LƯỢC ĐỒ VÀ TRỌNG ĐIỂM TRONG DIỄN NGÔN LƯỢC THUẬT TRONG TIẾNG PA-CÔ

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Mục đích của bài này là minh họa những khái niệm như "Lược đồ" và " Trọng Điểm" trong diễn ngôn lược thuật trong tiếng Pa-cô[1] . "Lược đồ" đề cập đến bất kỳ mối quan hệ lôgic nào giữa những mệnh đề, và cũng đề cập đến bất kỳ chu cảnh của những quan hệ như vậy ở cấp độ của cả diễn ngôn. Cấu trúc Lược đồ được xem như là nguyên lý cấu trúc chính của phát ngôn giải thích- có thể so sánh với Cốt truyện (Tình tiết) trong Phát ngôn tự sự.

Bài viết này dựa theo quyển "Ngữ pháp của hai văn bản tiếng Pa-cô" (Watson, 1980). Mô hình được bản ngữ pháp ấy dựa theo ở một mức độ nào đó là một sự phối hợp giữa ngữ pháp phân tầng lẫn ngữ pháp kết vị . Mỗi Văn bản được phân tích trên 4 góc độ: tình huống Giao tiếp (THGT), cấu trúc sâu, cấu trúc bề mặt , và âm vị học.

Phần đầu của bài viết mô tả "Lược đồ" và "Điểm" trong văn bản tiếng Pa-cô Pang Ntiaq (The Old Day). Phần thứ hai so sánh cấu trúc của một diễn ngôn trong văn bản tiếng Pa-cô thứ hai với văn bản đầu. Phần thứ ba so sánh những cấu trúc này với cấu trúc ngôn tự. Cách sử dụng các kết từ đặc biệt trong tiếng Pa-cô và những ngôn ngữ khác cũng được phân tích trong bài này.

PAKOH EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE[1]

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The purpose of this paper is to describe two examples of Pakoh expository discourse. Narrative texts have received attention for some years now, but little has been done with Expository texts. The two Pakoh texts analyzed here are of special interest to me because of their semantic structures and particular realizations in the surface structure. In addition, they are relevant to aspects of the history and culture of the Pakoh, a Vietnamese minority language group.

Pakoh Expository discourse is binary, in both its semantic structure above the proposition level and in its sentence structure. The semantic structure consists of paired constituents in logical or rhetorical relationships. I use the term 'Scheme'[2] to refer to these binary units, whether they consist of the relationships between propositions or larger configurations up to whole discourses. Stated a bit differently, a Scheme is a stereotyped configuration of logical relationships between Propositions and/or other Schemes (Watson 1980). The Scheme structure of an Expository Discourse is not just a list of interpropositional relations, but a hierarchical structuring of Schemes within Schemes down to their terminal constituents, i.e. propositions and proposition clusters.[3]

In Longacre's (1996:9) discourse typology, expository discourse is characterized as minus agent orientation and minus contingent temporal succession in contrast to narrative, which is plus in both of those parameters; however, "to put it positively, it (expository) has topic orientation and logical succession." (Hwang 1998:280)

Sections 1 and 2 describe two expository texts. Section 3 briefly compares the two with each other.

1. EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE—A PROBLEM-SOLUTION SCHEME

The Pakoh Text, **Pang A^n Tiaq** 'The Old Days', is an example of a Problem-Solution Scheme. The Text with an interlinear and free translation is presented in Display 1. Sentence divisions are indicated by raised numbers 1 through 15c. The abbreviation (R) 'reduplicative' indicates identical gloss. **Pang** 'generation' is abbreviated 'gen.'. It could be translated 'lifetime' or, more briefly, 'days' to indicate a span of time as much as the people in it.

Display 1 The Text

PANG A^N TIAQ

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[1] Pakoh is a Mon-Khmer language of the Katuic group spoken in the mountainous region west of the city of Hue. This paper is based on *A Grammar of Two Pakoh Texts* (Watson 1980). Data was collected near Hue, Viet Nam between 1962 and 1965.

[2] The term 'schema' is sometimes used for "the overall patterning of the message" (Callow and Callow 1992:11). However, it also has a much broader use, sometimes including knowledge of the world, scripts, and even memory strategies, etc. (Britton and Black 1985) I use 'scheme' only to refer to the logical and rhetorical relationships which form the notional structure of an expository discourse--somewhat on a par with 'plot' and the parts of a plot in narrative.

[3] Longacre (1996) refers to relations between predications in a statement calculus and of etic or structural paragraphs. Callow and Callow (1992) use the term 'configuration' and Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson (1992) refer to 'spans'.

₂a ŒAng   ngai   aᶜn   tiaq   inoᶜ-ntra   I[laᶜyq   chom   ura₂q   chom   u-ar,

Generation   them   that   old   past-time   really   not   know   books   know   (R)

1a The old generation of the past really didn't know books and letters,

₂b coˡᶜh m   pang   ngai   n[m   lla₂m   ta₂q   lla₂m   cha,   aboᶜn   tian   pra₂q,

a

but   gen.   them   just   only   worked   only   ate,   got   money   silver,

1b but in their generation just worked just ate, earned money and silver,

ta₂q   piday-clai,   ta₂q   hang-hoq,   h[t   kidoᵒl,   troi-turuiq.

worked   fields-(R),   worked   products-(R),   tobacco   hemp,   betel-(R).

worked fields and lands, traded goods and products, tobacco and hemp, betelnuts.

₃a αoˡᶜh ma   toˡᶜq   pang   he   aki   nne₂h,   p[t   do   aᶜn   chom   ura₂q

But   at   gen.   us   time   this,   many   he   who   knows   books

2a But in our generation, there are many who know books and letters,

chom   u-ar,   ₃b meˡᵒq   tarli-li   Yoᵒan,

know   (R),   almost   equal   Vietnamese.

2b nearly as well as the Vietnamese,

₃ᶜcoˡᶜh ma   vaih,   ita₂h   a-i   ita₂h   a-a₂m,   ita₂h   a-em achai,

But   happens,   abandon   mothers   abandon   fathers,   abandon   siblings

2c but it happens that people abandon mothers, abandon fathers, abandon brothers and sisters,

ita₂h   cruang   daq,   maᶜh   na₂q   ₃ᵈmaᶜh   æ[ang   maᶜh   na₂q   maᶜh   daq.

abandon   valley   river,   one   classifier-   one   region   one   classifier-   one   river

                                  human   human

abandon valleys and rivers; 2d one to a region, one a river.

₄I[diaiq   I[tu₂h,   ₀ p[t   ngaᶜh   cheᵒt,   p[t   ngaᶜh   pi₂t,

Very   difficult   very   desperate.   Many   who   dead,   many   who   lost.

3 It's very difficult, very desperate. 4 Many are dead, many are lost.

ⁿlaᶜyq   iboᶜn   hoᶜm   a-i   a-a₂m,   du₂ng   veᵒl,   acay   campay.

Not   one-gets   see   mother   father,   homes   villages,   children   wives.

5 One cannot see mothers and fathers, homes and villages, children and wives.

ᶜ₊e   Œakoˡᵒh   te   anaᶜh   te   ahaᶜn   laᶜyq   boᶜn   aᶜn   araᶜq   pang   nne₂h.

We   Pakoh   from   long-ago   from   (R)   not   had   what   like   gen.   this.

6 We Pakoh from olden times from ancient times did not have it like these days:

ⁱYoan   liah   ta₂q   Yoan,   ᵒŒakoˡᵒh   ma   tarta₂q,

Vietnamese   back   fight   VN,   Pakoh   even   fight-each-other,

7 Vietnamese revolt against Vietnamese; 8 Pakoh even fight each other;

ⁱⁱa-a₂m   cacheᵒt   acay,   acay   cacheᵒt   a-a₂m,   ₂₁ coˡᶜh ma   toˡᶜq

fathers   kill   sons,   sons   kill   fathers,   but   at

9 Fathers kill sons and sons kill fathers; 10 But at

aki   nne₂h   vaih   yu₂c   al[ˡng   rbang   yu₂c   al[ˡng   cuteᵒac.

time   this   happens   insane   against   heaven   insane   against   earth.

the present time there is rebellion against heaven and rebellion against earth.

₂₂ᵃ fiicoˡᶜh   pang   ngai   aᶜn   tatiaq   inoᶜ-ntra   I[ian   I[o,

Thus gen. them which old past-time very peaceful very good,

11a Therefore, the lifetime of the old folks in the past was very peaceful very good,

I| xu₂c I[xian ₂₂ᵇclaᶜt pang he ndoⁱᵒng ne₂h.

very rich very wealthy beyond gen. us time this.

very rich very wealthy, 11b beyond the present.

₂₃ᵃαoⁱᶜh ma pang he nne₂h, do aᶜn xu₂c coⁱᶜh xu₂c I[,

But gen. us this, he who rich so rich very,

12a But in our present time, the rich are very rich,

₂₃ᵇb[ih diaiq-tu₂h ndi₂h maᶜh dyeaq, ₂₃ᶜcoⁱᶜh ma cucheᵒt d['h,

not desperate even a little, But die early (fast),

12b not even a little bit poor and desperate; 12c but they die fast.

13do aᶜn hoᶜi tubeⁱᵒq ma n[m ngai a-i₂nh,

he who skillful wise but only they hate,

13 The successful are only hated.

14do aᶜn xu₂c parnha ma n[m ngai oan

. he who rich wealthy but only they resent.

14 The prosperous are only resented.

₂ᵃa I[	laᶜyq	chom	tumoⁱᵒ ng	carna	mmo,	₂ᵃbm a	b[ih	cucheᵒ t	₂ᶜanha
Really	not	know	live	path	which		not	die	
						ever,	but		and

15a (I/we/they) really don't know what way to live 15b so as to avoid death 15c and

acaᶜp nna₂ng tarta₂q tarcha tartuaq.

stop completely fight-each-other (def)eat-each-other among-each-other.

stop the fighting and conquering of each other.

1.1 The Communication Situation of Pang A^n Tiaq

The setting of the text was 1964 in a resettlement village up the Perfume River from Hue. The speaker of the text is a village elder who had lost members of his own family and was concerned over the fact that in the old days without education there was greater social and political stability than in the present time with lots of education, knowledge and technology. His intent was to evaluate his present situation in the light of the old, and thereby to question both the literacy program being proposed by the American linguist and what he should do to survive and even help to bring peace. On this particular occasion the linguist was eliciting texts with a tape recorder, so the speaker had an opportunity to express his dilemma and perhaps even challenge the educated foreigner to debate. His attitude manifested contentment with the past, but strong discontent with the present situation, especially that part which most affected him and his people. The speaker's choice of Expository discourse was presumably not to make a flat rejection of education, but neither did he hide his feelings in a clever Narrative or obscure Proverb. Whether for better or for worse, the foreigner was too naïve to rise to the challenge.

In the approach followed, the notional or semantic structure of a discourse is described in terms of four components viewed as levels of a hierarchy. They are discourse structure (1.2), Scheme structure (1.3), sentence and proposition structure, and concept structure. However, for the purposes of this paper emphasis is given to scheme structure.

1.2. Discourse structure of `Pang A^n Tiaq`

Longacre (1996:34) has proposed that the schema or template underlying expository discourse is problem-solution with supporting argumentation and evaluation of the solution. In this text there is an underlying dilemma expressed by contrasts and frustrations without a known solution, but an expressed desire for a solution.

In addition to the argument structure, there is an alternation between two topics. The first topic is introduced by the Title (The Old Days). A more accurate title might be "the old days versus the present," since both topics are contrasted throughout the text. However, the conclusion is that the old days were better.

1.3. Scheme structure of `Pang A^n Tiaq`

The Scheme structure of **Pang A^n Tiaq** is described by its constituency, coherence and prominence.

1.3.1 Constituency of the Scheme structure[1]

Display 2 presents the constituency of the Discourse in an inverted tree diagram. Notice several orthographic conventions in the Display. Schemes, such as, Conclusion, etc., have their first letter capitalized, marking them as constructions (or configurations). Prominent constituents of Schemes, such as THESIS, are marked by capitalization of all letters. Sentence numbers are used to indicate the span of each Scheme. Pakoh connectives are included in the tree structure since the English glosses don't always distinguish them.

Although Longacre only referred to Problem-Solution as an underlying template for Expository discourse and I find no one who includes it with their inventory of rhetorical and logical relations, it seems that Problem-Solution functions as the highest Scheme of this discourse in a way that Conclusion does in the second discourse (section 2). The Problem contains a Conclusion Scheme which contains three Contrast Schemes which correlate with three paragraphs. However, the first two Contrasts are joined in a Paraphrase relation filling the observations,[2] while the third Contrast fills the CONCLUSION.

Starting from the bottom of Display 2, Sentence 1 is analyzed as a Frustration[3] about the past, joined with co'ᶜh ma 'but'. "In the old days they didn't know books, i.e., they were not educated; but they just worked, ate, earned money, etc." Although the connective is the same as that used for Contrasts, the THESIS, creates an expectation that the people, not having "formal" education, lacked something, but the COUNTER-THESIS is that education was not needed for their livelihood anyway.

Sentence 2 is analyzed as a Frustration Scheme about the present time. "Now people are educated; co'ᶜh ma 'but' the world is a mess; so why should we believe that education will improve anything?" (my paraphrase) There are two additional Schemes embedded in Sentence 2. Part b realizes a Comparison joined by the degree me_2ᵒq tarli-li 'almost equal to'. Part d is an amplification on part c, "it happens that people abandon mothers, abandon fathers, abandon siblings, abandon river valleys—one person one region, one person one river," i.e. separated and lonely. It might be taken as a RESULT, except that there is no connective.

αo'ᶜh ma 'but' between Sentences 1 and 2 signals a Contrast between the the old days and the present. Sentences 3, 4 and 5 give a three-way amplification of the ANTITHESIS, "Very

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[1] I am not interested in reducing to the fewest possible relationships, as some are, e.g collection, causation, response, comparison and description (cf. Meyer 1985:280).

[2] Other terms in use are 'grounds' and 'evidence'.

[3] Longacre (1996:90) changed from 'contra-expectation' 'frustration' and defines serveral subtypes.

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poor and desperate; many are dead and lost; we can't see our parents, homes, children and wives." In addition to amplification[1] they expression the speaker's attitude and emotion.

The second Contrast, beginning with Sentence 6 is similar to the first. This time, however, the amplification of the ANTITHESIS (sentences 7-9) is a negation of what the old days were like, i.e. a negated antonym paraphrase.

Sentences 11-15 express another Contrast, which could be taken as a third paraphrase; however, it is joined to the preceding by ico'ᶜh 'therefore', making it the CONCLUSION of the first two Contrasts, i.e. 'this is the way things really are'. THESIS is filled by a Comparison (11), "the old days were very peaceful, etc., beyond the present." αlaᶜt 'beyond' is the comparative connective of degree. The ANTITHESIS is filled by a Paraphrase, the THESIS of which is filled by a Frustration, "...the rich are very rich co'ᶜh ma 'but' they die fast." (This could also be taken as a Contrast, but seems contrary to expectation.) Embedded in the THESIS is a negated antonym Paraphrase, "...very rich, not even a little bit poor." (The term 'concession' is usually used to refer to the left constituent of a Frustration Scheme. My reason for using 'THESIS', as with Contrasts, is clarified by the Frustration Schemes of the second text (cf. 3.3.1).)

Sentences 13 and 14 are amplifications on 12 ("The successful are only hated. The prosperous are only resented.").

Sentence 15 carries a double function. At first it appears as the third part of the expected three-way amplification of ANTITHESIS 12. It is similar in attitude and emotion to all of the amplifications. However, it is structurally more complex, having three parts itself, and the tenor is even more subjective, in spite of the fact that the subject is omitted. The speaker is assumed to be referring to himself as at least one person in this dilemma. The second function is as non-solution to the entire preceding Problem, i.e., "Really don't know how to live..."

Internally, Sentence 15 contains a Coupling, joining "to live" and "to stop the fighting and defeating of each other." Its first part is further divided by a Paraphrase joining "to live" to the negated antonym "not to die."

1.3.2. Coherence in scheme structure.

Display 2 demonstrates the coherence of a well-formed logical configuration of binary relationships. In addition there is also style and textual coherence. The THESIS of each Contrast opens with the topic 'the old days'. The ANTITHESIS opens with the secondary topic 'the present'. This ties all three Contrasts together with each other and with the Title. Trinary structuring is also significant. The text is made up of three main paragraphs that realize the three Contrasts. The three Contrasts are in a cyclic relationship, each carrying the same basic Contrast and adding further information to the same theme (cf. 'cycling' in Grimes 1972, 1975, and Wendland 1975). The use of three Contrasts and three-way amplifications appears to be related to the wide-spread use of threes in folktales (Olric 1965), and in sermons. Of special note is the way that the three-way amplification of the middle Contrast is sandwiched between the constituents of the Contrast, providing stylistic symmetry. It is amazing how the mind of a good speaker can operate at such a stylish level at the same time as creating logically clear arguments ... and he never went to school!

1.3.3. Prominence And Theme In Scheme Structure.

a. Natural Prominence

Jones (1977:130) defined theme as the nuclear constituent(s) of any referential configuration. For example, the CONSEQUENCE of an Implication Scheme is considered to be more prominent than the Paraphrase. This is what Beekman and Callow (1979:4, 74-76) call 'natural prominence', or what Longacre (1979) calls 'weighting'. Following Jones, the analyst

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[1] Where I use Paraphrase and amplification, RST uses 'elaboration' (Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson 1992)

can assume that when he has determined the correct configuration of Schemes within a Discourse, he can automatically label the theme-line through the Scheme structure.

In Display 2 the bold double-lined branches trace the primary theme-line through the PROBLEM to CONCLUSION 1-14 to THESIS 11-14 to both THESIS and ANTITHESIS of Contrast11-12, and all of their constituents. This results in the following theme statement, adapted from Sentences 11 and 12: 'the old life was more peaceful and rich than the present; at present the rich are very rich; but they die fast'.

A more complete summary requires the addition of a theme-line for the SOLUTION, i.e., Sentence 15, which might be paraphrased: 'in the face of all this, how should one live?' (Not finding any precedence for a Problem-Solution Scheme, it is uncertain which constituent should be given the greater prominence.)

b. Rhetorical underlining

Rhetorical underlining provides stylistic prominence in addition to the natural prominence described above. The three-sentence amplification contained in each Contrast is significant beyond the function of amplification. Because each is a set of three sentences loaded with emotional evaluation regarding the badness of that present time, it is like shouting, "Bad! Bad! Bad!," following each Contrast, greatly increasing the Problem and the impact of the non-Solution. This confirms the double function of Sentence 15, being both Non-solution the third and final evaluation of the CONCLUSION, further emphasized by the lexical three-some at the end of Sentence 15: **tartalq tarcha tartuaq** 'fighting each other, defeating each other, among each other'. The underlying evaluation seems to say, "The present time loses and modern education is cast in doubt; you tell me the solution if you can."

Van Dijk (1977) and Kintsch (1977:40) define 'macro-structure' for a story as its set of macro propositions together with the story categories to which they correspond. For expository Discourse, I assume that the tracing of natural prominence and other prominence devices, lead to the macro-propositions of a text and its macro-structure

1.4 Surface Realizations of <u>Scheme</u> <u>Structure</u>

There is no connective between PROBLEM and SOLUTION or between THESIS and PARAPHRASE (or, if we take the Evaluation hypothesis, between SITUATION and EVALUATION). It is not clear whether the **ma** in sentence 15 is functioning as a topicalizer or as a conjunction. If the latter, it appears that a negated antonym paraphrase needs a connective, though other paraphrase types do not. (More is learned about **ma** in section 2.4.)

Observations and CONCLUSION are joined by ico$^{l\epsilon}$h 'thus'. In this text Contrasts are realized by sentences or subparagraphs, joined by co$^{l\epsilon}$h ma 'but', while Frustrations are realized by sentences or clauses joined by co$^{l\epsilon}$h ma. However, there is no surface proof that these are Frustrations rather than Contrasts. A Comparison in this text is realized by a single sentence containing a preposition of degree ('equal to' or 'beyond') plus a noun phrase, e.g. '... 'beyond the present'.

Three kinds of sentences are found in this text: The typical expository sentence is binary, but of two kinds. One consists of a topic phrase joined to the rest by co$^{l\epsilon}$h 'topicalizer'. The other kind consists of two clauses, realizing two constituents of a Scheme, joined by co$^{l\epsilon}$h (or other connective). Some sentences combine both of these kinds, that is, topic+co$^{l\epsilon}$h+clause+-co$^{l\epsilon}$h+clause. The third kind of sentence is a 'simple' sentence without topic or binary constituents, such as those realizing amplifications, i.e. sentences 3-5, 7-9, 13-14.

Several sentences contain series or lists of partial clauses or phrases that I consider to be below the level of Schemes, although it could be argued that they realize equivalence paraphrases. They are not joined by any connectives, while a Coupling is joined by **anha** 'and' or mo°i 'also, furthermore'.

Reduplication and triplication realize eloquent style and rhetorical underlining, e.g. sentence 1a contains the reduplication 'know books, know books'. Sentence 1b is more extensive with '...only worked, only ate, got money-silver, worked fields-fields, worked products, tobacco, hemp, betel-betel.' Pakoh stylistic reduplication, which can extend any level from words to sentences are described more fully elsewhere (Watson 1966a, 1966b)

2. EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE - A SYLLOGISM SCHEME

In this section a second Pakoh Text is described: uit ɯgai aᶜn ɩalaᶜu ɑumo°r to'ᶜq æ[ang ɬe œako'°h 'The Custom of Pakoh Fellows and Girls'. It is an example of a Conclusion Scheme. Although similar to 'The Old Days' in some respects, it differs in interesting ways.

The Text is presented first in its Sentence structure format with a semi-free interlinear translation in Display 3. This illustrates the binary structure of most sentences.

DISPLAY 3 Sentence structure of 'Custom of Pakoh Fellows and Girls'

topic/ Left Constituent		*comment/ Right Constituent*
ɯgai aᶜn lalaᶜu	co'ᶜh	phai po°ᶜc to'ᶜq ngai aᶜn cumo°r.
The fellows	So	must go to the girls.
₃a ɐna₂q do aᶜn cumo°r laᶜyq i₂nh	æa	b ngai aᶜn lalaᶜu ico'ᶜh rit.
Even-if a girl doesn't like (it)	But	the fellows like-that custom.
₁a ɯa₂m i₂nh clo°n cumo°r mmo	co'ᶜh	b phai po°ᶜc to'ᶜq du₂ng cumo°r nco'ᶜh dyo°n tian.
If want to court girl any	So	must go to home of girl that give money.
₀a æa na₂m cumo°r nco'ᶜh i₂nh		
But if girl that wants to po°ᶜc clo°n al['ng lalaᶜu nco'ᶜh	co'ᶜh	b dyeal tian do aᶜn lalaᶜu.
go court with fellow that	so	takes money his.
°a æa na₂m laᶜyq i₂nh po°ᶜc		
But if doesn't want go clo°n al['ng lalaᶜu nco'ᶜh	co'ᶜh	b laᶜyq dyeal tian do co'ᶜh.
court with fellow that	so	doesn't take money his.
ᶜa ɐna₂q dyo°n put li mmo	ma	b na₂m laᶜyq i₂nh po°ᶜc clo°n al[₂ng lalaᶜu nco'ᶜh
Even-if gives however much	but	if doesn't want to go court with fellow that
	co'ᶜh	c cumo°r laᶜyq dyeal tian do aᶜn lalaᶜu
	so	girl not take money fellow's.
'ai ᴛo'ᶜq he aii na₂m to'ᶜq dyeᶜ		
At us if came already nno a-['m nno aᶜn puaq	co'ᶜh	b ngai aᶜn lalaᶜu ib[idau
corn season hot season	so	the fellows evening night
	co!6h	par-alt to!6q xu cumo8r.

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		so	stay at girls' homes.
			ɯgai poᶜc ch[m cha a-['m-apo.
			They go beg eat corn.
	ıı		ɯgai po₂c cloⁿn poᶜc tarle'ⁿnh al['ng
			They go court go tease with
			do aᶜn cumoⁿr to'ᶜq dyeᶜ ang.
			the girls until already dawn.
l₁		co'ᶜh	ngai choⁿ ta₂q proaq-tampa₂q al[₂ng a-i a-a₂m
		then	they return do work with moms and dads.

₂₂a ɯa₂m to'ᶜq dyeᶜ ib[		co'ᶜh	b ngai poᶜc loi parchoᶜq al['ng yaᶜu-baᶜy,
If arrive already evening		then	they go again together with friends,
			c poᶜc doᶜng kheᶜn tireⁿl, d doᶜng tian cua
			take pipes-flutes, take money-belongings
			e i₂nh dyoⁿn pineᶜq ado cumoⁿr.
			want give gifts to girls.
₂₃ ᴅo aᶜn boᶜn ao		co'ᶜh	doᶜng ao.
He who has cloth		so	gives cloth.
₂₄ ᴅo aᶜn boᶜn pra₂q		co'ᶜh	doᶜng prɑ₂q.
He who has silver		so	takes silver.
₂₀ ʋmaᶜh vi iboᶜn		co'ᶜh	doᶜng.
Whatever is one-has		so	takes.
₂ᵃ ᴅamo cumoⁿr i₂nh		co'ᶜh	cumoⁿr dyeal.
Whichever girl likes		so	girl takes.
₂ᶜa ʋ-i a-a₂m		ma	
Parents		but	
ngai i₂nh ipoᶜc cloⁿn ipoᶜc anh]i		co'ᶜh m a	b Uʋcaᶜp ita₂q aᶜn laᶜyq phep;
they want we-go courting		but	"Don't you-do what not ethical;
			poᶜc cloⁿn l[lla₂m cloⁿn; acaᶜp ta₂q
			go court really only court; don't do
			parroⁿih-tancayh abuih cheᶜt a-i a-a₂m.U
			fornication lest die parents."
₂'a ʋna₂q araᶜq nco'ᶜh m[ang he			
Though like that region our			
ngai cloⁿn ngai a₂t al['ng cumoⁿr		co'ᶜh m a	b b[ih di₂q ngai ta₂q laᶜyq phep.
they court they stay with girls		but	not hardly they do not ethical.
₂ⁿ ʃeaq nna₂q n[m ta₂q aᶜn laᶜyq phep.			
Few persons only do what unethical.			
₂" ʋraᶜq maᶜh chi₂t na₂q		co'ᶜh	vi maᶜh na₂q n[m aᶜn laᶜyq phep.
Like out of ten persons		so	is one person only who not ethical.

20a **A-i a-a1m ngai, ngai**

Parents theirs, they

ach[ng acay-acon b ngai dyoq

instruct kids they forbid

ita$_2$q a^{c}n la^{c}yq o a^{c}n pra^{c}h	co^{lc}h	c ngai la^{c}yq da$_2$h ta$_2$q.
do what not good what bad	so	they don't dare do it.

$_{32}$a ɯa$_2$m ta$_2$q la^{c}yq phep	co^{lc}h m a	b anhuq pe^{lc}q acay
If do unethically	but	bears carry child
	co^{lc}h	c nnau canhin.
	so	whoever (it is) repents.
	mo^{o}i	d la$_2$h a-eq ado.du$_2$ng-xu cruang-cuteac.
	and	a curse upon homes and lands.

$_{33}$a ɯa$_2$m do a^{c}n ta$_2$q la^{c}yq phep	co^{lc}h	b phai vi tiriaq carro$_2$q alic ntruai
If one who does unethically	so	must have buffalo cattle, pigs chickens
		c ian nga^{c}h at[^{l}c ado yang-pra$_2$h.
		in-order to sacrifice to spirits.
	mo^{o}i	d la$_2$h te^{c}q dya$_2$m cang a-i a-a$_2$m ach[ng.
	and	obey voice parents instruct.

$_{34}$a ɦco^{lc}h rit m[ang he

Thus custom region ours

b a^{c}n ngai clo^{o}n cumo^{o}r	ma	c ngai b[ih ta$_2$q la^{c}yq o.
that they court girls	but	they don't do not good.

2.1 Communication Situation

A booklet about the Pakoh by an outsider stated that the Pakoh, as well as other Viet Nam tribes, were matriarchal and practiced the custom of 'sleeping together' before marriage. The author of the text under analysis here took offence to the charge of immorality, so he wrote this text in order to correct both misconceptions. Unfortunately, he did not clarify some significant cultural differences, such as, the fact that they don't sleep in beds or bedrooms, but on a split bamboo floor, fully clothed in a large room with other young people, and with serious social and spiritual restraints. He also mistakenly assumed that his audience would understand that money and gifts were used in courtship as a pledge of good faith, rather than as an exchange for favors.

While the corn harvest was a time of hot weather and hard work, it was also a time when adolescents blossomed with the joys of young love and friendship.

2.2 Discourse level

The Title serves as the general topic, 'The Custom of Pakoh Fellows and Girls'. In addition to the custom, other specific topics of the text are 'fellows' and 'their parents'. 'Girls' are lower sentence level topics.

With respect to Longacre's template, there is an underlying problem, i.e. a misunderstanding, for which the author's explanation is given as the solution.

2.3 Scheme structure of the Discourse

The Scheme structure is presented in Display 4. Within the Scheme level, as many as seven layers of embedded Schemes are found. Their terminal fillers, the main Propositions of the Sentences, may occur as high in the structure as the third layer, i.e., Sentence 23, or beneath the seventh layer, i.e., Sentences 12-14.

2.3.1 Constituency and classification of Scheme

The top level Scheme is a Conclusion. Its first observation is filled by an Illustration, describing dating, while the second is filled by another Conclusion, describing why dating is not usually immoral by means of two Reasons Schemes and two Implication Schemes. The final CONCLUSION sums up the theme.

Illustration 1-15 contains a THESIS filled by a Contrast and an ILLUSTRATION filled by a Narrative. Starting from Sentence 1 at the bottom of the Display, we find THESIS 1, 'The fellows must go to the girls.' This THESIS is amplified with Frustration 2-3: 'Even if the girls don't like it, but that's the way the custom is for the fellows,' which is further amplified with Implication 3: 'If one wants to court any girl, then he must go to that girl's house and offer money.'

All of that is contained in the THESIS of Contrast 1-6. The ANTITHESIS contains another Contrast (4-6), which starts with Implication 4, 'But, if that girl wants to go; then she will take his money.' This is then contrasted with Paraphrase 5-6 containing Implication 5, 'If she doesn't want to go, then she won't take his money.' and Frustration 6 'Even if he offers however much.' with Implication 6bc, 'if she doesn't want to go, then she won't take that fellow's money.'

The embedded Narrative is not typical because it illustrates courting in terms of events but still contains some expository structure. It begins with the location setting (7ai) 'In our region', followed by two hypothetical Episodes. Episode 7aii-10 starts with a time setting in the form of a condition 'If the sunny corn season has arrived', followed by a sequence of events in the form of a CONSEQUENCE: 'so fellows go stay at girls' homes, go mooch corn, go court and tease the girls, then return to work with their parents.' In the latter case there is no doubt that co'ᶜh should be translated in its narrative sense 'then', rather than in its expository sense 'so'.

From an expository point of view Sentence 7b 'The fellows TOP go stay…' is a GENERIC and Sentences 8-9 are specific events: 'they go mooch corn; they go court.' This is why Sentences 8-9 repeat the subject **ngai** 'they', which is not typical of Narrative event chaining.

Episode 11-15 has another time setting introduced by the condition, 'If evening has arrived again.' followed by a sequence of events introduced by the consequence: 'so go together with friends, take instruments (to play), take valuables'. The last event (11d) is a MEANS for the purpose 'to give gifts to girls'. Together they are GENERIC for three specifics: 'he who has cloth takes cloth, he who has silver takes silver; whatever one has he takes. The final event is in sentence 15: 'Whichever the girls want they take.' However, 11e through 15 are all topic-comment sentences, characteristic of expository structure.

From an expository point of view, Episode 11-15 could be a Paraphrase of Episode 7ai-10 because of the parallelisms between them. On the other hand, if we were only taking a Narrative point of view, the Sequence should be treated as eight separate events.

Conclusion 16-22 contains two Paraphrases as observations and a CONCLUSION. Paraphrase 16-20 contains two Reason Schemes. Reason 16-19 contains two Frustrations, the first, containing an ellipsis with an embedded Warning, 'Parents like their kids to go courting; but (they warn) "Don't do anything unethical." The concession of Frustration 17-19 is 'Even though they court and stay with the girls like that', followed by the COUNTER-EXPECTATION 'but

they rarely ever act unethically.' The latter is THESIS to the paraphrase 'Only a few do what is unethical,' and an Example, 'for example, out of ten there might be just one unethical.'

Sentence 17, a CONSEQUENCE should begin with co$^{l\varepsilon}$h, as it does in Reason 20 (clause 20c) two conjunctions have not been found together and ana$_2$q, 'even though' has been given priority. While, the Frustration is made more explicit, it may be that the REASON-result relationship is mitigated.

Reason 20 contains a paraphrastic REASON 'The parents instruct their kids, they forbid their doing anything bad', and the result 'so they don't dare act unethically'.

Paraphrase 21-22 contains two Implication Schemes. Implication 21 condition is introduced by na$_2$m, and CONSEQUENCE by co$^{l\varepsilon}$h. Frustration 21a, is embedded in the condition, 'someone acts unethically but bears a child'. This is followed by two CONSEQUENCES: 'so whoever it is must repent, and furthermore it's a curse upon homes and lands.' The counter-expectation is not a desired expectation even though it could be argued that it is a logical expectation.

Implication 22 contains the condition 'If there is someone who acts unethically' and the CONSEQUENCE 'so he must have buffalo and cattle, pigs and chckens'. The latter is also the MEANS of a purpose 'in order to sacrifice to the spirits'.

According to the surface structure, clauses 22d 'furthermore one must obey his parents' is a joint CONSEQUENCE with 22c, since it is connected to it by mo^{o}i 'also', as 21c and d are. However, it is analyzed as the CONCLUSION of Conclusion 16-22 because it does not logically join to 22a-c, but it rather concludes the observations that parents instruct their children and if the children don't obey, the consequences are serious. One reason for the author to have attached a CONCLUSION in this way is the fact that it is a lower-level conclusion than CONCLUSION 23, which immediately follows it and merits greater prominence and clearer boundaries. It would be too heavy and awkward to begin two successive clauses with ic$^{l\varepsilon}$oh 'thus'.

On theother hand, if 22d was intended as a joint consequence, Conclusion 16-20 should be relabeled as a Coupling of Paraphrases 16-20 and 21-22.

The CONCLUSION of the highest-level Conclusion (1-23) is realized by Sentence 23, expressing a GENERIC, 'Like that is the custom of our region,' followed by a specific containing the Contrast 'wherein fellows court girls, but they don't misbehave.' To the speaker 'but' indicates a contrast, although it could indicate a contra-expectation to his intended audience. in this text ana$_2$q should introduce a Frustration.

2.3.2 Coherence in Scheme structure

First, the Scheme structure is found to be coherent as logical relationships fit together logically into increasingly more complex Schemes. For example, it is typical for a Conclusion Scheme to consist of two observations and a CONCLUSION, and for the observations to involve more complexity than the conclusion. Following are some of the coherence features observed in the Scheme structure:

1) Both the beginning (Contrast 1-6) and the end (Conclusion 16-22) contain Paraphrases containing Frustrations and Implications, and the final Paraphrase (23) brings the discourse full circle to a complete theme statement.

2) In addition to Conclusions the argument is carried primarily by repetition of three basic Scheme types: nine Paraphrases, six Frustrations, and six Implications. There are also two Reasons, similar to Implications, and two Contrasts, similar to Frustrations.

3) A Means is embedded as next to last constituent (11c-b and 22b-c) of each of the two major observations. There is a lot of parallelism seen in the matching of scheme types.

4) The middle two paragraphs realize an embedded Narrative. It has a location setting and two Episodes, each of which has its own time setting plus an EVENT-LINE filled by a Sequence of four EVENTS. However, it exhibits features of the exposition it is embedded in, such as logical connectives, repetition of the subject in each event and a Paraphrase and a Means in the second Sequence.[1]

2.3.3 Prominence and theme in Scheme structure

In a Conclusion Scheme the CONCLUSION is naturally prominent. In this text the final CONCLUSION sums up the entire theme in a single Sentence (23), 'Like that is the custom of our region in which they court the girls but they don't do unethically' (marked on Display 4 with a bold double line). The CONCLUSION is short and to the point, similar to the SOLUTION of the Problem-Solution Scheme in section 1 and to the final MORAL of a Narrative.

The CONCLUSION of embedded Conclusion 16-22 is marked with a plain double line to represent a secondary theme line, although it appears to be a case of mitigated prominence since it is simply conjoined to the preceding Implication (Sentence 22d). I speculate that the motivation is to avoid the clash of elevating two CONCLUSIONS adjacent to one another.

Rhetorical underlining is especially clear in the use of an embedded Narrative Illustration (7-15) and the use of an embedded Warning with a direct quotation ("Don't act unethically; go court, really only court; don't commit fornication lest your parents die.") There is also reduplication at sentence, phrase and word levels, e.g. 'take pipes and flutes take money and belongings'.

2.4 Summary of surface realizations

In Display 3 it is clear that the binary structure of Sentences is indicated primarily by co'ᵉh 'TOP/so', **ma** 'TOP/but' and co'ᵉh **ma** 'but'. Interestingly, co'ᵉh and **ma** both can function as either topicalizer or logical connective, depending upon whether they occur immediately following the sentence topic or between clauses. It appears that co'ᵉh is topicalizer unless there is a negative or contrary sense, in which case **ma** is used. For example, **ma** is used as a topicalizer in sentence 16, anticipating the Frustration to which it is topic. The marking of topics through the text relates directly to their places in the Scheme structure. Sentences 1 and 7 identifies 'the fellows' as first-ranking thematic participants for observation 1-15). In Sentences 16 and 20 'parents' are identified as first-ranking participants for observation 16-22. Sentence 23 brings us full-circle to the original topic of the Title, 'custom of our region'.

The second kind of binary relationship is the combining of Scheme constituents. Each Sentence easily divides into two or more, except Sentences 8-10, which are Narrative events. As Narrative events, Sentence 11c and d also lack repetition of the subject (**ngai** 'they').

Conclusion 1-23 correlates with the whole text while Conclusion 16-22 correlates with a single paragraph. Illustration 1-15 correlates with a section of two paragraphs, while Contras. and Narrative Schemes correlate with single paragraphs. Implication and Frustration Schemes correlate with Sentences, while Paraphrase Schemes range from paragraphs down to sentence fragments. The final Paraphrase (23) is a one sentence paragraph while Paraphrase 11d-14 contains a GENERIC correlating with Clauses 11d-e and three specifics correlating with Sentences 12-14. Paraphrase coherence correlates with juxtaposition, together with shared concept information.

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[1] Hunt (1980) addresses the matter of portmanteau relations between Propositions. Hunt's particular interest is in combinations of developmental (addition) relations with logical relations. Contrastive and Frustration relations can also be combined.

In this text Frustration Schemes begin with the subordinating conjunction ana_2q 'even if', except at the beginning of a paragraph (cf. Frustration 16). In the first section of the text **ma** connects the parts of both Contrasts and Frustrations, but in the last section three out of four Frustrations are joined by co^{lc}h **ma**. The condition of an Implication begins with na_2m 'if', and the CONSEQUENCE with co^{lc}h 'so/then'.

In this text only the constituents of Problem-Solution and of Paraphrase are joined without any connective. Every other Scheme requires a medial connective.

3 Comparisons between the two Expository Texts

The two Texts of sections 1 and 2 were chosen somewhat at random from among a number of Pakoh Texts, but with some idea that they were both Expository. In the comparisons below 'The Old Days' is designated OD and 'Pakoh Fellows and Girls' is designated PF.

3.1 Communication Situation

While the intent of the speaker of OD was to compare generations and question the value of western education, the intent of the author of PF was to describe Pakoh courtship and refute charges of matriarchy and immorality. The speaker of OD used eloquence in spontaneous speech, including both doubling and tripling. The author of PF was not an eloquent speaker, but was perhaps the first Pakoh to use eloquence on a typewriter, including doubling, but not tripling.

3.2. Discourse Structure.

Both OD and PF are characterized by binary topic + comment structure. In both, the topic concepts span Scheme clusters indicating that selection of topic is determined at the highest levels of the Discourse. However, the sentences of OD do not use topicalizers to mark topics as in PF. This is assumed to be because the topics of OD are time phrases, set off by pauses, whereas thematic participants of PF are often set off by co^{lc}h or **ma**. The topic of the final Scheme of PF is not a participant and is not set off by a topicalizer, but by a relative clause. (In both texts topicalizers are used in a few simple sentences, especially as specifics in Paraphrases, e.g. He that has cloth co^{lc}h takes cloth. He that has silver co^{lc}h takes silver...')

3.3 Scheme structure

3.3.1 Classification and constituency

Both OD and PF have similar Scheme structures composed of the same kinds of logical, two-constituent relationships. Both contain Contrast, Frustration, Conclusion and Paraphrase Schemes. Both contain seven to eight (or possibly nine) layers of recursion, which (Miller 1956) determined to be a natural threshhold

By way of difference, OD is a Problem-Solution Scheme (with indications of an Evaluation Scheme), whereas PF is a Conclusion. The first contains Comparisons, while the second contains Implication, Reason and Means Schemes, which are not found in the first. In OD both Contrasts and Frustrations are joined by co^{lc}h **ma**; whereas in PF both were sometimes joined by co'**6h ma** and sometimes by **ma**. In PF Frustrations were introduced by ana_2q 'even if'. When ana_2q does not occur, as in OD, a Frustration is distinguished from a Contrast only by concept information. When ana_2q is used, it clearly indicates a 'concession'; otherwise, as in OD, the first part is labeled 'THESIS', although the second part is counter to expectation. In OD

it may have been part of the author's subtlety to leave it up to his audience to distinguish between Contrasts and Frustrations.

3.3.2 Coherence

Both OD and PF use parallelism in Paraphrases. OD also contains parallel Contrasts and Frustrations. PF contains parallel Contrasts, Frustrations and Implications, Reasons, and a Narrative containing parallel Episodes. In both OD and PF a stylistic sandwich structure was used: in OD by putting a Paraphrase in the middle of a Contrast in the middle of the text, and in PF by putting a Narrative Illustration in the middle of the text.

3.3.3 Prominence

Both OD and PF follow the rules of natural prominence, while also using rhetorical underlining. In both, the top level THESIS contains a kind of paraphrase to double the force of the argument. In OD it is Paraphrase 1-10 while in PF it is Illustration 1-15. Both use similar closure, i.e., OD closes with a brief (non) SOLUTION and PF with a brief CONCLUSION.

OD uses both doubling and tripling, while PF uses only doubling.

In conclusion, the only reasons for identifying the two texts as different subtypes of Expository would be that one is a Problem-Solution Scheme while the other is a Conclusion Scheme, which seems to make them more alike than different.

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