THE PARAGRAPH LEVEL IN CHRAU[1]

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1. INTRODUCTION

Chrau paragraphs lie in the middle of the grammatical hie-
rarchy, between the discourse level (Dorothy Thomas, 1978) and
the sentence level (David Thomas, manuscript). This paper owes

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much to Longacre (1976) and Beekman (1978) for their contri-
butions to the analysis of narrative paragraphs, and to Jones
(1977) for her discussion of expository texts in English.

Three types of paragraphs which have been identified in
Chrau are narrative, descriptive (situation or concept) and
volitional. These paragraph types differ in their kind of
time (sequential vs. non-sequential), and in the degree of
specificity of the situation, time, or participants being
described. Volitional paragraphs have not yet been thoroughly
analyzed, but they seem to have much in common with descrip-
tive paragraphs, with the added dimension of imperative mood.
Theoretically there could also be procedural paragraphs, that
is, "do this....., then do this....., then do that....." but
in Chrau there is rarely anything of this sort above the sen-
tence level. There may be a cultural reason for this, since
in a face to face society one learns by repeated observations,
not so much by verbalization as in a highly complex society.
So in this study, only narrative and descriptive paragraphs
will be discussed.

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who patiently taught us their language, especially the ones
who recorded the texts used for this analysis.

The values of the letters in Chrau are the same as their
equivalents in Vietnamese quốc-ngũ, except that q stands for
a glottal stop, j is a voiced palatal stop, d is a voiced
alveolar stop, and there are more short vowels (marked with ˇ)
than in Vietnamese.

	Specific situation and time	Non-specific situation and time
Sequential time (non-thematic)	Narrative	(Procedural)
Non-sequential time (thematic)	Situation Descriptive (Volitional)	Concept Descriptive (Volitional)

Figure 1: Paragraph types

Narrative paragraphs are oriented to a point in time (past), with a sequential ordering (unless special formulae are used).

Descriptive paragraphs can be in past, present, future or general time, but without sequential ordering. Situational descriptive paragraphs are oriented to a point in time or a stretch of time, as pŏh mvȏq lawȃn 'ever after', but concept descriptive paragraphs are in general time. Situational descriptive paragraphs also have specific participants or situations, such as ȃnh ȏp canŏq 'I do like that' or nȇh ȏp canŏq 'he does like that', whereas concept descriptive paragraphs are more general, as vu ȏp canŏq 'people do like that' or vȏn ȏp canŏq 'we (incl.) do like

that'. Aside from these formal characteristics, there is little difference in the development of the two kinds of descriptive paragraphs, so they will be treated together.

The identification of paragraph types was found useful for the segmentation of larger discourses. For instance, introductions and conclusions of narratives tend to be composed of descriptive paragraphs rather than narrative paragraphs.

2. NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS

A narrative paragraph represents one chunk of action (plus possible flashbacks or descriptions) within a discourse. It is a unit in itself with a nucleus and with identifiable borders of setting and final margin.

Narrative is characterized by temporal sequence, so the time line is central to narrative as the theme is central to non-narrative. As in narrative discourses without plot, narrative paragraphs frequently lack some of the ingredients of plot; or if there are several sub-plots in a narrative, various parts of different larger plots may be contained in one paragraph. What is a problem for a protagonist may be the resolution to a problem for his antagonist.

2.1 THE SETTING

The initial margin of the narrative paragraph is the setting. Beekman (1978) has found that there is a natural prominence within narrative, with each effect being more prominent than its cause. So the setting is normally the least prominent part of the paragraph.

The setting may consist of just a time margin in the first
sentence of a paragraph, or it may consist of up to several
sentences, depending on the amount of prominence given to the
constituents of the setting.

The setting gives the orientation of the paragraph, stating
a change in time, location, participants, or activity. Usually
there is a change in more than one of these, and any one can be
given more prominence than the others.

Methods for increasing the prominence of the constituents
of the setting are the use of particles aheq, phǎp and 〈 en
(nŏq)〉 (probably all of these could be glossed 'and then');
the use of echo clauses; fronting; lengthy descriptions and
'don't know wh- ' phrases.

With aheq, prominence is usually given to the change of par-
ticipant. This participant is usually responding to the previous
participant, either by speech, feeling, or obedience. Aheq im-
plies a bit of contra-expectancy and often occurs in combinations
with nhâng 'truly'. (Some speakers use nhâng by itself instead
of aheq, others use the two words interchangeably.) In Prau Jike,
the story about the Six Brothers, about one third of the para-
graphs begin with aheq. The occurrence of aheq accelerates to-
wards the end of the story.

Ex. 1. ...vap nĕh sŏh ya.
      Aheq prau ndu con nĕh sâ̆y ŭnh sa kwa...

    ...*their father set fire to the grass.*
    His six children saw the fire was burning very hard...

Phǎp also gives prominence to the change of participant, but
it only occurs introducing speech by the new participant, not
his actions.

Ex. 2. ...chẽq ồm   vri   ồm   ntẽh võq en hồm.

Phặp Cồ GaNhừt panh, "Pặch n'hya.'.."

...*made the place and earth stink.*

Then Cồ GaNhut said, "What...

The class ⟨ en (nõq) ⟩ , that is, the pàrticles en, en nõq,
en kê, ncai, mõh, en mõh, mõh ncai, occur most frequently with
a change of participant, but also fairly often with a change of
activity, only occasionally with a change of time. En by itself
almost never occurs with a change of location but must be com-
bined with other particles (cf. ex. 14). Mõh seems to be dia-
lectal, as the 36 occurrences were all by three speakers, two
thirds occurring in only two texts out of 16 narrative texts.

Echo clauses provide tail-head linkage with the previous
paragraph, almost exclusively indicating change of location,
occasionally change of activity. The echo usually has en nõq
after it.

Ex. 3. ...nẽh ồp nẽh sa. Ồp sa en nõq nẽh vĩq dừng mặng...

...*they cooked and ate. After eating they slept during
the night.* (change of activity)

Ex. 4. ...Nẽh saq sĩq tu nõq.

Nẽh saq sĩq tu nõq nẽh vlam cồ ồh nẽh...

...*They returned there. Returning there, they met their
brother...* (change of location)

Fronting may occur with any constituent of the setting to
be made prominent. This is particularly noticeable with

time phrases, as sometimes there is no special lexical marker
added (ex. 5). Normal word order is SVO Time/Location. If a
change of participant is in the subject slot, he can be fronted
by adding aheq after the subject (ex. 6). The subject may or
may not be repeated after aheq.

Ex. 5. ...nĕh êq gủt ồp nsao. ·
         Căh ồi nĕh saq wỗq...

         ...he didn't know what to do.
         Early the next morning he went again...

Ex. 6. ...nĕh adỗh nĕh.
         Yau aheq nĕh chăng...

         ...he (the orphan) was singing.
         The tiger heard...

Lengthy descriptions give very strong prominence to a changed
item. In the following setting, a new character is being intro-
duced, and he is the hero.

Ex. 7. ...Nhủng aheq, nĕh du lâm con ỗh pửt nỗq, con prau nỗq, nĕh
         gửn nĕh gủt trong nĕh de.
         Aheq nĕh...

         ...*Then the youngest brother, the sixth child, he was magic
         and knew what to do.*
         Then he...

Sometimes a stereotyped phrase 'don't know wh-' is used to
heighten the suddenness of a new participant's appearance. A sudden
appearance may involve time and location, as well as the partici-
pant, in the setting (ex. 8, 9, 12).

Ex. 8. ⎧ Canđaq nŏq, đăng gưt u lẫy, a nŏq a heq
       ⎩ crow that not know where from there from here

păr tẫt nŏq ⎫ păh cờ plai pa-oq nŏq
fly arrive there ⎭ cut fruit mango that

      That crow, who knows from where it came, flew up and cut that mango...

Ex. 9. ⎧ Năr nŏq, đăng gưt vri nŏq u lẫy ⎫ chaq nŏq...
       ⎩ day that not know where where not at any ⎭ demon that

    That day, who knows from where, that demon...

Completely unmarked settings are rare:

Ex. 10. ⎧ Vap căh a đi, ⎫ vằt piêng saq wŏq...
        ⎩ father awake in morning ⎭ carry rice go again

    The father woke up in the morning and took some rice and went again...

Multiple markings are more common:

Ex. 11. ⎧ En nŏq căh ta-au... ⎫
        ⎩ after that awake tomorrow ⎭

    Then early the next day... (particles plus time phrase)

Ex. 12. ⎧ Něh saq sĭq, aheq đăng gưt nsao... ⎫
        ⎩ he go return then not know why ⎭

    He returned, then who knows why... (echo, <u>aheq</u>, and 'not know' phrase)

Ex. 13. ⎧ Con la-đi aheq vu vanŏh vu de.
        ⎩ child orphan front. anyone wise anyone

Chơ-bô²   vu   gala   ca   něh,   mà   vu   chŭt. ⎞
truly   anyone   stupid   like   him   but   anyone   dead ⎠

> *The orphan child was smart. Stupid people in his shoes
> would be dead.* (fronting plus a long description)

2.2 THE NUCLEUS

The nucleus of a narrative paragraph contains an activity.
An activity can be loosely defined as an action and/or dialogue.
Normally the nucleus is a stimulus-response chain (cf. Beekman
1978), with each response the stimulus of the following response.
Any of the ⟨ en (nŏq) ⟩ class (cf. 2.1) can be optionally used to
introduce a response. Phăp can also be used if the response is
speech.

Aheq usually indicates a break in the natural prominence of
succeeding responses, either giving extra prominence to a re-
sponse or balancing two actions (for the latter usage, some spea-
kers use còn).

In Prau Jike, almost every time the children escape their
father's trap in the jungle and the father realizes they have
returned, his emotional reaction of anger is marked with aheq.
And in the same text aheq sometimes marks contra-expectancy or
obedience (perhaps the obedience is slightly unexpected).

In the following example, two actions are given equal impor-
tance by aheq:

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²This is a Vietnamese word. A general rule of thumb for iden-
tifying Vietnamese words in the text is that any words with the
tone marks ´ ` ~ ? are Vietnamese, with the exception of final
particles and cŏ which have ` in Chrau to indicate de-emphasis.

Pertinent sections in long examples are enclosed in large
parentheses.

Ex. 14. En   nŏq   ŏh pŭt   nĕh nŏq pĭq cồ la
         after that youngest child he   that pick part. leaf

tung trŏh tu tĕh,   la   tung nĕh jŭr   wŭr   wŭr
tung drop to earth   leaf tung it   go down whirr whirr

wŭr   tu   tĕh. ⎛ Aheq nĕh nhŭp   chhe   tronh,   nĕh
whirr to   earth ⎝ then he   take string loincloth he

tămvuồt, nĕh yar   khẫy   pồp   nĕh jŭr   lĕq tu
tie   he   lower pl. older sibl.   his down all to

tĕh. ⎞⎛Aheq nĕh pĭq   cồ   la   tung, nĕh hao   gŭq
earth⎠⎝then he   pick part. leaf tung   he   go up sit

vlồ la   tung nĕh jŭr   khoi a   pồp   nĕh wŏq.⎞
on   leaf tung he   go down also to older sibl.   his also⎠

En   nĕh pandồp pồp   nĕh. En   nŏq prau ndu
then he   save   older sibl. his   after that six   person

pồp ŏh   nĕh   saq   sĭq.
older-ygr.   they go   return

*After that the youngest brother picked a tung leaf and
dropped it to the ground. The tung leaf went whirr! whirr!
whirr! to the ground.* And then (one)*, he took the loin cloths
and tied them together and let his brothers down to the earth.*
And (two)*, he picked a tung leaf, got up and sat on the tung
leaf, and also went down to his brothers. So he saved his
brothers. And after that the six brothers went home.*

Although the two actions of saving his brothers and saving him-
self could not be simultaneous or even reversed, they were, in
a sense, independent of each other and equally important.

More of the stimulus-response chain is carried within speech
than in non-speech (but see examples below). Interruptions may

be descriptions, flashbacks, asides or logical explanations.

    a. Description of a participant may interrupt the chain:

Ex. 15. En   còˋ ur nhai nhãng   canŏq,   nŏq Cô Nhưt Cô Nhŏq
        after women talk truly like-that so Cô Nhưt Cô Nhŏq

wŏng   wŏng lĕq sŭng nhi, wŏng lĕq păch nŏq păch heq
search search all in house search all thing that thing this

wŏng choˊh vlam, nhŭp còˋ gasiêr gasiêr sĕh nŏq, tong   glao
search neg. find take   straw   straw wine that stick bamboo

nŏq. Cô Nhưt Cô Nhŏq khlôm u nŏq, khlôm phưtlưt talŭh Cô
that Cô Nhưt Cô Nhŏq blow in that blow suddenly out   Cô

Nsêt nŏq, lŭh gayh tamun,   nŏq lŭh thiêt yãh   rom
Nsêt that out become person   so out truly good   handsome

lŭng klô nŏq,   rom   thăng-tay.
very man that handsome extremely.

     After the women really said that, Cô Nhưt Cô Nhŏq
searched, he looked all through the house, he looked in this
and that but didn't find a thing, took the straw, the wine
straw made of a long slender bamboo. Cô Nhưt Cô Nhŏq blew in
it, and as he blew, suddenly out popped Cô Nsêt, became a man.
(He really came out a handsome man, extremely handsome.)

    b. Flashbacks tend to be short, as well as infrequent (cf.
ex. 16).

    c. Asides, that is, comments by the narrator, tend to be
'now what could he do?'

Ex. 16. ...Nĕh moˋi nhũng   cô ntŭng   cô npho   cô
        he invite pl.   official   official   important

       nchu nca
       people

iĕt   lôch   lĕq,   đằng wàng tât nŏq. ⎛aside: Vrêq mŏq ôp
that   enough all   properly come there ⎝   now what do

lo? ⎞ ⎛flashback: A   vrêq mà   sau   nĕh hòi   nŏq
part.⎠ ⎝   from now but son-in-law his time that

tŏh-kiêt-tŏh-hờr,⎞ ⎛description: mà   vrêq   sau   nĕh
pimply-itchy   ⎠ ⎝   but now   son-in-law his

nên-nõi.   ⎞ Mà vrêq nõi pôp ŏh sŭc palây nŏq, păch
become-strong ⎠ but now all brothers place place that thing

vu   định ôp patau thế nĕh...
people decide do king instead him

    ...He invited all those officials and important people
to come there properly. (aside: Now what in the world could he
do?) (flashback: Previously his son-in-law was all pimply and
itchy) (description: but now he had become strong.) Now all the
people of that place decided to make the son-in-law king instead
of him...

    d. Interruptions for logical explanations are not very common
in narrative paragraphs. Explanations of normal situations natural-
ly put the reason before the result, which is also the usual time
sequence, so they do not interrupt the time line. But explanations
of contra-factual or hypothetical situations do interrupt the time
line.

Ex. 17. ...Nĕh panh, "Nau,   may tung   un   a   vôq,
             she said grandchild you carry grandmother at head

chăng, nau." Êq   them tung a   vôq ⎛ mà   nếu nĕh
hear grand child not willing carry at head⎝ but if   he

tung a   vôq yau aheq yau krửn nĕh. Nŏq nĕh êq
carry at head tiger   tiger pounce him   so   he   not

them   tung   a   vôq \ něh panh chěq něh tung a lûr...

willing carry at   head/ he   said let   him   carry behind

...She said, "Grandchild, you carry me in front, hear?"
He wouldn't carry in front, (if he carried in front, the tiger
would pounce on him, so he wouldn't carry in front.)   He said
to let him carry behind...

2.3 THE FINAL MARGIN

The final margin of a narrative paragraph can be a comment
on the paragraph (a summary or verbalization of the significance
of the activity) or else an introduction to the next paragraph
(which will be repeated as an echo clause). Both of these can
occur in one margin (cf. ex.14): the comment 'So he saved his
brothers' actually belongs to the first activity; then there is
an introduction to the next paragraph. Sometimes the final margin
includes a statement of the completion of the activity (ex.18).

Ex. 18.   ...Aheq var   ndu   pôp ŏh   mŭyh   chhŏng

          then two people   older-yger. sibl. clear finish

en   saq   sĭq.

then go   return

          ...Then the two brothers finished clearing the field
and went home.

Sometimes the final margin merges with the setting of the
following paragraph, as in ex. 18 where the change of location
seems to be tied phonologically to the preceding paragraph but
relates to the following one (which does not have an echo
clause).

3. DESCRIPTIVE PARAGRAPHS

As already mentioned, there are two types of descriptive paragraphs. The development of the theme is quite similar in both of them so they will be discussed together. Both depend on logical relationships rather than following a time-line.

In Chrau, the first or sometimes the second sentence usually contains the paragraph theme. Occasionally the theme may be at the end of the paragraph. Not infrequently a higher level theme (discourse) occurs at the end of a paragraph. If there are both a paragraph theme and a discourse theme at the end of the paragraph, the discourse theme will be last. Sometimes the theme occurs both at the beginning and at the end of the paragraph (cf. ex. 29 and 30).

Descriptive paragraphs may be analyzed into "scripts" (Jones 1977),[3] which are the <u>relationships</u> between a theme and its

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[3]Jones on Schank: "They define scripts as 'a <u>preformed</u> sequence of actions that constitute the natural order of a piece of knowledge' (Schank et al. 1975:3). A script serves 'to fill in the gaps in a causal chain when they can't be inferred just by themselves' (ibid.). Scripts are the repeatable events, sequences whose component parts a person could predict from many previous experiences with them." (Jones 1977:116). Some scripts are universal, others culturally determined. "Furthermore, in learning a script, we also learn which components of the script are most important to it, and without which it would not be <u>that</u> script. These important components are what I am treating...as theme." (Jones 1977:117). Although Schank et al. applied scripts only to narrative discourse, Jones develops their use as a tool for analysis of expository discourse as well. In the usage of Schank et al., a listing of all possible scripts would be encyclopedic. In Jones' usage, scripts are types of relationships, so they are very limited in number and could be described in a grammar. Schank's script is actually closer to Jones' (and my) theme.

supporting points. Scripts are to paragraphs what inter-clausal
relationships (sometimes called inter-propositional relation-
ships) are to sentences. The script relationships are quite
similar to the inter-clausal relationships (cf. David Thomas,
manuscript) except that so far the list of scripts which have
been found is much more limited. The five scripts found thus far
for Chrau are paraphrase, generic-specific, informal proof, nega-
tive clarification, and comparison-contrast. (Jones found eight
for English.)

A point supporting a theme can itself be a theme with sup-
porting points on a lower level. These sub-themes and their
points can have different relationships to each other from the
main theme and its points. Furthermore, a theme can have several
points on the same level, either having the same or different re-
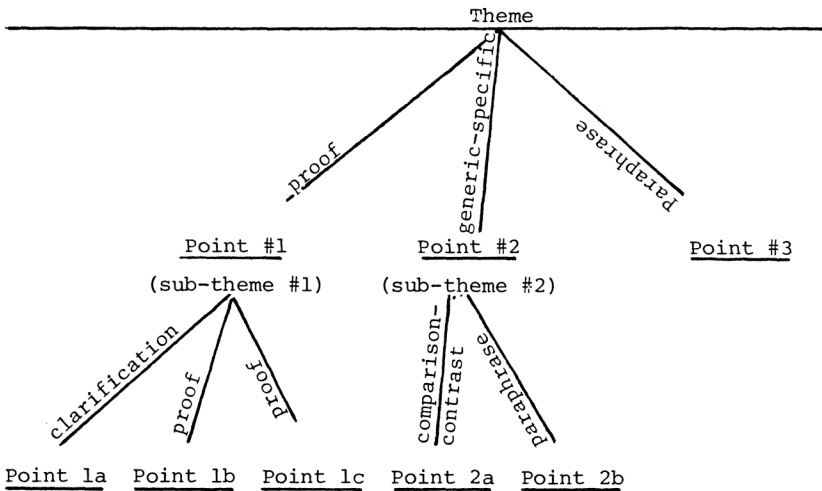lationships to the theme (cf. fig. 2).

Figure 2. Sample theme and point relationships

3.1 THEMES

A nuclear proposition (theme) may be a single articulated
proposition, or may be a composite of the main topic and the
main comment of the various propositions in a paragraph. The
main topic and main comment will generally occur in foregrounded
material, and will recur with greatest frequency throughout the
paragraph.

The main topic and main comment together give the most generic
statement for a paragraph, so are the paragraph theme. However,
not infrequently what looks like the paragraph theme is actually
a restatement of a higher level (discourse) theme. In Chrau,
this higher level theme will often occur in several paragraphs
and may seem to be the climax of each paragraph, but in actual
fact it does not distinguish those paragraphs from each other.
A true paragraph theme will hàve new information not in the other
paragraph themes.

It was possible to identify markers of theme in Chrau, once
having found themes on various levels. The markers don't clearly
distinguish between levels, but certain markers tend to occur more
frequently on one level or another. There are both lexical and
syntactical markers of theme.

a. Lexical markers of theme on the paragraph level are frequent-
ly the same as the markers for paragraph breaks because the theme
is so commonly at the beginning or end of the paragraph. This may
seem circular, but as a matter of fact, there is usually a cluster
of indications of theme and a different cluster of indicators of
paragraph break, so that words like aheq/còn 'as to' and vrêq 'now'
help to indicate both.

Canŏq and thành ra 'therefore' usually mark discourse theme, but canŏq sometimes marks paragraph theme or even lower, while the Vietnamese loan thành ra is rare on the lower levels.

Aheq, còn and en nŏq 'then' usually mark paragraph theme, but sometimes occur on higher or lower levels. Aheq and còn can indicate double themes or two main points of a theme (cf. Dorothy Thomas 1978:271). The Vietnamese loan còn is used more freely in descriptive paragraphs than in narrative paragraphs.

Nŏq 'so' and vrêq 'now' (or the whole class of time words like paheq, vrêq, tù a nŏq, a heq pŏh mvôq, tât 'formerly, now, from then on, from now on, until') operate equally on either the discourse level or the paragraph level.

Markers of very low-level themes include ca va 'like' and thí yụ 'for example (VN). By subordinating what follows, they could almost be called markers of points, not themes.

Coordinating conjunctions hay-là 'or', gâm-và 'and' and nhủng-mà 'but' usually coordinate low-level themes.

b. The syntactic markers of theme are quotation forms, rhetorical questions, topicalization, and repetition. Two or more of these commonly co-occur, with one or two lexical markers marking the same theme.

Quotative forms usually occur with paragraph level themes, though they can also occur on higher and lower levels. On the paragraph level:

Ex. 19. ⎧ Ca   vu mpanh,⎫ gĕh   ŏh   nho'   ŏh,
        ⎩ as they   say ⎭ have younger sib. depend younger sib.

gĕh   con   nhớ   con.
have   child depend child

> *As they say, if you have younger siblings, depend on them,*
> *if you have children, depend on them.*

On the discourse level:

Ex. 20. (Nhai)   vu   ur   vĭq   nŏq.
       (talk) person woman sleep fire

> *Talk about women giving birth*

On a lower level:

Ex. 21. ...Ănh   tê   mê   ănh nŏq, (nhai panh nhai,) ănh
         I   keep mother my   that (talk   say   talk)   I

tê   gĕh du   lâm   proq hay-là gĕh du   lâm   kraih,
keep have one cl.   squirrel or   have one cl. chipmunk

đăng gŏq tŏq mà   gĕh du   lâm sikwây (ănh panh,)
not   much neg. but have one cl. mousedeer (I   say)

sĭq-vlâq mê   ănh tê   ănh, ca   daq   hor   goh-ragoh...
return   mother I   keep my   like water flows regularly

> *...kept my mother, I say, I kept her, if I had one squirrel*
> *or a chipmunk, not much, or a mousedeer I'd say, I'd go back to*
> *mother and take care of her all the time like water flows...*

This quotation construction seems to be the Chrau equivalent of the pseudo-cleft which Jones found on all levels in English, especially on higher levels.

Rhetorical questions also occur on all levels, though Jones found question mainly on the discourse or paragraph levels in

English. In Chrau, there are two kinds of rhetorical questions. The first kind, a real question followed by its answer, tends to mark a discourse or paragraph level theme:

Ex. 22. (Vrêq mõq ănh nhai vrêq?) Thì phăi ănh tê
       now how I talk now   must I keep

mê ănh phăn nào ăm.
mother my part any part.

> *Now what am I going to talk about? About how much I have to take care of my mother.* (discourse level)

Ex. 23. Nếu mê něh cŏ chǔt thì en, (vrêq mõq ŏp
       if mother she dead   final now how do

vrêq?)
now

> *If the mother is dead that's all, now what do you do?* (This is a paragraph level theme, and the rest of the paragraph is the answer.)

The second kind, unanswerable questions, tend to be on the paragraph level or much lower levels.

Ex. 24. ...En nŏq cŏ si-ur gǔq nhi chǔt pangot (camvu
       then   wife stay home dead hungry who

cŏ tê.)(Camvu cŏ prênh n'gal may prênh...)
keep)(who   embarrass not-true you embarrass

> *...Then your wife stays home starving to death, who'll take care of her? Who'll be embarrassed if you aren't?*

The unanswerables are usually of the type mõq ŏp 'what can be done?', camvu...? 'who...?', păch n'hya... 'what could...?'.

Topicalization occurs as a marker of theme in Chrau. This has similarities with focus (cf. Dorothy Thomas 1978:249) yet is different from it. Focus determines what participant can be referred to by n*ĕh* 'third person'. Topicalization gives us the main paragraph topic but not necessarily the participant referred to by n*ĕh*. Topicalization is accomplished by fronting.

Ex. 25.
$\left(\begin{array}{cccccc} \text{Phe} & \text{mõi} & \text{păch} & \text{nõq} & \text{păch} & \text{heq,} \\ \text{rice} & \text{broken} & \text{thing} & \text{that} & \text{thing} & \text{this} \end{array}\right)$
$\begin{array}{cc} \text{nĕh} & \text{vro} \\ \text{they} & \text{buy} \end{array}$

u   chợ...
at   market

      Broken rice, this and that they buy at the market...

In ex. 25 the things the merchants (nĕh) buy in town is the main topic of the paragraph. Although this is the object of the verb, it precedes the subject instead of following the verb. This is also the first sentence of the paragraph.

Ex. 26.
$\left(\begin{array}{cc} \text{Ănh} & \text{heq,} \\ \text{I} & \text{here} \end{array}\right)$
$\begin{array}{cccc} \text{mõq} & \text{ănh} & \text{ðp} & \text{u} & \text{heq?} \\ \text{what} & \text{I} & \text{do} & \text{at} & \text{here} \end{array}$

      Me here, what can I do?

In a content question, the content question word precedes the subject, but in ex. 26 the subject ănh is duplicated before the question word. Heq would normally act as a focus marker, aheq as topicalization marker, but as ănh cannot be focussed, there is no contrast and heq here acts as paragraph topicalizer. Notice also that the topic is contained in a rhetorical question, so the topic is well established at the outset of this paragraph.

Ex. 27. (Vrêq   Nhuôn,   đăng   Nhuôn   nĕh,) nĕh...
        (now   Vietnamese group Vietnamese they) they

Now the Vietnamese, the Vietnamese group, the...

Here (ex. 27) we have a case of both topicalization and focus at the same time. Nhuôn is fronted (topicalized) by repetition and then focussed with the first nĕh. This paragraph is talking about the Vietnamese shopkeepers in contrast to a lieutenant who is the topic of the preceding paragraph.

Repetition (exact or paraphrased) is a very common marker of theme (ex. 27, 28). It is most noticeable in a mainly paraphrased scripted paragraph (see 3.2a). It is not unusual for the theme to be stated both at the beginning and the end of a paragraph, but the repetition is not necessarily at the end.

Ex. 28. Sipăm   nŏq   khoi canŏq   lúc mà me
        sorcerer that also like that time   just

săm   a   mau,   sipăm   huch   alăc takiq. (Nĕh
sacrifice in afternoon sorcerer drink wine little (he

êq   huch alăc gŏq,) nếu nĕh hao   yang,   nĕh êq
not drink wine much) if   he   go-up spirit he   not

gừt   păch lây lĕq...
know thing any all

The sorcerer also, when he has just made a sacrifice in the afternoon, the sorcerer drinks only a little wine. He doesn't drink much wine, for if he went up to the spirits he wouldn't know anything...

3.2 SCRIPTS

Scripts have been mentioned as the relationships between a theme and its points. A theme may have several points, each with a different relationship to the main theme and with its own sub-points. The various points need not be in a linear progression as in a lawyer's brief, but rather they tend to intertwine (ex. 31, 34).

Although ten different scripts were posited for English, only five have been found for Chrau.

a. Paraphrase – the restatement of the theme, either by iden-tical repetition or with slight variations.

b. Generic-specific – the theme is the generic whole, the speci-fics are the points. The generic may or may not be given, but can be inferred from the list of particulars. Description and lists are included under this category.

c. Informal proof – a thesis (theme) plus its arguments and presuppositions. This would include a reason and its result, a purpose and its result and a condition and result.

d. Negative clarification – a thesis (theme) is negated, either as contra-factual, or with a negated antonym or contra-expectancy.

e. Comparison-contrast – two items with their similarities or differences are given. (Jones separates these, but as they tend to intertwine in Chrau, I combine them.) The two items are the theme, the comparisons are the points.

Of these five scripts, informal proof, negative clarification and comparison-contrast tend to have more intricate development because those three have more complicated themes, so there are more possibilities to be developed. In contrast, a paraphrase

paragraph is sometimes filled with just a simple series of
paraphrases and little else.

a. Paraphrase scripts are very common in situation descriptive
paragraphs, less common in concept descriptive paragraphs. The
various paraphrases of the theme could be equally considered
the theme unless they are more specific, but following Jones I
consider the first statement the theme.

    In the following example there are three almost identical
repetitions (paraphrases) of the theme.

Ex. 29. Bŏi-yì canŏq (con văl u heq phăi chịu
       therefore civilians at here must suffer

thiệt-thòi.) Nĕh hŭch n'ham con văl de u heq. Nĕh
losses   he drink blood civilian poss. at here he

ŏp con văl sŭng heq sủn gửt bao-nhiêu sŭng heq,
does civilian in here not know how much in here

bŏi-yi (con văl u heq phăi chịu thiệt-thòi.)
therefore (civilian at here must suffer losses

(Con văl phăi chịu thiệt-thòi bay nĕh lŭng,) nĕh
(civilians must suffer losses from him very) he

panh trung-úy nhăng nĕh, mà Địa-điêm trưởng nhăng
say lieutenant truly he but settlement chief truly

nĕh. (Nĕh ŏp u heq con văl cŭng phăi chịu thiệt-thòi.)
he (he make at here civilians also must suffer losses)

Nĕu voh nhai phŭng nĕh pâm, nĕu nhai phŭng nĕh phát,
if we say fear him beat it say fear he punish

bŏi-yì con văl khananh sây nĕh ŏp canŏq, con văl
therefore civilian we see he do like that civilians

khananh phŭng nĕh kwa.

we   fear   him   much

> Therefore the people here have to suffer losses. He
> oppresses the people here. He does I don't know how much to
> the people here, so the people here must suffer losses. The
> people must suffer losses from him very much. He says he's
> the lieutenant here and the village chief as well. He makes
> the people here have to suffer losses. If we say anything
> we're afraid he'll beat us, if we say anything, we're afraid
> he'll punish us, therefore we people see he does like that,
> we're afraid of him.

There is also a proof script in the above paragraph with
considerable paraphrase of the result: we're afraid of him.

b.   The generic-specific script is common in both situation
descriptive paragraphs and concept descriptive paragraphs.

The following paragraph is the introductory paragraph to
a longer discourse by a woman about her hardships. The theme
of the paragraph is also the discourse theme, so not surpri-
singly it is at the end of the paragraph (although normally the
generic is at the beginning). She has four points (alterna-
tively, point 3 could be considered a sub-point under point 2).

Ex. 30.   Yôông may   heq   chăng, 1. ur   drŭh sŭh mrô

          aunt   your here listen   woman   single-widowed

chăng, tŭ   a   may hao   tu   heq   chăng. Yôông may

listen from from you come to   here listen aunt   your

heq, 2. wâih ji   wâih côr   diêt   yôông may   heq.

here   always sick always ache always aunt   your here

3. Mă   ănh saq   ôp   sŭn   gĕh   saq sa   sŭn gĕh, 4.yôông

   but I   go   work not   able go   eat not able   aunt

may	heq	něh	du	năr	du	camvĭnh	en dờn.	Nhai	panh
your	here	she	one	day	one	old	already	talk	say

nhai,	yờng	may	heq	něh	lŏh-sat	lŭng	may	gừt	mon.
talk	aunt	your	here	she	hard up	very	you	know	nephew

> *Your aunt here, listen, 1. a lonely widow, hear, since you've come here, listen. Your aunt here 2. is always sick and aching, your aunt here. 3. I can't make a living. 4. Your aunt here, she's getting older all the time.* <u>*You could say your aunt here is very hard up, nephew*</u>.

c. The <u>proof</u> script is not necessarily a clearly reasoned out syllogism, but a simple folk reasoning (presuppositions being culturally determined). The following example has four proof scripts (numbered 1-4, intertwined), the first three give the results (points) of the reason (theme), the last gives reason (point) for the result (theme). The theme is that the people don't have any money, which is restated as not having any rice. There are few particles indicating the logical relationships, only <u>canŏq</u> 'like that, therefore', <u>něu</u> 'if' (VN), and <u>bời-yì</u> 'because' (VN). Note also ex. 29.

Ex. 31.	Něh	panh	con văl	u	heq	êq	gěh	jên bạc,
	he	say	civilians	at	here	not	have	money

1. phải	saq	ờp	long	an	něh	iừn.	Buộc	long
must	go	make	firewood	for	him	for	chop	firewood

khananh	phải	ờp,	něu	êq	ờp	êq	gěh	piêng	sa, 2. Něh
we	must	make	if	not	do	not	have	rice	eat	he

bắt-buộc	con văl	phải	vro	đờ	něh.	Êq	vro	đờ
force	civilians	must	buy	things	his	not	buy	things

něh	êq	gěh	piêng	vờn	sa,	con văl	u	heq	êq	gěh
his	not	have	rice	we	eat	civilians	at	here	not	have

bạc   mà   vro   sa.   1a. Něh nhŭp   con vǎl   saq   ôp
silver   buy   eat   he   take   civilians go   make

long   an   něh   iŭn,   buộc   long   con vǎl   phǎi   ôp.
firewood for   him   for   chop   firewood civilians must   do

Lŭc   nŏq   con vǎl   piêng   sa   sŭn   gěh   lò,   2a. něh
time   that   civilians rice   eat   not   have part.   he

bắt-buộc   con vǎl   phǎi   saq   vro   phe   něh   mà   sa.   Něu
force   civilians must   go   buy   rice   his   eat   if

con vǎl   êq   vro   pǎch   něh   nŏq,   êq   gěh   bây   něh,
civilians   not   buy   things his   that   not   have with   him

něh   bắt-buộc   con vǎl   lây   phǎi   vro   lěq   u   něh.
he   force   civilians any   must   buy   all   from   him

3. Con vǎl   u   heq   êq   gěh   su   ao   chuq   sŏq
   civilians   at   here   not   have cloth   clothes wear   wear

lěq,   bôi-yì   con vǎl   u   heq   chǐ   saq   wǒng   jên   mà
all   because   civilians at   here   only   go   hunt   money to

saq   vro   phe   piêng   mà   sa.   4. Něh sǎng   khananh   ôp
go   buy   rice   rice   to   eat   he   causes   us   do

cồng-cộng,   du   khay   něh   cồ   klồ   nŏq,   něh   nhŭp   ôp
publicworks   one   month   he   who   male   that   he   take   do

cồng-cộng   an   něh   iŭn   lěq   mât   nǎr.   Còn   hồm   var
publicworks   for   him   for   all   ten   day   still still two

jât   nǎr   ôp   sŭng   ya-đình   vơn   ôp   canŏq   êq   lồch
ten   day   work in   family   we   work thus   not   enough

sa.   Cái-mà-thiếu-thổn   nŏq   êq   gěh   piêng   sa,   buộc   long
eat   what-the-hardship   that   not   have rice   eat   chop   firewood

phǎi	saq	ð̆p	long	an	něh	iun.
must	go	make	firewood	for	him	for

*He says the people here don't have money, 1. so they
have to make firewood for him. Chopping wood we have to do,
if not, there's no rice to eat. 2. He forces the people to
buy his things. If we don't buy his things, there's no rice
for us to eat. 1a. He takes the people to go make firewood
for him, chopping wood is a must for the people. At that time,
the people didn't have rice to eat, 2a. he forced the people
to have to buy his rice to have anything to eat. If the people
don't buy his things, it doesn't go down with him, he forces
everybody to buy everything from him. 3. The people here don't
have any clothes to wear at all because the people can only
look for money to buy rice to eat. 4. He makes us do public
works, for one month he takes the men to work ten days on
public works for him. There are twenty days left to work for
the family, and like that there isn't enough to eat. What the
hardship is not having rice to eat, we have to go make firewood
for him.*

Theme: We don't have money/rice to eat.

Arguments: 1. (So) he makes us chop wood for him.

2. (So) he makes us buy his things.

3. (So) We don't have any clothes to wear.

4. (Because) we have to work ten days a month on

public works.

d. The negative clarification script is somewhat similar to

Jones' evaluation script. The theme is a thesis plus its nega-

tion, either by negated antonym, contra-expectancy, or contra-

factuality.

This type of script tends to be more emotion charged than

others and the negation or contra-expectancy is sometimes marked

with extra prominence by aheq, mà (VN) or ð̆é (cf. sentences 2

and 3 in ex. 32 and 5 in ex. 33). There may be a slip in the

pronoun usage as well (see discussion below).

In the following example, the theme is that the Vietnamese merchants only pay the Chrau for small cans of corn, though the cans are big. The first sentence gives the detail that the price is only thirty piastres, the next sentence gives the detail that the Vietnamese declare the cans small. Both sentences, however, are saying essentially the same thing, they are paraphrases of the thesis. But the second sentence ends with the negation, introduced by aheq. The next sentence reverses the order, giving the facts and then the contra-expectancy. The final sentence is actually the discourse theme.

Ex. 32. 1. Nhuôn   nĕh   vro   camvlo   khananh,   du   thŭng   ayh
             VN   they   buy   corn   our   one   can   only

pe   jât   ndŏh   ngăn.   Nhuôn   nĕh   vro   khananh   de   panh
three ten   bill   only   VN   they   buy   our   poss.   say

thŭng   nĕh   ken,   2. aheq   thŭng   măq   kwa.   2a. Thŭng   nĕh
can   it   small   ! can   large   very   can   it

gĕh   var   jât   kilô   du   thŭng   nŏq   la.   mà   nĕh   dôp
has   two   ten   kilo   one   can   that   but   (they) give

ayh   cô   pe   jât   ngăn.   ⎛ Nĕh   ôp   canŏq   khananh   êq
only   three ten   only   ⎝ they   do   like that   we   not

cônh   nĕh   gŭq   u   heq   wŏq. ⎞
want   them stay at   here more ⎠

   1. The Vietnamese buy our corn, one can for just 30 piastres. The Vietnamese buy our things saying that the cans are small, 2. but actually the cans are very large. 2a. The cans are 20 kilos each, 1a. but they only give us a mere 30. (Discourse theme) They act like that, we don't want them to stay here any more.

In the above example, in the third sentence the n<u>ĕ</u>h follow-
ing th<u>ŭ</u>ng should indicate that the next n<u>ĕ</u>h will refer to th<u>ŭ</u>ng
'can'; but as a matter of fact it cannot, as dờp can take only
an animate subject. The n<u>ĕ</u>h has to mean the Vietnamese. In
narrative discourse this same sort of slip was found at the
point of highest emotional pitch in a plot.

The following example from the same text is loaded with nega-
tive clarifications. The theme is that the Vietnamese slandered
the lieutenant and then falsely accused the Chrau of doing it.

Ex. 33. 1. Nĕh   nhai   viêm   Cô Var,   2. nĕh   đối-thủa
           they   talk   bad   Lt.   they   falsely accuse

khananh Chrau. 2a. Khananh vi   iủn   nhai   Cô Var   pách
us   we   not   have talk   Lt.   thing

lầy pa. 2. Mà   nĕh   đối-thủa   khananh, 2b. nĕh   panh
any not   but they   falsely accuse us   they   say

Chrau nhai viêm Cô Var. 2c. Nĕh   panh   đăng yăh, nĕh
              talk bad   Lt.   they   speak not   good they

nhai nĕh   panh bầy   Cô Var. 1a.   Đé   nĕh   nhai
talk they say   with Lt.   surprisingly they talk

Cô Var nĕh   panh Cô Var đăng yăh, 2. en   vrêq nĕh   nhai
Lt.   they say   Lt.   not   good   then now   they talk

khananh wŏq. (Vrêq khananh êq   cảnh nĕh   gŭq   sŭng heq
us   more   now   we   not want them stay in   here

wŏq, khananh cảnh nĕh   lŭh   kho̱i a   vi   khananh
more we   want them exit away from place our

heq.)
here

1. They slandered the lieutenant, 2. they falsely accused us Chrau of it. 2a. We didn't say anything at all about the lieutenant, 2. but they falsely accused us, 2b. they said we slandered the lieutenant. 2c. They didn't talk right, they said they were with the lieutenant, they said he was no good! 2. And now they talk about us, too. (Discourse theme) Now we don't want them to stay here any more, we want them to get out of here.

e. The comparison-contrast script compares two or more similar items. Points are the facts about them. Frequently the different items being contrasted are preceded by the loanword còn 'as to'. This type of script is common in the introductory paragraph of larger discourse. The following example, an introductory paragraph, contrasts sacrificing, the spirit ceremony, and making a vow. The first two items are introduced with còn 'as to', and the third one with hay-là 'or' (also Vietnamese). More facts about the first item, introduced by hẽ, are given between the second and third items.

Ex. 34. 1. Còn   vi   vu   tăm-săm   nŏq   thì   vu
            as-to   where   people sacrifice that   person

nào ji   nŏq saq roc   sipăm   vu   săm   du   năng
any sick so   go   call shaman   person sacrifice one   night

du   năr,   ta-au   nŏq lĕq. 2. Còn   ôp   yang   pe
one day   tomorrow so   all   as-to do   spirits   three

năng   pe   năr nĕh lĕq, nŏq palăy   ănh.   1a. Hẽ   vu
night three   day it   all   so   place   my   when   person

nào ji   măq nŏq săm   sŭr hay-là iêr   da   sĕh
any sick big so   sacrifice pig or   chicken   duck wine

đŏ,   păch   nŏq   păch   lôch   lĕq. 3. Hay-là   vu
thing thing that thing enough all   or   person

ŏh   văq.

answer   promise

   1. As to sacrificing, if anyone is sick, he calls the
shaman, they sacrifice for one night and one day, then the next
day it's over. 2. As to a spirit ceremony, in three nights and
three days it's over, in my area. 1a. When anyone is bad sick,
he sacrifices a pig or a chicken or duck or wine, all kinds of
things. 3. Or people make a vow.

Although the third item has no facts given, the following

paragraph is all about it, explaining that people don't do it

much anymore, but perhaps the speaker will do it in the future.

The rest of the discourse is about the first item.

3.3   SAMPLE PARAGRAPH ANALYSIS

   In the following paragraph, the main script is comparison--

contrast, so it has items (the theme) and facts about them (the

points).   The two items being compared are a lieutenant and

three shopkeepers, both marked by cồn.   Facts about the lieu-

tenant are: (1a) he was cruel, and (1b) he took care of the

people (alternatively, these could be considered one fact con-

taining a negative clarification.   There is one main fact about

the shopkeepers, (2a) they just get rich off the people.   There

are two paraphrases of 2a, one a repetition (2a1) and one much

looser, almost to the point of being a generic-specific (2a2).

There is a proof script relationship between 2a1 and 2a1a. (This

script could be analyzed further as containing a negative clari-

fication script, but we are down to the sentence level here).

That it is a proof script is marked by canŏq at the beginning

of 2a1, showing that 2a1 is the result of 2a1a.   The paragraph

concludes with a discourse level theme, also marked with canŏq.

Ex. 35. 1. Còn   Cô Var hơ̆i lŭc   naq   thì panh
             as-to Lt.   time time previously   say

1a. Cô Var nĕh chhắc lŭng canŏq, 1b. nhủng-mà nĕh tê
    Lt.   he   cruel very like-that   but   he   keep

vã̆l.   2. Còn   pe lâ̆m tị̆m heq nĕh gŭq u   heq
civilian   as-to three cl. shop here they stay at here

2a. khoi nĕh   nhở   Chrau khananh. 2a1a. Mà   nĕh   jina,
    also they depend   us   but they rich

vi   gal   mà   nĕh tã̆t heq   mà   nĕh gĕh jên   san
not true but they come here but they have money ?

pà. 2a1. Canŏq   mà   nĕh tã̆t heq nĕh nhở   Chrau
neg.   like-that but they come here they depend

khananh. 2a1b. Nĕh   sĭq   tu   yinh-điê̆ng   heq, nĕh vro
         us   they return to resettlement   here they buy

re,   nĕh   vã̆t   sĭq   tu heq   nĕh tã̆ch mã̆t   bâ̆y
cheap they carry back to here they sell expensive to

khananh. (Canŭq   khananh đã̆ng cởnh nĕh   gŭq u   heq
         us   like-that we   not   want them stay at   here

wŏq.)
more

        1. As to the lieutenant back then, they say 1a. he was
very cruel, 1b. but he took care of the people. 2. As to these
three shops, they stay here and 2a. depend on us Chrau. 2a1a.
But they are rich! And they didn't have any money at all when
they came here. 2a1. So they came here and depend on us Chrau.
2a2. They came to the resettlement village here, they buy things
cheap and come back here and sell them to us expensively. (dis-
course theme) So we don't want them to stay here any more.[4]

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[4]Most of the texts from which the examples in this paper are
taken are available for consultation on SIL microfiches numbers
VD11-82A and VD11-82B. Others are from a University of Oklahoma

Discourse theme: We don't want the shopkeepers here anymore.

Paragraph theme: The lieutenant (took care of us) but the
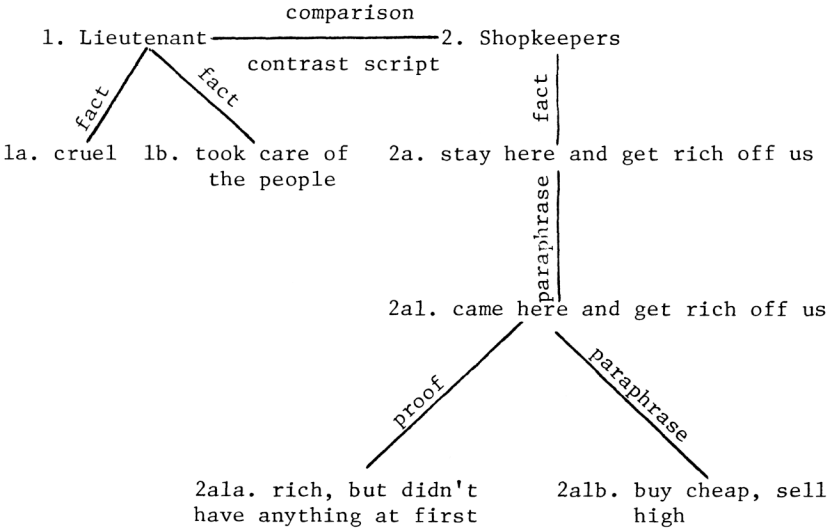shopkeepers (just get rich off us).

Figure 3. Tree diagram of a paragraph (Ex. 35).

computer concordance project. They are listed below with their
microfiche numbers (e.g. A-123) or their concordance symbol (e.g.
AJ).

Nhuồn nĕh vro. CT	(Vietnamese merchants)
Canjầng Canjoi. A-184, BJ	(Canjang and Canjoi)
Chot Caniêt. A-66, BC	(The itchy man)
Jike. AJ	(The wild pigs)
Klăn. AK	(The python)
Klồ Dlu Nsêt	(The mushroom man)
Pa-oq. A-171, AP	(The mango)
Yồch. B-156, AY	(The foolish man)
Rach pađau. A-4	(Instructions)
Tăm-săm. A-35, DS	(Performing a ceremony)
Tê Mê Vap. A-287, EA	(Caring for parents)
Vĭq năq. B-42, DV	(Birth)
Yăq Cồ Var. A-40	(Accusing the lieutenant)
Yồng Mê Nhiêng nhai. A-262, EM	(Mê Nhiêng talks)

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