngai ma   vi   ayô tô."* (3) *Dúng   vĕl   ngai*
     and they just will praise me."   Houses villages they

hôm cônh ncôh lư   mmín,   (4a) *côh damo damo ma   lấng*
saw   man that very industrious,   so everyone   just loved

dyấm, (4b) *bửih a-ính bửih   achéc.*   (5) *Damo damo   ma*
respected,   not hated   not disrespected.   Everyone   just

barbŏiq tông, "tammông ân   alang   cang   ân   abel."
ever   said,   "language which melodious speech which musical."

    VII.   (1a) *Lấh damo   ma   tấq tarxín tấq lâyq phép* (1b)
        If anyone   just acts lazy   acts not proper

côh nnau nnau ma acấm,   tông, (1') *"Acâp itấq arâq do côh."*
so   everyone just warns, says,   "Don't act like him."

"xấng mmoaq   xấng tarnao."   (2) *Côh do lâyq ính cang*
"sounds vulgar sounds cursing."   So he   not like speech

ân   arâq ncôh.
which like that.

         THE INDUSTRIOUS MAN

    When I lived in the village, I saw an industrious man. His
name was Tứm. All the people of that village always went to the
fields, so they had to run into a place that had a barrier.
That barrier blocked the road.

    So everyone just entered and squeezed a way under the bar-
rier. They all saw that it was very difficult, but didn't want

to chop it away; they would rather just enter.

But there was uncle Tûm; he had a good heart, he knew how
to pity others, and he was an industrious person. So on that
day he was going to the fields, too, and saw that barrier
everyone was entering. So he thought thus: "Well, I'll get my
axe and my bushknife, then I'll chop it away, I'll chop it in
two."

So that road was no longer difficult.

So all those from the village and those who had gone by
that road in the past had seen that that place was very diffi-
cult, but now [saw that it was] already disposed of, so knew
there was one who chopped it away. So everyone really praised,
saying, "To the man that did this give long life and give full
pots and many children." Everyone in the village praised that
man: "He knows how to pity others and has a good heart. All
this village doesn't have anyone like him."

Since the past everyone just pulled their way in, would
rather put up with the difficulty; there wasn't anyone with a
heart like his heart. These were his thoughts from the heart:
"If everyone just enters, this barrier can't be disposed of.
But if it were chopped away, it would be easy to go, and they
will praise me."

Everyone in the village saw that man was very industrious.
So everyone just loved and respected him, no one hated or dis-
respected him. Everyone just continually said "melodious lan-
guage and musical speech" [about him].

If someone acted lazy and unethical everyone would warn,
saying, "Don't act like him" [and making] "vulgar sounds and
cursing sounds [about him]." So he wouldn't like that kind of
talk.

2. *Grammatical Structure.*

In this section I shall describe the surface structure of the text, relating it to the plot structure wherever this is relevant. The factors of Information, Prominence and Cohesion will be deferred, as much as possible, until sections 3, 4, and 5. Discourse-level elements of the grammatical structure are: the title, the paragraph, interparagraph linkage, and opening-closing intonation.

2.1. *Title.*

A title occurs at the beginning of each formal narrative discourse. It consists of a noun phrase which in oral form occurs, either explicitly or implicitly, in apposition to some such introductory sentence as "Now I'll tell you the story..." The noun phrase may comprise as little as a noun head, either proper or common, or an expanded phrase such as the above "He Who Industrious = The Industrious Man." A few are full clauses (e.g., "My Brother and I Went Hunting"), but the tendency is toward brevity.

2.2. *Paragraphs.*

Following the title a discourse is divided into paragraphs. A paragraph may be as short as a one-clause sentence, or it may be several sentences long and contain embedded paragraphs or discourses. Discourse-relevant features include paragraph boundaries, sentence identification, and intersentence linkage.

2.2.1. *Paragraph Boundaries.*

The beginning of a paragraph is signaled by a Temporal/Locative margin or by a change of subject focus (orientation). A paragraph signaled by a Temporal/Locative margin, for example the topic paragraph, may have more than one participant in subject-of-clause positions; but a paragraph signaled by subject focus will keep the same participant in the subject position throughout. Apart from these two means of signaling the opening of a paragraph there seem to be no other surface features demarcating paragraphs. I am not aware of any paragraph-level

morphemes or prosodic features which differ from those on the sentence level; nor do surface-level sentence types or their ordering seem to offer any keys to a formula for the internal structure of the paragraph (see section 2.2.2).

  a. *Examples of Temporal/Locative Margins.*

  (1) The first paragraph of the text opens with a temporal phrase, *Át callúng vĕl...* 'When living in the village..' This phrase is at once temporal, referring back to the time when the narrator lived in the village, and locative, specifying the village as the central location for what follows. As such it provides the Temporal/Locative margin for the entire discourse.

  (2) A second example occurs at the beginning of the Overlay, paragraph VI: *Te lám-lŏi nnéh...* 'From the past...' This is parallel in function to the Temporal/Locative margin of paragraph I.

  (3) A third example is the *if* clause at the beginning of paragraph VII. The word *if* carries with it an element of uncertainty, e.g. "If it should ever happen that..." The hypothetical situation which follows it is the orientation of the paragraph, while the participants occurring in subject-of-clause positions have only secondary focus.

  b. *Examples of Paragraph Boundaries Signaled by Subject Focus.*

  (1) Paragraph II. The subjects of sentence 1, 'everyone', and sentence 2, 'all', both refer to the villagers introduced in paragraph I (3) above.

  (2) Paragraph III. The subject of sentence 1 is Tuîn (object of the existential verb *vi* 'there is'), who remains as subject of all ten of the clauses following.

  (3) Paragraph IV. The subject of the single clause is 'that road'.

  (4) Paragraph V. The villagers are again brought into

focus with an expanded noun phrase in the subject-position of
the first clause, and continue as subject of all that follows
---except for embedded clauses occurring in quotations filling
the object-positions of sentences 2 and 3.

2.2.2. *Sentence Identification.*

In the text under consideration there are twenty surface
sentences, with several others embedded in them. These are de-
fined as sentences primarily by the occurrence of subject slot
fillers (manifestation), which seem to be the main feature dis-
tinguishing independent clauses from dependent clauses.[9] A
paragraph with subject orientation (see *section 2.2.1.*) need
not repeat fillers in the subject slots after the first clause
unless another participant is named in another tagmeme, intro-
ducing an interruption of continuity (e.g. II (2), III (1d),
III (3), V (2), VI (3, 4)), or unless there is a rhetorical
overlay of a sentence which requires repetition of the subject
(e.g. V (3), VI (5)). This means that sentences may become
quite long while awaiting the occurrence or reoccurrence of a
subject filler. In consequence, a fairly long paragraph may be
analyzed as a single sentence.

In our text no sentences are excessively long, but there is
one case in which it appears that a new sentence should be pos-
ited without the occurrence of a subject filler. This is sen-
tence III (2), which, however, is introduced by a time phrase.
Therefore we must add the stipulation that a new sentence may
be signaled by a Time/Locative margin even when the subject is
not filled, though this does permit dependency upon the subject
of the preceding sentence. (It might be neater to assume that
the speaker missed a cue because of the complexity of the pre-
ceding sentence and that its final clause is an embedded sen-
tence which states the subject. I suspect, however, we may find
other such exceptions later.) It may turn out that sentence
intonation is significant in such cases as well.

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[9]See Watson, 1966a, for more discussion of Pacoh clauses.

2.2.3. *Sentence Linkage.*

Sentences are connected by conjunctions, by Temporal/Locative margins, or by juxtaposition.

Conjunctions in our text are limited to cồh 'so' and cồh ma 'but'. Both of these can occur between clauses, sentences or paragraphs. Most of the sentences and paragraphs in the text are joined by cồh. Other conjunctions occurring in the text only between clauses are cồh bầq 'then' and mŏi 'and' (see II (1, 2′), VI (2″)). In other texts cồh bầq also occurs between sentences. Mŏi is found only on the clause and phrase levels.

Temporal/Locative margins belonging to the paragraph level have been illustrated in section 2.2.1. On the sentence level we have one example of a Temporal/Locative margin which occurs together with a conjunction: cồh tồq ingay ncồh... 'So on that day...' (III (2)).

Juxtaposition includes head-head linkage and tail-head linkage.

Head-head linkage is found between sentences II (1) and (2) and between VI (4) and (5), in which the second sentence begins with the same subject, manifested by an identical or synonymous form, without an intervening conjunction. The conjunction cồh may also occur to mark the event-line.

Tail-head linkage is found between sentences I (1) and (2) and between I (3) and (4), in which the subject of the second sentence is the same as the object of the preceding sentence. (An analysis of deep-structure sentence-types might indicate the inclusion of the second sentence in each of these cases as a "comment" or appositional clause in the same sentence as the preceding clause. See section 3.2.a.).

2.3. *Interparagraph linkage.*

In the text under study we have two kinds of interparagraph linkage: conjunctions and Temporal/Locative margins.

a. The conjunction cồh 'so' occurs at the beginning of paragraphs II, IV, and V. Cồh ma 'but' occurs at the beginning

of paragraph III. Both of these conjunctions also occur frequently within the paragraph and sentence levels, so they are not definitive as paragraph-markers.

    b. Temporal/Locative margins occur at the beginning of paragraphs I, VI, and VII, as noted in section 2.2.1.a. above.

2.4. *Opening-Closing Intonation.*

    Since the text under study was typed rather than tape recorded it lacks any indication of intonation. It also lacks the finis common to most Pacoh texts. Inasmuch as intonational contrasts and the finis are normal, it may not be amiss to mention them briefly here.

    A text typically begins with very slow, deliberate delivery having a pharyngeal quality. This is most pronounced in the setting, gradually relaxing and accelerating to the end of the Introduction.

    The closure of a text is normally marked by a rise in volume on the final clause. This is ordinarily carried over to the finis, which is enunciated with a tone of finality, e.g. *ngéq!* 'That's all!' or *icôh dyê!* 'like that finished!'

2.5. *Correlation Between Plot and Paragraph.*

    The grammatical paragraphing defined above matches the plot structure described in section 1. For this text at least it can be said that each plot tagmeme is realized by at least one paragraph and that each full episode, not in an overlay, presupposes a separate paragraph, as follows.

plot structure		grammatical structure
Title	identification	Title
Introduction	stage	paragraph I
Development:		
Ep. 1	response 1	paragraph II
Ep. 2	response 2	paragraph III
Climax	result 1	paragraph IV
Dénouement	result 2	paragraph V

Overlay:

Introduction ´	setting	paragraph VI
Development:		
Ep. 1 ´	response 1	
Ep. 2 ´	response 2	
Climax	result 1	
Dénouement	result 2	
Conclusion	moral	paragraph VII

3. *Information.*

Information factors include everything that is communicated. Old information may be distinguished from new information, and event information may be distinguished from nonevent information. Identification, setting, background, evaluation, collateral and performative information can be further distinguished (see Grimes, 1972b: 103). I have chosen to focus attention upon four kinds of information: setting, participant, event, and concept.

Information is inevitably involved in any discussion of plot, prominence, and cohesion. *Prominence* is concerned with ways of making certain information stand out; *cohesion* is concerned with the ways in which new and old information is tied back to old information. In this present section, however, we shall address ourselves to the means by which new information is introduced.

3.1. *Setting Information.*

By setting I refer primarily to temporal/locative phrases which situate the narrative or its parts; I also include certain conjunctions to be described below. Settings do not convey much information in themselves, but provide an aperture for the information which follows them.

a. In the text at hand there are three temporal phrases:

(1) 'When living in the village, I saw...' (I (1)) provides a time, a place, and a first-hand verification.

(2) 'So on that day...' (III (2)) follows evaluative

material which constitutes the setting of the episode, and pro-
vides the time-frame for the return to the event-line which now
builds up to the climax. It is interesting that it does not re-
fer back to the previously stated day, as would normally be ex-
pected. Rather, it is based on the narrator's knowledge that
what happened did happen on a particular day.

(3) 'Since the past...' (VI (1)) opens the way for a
review of the past up to the present, which is the function of
the Overlay.

b. The conjunctions *cóh* 'so' and *cóh bâq* 'then' can be re-
garded as extensions of the preceding setting, thus tying the
chronology together. It is because of this function that they
are included in the tabulation of setting information at the
end of this section.

c. The conjunction *cóh ma* 'but' introduces contrastive in-
formation concerning participants, events or concepts (note III
(1) and VI (2")).

d. The conjunctions *nǎm* 'if' and *lǎh* 'if' act as setting
information placing the the following material in uncertainty
or hypothetical, projected time (note VI (2´, 2") and VII (1)).

3.2. *Participant Information.*

In our text all of the participants are introduced in the
first paragraph, called the topic paragraph. The argument sub-
system or topic-line (see Wendland, 1975: 43) which follows the
topic paragraph does not introduce any new participants, but it
occasionally adds new information about the participants. The
surface means of introducing participants and new information
about them are noun phrases, equative clauses, stative clauses,
and "comment" clauses. Noun phrases which introduce participant
information in the subject and object slots of a clause often
make heavy use of relative clauses.

In the tabulation following this section it will be noted
that participants are distinguished as *subject, object,* and
tertiary. These terms are analogous to Wendland's *initiator,*

reactor, and *tertiary,* since the subject is usually actor-
initiator. For our purposes, however, the differences warrant
our following the grammatical terms appropriate to Pacoh.

    a. *Tracing Information About the Hero.*

      The hero is introduced in a noun phrase in the object
of the first sentence, "...I saw a person who was industrious."
This introduction is followed by a comment consisting of an
equative clause: "His name was Tủm." This is called a comment
clause because of its tail-head linkage with the preceding
clause, that is to say, its subject is the same as the preced-
ing object. This is a relatively rare construction used only
for adding more information than can be handled in a single
noun phrase. Note also that the information moves from general
to specific.

      In sentence III (1) the hero is reintroduced in an ex-
istential clause containing three comment clauses of which the
first is stative, the second transitive, and the third equa-
tive: "But there was uncle Tủm, very good hearted, knows how to
pity others, and he is an industrious person."

    b. *Tracing Information About the Villagers.*

      The villagers are introduced in sentence I (3) in the
subject slot: "All they who of this village..." Later they are
identified as "everyone" (II (1)), "all" (II (2)), "...all they
of the village and they who go by that road" (V (1)), "Villages
houses they..." (V (3)), and "Houses villages they..." (VI (3)).
All of these variations and expansions appear to give promi-
nence to the large collective group identified rather than to
add any new information.

    c. *Tracing the Barrier.*

      The barrier is introduced in sentences I (3, 4), which
again move from noun phrase in the object slot to a comment
clause as in the case of the hero above: "...a place that had a
barrier. That barrier blocked the road." The narrator progres-
ses from the generic *place* to the specific problem of the *bar-
rier*, which lies across the road so as to block those traveling

that way. Though the barrier is the problem, the *place* and the
road interact with it. Perhaps all three should be construed as
props equally identified with the problem. In II (1) the diffi-
culty is identified as the barrier, in IV (1) it is the road,
while in V (1) it is the place.

3.3. *Event Information.*

Events can occur on the event-line or off the event-line.
In either case there may be new as well as old information. The
tabulation at the end of this section distinguishes on-line and
off-line events.

a. In the topic paragraph, event verbs appear to be off
the event-line in the sense that they describe conditions which
set the stage rather than recounting specific events. The nar-
rator *saw* the industrious man (perhaps knew him), the villagers
were *always going* to the fields, and *whenever going* to the
fields they had to run into the place with the barrier.

b. On the event-line most of the event information is con-
veyed by verbs in chronological sequence: "entered" is followed
by "squeezed through" in II (1) and by "grabbed" in VI (1). The
hero "went," "saw," and "thought" in III (2, 3), and he "got,"
"chopped," "disposed of," and "made two parts" in III (3'). The
latter actions are mentioned again in section 3.4. in relation
to concepts because they appear to be events in the hero's ac-
tion and at the same time concepts in his thoughts. This pheno-
menon is apparently similar to what Grimes and Longacre are re-
ferring to when they mention dialogue "in which there is a
standing assumption that what is quoted is what happened"
(Grimes, 1972b: 87).

c. Events are also reported by verbs standing in a cause-
and-effect relationship. Thus in V (1, 2) the villagers "saw,"
so "knew," so "praised."

d. Events may also be in a relationship of equivalence or
opposition (semantic doublets). In VI (4), they "loved and re-
spected, not hated and disrespected." The second pair in this

case is to be considered off the event-line, since it is a negation serving to highlight the positive pair.

 e. Finally, events may also be in condition-consequence relationship with one another. In VI (2′) we have a condition with a negative consequence: "If everyone enters, so this barrier will never be disposed of." In VI (2") the consequence is positive: "But if it is chopped away, it will be easy to go and they will praise me." This entire quotation is off the event-line because of its hypothetical setting, though the hero's words in III (3′) are on the event-line.

3.4. *Concept Information.*

 Concept information is carried sometimes by descriptions, sometimes by events. For example, the conceptual theme of the narrative is *industriousness*, but this is overtly stated only in describing Tûm. It should be noted that in the table following this section only *industriousness* is listed on the concept line. Other concept information is considered off-line.

 a. *Industriousness* is first introduced in a relative clause in a noun phrase in the title and again in the first sentence: "He who industrious" and "a person he who industrious." In III (2) we are told, "He is an industrious person," while in VI (3) "They saw that man very industrious." Collateral information supporting *industriousness* includes the references to Tûm as "...very good hearted and knows how to pity others, and all this area doesn't have anyone else like him" (see III (1), V (3′)).

 b. Information on the occasion for industriousness is provided by "All saw it was difficult" (II (2)), "They saw that place very difficult" (V (1)), and "That road no longer difficult" (IV (1)).

 c. Negative information on industriousness is furnished in the form of contrast in the character of the other villagers, who "...not want to chop away, rather enter" (II (2)) and "... rather bear difficulties, don't have hearts like his heart" (VI

(1)).

d. Concepts are also conveyed by the quotations of Tuhn's thoughts. As has been said, Tuhn's first thought is at once a series of concepts and a series of events (III (3′). In the Overlay his thoughts are declared to come from his heart, and are expressed only as hypothetical events. The hero's own actions, in addition to being hypothetical, are indicated by only one clause in generalized form: "If it is chopped disposed of ..." The quality of industriousness appears to be primarily conceptual in Pacoh thinking.

e. Information about the result of industriousness is furnished by hypothetical contrast in the moral: "If someone acts lazy and unethical, everyone will warn..."

In summary, it appears that concept information in our text is introduced by participant description in expanded noun phrases and equative, existential and stative clauses; by such verbs as *see, perceive, feel, want to,* and *rather*; and by thoughts and hypotheses. It is all evaluative. It clearly communicates the judgment of the narrator and his culture that *(a)* laziness is bad while industriousness is good and that *(b)* most people are not as industrious as they should be but are quick to praise an industrious person and quick to curse a lazy person.

The two tables which follow offer a schematic representation of the information factors in our narrative.

4. *Thematic Prominence.*[10]

The text under examination exhibits three separate but intersecting themes: the *participant* theme, the *event-line* theme,

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[10]Callow (1974) defines three kinds of prominence. *Thematic material* is "material that develops the theme of a discourse, by contrast with background material, which fills out the theme but does not develop it" (p.53). *Focus* is "that kind of prominence which acts as a spotlight, playing on the thematic material to bring some of it especially to the attention" (p.60). *Emphasis* is "the kind of prominence which provides the discourse

Table 1: Setting and Participant Information

Sentence	Motion	Setting/ Conjunction	Subject	Object	Tertiary
Title	–		He Who Industrious		
I (1)	–	When in village	I (narrator) [I]	a person [A]	
(2)	–		he [A]	Tum [A]	
(3)	–		all they who of this village [B]	a place which had barrier [C]	to fields
(4)	–		that barrier [C]	road [D]	
II (1)	+	So	everyone [B]	under barrier [C]	
(2)	–		all [B]	ø [C]	
III (1)	–	But	uncle Tum [A]		others
			ø [A]		
			ø [A]		
(2)	+	So	ø [A]	that barrier [C]	
(3)	+	So	he [A]		
(3′)	+		"I'll" [A]	axe, bushknife [E]	to fields
			ø [A]	ø [C]	

IV	(1)	–	So		D that road
V	(1)	+	So	B all they of village and they who go that road	C that place
				B ∅	A he who cleared [it]
	(2, 2′)	+	So	B everyone	A "To man who did this
	(3)	–		B villages, houses they	A that man
VI	(1)	–	From the past	B everyone	
	(2)	–		B ∅	
	(2′)	–	"If	B everyone	C ∅
	(2″)	–	"But if	C this barrier	C ∅
				(general) one	
				(general) one	
			and	B they	A me"
	(3)	–		B houses villages they	A that man
	(4)	+	So	B everyone	
	(5)	+	So	B everyone	

Sentence	Motion	Setting/ Conjunction	Subject	Object	Tertiary
VII (1)	–	If	F anyone		
			G everyone (whoever)		
(2)	–	So	F he		

Table 2: Event and Concept Information

EVENTS		CONCEPTS		PLOT
on-line	off-line	on-line	off-line	
	saw	industrious		Introduction
	always went	industrious		
	must run into		named	
			blocked	Development Ep. 1
entered and squeezed through			very difficult	
	saw		not want to chop	
			rather enter	
			very good hearted	Ep. 2
			knew how to pity	

EVENTS		CONCEPTS		PLOT
on-line	*off-line*	*on-line*	*off-line*	
		industrious person		
went too				
saw				
thought like this				
(get, get, chop, dispose,				
chop in two.")			no longer diffi-cult	Climax
	used to see		very difficult	Dénouement
now (saw) disposed				
knew there was				
praised, said, give				
long life, ..."			"knows how to pity,	
praised			good hearted,	
praised			none like him."	
				Overlay
entered and grabbed			rather bear diffi-	Ep. 1'
			culty	
			not have hearts like	
			his heart."	
like this were his	(enters, can't be dis-			
thoughts from	posed of, chops, dis-			Ep. 2'
the heart:	poses, could go,			
	would praise)		easily	Climax'

EVENTS		CONCEPTS		PLOT
on-line	*off-line*	*on-line*	*off-line*	
saw	not hated, disrespected	industrious		Dénoue-ment
loved, respected,				
continually said			"melodious language..."	
	acted, acted			Conclusion
	would warn, saying		lazy, unethical	
	"Don't act like him"		"profanity and curses"	
	would not like that.			

and the *concept* theme. The participant theme has to do with the man named Tùm, who *is* industrious. The sequence of events concerning him develops an event-line theme. The cultural value of industriousness which is being asserted and illustrated, and which may be the main motivation for the account, constitutes the concept theme.

Oral (and other) narrative makes use of various devices to give prominence to these themes and their parts. For the better understanding of what follows I enumerate twelve of these and describe them as briefly as possible, appending a summary tabulation for the reader's reference.

1. *Degree of Position Markedness.* The first position in a construction is the most marked. On the discourse level the title, the opening paragraph and the first sentence have maximum position-markedness. On the paragraph or episode level it is the first stated participant who is marked.

2. *Rate of Progression.* Motion always attracts attention. This is all the more so when the motion in question progresses toward its goal at rapid rates of change.

3. *Degree of Specification.* Prominence is heightened by the degree of specification given to a participant, event or concept. Proper names are most specific, being followed by definite descriptions, epithets, pronouns, and zeros (cf. Lakoff, 1968). Direct quotations are more specific than indirect quotations. Certain verbs are more specific while others are more general.

4. *Degree of Evaluation.* Evaluation, whether for good or for bad, heightens prominence simply because it is evaluation. The news media demonstrate the assumption that the worse

with speaker-hearer factors involving emotion or expectation, ..." (p.63). While all three of these kinds of prominence are evident in our text, the various devices used may overlap considerably and are not always easy to abstract.

the evaluation the better for catching the attention of a jaded audience. The text under study is refreshing in the prominence it gives to good evaluation.

5. *Degree of Contrast.* All four of the above features are given increased prominence through contrast with their opposites.

6. *Degree of Information Concentration.* The crowding of specification or of evaluative items causes a participant or concept to stand out. The crowding of action verbs heightens the sense of motion and of progress.

7. *Repetition.* Repetition may be spread out through the discourse as a reminder of prominence.

8. *Rhetorical Underlining.* Rhetorical underlining is introduced through features of poetry or of eloquence which differ from a normal prose account. Whatever item or section is so marked has special prominence.

9. *Suspense and Surprise.* These give prominence because of their unexpectedness. Suspense is created when something is expected but delayed. Surprise is created when the expected happens suddenly or when the unexpected happens.

10. *Degree of Thematic Association.* The degree of association between themes further heightens their prominence. Even if a hero and a non-hero perform the same event or receive the same evaluation, that which involves the hero appears more prominent.

11. *Degree of Activity.* This is seen in the difference between an active description and an inactive state. A barrier *blocking* the road is stronger than one simply *lying across* it.

12. *Special Words and Particles.* These may function as markers of emphasis.

The three themes will be described in summary form as they apply to the entire discourse, after which all of the material

Device	Participant	Event	Concept
Position	xx		xx
Progression		xx	
Specification	xx	xx	xx
Evaluation	xx		xx
Contrast	xx	xx	xx
Concentration	xx	xx	xx
Repetition	xx	xx	xx
Rhetorical underlining	xx	xx	xx
Suspense, surprise	xx	xx	xx
Association	xx	xx	xx
Activity	xx		xx
Terms, particles		xx	

Table 3: Prominence Devices

given prominence of any kind will be mentioned section by section. In some cases a prominence device may be making prominent two or more themes at once.

4.1. *The Three Thematic Threads.*

a. *Participant Theme.*

The industrious man, Tủm, is given prominence as the hero of the discourse by means of introduction as a pronoun *do* 'he' in the title and the first sentence. He is next made prominent by specification with the epithet "the industrious one" and with the name Tủm. He is the only participant. Tủm's description as industrious gives evaluative prominence, which is further heightened by 'good-hearted and knows how to pity others' in III (1). This evaluation is further heightened by repetition and by contrast with the evaluations of the others, especially of the lazy man in the Conclusion. Tủm is also prominent as theme because he is the initiator of the event theme (III (3)) and he is the subject of the resultant praise.

b. *Event-line Theme.*

The event-line is not merely a listing of events, but a progression from situation to actions to results. It is marked by frequent repetition of the conjunction *côh* 'so, then'. "The villagers entered and squeezed through; Tủm went, saw, thought, got tools, *then* chopped the barrier out of the way; the villagers praised him." The first peak of the event-line is developed by Tủm's action. Logically, his action resolves the problem and becomes the cause for the praise which follows. Grammatically, we find a heavy concentration of verbs as well as rhetorical underlining, which set his action apart as thematic. The concentration of verbs involves an acceleration towards the Climax. An element of surprise is added when the narrator jumps immediately from Tủm's thoughts to the result without restating the event as action. This is, of course, interwoven with the participant theme as the hero and his actions are associated with each other. The second peak is the praise of the Dénouement, which is directed toward Tủm and what he did, "To the man

who did this..." (V (2')). Tủm's action and the villagers'
praise are set in contrast to lazy actions and the people's
warnings in the Conclusion, though that is not on the event-
line.

c. *Concept Theme.*

As was said in section 3.4, concept information over-
laps with both participant description and events, yet it comes
across clearly for its own sake as well. This too requires
prominence. First, the description of industriousness applies
to Tủm as a concept which evaluates his character and his ac-
tions. Second, the concept of industriousness is given a place
of prominence in the title and first sentence, where the hero
is as yet unnamed; but the concept is known as a positive eval-
uation, creating anticipation for what will follow. In III (1)
this concept is further highlighted by concentration, that is,
association with two other positive values.

The concept, and Tủm himself, are marked by contrast in
the conjunction cổh ma 'but' and by the difference between in-
dustriousness and the attitudes of the villagers just expressed
above (cf. II (2) and III (1)).

The term "industriousness" is repeated three times fol-
lowing the title: first, it is used in introducing Tủm, the
hero; second, it is used to introduce Tủm's action, the peak of
the event-line, with which it is closely associated; and third,
it introduces the people's praise in VI (3). In the Conclusion
contrast is made most vivid by the hypothetical antithesis of
industriousness, i.e. the man who acts lazy and unethical.

4.2. *Prominence in the Title Tagmeme.*

The Title is the briefest possible pre-summary, stating at
least one theme. The hero is introduced first, is specified by
a pronoun, and is evaluated by the concept "industrious." The
concept of industriousness is specified in the term used, which
is a known positive value. Both the hero and the concept gain
prominence by association with each other in the title.

4.3. *Prominence in the Introduction Tagmeme.*

The Introduction tagmeme as a whole is prominent in the discourse because it occurs first after the title, and yet it also contains features of prominence.

a. *Participants.*

Position: Tuĥ is the first participant introduced in the topic paragraph, and is in focus position in sentence 2. The villagers and the barrier receive sentence focus in sentences I (3 and 4) respectively.

Specification: Tuĥ is identified by name. He is the only participant named. The villagers are identified as being "of this village," and their large number is emphasized by use of the word "all." The barrier is identified as a place on the road, and is described as blocking the road.

Evaluation: Tuĥ is described as industrious, which is strongly evaluative.

b. *Events.*

There is no event-line yet, but verbs are used to set the stage. Emphasis is given to the narrator's first-hand knowledge by the emphatic verb-marker *vi* in *vi hôm* 'did see'. Progression is given in the villagers' actions "go and run into." This is emphasized by the terms "always" and "must."

c. *Concept.*

Position: The concept "industrious" occurs in the first sentence of the topic paragraph.

Evaluation: Industriousness is a positive evaluation.

Association: Industriousness is made more prominent by association with the hero, as he is by the evaluation.

Activity: The difficulty of the barrier is heightened by use of the active verb *blocked* rather than reference to a state such as "*lay across* the road."

4.4. *Prominence in the Development Tagmeme.*

  a. *Participants.*

    The villagers:

      Position: They occur in focus in Episode 1.

      Specification: The size of the group is emphasized by the terms "everyone" and "all."

      Evaluation: Their negative attitude toward correcting the problem gives negative evaluation to the villagers.

    Tuɨn:

      Position: Tuɨn occurs in focus in Episode 2.

      Specification: Tuɨn is given personality by the kin term *uncle.*

      Evaluation: He is evaluated in three comment clauses: "very good-hearted, pities others, and he is an industrious man."

      Contrast: Tuɨn and his positive evaluation contrast with the villagers. This is made clear by the conjunction *côh ma* 'but'.

      Concentration: There are three associated values crowded together.

      Repetition: Tuɨn's evaluation as industrious is highlighted by repetition for the second time since the title. He is given further prominence by his actions which follow.

  b. *Events.* The event-line begins with the conjunction *côh* 'so' in II (1).

      Progression: In Ep. 1 they "entered and squeezed under." Ep. 2 BU 1 begins with "so" and progresses from "want" to "saw" to "thought." BU 2 progresses from getting tools to chopping away the barrier.

      Contrast: The conjunction *côh ma* 'but' in III (1) marks contrast between Tuɨn's positive actions and the villagers' indifferent actions.

      Concentration: BU 2 crowds six verbs into a single sentence of fourteen words for pre-climactic effect.

      Rhetorical underlining: Parallelism of the phrases "get axe get bushknife, then chop dispose chop make two parts" focuses attention upon the pre-climactic action.

      Emphatic terms: BU 2 begins with the exclamation, "Well, ..."

  c. *Concepts.* Concept information is tied into the evaluation of the participants and their action or inaction.

Contrast: The evaluation of Tuĩn stands in contrast to that of the villagers, especially through use of the conjunction cồh ma 'but'.

Concentration: Close association of three positive concepts focuses attention on the third, "industriousness," which caps them by occurring in a full clause.

Repetition: "Industrious" is repeated in identical form from the title and first sentence.

Suspense: The contrast in the conjunction *but* and the focus on Tuĩn's industriousness delay action and create a sense of suspense for the episode which follows (III (2, 3)).

The apparent relation between Tuĩn's evaluation as industrious and his positive actions further reinforces the concept of industriousness.

4.5. *Prominence in the Climax Tagmeme.*

Position: The climax immediately follows the pre-climactic build-up which has created expectation. Participant focus is switched to "the road."

Contrast: The Climax is a single, brief stative clause in contrast to the preceding series of action verbs. This is the "calm-in-the-eye-of-the-storm" effect, in sharp contrast to the kind of prominence given in the Development by crowding verbs together. The new state of the road, "no longer difficult," contrasts with the "difficult" condition stated in the Introduction and Development.

Surprise: The Climax starts with the conjunction cồh 'so', indicating that it is on the event-line, though the action itself is zeroed out (or merged with the thoughts). Thus the sudden jump into the "mission accomplished" Climax is a surprise.

4.6. *Prominence in the Dénouement Tagmeme.*

a. *Participants.*

The villagers:

Position: The villagers occur in focus position throughout.

Specification: They are identified in an expanded noun phrase which repeats their previous identity and compounds it by adding, "and they who went by that road." This does not introduce new people, but highlights the impressive size of the group involved.

Rhetorical underlining: Sentence V (2) repeats the subject with the pronoun *everyone*, but V (3) uses a poetic form, "village houses they."

Tủm: Tủm's role as goal or beneficiary of the praise is also highlighted.

Position: In addition to occurring in the normal object position following the verb, Tủm occurs in focus position in the embedded quotation, "To the man who did this," in V (2'). Actually it appears that the subject of a quotation may be more prominent than the subject of the sentence which contains it. If this is true, we can conclude that Tủm is more prominent throughout the Dénouement and Overlay than the villagers, who occur in the main grammatical focus positions.

Specification: Tủm is not referred to by name but as "the one who cleared it away," "the man who did this," and "that man."

Evaluation: Tủm "pities others, is very good-hearted, and all this area doesn't have anyone like him." This evaluation concentrates three in one as a paraphrase of that given in III (1). The order of the first two clauses is reversed, and the third part is an oblique reference to Tủm's industriousness, stating that there is no one else like him.

Contrast: The last evaluation is in stated contrast to the villagers who are not like him.

The barrier is given some prominence in V (1) by repetition of its previous difficulty and the contrast of its now being disposed of.

b. *Events*.

Progression: Progression is introduced by the conjunction *côh* 'so', followed by the action, "saw, so knew, so praised."

Specification: The two verbs *praised* are filled out by quotations which describe them.

Rhetorical underlining: In V (2) praise includes a double wish, "give..., give...," and a reduplicative saying, *rửh adéh chéh acay*. The verb *praised* is repeated in V (3) as a rhetorical overlay of V (2).

c. *Concepts*.

Position: The three evaluations of Tủm occur in comment clauses filling the entire quotation of V (3).

Specification: The third evaluation does not use the term *industrious*, but this is understood because of its position following the other two evaluations parallel to III (1). It is specified as being "like Tủm."

Contrast: This reference contrasts Tủm and his industriousness with everyone else.

Concentration: Three positive evaluations are again crowded together.

4.7. *Prominence in the Overlay Tagmeme.*

The overlay is automatically a means of prominence, since its function is repetition of whatever is prominent.

a. *Participants.* Here we are concerned only with the villagers.

Position: The villagers are in focus as subject of each of the sentences of the Overlay. In order to do this even Tu̓m's thoughts are paraphrased, with the villagers in focus rather than Tu̓m. Where Tu̓m's thoughts state his own action (VI (2"a)), *i-* 'general actor' is prefixed to the verbs in order to keep him out of focus. Then the following clause (VI (2"c) resumes the use of *ngai* 'they' to assure that focus on the villagers is maintained. Perhaps it is considered polite to keep the hero somewhat off-stage when he is being applauded.

Contrast: Though the villagers are in focus, they are contrasted with Tu̓m by their negative action and attitude, and the statement, "They didn't have hearts like his heart."

Rhetorical underlining: In the Dénouement the villagers are re-introduced by the poetic referent "houses village they," a slight variation from "village houses they" used in V (3).

b. *Events.*

Event-line prominence is made by paraphrastic repetition. The essential items of the Development and Climax tagmemes are now concentrated into fewer words. However, the villagers' praise (Dénouement′) is given fuller treatment, similar to that in the Dénouement.

Emphatic term: In clause VI (2"c) the certainty of the people's praise is emphasized with the aspect marker *vi* in *vi ayð* 'will praise'.

Rhetorical underlining: The Dénouement′ is paraphrased in full form with three sentences. The level of the praise is again highlighted by stylistic reduplication, as was done in the Dénouement. VI (4) contains "love respect, not hate not disrespect." VI (5) contains a reduplicative saying, "melodious speech musical language."

c. *Concepts.*

The concept of industriousness is made prominent by the contrast between the villagers and Tu̓m, "no one has a heart like his heart," and by the statement "they see that man very

industrious." It is made clear that the praise of VI (4, 5) is based upon industriousness. This industriousness and the certainty of praise for it then lead into the contrast of the Conclusion.

4.8. *Prominence in the Conclusion Tagmeme.*

The Conclusion is an antithesis of the entire narrative. Having arrived at a high pitch of praise for Tuĭm's industriousness, the narrator suddenly turns about face to speak of a man who acts lazy and unethical. This, of course, sets the preceding themes in sharp contrast.

a. *Participants.*

Position: *Damo* 'someone' occurs in the first subject position.

Specification: He is parallel to the hero because of the similarity between the singular pronouns *do* 'he' and *damo (do mo)* 'he whichever'.

Evaluation: *Lazy* and *unethical* are strong evaluations.

Contrast: He is just the opposite of Tuĭm.

The others, *nnau nnau* 'whoever', also stand out because they are parallel to the villagers, having an all-inclusive referent like *damo damo* 'everyone' and a parallel function.

b. *Events.*

The verbs of the Conclusion are not on the event-line because they are hypothetical. In fact they hardly represent events at all. But they are made prominent by their identification with the event-line in general, following a logical, though opposing, progression to a terminus or conclusion of their own.

Rhetorical underlining: The duplication of *táq* in "acted acted" is parallel to the opposite kinds of acting done by the hero in "get get, then chop chop" (III (3´)).

Contrast: The words "would warn" contrast with "praised."

Emphasis: The imperative, "Don't act like him," is emphatic.

The rather innocuous conclusion, "He would not like

language like that," in contrast to the strong repudiation and cursing by the people, might well be emphasis by understatement. This closing statement, showing the lazy man in focus not liking his reward, brings the discourse full circle to discreetly imply focus on the hero who is enjoying his good reward, as alluded to in his closing thought (VI (2"c)).

    c. *Concepts*.

    Evaluation: *Lazy* is a strongly negative evaluation further highlighted by association with another term of disrepute, *unethical*.

    Contrast: Both of the above concepts are opposite to those which describe the hero. They are the object of warnings and "vulgar sounds cursing sounds."

    Rhetorical underlining: The reduplicative phrase "acts lazy acts unethical" focuses attention on laziness.

The terms *vulgar* and *cursing* are strong terms which contrast with the "melodious language and musical speech" used of Tuhn. This is further heightened by rhetorical parallelism, but here it is in deliberate discord, lacking any phonological harmony between *mmoaq* and *tarnao*.

5. *Cohesion*.

Cohesion is the "glue" which ties a discourse together, making it "clear what participant performs each action, and in what order the various actions occur."[11] The three parts of a discourse which must be tied together are its participants, its events, and its conceptual theme. Whereas prominence operates to make certain information stand out above other information, cohesion operates to tie it all together. The means of cohesion sometimes tie single items together or sometimes tie two or three parts together simultaneously. These means are:

    a. *Lexical*.

Lexical cohesion is effected by the use of words belonging to the same semantic domain or by repetition of the same words. In this text a variety of terms is used to refer

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[11]Cf. Callow, 1974: 30.

to the participants, but all clearly relate to either the hero
or the other people. (This is admittedly quite simple in a text
with only two main human participants, one of whom is singular
and the other plural.)

The hero	*The others*
he who industrious	all those of this village
his name Tủm	everyone
uncle Tủm	all
he	all those of village
I *(quotation form)*	those who travel by that road
he who chopped away	village houses they
person who did this	houses village they
that man	they

Events are related by particular verbs which are re-
lated to particular initiators. For example, Tủm thinks, chops,
acts/does, while the villagers just enter, just squeeze, just
grab, just bear it, just praise.

The concept theme is related by words such as indus-
trious, good-hearted, sympathetic, in contrast to lazy, bad-
mannered.

   b. *Logical.*

Logical cohesion is effected by:

      1)   Chronological sequence, such as "go....run in-
to," "go....see....think," "get axe....chop."

      2)   Location in time and space, relating back to
the Time/Location settings.

      3)   Cause-result sequence: certain concepts or
events lead to praise, etc.; a Development leads to a Climax.

      4)   Antithesis: opposing concepts are tied together
by the conjunction cổh ma 'but' or simply by natural contrast.

      5)   Association: the interweaving of three themes.

   c. *Grammatical.*

Grammatical cohesion is effected by:

      1)   Head-head linkage or parallel structures, e.g.
parallel sequences of subject + predicate (S-P-S-P), or several
predicates following a common subject (S-P-P-P).

      2)   Tail-head linkage, e.g. the object of one
clause becoming the subject of the following clause.

3) Grammatically obligatory chronological order of verbs.

4) Grammatical positions for tagmemes such as sub-ject or Time/Location, which can be assumed to keep the same fillers until changed.

5) The use of conjunctions cóh 'so', cóh ma 'but', mŏi 'and', especially the use of cóh to mark event-line se-quence.

6) The use of demonstratives nnéh 'this' and ncóh 'that'.

d. *Restatement/paraphrase in overlays and cycles.*

These include generic-specific materials and any other kind of repetition by paraphrases of the same things or similar things. This type of cohesion can tie participants together, events together, concepts together, or all three parts at once, as in an overlay·of an entire discourse.

5.1. *Cohesion in the Title Tagmeme.*

The Title is a pre-summary projecting thematic cohesion on all that follows. The hero, his industriousness and all associ-ated events can be tied back to this "handle."

5.2. *Cohesion in the Introduction Tagmeme.*

a. *Lexical:* The title is repeated in the topic sentence using identical words. The "village" of the Time/Locative phrase is repeated in the noun phrase introducing the villagers.

b. *Logical:* Reference to the narrator's first-hand know-ledge provides a time/location setting to the whole text from which the subsequent chronology of events proceeds.

c. *Grammatical:* Verbs always occur in chronological order, e.g. "go....run into." This feature is grammatically obliga-tory, so will not be mentioned again. The normal order of sub-ject + predicate carries throughout, so will not be mentioned again except in case of an exception to the rule. Tail-head linkage between clauses is not common, except in introducing new information. It occurs twice in the Introduction: "his name was Tum" (sentence 2) ties back to the object of the preceding clause, while "that barrier blocks the road" (sentence 4) does

likewise. The conjunction *cŏh* 'so' ties the two events of sentence 3 together. The demonstrative *nnéh* 'this' relates the village of sentence 3a back to the Time/Location phrase of sentence 1: "the [my] village" → "this village."

5.3. *Cohesion in the Development Tagmeme.*

a. Episode 1 is linked to the Introduction by the conjunction *cŏh* 'so', which is a very common conjunction joining clauses, sentences and paragraphs on the event-line. The pronominal referent *everyone* refers back to the expanded noun phrase in sentence I (3). The quantifier *ngéq* 'all' of sentence II (2) also relates back to the same term in that same noun phrase. The demonstrative *that* ties the object *barrier* back to the same term in sentences I (3, 4).

b. Episode 2 is linked to the Introduction and to Episode 1 as follows:

1) The conjunction *cŏh ma* 'but' gives contrast to the action and attitude of Episode 1.

2) The name *uncle Tŭm* and the reminder that "he is an industrious person" refer back to sentences I (1, 2).

3) Several terms used in Episode 2 are identical to those of the Introduction and Episode 1: "going to the field," "that barrier everyone was entering," and "chop away."

c. Within Episode 2 there are several cohesive factors:

1) In sentence III (1) three comment clauses all join in apposition to modify the object *Tŭm*.

2) The pronoun *do* 'he/she' is used to refer back to Tŭm in sentence III (1), and his name is not used again. A zero referent may be posited where no subject is expressed. The several zeroes in this Episode also tend to join together the series of predications having the same subject.

3) The direct quote (thought/action) is joined by repetition (reduplication) of verbs ("take axe take bushknife... chop away chop in two"), by the use of zero referents, and by the conjunction *cŏh bâq* 'then'.

5.4. *Cohesion in the Climax Tagmeme.*

The Climax is linked to the preceding action on the event-line by the conjunction *so* and by logical result of the preceding action. The subject *road* is linked back to the Introduction

and the Development Episode 1 by the demonstrative *that*. The Climax is linked back, by antithesis, to the previously stated difficulty of the road.

5.5. *Cohesion in the Dénouement Tagmeme.*

    a. *In the setting* we find:

        1) The conjunction *so*.

        2) Participant linkage. The first part of the double subject refers back to the nearly identical noun phrase in the Introduction. There is also a flashback in the statement "in the past they saw that place very difficult." Then the hero is referred to as "he who chopped it away," an expression now repeated for the third time.

    b. *In the BU* we find:

        1) The conjunction *so* tying the BU to the preceding action. (The conjunction is not repeated for the second sentence of the BU, since it is a micro-overlay of the first.)

        2) The pronoun *everyone* relates back to the expanded noun phrase in the setting, as the stylistic variant "village houses they" in the overlay also does.

        3) Both references to the hero, "person who did this" and "that man," give variation while making it clear who is meant.

        4) The verb *praise* in the same in both parts, and the reason for praise given in the overlay is nearly identical to the evaluation of the hero's character given in the Development, Ep. 2: "Uncle Tủm, [who was] very good-hearted, knew sympathy for others" now becomes "that man, [who] knows sympathy for others, very good-hearted."

        5) The repetition and parallelism between the BU and its overlay, BU′, tie them together like the semantic doublets which they contain.

    c. *In the terminus* the demonstrative *nnéh* 'this' ties the village back again to that of the narrator. The hero is here referred to by the pronoun *him* plus the demonstrative *that*. Since the narrator often uses the pronoun whereas the villagers use only descriptive phrases, this is evidence that the narrator himself inserted the terminus, though it doubles as a quote by the people.[12]

5.6. *Cohesion in the Overlay Tagmeme.*

    The Overlay, by paraphrasing the entire plot, is a very

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[12]Cf. section 1.4.

strong cohesive force. Within the Overlay basically the same
devices are used for cohesion as were used in the preceding
tagmemes. There is a single Time setting following by a chron-
ological order with the conjunction cőh marking the event-line.
The same subject, *everyone*, is kept throughout and there is
parallelism with the original telling of the story. The hero's
thoughts not only contain his actions as before but also the
Climax′ and a flash-forward to the Dénouement′.

The Dénouement′ gives a fairly full paraphrase and is re-
duplicative in form like the Dénouement. It begins with a poet-
ic referent, "houses village they," which ties it back to the
nearly identical term in the Dénouement (sentence V (3)). The
third sentence (VI (5)) is a micro-overlay of the second (VI
(4)); it also includes a reduplicative saying, as did the orig-
inal Dénouement (V (2)). The Dénouement′, beginning with the
nearly identical reference to the subject of sentence V (3),
not only completes the Overlay "loop," but moves the listener
back into a full dénouement leading into the Conclusion, as
though there had been no interruption at all.

5.7. *Cohesion in the Conclusion Tagmeme.*

a. The antithetical cycle is parallel to the preceding
plot. The pronouns are similar: *do* 'he' is used for the lazy
man, as it was for the industrious man; *nnau nnau* 'whoever' is
nearly synonymous with *damo damo* 'everyone' used above. The
action *táq* 'do/act' is parallel to the actions above. *Tőng acám*
'speak warning' is parallel to *speak praising*.

b. The conjunction *cőh* 'so' connects the hypothetical
event-line.

c. Pronominal reference to the lazy person follows a pro-
gression from *damo* 'someone' to *do cőh* 'that one (him)' to *do*
'he'.

As was pointed out in section 4.8, the narrative and its
themes are brought full circle with the anti-hero disliking his
reward while the hero is enjoying his.

This Pacoh text shows again that a discourse is an intri-
cately structured interweaving of deep and surface structures,

information introduction, thematic prominence of three kinds, and cohesion.

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