THE DISCOURSE LEVEL IN CHRAU

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0. *Introduction.*

This is the first in a series of three articles, the other
two being on the paragraph level in Chrau and sentence-level
semantics in Chrau.[1] A South Bahnaric language of the Mon-

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[1]Data for these papers were collected in Vietnam under the
auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics between 1959

Khmer family, Chrau is spoken by about 15,000 people in that part of Vietnam lying from 60 to 150 kilometers east and east-northeast of Saigon. The phonemes of Chrau are here represented as p, t, ch, k ~ c, q ~ -; v, d, j, g; b, ɗ; m, n, nh, ng; w, y; r, l; s, h; i, ê, e; (u̓), o̓, a; u, ô, o; ĩ, ĕ; â, ã; ŭ, ŏ; ia, (u̓a), ua. The two nuclei in parentheses are of very limited distribution outside loanwords.

Chrau has at least two discrete levels above the sentence (cf. David Thomas, 1971: chapter 12). In spite of the lack of inflectional endings used by many languages for signaling,[2] both of these levels and types of discourse can be signaled by means of lexical items, by grammatical styles,[3] or by orientation. Noteworthy in this respect is the relative density of verbs in certain types of discourse (§5.1) and in certain stages in the plot (§3.1).

Many aspects of what it commonly referred to as *discourse* are found on all levels of language. This paper is limited to description of the hierarchical discourse level, i.e. the highest structural level of the language; the discussion is further limited to structured discourse and hence excludes "rambles" (cf. Thomas and Watson, 1976: §3.1).

Most of the texts used here were first recorded on magnetic

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[2]E.g., Nambiquara of Brazil and Bahinemo of New Guinea (see Callow, 1974: 23, 22).

[3]E.g., Bororo of Brazil and Saramaccan of Surinam (Callow, loc.cit.).

tape and then transcribed by another Chrau.[4] He frequently did some editing, especially of one text, *Jêng sipăm*, which in its original form was somewhat disconnected.[5] The letters illustrating epistolary discourse were of course all written and received through the mails.

1. *Connecting.*

1.1. *Cohesive function of participant focus.*

One important phase of making a discourse hang together is keeping straight who or what is being talked about. In Chrau, focus on one participant or concept through long stretches of discourse helps to accomplish this. The same participant focus can carry beyond a paragraph or even through a whole discourse, but usually a change of focus onto another participant or concept indicates a change of paragraph.

Whoever or whatever is in focus is, once focus has been established, commonly referred to by nĕh or a zero subject. Complicating this is the fact that nĕh has multiple functions, serving as (1) nonreferent focus marker, (2) pronoun reference to item in focus, (3) possessive pronoun referring to a possessor who may or may not have been in focus, (4) antecedent of relative clause, and (5) dummy subject. Usually nĕh is singular, but the plural marker khây is often omitted.[6] Nĕh can re-

[4]Copies of these tapes as well as microfiche copies of the transcriptions of them are available through the Dallas office of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

[5]As Grimes (1968: 42) remarks, "...The texts that yield the most consistent analyses are edited texts. Certain people in any society have a reputation for consistently producing the kind of discourses people want to listen to. Part of the reason people like these discourses must lie in their well-formedness; ....even people who produce highly valued discourses recognize that certain parts of what they say can be improved by being reshaped or edited."

[6]Sedang, another Mon-Khmer language of Vietnam, has a third-person dual pronoun to help disambiguate reference; cf. Smith (1976: 166).

fer to people, abstract ideas, animals, spirits, and things. One positive factor is that it is specific, whereas vu, another third-person pronoun, is usually nonspecific and nonfocus.

    a. One system sometimes used in narrative discourse to keep participants straight is to keep the focus exclusively on the discourse hero. He may never have any other introduction than nĕh. Other participants are referred to in relation to him: pôp nĕh 'his brother', si-ur nĕh 'his wife', and the like. By this system names are not needed, and are in fact seldom used.

    b. Another system to keep participants straight is to bring a participant into focus by adding a demonstrative after his name or role in the subject position; throughout the following section nĕh refers back to that focused participant. The usual demonstrative for this function is nŏq; e.g., klô nŏq... nĕh... nĕh... 'that man... he... he...' If the introduction with nŏq was in the predicate, it must be repeated in the subject slot before focus is established; e.g., ...klô nŏq. Klô nŏq... nĕh... nĕh... '...that man. That man... he... he...' To change the focus, the same system can be used for a different participant/concept. However, if the new topic has been introduced earlier in the discourse, with or without nŏq, change of topic can be signaled by tĩq 'that (*distant*)', heq 'this', or iĕt (or iĕt têq) 'this (*more recent context than* heq)'. These demonstratives can follow either a noun or nĕh; e.g., noun heq 'this ----' or nĕh heq 'this (other) one'. In the legend *Canjâng Canjôi* a man marries first a woman and then a monkey:

Vi	căh	tât	si-ur tom	wŏq	pà,	ca vu	mapanh	ham
neg.	remember	to	wife	first	more neg.	as they	say	crave

cŏ	dôq nŏq	ui,	hwât	si-ur	iĕt-têq.
part.	monkey that	too-bad	throw-out	wife	previously-mentioned

He didn't miss the first wife any more; as they say, he craved

the monkey and threw out the other wife.

The man Canjâng is in focus, marked by a zero pronoun. The two wives are *not* in ·focus even though dôq 'monkey' is marked with nŏq and si-ur 'wife' is marked with iĕt têq, as they are in the predicate positions. But in the following sentence the focus is changed to the first wife when she is referred to as si-ur iĕt in a subject position:

si-ur   iĕt   gŭq   ayh, thet thet nĕh buòn, nĕh

 wife previously-mentioned live alone tsk-tsk she sad   she

The other wife lived alone, tsk-tsk; she was sad, she...

   c. In conversational paragraphs the focus shifts to each new speaker, usually with the formula nĕh nhai 'he said'. Within a direct quotation nĕh refers to a third person; within indirect quotations, however, it refers to the person quoted. In the legend of *The Coconut Child* there is a conversation between the King and the Coconut's mother:

King: Ay sĭq vŏq, sĭq   nhai bây <u>nĕh</u> panh ănh êq   gå

      you return imp. return tell to   him   say I   not   give

con   ŏh-pưt   toq   mà   con   sai.
child youngest emph. for child marry

She reports: Nĕh nhai nĕh êq gå   toq mà   con   sai.

             he said he not give emph. for child marry

King: *You go home, return and tell <u>him</u> I won't give my youngest*
      child for [your] child to marry.
Mother: *<u>He</u> said <u>he</u> wouldn't give [his child] for you, child, to*
      marry.

The King uses nĕh and con to refer to Coconut, but the mother in reporting his speech uses nĕh to refer to the king. In referring to a third person in an indirect quotation, a noun or name must be used. Thus in the legend of *The Stupid Man,*

Něh panh si-ur něh hại něh.

he say wife his harm him

He said his wife harmed him.

Following a conversation there is frequently no indication of
who is in focus. Usually it is the person who would respond in
action to the final quotation. If the speaker said he would do
something, the něh refers to him; but if he told someone else
to do something, then něh refers to this other person. In the
legend of *Canjâng Canjôi*, the first wife is speaking:

...ănh êq gŭq u   těh heq wŏq dăng. Aheq něh saq hao

  I not stay at earth here more not   now she   go up

chhuôi tu   vlơ...

clear to above

'*...I'll not stay on earth here any longer.' So she went clear
    up to...*

In this case the speaker suited her actions to her words, so
remained in focus and remained něh. But in the legend of *The
Six Brothers*, a demon has just challenged the oldest brother to
a duel, then:

Nhâng aheq něh tăm-pâm bay chaq, něh...

truly now   he fought with demon he

Now he really did fight with the demon, he...

The one challenged responed with action, so comes into focus
and is referred to by něh.

    d. Still another system for keeping participants
straight, which operates over a shorter stretch of discourse,
is the use of a noun + něh in the subject to bring a partici-
pant into focus; e.g., Nhuôn něh... něh... 'The Vietnamese...
he...' This focus-changing use of něh is potentially ambigu-
ous with the possessive use of něh: if a noun can be possessed

by a third person in the context, possession is understood. If the possessor is in the first person there is no problem, as two pronouns occur; e.g., con ănh nĕh... nĕh... 'my child... he...' But with a third-person possessor only one pronoun occurs; that is to say, nĕh is sometimes a portmanteau carrying both the possessive and the focus-changing functions; e.g., con nĕh... nĕh... can be either 'his child... he (the child)...' or 'his child... he (the father)...' Most commonly the phrase is used in two different sentences to change focus in the second sentence. Thus in the legend of *The Six Brothers*:

Vap	nĕh	aheq...	En	căh	ta-au	vap	nĕh...	Nĕh
father	their	here	then	awake	tomorrow	father	their	he

chĕq	con	nĕh...
leave	children	his

Their father here... Then the next morning their father... He left his children...

Again:

...nhai	bay	ŏh	nĕh.	Ŏh	nĕh	săng	sima
tell	to	younger sib.	their	younger sib.	their	bid	porcupine

saq	roc,	nĕh	panh...
to get		he	said

...tell their younger brother. Their younger brother told the porcupine to go get [them], he said...

In both of the above examples the final nĕh no longer refers to the first but to a new participant. And sometimes the system fails. Even in a sentence with a reinforced *vap nĕh... vap nĕh ... the focus does not change:*

Aheq	vap	nĕh	tút	kwá...	En	nŏq	vap	nĕh	iao
now	father	their	angry	very	after that		father	their	lead

văt   něh   chhuôi   tu   sŭng   nggô.
carry   them   clear   to   in   jungle

*Now their father was very angry... Then their father took them
clear off to the jungle.*

To summarize the above four systems for keeping partici-
pants straight, demonstratives or něh after a noun bring a par-
ticipant into focus; he is thereafter referred to as něh until
a new participant comes into focus. But in conversations the
responder, either in speaking or in action, is něh. In indirect
quotations the quoted speaker is něh. And in some narratives
the discourse hero is něh.

Some speakers are very skillful in balancing these dif-
ferent rules, in some cases even maintaining a discourse hero
through parts of the discourse and not others. For example, in
The Six Brothers the youngest brother is introduced long after
the minor characters; however, he has an exceptionally long
string of noun phrases to introduce him. He reappears through-
out the rest of the story, frequently without the usual demon-
stratives. With the exception of the last example in section d
above, the other characters are always carefully differentiated
either by full noun phrases or by observance of the rules for
focus.

But there is also the problem of performance. More blatant
than the second example in section d is the slip in one episode
of *The Rabbit and the Tiger* stories:

Aheq   sipai   saq   a   něh.   Něh   hao   vlơ'   chhơ...
now   rabbit   went from   him   he   climb   up   tree

Now the rabbit left him. He climbed up a tree...

From the context it is the rabbit, not the tiger, who goes up
the tree.

In certain situations něh needs no antecedent. In the following example the phrase 'at there' limits khây něh to the inhabitants of the village named:

...Tân Phú, khây něh u nŏq khây něh...
  Tân Phú   pl. he at there pl. he

...*Tân Phú, those there they...*

1.2. *Linkage.*

a. One very common method of tying discourses together in Chrau is tail-head linkage. Specifically, the end of one paragraph, either the last phrase or clause or even the whole last sentence, is repeated at the beginning of the next paragraph. This "echo" is frequently in the form of a paraphrase; cf. David Thomas (1971: 169-70).

b. Narrative discourse linkage includes temporal sequence markers; hence the Initial Echo is frequently followed by the sequence markers en (nŏq) 'then', en wŏq 'then further', or en tan'huí 'later on'. From one legend:

...En něh ôp sa. ¶ Ôp sa en něh...
...*Then they prepared a meal.* ¶ *After preparing the meal,*
    they...

If there is no Initial Echo, the new paragraph usually has ncai, en nŏq, en, mŏh, or en kê 'then', as in the first sentence above; cf. §6.1*c*, Sample Text.

One text is basically about two trips into the jungle and what happened on the way home. After the introduction, each paragraph begins and ends with the verb sîq 'return'. This of course is the epitome of tail-head linkage (actually it is tail-head-tail), and very effectively ties the different paragraphs together as well as demarcating them.

c. Another fairly common type of linkage is head-head, with each episode or paragraph starting in the same way. In one

expository discourse (cf. §6.2c, Sample Text) four out of seven paragraphs begin with the Vietnamese loanword còn 'as to'.

Similar to this mechanism is tail-tail linkage, with successive paragraphs ending in the same way. In *Yãq Cô Var* 'Accusing the Lieutenant', an expository discourse, four out of the first seven paragraphs end up saying in some way that the lieutenant won't let the villagers go outside to market.

d. Logical relationship linkage between paragraphs is more common in nonnarrative discourse than in narrative discourse. Even narrative discourse, however, does sometimes combine logical and temporal relationships: nõq mõh 'so then' (cf. §6.1c, Sample Text, last paragraph). Nõq 'so' and canõq 'like that, thus' are the commonest markers of cause and result relations (cf. §6.3c, Sample Text, last two paragraphs). Khoi 'also' and khoi canõq 'also like that' tie together similar developments or ideas (cf. §6.3c, Sample Text, paragraph 3).

2. *Segmenting.*
2.1. *Paragraphs.*

a. Paragraph theme changes are usually marked by change of orientation: either new participants take over, the time shifts, or the location changes. Usually there is a combination of two or more of these changes.

Time shifts state a specific time such as ta-au 'tomorrow', dũng năr 'in the daytime', or vi mau 'in the afternoon'; or they may indicate the passage of time (not just 'and then'), as tan'hui wõq 'later on' or khi jõq alũr wõq 'a long time later'.

Location change is usually marked by the verbs saq 'go' or sĭq 'return', followed by a new location or activity.

Change of participant focus as discussed in §1.1b is a clear indication of a break. However, focus change is not

necessary. New participant orientation---that is to say, change of initiator, reactor, and tertiary (cf. Grimes (1972: 97) and Wendland (1975: 50))---usually corresponds to other major changes (cf. Charts 3, 5, and 6).

In first-person discourse a shift from vơn 'we (*inclusive*)', with a somewhat editorial force, to ănh 'I' marks a more personal involvement on the part of the speaker, and hence a change in theme.

b. Nonnarrative discourses do not have some of the more obvious signals of change cited above, but indicators are not wanting. Adơm 'in the old days', lŭc nŏq 'at that time', aheq pŏh mvŏq 'from now on', and alưr hĕq 'after this' set paragraphs off from others marked by vrêq 'now'. Vrêq can also simply mark a new stage in the theme without designating actual present time, much as in English. As already mentioned, the Vietnamese loan cờn can be used at the opening of a new paragraph. A Chrau word, sǐq 'about', can also be used to change the theme, but this may be a calque. Purists prefer sǐq, but the Vietnamese word is very commonly used.

c. *A change in semantic domains also frequently accompanies a theme change.* In another episode of *The Rabbit and the Tiger*, in one paragraph words associated with weaving occur: 'cut rattan', 'weave', and 'basket'. At the end of the paragraph the tiger tells the rabbit to watch the meat. At the beginning of the next paragraph the tiger goes off for the rattan and then words associated with meat occur: 'cut', 'meat', 'bones'. The introduction of meat at the end of the first paragraph and reference back to rattan in the next help to mark the shift in semantic domain and hence the paragraph break.

Note also in §6.1*c*, Sample Text, paragraph 2, the words wǐnh 'beg' (occurring three times) and an nĕh iưh 'gave him'. Then come the thing given, du păng khăn 'one classifier-

for-flat-object cloth', and the verbs vắt 'carry (in the hand)' and lắq 'spread out'. *Beg* and *give* are related; *cloth* and its special classifier, as well as verbs which fit with cloth, are also related. None of these words occur in the succeeding paragraph.

2.2. *Discourse margins.*

Especially in narratives, distinctive paragraph types[7] mark off *settings*, *introductions* and *conclusions* from the body of the discourse. These tend to be situational descriptive paragraphs and are made up mostly of existential, equational and adjectival sentences.

In the *setting* we are introduced to the first participants and, sometimes, to the location. Not infrequently there is information on the size of the hero's family, even though its other members may never again enter the narrative. In *Prau Klô Dlu Nsêt* two orphan girls are introduced but no names are given.

In the *introduction*, which may or may not be in the same paragraph as the setting, the problem is stated. In *Prau Klô Dlu Nsêt* the problem is that the girls have no man to go hunting for them.

The main body of the narrative then switches to narrative paragraphs, with temporal sequence.

An expository discourse has a *topic* rather than a set-

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[7]Paragraph types will be discussed in detail in another paper. The main distinction between them is in their time orientation. Narrative paragraphs are in sequential past. Situational descriptive paragraphs are in the past, present or future, but not in sequential time. Volitional paragraphs are in the future tense and in the imperative mode. Concept descriptive paragraphs are in general nonsequential time. Procedural paragraphs are in general sequential time. Dialogue paragraphs may be in any time orientation, but are characterized by multiple speakers.

ting, and usually opens with Nhai... 'Talk about...' The introduction is an extended definition of the topic, while the nucleus may have embedded narrative discourses or descriptive paragraphs.

In hortatory discourse the setting can be an embedded narrative discourse or a situational descriptive paragraph. The nucleus includes volitional paragraphs.

Conclusions in nonnarrative discourse are paraphrastic or resultative of the whole preceding discourse.

Any type of discourse may have a *finis*. This is usually simply "That's all" or "Like that," but in hortatory discourse a *terminus* is more common. The terminus is usually a short reminder to listen (obey).

Epistolary discourse is quite rigid in form, and thus simple to segment. The setting and finis are set off graphically, while the introduction and conclusion have typical topics (cf. §6.4a).

2.3. *Discourse nucleus.*

Within the nucleus of a discourse there are often groups of paragraphs which function together as a unit. The special organization of plot in narrative discourse will be discussed in §6.1. Here we are concerned with the systematic repetition of items in a discourse. Chrau narrative discourse has what Wendland (1975: 34) calls *lexical recycling*, here termed simply *cycling*. Chrau nonnarrative discourse has what Grimes (1972) calls *overlays*.

a. *Cycling.*

Wendland has found that in the Chewa of Africa repeated event sequences or cycles pattern together. I am calling such events cycles and a group of repeated cycles a *set of cy-*

cles.[8] A narrative can have several different sets of cycles.
A cycle may be a complete episode.[9] A set of cycles can also
have a complete plot structure with a climax which frees the
plot to move on. On the other hand, some stories have cycles
with no real final climax or a final climax which is frequently
omitted, as in the tales of *The Rabbit and the Tiger*.

In the legend of *The Six Brothers* there are a number
of such sets of cycles. The father takes his sons to the jungle
and tries to lose them. Each time they return, and their step-
mother is angry. But in the fifth cycle the children are res-
cued by a porcupine and stay in the jungle. In the next set of
cycles a demon comes each day and challenges the oldest brother
to a duel. The intermediate cycles are condensed, but the demon
always wins until the youngest brother takes over and wins. He
then acquires great riches from the demon. In the last set of
cycles the father comes, but as he approaches everything he
meets tries to bite him---even inanimate objects.

In the first set of cycles, each cycle is a complete
episode in itself, while the set encompasses a complete plot
with climax and resolution. The second set, although abbrevi-
ated,[10] is similarly structured. But the final set involving
the biting incidents merely has repeated actions.

   b. Overlays.

   Grimes (1972: 516) describes overlays, with special

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[8]Wendland (loc.cit.) uses *overlay* after Grimes, but his use
of the term blurs the distinction between his own *cycles* and
Grimes's *planes*.

[9]"An episode may be defined as a close-knit temporal se-
quence of logical paragraphs that manifest a mini-plot struc-
ture..." (Wendland, 1975: 25).

[10]Wendland (1975: 35) notes that in Chewa there is a tenden-
cy, though not a strong disposition, for the first and last cy-
cles to be most fully developed.

reference to the languages of New Guinea, as repetitions of the same facts with a few details added each time. The difference between overlays and cycles is that in overlays new information is cumulative (more information on an old topic) whereas in cycles it is not cumulative but information on a different event which distinguishes the latter from other similar events.

Grimes further terms the repeated stretch of an overlay a *plane*. This means that a plane is to an overlay as a set of cycles is to a cycle. So far overlays have been found in Chrau only in expository discourse; for examples see §6.2*a* and *c*.

3. *Prominence*.

3.1. *Local verb density*.

At the climax of the plot (where the plot is all tied up, the point of highest tension, the hero's nadir), the relative density of verbs becomes quite low. Then when the plot is untangled (dénouement, the hero's success) there is a dramatic change to a very high density of verbs. These are the lowest and highest points in a narrative, and give clear indication of the plot structure. Introductions and conclusions have relatively low verb densities.

In the legend of *Prau Klô Dlu Nsêt* 'The Young Mushroom Man' there is a set of cycles in which the orphan girls go out and see an animal and wish they had a husband to kill it. Each time they come home, there is the animal in their kitchen. At the climax to the set of cycles, Klô Dlu Nsêt reveals himself as their benefactor, then hides in a drinking straw. Thereafter he comes out occasionally and plays on flutes. The Grandfather in the Sky, Cô Nhŭt Cô Nhŏq, hears the flutes and comes to see what is going on. The confrontation between him, Nsêt and the girls constitutes the final climax. Both the first and second climaxes have very low verb densities; at the final resolution

or dénouement the verb-count is at the highest. Cf. Chart 4 and §6.1*c*, Sample Text.

3.2. *Omissions and breakdowns.*

Omissions and breakdowns of careful schemes for differentiation are indicative of the narrator's emotional involvement. Lapses of this kind are likely to happen around the climax or dénouement.

a. In the final dénouement of *Prau Klô Dlu Nsêt* there are several sentences in which it is unclear to whom nĕh refers:

Nŏq en di   cô   nŏq gĕh poq khây nĕh nhai bây nĕh
 so then the grandfather that had visit them   say to (?)

  canŏq   caheq. Panh nĕh khoi nĕh gĕh vu   padăr nĕh
like-that like-this say he also he has someone send him

  jŭr yŭp   an   vi   lŏh-sat. En nhai bây   cô
descend help give where hard-up   then   say   to grandfather

nŏq   cô   nĕh iêt gĕh en an nĕh bây ur   nŏq.
that grandfather he hear can then let him with women that

So then the grandfather visited them, told (?) what it was
like. Said he, he also had someone sending him down to help
out where there was hardship. After telling the grandfather,
the grandfather he understood, then let him stay with the
women.

In the first sentence nĕh could refer either to the grandfather or to the others. In the second sentence either the grandfather is still talking or Nsêt is answering him. In the last sentence, although the grandfather is clearly in focus, the final nĕh because of the context has to refer to Nsêt.

Throughout the rest of *Prau Klô Dlu Nsêt* there is liberal use of names; but precisely at the point where the plot is about to be untangled, where the verb-count is highest and noun phrases are kept to the minimum, the pronoun mechanism

breaks down.

In the legend of *La-u* 'The Coconut' něh regularly re-
fers to the Coconut unless there is a conversation, until the
climax is reached; then sometimes the King's daughter is in
focus, sometimes the King or even a dove. In most cases, how-
ever, these three are brought into focus by proper means.

   b.   In the legend of *Prau Khăn Gŭn* 'The Magic Cloth' a
location change is omitted (cf. §6.1*c*). The husband has ob-
viously gone home and spread the cloth out, expecting to feed
his wife; but there is no mention of location or change of lo-
cation. This comes at the end of the first climax.

3.3.   *Participant focus.*

Focus on participants has the dual function of fixing at-
tention on one item above others and of keeping reference
clear. The function of nŏq and něh in this latter respect has
already been discussed (cf. §1.1).

   a.   The pronoun něh is marked for both focus and speci-
ficity; vu is unmarked. Although vu usually has a nonspecific
function, it can refer to a very specific person for nonfocus.
In the introduction to the legend of *The Six Brothers*, the
step-brother is in focus and is referred to as něh while the
six brothers, not in focus but forming a specific group, are
referred to as vu:

Con si-ur yông nŏq niết,   cớ   saq sigơhg răm   diết.
child wife aunt that lazy always go swing dance always

Cồn prau   ndu   pôp   ŏh   vu tĭq vu
as-to six people older- younger-sibling they there they

   uâyh   da   vu saq   re   răm dồ. Saq sĭq
industrious emph. they go field field things go return

saq ŭm.   Cồn něh aheq,   cớ něh hao vlơ chhơ něh
go bathe as-to him here   always he climb up tree he

n'iŭh.	Něh	n'iŭh	chho'	nŏq,	en	nŏq	něh	nhŭp	chhăh
sway	he	sway	tree	that	after	that	he	take	charcoal

ônh	něh	văng	măt	něh	vŏq.	En	nŏq	něh	sĭq	nhi.
soot	he	smear	eye	his	part.	after	that	he	return	home

Prau	ndu	tĭq	sĭq	vu	ŭm	jrŏh	dế	vu	saq
six	people	there	return	they	bathe	clean	surprise	they	go

sĭq	còn	něh,	něh	êq	ŭm.
return	as-to	him	he	not	bathe

*The child of the second wife was lazy, always going to swing
and dance all the time. As for those other six brothers,
they were very industrious; they went to the fields, etc.
[They] went home and took a bath. As for him (the other
one), he always climbed up into trees and made them sway.
He made those trees sway, then he took sooty charcoal and
smeared his face. After that he returned home. Those six
returned; they bathed clean and then returned; as for him,
he didn't bathe.*

In this paragraph the contrast between the two kinds of action
is sharpened by the use of něh and vu instead of něh and khây
něh.

   b. In discourse with first person involvement the speak-
er can focus on himself by using ănh 'I' or he can refrain from
focusing by using voh 'we (*incl.*)'; cf. §6.2*a*.

3.4. *Cycling and overlaying.*

   The repeated pattern in cycles and overlays shows what
the narrator is emphasizing in a theme (cf. Grimes, 1972: 516;
and Wendland, 1975: 32). In *The Six Brothers* (§2.3*a*) the first
set of cycles emphasizes the repeated attempts to lose the
children in the jungle. This is a dastardly act; it means mur-
der, and children are highly prized in Chrau culture. The next
set of cycles emphasizes that the spirit forces can be overcome
and brought to one's aid. The last set of cycles emphasizes
that because the father has broken the rules the rules now work
against him.

4. *New information.*

On the discourse level of the hierarchy Chrau has several means of slowing down the rate of introduction of new information. Basically, these conform to the means used on lower levels for the same purpose, namely repetition and paraphrase.

4.1. *Cycling and overlaying.*

One function of cycling and overlaying is to slow down the rate of introduction of new information (cf. Grimes, 1972: 520). Only the first cycle or plane is completely new. After that, although the focus of the discourse is on repeated elements, the listener's attention is fixed primarily on the new developments. He is able to relax his attention somewhat (while listening to legends, Chrau tend to wander in and out) and even catch some old information he may have missed in a previous telling. Secondarily, he listens to the repeated elements for enjoyment of the style, which often involves chanting, medial rhyming, reduplication and descriptive adverbs (cf. §§5.2-4), with no need to listen for details.

4.2. *Introductions.*

New participants are sometimes introduced at the end of one paragraph, only to be reintroduced at the beginning of the next. At their first introduction these new participants are quite unexpected, and no information is provided about them except their name or role. Then in the second introduction they may occur in the subject slot, with or without further information about them. If they are brought into focus with nŏq or nĕh they are thereafter referred to as nĕh.

This repetition of introductions helps to clarify both that there is a new participant and who he is. There are two instances of this feature in *Prau Klô Dlu Nsêt*:

...nŏq en Klô Dlu Nsêt nŏq chăng. ₽ Klô Dlu Nsêt nŏq...
...*so then the Young Mushroom Man heard.* ₽ *That young Mushroom Man...*

and

...nŏq Cô Nhưt Cô Nhŏq chăng.   ₱ Cô Nhưt Cô Nhŏq panh...

...*so Grandfather Nhưt Nhŏq heard.*   ₱ *Grandfather Nhưt Nhŏq said...*

5. *Styles.*

David Thomas (1971: 216) describes three styles for Chrau: classical, formal, and colloquial. Classical style ranges from chants to legends and folktales (approaching colloquial style). His formal style would include our expository discourse, some hortatory discourse, and epistolary discourse. His colloquial style ranges from legends to conversations.

5.1. *General verb density.*

These differences in style for different types of discourse show up strikingly in the percentage of verbs used in each---that is to say, the number of verb words divided by the total number of words.[11] Colloquial style tends to show the highest percentage of verbs, epistolary style the lowest. One text examined is pure dialogue and has the highest percentage of verbs. The next is a very emotional hortatory text in which the first and second persons predominate, and the percentage is almost the same. Legends, which contain much dialogue, are next with a somewhat lower percentage. Then there is a big gap before two expository texts and a first-person narrative with little dialogue; thereafter a small gap before two hortatory texts and, finally, two letters (see Chart 1).

David Thomas (1971: 217) notes the use of more noun subjects in formal style. This is the reciprocal of low verb density (i.e., longer and more frequent noun phrases) and agrees

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[11]Maxwell Cobbey (to appear) has done a statistical count of nouns and verbs in Rŏglai, a Malayo-Polynesian language bordering Chrau on the east. His findings are somewhat similar, although he did not have as great a variety of texts.

discourse type	title	verb percentage	style
dialogue	Ôp pam	28.1%	colloquial
hortatory	Tăch gŏng	28.0%	
narrative, legend	Prau Khăn Gŭn	27.4%	
narrative, legend	Prau Klô Dlu Nsêt	25.9%	classical
expository	Jêng sipăm	23.9%	
expository	Vu gĕh chaq	23.5%	
narrative, 1st per.	Saq nggô	23.0%	
hortatory, #2, #3		22.3%	
letter #2	(by Y)	22.0%	
letter #1	(by N.S.)	21.3%	formal

Chart 1: Verb densities by discourse type.

with the findings shown in Chart 1, where written communications have the lowest verb densities.

5.2. *Medial rhyming.*

As described by David Thomas (1971: 218) and Cooper (1973: 33), medial rhyming is a common feature in Mon-Khmer. It is used most often in Chrau by expert speakers,[12] being less common in colloquial style than in classical, but is not inap-

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[12] "Different social structures may generate different speech systems or linguistic codes. The latter entail for the individual specific principles of choice which regulate the selections he makes from the totality of options represented by a given language." (Bernstein, 1964: 56).

propriate in any style. Certain rhymes are in common use; for example, Iĕq sãq rãq ndu 'everybody' (literally 'every soul rãq person', rãq being a nonce form), for the more prosaic ăp ndu, and saq chroc vri mi sa 'lost in the jungle and soaked' (literally 'go lost jungle rain eat'), a euphemism for chǔt sŭng vri 'died in the jungle'.

Trĕq jâng tren and chih tavŭh are types of chants which use medial rhyming extensively. Experts in these styles are rare, and said to reside mostly at Bảo Chánh. Chants are use many archaic words and pronunciations. Regrettably, we do not have translations of the chants which were recorded.[13]

5.3. Descriptive adverbs.

Mon-Khmer languages have a special wordclass which may be called descriptive adverbs.[14] Like the ideophone of Africa, members of this class are "often onomatopoeic, [and describe] a predicative, qualificative or adverb in respect to manner, colour, sound, smell, action, state or intensity" (Doke, 1935: 118-9, quoted in Watson, 1966: 8).

Such adverbs are vivid descriptions, highly specific of sensations, as phwŏng 'suddenly awake', phǔr 'sound of small things taking off', pruh 'of action of standing up', latih la-tŏh 'of a drunkard going or sitting limply'. They tend to be reduplicative, as with the last example, but are not necessarily so. As with such English expressions as kerplunk! and r-r-rip!, they also tend to be used only in colloquial and classical styles; the Chrau say in fact that such words are inappropriate in serious writing.

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[13]See note 4.

[14]Banker for Bahnar (1965: 22, 35) calls them "descriptive adjectives and adverbs; Miller for Brôu (Brũ) (1964: 47) calls them "modifiers"; Watson for Pacŏh (1966: 12) calls them "descriptives", and Diffloth for Semai (1976) calls them "expressives".

5.4. *Reduplication.*

David Thomas (1971: 155) lists three types of reduplica-
tion in Chrau: *simple*, consisting of a pair of identical forms
(e.g., hoᵽ hoᵽ 'moving quickly'), *altering*, in which the second
member of a pair has been altered in some way (e.g., phung lung
'heavy falling'), and *additive*, in which the second member adds
a homorganic nasal or a presyllable (e.g., guʰ ngguʰ 'noisy').

Similar to reduplication is the use of semantic pairs
such as pôp ŏh 'older and younger siblings' and huch sa 'drink
and eat'. Such pairs may also be separated, as huch yừa sa yừa
'drink enough and eat enough'.

Reduplication is most common in classical style, but is
also found in formal style (cf. §6.3c). Normally only stylized
reduplications occur in conversation, though legends, which are
at the lower end of the classical scale, are full of them.

5.5. *Loanwords.*

Sanskrit, Cham and Cambodian borrowings are so old in
Chrau that the Chrau themselves do not recognize them as such.
Older Vietnamese loans have been completely assimilated. A com-
pletely assimilated Vietnamese form has no lexical tone, where-
as recent loans from Vietnamese retain their tone.

All types of Chrau discourse except chants make use of
Vietnamese loanwords, especially function words such as mà
'but', còn 'as to', hễ 'whenever', nếu 'if', phải 'must', là
'copulative', cớ 'continually', từ 'from', and kwá (quá)
'very'. After function words the next most common class of
loans comprises words used mainly in a Vietnamese environment,
such as bắc sĩ 'medical doctor'.

6. *Discourse types and sample texts.*

The various discourse types found in Chrau (*narrative, ex-
pository, hortatory* and *epistolary*[15]) are probably universal.

Even the formulae for these different types are almost identical with those reported by Longacre for the Philippines and New Guinea (1968: 1–49; 1972: 133–58). What is language-specific is how a given language, as a defining characteristic, differentiates its discourse types. Verb density patterns, for example, may or may not be distinctive, while person orientation depends to a certain degree on the semantic division of the pronouns.

In Chrau, narratives tend to be in either the first or third person, with the second person usually reserved for embedded quotations (occasionally the listener is exhorted to listen). Hortatory discourses tend to be topic-oriented or to have first person inclusive and third person nonspecific pronouns. The following sections provide discussions of the formulae and fillers for the various discourse types, charts of skeleton discourses, and sample discourses.

6.1. *Narrative discourse structure.*

The plot structure of narrative discourse has been mentioned previously. The build-up of suspense to a climax, followed by a solution, appears to be a universal structure. Longacre (1976, citing Thrall et al.) observes that "...the antecedent tradition goes back to classical times." He terms it a "deep structure" composed of Exposition, Inciting Moment, Developing Conflict, Climax, Dénouement, Final Suspense, and Conclusion. Wendland (1975: 40, 41) recognizes for Chewa the Introduction, Development, Climax and Resolution, of which the first and last are optional.

a. For Chrau we find the following narrative formula:
± Title ± Setting ± Introduction + Episode^n ± Dénouement ± Conclusion ± Comment ± Finis.

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[15]These types should presumably include *procedural* and *descriptive* discourse, but our corpus was prematurely closed.

	narrative	expository	hortatory	epistolary
formula	± title ± setting ± introduction + episode^n ± dénouement ± conclusion ± comment ± finis	± topic ± introduction + nucleus ± conclusion ± finis	+ setting + nucleus ± conclusion ± terminus	+ setting + introduction + nucleus + conclusion + finis
paragraph types	+ situational descriptive + narrative ± concept descriptive ± dialogue	+ descriptive ± narrative	+ volitional ± descriptive	+ volitional ± narrative ± descriptive
interparagraph linkage	tail-head temporal sequence participants	causal rel. contrastive rel. head-head tail-tail	causal rel. contrastive rel.	usually unrelated
persons	1, (2), 3	usually topic oriented	1, 2, (3)	1, 2, 3
verb density	legends: high 1st-pers. nar.: low	low	highest	lowest
purpose	entertain instruct	inform convince	advise instruct correct	any

Chart 2: Discourse Structures.

The Title is usually the name of the hero or heroes, or of some distinctive item or action in the first sentence. It is commonly preceded by nhai 'tell'. The Setting, Introduction, Conclusion and Comment normally comprise situational or concept descriptive paragraphs (§2.2) and in this respect contrast with the Episode and Dénouement, which are usually narrative paragraphs.

The Episode develops the conflict presented in the Introduction. There may be any number of episodes, either separate or embedded (cycles), but at least the last one must have a climax. The Dénouement resolves the conflict. Although the Episode and Dénouement have the same paragraph types, they may be distinguished in Chrau by their relative verb densities. A climax paragraph has low verb density, a Dénouement paragraph very high verb density followed by extremely low verb density in the Conclusion.

The Conclusion and Comment can be distinguished by paragraph types, being situational descriptive and concept descriptive respectively. Semantically, the Conclusion tells what happened ever after. The Comment is completely outside the plot.

b. In *Prau Klô Dlu Nsêt* there are two climaxes, equally marked, but the final Dénouement is more strongly marked than the transitional one (cf. Chart 3). In *Prau Khăn Gŭn* (§6.1c) the first cycle has a strongly marked climax (¶ 4), but the final cycle climax (¶ 7) is weakly marked. However, the final Dénouement (¶ 8) is strongly marked. The whole final cycle could be considered the Dénouement for the first cycle.

c. Sample text.

In the following text, note the pronoun nĕh. Unless someone else is properly identified (¶ 6, st. 2: patau nĕh.... nĕh) and apart from dialogue where the next speaker becomes nĕh

¶	type	theme	lexical markers	participants*
			¶ markers	

Setting and Introduction

¶	type	theme	lexical markers	participants*
1	situational descriptive	orphans, hard up	a long time ago	sisters: initiators

Episode 1

Cycle 1

¶	type	theme	lexical markers	participants*
2	narrative	complaining	go to fields	sisters: initiators Nsêt: reactor* chipmunk: prop
3	narrative	Nsêt delivers chipmunk		Nsêt: initiator* chipmunk: prop
4	narrative	eating chipmunk	return at noon	sister: initiator* Ø spirits: Ø reactors* chipmunk: prop

Cycle 2

¶	type	theme	lexical markers	participants*
5	narrative + dialogue	complaining	go to jungle	sisters: initiators* mouse-deer: prop*
6	narrative	eating mouse-deer from Nsêt	then they returned	sisters: initiators Ø spirits: Ø reactors* mouse-deer: prop

Cycle 3

¶	type	theme	lexical markers	participants*
7	narrative	deer from Nsêt	later on	sisters: initiators deer: prop*

First Climax

¶	type	theme	lexical markers	participants*
8	narrative + dialogue	Nsêt reveals self	at night	Nsêt: initiator* sisters: reactors*

Transition

Dénouement Episode 1, Introduction Episode 2

¶	type	theme	lexical markers	participants*
9	narrative	playing flutes	a long time afterward	Nsêt: initiator* Cô Nhưt: reactor* flutes: prop

Episode 2

¶	type	theme	lexical markers	participants*
10	narrative + dialogue	Nhưt scolds	(dialogue)	Nhưt: initiator* sisters: reactors*

Final Climax

¶	type	theme	lexical markers	participants*
11	narrative	Nhưt finds Nsêt	Nhưt goes looking	Nhưt: initiator Nsêt: reactor*

Dénouement

¶	type	theme	lexical markers	participants*
12	narrative	Nhưt lets Nsêt stay	so later on	Nsêt: initiator* Nhưt: reactor*

Conclusion

¶	type	theme	lexical markers	participants*
13	situational descriptive	Nsêt originator of flutes	ever after	Nsêt

Comment

¶	type	theme	lexical markers	participants*
14	concept descriptive	storytelling	after that	storytellers*

finis

"That's all I remember."

Chart 3: Discourse Structure of *KZô Dlu Nsêt*, along with lexical markers.

*The asterisks in this column mark theme changes, along with lexical markers.

(¶ 7, st. 5: m̃oh nĕh nhai), nĕh refers to the hero-husband (¶ 8
begins with nĕh sĩq 'he returned', but at the end of ¶ 7 nĕh
was the shop lady). The one occurrence of nĕh when it does not
refer to people is in ¶ 3, st. 3, where it is the dummy subject
of lŭh (cf. ¶ 8, last sentence). In ¶ 1, st. 2, nĕh refers to
both the husband and the wife, while in ¶ 9 it is simply not
clear whether it refers to both or only to the husband.

Note also the repetition. Wĩnh 'beg' occurs three
times in the first two sentences of ¶ 2. First we learn that
the husband goes begging; then we learn where and, finally,
what. This serves partly to introduce additional information
slowly and partly to underline the begging. In the first para-
graph, however, the couple's poverty is underlined by para-
phrase, not exact repetition. The husband and wife are hard up,
they have nothing at all, they don't do anything, and finally
the wife realizes her husband doesn't know how to work.

There is a relatively small number of Vietnamese
loanwords in this text.[16] There is one example of a descrip-
tive adverb, which is also reduplicative: tohg lohg 'headlong'
(¶ 8, st. 7). There is also a semantic pair, n'hăp jina (¶ 9),
both members of which mean 'rich'.

In the Setting, there is a poor man and his wife. In
the Introduction, the extremity of their poverty is described
as is the hero's problem, which is that his wife chases him
continually. Then come two cycles. The first is the Episode;
this has a climax marked by low verb density as the hero is
completely unsuccessful. The second is the Dénouement, which
maintains high verb density except for a slight dip in the
verb count where there is some uncertainty about the outcome.
In the Conclusion, they "live happily ever after".

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[16]These are: kwa (Vietnamese quá), ncai (Chrau en + Vietna-
mese kê vậy), buồn, khăn, búa, tiệm, đồ, hiếp, bà, kwan (quán),
lời, là, mâm, khỏi.

Prau Khăn Gŭn[17]

The Legend of the Magic Handkerchief

Setting and Introduction

¶ 1: Situational descriptive. (22.6% verbs)

¹Hôi   nŏq chăng*var ndu   si-ur   siklô   nŏq lŏh-sat*
time that hear two person wife   husband that hard-up

lŭng gơi.   ²Nĕh êq gĕh*   jên lĕq.   ³Var ndu   si-ur
very very   they not have money at-all   two person wife

siklô   nĕh nŏq saq* đăng ôp*păch lây.   ⁴En   nŏq si-ur
husband they that   go   not do thing any   after that wife

nĕh nŏq châm* đuôn.   ⁵Mŏh si-ur sây* nĕh niêt* kwa, đăng
his that weave hat   then wife see   he   lazy very   not

gut* ôp* păch   lây.   ⁶Si-ur nĕh dăh*   diêt   nĕh ncai
know do thing   any   wife   his chase constantly him then

nĕh buôn*:
he   sad

Episode (cycle 1)

¶ 2: Narrative. (26.4% verbs)

¹Ncai năr nŏq nĕh saq*wĭnh*:   ²Nĕh saq*hao*chhuôi tu
then day that he go beg   he go up clear   to

vi patau, nŏq nĕh wĭnh*, nĕh wĭnh* piêng sa.   ³Patau   gut*
where king   so he beg   he beg rice eat   king know

---

[17]Narrator: Cô Lacunh. Verbs have been marked with asterisks. Only main verbs have been counted; pre-verbals, post-verbals, and embedded verbs were not counted (sa of piêng sa was not counted, but in piêng si-ur nĕh sa it was). There is bound to be some indetermination in counting, as in the first paragraph, where it is questionable whether n'hăp-jina and pŏh-mvôq are to be taken as single units or not; it is significant that either way the verb percentage is still much lower than elsewhere.

nĕh lăp*, patau gu*ᵗ* nĕh wŏq. ⁴Mŏh patau an* nĕh iuᶇ
he enter king know him more then king give him for

du păng khăn. ⁵En kê nĕh panh*, "Vrêq păch heq sĭq*,
one piece cloth then then he say now thing here return

mŏq ôp*, cô?" ⁶Patau panh*, "May văt* sĭq* păch heq, chăng*,
how do sir king say you carry return thing here hear

may lăq* u cađăr may nŏq. ⁷Ncai may gŏh* pe măt, may
you spread on table you that then you knock three time you

coᵖ̆* muôi var pe là lŭh*du mâm piêng an* may iuᶇ
count one two three is out one tray rice give you for

may sa*, si-ur siklô păch may tê."
you eat wife husband thing you raise

¶ 3: Narrative. (28.9% verbs)

¹En kê mŏh chăng lờᵢ patau, nĕh sĭq*, ²Ndŏh tât*
then then hear words king he return not-yet reach

nhi, nĕh saq*năc trong, nĕh gŏh* lŭh*du mâm piêng. ³Nĕh
house he go half road he knock out one tray rice it

lŭh* du mâm piêng sa cồ nhâng. ⁴Mŏh nĕh sa*, ⁵Sa* en
out one tray rice eat truly then he eat eat already

nĕh huch* alăc vanhu*l*,
he drink wine drunk

Climax

¶ 4: Narrative. (24% verbs)

¹Mŏh nĕh sĭq* tu nhi bà kwan sây*vanhu*l*alăc.
then he return to house Mrs. shop see drunk wine

²Mŏh nĕh nhai*nĕh gĕh* khăn nŏq. ³En kê mŏh bà kwan
then he say he have cloth that then then Mrs. shop

tăm-gâl* bây nĕh.
exchange with him

Transition: Episode 1, Introduction 2

¶ 5: Narrative. (29.4% verbs)

¹En kê   nĕh gŏh* wŏq đăng gĕh* piêng si-ur nĕh sa⁛
then he knock more not have rice wife he eat

²En si-ur nĕh nhai⁛ "May mvâr⁛"
then wife   he   say   you   lie

Dénouement (cycle 2)

¶ 6: Narrative. (32.1% verbs)

¹Ncai nĕh saq* hao* lŭp* patau wŏq.   ²Patau nĕh nhai* nĕh
then he   go up ask king more   king he say he

panh⁛ "Khăn may nŏq   vu khuh* en   doh, ănh gu⁺t⁛
say   cloth you that someone steal already already I know

³Vrêq an* may du tong bua sĭq⁛"
now give you one stick hammer return

¶ 7: Narrative. (26.3% verbs)

¹Nhâng nĕh sĭq* văt* du tong bua. ²Nĕh sĭq*
truly he   return carry one stick hammer he return

lăp* tiệm bà kwan. ³Ncai nĕh lŭp* bà kwan, nĕh nhai*
enter shop Mrs. shop   then he ask Mrs. shop he   say

nĕh panh⁛ "Ay ndau   ay nhup* khăn ănh. ⁴Êq gĕh* vu
he say   you yesterday you take cloth my   not have anybody

lây, vrêq ay phăi trŏh* păch ănh je." ⁵Mŏh nĕh panh*
any now you must give thing my poss.   then she say

nĕh êq iuh⁛ ⁶Nĕh panh⁛ "Ay êq iuh⁛ ănh an* bua pâm* ay
she not give   she say   you not give I let hammer beat you

liên." ⁷Nhâng bua lŭh* pâm* pachăh* đŏ lĕq troh,
immediately truly hammer out beat smash thing all entirely

nŏq heq tóq tǐq.   [8]Ncai něh iuh* gěh khăn gěh đồ

that here there there   then she give have cloth have thing

wŏq.

more

Final Dénouement

¶ 8: Narrative. (30.2% verbs)

  [1]Něh sǐq* něh nhai*bây si-ur něh, "Vrêq voh khỏi phŭng*

  he return he say with wife his   now we avoid fear

pangot* en doh.   [2]Piêng sa gěh* mà ănh gěh* du sinlơ

hungry already already   rice eat have and   I   have one thing

wŏq, đăng gěh* vu lây hiếp* ănh gěh."   [3]Si-ur něh

more not have body any persecute me able   wife his

panh*, "May mvâr*.   [4]May săng* bua may pâm*ănh sên*.   [5]May

say   you lie   you send hammer you beat me see   you

saq* sa* huch* di gŏq en, ncai sǐq* may nhai* pǎch

go eat drink too much already then return you say thing

heq pǎch nŏq bây ănh."   [6]En kê mŏh siklô něh panh*,

here thing that with me   then then husband he say,

"Ay nhai* nhâng? Ănh săng* lŭh* pâm*."   [7]Nhâng bua něh lôt*

you say truly I   send out beat   truly hammer it run

lŭh* gŏh* si-ur něh du măt toh-loh lawât* u nŏq.

out knock wife his one time headlong unconscious at there

[8]Nŏq kê siklô něh nhai*panh, "Nŏq ay sây* đăng?   [9]A, vrêq

so then husband he say saying so you see not   ah now

chěq*ănh gŏh* lŭh* piêng ay iuh ay sat."   [10]Nhâng něh

let me knock forth rice you for you eat   truly he

lăq* khăn, něh lăq* u cađăr.   [11]Něh gŏh* pe măt,

spread cloth he spread on table   he knock three time

ncai lŭh* du mâm piêng, si-ur siklô nĕh sa* hom̓*

then forth one tray rice wife husband they eat full

Conclusion

¶ 9: Situational descriptive. (15.4 - 20.0% verbs)

Nŏq mŏh nĕh +ê* rup nĕh lawân, nĕh n'hăp-jina*

so then he kept body he permanently he rich rich

lawân, +â+ pŏh-mvôq wŏq.

permanently forever more

TRANSLATION

1. At that time, listen, this husband and wife were very
hard up. They didn't have any money at all. The husband and
wife pair didn't go do anything. Then later the wife wove hats.
Then the wife saw he was lazy and didn't know how to do a
thing. The wife chased him all the time, so he was sad.

2. Then one day he went begging. He went clear up to the
king's place, then he begged, he begged for rice to eat. The
king knew he had come in, and further the king knew about him.
Then the king gave him a cloth. He said, "Take this thing
home, then what should I do, sir?" The king said, "You car-
ry this thing home, hear, you spread it on your table, then
knock three times and count 'One, two, three', and a tray of
food will appear for you to eat, husband and wife and whatever
you raise."

3. After hearing the words of the king, he returned. Be-
fore reaching home, just half-way, he knocked forth a tray of
food. A tray of food to eat came forth, really. Then he ate.
After eating he drank wine till he was drunk.

4. Then he went home to the house of the shop lady, who
saw he was drunk with wine. Then he said he had that cloth.
Then the shop lady exchanged with him.

5. Then he knocked again, but didn't have any food for
his wife to eat. Then his wife said, "You're a liar."

6. Then he went up to ask the king again. The king said,
"Your cloth there, someone has stolen it, I know. Now I'll
give you a hammer to take home."

7. Truly, he returned carrying the hammer. He went back
into the shop lady's store. Then he asked the shop lady, he
said, "You took my cloth yesterday. There wasn't anybody else,

now you give it back." Then she said she wouldn't give it. He said, "If you don't give it, I'll make the hammer pound you immediately." Truly, the hammer came out and pounded and smashed everything up, this, that, and the other thing. Then she gave the cloth and other things.

8. He went home and said to his wife, "Now we won't have to worry about being hungry. We'll have rice, and I have one more thing so there won't be anyone able to persecute me." His wife said, "You're a liar. Tell your hammer to pound me for me to see. You go eating and drinking so much, then you return, you say this and that to me." Then her husband said, "Do you mean it? I'll send it out to pound." The hammer really did come out and beat his wife once. She fell headlong unconscious there. So then the husband spoke, saying, "So do you see or not? Ah, now let me knock out food for you to eat." Honestly, he spread the cloth, he spread it out on the table. He knocked three times, then a tray of food came forth, and the husband and wife ate until they were full.

9. So then he was able to take care of himself ever after, he was rich for ever and ever.

6.2. *Expository discourse structure.*

The development of expository discourse is mostly through logical relationships, although there is some temporal sequence.

a. The formula for expository discourse is: ± Topic ± Introduction + Nucleus ± Conclusion ± Finis.

The Topic is a statement of what the discourse will be about, and is usually a single sentence.

The Introduction is filled with a concept descriptive paragraph. It is an expansion of the Topic.

The Nucleus can also have embedded narrative discourses but is usually filled by concept descriptive and situational descriptive paragraphs.

The only Conclusion in our data is filled by a concept descriptive paragraph, and is a concise paraphrase of the preceding discourse.

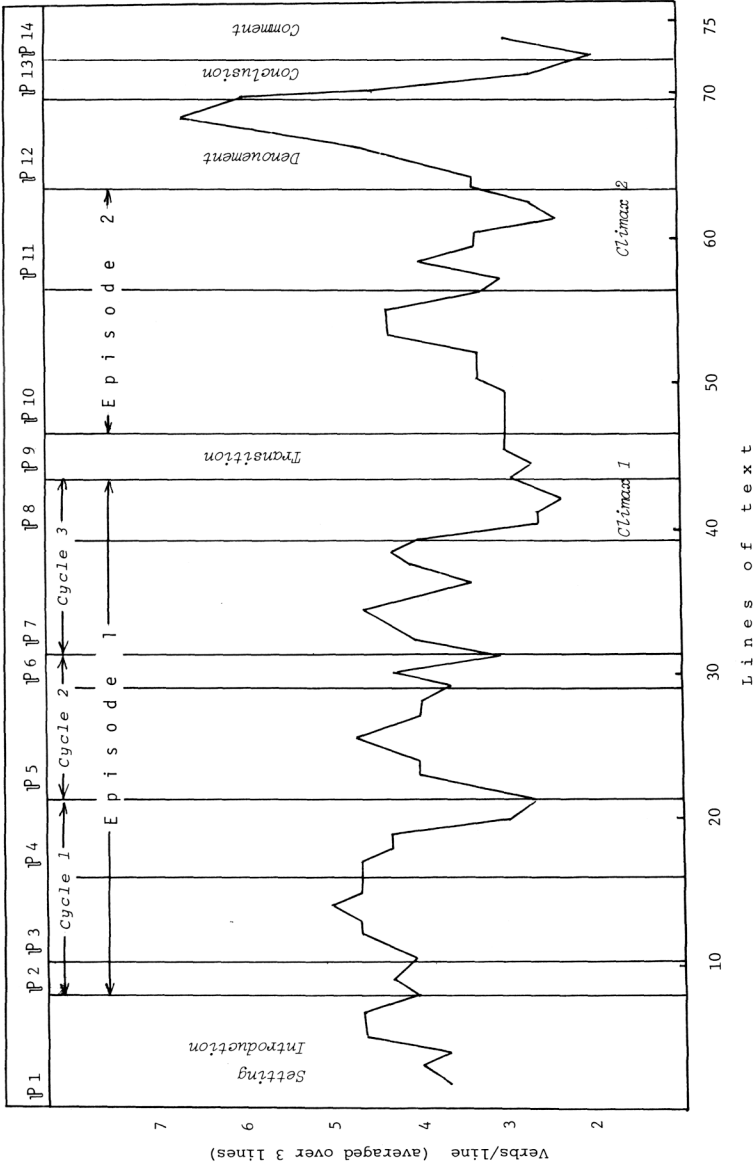The Finis is usually just lĕq en 'That's all' or 'Like that', but it may be expanded into ănh wĭnh nhai lĕq u

Chart 4: Verb Density: *Prau Klô Dlu Nsêt.*

heq 'Here I ask to end my words'.

Overlays (cf. §2.3*b*) are common in expository dis-
course, but are by no means the only way to develop a theme in
Chrau. Besides overlays, there is the traditional outline-like
structure. "The basic idea is that semantic elements of equal
weight in an outline are given comparable forms of expression,
while any element that is subordinated to another is tagged as
subordinate by the use of conjunctions, inflections, order, or
embedding" (Grimes, 1972: 513, quoting Christensen, 1965).

Yăq Cô Var 'Accusing the Lieutenant' has an overlay
of four planes at the beginning, each saying (with some repeti-
tion and some uniqueness) that the villagers are forced to work
for nothing and not allowed to go out to market lest they ac-
cuse the lieutenant. In this text there is only one such over-
lay: the next point is made with an embedded narrative while
the following points are made individually with outline-like
structure.

The style of expository discourses is marked by medi-
um verb density (cf. Chart 1), medial rhymes (notably in *Jêng
Sipăm*), and the absence of descriptive adverbs.

Cohesion is maintained chiefly by logical relation-
ship, head-head or tail-tail linkage, and paraphrase.

b. Jêng Sipăm is a discourse on being a shaman, its pur-
pose being to defend the work of shamans. It is all in the
first person. In the first half, where the speaker tells how he
became a shaman, and in the next two paragraphs he uses ănh
'I', but in the other two paragraphs he uses vơh 'we (*incl.*)'
and the indefinite third-person pronoun vu. In these two lat-
ter paragraphs he is talking about the work of shamans in gen-
eral, not just about himself.

Throughout the concept descriptive paragraphs the
speaker develops his argument through the use of negated anto-

¶	type	theme	¶ markers	
			lexical markers	participants*

Setting

| 1 | situational descriptive | People said I would become a shaman. | a long time ago | vu: initiators I: reactor |

Nucleus

Section 1: personal

2	narrative	The spirits made me crazy.	at that time	spirits: initiators* I: reactor
3	situational descriptive	I'm O.K. now.	now	I: initiator*
4	narrative	I became a shaman.	from....till now	I: initiator wife, deer: tertiary*
5	concept descriptive	I try to make people well.	therefore	I: initiator pôp ŏh: reactors* vu: tertiary
6	concept descriptive	I do my work well.	seeing like that	I, vu: initiators* pôp ŏh: tertiary

Section 2: general

| 7 | concept descriptive | We go to help people. | today (summary at ¶ end) | we: initiators* spirits: reactors* vu: tertiary |
| 8 | concept descriptive | Shamans must have apprentices. | (see ¶ closure above) | we: initiators* apprentices: tertiary |

Finis

"That's all."

Chart 5: Discourse Structure of *Jêng Sipăm*.

*The asterisks in this column mark theme changes, along with lexical markers.

nyms and causal sentences, with the two types sometimes embedded in each other. Thus,

Von saq săm vu von nhai bay yang an
we go cure someone we talk with good-spirit make

vu di yăh an vu vâng ji vầy, nŏq von gĕh
them part. well make them don't sick so so we have

phuŏt gĕh phân bay vu. Chớ chaq-yang an von
blessing have power with people neg. spirits make us

jêng sipăm mà von êq saq săm vu, nŏq von gĕh
become shaman but we not go cure people thus we have

bap.
sin

We go to cure someone, we speak with the good spirits to make them well, make them not sick; that way we have blessing and power with people. [It is] certainly not that the spirits make us become shamans, and then we don't go cure people, that way we would have sin.

In this example both sentences are reason-result sentences, but are at the same time in the negated-antonym relationship with each other. And within the first sentence is the negated antonym, "make them well, make them not sick."

In this text there is much parallelism between sentences as well as embedding of causal or negated-antonym relationships. For example,

Nĕh cồ chưt, khoi yo soq n'ham nĕh. Nĕh cồ
he who die also from placenta blood his he who

yăh, khoi yo soq n'ham nĕh.
well also from placenta blood his

He who dies, that's because of his fate. He who is well, that's because of his fate, too.

Although this text is not as well constructed as the

other two examples of expository discourse (the Chrau editor
substituted a new final paragraph for a rambling disgression),
from the standpoint of style it may be better than the others
because of its parallelisms and medial rhymes. All three texts,
however, have a large number of Vietnamese loanwords, especial-
ly for function words (in the above example yo 'from' is a
loan). Without the Vietnamese function words, Chrau depends
mainly upon juxtaposition of sentences and a minimum of Chrau
connectives to show relations. Havránek (1964) reports for
Czech free sequences of sentences in the folk speech with
multi-valued conjunctions, but a tightly knit and integrated
structure and specialization of conjunctions in standard
speech. Even in folk speech Chrau is developing towards more
specification.

c. The following sample expository discourse, *Vu gẽh
chaq*, is an explanation of two kinds of Chrau sicknesses and
their causes and also of the reason sorcery and demon posses-
sion are not common today.

The sample contains clear indicators of paragraph
theme change: focus indicators, the Vietnamese loanword còn,
and, in the last two paragraphs, references to the past. Para-
graphs 1, 2, 3 and 5 employ the focus indicator nŏq. Para-
graph 4 uses nẽh heq, changing the focus to the previous con-
cept in paragraph 2; only at the end of this paragraph is there
a noun phrase for nẽh. Although paragraph 2 starts out by dis-
cussing people possessed of evil spirits, it continues on into
sorcery and then at its conclusion differentiates the two.[18]

Following the introduction come two different over-
lays intertwined. The speaker is describing and contrasting the

---

[18]I was alerted to the possibility of a double theme by a
description in Svelmoe and Svelmoe (1974: 130) of a paragraph
with several "texts" in Mansaka.

effects of the "eating" of evil spirits and sorcery. In the first plane both overlays are presented; then overlay A has one plane, overlay B has one plane, and overlay A has another plane. Following these overlays comes a section consisting of two paragraphs in which the semantic domain switches from sickness to killing.

Throughout the concept descriptive paragraphs the speaker uses něh for concepts, vơn and vu for people. In the first situational descriptive paragraph, however, něh is absent, and vu refers both to those who practiced sorcery and to those who killed them. In the last paragraph něh refers to those who practiced sorcery, vu to those who killed them; however, there is no clear introduction of něh, probably because no focus is intended but only differentiation of two distinct groups.

This text does not rely so heavily on negated antonym sentences as *Jêng Sipăm* does. Its purpose is not so much to defend as to explain; hence there are more temporal-sequence, paraphrase and contra-expectancy sentences as well as causal sentences. For paraphrase, note paragraph 2, sentences 1-3, where the progression is from stomach-ache to diarrhea to loss of blood. For temporal sequence, note paragraph 4, sentence 4. For reason-result, see paragraph 7, sentence 5. For condition-result, see paragraph 7, sentence 4.

Although this text is of about the same length as *Prau Khăn Gŭn* (§6.1c), it has twice as many Vietnamese loans.[19] There are no descriptive adverbs, but there are several semantic pairs: châh laq 'sore + sore (= scabies)', mŭh măt 'nose + eyes (= face)', and nu nơm '(?) + body (= body)'.

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[19] These are: *còn, ncai, hẹn, yàng (vàng), yàng khè, cái yỉ (cái gỉ), bịnh, bịnh cùi, khi, khi-khung, chịu, chuyện, hồi, bi, kwả, thanh niên, thî-yụ (thî-dụ), chử̉ng, chở̉, đủng (đúng), lần, hễ, thì, đỗ, hay là, là, mà, lần lần, hồi.*

Topic

Con nhai vu gĕh chaq[20]

Talking about people who have evil spirits

Introduction

¶ 1: Concept descriptive.

Chaq   nŏq nĕh gĕh   chaq,   nĕh   khoi   tamun
evil spirit that he   has evil spirit   he   also   person

voh, mà nĕh lŭh   chaq,   khoi ca tamun voh caheq.
we   but   he   become evil spirit also like person   we like this

Nucleus: Section 1

Overlay A and B, plane 1

¶ 2: Concept descriptive.

¹Chaq   nĕh nŏq   lŭh   saq sa nĕh   cồ   ji
evil spirit   he   that   come out go   eat he   who   sick

candưl. ²Nĕh ôp tarung. ³Nĕh ôp cồ saq nggồ
stomach   he   make diarrhea   he   make Ø   go   jungle

lŭh   ayh n'ham, nŏq ncai diêt. ⁴Nĕh hẹn   du
come out only blood so   then constantly he appoint one

khay, hay là   hẹn   pe   khay. ⁵Đùng năr nĕh ôp hô-loq.
month or   is   appoint three month   exact day he   do   owl

⁶Nĕh ôp sŭng nom voh   yàng lĕq, nĕh ôp voh. ⁷Nĕh ôp
he   do   in   body we   yellow all   he   do   us   he   do

voh yàng khè. ⁸ Ti   jâng đồ   heq, nĕh ôp yàng êq
us   yellow (?)   hand foot thing here   he   make yellow not

gĕh n'ham đồ nŏq. ⁹Ramưt jrou sa, còn   chaq
have blood thing that   yellow medicine eat as-to evil spirit

---

²⁰Informant: Hưng (1964).

sa nŏq saq   nggô ţarung,   lŭh   n'ham.
eat so   go   jungle spill   come out blood

Plane A2

¶ 3: Concept descriptive.

[1]Jrou   sa nŏq   nĕh ôp   caî-yî,   nĕh sa nĕh ôp
medicine eat that   it do anything   it eat it make

bịnh lĕq sŭng rup ţi jâng đồ heq yàng lĕq.   [2]En
sick all   in body hand foot thing here yellow all   then

câi nĕh   ôp   khi von châh-laq.   [3]Khi ţi jâng von
thing it work when we   scabies   when hand foot we

 aih   caheq, khi-khŭng nĕh châh-laq cambeţ.   [4]Tŏh kiêţ
swollen like-this suddenly it scabies disappear   pimple itch

ken   nŏq,   Nhuôn   nĕh cuôl ghể nŏq   ţŏh   kiêţ.
small that Vietnamese he call *ghe* that pimple itch

[5]Tŏh kiêţ lần lần   diêţ,   lần mãq lần mãq lần.   [6]Nĕh
pimple itch gradually constantly time big time big time   it

ôp von gĕh bịnh-cùi, nŏq là vu cuôl.
make us have leprosy   that is one call

Plane B2

¶ 4: Concept descriptive.

[1]Còn nĕh heq nĕh sa ngăn.   [2]Khi-khŭng lŭh   vi
as-to it here it eat only   suddenly come-out place

heq vi heq, nĕh sa khweq.   [3]Khi nĕh sa ţalaq
here place here it eat holes   when it eat intestines

khoi gĕh, khi nĕh sa ndwăch von khoi gĕh.   [4]Nĕh sa
also have when it eat   anus   we also have   it eat

 diêţ von chịu êq ţruh en von chưţ.   [5]Nŏq bịnh bịnh
constantly we stand not able then we die   that sick sick

chaq   sa.
evil spirit eat.

Plane A3

℗ 5: Concept descriptive.

[1]Còn bịnh   jrou   sa   nŏq něh ôp   yàng lĕq ti
as-to sick medicine eat that it make yellow all hand

jâng. [2]Mŭh mă̆t yàng lĕq, candưl đồ nŏq. [3]Něh ôp
foot   nose eye yellow all   stomach thing that   it make

ti jâng đồ   aih đồ   nŏq,   heq khi něh ôp var
hand foot thing swell thing that   here when it make two

chuyện nŏq. [4]Khi něh ôp ti jâng đồ   aih lĕq. [5]Aih
thing   that   when it make hand foot thing swell all   Swell

â jâng aih hao mà sŭng nom yàng lĕq. [6]Mà něh sa lĕq
from foot swell up and in body yellow all   and it eat all

n'ham   en,   něh hẹn đúng khay nŏq von chưt. [7]Jrou
blood already it appoint exact month so   we   die   medicine

sa   aih dâng nŏq, něh bịnh yang lĕq. [8]Ti jâng nu nom
eat swell like that it sick yellow all   hand foot   body

něh en.
it finished

Nucleus: Section 2

℗ 6: Situational descriptive.

[1]Còn hồi nŏq vu tê   jrou   chớ vrêq vu   lĕq
as-to time that one keep medicine not now   one all-gone

thêng tê en. [2]Bị vu tachưt kwá. [3]Bị vu gĕh phao
dare keep already suffer one kill   very suffer one have gun

wât, khi vu gưt wât. [4]Vu nhưp vu tachưt, thănh-niên
(?) when one know (?)   one take one kill   youths

vrêq mãq vu êq   chịu,   vu cơnh di yãh.   [5]Vu cơnh ôp
now big one not stand-for   one want to good   one want do

sa vu êq   chịu   canŏq.
eat one not stand-for like-that

¶ 7: Situational descriptive.

[1]Cồn   adơm   cô   camvĭnh, vu chư̛t   gŏq lửng.
as-to long-ago grandfather old   one dead much very

[2]Vu trŏh daq, đăng vu păh nco, đăng vu tanchăp tanyông
one throw water not one cut neck not one   tie   hang

vlơ chhơ.   [3]Vu gư̛t nŏq, đăng vrêq gư̛t thĭ nĕh ôp gĕh.
above tree   one know that not now know , he do can

[4]Hễ vu gư̛t thĭ nĕh gŭq đăng gĕh.   [5]Vu tachư̛t chĕq nĕh,
if one know ,   he live not able   one kill leave him

vrêq takiq vŏq.   [6]Thĭ-yụ hồi nŏq du riyêng   ndu,
now little only   for-example time that one hundred person

vrêq chửng var pe ndu gĕh.   [7]Chơ cồn đăng gĕh
now about two three person have   not still not have

lĕq   toţ.   [8]Vrêq takiq, cồn gĕh gŏq nŏq   lĕq
all-gone part.   now little as-to have much that all-gone

en.   [9]Chơ vu tachư̛t vu êq chĕq   du mvu.
already   not one kill one not leave one person

TRANSLATION

1. That person with an evil spirit, he has an evil spir-
it, he is also a person like us, but he became a person with
an evil spirit, just like us people.

2. That evil spirit comes out and goes to eat people who
have stomach-aches. He makes diarrhea. He makes it that when
one goes to defecate only blood comes out, this goes on all the
time. He appoints one month or two months, or three months.
When the day comes, he becomes an owl demon. He makes our body
all yellow, he works on us. He makes us yellow *khè*. Hands and
feet and so on, he makes them yellow with no blood and things.

Jaundice is from sorcery, when spirits eat you have bloody stools.

3. What does sorcery do? It eats, it makes you sick all over the body, hands and feet, everything is yellow. And then *it does it when we have scabies.* When our hands and feet are swollen; then suddenly the scabies disappears. Small itchy pimples the Vietnamese call *ghe*, that itchy pimples. The itchy pimples get bigger and bigger all the time. It turns into leprosy, as they call it.

4. As to this other one, it just eats. Suddenly it comes out here and there, eating holes. Sometimes it eats the intestines, sometimes it eats our anus too. It eats all the time, when we can't stand it any longer we die. That's the sickness when evil spirits eat one.

5. Concerning sickness from sorcery, it makes one yellow all over the arms and legs. The whole face is yellow, stomach, everything. It makes the arms and legs, everything, swell up; it does both those things. When it makes the arms and legs swell all up. The swelling goes up from the legs, but the body is all yellow. But when it has consumed all the blood, it appoints the exact month, so we die. Sorcery makes swelling like that, it's the sickness of being yellow all over. Arms, legs, body it finishes.

6. Now in those days people practiced sorcery, but now people don't dare anymore. A lot of them were killed. They were killed by people with guns when they knew about it. They caught them and killed them, young people have grown up now and they won't stand for it, they want good. People want to make a living; they won't stand for it.

7. In the olden days of the old grandfathers, a lot of people died. People threw them into the water, or else cut their throats, or else tied them up and hung them on a tree. Whether people knew about it or not, they were able to do sorcery. If people knew about it, they couldn't stay around. People would kill them; now there is very little of it. For example, before there may have been a hundred people, now only about two or three. But it still hasn't completely died out. Now there are a few; the days when there were many are gone. People are killing them off, not leaving any.

6.3. *Hortatory discourse structure.*

Hortatory discourses are called in Chrau pân cahya 'advise', chih nhai 'scold', or rach padau̓ 'instruct'. They are marked by extensive use of imperatives and second-person pronouns.

a. The formula for hortatory discourse is: + Setting + Nucleus ± Conclusion ± Terminus.

The Setting in all three hortatory texts consists of a reference to a recent occurrence; it can have a narrative paragraph or a concept descriptive paragraph.

The Nucleus develops the theme. It is composed of volitional or situational descriptive paragraphs.

The Conclusion is a concise paraphrase of the discourse. It is filled with a volitional paragraph.

The Terminus takes the form of a charge addressed to the hearers, such as "So you'd better listen" or "So you'd better be careful." It too is filled with a volitional paragraph.

Verb density varies with the emotional involvement of the speaker. *Wŏng gŏng*, in which the speaker several times threatens death, has a very high density (cf. Chart 1). The two other texts, *Nĕh pân* and *Rach padau*, have identically low densities.

Nĕh pân and *Rach padau* both have a Terminus while *Nĕh pan* also has a Conclusion. *Wŏng gŏng* has neither.

Nĕh pân and *Rach padau* show considerable reduplication. *Wŏng gŏng* has none save in one sentence:

Vlam sipai pănh sipai, vlam sikwây pănh sikwây.
meet rabbit shoot rabbit meet mouse-deer shoot mouse-deer

If these three texts are representative of their categories, it may be said that on the basis of verb densities, formal structure and reduplicative style, pân cahya and rach padau are more formal while chih nhai is less formal and more spontaneous.

b. *Wŏng gŏng* was recorded on magnetic tape at our request. It was done as an older man scolding some younger ones

| P | type | theme | P markers | |
			lexical markers	participants*
			Setting	
1	narrative	meat sold	yesterday	nĕh: initiators Ga Prau: reactor
			Nucleus	
2	volitional	get me some meat	tomorrow	I: initiator* you: reactors*
3	volitional	go hunting; I'll go to market	I'll go; market	I: initiator you: reactors
4	situational descriptive	nothing to eat	now	(soliloquy)
5	volitional	get meat	now	I: initiator* you: reactors*

Chart 6: Discourse Structure of *Wŏng gŏng*.

*The asterisks in this column mark theme changes, along with lexical markers.

for selling all the meat on hand, with the result that there is none left, and telling them to go for more and this time not sell it. The second half of the text is more of a ramble from the second day of recording, and is not treated here.

The narrative paragraph in the Setting is in the third person. Paragraphs 2, 3 and 5 are addressed to the boys, but paragraph 4 is a soliloquy by the disgruntled speaker.

c.   The discourse *Nĕh pân* was recorded in a village after the commander, a lieutenant, had just delivered a lecture. He knew some Chrau, and his lectures tended to be basically Vietnamese with some Chrau thrown in; this may account for the comment in paragraph 2, sentence 10, to the effect that the commander was not speaking out of order.   The speaker in *Nĕh pân* is a Chrau soldier.

In both paragraphs of the Nucleus there are double themes. In the first the villagers are advised not to be angry with the lieutenant and reminded that he is right to tell them not to drink too much. In the second they are reminded that when drunk they cannot care for their weapons and that, while they are in this condition, the VC's might capture the village. The first paragraph is clearly a united whole, as the two themes switch back and forth; the second might be split into two at sentence 5 where the word vrêq occurs and the VC's come into focus. However, up to this point no one has been in focus, and the semantic domains covered in both halves are the same: weapons, drinking a lot *vs*. drinking a little. This is more a case of surface-level divisions than of deep structure.

In the Conclusion there is an unannounced switch back to the lieutenant as nĕh.

Note the interparagraph linkage between paragraphs 2 and 3: ...thỉ <u>khoi</u> vu nhai <u>canŏq</u> '...*also* they talk *like that*'.

Three types of reduplication are used: (1) altering: tacuq tacŏq 'inebriated', tamvãq tamvây 'disorderly'; (2) separated semantic pairs: chĕq nuih chĕq tôr 'set heart set ear', huch sĕh huch alãc 'drink wine drink beer', nãc daq nãc trong 'half river half road', huch yừa sa yừa 'drink enough eat enough'; and (3) one nonseparated semantic pair: phao randãh 'gun gun'.

Our text has approximately the same ratio of Vietnamese loans as *Vu gĕh chaq* (§6.2c).[21]

Nĕh pân

Setting

¶ 1: Concept descriptive.

[1]Nĕh   pân   pôp   ŏh   heq nŏq, bây camvũm nĕh
he advise older sib. younger sib. here   by words   he

nhai. [2]Nĕh jơ nĕh cahya vơn.   [3]Pôp ŏh   chăng
speak   he watch he advise us   older/younger sib. listen

hay đăng?
or   not

Nucleus

¶ 2: Volitional.

[1]Nŏq a   heq pŏh mvôq, từ a   Cô   var nĕh ôp u
    so from here on   from grandfather two he work at

heq nŏq, thỉ nĕh sên vơn. [2]Mà nĕh sên vơn, mà nĕh cahya
here   , he watch us   and he   watch us   and he   advise

---

[21]These are: *hay, yừa (vừa), thỉ, là, từ, lỉnh* (presumably an old loan), *cãp, chỉ-huy, tamvãq-tamvây* (presumably an old loan, phonologically well-assimilated), *chớ, thỉ-yu, chừng, kwá, phải, tù* (apparently a slip of the tongue), *nỉu (nếu), mà, còn*.

vơn.   ³Nĕh phŭng vơn   huch   sĕh   huch   alăc.   ⁴Canŏq vơn vâng
us   he   fear we   drink wine drink   beer   so   we don't

chĕq nuih   chĕq tôr   bay   nĕh vầy.   ⁵Nĕh   gŭq   u   heq,   nĕh
set heart   set   ear with   him thus   he   stay   at here   he

gŭq di măq   u   heq,   nĕh cấp   chỉ-huy   vơn,   nĕh phải
stay to big   at here   he   rank   commander   us   he   must

sên vơn,   nĕh chih   nhai   vơn.   ⁶Canŏq vơn vâng   huch   alăc
watch us   he scold speak   us   so   we don't drink   beer

gŏq vầy.   ⁷Nĕh phŭng vơn vanhưl   năc   daq   năc   trong,   vơn
much thus   he   fear   we   drunk half river half road   we

vanhưl tacuq-tacŏq.   ⁸Canŏq nĕh   chih nĕh cahya vơn.   ⁹Vơn
drunk inebriated   so   he   scold he advise   us   we

chĕq nuih   chĕq tôr,   canŏq vơn đăng yăh   con   tamun vơn
set heart   set   ear   so   we   not good child person   we

canŏq đăng yăh.   ¹⁰Nĕh nhai   canŏq   khoi   gal,   êq   panh
so   not good   he speak like-that also right   not   say

nĕh   nhai   tamvây   đăng.   ¹¹Nĕh   nhai   gal   nĕh   de,   nĕh
he   speak disorderly not   he   speak right   he   poss.   he

êq   iưn   caheq   huch   sĕh   vanhưl   saq nhai   tamvăq-tamvây
not let   like-this drink wine   drunk   so speak   disorderly

bay   vu.   ¹²Chơ nĕh đăng iưn tơq nĕh.   ¹³Pôp   ŏh
with people   not he not let emph. he   older/younger sib.

iĕt   camvŭm ănh nhai   gal   đăng?
hear   word   I speak right   no

¶ 3: Volitional.

¹Alưr   heq   vu   lây   cỗ   sỉq   tu heq,   thỉ khoi vu nhai
after this one   any who   return to hear   ,   also he speak

canŏq.   ²Canŏq a   heq   pŏh mvôq   pôp   ŏh   vâng
like-that   so   from here   on   older/younger sib.   don't

huch alăc gŏq vầy.   ³Thỉ-yụ   pôp ŏh   huch
drink beer much thus   for-example older/younger sib. drink

prăm li,   pôp ŏh   huch chừng pe li   dâng
five glass older/younger sib. drink about three glass amount

nŏq. ⁴Nŏq yừa vơn   en,   pôp ŏh   huch   gŏq
that   so enough we already older/younger sib. drink   much

kwá en nŏq vanhừl pôp ŏh   vỉ gừt   phao gâm
very then so drunk older/younger sib. not know   gun and

căm   pôp ŏh   u lây pà. ⁵Vrêq vừr něh lẻq
arrow older/younger sib. at any not   now VC they past

mơch vơn en, canŏq vơn phải huch yừa sa   yừa. ⁶Vâng
near us already so we must drink enough eat enough don't

vơn huch gŏq. ⁷Vơn huch gŏq   en nŏq,   en   nŏq vừr
us drink much we drink much   already after that VC

něh lăp něh ↑tachừt vơn. ⁸En   nŏq chừt, pach panh vơn
they enter they kill us   after that dead what say we

đăng chừt nŏq.   ⁹A heq vừr něh lăp něh pâm vơn, něh
not dead thus   from now VC they enter they beat us they

nhừp lẻq phao randăh. ¹⁰Nŏq   vu panh vơn heq bay vừr.
take all gun gun   so people say we here with VC

¹¹Nŏq   vu   nhừp vơn,   vu   doq ↑ù vơn đăng gal, an
so people take us   people put prison us   not right let

vơn gũq sũng nhi jingo.
us stay in   house dark

Conclusion

¶4: Volitional.

    ¹Canŏq něh chih něh nhai vơn. ²Canŏq vơn vâng chẻq
      so he scold he talk us   so we don't set

nuih bay nĕh vầy.   ³Nîu nĕh nhai ┼amvẵq ┼amvây bây

heart with him thus.   if he speak disorderly   with

  pôp ŏh   còn hôm gĕh khananh   heq wŏq.

older/younger sib. still still have us *(excl.)* here more

<p style="text-align:center">*Terminus*</p>

¶ 5: Volitional.

    Nhai   canŏq,   pôp ŏh   phẵi   chẵng bay

    speak like-that older/younger sib. must listen to

mĭnh ẵnh.

mouth my

<p style="text-align:center">TRANSLATION</p>

1. He advised us here by what he said. He watches us and
advises us. Did you listen or not?

2. So from now on, since the Lieutenant worked here, he
watches us. He watches and advises us. He is afraid we drink
wine and beer. So don't get angry with him. He lives here, he
is important here, he is our commander, he has to watch us, he
scolds us. So don't drink a lot of beer. He is afraid we'll be
drunk half-way home, we'll be tipsy. So he scolds us and ad-
vises us. If we get angry, we are not good people, it's not
good. He speaks right like that, he isn't speaking out of or-
der. He speaks right, he doesn't allow drinking and disorderly
talk. He absolutely will not allow it. Don't you think that's
right?

3. After this, whoever comes here will also say the same
thing. So from here on don't drink a lot. For example, you
drink five glasses, drink about three glasses. That's enough
for us, you drink a lot, then get drunk, you don't know where
your gun and arrows are. Now the VC's are already nearby, so we
must eat just enough and drink just enough. We mustn't drink
much. We've drunk a lot, then the VC's will come in and kill
us. Then we'll be dead, how can you say we wouldn't be dead?
Now the VC's come in and beat us, take all the guns. So people
will say we are with the VC's. So people will take us and put
us in the *tù*, that's not right, they'll put us in prison.

4. So he scolds us. So don't get angry with him. If he
talks bad to you, you still have us [soldiers] here.

5. Speaking like that, you must listen to me.

6.4. *Epistolary discourse structure.*

Although literacy in Chrau is relatively new, we have received *letters from at least six different Chrau; of these we* still have ten letters from four different people.

All of the writers of these letters had had some schooling in Vietnamese. This may account for the rigidity of form in all of the letters. When these individuals first began writing letters in Chrau, the letters themselves were quite stilted; as they gained experience in the new medium of expression, they retained the basic format they had started out with but added more content to the nucleus of their letters.

a. The formula for epistolary discourse is: + Setting + Introduction + Nucleus + Conclusion + Finis.

The Setting is filled by the place and date of writing, and usually a formal greeting.

The Introduction may contain an extended greeting or reference to a previous letter, or may express the purpose of writing.

The Nucleus consists of various embedded narrative, expository or hortatory discourses, frequently unrelated.

The Conclusion usually includes a blessing, and may include greetings to other people and last-minute thoughts.

The Finis may consist of formal greetings and expressions such as "That's all"; it always has a signature, with or without an address.

The style of epistolary discourse is marked by low verb density, a high proportion of loanwords (including nouns and verbs), and a full range of first-, second- and third-person pronouns. There is frequent reference to the recipient of the letter, invoking his reaction to matters being discussed. No use of descriptive adverbs or medial rhyming has

Because of the variety of discourse types which may be embedded in letters, the epistolary style shows a wide range of sentence-types. In some letters there is a high proportion of container clauses referring to awareness, such as ănh cơnh 'I thought', ănh sây 'I see', něh sinâng 'he thought', and mŏq cô sinâng 'What do you think, Grandfather?'

b. The following example of epistolary discourse is a single letter containing six different embedded discourses. In the discussion below all the semantic domains except in the last discourse are unique to their particular discourses.

Discourse 1 is expository, oriented to the writer's location: 'here' occurs four times, 'room' two times, 'office', 'work together' and 'stay together' once each.

Discourse 2 is expository, discussing the health of the writer's wife. There are four references to his wife, four to the care of her health, two to the improvement in her health.

Discourse 3 is an abbreviated dialogue paragraph consisting only of questions put to the recipients.

Discourse 4 is expository and has to do with business matters in connection with trips another Chrau was to make. Sums of money are mentioned five times, 'money' occurs three times, while Nh., the Chrau in question, is mentioned twice by name and referred to once by pronoun.

Discourse 5 is hortatory and concerns the desire of certain people to have a Chrau to work with them. The place as well as 'a Chrau to return' are mentioned twice.

Discourse 6, also hortatory, concerns the writer's plans for the future: 'return' occurs twice, 'don't want to stay any longer' once.

The paragraphing given in the text hereafter differs

slightly from that of the original. The writer occasionally used a dash instead of starting a new line, presumably to save paper. In addition, three paragraph breaks are made here to show logical paragraphs when there is participant change.

In respect to loanwords the writer is a purist: the letter contains only 15 Vietnamese words and one English word. A letter only one-sixth longer by another Chrau of comparable schooling and ability has 31 Vietnamese words. The writer of the present letter likes to invent new (Chrau) words when there is no Chrau equivalent, while in the same circumstances the other writer uses Vietnamese words. Still other Chrau fall between these two extremes. The orthography of Vietnamese loans in epistolary discourse is worthy of note. Three loans were respelled in Chrau: twâng, chǐch, yiêt. The following words need no respelling in Chrau but their tone marks were omitted: thư hai, hễ, chắc, cờ, Bắc-sĩ. The following likewise need no respelling but their Vietnamese tone marks were written in: dặc-biệt, diện-tin, phong-tục, dờ, văn-phòng, chợ, trại-tạm-cư.[22]

    c. Here follows our sample text:

Setting

Nhatrang, năr 9, khay 3, 1975
          day   month

Păng   moq   un   cô,
greet visit grandmother grandfather

---

[22]The high tone (´) and the low-rise or low-stopped tone (֖) were consistently written in; the low-nonstopped tone was written once and omitted once in a respelled word. The mid-rise tone (~ and ') was omitted twice and written once. Consistency in omitting the high tone and writing in the low-rise or low-nonstopped tone may reflect Chrau intonation patterns (cf. Dorothy Thomas, 1965: 9).

Introduction

Yăh   boc   hâng?   Tăm-vatom u   nŏq yăh vui   hâng?
good   well no?   meet   at there good happy no?

Nucleus

Discourse 1:

Ănh   gĕh   hao   heq   năr thư hai   lor   canŏq   tât
I   have go-up here day Monday before like-that arrive

lôch du twâng.   U   heq khoi dŭh dân XL,   bây me   măng
enough one week   At here also hot like XL   and just night

nđau gĕh   mi du   simmron.
last have rain one shower

    Ôi   nđau   gĕh K bây M tât   moq ănh du   măt,
    morning yesterday have K and M arrive visit me   one time

ănh khoi iau khây nĕh saq sên văn-phồng me.
I   also led them go   see office new

    U   nhi me nŏq   vu   an ănh bây si-ur siklô Banker
    at house new that people let me   and wife husband

ôp vrŭq simơ du lâm côt (du lâm côt vlăh pe). Ănh văt
do work same one cl. room one cl. room cut three   I   bring

 lŭh sirăq Yăng bây yiêt sirăq phong-tục u   nŏq.
forth paper John and write paper customs at there

    Vrêq u   heq khây nĕh ayh tăm-vatom 2 dâq / l twâng.
    now at here they only   meet   2 time 1 week

Ayh 2 twâng lăm ănh hôm u nhi nŏq cô đặc-biệt ăp   năr
only 2 week when I   still at home so   special every day

ca   mva   tŏq.
like year before

U   heq   vu   an ănh gŭq simơ bây S (Nùng) bây
at here people let me stay same with S   and

cô   C (Chăm).
grandfather C

Discourse 2:

May mo   un cô   gĕh vơu ngwân diêt   an
thanks grandmother/father have pray beg constantly for

si-ur ănh. Twâng lor nĕh khoi gĕh đơ ndêt wŏq, bây
wife my   week before she also have better bit more and

khoi gĕh saq chĭch diêt ăp năr. Lor a   saq ănh
also has gone injection always every day   before of go   I

khoi gĕh pân nĕh vâng ôp păch lây cồ canjâq, nggâm
also have advised her don't do thing any which heavy   and

hê gĕh ji lây nŏq wĭnh Ng điện-tin an ănh gưt dê
if have sick any so ask Ng telegraph let me know easy

ănh sĭq   lawân. Ănh sinâng Vap Gŭn   cơ gŏt
I   return immediately I   think Father Holy continually

an nĕh du năr du camhlăng. Chăc u mơch tiêng khay
let her one day one strong Probably at near tail month

heq ănh iau nĕh jưr Saigon dê saq vlam băc-si du dâq
here I take her down Saigon easy go meet doctor one time

wŏq.
more

Discourse 3:

Un cô   sĭq vlâq palây Nhuôn u tiêng
grandmother/father return back place Vietnam at tail

khay 3 heq gal hâng? Bây, gĕh chăng lơ   mê
month 3 here right ?   and have hear over mother

un   de   lŭh   a   nhi   ji   hôm?
grandmother poss. exit from house sick yet

Discourse 4:

    Lor a   hao   N.T., ănh gĕh sên jên 5000đ   cồ
    before of go-up Nhatrang I   have seen money   which

ănh hôm jơ, ănh sây hôm 2000đ, (3000đ si-ur ănh gĕh nham
I   still keep I   see still   wife my have borrow

saq chơ en) nŏq ănh dơp 2000đ tâu Nh. chĕq nĕh saq mơq
go market past so   I   give   to Nh. to him go visit

    Trại-tạm-cư Cẩm Tân. (Lăm jên nŏq lĕq nŏq nanh
refugee-settlement   when money that gone so   we

song jên cồ   gĕh nham 3000đ tĭq wŏq.)
repay money which have borrow   that more

    Ănh gĕh nhai sĭq vrŭq heq bây Ng. Ior a   ănh
    I   have talk about work this with Ng. before of   I

saq. Ănh may mo Siđăch sây nĕh khoi nhai panh khây lăm   cồ
go   I   thank Lord see he also say say pl. time which

ranang nŏq nĕh saq bây Nh. tâu gatŭq nŏq. Ănh hơn   lŭng
free   so he go with Nh. to place that   I   rejoice very

păch nŏq.
thing that

Discourse 5:

    Wĭnh vơu ngwân an gĕh du   mvu Chrau sĭq Tân Phú,
    ask pray beg let have one person Chrau return Tân-Phú

khây nĕh u nŏq khây nĕh nhâng-bâng cơnh gĕh du   mvu
they at there they   truly   want have one person

Chrau sĭq u nŏq.
Chrau return at there

Discourse 6:

Nŏq,   chắc   2 ha 2½ twâng wŏq ănh sĭq,   ănh đăng
so   probably   or   week more I return   I   not

cơnh gŭq jŏq dông wŏq phŭng vưr   tachăch trong en
want stay long more more fear gaur (VC's) snap road   then

sĭq đăng gĕh.
return not able

Conclusion

Gŭq yăh ơ!   Nanh lawân   căh tât   un
stay good *imp.*   we always remember to grandmother

cô.   Wĭnh an ănh pân   moq si-ur siklô   pôp
grandfather ask let me advise greet wife husband older sib.
Bruce Grayden nggâm Dick.
      and

Ngwân Vap Gŭn lawân   tê   văt tât năr Nĕh sĭq.
beg Father Holy always keep carry till day He return

Finis

Son

TRANSLATION

Nhatrang, March 9, 1975

Greetings to you.

Are you well? Are the meetings there good and happy?

I came up here last Monday so that tomorrow it will be a whole week. It's hot like XL here, and just last night it rained a little.

Yesterday morning K. and M. came to visit me a bit, and I took them to see the new office.

At that new house they let me and Mr and Mrs Banker work together in one room (one room cut into three). I am translating John and writing a paper on customs there.

They are only meeting two times a week here now. Only the two weeks when I was still at home was it special every day like last year.

They let me stay together with S. (the Nung) and Mr C. (the Cham).

Thanks for praying all the time for my wife, last week she was also a bit improved and she also goes for injections every day. Before leaving I also advised her not to do anything heavy and if she is sick at all to ask Ng. to telephone me and let me know so I can return immediately. I think the Holy Father is continually making her stronger each day. Probably the end of this month I'll take her to Saigon to see the doctor once more.

You'll return to Vietnam the end of March, right? And have you heard about your mother getting out of the hospital yet?

Before coming up to Nhatrang I saw that the 5000đ which I am taking care of still has 2000đ (3000đ of it my wife borrowed to go to market), so I handed 2000đ to Nh. so he could go visiting at the Cầm Tân refugee settlement. (When that money is gone, we'll repay the 3000đ which we had borrowed.)

I talked about this with Ng. before I left. I thank the Lord I see he also said when he is free he will go there with Nh. I'm very glad about that.

Please pray for a Chrau to return to Tân Phú, they really want to have a Chrau come back here.

So probably in two or two and a half weeks more I'll return, I don't want to stay any longer for fear the VC's will cut the road and then I can't return.

Stay well! We always remember you. Let me greet Mr and Mrs Bruce Grayden and Dick.

May the Holy Father take care [of you?] till He returns.

Son.

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