

THE PARAGRAPH LEVEL IN CHRAU¹

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1. INTRODUCTION

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

¹Chrau is a Mon-Khmer language spoken by about 15,000 people living east to north-east of Saigon, Vietnam.

A computer concordance made on the IMB 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma under Grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation was very helpful for analyzing the function of particles marking paragraph level relationships.

I would like to thank my husband, David Thomas, who made many helpful suggestions on this paper, and also the many Chrau

much to Longacre (1976) and Beekman (1978) for their contributions 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 descriptive 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 sentence 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.

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-ngữ, 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 ~) 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 pǒh mvôq lawân 'ever after', but concept descriptive paragraphs are in general time. Situational descriptive paragraphs also have specific participants or situations, such as ănh ôp canǒq 'I do like that' or něh ôp canǒq 'he does like that', whereas concept descriptive paragraphs are more general, as vu ôp canǒq 'people do like that' or vôn ôp canǒq '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 ahēq, phăp and $\langle \text{en (nŏq)} \rangle$ (probably all of these could be glossed 'and then'); the use of echo clauses; fronting; lengthy descriptions and 'don't know wh-' phrases.

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

Ex. 1. ...vap nĕh sŏh ya.

Ahēq prau ndu con nĕh sây ũnh sa kwa...

...their father set fire to the grass.

His six children saw the fire was burning very hard...

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

Ex. 2. ...chěq ôm vri ôm ntěh vŏq en hôm.

Phăp Cồ GaNhút panh, "Păch n'hya..."

...made the place and earth stink.

Then Cồ GaNhut said, "What...

The class $\langle \text{en (nŏq)} \rangle$, that is, the particles en, en nŏq, en kê, ncai, mŏh, en mŏh, mŏh 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 combined with other particles (cf. ex. 14). Mŏh seems to be dialectal, 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 nŏq after it.

Ex. 3. ...něh ôp něh sa. Ôp sa en nŏq něh vĭq dŭng mǎng...

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

Ex. 4. ...Něh saq sĭq tu nŏq.

Něh saq sĭq tu nŏq něh vlam cồ ồh něh...

...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 gút ôp nsao. .

Căh ôi nĕh saq wŏq...

...he didn't know what to do.

Early the next morning he went again...

Ex. 6. ...nĕh adŏh 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 introduced, and he is the hero.

Ex. 7. ...Nhŭng aheq, nĕh du lâm con ôh pŭt nŏq, con prau nŏq, nĕh gŭn nĕh gút 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 participant, in the setting (ex. 8, 9, 12).

Ex. 8. (Cand̄aq n̄q, đ̄ang ḡut u l̄ay, a n̄q a heq
 crow that not know where from there from here
 p̄ar t̄at n̄q) p̄ah c̄ò plai pa-oq n̄q
 fly arrive there) cut fruit mango that

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

Ex. 9. (N̄ar n̄q, đ̄ang ḡut vri n̄q u l̄ay) chaq n̄q...
 day that not know where not at any) demon that

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

Completely unmarked settings are rare:

Ex. 10. (Vap c̄ah a ôi,) v̄at piêng saq w̄q...
 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 n̄q c̄ah ta-au...)
 after that awake tomorrow)

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

Ex. 12. (N̄eh saq s̄iq, aheq đ̄ang ḡut nsao...)
 he go return then not know why)

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

Ex. 13. (Con la-ôi aheq vu van̄h vu de.
 child orphan front. anyone wise anyone

Chở-bỏ² vu gala ca nẻh, mà vu chửt.)
 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 (nẻq)> class (cf. 2.1) can be optionally used to introduce a response. Phảp 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 response or balancing two actions (for the latter usage, some speakers use cỏn).

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 importance by aheq:

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

Pertinent sections in long examples are enclosed in large parentheses.

Ex. 14. En nǒq ǒh pŭt nĕh nǒq pĭq cò la
 after that youngest child he that pick part. leaf
 tung trǒh 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
 tǎmvuôt, nĕh yar khây pŏp nĕh jŭr lĕq tu
 tie he lower pl. older sibl. his down all to
 tĕh.) (Aheq nĕh pĭq cò la tung, nĕh hao gŭq
 earth) (then he pick part. leaf tung he go up sit
 vló la tung nĕh jŭr khoi a pŏp nĕh wǒq.)
 on leaf tung he go down also to older sibl. his also)
 En nĕh pandŏp pŏp nĕh. En nǒq prau ndu
 then he save older sibl. his after that six person
 pŏp ǒh 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 himself 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 cồ ur nhai nhâng canõq, nõq Cô Nhứt Cô Nhõq
 after women talk truly like-that so Cô Nhứt Cô Nhõq
 wõng wõng lểq sũng nhi, wõng lểq päch nõq päch heq
 search search all in house search all thing that thing this
 wõng chón vlam, nhủp cồ gasiêr gasiêr sễh nõq, tong glao
 search neg. find take straw straw wine that stick bamboo
 nõq. Cô Nhứt Cô Nhõq khlôm u nõq, khlôm phứtlứt talũh Cô
 that Cô Nhứt Cô Nhõq blow in that blow suddenly out Cô
 Nsêr nõq, lũh gayh tamun, nõq lũh thiêr yãh rom
 Nsêr that out become person so out truly good handsome
 lũng klô nõq, rom thãng-tay.
 very man that handsome extremely.

After the women really said that, Cô Nhứt Cô Nhõq 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 Nhứt Cô Nhõq blew in it, and as he blew, suddenly out popped Cô Nsêr, 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. ...Nễh mới những cô ntũng cô npho cô
 he invite pl. official official important
 nchu nca
 people

iết lờch lểq, đàng wàng tất nỏq. (aside: Vrêq mỗq ôp
 that enough all properly come there (now what do
 lo?) (flashback: A vrêq mà sau nễh hời nỏq
 part.) (from now but son-in-law his time that
 tởh-kiết-tởh-hửr,) (description: mà vrêq sau nễh
 pimply-itchy (but now son-in-law his
 nên-nổi.) Mà vrêq nổi pốp ỏh sủc palây nỏq, pách
 become-strong) but now all brothers place place that thing
 vu địnđ ôp patau thế nễh...
 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 naturally 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. ...Nễh panh, "Nau, may tung un a vớq,
 she said grandchild you carry grandmother at head
 chẳng, nau." Êq them tung a vớq (mà nếu nễh
 hear grand child not willing carry at head (but if he
 tung a vớq yau aheq yau krủn nễh. Nỏq nễh êq
 carry at head tiger tiger pounce him so he not

them tung a vōq) nēh panh chēq nēh tung a lūr...
 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 pōp ōh mǔyh chhōng
 then two people older-yger. sibl. clear finish
 en saq sǐq.
 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 relationships between a theme and its

³Jones on Schank: "They define scripts as 'a preformed 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 that 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 relationships) 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, negative clarification, and comparison-contrast. (Jones found eight for English.)

A point supporting a theme can itself be a theme with supporting 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 relationships to the theme (cf. fig. 2).

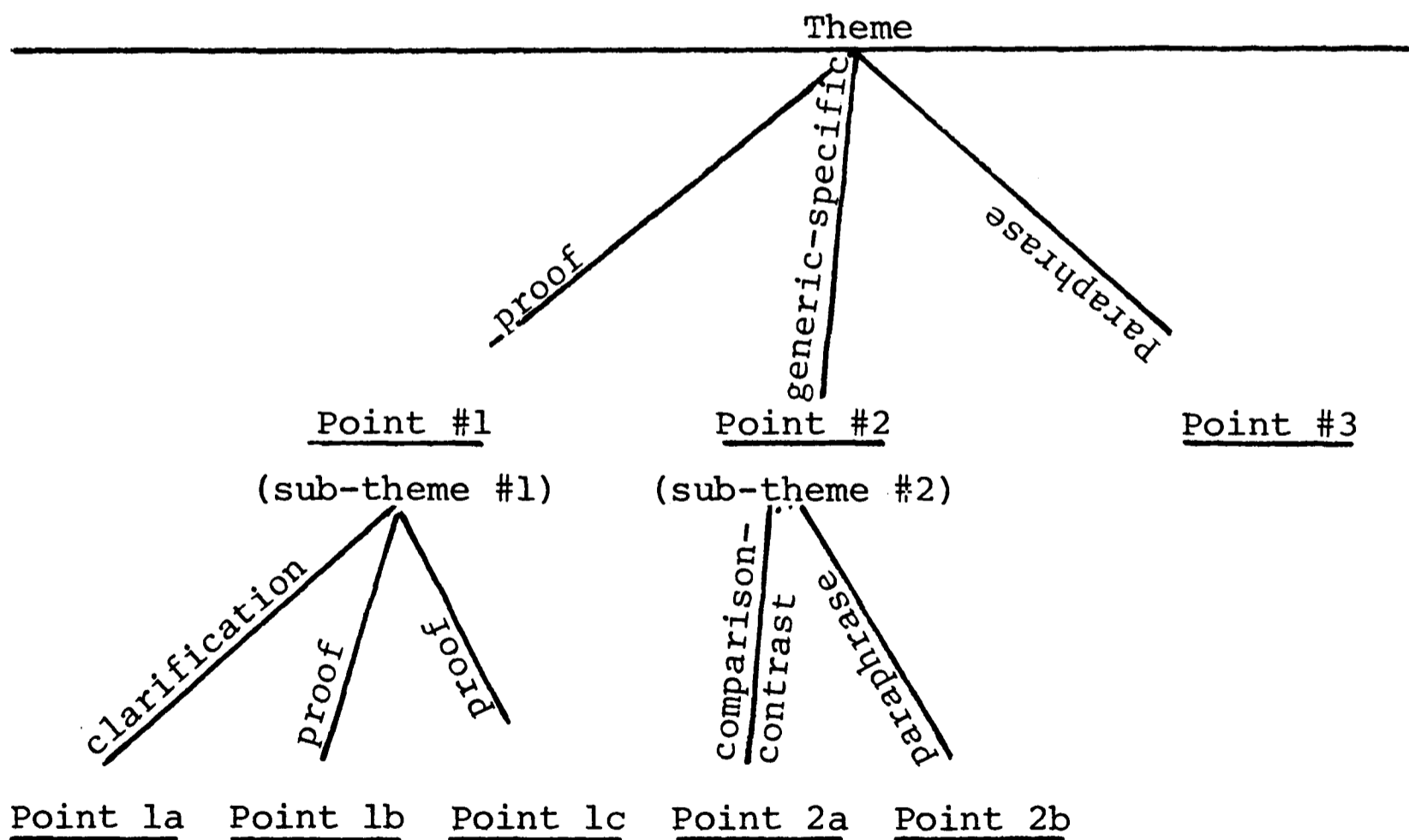


Figure 2. Sample theme and point relationships

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 have 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 frequently 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.

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

Aheq, còn and en nõq '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.

Nõq 'so' and vrêq 'now' (or the whole class of time words like paheq, vrêq, tù a nõq, a heq põh 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 yu 'for example (VN)'. By subordinating what follows, they could almost be called markers of points, not themes.

Coordinating conjunctions hay-là 'or', gãm-và 'and' and nhúng-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,) gẽh òh nõh' òh,
 (as they say) have younger sib. depend younger sib.

gěh con nhỏ 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 vĩq nốq.
 (talk) person woman sleep fire

Talk about women giving birth

On a lower level:

Ex. 21. ...Ănh tê mê ănh nốq, (nhai panh nhai,) ănh
 I keep mother my that (talk say talk) I
 tê gěh du lâm proq hay-là gěh du lâm krai, h,
 keep have one cl. squirrel or have one cl. chipmunk
 đăng gốq tởq mà gěh du lâm sikwây (ănh panh,)
 not much neg. but have one cl. mousedeer (I say)
 sỉq-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 mǒq ănh nhai vrêq?) Thì phải ănh tê
 (now how I talk now) must I keep
 mē ănh phần 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 mē nễh cồ chừt thì en, (vrêq mǒq ôp
 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 nǒq cồ si-ur gũq nhi chừt pangot (camvu
 then wife stay home dead hungry (who
 cồ tê.) (Camvu cồ 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 mǒq ôp '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 něh 'third person'. Topicalization gives us the main paragraph topic but not necessarily the participant referred to by něh. Topicalization is accomplished by fronting.

Ex. 25. (Phe m̄i p̄ach n̄q p̄ach heq,) n̄h vro
 (rice broken thing that thing this) they buy
 u ch̄...
 at market

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

In ex. 25 the things the merchants (n̄h) 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. (Ānh heq,) m̄q ānh ôp u heq?
 (I here) what I do at here

Me here, what can I do?

In a content question, the content question word precedes the subject, but in ex. 26 the subject ānh is duplicated before the question word. Heq would normally act as a focus marker, ahēq as topicalization marker, but as ānh 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 nêh,) nêh...
 (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 nêh. 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 nõq khoi canõq lúc mà me
 sorcerer that also like that time just
 sãm a mau, sipăm huch alăc takiq. (Nêh
 sacrifice in afternoon sorcerer drink wine little he
 êq huch alăc gõq,) nếu nêh hao yang, nêh êq
 not drink wine much) if he go-up spirit he not
 gút păch lây lěq...
 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 identical repetition or with slight variations.
- b. Generic-specific - the theme is the generic whole, the specifics 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. Bỏi-yì canõq (con vǎl u heq phải chịu
 therefore (civilians at here must suffer
 thiệt-thòi.) Nễh hũch n'ham con vǎl đe u heq. Nễh
 losses) he drink blood civilian poss. at here he
 Ớp con vǎl sũng heq sũn gũt bao-nhiều sũng heq,
 does civilian in here not know how much in here
 bỏi-yi (con vǎl u heq phải chịu thiệt-thòi.)
 therefore (civilian at here must suffer losses)
 (Con vǎl phải chịu thiệt-thòi bay nễh lũng,) nễh
 (civilians must suffer losses from him very) he
 panh trung-úy nhãng nễh, mà Địa-điểm trưởng nhãng
 say lieutenant truly he but settlement chief truly
 nễh. (Nễh Ớp u heq con vǎl cũng phải chịu thiệt-thòi.)
 he (he make at here civilians also must suffer losses)
 Nếu vớh nhai phũng nễh pâm, nếu nhai phũng nễh phát,
 if we say fear him beat it say fear he punish
 bỏi-yì con vǎl khananh sây nễh Ớp canõq, con vǎl
 therefore civilian we see he do like that civilians

khananh phũng nẽh 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 surprisingly it is at the end of the paragraph (although normally the generic is at the beginning). She has four points (alternatively, point 3 could be considered a sub-point under point 2).

Ex. 30. Yông may heq chăng, 1. ur drũh sũh mrô
 aunt your here listen woman single-widowed
 chăng, tũ a may hao tu heq chăng. Yông may
 listen from from you come to here listen aunt your
 heq, 2. wăih ji wăih côr diêt yông may heq.
 here always sick always ache always aunt your here
 3. Mả ănh saq ôp sũn gẽh saq sa sũn gẽh, 4.yông
 but I go work not able go eat not able aunt

may heq nẻh du nẻr du camvẻnh en đỏn. Nhai panh
 your here she one day one old already talk say
 nhai, yỏng may heq nẻh lỏh-sat lủng may gủt 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. You could say your aunt here is very hard up, nephew.

c. The proof 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 canỏq 'like that, therefore', nẻu 'if' (VN), and bỏi-yì 'because' (VN). Note also ex. 29.

Ex. 31. Nẻh panh con vẻl u heq êq gẻh jẻn bạc,
 he say civilians at here not have money
 1. phải saq ôp long an nẻh iủn. Buộc long
 must go make firewood for him for chop firewood
 khananh phải ôp, nẻu êq ôp êq gẻh piẻng sa, 2. Nẻh
 we must make if not do not have rice eat he
 bắt-buộc con vẻl phải vro đờ nẻh. Êq vro ãờ
 force civilians must buy things his not buy things
 nẻh êq gẻh piẻng vủn sa, con vẻl u heq êq gẻh
 his not have rice we eat civilians at here not have

bạc mà vro sa. la. Nễnh nhữp con vắl saq Ớp
 silver buy eat he take civilians go make
 long an nễnh iủn, buộc long con vắl phải Ớp.
 firewood for him for chop firewood civilians must do
 Lũc nỏq con vắl piêng sa sủn gễh lò, 2a. nễnh
 time that civilians rice eat not have part. he
 bắt-buộc con vắl phải saq vro phe nễnh mà sa. Nếu
 force civilians must go buy rice his eat if
 con vắl êq vro pắch nễnh nỏq, êq gễh bắy nễnh,
 civilians not buy things his that not have with him
 nễnh bắt-buộc con vắl lắy phải vro lắq u nễnh.
 he force civilians any must buy all from him
 3. Con vắl u heq êq gễh su ao chuq sỏq
 civilians at here not have cloth clothes wear wear
 lắq, bới-yì con vắl u heq chỉ saq wỏng jên mà
 all because civilians at here only go hunt money to
 saq vro phe piêng mà sa. 4. Nễnh sắng khananh Ớp
 go buy rice rice to eat he causes us do
 công-cộng, du khay nễnh cồ klô nỏq, nễnh nhữp Ớp
 publicworks one month he who male that he take do
 công-cộng an nễnh iủn lắq mắt nắr. Còn hỏm var
 publicworks for him for all ten day still still two
 jắt nắr Ớp sủng ya-đinh vớn Ớp canỏq êq lỏch
 ten day work in family we work thus not enough
 sa. Cái-mà-thiếu-thốn nỏq êq gễh piêng sa, buộc long
 eat what-the-hardship that not have rice eat chop firewood

phải saq 8p long an nẽh 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 negation, 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 đé (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 ahēq. 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 nẻh vro camvlo khananh, du thũng ayh
 VN they buy corn our one can only
 pe jât ndỏh ngẫn. Nhuôn nẻh vro khananh de panh
 three ten bill only VN they buy our poss. say
 thũng nẻh ken, 2. ahēq thũng mảq kwa. 2a. Thũng nẻh
 can it small ! can large very can it
 gẻh var jât kilô du thũng nỏq la. mà nẻh dỏp
 has two ten kilo one can that but (they) give
 ayh cờ pe jât ngẫn. (Nẻh ôp canỏq khananh êq
 only three ten only (they do like that we not
 cỏnh nẻh gủq u heq wỏq.)
 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, la. 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 něh following thũng should indicate that the next něh will refer to thũng 'can'; but as a matter of fact it cannot, as dóp can take only an animate subject. The něh 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 negative clarifications. The theme is that the Vietnamese slandered the lieutenant and then falsely accused the Chrau of doing it.

Ex. 33. 1. Něh nhai viêm Cồ Var, 2. něh đối-thừa
 they talk bad Lt. they falsely accuse
 khananh Chrau. 2a. Khananh vi iun nhai Cồ Var pách
 us we not have talk Lt. thing
 lây pa. 2. Mà něh đối-thừa khananh, 2b. něh panh
 any not but they falsely accuse us they say
 Chrau nhai viêm Cồ Var. 2c. Něh panh đấng yăh, něh
 talk bad Lt. they speak not good they
 nhai něh panh bậy Cồ Var. 1a. Đé něh nhai
 talk they say with Lt. surprisingly they talk
 Cồ Var něh panh Cồ Var đấng yăh, 2. en vrêq něh nhai
 Lt. they say Lt. not good then now they talk
 khananh wốq. (Vrêq khananh êq cớnh něh gũq sũng heq
 us more now we not want them stay in here
 wốq, khananh cớnh něh lũh khỏi 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 tãm-sãm nõq thì vu
 as-to where people sacrifice that person
 nào ji nõq saq roc sipãm vu sãm du nãng
 any sick so go call shaman person sacrifice one night
 du nãr, ta-au nõq lěq. 2. Còn ôp yang pe
 one day tomorrow so all as-to do spirits three
 nãng pe nãr nẽh lěq, nõq palây ănh. la. Hẽ vu
 night three day it all so place my when person
 nào ji mǎq nõq sãm súr hay-là iêr da sěh
 any sick big so sacrifice pig or chicken duck wine
 đồ, pǎch nõq pǎch lôch lěq. 3. Hay-là vu
 thing thing that thing enough all or person

ǫh vǎq.

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 còn. Facts about the lieutenant are: (1a) he was cruel, and (1b) he took care of the people (alternatively, these could be considered one fact containing 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 clarification script, but we are down to the sentence level here). That it is a proof script is marked by canǫq at the beginning of 2a1, showing that 2a1 is the result of 2a1a. The paragraph concludes with a discourse level theme, also marked with canǫq.

- Ex. 35. 1. Cờn Cờ Var hời lủc naq thì panh
 as-to Lt. time time previously say
- 1a. Cờ Var nẻh chhắc lủng canỏq, 1b. nhủng-mà nẻh tẻ
 Lt. he cruel very like-that but he keep
- vảl. 2. Cờn pe lỏm tịm heq nẻh gủq u heq
 civilian as-to three cl. shop here they stay at here
- 2a. khoi nẻh nhỏ Chrau khananh. 2ala. Mà nẻh jina,
 also they depend us but they rich
- vi gal mà nẻh tất heq mà nẻh gẻh jẻn san
 not true but they come here but they have money ?
- pà. 2a1. Canỏq mà nẻh tất heq nẻh nhỏ Chrau
 neg. like-that but they come here they depend
- khananh. 2alb. Nẻh sỉq tu yinh-điẻng heq, nẻh vro
 us they return to resettlement here they buy
- re, nẻh vất sỉq tu heq nẻh tấch mắt bắy
 cheap they carry back to here they sell expensive to
- khananh. (Canỏq khananh đắng cớnh nẻh gủq u heq
 us like-that we not want them stay at here
 wỏq.)
 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. 2ala. 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

⁴Most 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).

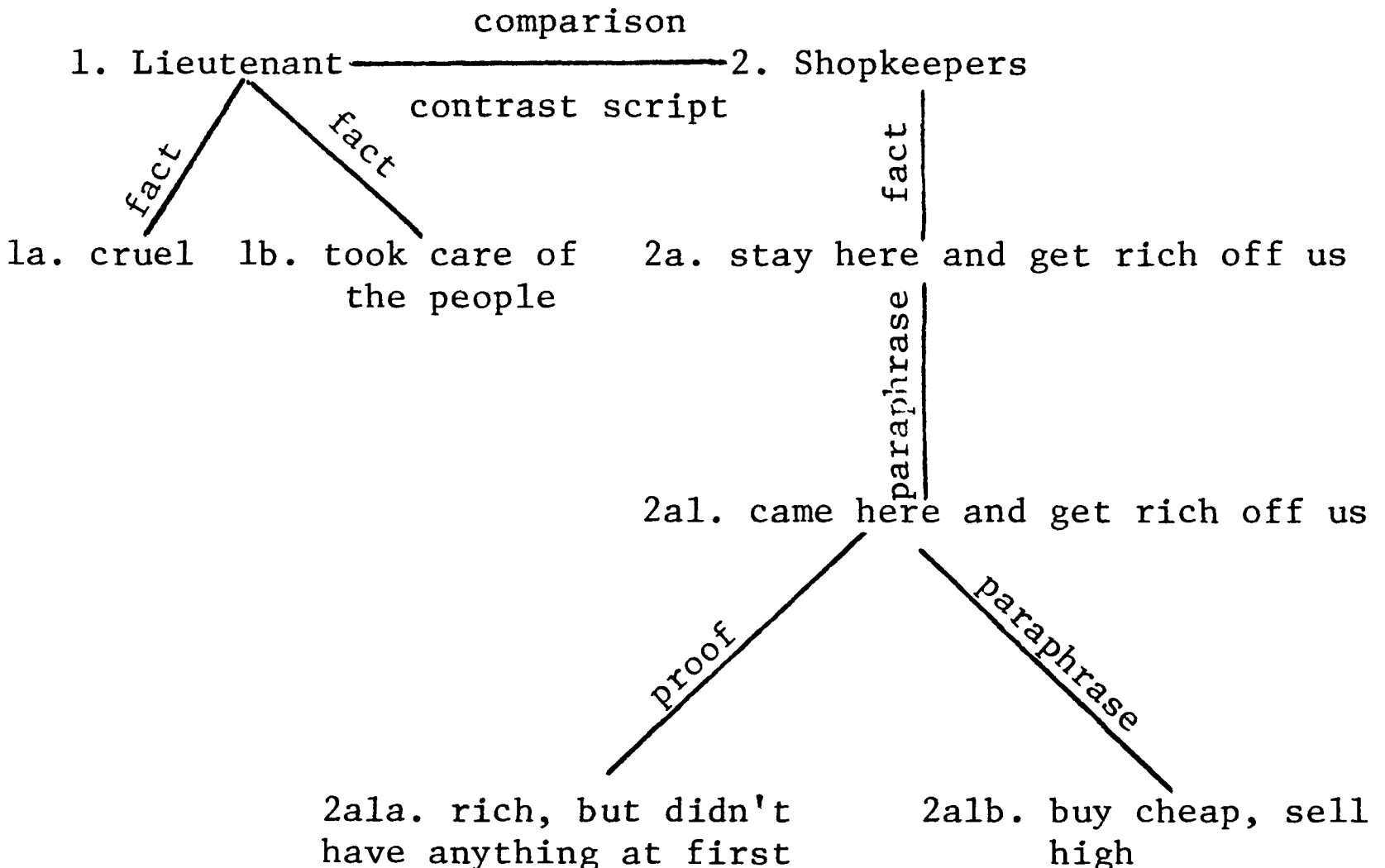


Figure 3. Tree diagram of a paragraph (Ex. 35).

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

Nhuôn nẻh vro. CT	(Vietnamese merchants)
Canjâng Canjoi. A-184, BJ	(Canjang and Canjoi)
Chot Caniẻt. A-66, BC	(The itchy man)
Jike. AJ	(The wild pigs)
Klẻn. AK	(The python)
Klẻ Dlu Nsẻt	(The mushroom man)
Pa-oq. A-171, AP	(The mango)
Yẻch. B-156, AY	(The foolish man)
Rach pađau. A-4	(Instructions)
Tẻm-sẻm. A-35, DS	(Performing a ceremony)
Tẻ Mẻ Vap. A-287, EA	(Caring for parents)
Vẻq nẻq. B-42, DV	(Birth)
Yẻq Cẻ Var. A-40	(Accusing the lieutenant)
Yẻng Mẻ Nhiẻng nhai. A-262, EM	(Mẻ Nhiẻng talks)

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