

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-

¹Data 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, đ; m, n, nh, ng; w, y; r, l; s, h; i, ê, e; (ụ), ọ, a; u, ô, o; ỹ, ẽ; â, ă; ù, ố; ia, (uà), 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 is 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

and 1975. The analysis presented here is based mainly on fourteen texts (with reference to many others) and a computer print-out of a concordance of over one hundred pages of text. The latter was made on the IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma under Grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation. It has been very helpful to have a linguist and Chrau speaker at hand in the person of my husband, David Thomas, who has made valuable criticisms and suggestions. My colleagues Richard Watson and Maxwell Cobbey have also given much stimulus.

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

³E.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 *něh* or a zero subject. Complicating this is the fact that *něh* 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 *něh* is singular, but the plural marker *khây* is often omitted.⁶ *Něh* can re-

⁴Copies 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.

⁵As 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."

⁶Sedang, 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 *něh*. Other participants are referred to in relation to him: *pôp něh* 'his brother', *si-ur něh* '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 *něh* refers back to that focused participant. The usual demonstrative for this function is *nõq*; e.g., *klô nõq... něh... něh...* 'that man... he... he...' If the introduction with *nõq* was in the predicate, it must be repeated in the subject slot before focus is established; e.g., *...klô nõq. Klô nõq... něh... něh...* '...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 *nõq*, change of topic can be signaled by *tĩq* 'that (*distant*)', *heq* 'this', or *iět* (or *iět têt*) 'this (*more recent context than heq*)'. These demonstratives can follow either a noun or *něh*; e.g., *noun heq* 'this ----' or *něh heq* 'this (other) one'. In the legend *Can-jâng Canjôi* a man marries first a woman and then a monkey:

Vi cãh tãt si-ur tom wõq pã, ca vu mapanh ham
 neg. remember to wife first more neg. as they say crave
 cò dõq nõq ui, hwãt si-ur iět-têt.
 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 nǒq and si-ur 'wife' is marked with iết têt, 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 iết in a subject position:

si-ur iết gũq ayh, thet thet nễh buồn, nễh
 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 nễh nhai 'he said'. Within a direct quotation nễh 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 sỉq vớq, sỉq nhai bậy nễh panh ảnh êq gả
 you return imp. return tell to him say I not give
 con ỏh-puấ toq mà con sai.
 child youngest emph. for child marry

She reports: Nễh nhai nễh êq gả toq mà con sai.
 he said he not give emph. for child marry

King: *You go home, return and tell him I won't give my youngest child for [your] child to marry.*

Mother: *He said he wouldn't give [his child] for you, child, to marry.*

The King uses nễh and con to refer to Coconut, but the mother in reporting his speech uses nễh 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 gũq u tễh heq wỏq đăng. Aheq něh saq hao

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

chhuôi tu vlor...

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 tằm-pâm bay chaq, něh...

truly now he fought with demon he

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

The one challenged responded 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 participant into focus; e.g., *Nhôn něh... něh... 'The Vietnamese... he...'* This focus-changing use of něh is potentially ambiguous 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 ōh nĕh. Ōh nĕh săng sima
 tell to younger sib. their younger sib. their biđ 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 túc kwá... En nŏq vap nĕh iao
 now father their angry very after that father their lead

vă̄t nĕ̄h chhuôi tu sũng 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 participants straight, demonstratives or nĕ̄h after a noun bring a participant into focus; he is thereafter referred to as nĕ̄h until a new participant comes into focus. But in conversations the responder, either in speaking or in action, is nĕ̄h. In indirect quotations the quoted speaker is nĕ̄h. And in some narratives the discourse hero is nĕ̄h.

Some speakers are very skillful in balancing these different 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 throughout the rest of the story, frequently without the usual demonstratives. 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 nĕ̄h. Nĕ̄h hao vlo' chhø...
 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 nẽh* to the inhabitants of the village named:

...*Tân Phú*, *khây nẽh* u *nõq* *khây nẽh*...

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 (nõq)* 'then', *en wõq* 'then further', or *en tan'hui* 'later on'. From one legend:

...*En nẽh ôp sa. ʔ Ôp sa en nẽh*...

...*Then they prepared a meal. ʔ After preparing the meal, they*...

If there is no Initial Echo, the new paragraph usually has *ncai*, *en nõq*, *en*, *mõh*, or *en kê* 'then', as in the first sentence above; cf. §6.1c, 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 *sĩq* '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. §6.2*c*, 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 *Yăq 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: nǒq mǒh 'so then' (cf. §6.1*c*, Sample Text, last paragraph). Nǒq 'so' and canǒq 'like that, thus' are the commonest markers of cause and result relations (cf. §6.3*c*, Sample Text, last two paragraphs). Khoi 'also' and khoi canǒq 'also like that' tie together similar developments or ideas (cf. §6.3*c*, 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', dǔng nǎr 'in the daytime', or vi mau 'in the afternoon'; or they may indicate the passage of time (not just 'and then'), as tan'hui wǒq 'later on' or khi jǒq alǔr wǒq 'a long time later'.

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

Change of participant focus as discussed in §1.1*b* 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 *von* 'we (*inclusive*)', with a somewhat editorial force, to *anh* '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. *Adom* 'in the old days', *luc nõq* 'at that time', *ahEQ põh mvõq* 'from now on', and *alur hẽq* 'after this' set paragraphs off from others marked by *vrẽq* 'now'. *Vrẽq* 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 *cõn* can be used at the opening of a new paragraph. A Chrau word, *sĩq* 'about', can also be used to change the theme, but this may be a calque. Purists prefer *sĩq*, 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 §6.1c, Sample Text, paragraph 2, the words *wĩnh* 'beg' (occurring three times) and *an nõh iuh* 'gave him'. Then come the thing given, *du pãng khãn* 'one classifier-

for-flat-object cloth', and the verbs *văt* 'carry (in the hand)' and *lăq* '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 types⁷ 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-

⁷Paragraph 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 rescued 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 abbreviated,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

⁸Wendland (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 sequence of logical paragraphs that manifest a mini-plot structure..." (Wendland, 1975: 25).

¹⁰Wendland (1975: 35) notes that in Chewa there is a tendency, though not a strong disposition, for the first and last cycles 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 Nhũt Cô Nhỏq*, 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 §6.1c, 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 *něh* refers:

Nõq en di cô nõq gěh poq khây nẽh nhai bãy nẽh
so then the grandfather that had visit them say to (?)

canõq caheq. Panh nẽh khoi nẽh gěh vu padãr nẽh
like-that like-this say he also he has someone send him

jur yúp an vi lõh-sat. En nhai bãy cô
descend help give where hard-up then say to grandfather

nõq cô nẽh iêt gěh en an nẽh bãy ur nõq.
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 *něh* 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 *něh* 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 refers 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, however, these three are brought into focus by proper means.

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

3.3. *Participant focus.*

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

a. The pronoun *něh* is marked for both focus and specificity; *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 nỏq niết, cớ saq sigong rằm diết.
child wife aunt that lazy always go swing dance always

Còn prau ndu pốp ỡh vu tĩq vu
as-to six people older- younger-sibling they there they

uâyh da vu saq re rằm đồ. Saq sĩq
industrious emph. they go field field things go return

saq ũm. Còn nẻh aheq, cớ nẻh hao vlo' chhớ nẻh
go bathe as-to him here always he climb up tree he

n'iuñ. Nẻh n'iuñ chhơ' nỏq, en nỏq nẻh nhủp chhãh
 sway he sway tree that after that he take charcoal
 ônh nẻh vãng măt nẻh vồq. En nỏq nẻh sỉq nhi.
 soot he smear eye his part. after that he return home
 Prau ndu tỉq sỉq vu ùm jrõh đé vu saq
 six people there return they bathe clean surprise they go
 sỉq còn nẻh, nẻh êq ùm.
 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 nẻh and vu instead of nẻh and khây nẻh.

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

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* (§2.3a) the first set of cycles emphasizes the repeated attempts to lose the children in the jungle. This is a dastardly act; it means murder, 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. Secondly, 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 *nõq* or *něh* they are thereafter referred to as *něh*.

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*:

...*nõq* en Klô Dlu Nsêt *nõq* chăng. ¶ Klô Dlu Nsêt *nõq*...

...so then the Young Mushroom Man heard. ¶ That young Mushroom Man...

and

...nǒq Cô Nhứt Cô Nhǒq chǎng. ɿ Cô Nhứt Cô Nhǒq panh...

...so Grandfather Nhứt Nhǒq heard. ɿ Grandfather Nhứt Nhǒq 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

¹¹Maxwell Cobbey (to appear) has done a statistical count of nouns and verbs in Roḡlai, 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.

| <i>discourse type</i> | <i>title</i> | <i>verb percentage</i> | <i>style</i> |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------|
| dialogue | <i>Ôp pam</i> | 28.1% | colloquial |
| hortatory | <i>Tăch gōng</i> | 28.0% | |
| narrative, legend | <i>Prau Khăn Gũn</i> | 27.4% | |
| narrative, legend | <i>Prau Klô Dlu Nsêt</i> | 25.9% | classical |
| expository | <i>Jêng sipăm</i> | 23.9% | |
| expository | <i>Vu gěh chaq</i> | 23.5% | |
| narrative, 1st per. | <i>Saq nggô</i> | 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-

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).

appropriate in any style. Certain rhymes are in common use; for example, *lěq sǎq rǎq ndu* 'everybody' (literally 'every soul rǎq person', rǎq being a nonce form), for the more prosaic *ǎp ndu*, and *saq chroc vri mi sa* 'lost in the jungle and soaked' (literally 'go lost jungle rain eat'), a euphemism for *chuŋ sǔng vri* 'died in the jungle'.

Trěq jâng tren and *chih tavuŋ* 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 *phwǒng* 'suddenly awake', *phuŋ* 'sound of small things taking off', *pruh* 'of action of standing up', *latih latoh* '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.

¹³See note 4.

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

5.4. Reduplication.

David Thomas (1971: 155) lists three types of reduplication in Chrau: *simple*, consisting of a pair of identical forms (e.g., hỏp hỏp '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., gừ ngừ 'noisy').

Similar to reduplication is the use of semantic pairs such as pỏp ỏh '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 completely assimilated Vietnamese form has no lexical tone, whereas 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', cứ '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 bác sĩ 'medical doctor'.

6. Discourse types and sample texts.

The various discourse types found in Chrau (*narrative, expository, 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 + Episodeⁿ † Dénouement † Conclusion † Comment † Finis.

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

| | narrative | expository | hortatory | epistolary |
|-------------------------------|--|---|--|---|
| <i>formula</i> | ± title ± setting ± introduction + episode ⁿ ± dénouement ± conclusion ± comment ± finis | ± topic ± introduction + nucleus ± conclusion ± finis | + setting + nucleus ± conclusion ± terminus | + setting + introduction + nucleus + conclusion + finis |
| <i>paragraph types</i> | + situational descriptive + narrative ± concept descriptive ± dialogue | + descriptive ± narrative | + volitional ± descriptive | + volitional ± narrative ± descriptive |
| <i>interparagraph linkage</i> | tail-head temporal sequence participants | causal rel. contrastive rel. head-head tail-tail | causal rel. contrastive rel. | usually unrelated |
| <i>persons</i> | 1, (2), 3 | usually topic oriented | 1, 2, (3) | 1, 2, 3 |
| <i>verb density</i> | legends: high 1st-pers. nar.: low | low | highest | lowest |
| <i>purpose</i> | 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 Gũn* (§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 *něh*. Unless someone else is properly identified (¶ 6, st. 2: *patau něh.... něh*) and apart from dialogue where the next speaker becomes *něh*

| P | type | theme | lexical markers | IP markers participants* |
|---|----------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| <i>Setting and Introduction</i> | | | | |
| 1 | situational descriptive | orphans, hard up | a long time ago | sisters: initiators |
| <i>Episode 1</i> | | | | |
| <i>Cycle 1</i> | | | | |
| 2 | narrative | complaining | go to fields | sisters: initiators Nsê: reactor* chipmunk: prop |
| 3 | narrative | Nsê delivers chipmunk | | Nsê: initiator* chipmunk: prop |
| 4 | narrative | eating chipmunk | return at noon | sister: initiator* ∅ spirits: ∅ reactors* chipmunk: prop |
| <i>Cycle 2</i> | | | | |
| 5 | narrative + dialogue | complaining | go to jungle | sisters: initiators* mouse-deer: prop* |
| 6 | narrative | eating mouse-deer from Nsê | then they returned | sisters: initiators ∅ spirits: ∅ reactors* mouse-deer: prop |
| <i>Cycle 3</i> | | | | |
| 7 | narrative | deer from Nsê | later on | sisters: initiators deer: prop* |
| <i>First Climax</i> | | | | |
| 8 | narrative + dialogue | Nsê reveals self | at night | Nsê: initiator* sisters: reactors* |
| <i>Transition</i> | | | | |
| <i>Dénouement Episode 1, Introduction Episode 2</i> | | | | |
| 9 | narrative | playing flutes | a long time after- ward | Nsê: initiator* Cò Nhu: reactor* flutes: prop |
| <i>Episode 2</i> | | | | |
| 10 | narrative + dialogue | Nhu scolds | (dialogue) | Nhu: initiator* sisters: reactors* |
| <i>Final Climax</i> | | | | |
| 11 | narrative | Nhu finds Nsê | Nhu goes looking | Nhu: initiator Nsê: reactor* |
| <i>Dénouement</i> | | | | |
| 12 | narrative | Nhu lets Nsê stay | so later on | Nsê: initiator* Nhu: reactor* |
| <i>Conclusion</i> | | | | |
| 13 | situational descriptive | Nsê originator of flutes | ever after | Nsê |
| <i>Comment</i> | | | | |
| 14 | concept de- scriptive | storytelling | after that | storytellers* |
| <i>finis</i> | | | | |
| "That's all I remember." | | | | |

Chart 3: Discourse Structure of *Klô Dlu Nsê*.

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

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

Note also the repetition. Wĭnh 'beg' occurs three times in the first two sentences of P 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 paragraph, however, the couple's poverty is underlined by paraphrase, 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 descriptive adverb, which is also reduplicative: tōng lōng 'headlong' (P 8, st. 7). There is also a semantic pair, n'hăp jina (P 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".

¹⁶These are: *kwa* (Vietnamese *quá*), *ncai* (Chrau en + Vietnamese *kê vậ*), *buôn*, *khăn*, *búa*, *tiệm*, *đồ*, *hiệp*, *bà*, *kwan* (*quán*), *lời*, *là*, *mâm*, *khỏi*.

*Prau Khăn Gũn*¹⁷

The Legend of the Magic Handkerchief

Setting and Introduction

¶ 1: Situational descriptive. (22.6% verbs)

¹Hôi nỏq chǎng*var ndu si-ur siklô nỏq lỏh-sat*
time that hear two person wife husband that hard-up
lũng gỏi. ²Nẻh êq gẻh* jẻn lẻq. ³Var ndu si-ur
very very they not have money at-all two person wife
siklô nẻh nỏq saq*; đǎng ôp*pǎch lậy. ⁴En nỏq si-ur
husband they that go not do thing any after that wife
nẻh nỏq chẳm* đưôn. ⁵Mỏh si-ur sẳy* nẻh niẻt* kwa, đǎng
his that weave hat then wife see he lazy very not
gủt* ôp* pǎch lậy. ⁶Si-ur nẻh đảh* điẻt nẻh ncai
know do thing any wife his chase constantly him then
nẻh buôn*
he sad

Episode (cycle 1)

¶ 2: Narrative. (26.4% verbs)

¹Ncai nảr nỏq nẻh saq*wỉnh*. ²Nẻh saq*hao*chhuôi tu
then day that he go beg he go up clear to
vi patau, nỏq nẻh wỉnh*, nẻh wỉnh* piêng sa. ³Patau gủt*
where king so he beg he beg rice eat king know

¹⁷Narrator: Cô Lạcunh. 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 nẻh sa it was). There is bound to be some indetermination in counting, as in the first paragraph, where it is questionable whether n'hấp-jina and pỏh-mvỏq are to be taken as single units or not; it is significant that either way the verb percentage is still much lower than elsewhere.

něh lăp*, patau gu†* něh wŏq. ⁴Mŏh patau an* něh iuh
 he enter king know him more then king give him for
 du păng khăn. ⁵En kê něh panh*, "Vrêq păch heq sĭq*;
 one piece cloth then then he say now thing here return
 mŏq ôp*, cô?" ⁶Patau panh*, "Mây văt* sĭq* păch heq, chăng*;
 how do sir king say you carry return thing here hear
 may lăq* u cadăr may nŏq. ⁷Ncai may gŏh* pe măt, may
 you spread on table you that then you knock three time you
 cop* muôi var pe là lŭh*du mâm piêng an* may iuh
 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 lŏi patau, něh sĭq*. ²Ndŏh tăt*
 then then hear words king he return not-yet reach
 nhi, něh saq*năc trong, něh gŏh* lŭh*du mâm piêng. ³Něh
 house he go half road he knock out one tray rice it
 lŭh* du mâm piêng sa cò nhâng. ⁴Mŏh něh sa* ⁵Sa* en
 out one tray rice eat truly then he eat eat already
 něh huch* alăc vanhu†*
 he drink wine drunk

Climax

¶ 4: Narrative. (24% verbs)

¹Mŏh něh sĭq* tu nhi bà kwan sây*vanhu†*alăc.
 then he return to house Mrs. shop see drunk wine
²Mŏh něh nhai* něh gĕh* khăn nŏq. ³En kê mŏh bà kwan
 then he say he have cloth that then then Mrs. shop
 tăm-gâl* bây něh.

Transition: Episode 1, Introduction 2

¶ 5: Narrative. (29.4% verbs)

¹En kê nễh gōh* wōq đāng gēh* piêng si-ur nễh sa*
then he knock more not have rice wife he eat

²En si-ur nễh nhai*, "May mvār*"
then wife he say you lie

Dénouement (cycle 2)

¶ 6: Narrative. (32.1% verbs)

¹Ncai nễh saq* hao* lữp* patau wōq. ²Patau nễh nhai* nễh
then he go up ask king more king he say he
panh*, "Khăn may nōq vu khủt* en đoh, ănh gưt*
say cloth you that someone steal already already I know

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

¶ 7: Narrative. (26.3% verbs)

¹Nhâng nễh sỉq* vất* du tong bua. ²Nễh sỉq*
truly he return carry one stick hammer he return
lấp* tiêm bà kwan. ³Ncai nễh lữp* bà kwan, nễh nhai*
enter shop Mrs. shop then he ask Mrs. shop he say
nễh panh*, "Ay ndau ay nhup* khăn ănh. ⁴Êq gēh* vu
he say you yesterday you take cloth my not have anybody
lây, vrêq ay phải trỡh* pách ănh je." ⁵Mỡh nễh panh*
any now you must give thing my poss. then she say
nễh êq iưt*. ⁶Nễh panh*, "Ay êq iưt*, ănh an* bua pâm* ay
she not give he say you not give I let hammer beat you
liên." ⁷Nhâng bua lữt* pâm* pachăh* đồ lểq trỡh,
immediately truly hammer out beat smash thing all entirely

nǒq heq toq tĩq. ⁸Ncai nēh iuh* gēh khǎn gēh đō
 that here there there then she give have cloth have thing
 wǒq.
 more

Final Dénouement

¶ 8: Narrative. (30.2% verbs)

¹Nēh sĩq* nēh nhai*bây si-ur nēh, "Vrêq voh khói phũng*
 he return he say with wife his now we avoid fear
 pangot* en doh. ²Piêng sa gēh* mà ănh gēh* du sinlo'
 hungry already already rice eat have and I have one thing
 wǒq, đǎng gēh* vu lây hiếp* ănh gēh." ³Si-ur nēh
 more not have body any persecute me able wife his
 panh*, "May mvâr*. ⁴May sǎng* bua may pâm* ănh sên*. ⁵May
 say you lie you send hammer you beat me see you
 saq* sa* huch* di gǒq en, ncai sĩq* may nhai* pǎch
 go eat drink too much already then return you say thing
 heq pǎch nǒq bây ănh." ⁶En kê mǒh siklô nēh panh*,
 here thing that with me then then husband he say,
 "Ay nhai* nhâng? Ănh sǎng* lũh* pâm*." ⁷Nhâng bua nēh lôt*
 you say truly I send out beat truly hammer it run
 lũh* gǒh* si-ur nēh du mǎt tong-long lawât* u nǒq.
 out knock wife his one time headlong unconscious at there
⁸Nǒq kê siklô nēh nhai* panh, "Nǒq ay sây* đǎng? ⁹A, vrêq
 so then husband he say saying so you see not ah now
 chěq* ănh gǒh* lũh* piêng ay iuh ay sa*." ¹⁰Nhâng nēh
 let me knock forth rice you for you eat truly he
 lǎq* khǎn, nēh lǎq* u cadǎr. ¹¹Nēh gǒh* pe mǎt,
 spread cloth he spread on table he knock three time

raicai lũh* du mâm piêng, si-ur siklô nẽh sa* hom*
 then forth one tray rice wife husband they eat full

Conclusion

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

Nõq mõi nẽh tê* rup nẽh lawân, nẽh n'hãp-jina*
 so then he kept body he permanently he rich rich

lawân, tât põi-mvõi wõi.
 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 carry 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. Before 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: \pm Topic \pm Introduction + Nucleus \pm Conclusion \pm 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 *lẽq en* 'That's all' or 'Like that', but it may be expanded into *ãnh wĩnh nhai lẽq u*

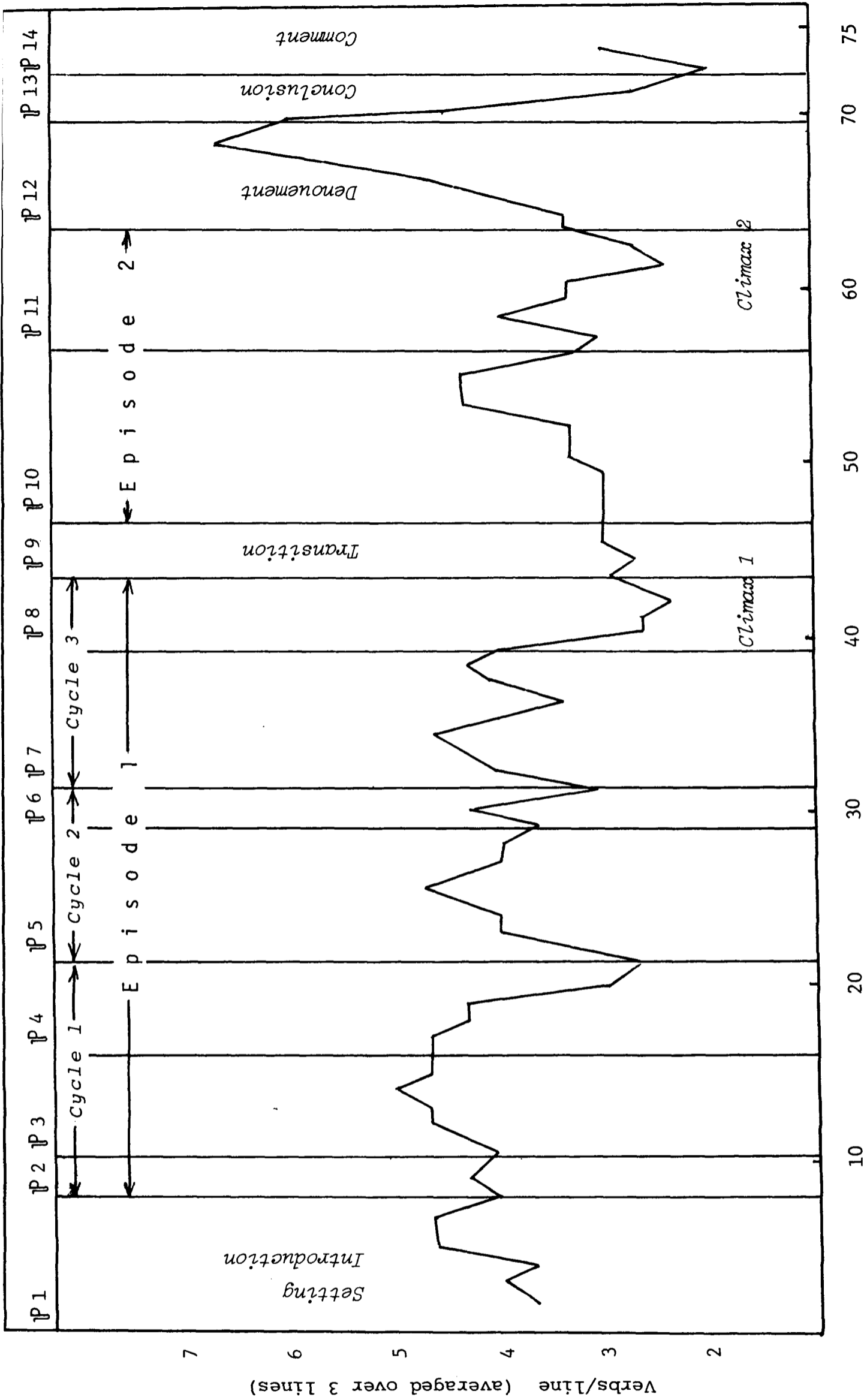


Chart 4: Verb Density: *Prau Klô Dlu Nsêt*.

heq 'Here I ask to end my words'.

Overlays (cf. §2.3*b*) are common in expository discourse, 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 Cō Var 'Accusing the Lieutenant' has an overlay of four planes at the beginning, each saying (with some repetition and some uniqueness) that the villagers are forced to work for nothing and not allowed to go out to market lest they accuse the lieutenant. In this text there is only one such overlay: 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 medium verb density (cf. Chart 1), medial rhymes (notably in *Jêng Sipăm*), and the absence of descriptive adverbs.

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

b. Jêng Sipăm is a discourse on being a shaman, its purpose 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 *von* 'we (*incl.*)' and the indefinite third-person pronoun *vu*. In these two latter paragraphs he is talking about the work of shamans in general, not just about himself.

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

| P | type | theme | P markers | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|--|---|---|
| | | | lexical markers | participants* |
| <i>Setting</i> | | | | |
| 1 | situational descriptive | People said I would become a shaman. | a long time ago | vu: initiators I: reactor |
| <i>Nucleus</i> | | | | |
| <i>Section 1: personal</i> | | | | |
| 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 õh: reactors* vu: tertiary |
| 6 | concept descriptive | I do my work well. | seeing like that | I, vu: initiators* pôp õh: tertiary |
| <i>Section 2: general</i> | | | | |
| 7 | concept descriptive | We go to help people. | today (<i>summary at</i> P <i>end</i>) | we: initiators* spirits: reactors* vu: tertiary |
| 8 | concept descriptive | Shamans must have apprentices. | (<i>see P closure</i> <i>above</i>) | we: initiators* apprentices: tertiary |
| <i>Finis</i> | | | | |
| "That's all." | | | | |

Chart 5: Discourse Structure of *Jêng Sipãm*.

*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 sãm vu von nhai bay yang an
 we go cure someone we talk with good-spirit make
 vu di yãh an vu vâng ji vãy, nõq von gẽh
 them part. well make them don't sick so so we have
 phước gẽh phân bay vu. Chớ chaq-yang an von
 blessing have power with people neg. spirits make us
 jêng sipãm mà von êq saq sãm vu, nõq von gẽh
 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,

Nẽh cồ chũt, khai yo soq n'ham nẽh. Nẽh cồ
 he who die also from placenta blood his he who
 yãh, khai yo soq n'ham nẽh.
 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 digression), 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, especially 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 gěh chaq*, is an explanation of two kinds of Chrau sicknesses and their causes and also of the reason sorcery and demon possession are not common today.

The sample contains clear indicators of paragraph theme change: focus indicators, the Vietnamese loanword *côn*, and, in the last two paragraphs, references to the past. Paragraphs 1, 2, 3 and 5 employ the focus indicator *nõq*. Paragraph 4 uses *něh heq*, changing the focus to the previous concept in paragraph 2; only at the end of this paragraph is there a noun phrase for *něh*. Although paragraph 2 starts out by discussing 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 overlays intertwined. The speaker is describing and contrasting the

¹⁸I 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, *von* 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 Sipām* 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 Gũn* (§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)', *mũh măt* 'nose + eyes (= face)', and *nu nom* '(?) + body (= body)'.

¹⁹These are: *còn, ncai, hẹn, yàng (vàng), yàng khè, cái yì (cái gì), bịnh, bịnh cùi, khi, khi-khung, chịu, chuyên, hồi, bi, kwá, thanh niên, thi-yụ (thi-du), chửng, chớ, đửng (đúng), lân, hẻ, thì, đờ, hay là, là, mà, lân lân, hồi.*

Topic

Con nhai vu gẽh chaq²⁰

Talking about people who have evil spirits

Introduction

¶ 1: Concept descriptive.

Chaq nõq nẽh gẽh chaq, nẽh khoi tamun
 evil spirit that he has evil spirit he also person
 von, mà nẽh lũh chaq, khoi ca tamun von 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 nẽh nõq lũh saq sa nẽh cồ ji
 evil spirit he that come out go eat he who sick
 candul. ²Nẽh ôp tarung. ³Nẽh ôp cồ saq nggô
 stomach he make diarrhea he make ø go jungle
 lũh ayh n'ham, nõq ncai diêt. ⁴Nẽh hẹn du
 come out only blood so then constantly he appoint one
 khay, hay là hẹn pe khay. ⁵Đúng nẳ nẽh ôp hô-loq.
 month or is appoint three month exact day he do owl
⁶Nẽh ôp sũng nom von yàng lểq, nẽh ôp von. ⁷Nẽh ôp
 he do in body we yellow all he do us he do
 von yàng khè. ⁸Ti jâng đồ heq, nẽh ôp yàng êq
 us yellow (?) hand foot thing here he make yellow not
 gẽh n'ham đồ nõq. ⁹Ramut jrou sa, còn chaq
 have blood thing that yellow medicine eat as-to evil spirit

²⁰Informant: Hưng (1964).

sa nõq saq nggô tarung, lũh n'ham.
eat so go jungle spill come out blood

Plane A2

¶ 3: Concept descriptive.

¹Jrou sa nõq nẽh ôp caí-yî, nẽh sa nẽh ôp
medicine eat that it do anything it eat it make
bịnh lẽq sũng rup ti jãng đồ heq yàng lẽq. ²En
sick all in body hand foot thing here yellow all then
cái nẽh ôp khi von chãh-laq. ³Khi ti jãng von
thing it work when we scabies when hand foot we
aih caheq, khi-khũng nẽh chãh-laq cambet. ⁴Tõh kiết
swollen like-this suddenly it scabies disappear pimple itch
ken nõq, Nhuôn nẽh cuôi gẻ nõq tõh kiết.
small that Vietnamese he call ghe that pimple itch
⁵Tõh kiết lần lần diết, lần mảq lần mảq lần. ⁶Nẽh
pimple itch gradually constantly time big time big time it
ôp von gẻh bịnh-cùi, nõq là vu cuôi.
make us have leprosy that is one call

Plane B2

¶ 4: Concept descriptive.

¹Còn nẽh heq nẽh sa ngãn. ²Khi-khũng lũh vi
as-to it here it eat only suddenly come-out place
heq vi heq, nẽh sa khweq. ³Khi nẽh sa talaq
here place here it eat holes when it eat intestines
khai gẻh, khi nẽh sa ndwãch von khai gẻh. ⁴Nẽh sa
also have when it eat anus we also have it eat
diết von chịu êq truh en von chut. ⁵Nõq bịnh bịnh
constantly we stand not able then we die that sick sick

chaq sa.
evil spirit eat.

Plane A3

¶ 5: Concept descriptive.

¹Còn bịnh jrou sa nỏq nẻh ỏp yàng lẻq ti
as-to sick medicine eat that it make yellow all hand
jâng. ²Mủh mắt yàng lẻq, canduỉ đồ nỏq. ³Nẻh ỏp
foot nose eye yellow all stomach thing that it make
ti jâng đồ aih đồ nỏq, heq khi nẻh ỏp var
hand foot thing swell thing that here when it make two
chuyện nỏq. ⁴Khi nẻh ỏp ti jâng đồ aih lẻq. ⁵Aih
thing that when it make hand foot thing swell all Swell
á jâng aih hao mà sũng nom yàng lẻq. ⁶Mà nẻh sa lẻq
from foot swell up and in body yellow all and it eat all
n'ham en, nẻh hẻn đứng khay nỏq von chứt. ⁷Jrou
blood already it appoint exact month so we die medicine
sa aih dằng nỏq, nẻh bịnh yang lẻq. ⁸Ti jâng nu nom
eat swell like that it sick yellow all hand foot body
nẻh en.
it finished

Nucleus: Section 2

¶ 6: Situational descriptive.

¹Còn hỏi nỏq vu tê jrou chớ vrẻq vu lẻq
as-to time that one keep medicine not now one all-gone
thêng tê en. ²Bị vu tachứt kwá. ³Bị vu gẻh phao
dare keep already suffer one kill very suffer one have gun
wát, khi vu gứt wát. ⁴Vu nhup vu tachứt, thắnh-niên
(?) when one know (?) one take one kill youths

vrêq mãq vu êq chịu, vu conh di yăh. ⁵Vu conh ôp
 now big one not stand-for one want to good one want do
 sa vu êq chịu canõq.
 eat one not stand-for like-that

¶ 7: Situational descriptive.

¹Còn adom cô camvĩnh, vu chut gõq lũng.
 as-to long-ago grandfather old one dead much very

²Vu trõh daq, đăng vu pãh nco, đăng vu tanchăp tanyông
 one throw water not one cut neck not one tie hang

vlø chho. ³Vu gưt nõq, đăng vrêq gưt thì nẽh ôp gẽh.
 above tree one know that not now know , he do can

⁴Hẽ vu gưt thì nẽh gũq đăng gẽh. ⁵Vu tachưt chẽq nẽh,
 if one know , he live not able one kill leave him

vrêq takiq vồq. ⁶Thí-yu hòi nõq du riyêng ndu,
 now little only for-example time that one hundred person

vrêq chùng var pe ndu gẽh. ⁷Chớ còn đăng gẽh
 now about two three person have not still not have

lẽq toq. ⁸Vrêq takiq, còn gẽh gõq nõq lẽq
 all-gone part. now little as-to have much that all-gone

en. ⁹Chớ vu tachưt vu êq chẽq du mvu.
 already not one kill one not leave one person

TRANSLATION

1. That person with an evil spirit, he has an evil spirit, 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 patau '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. *Wǒng gǒng*, in which the speaker several times threatens death, has a very high density (cf. Chart 1). The two other texts, *Něh pân* and *Rach pađau*, have identically low densities.

Něh pân and *Rach pađau* both have a Terminus while *Něh pan* also has a Conclusion. *Wǒng gǒng* has neither.

Něh pân and *Rach pađau* show considerable reduplication. *Wǒng gǒng* has none save in one sentence:

Vlam sipai pǎnh sipai, vlam sikwây pǎnh 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 pađau* are more formal while *chih nhai* is less formal and more spontaneous.

b. *Wǒng gǒng* 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* |
| <i>Setting</i> | | | | |
| 1 | narrative | meat sold | yesterday | něh: initiators Ga Prau: reactor |
| <i>Nucleus</i> | | | | |
| 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 *Wǒng gǒng*.

*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 *Něh 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 *Něh 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 *něh*.

Note the interparagraph linkage between paragraphs 2 and 3: ...*thì khôi vu nhai canõq* '...also they talk like that'.

Three types of reduplication are used: (1) altering: tacuq tacõq 'inebriated', tamvãq tamvây 'disorderly'; (2) separated semantic pairs: chëq nuih chëq tôr 'set heart set ear', huch sêh huch alăc 'drink wine drink beer', năc daq năc trong 'half river half road', huch yûa sa yûa 'drink enough eat enough'; and (3) one nonseparated semantic pair: phao randăh 'gun gun'.

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

Něh pân

Setting

¶ 1: Concept descriptive.

¹Něh pân pôp òh heq nõq, bãy camvũm něh
 he advise older sib. younger sib. here by words he
 nhai. ²Něh jơ něh cahya von. ³Pôp òh chăng
 speak he watch he advise us older/younger sib. listen
 hay đăng?
 or not

Nucleus

¶ 2: Volitional.

¹Nõq a heq põh mvôq, tù a Cô var něh ôp u
 so from here on from grandfather two he work at
 heq nõq, thì něh sên von. ²Mà něh sên von, mà něh cahya
 here , he watch us and he watch us and he advise

²¹These are: *hay, yûa (vừa), thì, là, tử, lĩnh* (presumably an old loan), *cấp, chỉ-huy, tamvãq-tamvây* (presumably an old loan, phonologically well-assimilated), *chớ, thì-yu, chùng, kwá, phải, tù* (apparently a slip of the tongue), *niú (nếu), mà, còn*.

von. ³Něh phũng von huch sěh huch alăc. ⁴Canŏq von vâng
 us he fear we drink wine drink beer so we don't
 chěq nuh chěq tŏr bay něh vây. ⁵Něh gũq u heq, něh
 set heart set ear with him thus he stay at here he
 gũq di mǎq u heq, něh cấp chỉ-huy von, něh phải
 stay to big at here he rank commander us he must
 sên von, něh chih nhai von. ⁶Canŏq von vâng huch alăc
 watch us he scold speak us so we don't drink beer
 gŏq vây. ⁷Něh phũng von vanhưi năc daq năc trong, von
 much thus he fear we drunk half river half road we
 vanhưi tacuq-tacŏq. ⁸Canŏq něh chih něh cahya von. ⁹Von
 drunk inebriated so he scold he advise us we
 chěq nuh chěq tŏr, canŏq von đăng yăh con tamun von
 set heart set ear so we not good child person we
 canŏq đăng yăh. ¹⁰Něh nhai canŏq khoi gal, êq panh
 so not good he speak like-that also right not say
 něh nhai tamvây đăng. ¹¹Něh nhai gal něh de, něh
 he speak disorderly not he speak right he poss. he
 êq iun caheq huch sěh vanhưi saq nhai tamvăq-tamvây
 not let like-this drink wine drunk so speak disorderly
 bay vu. ¹²Chơ něh đăng iun toq něh. ¹³Pôp ỡh
 with people not he not let emph. he older/younger sib.
 iết camvũm ănh nhai gal đăng?
 hear word I speak right no

¶ 3: Volitional.

¹Alur heq vu lây cồ sĩq tu heq, thỉ khoi vu nhai
 after this one any who return to hear , also he speak
 canŏq. ²Canŏq a heq pŏh mvôq pôp ỡh vâng
 like-that so from here on older/younger sib. don't

huch alăc gǒq vây. ³Thí-yu pôp ǒh huch
 drink beer much thus for-example older/younger sib. drink
 prăm li, pôp ǒh huch chùng pe li dâng
 five glass older/younger sib. drink about three glass amount
 nǒq. ⁴Nǒq yuà von en, pôp ǒh huch gǒq
 that so enough we already older/younger sib. drink much
 kwá en nǒq vanhư! pôp ǒh ví gưt phao gâm
 very then so drunk older/younger sib. not know gun and
 căm pôp ǒh u lây pà. ⁵Vrêq vư nêh lểq
 arrow older/younger sib. at any not now VC they past
 moch von en, canǒq von phải huch yuà sa yuà. ⁶Vâng
 near us already so we must drink enough eat enough don't
 von huch gǒq. ⁷Von huch gǒq en nǒq, en nǒq vư
 us drink much we drink much already after that VC
 nêh lăp nêh tachưt von. ⁸En nǒq chưt, pach panh von
 they enter they kill us after that dead what say we
 đăng chưt nǒq. ⁹A heq vư nêh lăp nêh pâm von, nêh
 not dead thus from now VC they enter they beat us they
 nhup lểq phao randăh. ¹⁰Nǒq vu panh von heq bay vư.
 take all gun gun so people say we here with VC
¹¹Nǒq vu nhup von, vu doq tù von đăng gal, an
 so people take us people put prison us not right let
 von gũq sũng nhi jingo.
 us stay in house dark

Conclusion

¶ 4: Volitional.

¹Canǒq nêh chih nêh nhai von. ²Canǒq von vâng chểq
 so he scold he talk us so we don't set

nuih bay nēh vāy. ³Níu nēh nhai tamvāq tamvāy bāy
 heart with him thus. if he speak disorderly with
 pôp ốh còn hóm gēh khananh heq wốq.
 older/younger sib. still still have us (excl.) here more

Terminus

¶ 5: Volitional.

Nhai canốq, pôp ốh phải chǎng bay
 speak like-that older/younger sib. must listen to
 mĩnh ănh.
 mouth my

TRANSLATION

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 advises 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 order. 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 *ăn* *con*h 'I thought', *ăn* *sây* 'I see', *nê*h *sin*âng 'he thought', and *m*ốq *cô* *sin*âng '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*, *chĩch*, *yiêt*. The following words need no respelling in Chrau but their tone marks were omitted: *thứ hai*, *hẽ*, *chắc*, *cớ*, *Bắc-sĩ*. The following likewise need no respelling but their Vietnamese tone marks were written in: *đặc-biệt*, *điện-tin*, *phong-tục*, *đờ*, *văn-phòng*, *chợ*, *trại-tạm-cư*.²²

c. Here follows our sample text:

Setting

Nhatrang, nă 9, khay 3, 1975
day month

Păng mọq un cô,
greet visit grandmother grandfather

²²The 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 nỏq yăh vui hâng?
 good well no? meet at there good happy no?

Nucleus

Discourse 1:

Ănh gễh hao heq năr thư hai lor canỏq tăt
 I have go-up here day Monday before like-that arrive
 lôch du twâng. U heq khoi dũh dân XL, bậy me mắng
 enough one week At here also hot like XL and just night
 ndau gễh mi du simmron.
 last have rain one shower

Ôi ndau gễh K bậy M tăt moq ănh du măt,
 morning yesterday have K and M arrive visit me one time
 ănh khoi iau khây nễh saq sên vắn-phồng me.
 I also led them go see office new

U nhi me nỏq vu an ănh bậy si-ur siklô Banker
 at house new that people let me and wife husband
 ôp vrủq simở du lâm côt (du lâm côt vlăh pe). Ănh văt
 do work same one cl. room one cl. room cut three I bring
 lũh sirăq Yăng bậy yiết sirăq phong-tục u nỏq.
 forth paper John and write paper customs at there

Vrêq u heq khây nễh ayh tằm-vatom 2 dâq / 1 twâng.
 now at here they only meet 2 time 1 week
 Ayh 2 twâng lăm ănh hôm u nhi nỏq cồ đặc-biệt ăp năr
 only 2 week when I still at home so special every day
 ca mva tỏq.
 like year before

U heq vu an ănh gũq simo' bãy S (Nùng) bãy
at here people let me stay same with S and

cô C (Chăm).

grandfather C

Discourse 2:

May mo un cô gẽh vơu ngwân diêt an
thanks grandmother/father have pray beg constantly for
si-ur ănh. Twâng lor nẽh khoi gẽh đở ndêt wỏq, bãy
wife my week before she also have better bit more and
khoi gẽh saq chĩch diêt ăp nãr. Lor a saq ănh
also has gone injection always every day before of go I
khoi gẽh pân nẽh vâng ôp pãch lây cô canjãq, nggãm
also have advised her don't do thing any which heavy and
hê gẽh ji lây nõq wĩnh Ng điệן-tin an ănh gưt dê
if have sick any so ask Ng telegraph let me know easy
ănh sỉq lawân. Ănh sinâng Vap Gũn cơ gốt
I return immediately I think Father Holy continually
an nẽh du nãr du camhlãng. Chãc u mớch tiêng khay
let her one day one strong Probably at near tail month
heq ănh iau nẽh jur Saigon dê saq vlam bắc-si du dãq
here I take her down Saigon easy go meet doctor one time
wỏq.

more

Discourse 3:

Un cô sỉq vliãq palây Nhuôn u tiêng
grandmother/father return back place Vietnam at tail
khay 3 heq gal hâng? Bãy, gẽh chãng lơ mê
month 3 here right ? and have hear over mother

un de lũh a nhi ji hóm?
 grandmother poss. exit from house sick yet

Discourse 4:

Lor a hao N.T., ănh gẽh sên jên 5000đ cồ
 before of go-up Nhatrang I have seen money which
 ănh hóm jơ, ănh sây hóm 2000đ, (3000đ si-ur ănh gẽh nham
 I still keep I see still wife my have borrow
 saq chợ en) nỏq ănh đơp 2000đ tâu Nh. chẻq nẻh saq mớq
 go market past so I give to Nh. to him go visit
 Trại-tạm-cư Cẩm Tân. (Lăm jên nỏq lẻq nỏq nanh
 refugee-settlement when money that gone so we
 song jên cồ gẽh nham 3000đ tĩq wỏq.)
 repay money which have borrow that more

Ănh gẽh nhai sĩq vrũq heq bậy Ng. lor a ănh
 I have talk about work this with Ng. before of I
 saq. Ănh may mo Siđăch sây nẻh khoi nhai panh khây lăm cồ
 go I thank Lord see he also say say pl. time which
 ranang nỏq nẻh saq bậy Nh. tâu gatũq nỏq. Ănh hơn lũng
 free so he go with Nh. to place that I rejoice very
 pách nỏq.
 thing that

Discourse 5:

Wĩnh vou ngwân an gẽh du mvu Chrau sĩq Tân Phú,
 ask pray beg let have one person Chrau return Tân-Phú
 khây nẻh u nỏq khây nẻh nhâng-bâng conh gẽh du mvu
 they at there they truly want have one person
 Chrau sĩq u nỏq.
 Chrau return at there

Discourse 6:

Nỗq, chắc 2 ha 2½ twâng wốq ănh sỉq, ănh đăng
 so probably or week more I return I not
 conh gũq jốq đông wốq phũng vur tachăch trong en
 want stay long more more fear gaur (VC's) snap road then
 sỉq đăng gẽh.
 return not able

Conclusion

Gũq yăh ơ! Nhanh lawân căh tăt un
 stay good *imp.* we always remember to grandmother
 cô. Wĩnh an ănh pân moq si-ur siklô pốp
 grandfather ask let me advise greet wife husband older sib.

Bruce Grayden nggâm Dick.

and

Ngwân Vap Gũn lawân tê văt tăt năh Nẽh sỉq.
 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 Câm 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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