THE PARAGRAPH LEVEL IN CHRAU

Dorothy THOMAS

Mahidol University and
Summer Institute of Linguistics

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1. INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

I would like to thank my husband, David Thomas, who made many helpful suggestions on this paper, and also the many Chrau
much to Longacre (1976) and Beekman (1978) for their contributions to the analysis of narrative paragraphs, and to Jones (1977) for her discussion of expository texts in English.

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

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

The values of the letters in Chrau are the same as their equivalents in Vietnamese qu6c-ng6i, except that giatan\ stands for a glottal stop, j is a voiced palatal stop, d is a voiced alveolar stop, and there are more short vowels (marked with") than in Vietnamese.
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**Figure 1: Paragraph types**

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

Descriptive paragraphs can be in past, present, future or general time, but without sequential ordering. Situational descriptive paragraphs are oriented to a point in time or a stretch of time, as *pōn md̓aʔ lawən* 'ever after', but concept descriptive paragraphs are in general time. Situational descriptive paragraphs also have specific participants or situations, such as *ən̓h əp kən̓əq* 'I do like that' or *nəʔ əp kən̓əq* 'he does like that', whereas concept descriptive paragraphs are more general, as *və əp kən̓əq* 'people do like that' or *vən əp kən̓əq* 'we (incl.) do like...
that'. Aside from these formal characteristics, there is little difference in the development of the two kinds of descriptive paragraphs, so they will be treated together.

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

2. NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS

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

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

2.1 THE SETTING

The initial margin of the narrative paragraph is the setting. Beekman (1978) has found that there is a natural prominence within narrative, with each effect being more prominent than its cause. So the setting is normally the least prominent part of the paragraph.
The setting may consist of just a time margin in the first sentence of a paragraph, or it may consist of up to several sentences, depending on the amount of prominence given to the constituents of the setting.

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

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

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

Ex. 1. ...vap nên soh ya.
Aheq prau nđu con nên sây 本市 sa kwa...

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

Phâq also gives prominence to the change of participant, but it only occurs introducing speech by the new participant, not his actions.
Ex. 2. ...chẽq âm vri âm nē̄h vōq en hōm.  
Phāp Cọ GaNhut panh, "Pāch n'hya...'"

...made the place and earth stink.  
*Then Cọ GaNhut said* , "What..."

The class $\langle$ en (nōq)$\rangle$, that is, the particles en, en nōq, en kē, ncai, mōh, en mōh, mōh ncai, occur most frequently with a change of participant, but also fairly often with a change of activity, only occasionally with a change of time. En by itself almost never occurs with a change of location but must be combined with other particles (cf. ex. 14). Mōh seems to be dialectal, as the 36 occurrences were all by three speakers, two thirds occurring in only two texts out of 16 narrative texts.

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

Ex. 3. ...nē̄h ốp nēh sa. Ốp sa en nōq nēh vīq dũng mảng...

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

Ex. 4. ...Nēh saq sīq tu nōq.  
Nēh saq sīq tu nōq nēh vīam cò ōh nēh...

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

Fronting may occur with any constituent of the setting to be made prominent. This is particularly noticeable with
time phrases, as sometimes there is no special lexical marker added (ex. 5). Normal word order is SVO Time/Location. If a change of participant is in the subject slot, he can be fronted by adding aheq after the subject (ex. 6). The subject may or may not be repeated after aheq.

Ex. 5. ...něh ēq gūt ēp nsao.
   Cāh ēi něh saq wōq...
   ...he didn't know what to do.
   Early the next morning he went again...

Ex. 6. ...něh adōh něh.
   Yau aheq něh chāng...
   ...he (the orphan) was singing.
   The tiger heard...

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

Ex. 7. ...Nhưng aheq, něh du lâm con ǒh pūt nǒq, con prau nǒq, něh gün něh gūt trong něh de.
   Aheq něh...
   ...Then the youngest brother, the sixth child, he was magic and knew what to do.
   Then he...

Sometimes a stereotyped phrase 'don't know wh-' is used to heighten the suddenness of a new participant's appearance. A sudden appearance may involve time and location, as well as the participant, in the setting (ex. 8, 9, 12).
Ex. 8. (Candraq nøq, dăng gut u máy, a nøq a heq
crow that not know where from there from here
pær tät nøq) pær cê plai pa-oq nøq
fly arrive there) cut fruit mango that

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

Ex. 9. (När nøq, dăng gut vri nøq u máy) chaq nøq...
day that not know where not at any) demon that

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

Completely unmarked settings are rare:

Ex. 10. (Vap càh a 娣, vất piêng saq wǒq...
father awake in morning) carry rice go again

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

Multiple markings are more common:

Ex. 11. (En nøq càh ta-au...) (after that awake tomorrow)

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

Ex. 12. (Nềh saq sǐq, aheq dăng gut nsao...
he go return then not know why

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

Ex. 13. (Con la-di aheq vu vanǒh vu ñè.
child orphan front. anyone wise anyone
The orphan child was smart. Stupid people in his shoes would be dead. (fronting plus a long description)

2.2 THE NUCLEUS

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

\( \text{Aheq} \) usually indicates a break in the natural prominence of succeeding responses, either giving extra prominence to a response or balancing two actions (for the latter usage, some speakers use \( \text{cò} \)).

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

In the following example, two actions are given equal importance by \( \text{aheq} \):

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

Pertinent sections in long examples are enclosed in large parentheses.
Ex. 14. En nōq ōh pūt nēh nōq pīq cē la after that youngest child he that pick part. leaf tung trōh tu tēh, la tung nēh jūr wūr wūr tung drop to earth leaf tung it go down whirr whirr wūr tu tēh. (Aheq nēh nhūp chhe trōh, nēh whirr to earth then he take string loincloth he tämvuöt, nēh yar khāy pōp nēh jūr lēq tu tie he lower pl. older sibl. his down all to tēh.) (Aheq nēh pīq cē la tung, nēh hao gūq earth then he pick part. leaf tung he go up sit vlō la tung nēh jūr khoi a pōp nēh wōq.) on leaf tung he go down also to older sibl. his also En nēh pandōp pōp nēh. En nōq prau ndu then he save older sibl. his after that six person pōp ōh nēh saq sīq. older-ygr. they go return

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

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

More of the stimulus-response chain is carried within speech than in non-speech (but see examples below). Interruptions may
be descriptions, flashbacks, asides or logical explanations.

a. Description of a participant may interrupt the chain:

Ex. 15. En cờ ur nhai nhang canởq, nỡq Cồ Nhựt Cồ Nhỏq
after women talk truly like—that so Cồ Nhựt Cồ Nhỏq
wông wông lểq sùng nhi, wông lểq pách nỡq pách heq
search search all in house search all thing that thing this
wông chởq vlam, nhữq cờ gasıèr gasıèr sêh nỡq, tong glao
search neg. find take straw straw wine that stick bamboo
nổq. Cồ Nhựt Cồ Nhỏq khłoż u nỡq, khłoż phutluq tålũh Cồ
that Cồ Nhựt Cồ Nhỏq blow in that blow suddenly out Cồ
Nsèt nỡq, lũh gayh tamun, nỡq lũh thiệt yãh rom
Nsèt that out become person so out truly good handsome
lồng klöz nổq, rom thăng-tay.
very man that handsome extremely.

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

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

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

Ex. 16. ...Nễh mỡi nhũng cồ ntụng cồ npho cồ
he invite pl. official official important
nchu nca
people
...He invited all those officials and important people to come there properly. (aside: Now what in the world could he do?) (flashback: Previously his son-in-law was all pimply and itchy) (description: but now he had become strong.) Now all the people of that place decided to make the son-in-law king instead of him...

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

Ex. 17. ...Nểh panh, "Nau, may tung un a vôq, she said grandchild you carry grandmother at head chằng, nau." Êq them tung a vôq (mà nểh nểh hear grand child not willing carry at head (but if he tung a vôq yau aheq yau krùn nểh. Nểh nểh Êq carry at head tiger tiger pounce him so he not
...She said, "Grandchild, you carry me in front, hear?" He wouldn't carry in front, (if he carried in front, the tiger would pounce on him, so he wouldn't carry in front.) He said to let him carry behind...

2.3 THE FINAL MARGIN

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

Ex. 18. ...Aheq var ndu pëp ŏh mûyh chhông
then two people older-yger. sibl. clear finish
en saq sîq.
then go return

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

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

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

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

Descriptive paragraphs may be analyzed into "scripts" (Jones 1977),\(^3\) which are the relationships between a theme and its

\(^3\)Jones on Schank: "They define scripts as 'a preformed sequence of actions that constitute the natural order of a piece of knowledge' (Schank et al. 1975:3). A script serves 'to fill in the gaps in a causal chain when they can't be inferred just by themselves' (ibid.). Scripts are the repeatable events, sequences whose component parts a person could predict from many previous experiences with them." (Jones 1977:116). Some scripts are universal, others culturally determined. "Furthermore, in learning a script, we also learn which components of the script are most important to it, and without which it would not be that script. These important components are what I am treating...as theme." (Jones 1977:117). Although Schank et al. applied scripts only to narrative discourse, Jones develops their use as a tool for analysis of expository discourse as well. In the usage of Schank et al., a listing of all possible scripts would be encyclopedic. In Jones' usage, scripts are types of relationships, so they are very limited in number and could be described in a grammar. Schank's script is actually closer to Jones' (and my) theme.
supporting points. Scripts are to paragraphs what inter-clausal relationships (sometimes called inter-propositional relationships) are to sentences. The script relationships are quite similar to the inter-clausal relationships (cf. David Thomas, manuscript) except that so far the list of scripts which have been found is much more limited. The five scripts found thus far for Chrau are paraphrase, generic-specific, informal proof, negative clarification, and comparison-contrast. (Jones found eight for English.)

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

Figure 2. Sample theme and point relationships
3.1 THEMES

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

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

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

a. Lexical markers of theme on the paragraph level are frequently the same as the markers for paragraph breaks because the theme is so commonly at the beginning or end of the paragraph. This may seem circular, but as a matter of fact, there is usually a cluster of indications of theme and a different cluster of indicators of paragraph break, so that words like aheq/còn 'as to' and vreq 'now' help to indicate both.
Canỏq and thành ra 'therefore' usually mark discourse theme, but canỏq sometimes marks paragraph theme or even lower, while the Vietnamese loan thành ra is rare on the lower levels.

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

Nỏq 'so' and vreq 'now' (or the whole class of time words like paheq, vreq, tệu a nỏq, a heq põh mvõq, tât 'formerly, now, from then on, from now on, until') operate equally on either the discourse level or the paragraph level.

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

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

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

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

Ex. 19. (Ca vu mpanh) gểh ốh nho ốh, (as they say) have younger sib. depend younger sib.
gěh con nhô con.

have child depend child

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

On the discourse level:

Ex. 20. (Nhai) vu ur viq nōq.
           talk  person  woman sleep fire

Talk about women giving birth

On a lower level:

Ex. 21. ...Ãnh té mē ãnh nōq, (nhai panh nhai,) ãnh
        I keep mother my that talk say talk I
        té gěh du lâm proq hay-là gěh du lâm kraih,
        keep have one cl. squirrel or have one cl. chipmunk
        dāng gǒq tōq mà gěh du lâm sikwāy (ãnh panh,)
        not much neg. but have one cl. mousedeer I say
        sǐq-vlāq mē ãnh té ãnh, ca daq hor goh-ragoh...
        return mother I keep my like water flows regularly

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

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

Rhetorical questions also occur on all levels, though Jones found question mainly on the discourse or paragraph levels in
English. In Chrau, there are two kinds of rhetorical questions. The first kind, a real question followed by its answer, tends to mark a discourse or paragraph level theme:

Ex. 22. (Vrequ môq ānh nhiệu vrequ?) Thì phái ānh tê now how I talk now must I keep mê ānh phân nào àm.
mother my part any part.

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

Ex. 23. Nêu mê nênh cô chút thì en, (vrequ môq ông if mother she dead final (now how do vrequ?) now

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

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

Ex. 24. ...En nêq cô si-un gũq nhi chút pangot (camvu then wife stay home dead hungry (who cô tê.)) (Camvu có prênh n’gal may prênh...
keep who embarass not-true you embarass)

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

The unanswerables are usually of the type môq ông 'what can be done?', camvu...? 'who...?', pách n’hya... 'what could...?'.
Topicalization occurs as a marker of theme in Chau. This has similarities with focus (cf. Dorothy Thomas 1978:249) yet is different from it. Focus determines what participant can be referred to by nēh 'third person'. Topicalization gives us the main paragraph topic but not necessarily the participant referred to by nēh. Topicalization is accomplished by fronting.

Ex. 25. (Phe mọi păch nŏq păch heq,) nēh vro u chô...
at market

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

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

Ex. 26. (Anh heq,) mŏq ānh ḍp u heq?
I here what I do at here

Me here, what can I do?

In a content question, the content question word precedes the subject, but in ex. 26 the subject ānh is duplicated before the question word. Heq would normally act as a focus marker, ahq as topicalization marker, but as ānh cannot be focused, there is no contrast and heq here acts as paragraph topicalizer. Notice also that the topic is contained in a rhetorical question, so the topic is well established at the outset of this paragraph.
Ex. 27. (Vreq Nhuông, dăng Nhuông nêh,) nêh...
(now Vietnamese group Vietnamese they) they

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

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

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

Ex. 28. Sipăm nocalypse khoi cançoq lúc mà me
sorcerer that also like that time just
săm a mau, sipăm huch alać takiq. (Nêh
sacrifice in afternoon sorcerer drink wine little (he
eq huch alać gotquiq, nêh nêh hao yang, nêh eq
not drink wine much) if he go-up spirit he not
gut pạch lấy lêq...
know thing any all

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Of these five scripts, informal proof, negative clarification and comparison-contrast tend to have more intricate development because those three have more complicated themes, so there are more possibilities to be developed. In contrast, a paraphrase
paragraph is sometimes filled with just a simple series of paraphrases and little else.

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

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

Ex. 29. Bōi-yì conōq (con vāl u heq phái chiju therefore (civilians at here must suffer thīêt-thòi). Nēh hūch n'ham con vāl de u heq. Nēh losses) he drink blood civilian poss.at here he ḍp con vāl sūng heq sūn gūt bāo-nhīẹu sūng heq, does civilian in here not know how much in here bōi-yi (con vāl u heq phái chiju thīêt-thòi.) therefore (civilians at here must suffer losses)

(Con vāl phái chiju thīêt-thòi bay nēh lūŋ, nēh civilians must suffer losses from him very) he panh trung-úy nhāng nēh, mà Dīa-dīém trührung nhāng say lieutenant truly he but settlement chief truly nēh. (Nēh ḍp u heq con vāl cūng phái chiju thīêt-thòi.) he (he make at here civilians also must suffer losses)

Nēu vōh nhai phūng nēh pām, nēu nhai phūng nēh phāt, if we say fear him beat it say fear he punish bōi-yì con vāl khanañh sāy nēh ḍp canōq, con vāl therefore civilian we see he do like that civilians
khananh phùng nể kwa.
we fear him much

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

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

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

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

Ex. 30. Yông may heq chăng, 1. ur drūh sūh mʊŋ aunt your here listen woman single-widowed chăng, tũ a may hào tu heq chăng. Yöng may listen from from you come to here listen aunt your heq, 2. wāih ji wāih cōr diēt yöng may heq. here always sick always ache always aunt your here 3. Mà झां saq ṭp sūn gēh saq sa sūn gēh, 4. yöng but I go work not able go eat not able aunt
may heq nēh du nør du camvǐnh en dön. Nhai panh
your here she one day one old already talk say
nhai,-program may heq nēh lēh-sat lǔng may gǔt
mon. talk aunt your here she hard up very you know nephew

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

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

Ex. 31. Nēh panh con vǎl u heq ệc gēh jēn băc,
he say civilians at here not have money
1. phài xaq ọp long an nēh iūn. Bước long
must go make firewood for him for chop firewood
khananh phài ọp, nēu ệc ọp ệc gēh piēng sa, 2. Nēh
we must make if not do not have rice eat he
băt-bước con vǎl phài vro ạ̀ nēh. ẹ̀q vro ạ̀
force civilians must buy things his not buy things
nēh ẹ̀q gēh piēng vōn sa, con vǎl u heq ẹ̀q gēh
his not have rice we eat civilians at here not have
bạc mà vro sa. la. Nêh nhüp con văl saq đp
silver buy eat he take civilians go make
long an nêh ủn, buốc long con văl phải đp.
firewood for him for chop firewood civilians must do
Lúc nỏq con văl piếng sa sùn gềh lò, 2a. nêh
time that civilians rice eat not have part. he
bắt-buốc con văl phải saq vro phe nêh mà sa. Nêu
force civilians must go buy rice his eat if
con văl đq vro pách nêh nỏq, đq gềh bây nêh,
civilians not buy things his that not have with him
nêh bắt-buốc con văl lây phải vro lềq u nêh.
he force civilians any must buy all from him
3. Con văl u heq đq gềh su ao chuq rõq
civilians at here not have cloth clothes wear wear
lềq, bôi-yỳ con văl u heq chê saq wông jen mà
all because civilians at here only go hunt money to
saq vro phe piếng mà sa. 4. Nêh sáng khananh đp
go buy rice rice to eat he causes us do
công-công, du khay nêh cể kỉ nỏq, nêh nhüp đp
publicworks one month he who male that he take do
công-công an nêh ủn lềq màt năr. Còn hóm var
publicworks for him for all ten day still still two
jat năr đp sung ya-dình vdn đp cânđq đq lêch
ten day work in family we work thus not enough
sa. Cáí-mà-thiều-thôn nỏq đq gềh piếng sa, buốc long
eat what-the-hardship that not have rice eat chop firewood
phải saq ḍp long an něh iun.
must go make firewood for him for

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

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

Arguments: 1. (So) he makes us chop wood for him.
2. (So) he makes us buy his things.
3. (So) We don't have any clothes to wear.
4. (Because) we have to work ten days a month on public works.

d. The negative clarification script is somewhat similar to Jones' evaluation script. The theme is a thesis plus its negation, either by negated antonym, contra-expectancy, or contra-factuality.

This type of script tends to be more emotion charged than others and the negation or contra-expectancy is sometimes marked with extra prominence by ḍheq, mà (VN) or ñé (cf. sentences 2 and 3 in ex. 32 and 5 in ex. 33). There may be a slip in the
pronoun usage as well (see discussion below).

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

Ex. 32. 1. Nhuôn nèh vro camvlo khananh, dù thùng ayh VN they buy corn our one can only pe jät nđōh ngān. Nhuôn nèh vro khananh de panh three ten bill only VN they buy our poss. say thùng nèh ken, 2. aheq thùng màq kwa. 2a. Thùng nèh can it small ! can large very can it gěh var jät kilō ñum thùng nāq la. mà nèh dōp has two ten kilo one can that but (they) give ayh cō pe jät ngān. (Nèh dōp canōq khananh ēq only three ten only (they do like that we not cōnh nèh gūq u heq wōq.) want them stay at here more)

1. The Vietnamese buy our corn, one can for just 30 piastres. The Vietnamese buy our things saying that the cans are small, 2. but actually the cans are very large. 2a. The cans are 20 kilos each, la. but they only give us a mere 30. (Discourse theme) They act like that, we don't want them to stay here any more.
In the above example, in the third sentence the **nểh** following **thủng** should indicate that the next **nểh** will refer to **thlaughs** 'can'; but as a matter of fact it cannot, as **đốp** can take only an animate subject. The **nểh** has to mean the Vietnamese. In narrative discourse this same sort of slip was found at the point of highest emotional pitch in a plot.

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

Ex. 33. 1. **Nểh** nhai viêm Cỏ Var, 2. **nểh** **đốp-thulação** they talk bad Lt. they falsely accuse khananh Chraw. 2a. Khananh vi iun nhai Cỏ Var pạch us we not have talk Lt. thing lây pa. 2. Mà **nểh** **đốp-thulação** khananh, 2b. **nểh** panh any not but they falsely accuse us they say Chraw nhai viêm Cỏ Var. 2c. **Nểh** panh Găng yah, **nểh** talk bad Lt. they speak not good they nhai **nểh** panh bây Cỏ Var. 1a. Đế **nểh** nhai talk they say with Lt. surprisingly they talk Cỏ Var **nểh** panh Cỏ Var Găng yah, 2. en **vởq** **nểh** nhai Lt. they say Lt. not good then now they talk khananh **vởq**. (**vởq** khananh **q** cônh **nểh** qûq sùng heq us more now we not want them stay in here **vởq**, khananh cônh **nểh** lụn khoi a vi khananh more we want them exit away from place our heq.) here
1. They slandered the lieutenant, 2. they falsely accused us Chrau of it. 2a. We didn't say anything at all about the lieutenant, 2. but they falsely accused us, 2b. they said we slandered the lieutenant. 2c. They didn't talk right, they said they were with the lieutenant, they said he was no good! 2. And now they talk about us, too. (Discourse theme) Now we don't want them to stay here any more, we want them to get out of here.

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

Ex. 34. 1. Còn vi vu tăm-sẳm nẳq thè vu as-to where people sacrifice that person
nào jì nẳq saq roc sipẳm vu sẳm du nẳng any sick so go call shaman person sacrifice one night
du nẳr, ta-au nẳq lềq. 2. Còn деж yang pe one day tomorrow so all as-to do spirits three
nẳng pe nẳr nềq lềq, nẳq palảy ảnh. la. Hê vu night three day it all so place my when person
nào jì mẳq nẳq sẳm sur hay-là iètre da sểh any sick big so sacrifice pig or chicken duck wine
 đứ, pẳch nẳq pẳch 10ch lềq. 3. Hay-là vu thing thing that thing enough all or person
õh văq.

answer promise

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

Although the third item has no facts given, the following paragraph is all about it, explaining that people don't do it much anymore, but perhaps the speaker will do it in the future. The rest of the discourse is about the first item.

3.3 SAMPLE PARAGRAPH ANALYSIS

In the following paragraph, the main script is comparison—contrast, so it has items (the theme) and facts about them (the points). The two items being compared are a lieutenant and three shopkeepers, both marked by cõn. Facts about the lieutenant are: (1a) he was cruel, and (1b) he took care of the people (alternatively, these could be considered one fact containing a negative clarification. There is one main fact about the shopkeepers, (2a) they just get rich off the people. There are two paraphrases of 2a, one a repetition (2a1) and one much looser, almost to the point of being a generic—specific (2a2). There is a proof script relationship between 2a1 and 2a1a. (This script could be analyzed further as containing a negative clarification script, but we are down to the sentence level here). That it is a proof script is marked by canõq at the beginning of 2a1, showing that 2a1 is the result of 2a1a. The paragraph concludes with a discourse level theme, also marked with canõq.
Ex. 35. 1. Còn Cő Var hỏi lúc naq thì panh as-to Lt. time time previously say 
1a. Cő Var nên chắc cùng,lủng,canaoq, lb. nhưng-mà nên tê Lt. he cruel very like-that but he keep 
vâl. 2. Còn pe làm tìm heq nên género u heq civilian as-to three cl. shop here they stay at here 
2a. khoi nên nhỏ Chrau khananh. 2ala. Mà nên jina, also they depend us but they rich 
vi gal mà nên tât heq mà nên gek jên san not true but they come here but they have money ? 
pà. 2al. Canoq mà nên tât heq nên nhỏ Chrau neg. like-that but they come here they depend 
khananh. 2alb. Nên xâc tu yin-dông heq, nên vro us they return to resettlement here they buy 
re, nên vật xâc tu heq nên tách mặt bày cheap they carry back to here they sell expensive to 
khananh. (Canaoq khananh đang cònh nên género u heq us like-that we not want them stay at here 
woq.) more

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

"Most of the texts from which the examples in this paper are taken are available for consultation on SIL microfiches numbers VD11-82A and VD11-82B. Others are from a University of Oklahoma
Discourse theme: We don't want the shopkeepers here anymore.

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

1. Lieutenant  
   1a. cruel  
   1b. took care of the people

2. Shopkeepers  
   2a. stay here and get rich off us
   2b. came here and get rich off us

2a. rich, but didn't have anything at first
   2b. buy cheap, sell high

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

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

Nhữn nẻh vro. CT  
(Dutch merchants)

Canjiang Canjoi. A-184, BJ  
(Canjiang and Canjoi)

Chot Canièt. A-66, BC  
(The itchy man)

Jíke. AJ  
(The wild pigs)

Klån. AK  
(The python)

Klô Dlu Nsêt  
(The mushroom man)

Pa-oq. A-171, AP  
(The mango)

Yôch. B-156, AY  
(The foolish man)

Rach pađau. A-4  
(Instructions)

Tâm-sàm. A-35, DS  
(Performing a ceremony)

Tè Mê Vap. A-287, EA  
(Caring for parents)

Vîq nãq. B-42, DV  
(Birth)

Yàq Cô Var. A-40  
(Accusing the lieutenant)

Yông Mê Nhĩếng nhai. A-262, EM  
(Mê Nhĩếng talks)
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