A GRAMMAR OF TWO PACOH TEXTS

by

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ABSTRACT

A GRAMMAR OF TWO PACOH TEXTS

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The goals of this grammar are threefold: first to learn more about the Pacoh language of Viet Nam and leave a record of the results for future students of Pacoh; second, to learn more about discourse structure, and third, to learn more about deep grammar and its correlations with surface grammar.

The method followed emphasizes a particular discourse approach and a particular deep and surface grammar approach. The discourse approach calls for a thorough analysis of two expository texts, resulting in individual text grammars. These are next compared and contrasted with each other. Then they are compared and contrasted with analyses of other discourse types.

Secondly, the approach follows a top-to-bottom order, working down the grammatical hierarchy to give a holistic view. Discourse is not just another level. It is the structure of the whole. This means that one cannot properly study discourse without studying all of the levels and their interrelationships.

The goal of the deep grammar approach followed is to gain the luxury of a stratified view of linguistic structure, but within a tagmemic framework. The study is tagmemic in claiming the unity of form and meaning in language, and therefore, the unity of deep and surface structure within the grammatical mode. It is also tagmemic in its hierarchical approach and its use of grammatical slots and filler classes. However, the tagmeme is interpreted as a three-term unit consisting of function, distribution and manifestation, matching the tagmemic feature, distribution, and manifestation modes.

The feature mode is viewed as deep grammar function only. The distribution slots plus their manifesting fillers give a view of bare surface structure form without function. Analysis must move back and forth between form and function, but the description abstracts the two as if they were separate.

This provides insights into the function mode of the grammar abstracted away from the surface form, insight into the surface form abstracted away from function, and insight into the correlations of form and function.

The study is divided into five chapters as follows: Chapter one discusses the theoretical framework. Chapter two presents the format and procedures of the description in the form of a general description of Pacoh grammar. Chapters three and four each describe a different Pacoh expository

text. Chapter five evaluates similarities and differences between the two expository texts, then similarities and differences between the expository texts and two narrative texts, and finally, it comments on the model itself.

Pacoh expository discourse is found to be characterized by binary structures in both deep and surface structures at the discourse, paragraph and sentence levels. This contrasts with the n-ary structure of the narrative texts oriented to chronological sequences of events along an event-line. The term 'scheme' is coined for the deep structure level above the proposition level in expository discourse, paralleling 'plot' structure in narrative.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following capitalization convention is observed in both abbreviations and full forms: 1) FUNCTIONS have all letters capitalized, e.g. AGENT, ClC; 2) Constructions have only the first letter capitalized, e.g. Proposition, Clause; 3) fillers of slots which are not constructions are not capitalized, e.g. concept, word.

A (B,C, etc.)	a particular Paragraph
A.1 (A.2, A.3, etc.)	a particular Paragraph constituent
ACT	ACTION
AdjP	Adjective Phrase
AdjPC	AdjP central constituent
AdjPF	AdjP constituent following AdjPC
AdjPP1	AdjP constituent preceding AdjPC
AdjPP2	AdjP constituent preceding AdjPP1
adv.	adverb
AdvP	Adverbial Phrase
AdvPC	AdvP central constituent
AG	AGENT
ATTR	ATTRIBUTE
aux	auxiliary
bitr.	bitransitive
bitr-sent.	bitransitive-sentential
C	central constituent, constituent
cl.	classifier
Cl.	Clause
ClC	Clause-central constituent
ClCON	Clause-medial conjunction
ClF	Clause constituent following ClC
ClFF	Clause constituent following ClF
ClM	Clause constituent movable
ClP	Clause constituent preceding ClC
ClPP	Clause constituent preceding ClP
conj.	conjunction
CONTRA-EXPECT	CONTRA-EXPECTATION
CONTRA-THESIS	CONTRASTIVE THESIS
CS	Communication Situation
D	Distribution mode
DM	Distribution plus Manifestation
dem.	demonstrative
emb.	embedded

ENP	Embedded Noun Phrase
EPIPH	Embedded Paragraph-initial Phrase
EXPD	EXPERIENCED
EXPR	EXPERIENCER
F	Function mode, following (as in ClF)
I	initial
intr.	intransitive
M	Manifestation mode, movable (as in ClM)
NEG	NEGATION
NP	Noun Phrase
NPC	Noun Phrase-central constituent
NPF	NP constituent following NPC
NPFF	NP constituent following NPF
NPP (1, 2, 3)	NP constituents preceding NPC
P	Paragraph, Phrase, preceding
Para.	Paragraph
PAT	PATIENT
PC (1, 2, etc.)	Paragraph constituent
PCLOS	Paragraph closure
PCON	Paragraph-medial conjunction
PF	Paragraph-final constituent
Ph.	Phrase
PhCON	Phrase-medial conjunction
PIPH	Paragraph-initial Phrase
PN	Proposition (Predication)
POSSR	POSSESSOR
prep.	preposition
prn.	pronoun
R	reduplication
R-A	Relator-axis
rr	referential realm
S, Sent.	Sentence
semi-tr.	semi-transitive
SC (1,2, etc.)	Sentence constituent
SIPH	Sentence-initial Phrase
SF	Sentence-final constituent
SCON	Sentence-medial conjunction
Sent.	Sentence
Subp.	Subparagraph
T	Text
TC (1,2, etc.)	Text constituent
TCLOS	Text closure
TCON	Text-medial conjunction
TF	Text-final constituent
TIPH	Text-initial Phrase (Title)
TP	main Paragraph of the Text
tr.	transitive
tr-sent.	transitive-sentential
TT	Title of the Text
VP	Verb Phrase
VPC	Verb Phrase-central constituent
VPP (1, 2, 3)	VP constituents preceding VPC

LIST OF SYMBOLS

+	plus
±	non-obligatory occurrence
-	glottal stop between vowels, morphologically bound when between words or between an affix and a stem
=	equals, consists of
/	correlates with (e.g., F/DM)
|	correlates with (e.g., DM|F)
||	in the environment of
:	filled by
∅	empty, zero
/ /	phonemically written data
[ ]	phonetically written data
>	includes, greater than

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study of Pacoh Discourse structure is presented for the purpose of describing a portion of the Pacoh language through an analysis of the restricted corpus of two Expository Texts, and, in the process, to test a modified linguistic model.

Pacoh is the language of a preliterate society of five to ten thousand people living on both sides of the border between Viet Nam and Laos in the mountainous region west of Hue, Viet Nam. The Pacoh region is bordered on the northwest by the Bru people, on the southeast by the Katang, on the south by the Ta-oaih, and on the southwest by the Katu. Pacoh and these neighboring language groups belong to the Katuic subgroup of the Mon-Khmer family of languages (cf. Thomas 1966, Thomas and Headley 1970). There are several dialects of Pacoh. This study represents 'high Pacoh', spoken west of the Asau valley, but it includes occasional reference to 'Pahi', spoken to the north of the valley towards the coast.

This chapter discusses the setting and the problem, and the theoretical framework for the study. The format and procedures for describing Texts are presented in chapter two, followed by the descriptions of two Pacoh Texts in chapters three and four. Chapter five is an evaluation of both the model used and the differences found between the Texts.

1.1 The setting and the problem

The development of modern linguistics began in an atmosphere largely restricted to phonology and surface grammar, and influenced by the positivistic notion that analysis should be made of formal structure with as little appeal to intuition or meaning as possible. Linguists not only focused on form, but on the smaller elements of form, that is analyzing the morphemes and phonemes of Phrases and Clauses. An assumption of the present study is that linguistic progress has been delayed by the tendency to stay too close to the smaller, and more or less physical, elements of language for too long. There has been a need for quicker progress upward to Discourse and inward to 'deep' structure in order to integrate the lower levels into a more holistic linguistic structure.

We are now at a stage in which linguists have moved into deep grammar considerations to a large extent, but are still far from agreement as to what deep structure really is, and whether it is to fit into existing models or lead to the development of new models. Likewise, a growing number of linguists are moving into Discourse-oriented approaches. Both movements are much needed and very welcome. However, they do add two more dimensions to the challenge of how best to describe the Pacoh language (or any other natural language). How are these two added dimensions to be integrated into a single theoretical and procedural framework?

The primary concern of this study is descriptive, not theoretical. So theoretical discussion is held to a minimum, but some such discussion is necessary to establish a frame of reference. The next two sections discuss more of the movement 'upward' to Discourse structure (1.2) and 'inward' to

deep structure (1.3). The last section discusses the modified tagmemic model used as the framework for this study (1.4).

1.2 Upward to the Discourse

People typically speak in Discourse units. A Discourse may be as brief as a single Sentence, but most Discourses contain at least several Sentences, and probably several Paragraphs as well. Conversation is sometimes considered to be more basic to language than monologue (cf. Longacre 1976a:165, Pike and Pike 1977:4, 255); but, only monologue is treated in this study.

1.2.1 Reluctance to move upward

In the past, some linguists advocated working upward from the phoneme, others from the morpheme, and others from the word, but most considered the Sentence to be the highest level of linguistic structure to work up to. Bloomfield (1933:170) said, ". . . each sentence is an independent linguistic form, not included by virtue of any grammatical construction in any larger linguistic form." Chomsky formalized the transformational-generative (TG) position that the Sentence was the highest level and that the study of syntax must revolve about the Sentences of a language (Chomsky 1957:11-13, Bach 1964:5). Some linguists advocated the need for analysis to move both upward and downward in a system of hierarchically arranged size-level units (Pike 1967a:586-92), and a few even went so far as to say that the ultimate goal of linguistic analysis was the full Utterance (Text, Discourse) (Harris 1952, Pike 1954:66-74). However, attempts to push analysis to the Discourse level were few and far between until somewhat recently.

European and British linguists, e.g., the Prague School (Firbas, et al), Hjelmslev, Firth and Halliday, were oriented to Text and situational context

more than most American structuralists. Hjelmslev (1961) spoke of starting with whole Texts and partitioning them down to their smallest parts. Firth (1968:149) praised Malinowski for working with whole Texts, and he wrote of the importance of discourse grammars, i.e., writing micro-grammars and micro-lexicons of restricted languages based on Texts of the same style, rather than starting from the distribution of phonemes and naively claiming to write generative grammars of whole languages as American linguists did (1968:106-125, 191). Even in Europe there appears to have been a deep rift between linguistics as a 'positivistic science' and literary criticism and rhetoric as 'subjective', 'mentalistic' non-science. (Cf. the controversy between the idealists who overstressed literary and esthetic elements, and the neogrammarians who overstressed the mechanical aspects of language, Robins 1967:190.)

Since early structuralists, following the comparatists before them, started from the lowest levels of structure, and since they rejected the use of meaning (cf. Trager and Smith 1951), they had no apparatus for the discovery or description of the functions which some of the smaller elements have in the larger levels of structure. For example, in Pacoh the conjunction **cŏh** 'so, then' in particular Clause sequences signals to the reader/hearer whether he is in Expository or Narrative Discourse. So Discourse-level functions were seldom recognized until linguists with deep structure notions began to examine Texts for higher level structure. Therefore, delay in Discourse analysis has been closely associated with delay in deep structure analysis. (It is interesting to note in the writings of J. R. Firth (1968) how often he referred to the need for analyses of whole Texts and the need for a theory of meaning derived from such analyses.)

1.2.2 Progress in Discourse analysis

Progress has come through a number of avenues. Harris (1952) was a pioneer in the field, but, unfortunately, he was ahead of his time--indeed ahead of his own structuralism which was limited to grammatical and lexical form. So his work did not result in a continued push into Discourse analysis. Within the tagmemic school Pike ([1954] 1967, 1964a) often pointed the way upward to Discourse by his view of language as a part of human behavior. Pike (1964b:22) said, "Sentence structures are but one construction in a hierarchy of interlocking levels of grammar and situation . . . ."

James Loriot (1957a,b:168) has been credited as the first tagmemicist to report the necessity of Discourse considerations in solving a field problem (Pike 1964b:22.fn.13, Wise 1971:11, Longacre 1976c:7-10, Larson 1978:190). He was unable to handle the identification of participants in the Shipibo language of Peru for his communication and translation needs until he posited Paragraph structure. This required an understanding of both the logical structure and surface conjunctive markers which, in addition to their conjunctive use, signalled whether the following participant was the same as the preceding or different.

The need for Discourse analysis to aid in accurate and idiomatic translation from one language to another has been a strong incentive for linguists of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), most of whom have been trained, to one degree or another, by tagmemicists such as Pike and Longacre. A number of field workshops have been conducted with a Discourse orientation, and SIL is responsible for a fast-growing volume of published Discourse studies, many of which reflect a tagmemic orientation. (See various SIL Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields.)

Another Discourse approach came from stratificational grammar (see Gleason 1964, 1968). Gleason, in particular, has supervised a number of Discourse grammars, such as Taber (1966), Cromack (1968), and Stennes (1969). Stratificational grammar (SG) and tagmemics have much in common and Pike (1971:44; 1974) encouraged hybridization. Several scholars who have synthesized the two to varying degrees are Fleming (1978), Walrod (1977), Larson (1978), and Blansitt (1977).

In Britain, Halliday has been a leader in Text analysis and the analysis of semantic structure. Halliday and Hasan (1976:10) expressed doubts concerning the existence of grammatical structure above the Sentence. However, they apparently do not mean that a Text is any less structured than a Sentence. Rather, it is a different kind of structure--a semantic entity based upon 'a configuration of functions' (cf. Hasan 1979, Halliday 1980).

In the Netherlands, Van Dijk (1972, 1977) is a strong proponent of Text grammar. He started with a generative semantics approach, proposing deep structure abstracts called 'macro-structures' from which Texts are generated. At present his interest has shifted to reducing Texts to their macro-structures. He is especially interested in psychological, cognitive, and social factors (1977).

Mel'čuk, Zholkovski, and others of the Moscow school are developing what they call the 'Meaning<—>Text' Model (MTM). It appears to be generative, describing Texts on five levels of representation. However, the authors make no claim for psychological or neurological reality. Mel'čuk (1973:35) said,

> The MTM is a purely functional model. No attempts have been made to relate it experimentally with psychological or neurological reality; for the time being, therefore, the MTM is nothing more than a logical means for describing observable correspondences between meanings and texts.

Kintsch (1977a:1, 301) entered Discourse analysis from a psychological point of view. He traces progress from Ebbinghaus's use of nonsense syllables to avoid structural complexity in the study of meaning to the present, in which he says, "Neither experimentally nor theoretically can much progress be made unless larger units become the basis of analysis."

1.2.3 Summary

Throughout the works mentioned above various arguments are given for the thesis that Discourse analysis is both valid and necessary. This is true because different levels of structure carry different information and only Discourse analysis allows us to capture those levels. For example, Pacoh Narrative and Expository Discourse both make use of the conjunction **cŏh** 'then, so', but Narrative is distinguished by a Plot structure based on chronological relations while Expository is distinguished by Scheme structure based on logical relations. Participant reference at the Paragraph level is different from reference at the Clause level. Also, whether or not an AGENT is topicalized in a Clause is determined at Sentence level in one situation or Paragraph or Text level in another. Since no unit of language is fully independent, an understanding of Discourse, as the largest unit of language, is indispensable for understanding both the Discourse as a unit and all the smaller units within it. Furthermore, there are different kinds of information in different Discourse types so that similar forms may correlate with different meanings (or similar meanings may correlate with different forms), dependent upon Discourse type. Therefore a complete grammar of a language should include subgrammars of texts of each emic Discourse type, which are then compared and contrasted within the system (cf. Firth 1968:106).

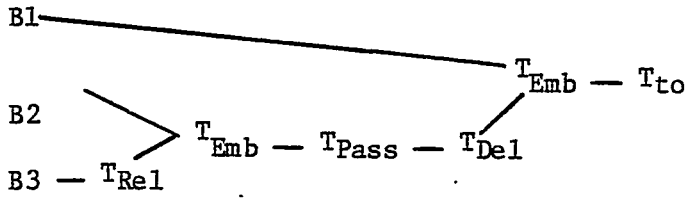
Rather than using material from the Pacoh language as a whole to compile a general grammar, I have limited this present study to a subgrammar of Expository Discourse based upon analysis of only two Texts. It is hoped that this will provide a cornerstone upon which a more complete grammar can be built.

1.3 Inward to the deep structure

The term 'deep structure' has been used in various ways, but they all relate in some measure to Hockett's first use of the term. Hockett (1958:249) used the term to refer to less apparent layers of grammatical structuring which lie beneath the immediately apparent structure. He did not distinguish this as a split between form and meaning, but rather spoke of less apparent 'structural' relationships, and he left grammatical meaning in the surface structure when it was explicit in the surface structure. In the present study, the terms 'function' and 'meaning' are used almost interchangeably. 'Grammatical meaning' is usually intended by both, except when referring exclusively to dictionary glosses. Many linguists prefer the term 'structural semantics' to 'grammatical meaning', but the latter is preferred by those who wish to reserve the term 'semantic' for referential meaning (cf. Firth 1935:66), and those who object to the notion of 'structural semantics' (cf. Hall 1972).

For TG, Palmatier (1972:39) gives several related definitions of syntactic deep structure starting with, "The phrase markers of the underlying strings of a sentence, plus the transformational-marker, which, together, contain all of the information needed for semantic interpretation. (Chomsky 1964, 55; Chomsky 1966a, 55.)" And, in more general terms, it is "The

abstract, underlying structure of the language (Chomsky 1965, 122)." For example, Chomsky (1964:52-54) stated that the T-Marker:



in which B1, B2, and B3 represent the base phrase markers of (i) 'I expected it', (ii) 'someone fired the man', and (iii) 'the man quit work', is the deep structure for the surface sentence 'I expected the man who quit work to be fired.'

However, some have rejected the notion of a syntactic deep structure in favor of a semantic deep structure, for which Palmatier (1972:157) gave the following definition:

> The underlying, order-free representation, in a semantically justified universal syntactic theory, which is mapped into the surface form of a sentence by syntactic rules which begin by assigning segmental order to the concepts. Syntactic deep structure is an artificial intermediate level between semantic deep structure and phonological surface structure. Semantic deep structure is empirically discoverable, and its properties have to do with the nature of human language. (Fillmore, 1968, 88.)

1.3.1 Reluctance to move inward

In Europe there was a long history of dualistic philosophy which divided between mind and body, and thought and word. A scholarly tradition defined by the Greek Stoics about 300 B.C., strongly emphasized the mental side of the dichotomy. This tradition later appeared in the universal rationalist philosophy of Port Royal scholars, and later in the theories of Hjelmslev and others (Robins 1967:15, 124-126). Reaction away from the dualistic position gave expression to interest in the whole man. But reaction away from the

mentalist tradition gave expression to its opposite extreme, i.e., emphasis on the physical. This extreme was very strong in American scientific methodology. In linguistics, too, American structuralism was heavily influenced by positivism, which held that only experience which could be tested by the senses was valid. Anything related to mind, e.g., intuition, meaning, semantics, etc. was suspect of being 'mentalistic' and thus unscientific. In the extreme, this forced intuition and meaning out of linguistics and restricted linguistic analysis to observable form (cf. criticisms by Firth 1968:117, Robins 1967:198). Since humans can hardly operate without intuition, it still got in 'through the back door', but in some cases it was only grudgingly admitted. This kind of structuralism helped to enforce an apparent scientific rigor, but at the cost of reducing language to mere form.

Bloomfield (1933:166), in spite of his behavioristic orientation, acknowledged some kind of meaningful deep structure in his use of terms like sememe, episememe, lexical meaning, and grammatical meaning. However, he also expressed skepticism regarding the use of meaning in linguistic analysis (1933:140). Hall (1972:4) claimed that the extreme anti-meaning position resulted from an exaggeration of Bloomfield's skepticism by some of his followers. Hall claimed to reject this extreme, but he was also skeptical--to the point of rejecting the notion of a 'structural semantics'.

Pike's tagmemic approach (1958, 1967a) acknowledged meaning by recognizing full integration of form and meaning in each mode of the structure (Phonology, Grammar, and Lexicon), and in each basic unit (phoneme, tagmeme, and morpheme). This freed the field worker to accept the place of meaning and intuition as needed in grammatical analysis, but without sacrificing the rigor of formal criteria. Longacre (1964b:11-24) stated:

> . . . we work with formal correlates of meaning. For example, from what we know of meaning, we may suspect that two given constructions contrast with each other. Nevertheless, we never pronounce them to be in contrast until formal contrasts are encountered.

Tagmemicists were still slow, however, to move very far into the study of underlying structure as such. To do so was considered to be the opposite heresy from form without meaning, i.e., meaning without form. (Even now Longacre is quick to remind his students that the 'notional' structures which he posits (1976a) must be based on distinctions marked on the surface structure of at least some languages.)

1.3.2 Progress into deep structure

Progress in deep structure analysis has received impetus from several quarters. Tagmemicists have moved into it largely through its importance in Discourse study. Tagmemics was already function-oriented, and as early as 1954, Pike recognized the need for further distinctions such as 'actor-as-subject' versus 'recipient-of-action-as-subject' (see Pike 1964b for a fuller development of his early work). These were not well-developed, however, until after Fillmore popularized case roles within a TG framework from 1968 onward. Since that time there has been considerable development of case role studies within tagmemics (cf. Cook 1971, Longacre 1976a:23). The study of Discourse has also encouraged the advance of deep structure studies in regard to plot structure, participant reference, etc. (See especially Longacre 1976a and Pike and Pike 1977.)

Lamb and Gleason, with stratificational grammar (SG) based on Hjelmslev's priority of semantics in the communication process, explored the extent of semantic structure and the inter-stratal relationships (realizations) between it and 'morphology' (surface grammar) (Lamb 1964a,b,

1966a,b). Lamb's introduction of the notion of contrastive realization as evidence for contrastive strata is considered by stratificational grammarians as a most significant step toward justification of what is proposed in deep structure.

Transformational-generative grammarians were also very influential in the development of deep grammar notions in spite of Chomsky's earlier (1957) lack of interest in semantics. Katz and Fodor (1963) were prime movers into the area of semantics and helped to precipitate Chomsky's 1965 semantic component. (According to Katz (1980:39) Chomsky has largely returned to his pre-1965 position "where grammars have nothing to say directly about the logical form of sentences in natural language.") In 1968 Fillmore came out with 'The Case for Case' and, along with Chafe (1970) and others, popularized the notion of semantic deep grammar. Chomsky started out with S—> NP +VP, etc; but Fillmore added S—> M(modality) +P(proposition), and P—> Predicate +Arguments (to which he gave specific deep case labels).

Meanwhile, a number of generativists broke off from standard TG and acclaimed the priority of semantics over syntax. Though Generative Semantics (GS) is reportedly 'over' (according to oral comments by Ross, Lakoff, and McCawley), related approaches survive and continue to make advances in the field of semantics. However, it remains to be demonstrated whether the 'priority of semantics' position has any validity or advantage over the tagmemic unity of form and meaning discussed below.

1.3.3 More on deep structure in tagmemics

Two issues are discussed below: first, the form-meaning controversy, and secondly, the trimodal formulation of the tagmeme as Feature, Manifestation, and Distribution.

a. The form-meaning controversy

The crucial issue involved in any consideration of deep structure in tagmemic theory is the tagmemic emphasis on the unity of form and meaning. This basic premise is restated continually from the first chapter of Pike's ([1954] 1967) tagmemic work to the first chapter of his latest book (Pike and Pike 1977:4, 408). Pike (1967a:63, 188) also quoted Bloomfield (1933:102) and Firth (1952:5-6) for supporting statements, and challenged de Saussure, Hjelmslev, and others who separated the sign from its meaning. Since tagmemes are form-meaning composites, the addition of 'deep' roles, e.g., AGENT, PATIENT, etc., to tagmemes is considered to be simply an elaboration of what is already implicit in the function side of the tagmeme (defined as a function:set composite). Thus, in tagmemics, deep structure is not conceived of in the same way as it is in theories which treat it as a distinct semantic component. Whereas Chomsky was forced, against his earlier claims (1957:92-104), to add a semantic component to his formal syntax, Pike had long-since maintained the unity of form and meaning in the grammatical hierarchy. Even early tagmemic grammars were by no means 'mere surface structure' since they already incorporated the unity of form and meaning, however little use they may have made of current advances in deep structure.

As mentioned in section 1.3.2 above, Pike had already used grammatical distinctions such as 'actor-as-subject', etc., in 1954, and added more in 1964. Longacre also used labels such as actor, agent, goal, and topic in 1964b (cf. pp. 54-55). So there was a growing recognition among tagmemicists of the need for further development of 'situation roles'. In 1972 Pike introduced a nine-cell tagmeme in order to make deep structure roles more explicit. His nine cells were later revised to twelve, that is, a four cell

tagmeme for each of his three hierarchies. Of his four cells, two are the traditional tagmemic slot and filler class correlation; the third is case or situation role, and the fourth is cohesion.

Longacre (1976a:290) handles deep structure within the grammatical hierarchy, not by means of four-celled tagmemes, but by means of a somewhat similar separation of:

> the old bi-dimensional array of tagmemics (Longacre 1968.ix-xii) into two halves by drawing a line across the center. Under the solid or double line goes the deep structure, above the line goes the surface structure, and at the bottom I have room in my rules for any structural notes I may need to guide the mapping process from one to the other . . . .

He views deep and surface structure not as separate hierarchies, i.e., a dichotomy, but as belonging to levels of depth between two poles (1976a:10). This is similar to Hockett's view that all structure is grammar, whether surface or deep, and that deep grammar involves various levels of depth (1958:258).

The reason why tagmemicists have worked with deep structure for so long in spite of their lack of an explicit semantic component is that deep structure is an essential part of their grammatical hierarchy. Pike (1964b:22) said,

> We note that ambiguities in grammatical roles are often disambiguated by situational roles when these are known from earlier parts of a discourse. Linguistic analysis, dependencies, and generative power must not be assumed to start or end with sentences. Sentence structures are but one construction in a hierarchy of interlocking levels of grammar and situation, such that the total system of form and meaning must be treated as a composite whole.

Pike discovered that the higher one pushes up the hierarchy the more explicit are the functions needed to handle lower level ambiguities. It was just such ambiguities which forced Chomsky to provide for more and more meaning as he

pushed for greater exhaustiveness in his Sentence grammar approach. But, desiring to maintain the priority of formal syntax, he treated meaning as a subsidiary component with input rules from the syntactic component. Longacre (1976a:288) objected to a surface-deep structure dichotomy because the two are too similar to be treated as separate hierarchies. This is entirely true if one's single hierarchy is already a form-meaning composite.

In spite of theoretical problems, there is little doubt that in practical fact linguists and non-linguists all distinguish between form and meaning, so the question is how best to fit it into a model. I believe that there are at least two separate questions involved. First, are there two distinct tagmemic hierarchies, or one hierarchy with deeper and shallower levels? Tagmemicists, maintaining the unity of form and meaning in the grammatical hierarchy, have traditionally had a 'surface structure' which includes grammatical meaning, so their 'deep structure' is basically a greater specification of that meaning. Therefore, it would be entirely redundant to treat deep structure as a separate hierarchy in tagmemics. There is confusion, however, between this interpretation of surface and deep and that of some others, e.g., stratificationalists, who handle all function in the semantic stratum and have a morphological surface stratum of form only.

Second, does tagmemic theory allow us, for analytical purposes, to split the grammatical hierarchy into two components--a form-only 'surface structure' composed of morphemes and their arrangements, and a meaning-only deep structure, composed of concepts (or sememes) and logical relationships into propositional and interpropositional structures? This latter possibility has been distasteful to tagmemicists because it appears to strike at

the very heart of the tagmemic form-meaning unity. Pike (1967a:187), for example, rejected "any theory which set up emes of meaning, i.e., sememes . . . ."

The problem is that we must walk a tight-rope between completely ignoring any distinction between form and meaning, which no one does in practice, and treating them as completely separate. Neither position is tenable. So where do tagmemicists really stand? I believe that we emphasize the unity of form and meaning by formulating every constituent of language as a form-meaning composite, but in describing the formulas, we distinguish between the form and the meaning. For example, in early tagmemic write-ups we might have given the formula, 'transitive clause: +S +P +O', then said,

> The subject tagmeme of an intransitive clause occurs in the first position of the clause (preceding the predicate), and it is filled by a noun expression.

Thus we distinguished a slot-meaning (subject), a slot-position (i.e., first preceding predicate), and a filler-class. But the so-called surface term 'subject' loosely covered the position (whether marked linearly or by affixation) and whatever functions might be present, e.g., TOPIC, AGENT, PATIENT, SOURCE, etc. Such a cover term may be useful in a 'quick and dirty' description of particular languages, but it opens the way for much confusion. Thus, clarification must be gained by specifying the deep structure roles. But why not go all the way and make a clear split between form as surface position +filler and meaning as deep function? There are practical and philosophical arguments on both sides. As mentioned above, a philosophical problem is a fear of dualism.

The linguist is tempted to speculate that since the same message can be communicated via alternate forms, e.g., different codes (languages), meaning must be somehow separate and prior. Lamb's accounting of contrastive realizations between a semantic stratum and a morphemic stratum also seems appealing as evidence for a separate semantic stratum. But all we can be sure of is that any particular meaning or group of meanings has one particular form in any given context, and vice versa (any particular form has one particular meaning or group of meanings in a given context). Meaning has never been identified apart from some form, nor form apart from some meaning. One is also tempted to speculate that thought is speech without verbal form, but we must consider the possibility of neurological activity as a kind of physical form (Pike and Pike 1977:2). The fact that we might conceptualize (or imagine) some kind of formless semantic structure could be significant; but the possibility that it may be more imagined than real has given Bloomfield (1933:140), Hall (1972) and others reason for skepticism.

Pike (1967a:62, 187) pointed out that dividing between form and meaning is dangerous, leading to philosophical dualism. Firth (1968:170), though not a tagmemicist, stated the issue as follows:

> As we know so little about mind and as our study is essentially social, I shall cease to respect the duality of mind and body, thought and word, and be satisfied with the whole man, thinking and acting as a whole.

In 1971 Pike (1971:87) stated his position as follows:

> The alternative of abstracting the semantic component away from any necessary form, so that one had some kind of deep abstraction versus surface objectification, was unacceptable to us both.

However, Pike (1967a:63) acknowledged that it is common practice to distinguish form and meaning as if they were separate. Such practice he

called 'conceptualized hypostasis', and said of it:

> For convenience, one may on occasion discuss the form and meaning aspects as if they were separable, while taking pains to indicate that such an expedient is a distortion which must be corrected at proper intervals and in the relevant places in the discussion.

On page 162 of the same volume Pike illustrated hypostatic unity when he pointed out that he had discussed the formal characteristics of the morpheme separate from the meaning characteristics, but that such was a distortion which must be corrected.

Having noted the dangers of separating between form and meaning, we return to the importance of such a separation. Without reverting to philosophical dualism, can we not have a holistic ideal, but permit a temporary, analytical suspension of mind from matter or thought from speech for the sake of discussion and clearer understanding of the whole. So, in theory we may hold to the unity of form and meaning, but in practical analysis and description look for appropriate ways to discuss them as if they were distinct. It was noted earlier that Longacre (1964b:11-24) said, "we work with formal correlates of meaning." Thomas (1977e:15) went even further to say:

> Language is a form-meaning composite, but until we have examined the forms and the meanings separately we can't understand the composite.

So, obviously, the separation of form and meaning is approved as a working hypothesis as long as the analyst recognizes what he is doing and observes appropriate cautions. Longacre's statement above (1964b:11-24) bears completion in this regard:

> . . . from what we know of meaning, we may suspect that two given constructions contrast with each other. Nevertheless, we never pronounce them to be in contrast until formal contrasts are encountered.

Benefits of discussing form and meaning as if they were distinct might be summarized in three points: 1) to cross-reference the forms and functions

of grammar the way words are cross-referenced with their meanings in dictionaries and thesauri. This is especially useful in translation work. 2) to make functions so explicit that we can better look for differences of form, and to make form so explicit that we can better look for differences of function, and 3) to make portmanteau relations more explicit so that we are not led astray by over-generalizations, e.g., subject as meaning either AGENT or TOPIC.

b. The tagmeme as Feature, Manifestation, and Distribution (FMD)

Since tagmemicists do, in fact, distinguish between form and meaning, it is only natural that tagmemicists should continue to search for ways to distinguish between them even more clearly than has been done. Before deep structure became so popular within tagmemics, some tagmemicists went so far as to abandon the tagmeme because it was not formulated in such a way as to permit treating its function slot as a semantic component (cf. Merrifield 1967:44). Now there are various approaches ranging as far as Cook's semantic view, which "enriches the tagmeme by providing a syntax-independent analysis of semantic content" (from mimeographed abstract of UTA forum 1979).

I believe that a basic problem faced by most tagmemicists of my acquaintance has been an early merger of function slot, i.e., 'slot-meaning' with distribution slot, i.e., 'slot-position'. Hence the 'function slot:filler class' composite could not be clearly distinguished as to form from meaning or surface and deep structure. However, this problem is easily remedied by a reinterpretation of the tagmemic trimodal view of language which is tailor-made for distinguishing form and meaning (i.e., function) within the tagmemic unit.

What is needed is to define the tagmeme as a three-term unit, consisting of function, position slot, and manifesting form (cf. Allen 1966:102), matching the Feature, Distribution, and Manifestation modes. In this way, all function is viewed via the Feature mode (and is given deep structure labels), and all form is viewed according to surface structure linear position (Distribution mode) and manifesting fillers and filler classes (Manifestation mode).

It is not unknown for tagmemicists to make a three-way split. For example, Linda Jones (1977:159), following Pike, said, "A tree diagram shows three significant aspects of a tagmeme: slot, role, and class." However, in such cases, only role is separated out into deep grammar while other components of function, e.g., TOPIC, are left in the 'function-distribution' slot, presumably because of the early merger of function and distribution in the same slot.

Di Pietro (1977:10), though not a tagmemicist, made the following statement, which I believe is appropriate:

> 'Deep' structure, if we wish to preserve the notion, should be recognized as a grammatical mapping of the functional relations among language forms, rather than any direct portrayal of human thought. By the same token, semantics is only that part of meaning which is statable in terms of grammatical segments we call 'features'.

If the Feature mode of the tagmeme is reinterpreted to incorporate all function (and only function), and the Distribution and Manifestation modes incorporate all the surface manifestation, it should not be necessary to posit two kinds of units, both deep and surface, in the same hierarchy as Longacre did (1976a:305). Rather we are led to what Longacre almost did (1976a:11, 307-309 fn. 2). He assigned deep structure to the Feature mode of the grammatical hierarchy, but insisted on leaving 'surface meaning' in the

Manifestation mode with surface structure. I believe that deep structure meaning is only further elaboration of the same meaning which tends to be abbreviated in the tagmemic 'surface structure'; therefore I assign all grammatical meaning to the Feature mode, i.e., Function mode, leaving only formal morphemes and their arrangements in the Manifestation and Distribution modes.

So-called surface labels like SUBJECT, OBJECT, etc., confuse surface form with a shorthand for deep structure functions, some of which cannot be sorted out on the basis of Clause-level information alone. The term SUBJECT has occasioned much controversy, as discussed in studies of SUBJECT and TOPIC (cf. Li 1976). Halliday (1967b:212-216) said that SUBJECT in English is largely an idealization of ACTOR-SUBJECT-GIVEN-THEME in the first position of the 'preferred' Clause type. Longacre (1976a:287) said,

> . . . part of the meaning of surface structure categories is the sum total of the deep structure categories that they are able to encode. Thus subject comes to mean something on the order of 'that which we are talking about' or old information partly because it encodes so many varying and different deep structure relations (cf. also, Becker 1966).

I prefer to change his first word from 'part' to 'all' and to specify as much as possible, all of the "varying and different deep structure relations." Any combination of distribution slot plus manifesting set is matched by a function or a package of functions. In the Feature mode, it is the packaging of the functions in tagmemes which is significant. In other words, I believe function equals grammatical meaning (equals 'semantic relationship', if you like), and this should be specified with deep labels. It is too easy to get tripped up by 'surface' labels, either equating them with whole tagmemes, or with only the distribution slots, or by under-differentiation of functions. It is a principle of good analysis that over-differen-

tiation leads more easily to an emic description of a construction than under-differentiation does. In a completed analysis over-differentiation is effectively reduced, but functional distinctions are kept, and that usually requires more than surface labels.

Tagmemic analysis has been called a 'guess and check' method (Longacre 1964b:11, Pike and Pike 1977.xv), which involves reading for meaning and function and noting the forms used; then studying the forms to see when they correlate with one function or set of functions, and when they correlate with a different function or set of functions. Conceptually we may abstract from a unit the viewpoint of whichever mode we desire, i.e., Feature, Distribution, or Manifestation, and we may operate in that mode while we examine other units to discover similarities and differences. For example, the analyst could go through all of his data looking for manifestations of AGENT; then he might go through every occurrence of Clause positions preceding and following Verb Phrases to determine when they manifest AGENT and when they manifest something else.

In a tagmemic description, function, position, and manifesting filler class are all three presented. Traditionally they were kept tied very closely in the same formula and its discussion in order to give strict observance to Pike's (1967a:63) cautions regarding conceptualized hypostasis. Today, however, so much work is being done in deep structure that it has become common for linguists to discuss form and meaning more or less independently, and most tagmemicists have moved in that direction to some extent.

Pike's four-cell tagmeme and Longacre's split-level tagmeme distinguish deep structure while still keeping it within the unity of the tagmeme.

Ballard, Conrad, and Longacre (1971a,b) distinguished deep structure and surface structure to the extent of providing indices cross-referencing each to the other. And Pike (1973:34) has suggested a grammar dictionary which would cross-reference grammatical role versus form as a lexical dictionary cross-references meanings with alphabetic form. Longacre even wrote a textbook (1976a) called An Anatomy of Speech Notions, for the purpose of cataloging underlying notional categories--though he was careful to insist that 'speech notions' are an essential part of the grammar, not an independent semantic component (1976a:11-20). One further justification made for the analytical split which I make between form and meaning is found in Longacre's (1976a:11) statement regarding the traditional tagmemic split between lexicon, grammar, and phonology:

> It is not that language has a lexical component, a grammatical component, and a phonological component--although the description of a language may well have these various compartments; it is rather that the whole of language may be described from the standpoint of content structure or from the standpoint of organization into patterns essential to communication or from the standpoint of sound.

Finally, Longacre (1976a:307) said:

> I do not object to presenting tagmeme and syntagmeme in any way a person wants to present them - via Pike's nine boxes, his abbreviated six boxes, or his four boxes--provided this is not permitted to obscure the fact that primarily the tagmeme is a function-set correlation.

Though the analytical split which I make cuts more sharply between surface and deep structure than I believe either Pike or Longacre does, I believe it is justified as a 'conceptualized hypostasis'. And, hopefully, such tolerance as Longacre has offered above will extend to the descriptive format described in the following section.

1.4 A modified tagmemic model

As stated above, tagmemic theory provides for conceptualization of meaning with appropriate caution, namely, keeping form and meaning tied together in tagmemic units. Tagmemics also provides for a trimodal perspective of the form-meaning composite which is interpreted here as follows: the Feature (Function) mode provides a view of function, i.e., grammatical meaning; the Distribution mode provides a view of Morphotactic (i.e., morpho-syntactic) position, and the Manifestation mode provides a view of Morphotactic forms, i.e., morphemes and construction of morphemes which fill the distributional position slots. Combinations of Distribution slots plus Manifesting classes (DM) are distinguished in language analysis as the formal correlates of functions in the Feature (Function) mode (F). Any particular slot-class combination may correlate with a single function or more than one function. For example, in 'John hit the ball', Clause position ClF (i.e., 'Following the verb') filled by the noun 'ball' correlates with PATIENT, whereas ClP ('Preceding the verb') filled by the noun 'John' correlates with both TOPIC and AGENT. (Both may also correlate with additional functions dependent upon the context.) Likewise, any particular function may be found to correlate with a single slot-class combination or more than one combination. (From this point on I will refer to 'Function mode' rather than 'Feature mode'. I believe that the traditional Feature mode has included manifestational and distributional features, as well as functional features, which belong more appropriately in their own respective modes, making room for a distinct Function mode.)

A formalization of the above interpretation of trimodalism is Fx/Dy:Mz, which reads, 'function x correlates with Distribution slot y filled by

Manifesting class z'. (Tagmemic formulas have traditionally merged Fx and Dy, emphasizing the relationships between them and Mz, i.e., 'FxDy manifested and filled by Mx'. I choose rather to emphasize the correlations between form (Dy:Mz) and meaning (Fx).) For example, in the Pacoh Sentence, **Cubuat chŏ tŏ̂q dŭng** 'Cubuat returned home', we may say, "the functions AGENT and TOPIC correlate with the first position in the Clause (ClP), which is filled by a noun word, **Cubuat**, correlating with 'proper name' in the 'thing' class of the dictionary." We might also say, "a particular AGENT, 'Cubuat', correlates with a noun word **Cubuat** filling ClP of the Clause." Or, we might start with the surface structure and say, "DM-ClP (Clause-initial position) correlates with F-AGENT and F-TOPIC; and DM-noun word **Cubuat** correlates with F-thing > a particular Pacoh person." There is no 'passive tense' but **tŏ̂q dŭng** can be topicalized so that TOPIC and GOAL correlate with ClPP while AGENT still correlates with ClP, i.e., **tŏ̂q dŭng Cubuat chŏ** 'to home Cubuat returned'. (I sometimes use 'DM' for either the Distribution slot or the Manifesting filler or both together because I am emphasizing a two-way correlation between F and DM. Sometimes a function correlates with the slot alone, but sometimes with both the slot and its filler class, e.g., INSTRUMENT/DM ClFF:Prep. Phrase.)

So far, we have made three modifications to traditional tagmemics: we have highlighted the Distribution slot somewhat more than previously; we have assigned all function (surface and deep) to the Function mode, and we have borrowed a symbol (/) from stratificational grammar. Such a symbol was needed to mark 'correlated with' because the colon (:) indicates only 'filled by'. The term 'expounded by' is avoided here because others use it to merge 'correlated with' and 'filled by'. Longacre (1976a:260) said, "Strictly

speaking, exponence is the relationship between the function of a tagmeme and its manifesting set."

The slash (/) was borrowed from stratificational grammar because it is used in a similar way there. Also, it allows for an above-and-below-the-line structure (cf. Pike's four-cell tagmeme) to be formulated on a single line. Furthermore, addition of the reverse slash (actually a vertical bar (|) in this printing), clarifies the direction of one's focus, e.g., from meaning to form (F/DM) or vice versa (DM|F). For example, in the example above, we may show AGENT/ClP, or ClP|AGENT, TOPIC.

Two further modifications are introduced as well: First, the Function mode (F) and the Distribution plus Manifestation modes (DM) are presented in separate sections of the description before being re-united in correlation formulas. A more tagmemic-looking format might present the correlation formulas first and then give separate discussion. The present format accomplishes the same thing, but is turned around to reflect actual analytical procedure, i.e., a linguist looks at unified data, conceptualizes the function versus form distinction, then re-unites the separate views into integrated formulas.

Secondly, to carry our conceptualized hypostasis a step further, the Function mode is not only viewed separately, but it is viewed as a slot:class combination on the analogy of the DM modes. For example, in the DM modes the Clause **Cubuat chỗ tốq dứng** 'Cubuat returned home' is analyzed as ClP:n. **Cubuat** +ClC:v. **chỗ** +ClF:PP **tốq dứng;** whereas propositionally it is analyzed as an Activity Event consisting of AGENT +ACTIVITY +GOAL. AGENT is filled by the concept 'Cubuat', ACTIVITY by the concept 'return', and GOAL by the concept 'home'.

In other words, the tagmeme is split into two 'semi-tagmemes': a function slot plus filler as viewed from the Function mode, and a position slot plus filler as viewed from the DM modes. Fillers of Function slots are concepts, Propositions and Schemes. Fillers of Distribution slots are Phrases, Clauses, Sentences, Paragraphs, and Texts.

For example, the Sentence 'Cubuat returned home, but I didn't' is viewed in the Function mode as a Contrast Scheme composed of two constituents (functions), THESIS +CONTRASTIVE THESIS (hereafter abbreviated as CONTRA-THESIS). Each constituent is filled by a Proposition, i.e., an Activity Event composed of AGENT +ACTIVITY +GOAL. The AGENT of the Proposition filling THESIS is filled by the concept 'Cubuat', whereas the AGENT of the Proposition filling CONTRA-THESIS is 'speaker'. The 'speaker versus non-speaker, non-addressee' relationship is tied to a system of reference which cuts across the constituent hierarchy. 'Cubuat' is further distinguished as TOPIC, correlating with first position in the Sentence. The ACTIVITIES are both filled by the action concept 'return', but the ACTIVITY of the Proposition filling CONTRA-THESIS is negated. Both GOALS are filled by the concept 'home'. (Further analysis of concepts might bring out further differences, e.g., whether there are two homes or only one, but those are matters of the referential realm rather than of the grammar.)

The above Function mode description appears to set up structural units, resulting in a 'structural semantics' rejected by some tagmemicists, and by others (cf. Hall 1972). However, it is intended only as a means of viewing the Function mode as a hierarchical constituency tree correlating with the grammatical hierarchy of which it is a part. It does not mean that we are positing two kinds of units; it is simply an insightful way of viewing the

Function mode. Note, for example, that Longacre (1980b, chapter 5) refers to the function INSTRUMENT as being 'filled by' any of three concept categories: tool, body part, or natural force.

The format for this modified tagmemic approach is described in greater detail in chapter two. At this point, it is important to say more about the source of the format. For anyone familiar with Ilah Fleming's (1978) stratificational model, it can be observed that this format is adapted from hers. She developed her format as an algebraic alternative to Lamb's network diagrams; however, she also acknowledges the influence of her previous tagmemic background with slots and fillers. I learned to appreciate the usefulness of deep grammar 'semantics' in her model and felt that it was compatible with tagmemics. There were obvious similarities with some tagmemic formulations, including Pike and Pike's (1977) four-box tagmeme (in which role is distinguished from surface function slot). But, it was not until I attempted to restate Fleming's semantic and morphemic strata in terms of grammatical tagmemes that I saw how well a redivision of the tagmemic trimodal formulation supports the synthesis. Further support was found in a discussion by Longacre (1976a:305-309) of grammatical meaning as Feature mode.

This partial synthesis does not answer to all the theoretical differences between stratificational grammar and tagmemics. I frankly find myself sympathetic to arguments on both sides of the differences. Besides the form-meaning issue already discussed, I take a more tagmemic view of hierarchy than Fleming, but not one of rigid hierarchical exponence. Longacre (1976a:262-271), for example, allows for various degrees of recursion and level-skipping. But, leaving theoretical squabbles aside, it appears that a stratificationalist can use Fleming's format with stratifi-

cational terminology, e.g., 'Semantics' and 'Morphology'; while a tagmemicist can use it with tagmemic terminology, e.g., 'Function mode' and 'Distribution mode plus Manifestation mode'. There are undoubtedly more differences than just terminology since the tagmemic Feature (or Function) mode is not a separate stratum, but an integral part of the grammatical form-meaning composite. However, the great number of similar results says something about the similarity between the two grammatical traditions. Use of the format by a tagmemicist also says something about the eclectic spirit of tagmemics, which acknowledges insights wherever they are found, since the goals of tagmemics call for both insightful descriptions of real languages and a comprehensive theory of language (Algeo [1970] 1974:7, Hale 1974:55, Pike 1974).

In summary, the descriptive format used in the present study is Discourse-oriented, starting from full Texts and breaking them down into their constituents; and it is both deep and surface structure oriented, describing the grammatical mode of Texts from a Function view, a Distribution plus Manifestation view, and the correlations between them. Emphasis on the correlations provides a cross-referencing of forms and functions which is useful for both grammarians and translators.

Rather than dividing language into three or four strata, I have focused on the Grammatical and Phonological hierarchies of tagmemics and have divided them into three distinct sets of structural elements (cf. Display 1:1 below). At the highest level, 'Discourse, Text, and Utterance' are considered to be different views of the same units of language, i.e., monologues in this study. (My use of the terms 'Discourse', 'Text' and 'Utterance' is merely a convenient convention for this format.) The correlation of elements shown in Display 1:1, e.g., F-Proposition/DM-Clause/P-Pause Group, are considered to

be typical of correlations found in the analysis, but there is also considerable criss-crossing. For example, the DM-Phrase 'John's playing' correlates with a Foot rather than a Pause Group, whereas the word 'John' alone sometimes correlates with a Pause Group. In addition to constituents of the three hierarchies, a few examples of functions are listed with their surface correlates, e.g., F-TOPIC/DM-ClP, ClPP, and F-AGENT/DM-ClP.

DISPLAY 1:1 Structural elements of the model

Grammatical Hierarchy		Phonological Hierarchy
Function	Mode	Distrib-Manifest Modes
Discourse	Text	Utterance
Scheme	Paragraph	Breath Group
Point	Sentence	"
Proposition	Clause	Pause Group
"	Phrase	"
concept	word	Foot
"	morpheme	syllable
		phoneme
TOPIC	SIPH (ClPP), ClP	
AGENT	ClP	
PATIENT	ClF	
GOAL	ClF, ClFF	
ACTIVITY	ClC	

CHAPTER II

FORMAT AND PROCEDURES

As may be noted from the TABLE OF CONTENTS, a single general outline is followed for chapters two through four. In this chapter the outline is followed to present the format and procedures used to describe each of the Pacoh Texts. This involves presenting a brief, general grammar of the Pacoh language. The same outline is followed in chapters three and four to describe two specific Pacoh Texts. In chapter five the same outline is followed in section 5.1 to compare the Expository Texts presented in chapters three and four and in 5.2 to compare Expository Texts with Narrative Texts. The reader of chapters three to five will need to refer back to chapter two for definitions of some terms.

The description follows a meaning-to-form order, i.e., from Communication Situation to Grammar to Phonology, and, in the Grammar, from Function mode to Distribution plus Manifestation modes. This does not imply a unidirectional communication process; that was rejected in chapter one. However, the order is not arbitrary, since it is assumed that meaning is ordinarily more significant than form. In fact, the meaning is the 'significance', while the form is the 'signifier'. (Admittedly, the distinction is not as sharp as we might like it to be. In some poetry, for example, the form appears to be all the significance there is.)

In the Communication Situation and the Function mode, the unit of study is referred to as 'Discourse', in the Distribution plus Manifestation modes (DM) it is referred to as 'Text', and in the Phonology as 'Utterance'. These terms are not distinguished this way in the literature in general, but they are chosen as a convention for this study.

Second, the description follows a top-to-bottom order, i.e., from the largest constructions of the grammatical hierarchy down to the smallest. Actual analysis must alternate between the various size constructions, but a top-to-bottom description emphasizes the importance of Discourse considerations (for example, it shows how larger themes divide into sub-themes). In the DM modes (also called Morphotactics), too, a more holistic-emic view is gained by working downward from larger constructions like Paragraphs, to smaller constructions such as Clauses, Phrases and words. Beginning from the Discourse level, constituents of each level are described in terms of external constituency, internal constituency, coherence, and prominence. This is basically a constituency grammar. However, as pointed out by Grimes (1975: 248-55), there are several other principles which cut across partitioning, such as reference, prominence and coherence. These are handled wherever they seem most relevant.

In the first section of chapters three and four, the Text to be described is presented first with an interlinear translation and a free translation (where possible, the free translation is kept literal enough to avoid submerging distinctive structures). Then the description is presented in the order followed in this chapter.

2.1 Communication Situation (CS)

The Communication Situation (CS) includes what is often called pragmatics, experience, and interpersonal (performative) interaction (cf. Halliday 1974, 1977). It is viewed more as an encyclopedic network rather than a hierarchy. If the referential hierarchy of Pike and Pike (1977) were taken into account, the material would be divided somewhat differently and treated in much more detail. Unfortunately, that must wait for another time. The CS is treated here according to Fleming's (1978) divisions: referential realm, culture, language, social setting, social relationships, communicator intent, attitudes, and interest, and audience intent, attitudes, and interests. The referential realm (rr) is treated according to the particle-wave-field and contrast-variation-distribution matrix found in Young, Becker and Pike (1970). It is not intended to be encyclopedic, but only to restate what is apparent in the Text. As Thomas (1977c:53) states, "Hypothetical constructs are accepted as true descriptions of language only to the degree that it is necessary to postulate them in order to describe observable language."

2.2 Grammatical Function mode (F)

The Function mode is not just the addition of case roles and cohesion to 'surface structure'. The Function mode is described in terms of four hierarchical levels, i.e., Discourse structure, Plot or Scheme structure, Proposition structure, and concept structure. Within each level there may be recursive nestings, that is, layers of constituents, such as Schemes filling Schemes, etc. At the interface between Scheme and Proposition levels, there are Points, which combine certain features of both and are described below.

Beekman and Callow (1979:10) state that all semantic units have the same meaning features: three 'analytic' features and three 'holistic' features. They are: 1) referential coherence, which has to do with compatibility of the constituent parts within the referential world, 2) relational coherence, which has to do with the grammatical relationships of the contituent parts to each other, 3) prominence, which has to do with which constituent(s) are most prominent in the relationship, either because of natural or marked prominence, 4) classification of a unit in terms of illocutionary force, or (for concepts) in terms of the four categories thing, event, abstract, or relation, 5) role in the next higher level, and 6) purpose.

I do not follow Beekman and Callow's use of the term 'semantic units', but I find their description of 'semantic units' very compatible to my Function mode constituents. However, I arrange the six meaning features described above somewhat differently. Both referential coherence (also called 'unity'), and purpose are considered to relate Function mode constituents to the Communication Situation, so are handled under correlation rules, rather than here within the Function mode. The order followed here is: 1) classification and constituency, 2) relational coherence, and 3) prominence. Role is included under classification. However, I arrange the six meaning features described above somewhat differently. Both referential coherence (also called 'unity'), and purpose are considered to relate Function mode constituents to the Communication Situation, so are handled under correlation rules, rather than here within the Function mode. The order followed here is: 1) classification and constituency, 2) relational coherence, and 3) prominence. The notion of role is included under classification.

2.2.1 Discourse structure

The overall logical structure of Expository Discourse can be reduced to TOPIC plus COMMENT. At this highest level TOPIC is filled by a Title and COMMENT is filled by the entire Scheme structure. However, TOPIC also belongs to the reference system which cuts across the structure and is prominent in Point structure (cf. 2.2.3 below). I deal with coherence and prominence at each level of structure, but with reference at the Discourse level lest too much be lost in a section by section approach.

2.2.2 Scheme and Plot structures

For Narrative Discourse there has been a growing interest in underlying deep structure above the Proposition level since the translation of Propp's Morphology of the Folktale into English in 1958. This structure is called 'plot structure' (probably dating back to Aristotle's Poetics) and has received considerable attention in studies of Narrative Discourse in languages around the world. (Cf. Grimes 1975, 1978, Jones and Longacre 1979, Longacre 1968, 1970a, b, 1972a, Wise 1971, etc.)

For Expository Discourse, however, there has not been nearly so much interest, nor so apt a term as Plot structure. Beekman and Callow (1979:9–10) described the structures above the Propositions in Expository Discourse as 'propositional configurations' which include 'propositional clusters', 'paragraphs', etc. Fleming (1978) called them 'interpropositional relations'. Grimes (1975:207) called them 'rhetorical propositions', Jones (1977:118) called them 'scripts', Ballard, Conrad, and Longacre (1971a, b) called them 'interclausal relations', Longacre (1970c, 1976a:98) calls them a 'statement calculus'; and Winograd (1977:82) called them 'rhetorical schema', or, more simply, 'patterns of reasoning'.

Terms which refer to Clauses and Propositions fail to reflect the notion of a distinct, higher level of structure, which ultimately terminates in Propositions, but is more than just relationships between Propositions. The term 'script' was used to good advantage by Jones in describing the logical structure of Expository Texts, and, following her lead, I found it very useful in this study. However, this use is not really analogous to that of Schank, et al. from whom it was taken. Winograd's 'rhetorical schema' fits quite well, but the term 'schema' by itself is extremely broad, covering all sorts of memory storage, including scripts, plots, communication situation, etc. Note Kintsch's (1977b:40) use of the term schema for a top-down analysis of a story (versus a bottom-up analysis based on 'cues' provided by the text). On page 43 he used the term further as, "a set of expectations about the structure of the story . . . . Thus the macro-structure could be described as a conventional schema that specifies the structure of the story, plus the story-derived labels for these structural units."

Because of the lack of a more apt term, some linguists have projected the term 'Plot' into Expository Discourse. For example, Grimes (1975:244) said, "The plot structure just given covers a wide range of fairy tales, movies, and with little modification, scientific articles." Longacre (1976a:197) said,

> There is, furthermore, good reason to suspect that a mounting tension and resolution similar to plot characterizes other discourse genre as well. I therefore have entitled this chapter 'Plot and Similar Structures'--with, unfortunately, the scantiest of attention to the latter.

In an attempt to use a term parallel to Plot, but unique to Expository Discourse, I have decided upon the term 'Scheme'. This sounds like Winograd's 'rhetorical schema', but is different enough not to be confused

with schemata in general. We can also say that a Scheme is a pattern of reasoning. So for this study the term 'Scheme' is defined as a structure or pattern of logical reasoning. The constituents of a Scheme may be filled by Propositions or by other Schemes. Referring to Display 3:4, note that the top-level Evaluation Scheme is a structure of THESIS 2-1 filled by most of the Discourse, while COMMENT 2-2 is filled by a single Point (or main Proposition, in this case). Syllogism Scheme 2-1 is a structure of two PREMISES and a CONCLUSION, each filled by Schemes, and Contra-expectation Scheme 6-1 is a structure of two constituents each filled by a main Proposition. So Schemes are rhetorical structures of constituents filled by Propositions and/or other Schemes at any level of structure above the Proposition level.

2.2.2.1 Classification and constituency

Scheme types found in the two Discourses of this study are listed below. (The equal sign (=) should be read 'consists of'. Terms for constructions have only the initial letter capitalized whereas the constituents have all letters capitalized.) Constituents considered to be naturally prominent are underlined below. See section 2.2.2.3 for discussion of prominence.

Comparison = ITEM A +ITEM B +DEGREE

Contrast = THESIS +CONTRA-THESIS

Contra-expectation = CONCESSION +CONTRA-EXPECTATION

Episode = SETTING +EVENT-LINE

Evaluation = THESIS +COMMENT

Illustration = THESIS +ILLUSTRATION

Implication = CONDITION +CONSEQUENCE

Means = MEANS +PURPOSE

Narrative = SETTING +PRIOR +SUBSEQUENT

Paraphrase = THESIS +RESTATEMENT or GENERIC +SPECIFIC

Reason = REASON +RESULT

Sequence = PRELIMINARY EVENT +OCCASIONING EVENT +CONCLUDING EVENT

Syllogism = PREMISES (GROUNDS) +CONCLUSION

To illustrate, the Discourse 'The Old Days' is described in the Function mode (section 3.2.2) as an Evaluation Scheme filling the COMMENT of an Expository Discourse. Its role in the CS is to evaluate 'the present' versus 'the old days'. Its constituency includes three lower-level Evaluation Schemes.

The Scheme structures described in this study are the logical structure of particular Discourses, not necessarily of general types. It is probable that more universal Scheme structures could be posited as underlying the structure of the Discourses described here. For example, a logician might look at the Discourse 'The Old Days' from a syllogistic point of view, and interpret the Evaluations as underlying Syllogisms. That the Discourse can be analyzed into Syllogisms is interesting. However, this is beyond the scope of the present study.

It will be noticed that in describing Scheme structure the surface structure linear order of Propositions is followed, except in cases where there is apparent skewing between deep and surface ordering. In attempting to represent deep grammar, linguists often use diagrams which avoid linear ordering, since linearity is considered to be a major characteristic of surface grammar (cf. Mel'čuk 1973). However, such networks are usually less comprehensible and they don't reflect universal tendencies of word order.

That is, attempts at non-linear diagrams do not appear to be any truer of deep structure than linear diagrams. Therefore, linear ordering is maintained in this study to describe deep structure constituency.

2.2.2.2 Coherence in Scheme structure

Narrative Discourses are found to organize their constituents in particular ways called 'plot structure' (cf. Longacre 1972a,b, 1976a,b). The high degree of formalism in Narrative structure is especially well-documented in studies of hundreds of folktales (cf. Propp 1958, Olric 1965).

In regard to Expository Discourse English teachers frequently hand out a general structural outline and expect students to write Discourses different in detail but all of the same general type. Jones (1977:118-48) illustrated logical coherence in an 'Informal Proof Script' shown to consist of a THEOREM plus ARGUMENTS supporting the THEOREM plus PRESUPPOSITIONS. The logical relationships between constituents within a Scheme, including the thematic prominence (centrality) of one (or possibly two) give coherence. In many cases a constituent can be omitted since the audience is able to bridge the gap from what they know of Scheme structure.

One might argue that coherence (also called 'cohesion') originates from a number of surface level devices which enable a speaker to tie smaller elements into a coherent whole. The position taken in this study is that Coherence exists in both the Function mode and the Distribution plus Manifestation modes, and communication depends upon the correlation of both at all levels.

In the Pacoh Discourse 'The Old Days' (section 3.2), the first-level Evaluation Scheme which incorporates three parallel Evaluations, is found to

be a very clever composition which could not have been accomplished if the speaker had not begun with some kind of overall framework in mind. But neither could it have been accomplished without the variety of DM-Morphotactic devices which build up and unify the surface structure.

2.2.2.3 Prominence and theme in Scheme

Prominence and coherence are closely related. There cannot be an entity without coherence of its parts, but linguistic coherence does not mean creating an amorphous mass with all constituents identical. An entity is given both significance and coherence by having a more prominent central component around which other components cluster.

On the Discourse level, thematic prominence is of greatest importance. Jones defined theme generally as referential prominence (Jones 1977:6). She later defines it more precisely as the nuclear constituent(s) of any referential configuration (1977:130). This is applied to each level of her referential realm, i.e., performative interaction, script, point, and concept. At each level (and at each recursive layer within a level) the theme is considered to be one particular constituent or a synthesis of two constituents (1977:140-4). For example, the THESIS of an Evaluation Scheme, is considered to be more prominent than the COMMENT. This is similar to what Beekman and Callow (1979:4, 74-76) call 'natural prominence', or what Longacre (1979) calls 'weighting'. The Scheme structures found in the Discourses of this study are listed in 2.2.2.1 above with their naturally prominent constituent underlined. For the most part, I followed both Jones and Beekman and Callow (1979:76—updated in 1980), but there are some differences of opinion. For example, Jones (1977:145-6) considered the theme of a comparison or contrast

to be a synthesis of its constituency. Also, according to Beekman and Callow a constituent can be marked as prominent in a context though not naturally so. (Note that I am treating as grammatical Function mode what Jones treated as referential configuration.)

Following Jones, the analyst 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. For example, in chapter 3 (section 3.2.2.3) the primary theme-line can be traced through the tree structure as THESIS of Evaluation (2-1), CONCLUSION of the Argument (3-2), THESIS of the Evaluation (4-3), and both THESIS (5-9) and CONTRA-THESIS (5-10) of the Contrast. This primary theme-line is considered to constitute the 'peak' of the exposition. In Narrative Discourse, peak is marked in other ways at a point along the Event-line (cf. Longacre 1977:212). The relationship between Scheme and theme serves as both an analytical and a descriptive tool. The analyst is able to juggle configurations of Propositions within layers of Schemes of various types until he arrives at a configuration with a theme-line which best matches both the surface clues and his intuitions.

Regarding thematic prominence in Pacoh Narrative Discourse, the reader is referred to Watson (1977:305) and Watson and Thomas (1978). Some of the devices described there which also apply to Pacoh Expository Discourse are: degree of position markedness, degree of specification, degree of evaluation, degree of contrast, repetition, and rhetorical underlining.

Van Dijk (1977) and Kintsch (1977) put considerable emphasis on 'macro-structure' as the underlying structure of a story. They define macro-structure as the set of macro propositions of a story together with the

story categories to which they correspond (Kintsch 1977:40). For Expository Discourse, I assume that the Scheme structure together with its corresponding Propositions and the rules for theme-line prominence provide a fairly thorough macro-structure.

2.2.3 Point and Proposition structures

The terminal constituents of Expository Schemes involve both concepts and Propositions in particular combination which group together into Points. Point structure is described first, followed by Proposition structure.

2.2.3.1 Points

Points are TOPIC-COMMENT structures generally correlating with Sentences in the DM-Morphotactics of Expository Texts (cf. sections 3.2.3 and 4.2.3). The term 'Point' as used in this study is closest to the usage of Jones (1977) and Larson (1978) (though they may not agree with the details of its use here). Jones (1977:134) defined Point as "the next level below script in the referential hierarchy for expository discourse."

Points, as defined in this study, belong to a hypothetical interface between Scheme structure and Proposition structure. Their function is to join TOPIC concepts of the Discourse with main Propositions.

The interfacing of Scheme, Proposition and concept structures is a far more complex process than can be handled here. But, the combining of TOPIC concepts with COMMENT Propositions is sufficiently essential to Expository Discourse to warrant the attempt. Briefly, then, I conceive of TOPIC concepts as being related to the Scheme structure in one way, but to the Propositions which fill Scheme constituents in a different way. In the Text

'The Old Days' of chapter three there is a Discourse TOPIC 'the old days' and a counter-TOPIC 'the present'. With respect the entire Discourse TOPIC is joined to the exposition simply as Title. With respect to the Scheme structure TOPIC relates to THESIS of the Contrasts and the counter-TOPIC relates to CONTRA-THESIS.

With respect to the Propositions filling Scheme functions, the TOPIC of a Point does not necessarily correlate with a nuclear ARGUMENT of a Proposition, but is determined higher in the Scheme structure. In section 3.2.3, for example, the TOPICS are filled by either TIME-present or TIME-past, which alternate throughout the Discourse. If the COMMENT is filled by a Proposition, e.g., an Activity Event, AGENT is de-emphasized in favor of TIME, though propositionally, TIME is usually considered to be a peripheral constituent of an Activity Event. In section 3.2.3 for example, the first Point combines the TOPIC 'generation of people long ago',i.e., 'the old days' with an Event, '(they) didn't know books'. In Point 3 the TOPIC, TIME-present, is combined with the Quantification 'many know books'. In Point 13 the TOPIC is ITEM of an Attribution, i.e., 'The old days (were) very peaceful . . .'. In Point 16 'the successful' is simultaneously TOPIC of an embedded Point and AGENT (EXPERIENCER) of an Experience Event.

Li and Thompson (1976) define TOPIC and COMMENT structure by several criteria, but of special note here is the fact that TOPICS are not determined by predications, as SUBJECTS are. (Note that Li and Thompson define SUBJECT as the principal Proposition role of a Predication, e.g., AGENT.) Furthermore, in Expository Scheme, TOPIC takes precedence over SUBJECT, so that SUBJECT may be entirely omitted or generalized. In Pacoh Expository Discourse, I find three situations: TOPIC and AGENT may be simultaneous, but

the priority of TOPIC is manifested by repetition of a full Noun Phrase, whereas AGENT would more often be manifested by a pro-form; second, AGENT may be omitted, but deducible from the TOPIC or elsewhere; or third, TOPIC and AGENT may be manifested separately. In the Points of the Text 'Pacoh Fellows and Girls' (section 4.2.3) TOPIC and AGENT are sometimes identical. In the Points of the Text 'The Old Days' (section 3.2.3) AGENT is usually omitted, though it may occur in the COMMENT separate from the TOPIC, e.g., 'At the present generation, many are literate' (Point 3). Notice the comma between TOPIC and COMMENT in the above example. This punctuation by the native speaker, marking juncture between TOPIC and COMMENT, is common even when there is no AGENT expressed in the COMMENT, e.g., 'The old days, not know books . . .' (section 3.2.3 Point 1).

Li and Thompson distinguish languages as either SUBJECT-prominent, TOPIC-prominent, both, or neither. In Pacoh Expository Discourse is TOPIC-prominent, as illustrated above, while Narrative is AGENT-prominent. Li and Thompson do not refer to Discourse type in their definition, but this study indicates that TOPIC-prominent structure is closely related to Expository Discourse. In Narrative Discourse an ARGUMENT other than AGENT may be 'topicalized', but there is a clear event-line relationship between a stated AGENT and the PREDICATE. In an Expository Point, the relationship between the TOPIC and a Predication filling the COMMENT is more stative; any eventive relationship is secondary.

Some may prefer to treat Points simply as particular varieties of Propositions, but here the term Point is used to make more explicit the constructions which occur as terminals of Scheme structure in Expository Discourse, and which distinguishes Expository Sentences from Narrative.

2.2.3.2 Main Propositions

Proposition structure constitutes a level between Scheme and concept. Main Propositions are closely related to Points as the terminal constituents of Schemes. A Point contains either one or two Main Propositions which must be analyzed propositionally apart from Point structure.

Following is an example of a Point described Propositionally. The first Point of 'The Old Days' (section 3.2.3.2) is an Experience Event in which the negated EXPERIENCE is 'not know books', and the AGENTS (EXPERIENCERS) are people of the old days. However, as stated in section 2.2.3.1 above, the notion of SUBJECT gives way to TOPIC when their fillers are not the same. So, in this case the AGENTS are not found as SUBJECT; rather they are part of the identification of the TOPIC, 'the old days of people long ago'. Pang 'generation' is a period of time, which is better translated 'lifetime' because, unlike English 'generation', it has no 'human' component and could never occur as AGENT. What serves as AGENT is 'people' which functions first in Specification 'people's lifetime'. In the surface Morphotactics (DM), there is no ClP (SUBJECT), but rather a Sentence-initial Phrase (SIPH |F TOPIC). This is a Noun Phrase consisting of NPC:time period +NPF:people +NPFF:long ago. (In Narrative Discourse, such a Sentence-initial Phrase would be followed by a ClP (Clause slot preceding the verb), e.g., dŭng vĕl ngai pôc 'the community they went'.

In analyzing Propositions, I used both Longacre's (1976a) case frames and Fleming's (1978) Proposition types. What appears in the descriptions in chapters three and four is the result of reducing those etic types to significant emic types. There are Experience Events, several types of Activity

Events, Processes, and three Stative types, composed of nuclear constituents as follows:

Experience Event = AGENT (EXPR) +EXPERIENCE +SOURCE (STIMULUS)

Activity Events:

One-participant Activity = AGENT +ACTIVITY

Travel Activity = AGENT +ACTIVITY +GOAL

Two-participant Activity = AGENT +ACTIVITY +PATIENT or RANGE

Transfer Activity = AGENT +ACTIVITY +PATIENT +GOAL or SOURCE

Speech Event = AGENT (SOURCE) +SPEECH ACT +GOAL +RANGE

Process = PATIENT +PROCESS

Existence = EXISTENT

Possession = POSSESSOR +POSSESSIVE +ITEM

Quantification = QUANTIFIER +ITEM

ATTRIBUTION = ITEM, EVENT, or PROCESS +ATTRIBUTE

No attempt is made to claim universality for these categories. For Pacoh they exhibit both Morphotactic and Function mode significance. Strictly speaking, the first constituent of Experience Events is EXPERIENCER; however, I have merged it with AGENT since it is awkward to refer to both and there seemed to be no usefulness in doing so. Using SOURCE for the third constituent is a departure from Longacre's (1976a:33) 'goal'; however, in addition to my difference of perspective, i.e., an experience having a stimulus or source, I prefer to reserve GOAL for Activity Events.

2.2.3.3 Embedded Propositions

Main Propositions may be accompanied by minor Propositions. They are described separately because they are not necessarily expected to manifest characteristics of the Discourse type as main Propositions do. For example,

in Point 2 of the first Text (3.2.3.3), there is a series of embedded Propositions reflecting either PURPOSE or MEANS of the main Event, 'work'. They are, 'eat', 'earn money', 'work fields', 'trade goods'.

A second kind of embedded Proposition is embedded with an argument of a Proposition. These are described under concept clusters in section 2.2.4.

2.2.3.4 Coherence in Points and Propositions

There is natural coherence in Points, i.e., between TOPIC and COMMENT, and in Propositions, i.e., between a PREDICATE and its ARGUMENTS. Sometimes the two kinds of coherence combine, i.e., when an Expository TOPIC is simultaneously AGENT of the predication filling COMMENT. In the Text of chapter three, Point coherence may be seen in groupings of COMMENTS following the same TOPIC (see for example, Points 3-7 in Display 3:5); whereas Proposition coherence can be seen in groupings of PREDICATES following the same AGENT, or of other ARGUMENTS following the same PREDICATE (cf. Point 2 mentioned in 2.2.3.3 above).

2.2.3.5 Prominence and theme in Points and Propositions

In Expository Scheme, Points are TOPIC-prominent, and the TOPICS may or may not be closely related to a following PREDICATE. The COMMENT carries secondary prominence called 'COMMENT-prominence'. (Embedded Propositions and concepts are considered to have less prominence, but whatever is expressed is considered to have some prominence.) All the Propositions of the Text 'The Old Days' divide between two TOPICS, 'the old days' and 'the present' (3.2.3.1). These are temporal concepts, expressed in both Noun and Prepositional Phrases. They might be considered peripheral in a propositional analysis, but they are nuclear to the Points.

In an Event Proposition, on the other hand, the PREDICATE carries natural prominence and the AGENT carries secondary prominence. Any ARGUMENT can be marked as prominent by topicalization. But topicalization elevates the argument to TOPIC status of Point structure prominence. An AGENT is specially marked as TOPIC by insertion of cốh between it and the PREDICATE, e.g., **Cubuat cốh chom** 'Cubuat cốh knows, i.e., is the one who knows'. A non-AGENT is marked as TOPIC by fronting, and by insertion of cốh, e.g., **Ngai ân hôi tubếq cốh ngai a-ính** 'those who are successful cốh they hate, i.e., are the ones they hate'.

2.2.4 Concept structure

A 'concept', as stated by Beekman and Callow (1979:8), is "based on the universal practice of giving names to information about which one wants to communicate." Beekman and Callow (1979:26-27) define a concept as "a combination of components of meaning one of which is central, and which are compatible with each other in the particular world to which the concept refers." Furthermore, "all concepts in whatever language can be assigned to each of four universal classes (Things, Events, Abstractions, and Relations (T, E, A, R) on the basis of the central component of the concept being classified." The TEAR division is helpful, but may be too rigid. Following Fleming (1978), I include existence and processes which are not events, and I distinguish between attributes, states and quantities, which I would rather not simply lump into abstractions. Concepts are defined by Jones (1977:134) as "the usual constituents of points." Thus use of the term 'concept' aims at more emic elements than 'sememe' might. A concept is typically correlated with a single DM-word in Pacoh, as in English. However, there are composite correlations, e.g., English blow-up, meaning 'explode', in contrast to 'smoke

blowing up a chimney'. Concepts also group into concept clusters which typically correlate with DM Phrases. For example, 'the red dog' is not treated as [the dog [the dog is red]$_S$]$_{NP}$ on the Proposition level, but as a 'nominal concretion' (Longacre 1976a:246) or a 'downgraded predication' (Leech 1974:149) within the concept structure. Leech said that such predications, embedded within arguments of predications are downgraded to the status of features (ibid). So, in a description of Discourse it seems more appropriate to handle them on the concept level rather than the Proposition level. Jones (1977:108), for example, makes the statement:

> The lowest level in the referential analysis would be the identities, with their emically-perceived properties: Allen Brown, Monte Wright, the restaurant, each of the governmental buildings, the elevator, the wallet, his hotel, etc. The next lowest level of the analysis—event level—analyzes the actions and states of the identities.

The full body of componential information underlying concepts is allocated to the encyclopedic structure of the referential realm. In the concept level in the Function mode, only components which are relevant in a particular Discourse are discussed. It is probably not possible to distinguish accurately between immediately relevant relationships and 'deeper' underlying pragmatics, but such a distinction is made for practical usefulness.

Kintsch (1977a:352) appropriately said, "On balance it appears that we definitely do not want a system in which semantic decomposition is obligatory; people frequently operate with complex concepts as chunks." My position can be clarified by relating it to Leech (1974:128). Leech proposed three levels of semantic units: predications, features, and a third entity somewhere between the two. He called the third entity a 'cluster', "which corresponds roughly to a word or phrase in syntax." I have divided 'clusters' into concepts and concept clusters to reflect the syntactic dif-

ference between words and Phrases. The boundary between clusters and predications is not always clear; so I include under concept clusters some of what others might include under predications.

The concepts found in a Discourse are described by inclusion classes and a dictionary (cf. Fleming 1978). An inclusion class groups more specific concepts under the more generic concepts which include them. For example 'man' groups under 'human' which groups under 'thing' in contrast to non-human things. A specific concept contains as one of its nuclear components the generic concept within which it is included. Then special relationships between their components in the Discourse are discussed. For example, in the Text 'The Old Days' there are two TOPICS set in contrast, but in concept structure they are clusters of concepts having more components in common with each other than with any other concepts in the Text. That is, 'the generation of people long ago' shares with 'the present generation' the components: human, Pacoh, and location-Viet Nam. They contrast only with respect to time-past versus time-present, and the addition of Vietnamese participants to time-present. These two parallel concepts correlate with Noun Phrases which alternate throughout the Text.

Another interesting pair of concepts in the same Text are 'do-work-fight' (**táq**) and 'eat-defeat' (**cha**). They are used with both of the Discourse TOPICS, but with different components. With TOPIC-past **táq** means 'work on things' and **cha** means 'eat edible things', but with TOPIC-present **táq** means 'fight people' and **cha** means 'defeat people'. They each have the potential for an additional component of violence when the GOAL is 'people' rather than 'things' (cf. section 3.2.4.3).

2.3 Grammatical Distribution and Manifestation modes (DM)

As stated in chapter one, the Distribution and Manifestation modes are described together to give a view of formal grammar. This is not, however, irrelevant etic form, because it is abstracted with reference to its correlative 'deep grammar' meanings in the Function mode, as well as referential meaning in the Communication Situation. Morphotactics is composed of an inventory of morphemes and tactics for the deployment of the morphemes.

Morphemes and their tactics also include prosodic elements, both in terms of overlapping linear morphemes and supra-linear morphemes, such as tone, stress, and intonation. (The term 'linear' is used here rather than 'segmental' which is reserved for Phonology.) An example of stress is found in the contrast between the Phrase do 'cóh 'he that' (correlating with F-Specification) versus 'do cóh . . . 'he . . .' (correlating with F-TOPIC). Regarding intonation, one could say that even a single word with 'sentence intonation' is a Sentence, but we are treating intonation patterns as prosodic elements which co-occur with constituents of various levels of the hierarchy. A more traditional, function-oriented tagmemic account would be more restricted to the first position. But in the form-oriented DM modes of this section the latter position is taken. In the Function mode, a plea of 'Help' calls for at least a Proposition plus a mood, but in the DM-Morphotactics it may be as little as a word plus intonation.

It would be preferable to have a distinctive set of terms to distinguish this form-oriented DM view from the function-oriented Function mode view. Traditional terms like morpheme, Clause, Sentence, etc., have been used to cover the whole gamut by anti-meaning structuralists, and by semanticists, as well as by those who maintain the unity of form and meaning. So one must be

aware of the model of a speaker or writer in order to understand his terms. Labels for DM-Morphotactics should indicate only distributional slots and manifesting filler classes. A Noun Phrase, for example, is the typical filler class of ClP (the Clause constituent which precedes ClC). The term SUBJECT is avoided because it has three other uses: 1) function alone, i.e., TOPIC and/or AGENT, 2) function plus distribution slot, such as in traditional tagmemics, or 3) as a particular tagmeme, i.e., 'the subject tagmeme'. The term 'noun' is used to label a distribution class of words which are the typical correlates of F-concepts of the 'thing' class. However, if there were one-to-one correlation between DM-nouns and F-things, there would be no reason to distinguish two kinds of labels. So the effort is needed in order to clarify insights into the variety of manifestations of functions.

The procedural progression followed for describing DM-Morphotactic structure is from the higher constituents of the hierarchy to the lower, beginning with the Text and ending with words and morphemes.

2.3.1 Text structure

A Text is defined as the DM-correlate of an F-Discourse. Texts may be very complex, or they may be very simple. In this study, a Text must consist of at least two Text constituents, a Paragraph and Text closure (though closure is sometimes difficult to demonstrate, especially in embedded Texts). As mentioned above, a shout for help would involve at least a full Proposition, and probably even a Scheme containing a CAUSAL constituent in the Function mode. In the Morphotactics, too, a single word might be a minimal Sentence, which might be a Paragraph of a Text. This involves level-skipping (cf. Longacre 1976a:266). Text constituents are TT:Title, TCLOS:closure, TCON:conjunction, and TC:Paragraph, Sentence, etc.

Closure is defined by beginning and ending boundaries, which may include Title, Finis and/or a characteristic intonational element. In the Texts analyzed in this study there is not sufficient intonational data to give an accurate description of that. Other features which give texture to a Text include prosodies of style as demonstrated in the DM structure of the Text of chapter three.

Linkage, or 'texture' (cf. Halliday and Hasan 1976), like its Function mode correlate coherence, cuts across the hierarchical constituency of a Text so it is handled under Text structure as a whole (cf. chapters three and four, section 3.3.1 and 4.3.1). This primarily involves parallelism of constituent structures, nominal reference, and occasionally a 'sandwich' structure or repetition of particular forms.

2.3.2 Paragraph structure

Paragraphs are the typical constituents of Texts. At present only Paragraph structure is recognized between Sentence and Text structure. This does not mean that Parts and Sections do not exist, but that they are not found to introduce anything new to the structure, at least in this study. The Text 'The Old Days' contains a Section division which groups the first two Paragraphs, but the same parallelism and juxtaposition which pair them off may also be found within Paragraphs. Likewise, in the second Text Paragraphs are paired into what we may call Sections. Pike and Pike (1977:262) stated,

> When a sentence cluster occurs within a sentence cluster, the term paragraph is especially useful, to be applied to the larger of the two groups. When a paragraph comes within paragraph, the term section of a monologue may also be useful.

The full set of constituents of Paragraphs are PC:Sentence, Subparagraph, etc., PCON:conjunction, and PCLOS:closure. In the Texts under study the main Paragraph constituents are Sentences and Subparagraphs, though back-looping and level-skipping potentially add others.

Subparagraphs are embedded Paragraphs which (along with Sentences) are typical Paragraph constituents. The typical constituents of Subparagraphs are Sentences.

2.3.3 Sentence structure

Sentences (along with Subparagraphs) are the typical constituents of Paragraphs. They consist of at least two Sentence constituents, SC:Clause, etc., SCON:conjunction, and SCLOS (Sentence closure). Sentences are traditionally defined as follows, "a sentence is an independent unit having at least one verb with its subject(s)" (cf. Kierzek 1955:283). However, fuzzy boundaries and elided constituents sometimes complicate the application of 'independent' (cf. Waterhouse 1963).

2.3.4 Clause structure

The Clause level is intermediate between the Sentence and Phrase levels. A Clause is generally defined as a minimal Sentence or Sentence constituent, having Phrases and Words for its constituents (or embedded Clauses, etc.).

There are two main Clause types found in Pacoh: Verbal and Non-verbal.

2.3.4.1 Verbal Clause types

Pacoh is a SVO (Subject-Verb-Object) language. The general formula for Verbal Clauses is: ±ClP:NP +ClC:VP ±ClF:NP,PP,Cl.,Sent. ±ClFF:NP,PP,Sent. (cf. Display 2:1). (Optionality, symbolized by ±, is complex. ClP, for

example, may be optional in vi Clauses (depending upon whether vi correlates with F-Existence of F-Possession) but is obligatory in all other Clauses though its fillers may be elided according to rules of elision (cf. section 3.3.1c).) Verbal Clauses are divided into seven subtypes based upon potential constituency.

1) A vi Clause consists of C1C filled by vi 'exist, happen, have' or vaih 'exist, happen' and C1F filled by a NP, Clause, Sentence, or Paragraph. C1P is obligatory when C1C is filled by vi correlating with POSSESSION.

2) A two-constituent Intransitive Clause consists of C1P filled by a Noun Phrase and C1C filled by a Verb Phrase, e.g., do yôl 'he remains'.

3) A three-constituent Semi-transitive Clause consists of C1P:NP, C1C:VP, and C1F filled by a Prepositional Phrase, e.g., do pôc tốq Hêq 'he went to Hue'.

4) In a three-constituent Transitive Clause, C1C is filled by verbs such as pếnh 'shoot', and C1F is filled by a Noun Phrase, e.g., do pếnh achếq 'he shot a bird'.

5) In a three-constituent Transitive-sentential Clause, C1C is filled by verbs such as doc 'read', and C1F can be filled by a Noun Phrase, Clause, or Sentence, e.g., do chơm doc sách 'he knows how to read books'.

6) In a four-constituent Bitransitive Clause, C1C is filled by verbs such as dông 'take', C1F is filled by NP's, and C1FF by Prepositional Phrases, e.g., do dông achếq tốq dứng 'he took the bird home'.

7) In a four-constituent Bitransitive-sentential Clause, C1C is filled by verbs such as tông 'say', C1F is filled by Prepositional Phrases, and C1FF by Sentences (or embedded Texts), e.g., cư tông ado achai, "dyŏn cư pếnh au" 'I said to brother, "let me shoot"'. C1PP is a special position filled by

fronted fillers of ClF, ClFF, or ClM. It is portmanteau with the Sentence-initial Phrase position (SIPH).

2.3.4.2 Non-verbal Clause types

Non-verbal Clauses have the form ClP:NP,AdjP, ±ClC:equater ±ClF:NP,AdjP,dem.,Clause. They are subdivided into three subtypes: 1) those having Noun Phrases filling both ClP and ClF, e.g., **do la ticuai Pacŏh** 'he is a Pacoh person', 2) those having a Noun Phrase filling either ClP or ClF and an Adjective Phrase filling the other, e.g., **Ticuai Pacŏh la icŏh** 'Pacoh people are like that', and **put do ân chom uráq** 'many (are) those who know books', and 3) Relative Clauses. Relative Clauses are of two kinds: those without a relative pronoun, e.g., **damo cumŏr ính** 'whichever the girl wants', and those having the relative pronoun **ân** 'which' filling ClP, and a demonstrative, Noun Phrase, Adjective Phrase, or Clause filling ClF, e.g., **nnéh** 'which is this one', **ân Pacŏh** 'who is Pacoh', **ân o** 'who is good', **ân chom uráq** 'who knows books'. (Relative Clauses are considered to be Phrase-level modifiers elevated to the status of embedded Clause to correlate with Function mode IDENTIFICATION rather than CLASSIFICATION (e.g., **ticuai Pacŏh** 'Pacoh people') or DESCRIPTION (e.g., **ticuai o** 'good people'), in which the noun or adjective is not elevated to an embedded Clause.)

It has not been determined when the equater (**la**) must occur and when it must not. When present, it often appears to be optional. However, there are situations in which it is never present, for example, in a Relative Clause, or preceding a pronoun filling ClF. Both ClP and ClF are obligatory, except in the case of a dialog in which the response to a question may express only the constituent in question.

Though the Clause types are defined according to constituency, the more familiar labels, such as 'Transitive' are used for ease of communication. In respect to the model, less-semantic terms would be more appropriate in this section, but 'transitive' is not being considered as a function here.

DISPLAY 2:1 Pacoh Clause Types

a. Verbal Clause types:

	±C1P:NP	+C1C:VP	+C1F:PP,NP,Sent.	+C1FF:PP,NP,Sent.
1) vi Clause		Vi	ngai ân o	
		There are	good people	
	Do	vi	práq	
	He	has	silver	
		Vaih	ngai tấh ân nnhŏp	
		Happens	they abandon evil	
2) Intr.	Do	yôl		
	He	remains		
3) Semi-tr.	Do	pôc	tốq Hêq	
	He	went	to Hue	
4) Tr.	Do	pếnh	achếq	
	He	shot	a bird	
5) Tr-sent.	Do	choa	doc sách	
	He	knows	to read books	
6) Bitr.	Do	dông	achếq	tốq dũng
	He	took	the bird	home
	Do	dyŏn	acư	práq
	He	gave	to me	money
7) Bitr-sent.	Cu	tông	ado achai,	"Dyŏn cư pếnh"
	I	said	to brother,	"Let me shoot"

b. Non-verbal Clause types:

	+ClP:NP,AdjP	±ClC:equater	+ClF:NP,AdjP,Clause,dem.
1) Equative	**Do**	la	**ticuai Pacŏh**
	He	is	a Pacoh person
2) Stative	**Ticuai Pacŏh**	la	**icŏh**
	Pacoh people	are	like that
	Put		**do ân chom uráq**
	Many		those who know books
3) Relative	**ân**		**chom uráq**
	who		know books

2.3.5 Phrase Structure

The Phrase level is generally considered to be intermediate between the Clause and word levels; though words and Phrases are generally interchangeable with respect to Clause constituency. Therefore, in the Clause formulas above (2.3.4), Phrase labels include words, e.g., in 'ClP:NP' NP includes quantifier, counter +classifier, noun, pronoun, etc. Within Phrase formulas, however, words and expanded Phrases are more carefully distinguished (cf. NP fillers in 2.3.6.1 below). This is important because the Function mode correlate of a single noun, for example, might be AGENT, whereas within a Noun Phrase it is the ITEM which the other constituents modify in some respect.

Position labels, such as NPP3 (Noun Phrase position-three preceding NPC) are sometimes used together with a sample filler, such as 'all', to avoid traditional terms, such as 'quantifier', which are more appropriate to the Function mode. This is not an absolute rule however, since some terms like 'noun', 'numeral', etc. are used in spite of their semantic overtones.

There are two basic kinds of Phrases: Centered Phrases (Head-Modifier), and Relator-axis Phrases. Centered Phrases can be single-centered or multi-centered, having two or more central words. Such compound words may or may not be joined by conjunctions, e.g., a-ám a-i 'father mother', or a-ám anha a-i 'father and mother'. They are often binomials, i.e., stereotyped word pairs (cf. 2.3.6).

There are three types of Centered Phrases: Noun Phrases, Verb Phrases, and Adjective Phrases, and there are two types of Relator-axis Phrases: Prepositional Phrases and Adverbial Phrases.

2.3.5.1 Noun Phrases

Noun Phrases are identified externally as fillers of Sentence-initial Phrases (SIPH), of Clause-preceding (ClP), and Clause-following (ClF) slots. They also fill the AXES in all Relator-axis Phrases. Internally, a Noun Phrase contains up to six constituents: ±NPP3 ±NPP2 ±NPP1 ±NPC ±NPF ±NPFF. 'NPP3' stands for 'Noun Phrase position-three preceding NPC'; it is filled by an 'all' word (quantifiers). NPP2 is filled by a counter, NPP1 by a classifier, NPC by a pronoun, or noun (simple or complex, single or multiple), NPF by a noun, pronoun, NP, or demonstrative, and NPFF by a noun, NP, PP, or Rel.Cl. An example of a complex noun is ticuai Pacŏh 'Pacoh person'. An example of a multi-centered Phrase is a-em achai a-ám anhi 'brothers, sisters, fathers, mothers'. The sequence NPP3 +NPP2 +NPP1 +NPC +NPF is illustrated by ngéq bar lám alic achai 'all two class. pigs of brother'. The sequence NPC +NPF +NPFF is illustrated by pang +ngai +ntiaq inŏ-ntra 'generation theirs which old long ago'. The NPFF slot always correlates with F-time or location.

Co-occurrence rules for Noun Phrase components are too complex for full description here. In general, a Noun Phrase can be minimally manifested by either a filler of NPP3, or NPP2 +NPP1, or NPC, or NPFF:Rel.Clause. (See S. Watson 1976 for more on the Noun Phrase in Pacoh; also see Displays 3:11 and 4:9.)

2.3.5.2 Verb Phrases

Verb Phrases are identified externally as fillers of the Central position (ClC) of Verbal Clauses. Internally they contain up to four constituents: ±VPP3 ±VPP2 ±VPP1 +VPC. VPP3 is filled by **lu** 'very' words, VPP2 by a limiter, VPP1 by an auxiliary, and VPC by one or more verbs. An example of VPP3 +VPP2 +VPP1 +VPC is **lu lâyq châm tấq** 'really not able to work'. (See Displays 3:12 and 4:10 for other examples of Verb Phrases.) A Verb Phrase is minimally manifested by a verb.

2.3.5.3 Adjective Phrases

Adjective Phrases are identified externally as fillers of ClF of Non-verbal Clauses, and of the axis of some Relative Clauses. They also fill the adjective constituent (ClM) of Verbal Clauses. They contain up to four constituents: ±AdjPP2 ±AdjPP1 +AdjPC ±AdjPF. AdjPP2 is filled by **lu** 'very', AdjPP1 by a limiter, AdjPC by an adjective, and AdjPF by **lu** 'very', an Adverbial Phrase, or Noun Phrase. An example of the sequence AdjPP2 +AdjPC +AdjPF is **lu o lu** 'very pretty very'. An example of a multi-centered Adjective Phrase is **lu ian o lu** 'very peaceful pretty very'. An example of AdjPP1 +AdjPC +AdjPF is **buih diaiq-tũh ndĩh mâh dyeaq** 'not difficult-hard not even a little'. The Phrase 'not even a little' in the example above is an Adverbial Phrase filling AdjPF. In the Adjective Phrase tatiaq inô-ntra 'old

past time', **inô-ntra** 'past time' is an example of a noun filling AdjPF. An Adjective Phrase is minimally manifested by an adjective.

2.3.5.4 Prepositional Phrases

Prepositional Phrases usually occur as fillers of Paragraph and Sentence-initial slots (PIPH and SIPH), or of ClF or ClFF of Verbal Clauses. They may also fill NPFF of Noun Phrases. They contain two constituents: a RELATOR filled by a preposition, and an AXIS filled by a noun, pronoun, Noun Phrase, or demonstrative, e.g., **tốq dứng** 'to home', **tốq ngai** 'to them', **tốq dứng cu** 'to my house', or **tốq nếh** 'to here'.

2.3.5.5 Adverbial Phrases

Adverbial Phrases are identified externally as fillers of AdjPF of Adjective Phrases. The RELATOR is filled by an adverbial preposition and the AXIS by a Noun Phrase. For example, (**xức-xian**) **clât pang he** '(wealthy) beyond our generation', (**buih diaiq**) **ndĩh mâh dyeaq** '(not poor) even a little'.

Both RELATOR and AXIS are obligatory in all Relator-axis Phrases. However, there is at least one exception, i.e., (**tốq**) **dứng** 'to home', which (as in English) may occur without the preposition, e.g., 'he went Ø home'.

Relative Clauses could be treated as Relator-axis Phrases, consisting of a RELATOR (**ân**) and an AXIS filled by a noun, Adjective Phrase, or Clause. However, because of their similarity to Non-verbal Clauses, they are treated on the Clause level (cf. 2.3.4.2 above).

2.3.5.6 Phrase juxtaposition versus Phrase expansion

Phrase juxtaposition (or conjunction) involves sequences of separate Phrases, e.g., **cu pôc te Hêq tốq Tigon** 'I went from Hue to Saigon'. Phrase

expansion involves separating the central constituent filler of a multi-centered Phrase by repetition of one or more other constituents of the Phrase, e.g., **lu diaiq lu tũh** 'very poor very poor.' This example illustrates separation of a semi-bound form **-tũh** from the semi-bound pair **diaiq-tũh** 'poor-poor'. Phrase expansion is stylistic, correlating with CS functions such as speaker eloquence, whereas juxtaposition correlates with Function mode CONJOINING.

2.3.6 Word structure

Pacoh words are typically single morphemes, classified by their positions in higher level constructions. However, there is some affixation which incidentally distinguishes word classes. Words can also be compounded in various kinds of binomial pairs.

Word compounding is of special interest because of its use in Phrase and Clause expansion. Most nouns, verbs, and adjectives occur in at least one binomial compound. Compounds are treated here on the word level as well as on the Phrase level above, because of the close-knit relationships between their members. The members of some are morphologically bound, as **diaiq-tũh** 'poor-poor, difficult-desperate'. Others are not bound but are semantically synonymous, such as **clŏn anhoi** 'play play'; and others are not synonyms but belong to the same semantic domain, such as **a-i a-ám** 'mother father'. Many are also tied together phonologically (cf. 2.4.4). An example of morphological, phonological, and semantic ties in the same pair is **clŏn-ngan** 'play-play'. **-ngan** is a bound form never occuring without **clŏn**; it means the same thing, and it rhymes. Word compounding may correlate with either speaker eloquence in the Communication Situation (cf. section 3.1) or with

amplification of concept meaning described under Function mode (cf. 3.2.4). (See also R. Watson 1966b.)

Each word class is described briefly below along with its affixation and compounding. Specific examples are described in each of the following chapters. A morpheme dictionary is included in chapter four (section 4.3.8) for illustration of words used in the Text of that chapter. For most purposes, however, word glosses given in the Text are adequate. For a more extensive glossary of Pacoh words see Watson, Watson and Cubuat (1979).

2.3.6.1 Nouns

a. Definition. Nouns are defined as the fillers of the NPC constituent of Noun Phrases (section 2.3.5). Nouns, like Noun Phrases fill Clause constituents ClP, ClF, and ClFF. There are several subclasses of nouns, but the most significant are classifiable nouns, non-classifiable nouns, proper nouns, kin terms, pronouns, and time nouns. The classifiable nouns are a large open class which must be preceded by a classifier when they are counted, e.g., **uráq** 'book', **piday** 'field', etc. Non-classifiable nouns include count nouns such as **ingay** 'day', and mass nouns such as **bo** 'rain'. Proper nouns include personal names, such as **Cubuat** (cf. R. Watson 1969). Kin terms are terms such as **a-ám** 'father'. Both proper nouns and kin terms may also occur as vocatives. Pronouns are: **cu** 'I, me', **may** 'you', **do** 'he, she, it', **nháng** 'we two', **inha** 'you two', **anha** 'they two', **ipe** 'you pl.', **ape** 'they', **ngai** 'they in general'. Additional quote forms are: **day** 'I, me', **nhaday** 'we two', and **peday** 'we', e.g., **do tông, "day pôc dyo"** 'he said, "I go now"' (cf. S. Watson 1964). Words such as ngai 'they', or he 'we'. Time

nouns are words such as pang 'generation' or parnô 'tomorrow' which can fill NPFF and correlate with F-TIME. (They are non-classifiable count nouns.)

b. Affixation. Pronouns can be prefixed by nasal N- 'possession', e.g., ncu 'mine', mmai 'yours'.

Among the time words, there are two sets of words formed by prefixation of numeral roots. n- 'past' plus numeral gives days-past from inô (also nnô) 'yesterday' to ntrît 'ten days ago'. par- 'future' plus numeral gives days future from parnô 'tomorrow' to parrît 'ten days ahead' (cf. R. Watson 1976).

Among common nouns, kin terms are marked with an a- prefix, e.g., a-âm 'father' and a-i 'mother'. This prefix can be omitted in titles like I-Dep 'Mother of Dep', or replaced by i- 'possessive', as in ixeam mâh 'your brother'.

Other noun prefixes occur only on occasional nouns, e.g., car- 'particularizer' plus na 'direction' gives carna 'road'.

c. Noun compounds. Most common nouns and kin terms enter into at least one binomial compound. Many have following, bound echo forms which are usually phonologically reduplicative, e.g., uráq-u-ar 'book-book'. Many others have following free forms which are synonymous or similar, and which may or may not be phonologically reduplicative, e.g., a-em achai 'siblings, i.e., brothers and sisters'.

Compounds contribute to eloquent style, whether the parts occur adjacent to each other or in Phrase expansions, e.g., te anâh te ahân 'from past from long ago', or Clause expansions, e.g., lâyq chom uráq chom u-ar 'not know books know books'. (See section 3.3.5.6 for other examples from Text.)

2.3.6.2 Verbs

a. Definition. Verbs are defined as the fillers of VPC of Verb Phrases filling CIC of verbal Clauses (cf. Display 2:1 Clause types). They are separated into seven subtypes according to the Clause types: **vi**, intransitive (intr.), semi-transitive (semi-tr.), transitive without sentential fillers of ClF (tr.), transitive with sentential fillers of ClF (tr-sent.), bitransitive without sentential filler of ClF (bitr.), and bitransitive with sentential filler of ClFF (bitr-sent.). Examples of these seven classes are: 1) **vi**, vaih 'exist, happen' (vi class), 2) **cuchĕt** 'die' (intr.), 3) **pôc** 'go' (semi-tr.), 4) **tâq** 'work, fight' (tr.), 5) **chom** 'know' (tr-sent.), 6) **dyŏn** 'give' (bitr.), and 7) **tông** 'say, tell' (bitr-sent.).

b. Affixation. A detailed description of verb affixation is available elsewhere (S. Watson 1966). Only a listing of the most relevant affixes is given here. Most Pacoh affixation is derivational and applies equally to each of the verb classes above except intransitive. Most intransitives are derived from adjectives by means of a verbalizing prefix, **cu-/tu-**, e.g., **cu-** plus **chĕt** 'dead' gives 'die', or **tu-** plus **mŏng** 'alive' gives 'live'. They cannot be further affixed because one syllable roots can take only one prefix. (Two-syllable roots cannot take any prefixes.) There are four kinds of prefixes: inflectional prefixes, those which derive a verb from another word class, those which modify verbs, and those which combine the second and third types.

1) The inflectional prefixes are **u-** and **i-**. **u-** indicates third person ACTOR, e.g., **upôc** 'he goes'. **i-** indicates 'non-specific ACTOR', e.g., **itâh** 'people-in-general abandon'. It is possible that **i-** also signals that the

verb is non-finite, i.e., belongs to an embedded Clause, but the rules for that are not clear.

2) **cu-** and **tu-** derive intransitive verbs from adjectives, e.g., **cu-** plus **chĕt** 'dead' equals 'die', and **tu-** plus **mŏng** 'alive' equals 'live'.

3) CV- is a reduplicative prefix indicating habitual action, e.g., **chacha** 'eat as usual'. **ta-** indicates involuntary action and is usually accompanied by a reduplicative clitic, e.g., **cáh** in **cáh tacŭt** 'accidentally cut', or **páh** in **páh tapâyq** 'accidentally chopped'.

4) **pa-** indicates 'causative' and can be used with verb or adjective roots, e.g., **pa-** plus **hŏm** 'bathe' equals 'to cause to bathe', and **ca-** plus **chĕt** 'dead' equals 'kill'. (Note that **pa-** has several allomorphs. **Pi-** is common with adjective roots, e.g., **pinhaq** 'cause to be fast'.)

5) **tar-** indicates 'reciprocal action' and occurs with verb and adjective roots, e.g., **tartáq** 'fight each other', or **carchĕt** 'kill each other'.

c. Verbal compounds. Many verbs enter into at least one binomial pair. Like nouns, a verb may be followed by a bound or free form, which may or may not be synonymous and may or may not be phonologically reduplicative. Compounds contribute to eloquent style and may be expanded by reduplication within the Verb Phrase. For example, **acâp tartáq tarcha** 'stop fighting-each-other devouring-each-other', or **llăm táq llăm cha** 'only work only eat'. Compounds can also be expanded beyond the Verb Phrase to the Clause by repetition of ClP (SUBJECT), e.g., **ngai clŏn ngai ngan** 'they play they play'.

Stem reduplication indicates pretense, e.g., **táq táq** 'pretend to work'. In such constructions the first stem is usually prefixed by **N-** (e.g., **ntáq táq**).

2.3.6.3 Adjectives

a. Definition. Adjectives are defined as fillers of the central constituent of an Adjective Phrase (AdjPC) (cf. 2.3.5.3).

There are primarily three classes of adjectives: those which occur only in Noun Phrases (nominal), those which occur only in the ClM slot of Verbal Clauses (verbal), and those which occur in both those and the ClF slot of Non-verbal Clauses. Examples of nominal adjectives are: tiaq 'old', chĕt 'dead', xŭc 'rich'. Examples of verbal adjectives are: nhaq 'fast', anhêq 'slow'. Examples of adjectives which can be either nominal or verbal are: ian 'peaceful(ly), easy(ly)', o 'good (well)', hôi 'capable(ly), skillful(ly)', yŭc 'insane(ly)'.

Linguists often treat Adjectives as verbs, e.g., considering my Non-verbal Stative Clause constituent ClF to be ClC of an intransitive Verbal Clause type (cf. Thomas 1971:109). I do not follow that analysis because adjectives typically occur in Verbal Phrases correlating with F-MANNER and in Noun Phrases correlating with F-ATTRIBUTE. Intransitive verbs, on the other hand, may be derived adjectives, such as cư-chĕt 'die' and correlate with F-Process Events.

b. Affixation. Adjectives can be prefixed to derive verbs, as shown in 2.3.6.2 above. Tar- 'reciprocal' can be prefixed to adjectives as in tarli 'equal to each other', or tar-o 'equally good'. There is also a reduplicative prefix which can occur with nominal adjectives to indicate that the preceding noun is plural, e.g., tiaq 'old', ao cŭn ân tatiaq 'clothing which is old (pl.)'. Verbal adjectives can take a reduplicative prefix which is an alternate form of stem reduplication, marking de-intensification (see compounding below), e.g., either nhanhaq or nhaq nhaq means 'fairly fast'.

Pi- is prefixed to the adverb **lu** 'very' to derive an adjective, **pilu** 'fiercely, unendingly'. I- is prefixed to demonstratives to derive adjectives, e.g., **inẽh** 'like this', **icõh** 'like that'.

c. Compounding. Adjectives, like nouns and verbs, enter into binomial compounding. Examples in which the second member is a bound echo form are: **diaiq-tũh** 'difficult-difficult', **xũc-xian** 'rich-rich'. Examples in which the second member is free are: **chẽt pĩt** 'dead lost', **ian o** 'peaceful good', **hôi tubẽq** 'skilled wise'. These can enter into Phrase expansion, e.g., **lu diaiq lu tũh** 'very difficult-very difficult'.

Adjectives also take stem reduplication as mentioned under affixation above, e.g., **kẽt kẽt** 'smallish', **put put** 'largish', **nhaq nhaq** 'fairly fast', and **anhêq nhêq** 'fairly slowly'.

2.3.6.4 Adverbs

a. Definition. There are two adverb Words as well as two Adverbial Phrases described under Phrase level (2.3.5) above. **Lu** 'very' and **num** 'just' are defined as adverbs by occurrence in both the AdjPP2 and AdjPF constituents of Adjective Phrases, e.g., **lu ian lu o** 'very peaceful very good', **xũc lu** 'rich very', or **lu bui lu** 'very happy very'. Note that Adverbial Phrases do not occur in AdjPP1. (The term 'adverb' is not used in the traditional way, but does fit the traditional notion that adverbs modify adjectives. Some 'adverbs', such as **lu** and **num**, could be called 'movable particles' because they cannot always be tied down to the above adverbial slots, cf. Thomas 1971:83-93.)

b. Affixation. Adverbs are not affixed, except that **lu** is adjectivized by addition of **pi-**, e.g., **tãq pilu** 'work fiercely, unendingly'.

2.3.6.5 Prepositions

Prepositions are words which fill the RELATOR of Relator-axis Phrases. There are two subclasses: 1) prepositions such as te 'from', or tốq 'to' fill the RELATOR of Prepositional Phrases; 2) adverbial prepositions, such as arâq 'like', clât, tilât 'beyond', clui 'more than', and ndih 'not even', fill the RELATOR of Adverbial Phrases. Prepositions are never affixed or compounded. Other prepositions of the first class are dáng 'at', ti 'at, by', alung 'with, by', callúng 'inside of', taltiah 'outside, of', idup 'below', iniang 'above', cadup 'behind', aniang 'on top of', arúm tốh 'under', axuai 'ahead of', and tatun 'behind'.

2.3.6.6 Ngếq 'all' words (quantifiers)

Ngếq words are the fillers of the NPP3 constituent of Noun Phrases. They are words such as ngếq 'all', num 'only', etc.

2.3.6.7 Counters

a. Definition. Counters are fillers of the NPP2 constituent of Noun Phrases. They include numerals such as mŏi 'one', bar 'two', pe 'three', poan 'four', xông 'five', tupất 'six', tupŏl 'seven', tikol 'eight', tikeaih 'nine', and mâh chít 'ten', and include complex numerals such as bar-chít-mŏi 'twenty-one'. (See R. Watson 1976 for more on numerals). Other counters are beaq 'few', cúp 'every', and tál 'each'.

b. Affixation. Ordinal numbers are composed of cardinal numbers preceded by a-, e.g., amŏi 'first'. In the Pahi dialect, môi 'one' is reduced to a prefix, mu- when preceding chít 'tens', i.e., muchít 'ten'. Numerals which take other affixes belong to other word classes, so are described elsewhere (cf. R. Watson 1976 for more on Pacoh numerals).

2.3.6.8 Classifiers

a. Definition. Classifiers are the fillers of the NPP1 constituent of Noun Phrases. They are Words such as náq 'classifier-persons', lám 'cl.-animals', etc. (Cf. S. Watson 1976 for more on Pacoh classifiers, Saul 1965, and Adams, et al 1973, 1975 for more on other Southeast Asian classifiers.)

b. Affixation. The classifiers náq and lám, and possibly others, can be prefixed by a reduplicative consonant representing the numeral 'one', i.e., nnáq 'one person', llám 'one animal'.

2.3.6.9 Demonstratives

a. Definition. Demonstratives are among several classes of fillers of NPF of Noun Phrases. They are also fillers of the AXIS of Prepositional Phrases, and of C1F of Relative Clauses. They are néh 'this, here', cốh 'that, there', tíh 'up there', tốh 'down there', trâh 'over there', and chúh 'over yonder'.

b. Affixation. Demonstratives can take three prefixes. In Relative Clauses, the relative pronoun ân is reduced to N-, e.g., nnéh 'here'. Demonstratives which immediately follow the preposition te 'from' are usually prefixed by ta- e.g., te tanéh 'from here'.

The prefix i- is an adjectivizer with demonstratives, e.g., inéh 'like this'.

c. Compounding. Demonstratives enter into compounding, e.g., nnéh ntrâh 'here and there'. They also enter in Phrase expansion, e.g., te tanéh te tarâh 'from here from there'.

2.3.7.0 Auxiliaries

Auxiliaries are verbs which can fill VPP1. They are words such as liah 'turn back' in liah tấq 'fight back', or châm 'able' in lâyq châm tấq 'not able to work (or fight)'. Others are vi 'realis' or 'certitude', and ính, mếq 'about to'.

2.3.7.1 Lâyq 'not' words (limiters)

Lâyq 'not' and buih 'cautious not' are fillers of VPP2, AdjPP2, and the Sentence Final position, e.g., lâyq chom 'not know', lâyq o, 'not good', and may pôc lâyq? 'you are going, no?'. Lâyq nnáng and buih nnáng, both meaning 'never again', are two-word fillers, e.g., buih nnáng o 'never again good'. Lâyq díq 'not at all' and buih díq 'hardly at all' are also two-word fillers. Llam 'only' occurs in VPP2 and AdjPP2, but not in SF.

2.3.7.2 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are fillers of TCON, PCON, SCON, ClCON, and PhCON constituents. Coordinating conjunctions are cốh 'then, so', cốh ma 'but', ma 'but', icốh 'thus', mŏi 'and' and anha 'and'. Subordinating conjunctions are nám 'if', dấh 'if', and anáq 'even if, although'.

2.3.7.3 Miscellaneous

La is the equater which may fill ClC of Non-verbal Clauses.

In addition to their conjunctive uses, Cốh and ma may mark ClP or ClPP as TOPIC i.e., do cốh ính pôc 'he wants to go' or do ân parnha cốh ngai a-ính 'the wealthy they hate'.

Ân 'which' is the relative pronoun which fills RELATOR of Relative Clauses.

2.4 Phonology

In general, Phonology is considered to be a carrier for the Grammatical and Lexical modes of the language. However, there are cases, particularly in poetic language, where Phonological structures and their constituents correlate more directly with the Communication Situation. The importance of the Phonology section in each chapter is not the description of the general arrangement of phonemes and phonotactic constructions in the language, though that is included. Rather, what is important is the special constructions in particular Texts. This involves primarily stylistic, euphonic arrangements of phonological constructions. Some such constructions correlate primarily with the communicator's need to impress his audience and convince them of his authority to speak. Phonological, as well as Grammatical and Lexical, eloquence is a mark of those who are considered as official speakers in the society, worthy of being listened to and of being believed. In addition, there are correlations with various functions of the Function mode. In a previous study (R. Watson 1966) eloquent style was described in general, but here attention is focused on its use in particular Texts. Unfortunately, we do not have tape recordings to analyze, so we must concentrate on the lower levels, such as Feet and Pause Groups where Phonotactic devices are apparent via the orthography.

2.4.1 Utterance level

Whole Texts are described as Utterances in the Phonological hierarchy. Some Utterances, especially folktales, are begun with a slow, deep, raspy-voiced warm up. They are usually closed with a final Breath Group of only one or two Syllables followed by a strongly enunciated Syllable on a mid level tone, e.g., Icóh ngéq 'Like that finished', or A-áh 'The End'.

A special device correlating with COHESION of the Discourse is Phonotactic chiasmus. This is described in 3.4.1 for the Text of that chapter, but in brief, the middle two lines of the Utterance are arranged so that the second is somewhat of a phonological mirror image of the first, i.e., **a-ám cachĕt acay, acay cachĕt a-ám** 'fathers kill sons, sons kill fathers'. There is also a matching of Phonotactic Feet in the first and the last lines not found elsewhere in the Text, i.e., **lu lâyq chom** 'really not know'.

It could be argued that this chiastic structure only results from semantic accident or Morphotactic chiasmus. However, the speaker could have used different words to say the same thing if he had not been concerned with euphony, i.e., morphemic repetition as a marker of the beginning and end of the Discourse. In this section I do not deny the semantic or syntactic facts, but only emphasize the simultaneous Phonotactic facts.

2.4.2 Breath Groups

Breath Groups typically correlate with DM-Paragraphs, Subparagraphs, and some Sentences. Two notable exceptions are their correlations with a single DM Phrase at the beginning of a Text, i.e., the Title, and at the end of a Text, i.e., the Finis.

In the same Text referred to above ('The Old Days'), it is of interest that there are three Breath Groups correlating with the trinary DM-Paragraphs, and with the trinary F-Scheme structures. Each of these three can also be divided into three parts (cf. 3.4.2).

In addition, the reduplicative Pause Groups, described below, are often arranged into binary and trinary sequences to give meter to a Breath Group.

2.4.3 Pause Groups

Pause Groups typically correlate with Sentences, some Clauses and some Phrases. At this level, it is common in eloquent speech, such as the Text of chapter 3, for Pause Groups to be reduplicated. Rather than just reduplicating a single Foot, e.g., **uráq-u-ar** 'books-books', a Pause Group is reduplicated, e.g., **chom uráq chom u-ar** 'know books know books'. In the above case, the verb is repeated and the noun is 'echoed' by a form which alliterates the first phoneme and metathesizes the second and fourth phonemes. In other cases there is rhyming, e.g., **put ngâh chĕt-put ngâh pít** 'many are dead-many are lost'.

2.4.4 Feet

Feet, usually called phonological words or stress groups, typically correlate with morphological words (including compounds) and some Phrases. (The term 'foot' has been used by both Grimes (1969) and Thomas (1977a)). A Foot is a stress group, containing from one to four Syllables. Simple Feet contain one main-Syllable with or without a Presyllable. Compound Feet contain two main Syllables, each of which may or may not have a Presyllable. Main Syllables are always stressed and include a larger inventory of both consonants and vowels than Pre-syllables do. In Display 2:2 the various simple Foot structures are illustrated. In Display 2:3 Compound foot structures are illustrated.

DISPLAY 2:2 Pacoh Simple Foot structure (|DM-simple words)

Presyllables	Main Syllables			
	CV	CVC	CCV	CCVC
none:	pi	páh	pla	cláh
	'to talk'	'to slap'	'a hook'	'to split'
CV:	pa-pi	ta-páh	ca-cra	ta-cláh
	'to converse'	'to slap involuntarily'	'a tree'	'to split involuntarily'
CVC:	tar-pi	tar-páh	pan-cra	tar-cláh
	'to debate'	'to slap each other'	'to repair'	'to split between persons'

DISPLAY 2:3 Pacoh Compound Foot structure

Syllables: Pre-Main - Pre-Main		
troi - tu-ruiq		'betel-betel'
a-i - a-ám		'mothers and fathers'
pi-êh - êh		'pasty'

In simple Feet, the Main Syllable is stressed. In compound Feet both main Syllables are stressed, but the second receives greater stress. With regard to stress, compound Feet could be treated as Pause Groups; however, there is no potential pause between the Syllables of a Foot, as there are between the Feet of a Pause Group. That is, a pause can not occur within pi-êh-êh 'pasty' or a-i a-ám 'parents'. A-i 'mother' and a-ám 'father' are separate Feet when they occur separately, e.g., when joined by the conjunction anha 'and'.

Eloquent speech, such as that of the Text of chapter 3 contains a lot of reduplication. (For a detailed description of reduplication in Pacoh see R.

Watson 1966b.) As stated in section 2.3.5, most Pacoh words may occur in binomial pairs, especially in eloquent speech. In addition, there are many ideophones in Pacoh which are used only for sound symbolism and euphonic style. Such ideophones have been described as impressifs 'expressives' in Vietnamese by Maurice Durand (1961), and as 'descriptives' in Pacoh (R. Watson 1966b:8). Descriptives belong to a special word class in Pacoh, but binomials involve only the addition of a second member to an existing noun, verb, or adjective. However, like descriptives, the binomials involve Phonotactic relationships used for euphonic effect. Emeneau has described the importance of binomials in his Vietnamese grammar (1951) and in 'India as a Linguistic Area' (1956). Cadiere (1958) called the binomials of Vietnamese mots doubles 'double words', and said that the union of two elements of the same nature gives a more general, abstract sense to the word, or simply adds harmony to the phrase (1958:9).

In this section we are interested only in the harmonic or euphonic features of reduplicative Feet (|DM-words), that is, both descriptives and binomials. There may be alliteration, as in a-i a-ám 'mothers and fathers', or uráq-u-ar 'books-books'. There may be metathesis, as between /ráq/ and /qar/ of the latter example. Or there may be rhyming, as in chĕt pít 'dead-lost'. There may be none of the above features, but even that case may be of Phonological interest because of the reduplicative meter produced by binomial pairs arranged within larger constructions. For example, tian práq 'money silver' is part of a metered sequence of Pause Groups abôn tian práq, táq piday-clai, táq hang-hoq, hut kidŏl, troi-turuiq 'get money-silver, work

fields-fields, trade goods-products, tobacco-hemp, betel-betel' (cf. section 3.4.4).

2.4.5 Syllables

Syllables are of two kinds, Presyllables and Main Syllables, as mentioned above (cf. Display 2:2). Main Syllables are stressed and have the structure CV±C or CCV±C. They can have any consonant or consonant cluster in initial position. They can have any vowel filling the vowel position of closed Syllables, but short vowels never occur in open Syllables. The final consonant position can be filled by any consonant except clusters, and voiced /d/. (I take the position that [w?] and [y?] are the final variants of the initial preglottalized /b/ [?b] and /dy/ [?j], respectively.)

Presyllables always precede main Syllables and are unstressed. They can have any consonant filling the initial C only if that consonant reduplicates the initial C of the Main Syllable. Likewise, consonant clusters are permitted only in reduplication. Otherwise, only /q/,/p/,/t/,/k/ are permitted. Only /a/,/i/,/u/ occur in the V position, and they are further reduced to schwa [ə] in closed Syllables. Only liquids and nasals occur in the final C of a presyllable. There is one portmanteau nasal /N/ in this position which assimilates to the same point of articulation as the following consonant. Examples of Main Syllables are **pi**, **páh**, **pla**, and **cláh**; examples of Presylla-bles are **pa-**, and **tar-**. Examples of a presyllable with final nasals are, **tantáq**, **mnhŏp** [?əñnŏp], and **pancra** [pəŋ.kra].

2.4.6 Phonemes and orthographical conventions

In this section the consonant and vowel phonemes of Pacoh are described with notes regarding orthographical conventions used.

2.4.6.1 Consonant phonemes

Pacoh has eighteen consonant phonemes, as shown in Display 2:4 below. The simple stops are /p/, /t/, /ch/, and /k/. /ch/ is a non-aspirated palatal stop. It is written **ch** to conform to the Vietnamese orthography, which is the same reason /k/ is written **c**, except before front vowels. Syllable-initial and Syllable-final variants are nearly identical, except where indicated. /ch/ has initial variant [č] and final variant [yč].

The glottalized stops are /b/, /d/, /dy/, and /q/. /b/ and /dy/ are considered to have initial variants [ʔb] and [ʔdy] and final variants [wʔ] and [yʔ]. Only /d/ lacks a Syllable-final variant. In the orthography the final variants are written **uq**, or **oq**, and **yq**, or **iq** respectively. (As in the Vietnamese orthography, Foot-final **u** and **y** indicate that the preceding vowel is short; **o** and **i** indicate that the preceding vowel is long.) Glottal [ʔ] is unwritten in Foot-initial position, written as hyphen (-) in medial position, and as **q** in Foot-final position.

Voiceless fricatives are /s/ and /h/. /s/ has an initial variant [š] and a final variant [yš]. The voiced fricatives are /v/ and /y/. They have initial fricative variants [v] and [ž] and final variants [w] and [y]. (They could as well be called semi-vowels with Foot-initial fricative variants.)

The nasals are /m/, /n/, /nh/, and /ng/. The palatal nasal /nh/ has an initial variant [ñ] and a final variant [yn]. Both are written **nh** according to the Vietnamese orthography. As mentioned under Syllable structure above, the nasals of the Presyllable-final consonant position are considered to be a portmanteau /N/ which assimilates to the same point of articulation as the following consonant.

The liquid consonants are a lateral /l/ and a trill /r/.

In Display 2:4, velar and glottal sounds are grouped together as 'gutturals'. Voiced stops are combined with glottal stop as glottalized stops. /b/, /d/, and /dy/ are preglottalized in Syllable-initial position and /b/ and /dy/ are post-glottalized in Syllable-final position.

DISPLAY 2:4 Pacoh consonant phonemes

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	guttural
stops				
simple:	p	t	ch	k
glottal:	b	d	dy	q
fricatives				
voiceless:			s	h
voiced:	v		y	
nasals	m	n	nh	ng
liquids				
lateral:		l		
trill:		r		

2.4.6.2 Vowel phonemes

The vowel system is somewhat complex, containing a total of thirty vowel distinctions, which may be divided in several different ways. In previous descriptions, I have considered the vowel system to have three tongue-heights (high, mid, and low) with the addition of a pharyngealized 'tense' category between high and mid. However, the evidence for 'register' in Mon-Khmer languages has become so strong that I am now dividing my description of the Pacoh system into two registers (cf. Gregerson 1976, Huffman 1976, and Ferlus 1980). Vowels which sound 'normal' in Pacoh belong to a tongue-root advanced register (hereafter called TRA register). Vowels of the TRA register are:

short, long, and glided high vowels: /î/, /i/, and /ia/, /û/, /u/, and /ua/, /ŭ/, /u/, and /ua/; and short and long mid vowels : /ê/, /è/, /â/, /o/, /ô/, /ò/. Orthographical symbols are used to represent the vowels as well as the consonants. The /a/ offglides in /ia/, /ua/, and /ua/ are phonetically schwa [ə], which tends to assimilate to the vocoid nucleus. Shortness is marked by the acute accent (´) and mid tongue-height by circumflex (^). The 'hook' or 'whisker' on ʉ and ɔ mark them as central vowels [ʉ] and [ɤ] respectively. /â/ is the short form of /ɔ/, contrary to the regular rules which would indicate /ɔ́/.

Vowels which sound 'tense' in Pacoh belong to a tongue-root-retracted register (hereafter called the TRR register. It is identical to the TRA register above except that its vowels are phonetically tense and lower in quality. The high vowels are: /ĕ/, /ĕ/, /ĕa/, /ʊ̆/, /ʊ̆/, /ʊ̆a/, /ŏ/, /ŏ/, /ŏa/; and the low vowels are: /ɛ́/, /e/, /ɑ́/, /a/, /ɔ́/, and /o/. In the orthography, breve (or hatchek (ˇ) in this printing) marks high tense vowels. However, it is usually omitted over the high tense glided vowels, which are adequately marked by use of /a/ for the lower offglide quality, e.g., ea.

DISPLAY 2:5 Pacoh vowel phonemes

	front		central		back	
	long	glided	long	glided	long	glided
TRA reg. high:	i [i]	ia [iə]	ʉ [ʉ]	ʉa [ʉə]	u [u]	ua [uə]
mid:	ê [e]		ɔ [ɤ]		ô [o]	
TRR reg. high:	ĕ [ĕ]	ea [ĕə]	ʊ̆ [ɤ̆]	ɔ̆ [ɤ̆ə]	ŏ [ŏ]	oa [ŏə]
low:	e [ɛ]		a [a]		o [ɔ]	

Note that the above chart is incomplete without addition of a short counterpart for every long vowel. The short vowels appear in the orthography identical to their long counterparts with the addition of an acute accent, e.g., í, (except for the short counterpart of o, which is â).

2.5 Communication Situation correlations

After having split up the description of a Text between different modes of the form-meaning dichotomy, it is important to bring form and meaning back together in correlation formulas. First, the Communication Situation functions are correlated with grammatical functions (CS/F), and with some phonological forms (CS/P). (DM-Morphotactic forms are correlated with the CS only through their correlations with the Function mode.)

2.5.1 Communication Situation /Function mode correlations

An example of a CS/Function mode correlation is the following: communicator's intent to explain correlates with his use of F-Expository Scheme, e.g., Evaluation (section 3.2.2) or Syllogism (section 4.2.2). Such a correlation may be easily assumed by an analyst, but there are other correlations which are not so explicit (cf. sections 3.5, 4.5).

2.5.2 Communication Situation/Phonology mode correlations

There are usually some direct correlations between the Communication Situation and the Phonology. Examples of CS/P correlations are the great amount of poetic devices used by a Pacoh speaker to impress his audience with his credentials and to win their interest and attention (cf. section 3.5.3.5).

2.6 Grammatical correlations--F/DM

The Function mode, conceived as the meaning-function side of the Grammatical hierarchy, must be correlated with the Distribution plus Manifestation modes of that hierarchy to regain Grammatical unity. In addition to representing the basic unity of the Grammatical tagmeme, it is useful for a student of the language or a translator to be able to use this section as an index of functions with their correlative forms. An example drawn from chapter 3 is: F-Expository TOPIC-COMMENT structure correlates with DM-binary Paragraph and Sentence structures. Sentences are usually divided by a juncture or a conjunction, especially cóh or ma between the TOPIC and the COMMENT (cf. 3.6).

2.7 Grammatical correlations--DM|F

The same correlations presented in 2.6 above are presented here in the reverse order, i.e., DM|F for the same two reasons given above: the student of the language is able to gain additional insights by seeing the packaging of relationships from a different viewpoint, and the translator who is decoding from the language is provided with an index from form to function. For example, he could observe that the same conjunction cóh which means 'then (SEQUENCE)' in Narrative Discourse, means 'so then (CONSEQUENCE)' and/or 'topicalizer' in Expository Discourse.

2.8 Phonological correlations

The Phonology correlates with both the Communication Situation and the Grammatical Distribution and Manifestation modes.

2.8.1 Phonology|Communication Situation correlations

Since correlations of Phonological constituents with morphemes, words, etc. of the Grammatical hierarchy are basic to most linguistic descriptions, correlations with the Communication Situation are called 'special correlations' in this study. Onomatopoeia is one type of such correlations. Onomatopoetic forms are not universal, in the sense of being the same for all languages, but they represent the attempts of particular languages to represent real sounds in a more meaningful way than that of non-onomatopoetic words. The same may be said of ideophony which includes not only sounds, but also sights, smells, emotions, etc. Another kind of correlation common in Pacoh Discourse is the use of poetic meter, rhyme, and alliteration to enhance audience interest and to establish the credentials of the speaker as an eloquent, authoritative leader worthy of an audience.

Some Texts exhibit very little of P|CS correlation, but others exhibit much more. The Text of chapter three has a lot, but the Text of chapter four has very little. Some Narrative Texts, especially those classified folklore, dramatize the beginning of a story with a slow, deep, raspy-voiced warm-up, and the ending with a final Breath Group of only one or two Syllables followed by a strongly enunciated Syllable on a mid-level tone, e.g., icŏh ngéq! or a-áh!

2.8.2 Phonological|DM correlations

Very few Phonological studies extend up the hierarchies to Utterance-level constituents, including correlations with all levels of grammatical constituents (cf. Mayers and Park 1976 multi-level, multi-unit phonology as an exception). I consider such a complete systems analysis to

be ideal though it is only partially accomplished in this study, the lack of intonation description being the chief reason.

There is very little in the way of morpho-phonemics in Pacoh, so most correlations of Syllables and Feet with morphemes and words can be observed simply by use of the dictionary. Generally, a one-Syllable Foot correlates with a single morpheme; a two-Syllable simple Foot correlates with either one or two morphemes; and a compound Foot may correlate with up to four morphemes, depending upon the number of Syllables and their morphemic correlations. A Presyllable may or may not correlate with a morpheme. Thus the two Syllable Foot /cavoch/ correlates with only one morpheme, 'evenly tapered'. However, /ca-/ and /pa-/ correlate with the morpheme ca- 'causative' in other words such as cachĕt 'cause to be dead, kill' or pahoc 'cause to learn, teach'. In some cases a two-Syllable word combines two morphemes though the Presyllable does not correlate with either one. For example, the noun panáh 'fly swatter' morphemically consists of the verb páh 'to swat' plus the nominalizing infix -L-. /pa-/ has no morphemic correlate and -L- has no syllabic correlate, except as /pa-/ results from the insertion of /n/ as a main-syllable-initial consonant.

A compound Foot usually correlates with the same morpheme as its simple Foot plus an additional morpheme of amplification. In a noun, e.g., acay-acon 'child child', compounding adds the morpheme 'plural'. (Cf. 3.2.4.1e and 4.2.4.1f).

CHAPTER III

EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE—AN EVALUATION SCHEME

In this chapter, a Pacoh Text, **Pang Ntiaq** 'The Old Days', is described. It is an example of Evaluation Scheme, considered to be a type of Expository Scheme. The Text with an interlinear translation is presented in Display 3:1 below. The Text is reproduced as written by its Pacoh author as far as punctuation and spelling are concerned. According to my analysis, it seems obvious that the author, who had only recently learned to read and write, used only commas for pauses except for periods in a few of the most obvious places, such as at the end of Paragraphs. A free translation is presented in Display 3:2. The 'free' translation is kept literal enough to maintain as much of its distinctive structure as possible. In both Displays, Function mode Points are indicated by raised numbers 1 through 18 and DM Paragraph constituents are labeled in parentheses. The abbreviation (R) 'reduplicative' is occasionally used to avoid repeating an identical gloss. The abbreviation (cl.) stands for 'classifier'. **Pang** 'generation' is often abbreviated 'gen.'. It is sometimes translated 'lifetime' or, more briefly, 'days' to indicate that it denotes time rather than people.

DISPLAY 3:1 The Text

PANG NTIAQ
GENERATION LONG-AGO

[1](A.1a) **Pang ngai ntiaq inô-ntra, lu lâyq chom uráq chom u-ar,**
Generation them olden time-past, really not know books know (R),

[2](A.1b) **cốh ma pang ngai num llám táq llám cha. Abôn tian práq,**
but gen. them just only worked only ate. Got money silver,

táq piday-clai, táq hang-hoq, hut kidŏl, troi-turuiq.
worked fields (R), worked products (R), tobacco hemp, betel (R).

[3](A.2a) **Cốh ma tốq pang he aki nnéh, put do ân chom uráq**
But at gen. us time this, many he who know books

chom u-ar, mếq tarli-li Yŏan,
know (R), almost equal Vietnamese.

[4](A.2b) **cốh ma vaih, itáh a-i itáh a-ám, itáh a-em achai,**
But happens, abandon mothers abandon fathers, abandon siblings,

itáh cruang daq, mâh náq mâh muang mâh náq mâh daq.
abandon valley river, one cl-human one region one cl-human one river.

[5](A.2c) **Lu diaiq lu túh,** [6](A.2d) **put ngâh chĕt, put ngâh pít,**
Very difficult very desperate. Many who dead, many who lost.

[7](A.2e) **lâyq ibôn hôm a-i a-ám, dúng vĕl, acay campay.**
Not one-gets see mothers fathers, homes villages, children wives.

[8](B.1) **He Pacốh te anâh te ahân lâyq bôn ân arâq pang nnéh.**
We Pacoh from long-ago from (R) not had what like gen. this.

[9](B.1(1)) **Yoan liah táq Yoan,** [10](B.1(2)) **Pacốh ma tartáq,**
Vietnamese back fight VN, Pacoh even fight-each-other,

[11](B.1(3)) **a-ám cachĕt acay, acay cachĕt a-ám,** [12](B.2) **cốh ma tốq**
fathers kill sons, sons kill fathers, but at

aki nnêh vaih yúc alúng rbang yúc alúng cutĕac.
time this happens insane against heaven insane against earth.

[13](C.1a) Icŏh pang ngai ân tatiaq inô -ntra lu ian lu o,
Thus gen. them which old past-time very peaceful very good,

(C.1b) lu xúc lu xian clât pang he ndŏng néh.
very rich very wealthy beyond gen. us time this.

[14](C.2a) Cŏh ma pang he nnéh, do ân xúc cŏh xúc lu, buih
But gen. us this, he who rich so rich very, not

diaiq-túh ndîh mâh dyeaq, [15](C.2b) cŏh ma cuchĕt dũh,
desperate even a little, But die early (fast),

[16](C.2c) do ân hôi tubĕq ma num ngai a-înh,
he who skillful wise but only they hate,

[17](C.2d) do ân xúc parnha ma num ngai oan.
he who rich wealthy but only they resent.

[18](C.2e) Lu lâyq chom tumŏng carna mmo, ma buih cuchĕt anha
Really not know live pathway whichever, but not die and

acâp nnáng tartáq tarcha tartuaq.
stop completely fight-each-other conquer-each-other among-each-other.

DISPLAY 3:2 Free translation of the Text

THE OLD DAYS

[1](A.1a) In the old days they really didn't know books and letters, [2](A.1b) but in their days they just worked just ate, earned money and silver, worked fields and lands, traded goods and products, tobacco and hemp, betel nuts. [3](A.2a) But at the present time, there are many who know books and letters, nearly equal to the Vietnamese, [4](A.2b) but at the same time people are abandoning their mothers, abandoning their fathers, abandoning brothers and sisters, abandoning valleys and rivers; each one to his own region, each one to his own river. [5](A.2c) It's very difficult, very desperate; [6](A.2d) many are dead, many are lost; [7](A.2e) it's not possible to see mothers and fathers, homes and villages, children and wives.

[8](B.1) We Pacoh from olden times from ancient times never had it like these days: [9](B1.(1)) Vietnamese revolt against Vietnamese; [10](B.1(2)) Pacoh even fight each other; [11](B.1(3)) fathers kill sons and sons kill fathers; [12](B.2) but at the present time there is rebellion against heaven and rebellion against earth.

[13](C.1) Therefore, the lifetime of the old folks in the past was very peaceful very good, very rich very wealthy, beyond the present. [14](C.2a) But in our present time, the rich are very rich, not even a little bit poor and desperate; [15](C.2b) but they die fast: [16](C.2c) the successful are only hated; [17](C.2d) the prosperous are only resented.

[18](C.2e) I really don't know what way to live so as to avoid death and stop the fighting and conquering of each other.

3.1 Communication Situation (CS)

The Communication Situation is treated in five sections: the referential realm (3.1.1), language and culture (3.1.2), social setting and relationships (3.1.3), communicator's intents, attitudes and interests (3.1.4), and audience's intents, attitudes and interests (3.1.5).

3.1.1 Referential realm

The referential realm is treated according to the particle-wave-field and contrast-variation-distribution matrix found in Young, Becker and Pike (1970). What is given below is an etic listing which helps the analyst become more aware of underlying information; however, more work is needed to sort it out properly. For example, it has been pointed out that the categories in (a) are clines more than particles. In brief, there was a terrible war being fought between supposedly civilized, educated nations, while the Pacoh, a small, so-called primitive and uneducated, peace-loving mountain tribe were caught in the middle of it.

a. Particle-contrast: Some of the contrastive situations of the Discourse are: life in the past versus life in the present; illiteracy

versus literacy; working, eating, and earning money versus abandoning families, desperation, death, and separation; absence versus presence of fighting, killing, and rebellion.

b. Wave-contrast: Presumably the contrasts above developed over a period of time. The Text indicates that the present time marks a variation or digression from the previous status quo. For example, 'it happens that mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters are being abandoned.'

c. Field-contrast: The contrasts are related in systematic ways. For example, working, eating, and earning money in Point 2 is a system which contrasts with fight, kill, and rebel in Points 9-12.

d. Particle-variation: Not all, but some have become literate, some are rich, some are dead, etc.

e. Wave variation: There are degrees of peace, wealth, and poverty. Abandoning, fighting, and killing are growing worse.

f. Field-variation: The word vaih 'happens' suggests the possibility that not everyone in the present generation belongs to the abandoning or the rebelling systems.

g. Particle distribution: Situations of life had been distributed in past time, but were now distributed in present time. People were being spread apart from each other versus those who used to stay together.

h. Wave-distribution: The present situation is viewed as a wave worsening into the future in contrast to unchanging generations of the past.

i. Field-distribution: The two generations or ways of life are two systems set within a larger matrix including other possible ways of life suggested in the final COMMENT, 'whichever way to avoid death and stop the fighting . . . .'

3.1.2 Language and culture

Both language and culture are Pacoh, except that in the present, Pacoh culture is in some ways more similar to Vietnamese than before. This is evident in the linking of Pacoh and Vietnamese to some extent from Point 3 onward. The original presentation of the Text was oral, not written.

3.1.3 Social setting and relationships

The setting for the Text is the chief's home in a Pacoh resettlement village in central Viet Nam. The chief speaks as a leader in the presence of his people and as an older man to a younger outsider--the American linguist. The outsider is considered as somewhat of a friend and confidant because he has learned the language and has helped in various ways.

3.1.4 Communicator's intents, attitudes, and interests

The speaker of the Text is Conh Mua, the village chief, who is concerned over the fact that in the old days without education there was greater social and political stability than in the present. His intent is to evaluate the present situation in the light of the old, and thereby to question the value of education and the literacy program being proposed by the American linguist. On the particular occasion the linguist was eliciting text materials, so the speaker had an opportunity to express his dilemma and perhaps elicit discussion and advice without asking for it directly. His attitude was friendly toward the audience, contented with the past, but very discontented with the present situation in Viet Nam, especially that part which most affected him and his people. The speaker's choice of Expository Discourse was presumably based on his intent and attitude along with his

relationship with his audience. He did not make a flat rejection of education, but neither did he hide his intent in a clever Narrative or obscure Proverb.

3.1.5 Audience's intents, attitudes, and interests

There were two parts to the audience: other villagers, who probably identified with the same question, and the linguist whose intent was to gather Texts for studying the language and culture. He was friendly and helpful within the limits of his capabilities, but he could not stop the war or solve the dilemma. His principle motivation was to introduce a new way of life which gives inward peace and riches which are not dependent upon external circumstances. He did not attempt to question or debate the speaker at the time. He respected the chief's age and authority and he was not prepared to handle the problem, particularly not with eloquence to match the chief's.

3.2 Grammatical Function mode (F)

The Function mode of this Discourse is described in terms of four components viewed as levels of a single hierarchy. They are Discourse structure (3.2.1), Scheme structure (3.2.2), Point and Proposition structure (3.2.3), and concept structure (3.2.4). Each component of the Discourse is described according to the procedure described in chapter two, that is, by classification and constituency, by coherence, and by prominence and theme. Before moving down into the Scheme structure, there are some Discourse features which are best handled at the highest level of the hierarchy, which is the Discourse level.

3.2.1 Discourse structure

The Discourse is classified as a statement with regard to illocutionary force. In fact, since every constituent is also a statement, there is no further need to refer to illocutionary force.

The Discourse is classified as Expository because of its Expository Scheme structure (section 3.2.2) and its TOPIC-COMMENT Point structure (section 3.2.3). It is found to be coherent via the coherence described in each of those structures (sections 3.2.2.2 and 3.2.3.2), and the similarities of concepts which appear throughout the Discourse from the Title to the end.

In regard to prominence, the Title, 'The Old Days', presents the main TOPIC of the whole Discourse.

3.2.2 Scheme structure

As stated in section 2.2.2, a Scheme, as used in this study, is a stereotyped configuration of logical relationships between Propositions and/or Schemes. 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. Scheme structure is described below in terms of constituency, coherence, and prominence.

3.2.2.1 Constituency of the Scheme structure

The exposition of the Discourse 'The Old Days' (i.e., filler of COMMENT 1-2) is an Evaluation Scheme which contains five layers of embedded Schemes. Referring to the tree structure in Display 3:4, one observes up to seven levels, beginning from Evaluation 1-2, through Syllogism 2-1, Paraphrase 3-1,

Evaluation 4-1, Contrast 5-1, Contra-expectation 6-1, to Point 1. Or, one observes only two levels if he moves down COMMENT 2-2 immediately to Point 18.

Display 3:3 below follows a standard outline format of the constituency of the tree structure beginning from the top to the bottom and from the left to the right. It may be viewed as a table of contents of the Scheme structure. It is also useful because it includes glosses from the free translation. Display 3:4 presents a better visualization of the tree structure. Notice several orthographical conventions in Display 4:4. First, terms such as Evaluation, Syllogism, etc., are printed horizontally at the nodes. These are Schemes, and are marked as constructions (or configurations) by capitalization of the first letter. Terms printed on the branches, such as THESIS and COMMENT are constituents of the Schemes and are marked as functions by capitalization of all letters. The terminal fillers of constituents along the bottom line are Points 1-18, and are marked as constructions by capitilization of the first letter, e.g., 'Point 1'. Next, notice that the constituents are labeled 1-1, 1-2, 2-1, 2-2, etc., the first number representing the level from top to bottom and the second number representing the branch from left to right. A Scheme may be designated by the label of the constituent which it fills, e.g., the first-level Evaluation is 1-2.

TOPIC 1-1 and COMMENT 1-2 are Discourse-level constituents. THESIS 2-1 and COMMENT 2-2 are the constituents of the first-level Scheme. Beginning from Evaluation 1-2 and moving through five layers of embedded Schemes (i.e., Syllogism 2-1, Paraphrase 3-1, Evaluation 4-1, Contra-thesis 5-1, and Contra-expectation 6-1) to Point 1, one finds a maximum of seven levels

(within Miller's 1956 ideal seven levels). But, starting from Evaluation 1-2 and moving directly to Point 18, there are only two levels.

The Discourse exposition (COMMENT 1-2) of Pang Ntiaq 'The Old Days' is filled by an Evaluation Scheme (Scheme-layer 1). The constituents of the Evaluation Scheme are THESIS 2-1 and COMMENT 2-2. THESIS 2-1 is filled by a Syllogism Scheme, while COMMENT 2-2 is filled by Point 18.

The constituents of Syllogism 2-1 are PREMISES 3-1 and CONCLUSION 3-2. PREMISES 3-1 are filled by a Paraphrase Scheme, while CONCLUSION 3-2 is filled by an Evaluation Scheme.

The constituents of Paraphrase 3-1 are THESIS 4-1 and RESTATEMENT 4-2. THESIS 4-1 is filled by an Evaluation, while RESTATEMENT 4-2 is filled by a second Evaluation.

The constituents of Evaluation 4-1 are THESIS 5-1 and triple COMMENT 5-2,3,4. THESIS 5-1 is filled by a Contrast Scheme, while the three COMMENTS are filled by Points 5-7. (Triple COMMENTS are joined by simple coupling indicated in Display 3:4 by an arc drawn across the three branches. 'Simple coupling' involves parallel relationships below the Scheme level, e.g., shared concepts.)

The constituents of Contrast 5-1 are THESIS 6-1 and CONTRA-THESIS 6-2. THESIS 6-1 is filled by a Contra-expectation Scheme, and CONTRA-THESIS 6-2 is filled by a Contra-expectation Scheme.

The constituents of Contra-expectation Scheme 6-1 are CONCESSION 7-1 and CONTRA-EXPECT 7-2, each filled by a Point (1 and 2). The constituents of Contra-expectation Scheme 6-2 are similar to those of the first, that is, CONCESSION 7-3 filled by Point 3 and a CONTRA-EXPECT 7-4 filled by Point 4.

The constituents of Evaluation 4-2 are THESIS 5-5 and triple COMMENT 5-6,7,8. THESIS 5-5 is filled by a Contrast Scheme, while COMMENTS 5-6,7,8 are filled by Points 9-11. The constituents of Contrast 5-3 are THESIS 6-3 filled by Point 8 and CONTRA-THESIS 6-4 filled by Point 12. (Notice that Points 9-11 appear between Points 8 and 12, in the DM surface structure, but appear following Point 12 in the Scheme structure. This discrepancy results from a 'sandwich structure' described under coherence below.)

The constituents of Evaluation 3-2 are THESIS 4-3 and triple COMMENT 4-4,5,6. THESIS 4-3 is filled by Contrast Scheme, while the three COMMENTS are filled by Points 16, 17, and 18. (Points 16 and 17 can also be interpreted as the constitutents of an embedded Paraphrase Scheme, providing two SPECIFICS of the PATIENT ('the rich') of Point 15. Point 18 is simultaneously the filler of COMMENT 2-2.) The constituents of Contrast Scheme 4-3 are THESIS 5-9 and CONTRA-THESIS 5-10. THESIS 5-9 is filled by a Comparison Scheme, while CONTRA-THESIS 5-10 is filled by a Contra-expectation Scheme.

The constituents of Comparison 5-5 are of special interest because they appear on the surface to be constituents of a single Sentence, that is, (in traditional terms) subject 'the old days' +adjective complement 'very peaceful, very rich' +adverbial phrase 'more than the present'. However, ITEMS A and B each presuppose full Points, i.e., 'the old days were very peaceful and rich', and, 'the present time is peaceful and rich'. Thus, Comparison is considered to be a Scheme, though correlated with a single Morphotactic (DM) Sentence (cf. section 3.3.4 and 3.6.2).

The constituents of Contra-expectation Scheme 5-10 are CONCESSION 6-8 filled by Point 14 and CONTRA-EXPECT 6-9 filled by Point 15.

DISPLAY 3:3 Indented outline of Scheme structure of 'The Old Days'

1. Discourse = TOPIC +COMMENT

1-1 TOPIC: Title 'The Old Days'

1-2 COMMENT: Evaluation Scheme

2-1 THESIS: Syllogism Scheme

3-1 PREMISE: Paraphrase Scheme

4-1 THESIS: Evaluation Scheme

5-1 THESIS: Contrast Scheme

6-1 THESIS: Contra-expectation

7-1 CONCESSION: Point 1 'In the old days they really didn't know books'

7-2 CONTRA-EXPECT: Point 2 'But in their days they just worked just ate, earned money and silver, worked fields . . .'

6-2 CONTRA-THESIS: Contra-expectation

7-3 CONCESSION: Point 3 'at the present time there are many who know books know books'

7-4 CONTRA-EXPECTATION: Point 4 'But people are abandoning their mothers abandoning their fathers abandoning brothers . . .'

5-2 COMMENT: Point 5 'It's very difficult very desperate'

5-3 COMMENT: Point 6 'Many are dead many are lost'

5-4 COMMENT: Point 7 'It's not possible to see mothers and fathers, homes and villages, children and wives'

4-2 RESTATEMENT: Evaluation Scheme

5-5 THESIS: Contrast Scheme

6-3 THESIS: Point 8 'We Pacoh from ancient times never had it like these days:'

6-4 CONTRA-THESIS: Point 12 'But at the present time there is rebellion against heaven rebellion against earth'

5-6 COMMENT: Point 9 'Vietnamese revolt against Vietnamese'

5-7 COMMENT: Point 10 'Even Pacoh fight each other'

5-8 COMMENT: Point 11 'Fathers kills sons and sons . . .'

3-2 CONCLUSION: Evaluation Scheme 'Therefore'

4-3 THESIS: Contrast Scheme

5-9 THESIS: Comparison Scheme

6-5 ITEM A 'the lifetime of the old folks was peaceful . . .'

6-6 DEGREE 'beyond'

6-7 ITEM B 'the present (is rich)'

5-10 CONTRA-THESIS: Contra-expectation 'but'

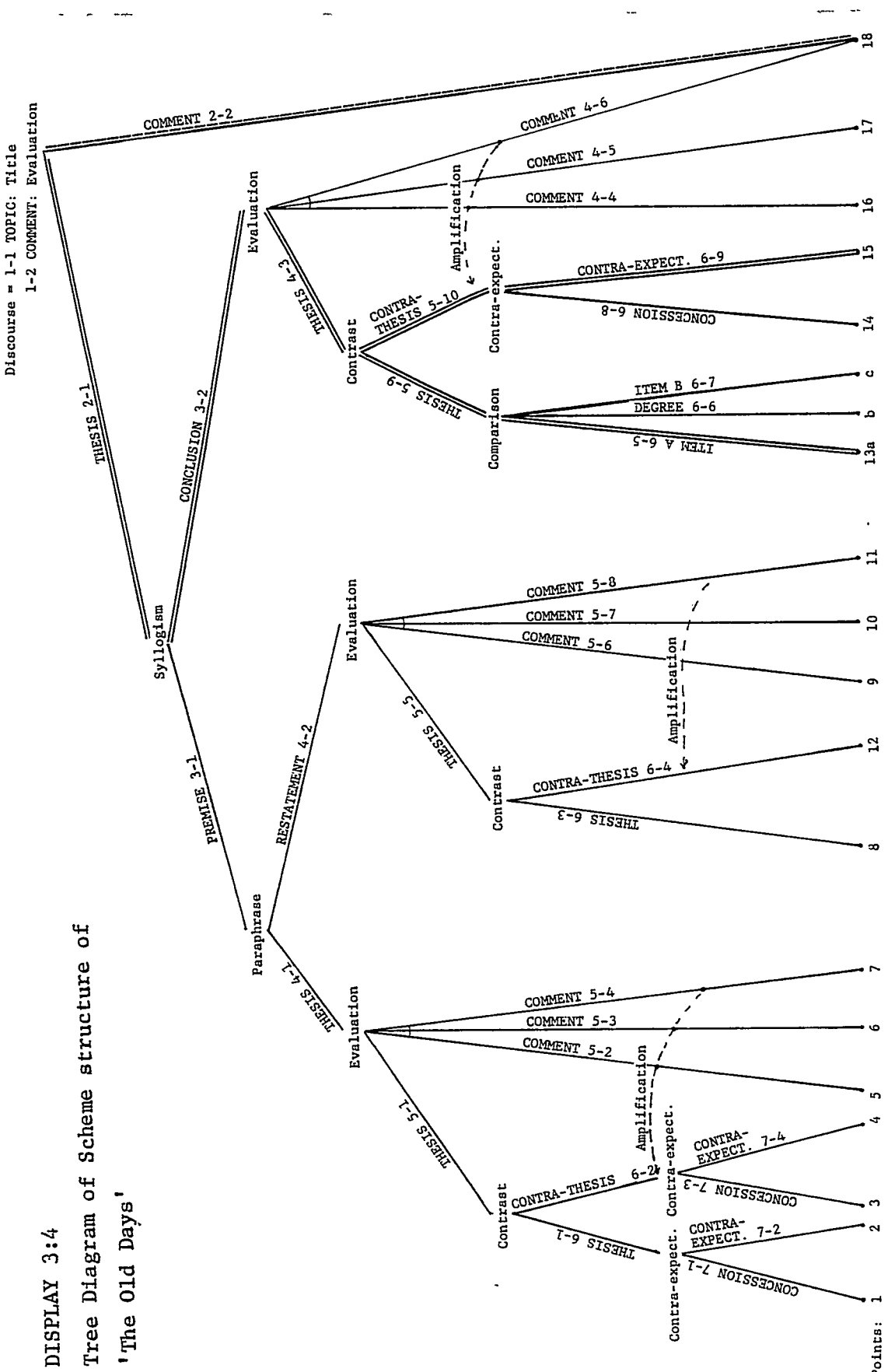
6-8 CONCESSION: Point 14 'in our present time the rich are very rich not even a little bit poor'

6-9 CONTRA-EXPECTATION: Point 15 'But they die fast'

4-4 COMMENT: Point 16 'The successful are only hated'

4-5 COMMENT: Point 17 'The prosperous are only resented'

2-2 COMMENT: Point 18 'I (we Pacoh) really don't know the way to live so as to avoid death and stop the fighting and conquering of each other.'



DISPLAY 3:4

Tree Diagram of Scheme structure of 'The Old Days'

3.2.2.2 Coherence in Scheme structure

One of the principal coherence features exhibited in this Text is parallelism which comes out in both binary and trinary pairing of constituents. There are three parallel Evaluations (4-1, 4-2, 3-2) supporting the first level Evaluation (1-2). The relationships are first of all binary in that the first two are in a paraphrastic relationship with each other while the third relates to both as CONCLUSION of the Syllogism. However, the three are also in a cyclic relationship, each carrying the same basic Contrast plus COMMENT structure, and adding further information to the same theme (cf. 'cycling' in Grimes 1972, 1975, and Wendland 1975). The use of three Evaluations also matches the wide-spread use of threes in folktales (Olric 1965), and in sermons. This is further supported by the conjoining of three COMMENTS in each of the three lower-level Evaluations (cf. COMMENTS 5-2, 5-3, 5-4 joined by an arc in Display 3:4).

Another coherence device is the addition of Amplification between the Evaluation COMMENTS and CONTRA-THESIS of the Contrasts (cf. dotted lines on Display 3:4). That is, COMMENTS 5-2,3,4 amplify CONTRA-THESIS 6-2, COMMENTS 5-6,7,8 amplify 6-4, and COMMENTS 4-4,5,6 amplify 5-10. In the case of COMMENTS 4-4,5, Amplification includes subdivision, i.e., 'the successful' and 'the prosperous' subdivide 'the rich'. The reordering of Evaluation 4-2 so that COMMENTS 5-6,7,8 appear between THESIS 6-3 and CONTRA-THESIS 6-4 is primarily a surface 'sandwich' structure device adding texture to the Text, but slightly disrupting the logical coherence of Evaluation Scheme 4-2 (cf. section 3.3.1). Finally, the limitation of seven levels (or layers) from Evaluation 1-2 to Point 1, falls within Miller's (1956) limit of seven levels or minus two for a coherent structure.

3.2.2.3 Prominence and theme in Scheme structure

In the Text at hand, one can trace the theme-line by use of natural prominence alone, without marked prominence (cf. discussion in chapter two section 2.2.2.3). Referring back to the tree diagram (Display 3:4) and following the double-lined branches, one can trace the primary theme-line through THESIS 2-1 of the Evaluation to CONCLUSION 3-2 of the Syllogism to THESIS 4-3 of the Evaluation to a synthesis of both THESIS 5-9 and CONTRA-THESIS 5-10 of Contrast, filled by both a Comparison Scheme and a Contra-expectation Scheme, marked by double lines on Display 3:4. This results in the following theme statement, adapted from Points 13-15: '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 of the Discourse is gained by addition of a secondary theme-line, i.e., the final COMMENT (2-2), filled by Point 18, which may be paraphrased as follows: 'in the face of this, how should one live?'. (This is marked by a dotted line on Display 3:4).

This combination of primary and secondary theme appears to conform to Jones' higher level themes which consist of both TOPIC and COMMENT, though perhaps at a higher level than intended by her (1977:142). A good speaker uses curiosity and surprise to keep the attention of his audience. The structure of Evaluation adapts well to the use of surprise by leaving the COMMENT to the end, thus leaving the theme incomplete until the final Point. (COMMENTS of the lower level Evaluations only function to amplify CONTRA-THESIS of the Contrast whereas the main COMMENT does much more.)

A derivational scheme from the minimum theme statement to the fully expanded Discourse could be accomplished by progressive addition of the less

prominent theme-lines of the structure, e.g., a tertiary theme-line can be followed through the PREMISES (3-1) of the Syllogism Scheme to THESIS 5-1 to a synthesis of the Contrast Scheme, which could be paraphrased as 'the old days they didn't know books, but they didn't need to; at the present many know books, but look what happens . . .'.

It is unfortunate that this method of tracing theme-line in Expository Discourse cannot be tested with a class of Pacoh students, or even a single native speaker. However, the analyst, though not a native speaker of the language, has found it very satisfactory for the two Expository Discourses analyzed in this way. It appears to explain why an analyst can juggle a variety of Scheme types around in a variety of configurations until one configuration turns out "right" for a Text. This approach to Scheme structure yields an automatic theme-line determination, and provides an evaluation of alternative tree structures. This is not to say that there is no possibility of improving upon the representation of the structure in Display 3:4, but it appears to represent the Discourse accurately, as the analyst understands it, based upon his experience in the language. It also sheds light upon the composition of other Discourses in the language (cf. Chapter 5 comments).

In addition to theme-line prominence, there is 'marked' prominence of the COMMENT of each Evaluation Scheme, as indicated by tripling, i.e., COMMENTS 5-2,3,4, COMMENTS 5-6,7,8, and COMMENTS 4-4,5,6. These in turn add marked prominence to the CONTRA-THESIS which they amplify (cf. dotted lines on Display 3:4).

As stated in section 2.2.2.3, I believe that what van Dijk (1977), Kintsch (1977), Longacre (1977), and others have done with the notion of

macro-structure for stories can be done for Expository Discourse by use of the Scheme structure together with the corresponding Propositions and the rules of theme-line prominence.

3.2.3 Point and Proposition structures

As discussed in section 2.2.3, rather than jumping immediately from Scheme structure into Proposition structure, we first describe Points as a hypothetical interface between the two. Points are first described by their TOPIC-COMMENT structure, then Propositions are described.

3.2.3.1 Points

The Discourse 'The Old Days' is divided into eighteen Points, each of which is treated as a TOPIC-COMMENT structure. In this Discourse the function of TOPIC is to repeat the Discourse TOPIC 'the old days' and its counter-topic 'the present'. The function of COMMENT is that of a main Proposition filling the terminal constituent of a Scheme. The filler of TOPIC may be either a nuclear or peripheral argument of the Proposition simultaneously with its higher-level TOPIC role. The TOPICS and COMMENTS of the Points are described under sections (a) and (b) below (cf. Display 3:5). (Note again that the term COMMENT has two uses and care must be taken to avoid confusing Point COMMENTS with Evaluation Scheme COMMENTS.)

a. TOPICS

There are two TOPICS, referred to as 'TOPIC-past' and 'TOPIC-present', which alternate with each other in each of the three Evaluations. Referring to Display 3:5, note that TOPIC-past fills THESIS of each Contrast Scheme (i.e., THESES 6-1, 6-3, and 5-9), while TOPIC-present spans both the CONTRA-THESIS of each Contrast Scheme and the COMMENT of each Evaluation

Scheme. That is, TOPIC-past is TOPIC of Points 1, 2, 8, and 13, while TOPIC-present is TOPIC of Points 3-7, 9-12, and 14-18.

In Display 3:5 below, the Points are numbered 1 through 18 at the left margin, while their correlative Sentences are labeled A.1a through C.2e at the right margin.

DISPLAY 3:5 Point Structure of 'The Old Days'

	TOPIC	COMMENT	(/DM-Sentence)
1.	Time-past	Experience Event	/A.1a
2.	Time-past	Activity Event	/A.1b
3.	Time-present	Quantification (Exp.)	/A.2a
4.	"	Existence (Activity)	/A.2b
5.	"	Attribution	/A.2c
6.	"	Quantification	/A.2d
7.	"	Experience Event	/A.2e
8.	AG—Time-past	Experience	/B.1
9.	(AG—Time-past)	Activity Event	/B.1(1)
10.	"	Activity Event	/B.1(2)
11.	"	Activity Event	/B.1(3)
12.	Time-present	Existence (Attr.)	/B.2
13.	Time-past	Attribution (Exp.)	/C.1
14.	Time-present	Attribution	/C.2a
15.	"	Process	/C.2b
16.	"	Experience Event	/C.2c
17.	"	Experience Event	/C.2d
18.	"	Experience Event	/C.2e

It may be questioned how it is determined that the COMMENT Points (5-7, 9-11, and 16-18) take TOPIC-present, when they do not manifest a TOPIC in most cases. In fact, one might logically assume that an Evaluation COMMENT should refer back to both Evaluation THESES, not just to the CONTRA-THESIS. However, there are two pieces of evidence for the analysis chosen here. First, in the Morphotactic structure the last explicit TOPIC preceding the COMMENT Points is always TOPIC-present. This is especially clear in Points 9-11, which are in apposition to **ân arâq pang nnêh** 'which was like this present generation', which fills the CLF slot of the preceding Clause. Second, it is apparent in the main concepts of all three COMMENTS. Components of violence in concepts like 'fight and kill' are common to all four of the Evaluation COMMENTS, (i.e., Points 5-7, 9-11, 16-17, and 18), as they are to the CONTRA-THESIS Points, (i.e., 3-4, 12, and 14-15).

It is interesting that Points which fill Evaluation COMMENTS are distinguished by having only their COMMENTS (without TOPICS) manifested in the DM-Morphotactics. Points 16 and 17 appear to be exceptions since they contain TOPIC-COMMENT constructions. However, the TOPIC-COMMENT construction, e.g., 'the successful' **ma** 'only they hate', is an embedded Point filling COMMENT. The underlying TOPIC is 'the present' found in Point 13 above. The embedded Point fills an embedded Paraphrase SPECIFIC which subdivides 'the rich people' of Point 15. It is this embedded Scheme relation which correlates with topicalization of 'successful' and 'prosperous' in Points 16 and 17.

Alternation of TOPICS, i.e., TOPIC-past for THESIS of each Contrast Scheme, and TOPIC-present for CONTRA-THESIS of each Contrast Scheme and each COMMENT of all four Evaluation Schemes, indicates that TOPIC determination is

made at the highest level of the tree structure, not at the lower levels from which Propositions appear to be derived.

b. COMMENTS.

The COMMENTS of the Points may be filled by the nuclear elements of Propositions or Proposition clusters apart from their TOPICS, or they may be fragments, depending upon the TOPIC for a nuclear argument. In Point 1, the COMMENT is filled by an Experience Event which derives its AGENT (EXPERIENCER) from the people mentioned in the TOPIC, i.e., 'their generation (life-time) long ago'. In Point 2, the COMMENT is filled by a series of Activity Events which derive AGENT from the TOPIC, 'their generation'. In Points 3-7, however, the COMMENTS could stand as Propositions without the TOPIC. The COMMENT of Point 5, 'very difficult', is frequently repeated in isolation, both in Text and out of it, and is considered to be an ambient Proposition, meaning 'It (life or whatever) is really tough these days'.

As mentioned under section (a) above, Points 16 and 17 are of special interest since they are analyzed as each having their COMMENTS filled by Sub-points. Though the primary function of Points 16 and 17 is to fill Evaluation COMMENTS 4-4 and 4-5, they have an additional function of SPECIFIC to GENERIC of the preceding Point (15), 'the rich die fast'. The COMMENTS of Points 16 and 17 are filled by Sub-points having TOPICS which subdivide 'the rich' into two SPECIFICS 'the successful' and 'the prosperous', and COMMENTS which subdivide 'die early' into its SPECIFIC causes, i.e., 'are hated' and 'are resented'. (The speaker did not say that the rich are murdered, but implied it by implying the motive for their early deaths.)

c. TOPIC-COMMENT as Attribution versus Classification

Larson (1978:129-134) considers Classification to be the characteristic Proposition type of Expository Discourse in Aguaruna. She states that CLASSIFIER, of the CLASSIFIED-CLASSIFIER relationship, makes up the backbone of an Expository text. For Pacoh Expository Discourse, however, the two-part division of Points is labeled TOPIC-COMMENT because it includes a variety of Proposition and Scheme relationships, not just Classification. In this Discourse, the TOPIC-COMMENT relationship seems to favor Attribution. In Points 5, 12, 13, and 14, for example, COMMENTS are filled by ATTRIBUTES, e.g., 'very difficult'. In Points 16 and 17, SOURCE of the Experience Events is topicalized, resulting in a stative-like reading, 'the successful are only hated; the prosperous are only resented'. Whether or not an attributive sense should be extended to other Points is left to the reader; however, de-emphasis of AGENTS appears to lend support to it. For example, Point 1 might be read, 'the old days were characterized by illiteracy (not knowing books)'.

3.2.3.2 Propositions

In the Propositional analysis, the AGENT of an Event, AGENT (EXPERIENCER) of an Experience, or ITEM of an Attribute or Quantification is treated as nuclear, while TIME is treated as peripheral, though it is considered to be nuclear as TOPIC in Point structure. (As mentioned in section 2.2.3, it is not unusual for the nuclear SUBJECTS of Propositions to be de-emphasized in Expository Points.) Accordingly, the following descriptions of Propositions may appear somewhat skewed from the Point perspective described above.

In this section, only Point-level Propositions are described. Embedded Propositions are described in section 3.2.3.3 below. Event-type Propositions (a and b) are discussed first, followed by non-Event types (c-f) (cf. section 2.2.3.2 for a listing of Proposition types and their constituents).

a. Experience Event = AGENT (EXPR) +EXPERIENCE +SOURCE (STIMULUS)

In Points 1, 7, and 8, AGENT must be extrapolated from a component of the TIME constituent (which would seem unnecessary if Propositional Event structure were primary).

Point 1 = AGENT:(people) +NEG. +EXP:'know' +SOURCE:'books'.

Point 7 = AGENT:'we' +NEG. +EXP:'see' +SOURCE:'families and homes'.

Point 8 = AGENT:'We Pacoh' +NEG. +EXP:'experience' +SOURCE:'violence of present' (cf. Existence, i.e., 'we never experienced it' appears to be equivalent to 'it never existed to us').

Point 16 = SOURCE:'successful people' +AGENT:'they (of present)' +EXP:'hate'.

Point 17 = SOURCE:'prosperous people' +AGENT:'they' +EXP:'resent'.

In Point 18 AGENT is not explicit, but is assumed to be the speaker or the speaker and his fellow Pacoh, exclusive of the American audience.

Point 18 = AGENT:speaker +NEG. +EXP:'know' +SOURCE:'way to live'.

b. Activity Event = AGENT +ACTIVITY ±GOAL ±PATIENT

In Point 2, there are five Propositions which appear to be coordinate according to surface structure evidence. However, if referential evidence is to be admitted, the first Event (work) would be the main Proposition, while the next two Events (eat and earn money) would be PURPOSE and the next two (work fields and trade goods) would be MEANS. All five are listed as

coordinate here, but the latter four are listed again as embedded in section 3.2.3.3 below.

Point 2 = AGENT:'old folks' +ACT:'work' +PAT:Ø; +ACT:'eat'+PAT:Ø; +ACT:'earn' +PAT:'money-silver'; +ACT:'work'+PAT:'fields' +ACT:'trade' +PAT:'goods'

c. Physical Process = PATIENT +PROCESS

Point 15 = PATIENT:'rich people' +PROCESS:'die' +ATTRIBUTE:'fast'

Point 18 = PATIENT:(speaker) +PROCESS:'live, not die'

d. Existence = EXISTENT

All of the EXISTENTS are filled by embedded Propositions, listed below. Note that Point 8 is treated as both Experience Event and as Existence because of ambiguity, i.e., 'they did not experience it' versus 'it did not exist in their times'. An alternate analysis might treat Existence as modal rather than as a Proposition.

Point 4 = EXISTENT: (see embedded Activity Events)

Points 8-11 = NEG +EXISTENT: (see embedded Activity Events)

Point 12 = EXISTENT: (see embedded Attributions)

e. Quantification = QUANTIFIER +ITEM

Point 3 = QUANTIFIER:'many' +ITEM:'book-knowers/literate'

Point 6 = QUANTIFIER:'many' +ITEM:'those who die'

f. Attribution = ITEM +ATTRIBUTE

Point 5 = ITEM:'present time' +ATTRIBUTE:'difficult'

Point 13 = ITEM:'past time' +ATTRIBUTES:'peaceful, rich'

Point 14 = ITEM:'rich people' +ATTRIBUTE:'rich'

3.2.3.3 Embedded Propositions

Embedded Propositions are those which occur recursively within another Proposition. The examples which follow are labeled by Point numbers, indicating only their locations.

a. Activity Events

As mentioned in section 3.2.3.2b above, referential evidence leads us to posit a single main Event in Point 2, having four embedded, subordinate Events as follows:

Embedded PURPOSES = AGENT:'old folks' +ACT:'ate' +ACT:'earned' +PAT:'money'

Embedded MEANS = AGENT:'they' +ACT:'worked' +PAT:'fields'; +ACT:'traded' +PAT:'goods'

Point 4 EXISTENT: AGENT:(unspecified) +ACT:'abandon' +PAT:'mothers, fathers, siblings, rivers, valleys'; +AGENT:'each one' +ACT:(abandons) +LOCATION:'a region, a river'

Point 10 EXISTENT or SOURCE: AGENT:'Vietnamese' +ACT:'fight' +PATIENT:'Vietnamese'

Point 11 EXISTENT or SOURCE: AGENT:'Pacoh people' +ACT:'fight' +PATIENT:'Pacoh'

Point 12 EXISTENT or SOURCE: AGENT:'fathers, sons' +ACT:'kill' +PATIENT:'sons, fathers'

Point 9 EXISTENT: AGENT:(people) +ACT:(deeds) +ATTRIBUTE:'insanely' +GOAL:'heaven, earth'

b. Physical Process

Point 18 SOURCE of Cognition: PATIENT:(speaker) +PROCESS:'live' +ATTRIBUTE:'whatever way'

3.2.3.4 Coherence in Points and Propositions

Coherence is provided to Points by both their TOPIC-COMMENT Point structure and their Propositional structure. First of all, each Point is related to one of two TOPICS which alternate with each other in a regular pattern. Second, the COMMENT of each Point is filled by either an Activity or an ATTRIBUTE which is characteristic of the TOPIC. This leads to the hypothesis that the relationship of COMMENT to TOPIC in this Discourse is essentially one of Attribution. This hypothesis is further supported by the fact that Events filling COMMENTS are made to appear stative by de-emphasis of AGENT roles. This hypothesis differs only slightly from Larson's observation that Expository Points in Aguaruna are Classifications (see section 3.2.2c above). Classification may better describe the stative-like relationship between TOPIC and COMMENT in other Pacoh Discourses.

Regarding coherence of Propositional case frames in relation to the Schemes they fill, case frames filling the constituents of Contra-expectation Schemes are not parallel; whereas those of Contrast Schemes are (cf. Display 3:4 with Display 3:5). For example, in the first two Contra-expectations, each CONCESSION is filled by an Experience Event (Points 1, 3), while CONTRA-EXPECTATION is filled by an Activity Event (Points 2, 4). In the third Contra-expectation, CONCESSION is filled by an Attribution (Point 14), while CONTRA-EXPECT is filled by a Process (Point 15). On the other hand, the pairs of Points (1 and 2, and 3 and 4) filling THESIS 6-1 and CONTRA-THESIS 6-2 of the Contrast Scheme (5-1), are parallel, i.e., both are Experience +Activity. This indicates a lack of coherence between Contra-expectation constituents which may be inherent in the relationship of Contra-expectation (called 'frustrated coupling' in Longacre 1976a). Next,

the case frames filling Evaluation COMMENTS are parallel, that is, Points 9-11 are Activity Events, Points 16-18 are Experience Events, and, with further consideration, Points 5-7 can be seen as Experience Events, i.e 'hard living, dying, not seeing'. Also, with further consideration, the first Point of each Scheme cluster and the last Point are all seen as underlying Experiences, i.e., Points 1,8,13,18. Point 13 is recorded as an Attribution, but 'easy or peaceful living' is an Experience. Although technically 'living' and 'dying' are considered to be Processes, they appear to function more as Experiences in this Discourse (cf. Points 5,6,13,15).

Within Propositions, ARGUMENTS cohere to PREDICATIONS in the usual manner. However, the TOPIC-COMMENT coherence of Points supersedes the ARGUMENT-PREDICATE coherence of Propositions in that AGENT is often less evident, e.g., Point 1, 'Their life-time long-ago, (they) didn't know books'.

3.2.3.5 Prominence in Points

Points carry both TOPIC prominence and COMMENT prominence. In general, TOPIC is more naturally prominent than COMMENT, however, it seems best to treat them as having two different kinds of prominence. Of the two TOPICS, TOPIC-past has the greater natural prominence, evident in its occurrence in the Title and in THESIS of the Contrast Schemes. On the other hand, TOPIC-present receives marked prominence through amplification by the Evaluation COMMENTS (cf. section 3.2.1.2 Coherence in Schemes).

The COMMENTS of most Points carry marked prominence, indicated by Morphotactic (3.3) and Phonotactic (3.4) reduplication, for example, chom **uráq** chom **u-ar** 'knew books knew books'.

3.2.4 Concept structure

This section is divided into four parts. Concept clusters are first divided into their components, i.e., embedded concepts, then all of the concepts are described in terms of inclusion classes, dictionary of concepts, and discussion of special relationships between concepts within the Discourse.

3.2.4.1 Concept clusters (cf. 2.2.4)

Downgraded predications are distinguished below under Identification, Specification, Quantification, and Intensification. The ITEM in each cluster is the main component while the SPECIFIC, etc., is a subordinate component. Relative Clauses are sometimes used to create proper nouns, as appears to be the case of 'they who fellows', 'they who girls', and 'the rich' in this Discourse. (In 'they who rich', 'human' is nuclear and 'rich' is a modification.) (Cf. section 2.2.4 for further explanation of 'predications' as concept clusters.)

a. Identification = ITEM +IDENTIFIER

(do) ân chom uráq	'(he) who knows letters'
(do) ân xűc	'(he) who rich'
(do) ân hôi tubếq	'(he) who successful'
(pang) ntiaq	'(generation) which old'
(pang) ân tatiaq	'(generations) which old'
ân arâq pang mnéh	'what is like this generation'
(he) Pacốh	'(we) (who are) Pacoh'

b. Specification = ITEM +SPECIFIER

(pang) he	'(generation) us'
(pang) ngai	'(generation) them'
(pang) nnéh	'(generation) this'
(ndŏng) néh	'(time) this'
aki nnéh	'(time) this'
(carna) mmo	'(pathway) whichever'

c. Quantification = ITEM +NUMERAL

mâh (náq)	'one (person cl.)'
mâh (muang)	'one (region)'
mâh (daq)	'one (river)'

(mâh dyeaq 'a little' has the form of a Quantification, but functions as a de-intensifier with attributes like diaiq 'poor' in section (d) below.)

d. Intensification = ATTRIBUTE +INTENSIFIER

lu (ian)	'very (peaceful)'
lu (o)	'very (good)'
lu (xŭc)	'very (rich)'
(diaiq) mâh dyeaq	'(poor) a little-bit'

e. Compounds. Compounds are listed by their unit meanings and their part meanings. Bound compounds are identified by hyphenation and by lack of individual meaning for the second part. Compounding adds a component of amplitude in addition to the other components of the concept involved.

<u>things</u>

'a very long time ago'	'long ago +long ago'	anâh ahân
'parents'	'mother +father'	a-i a-âm

'siblings'	'younger sibs. +older sibs.'	a-em achai
'children +wives'	'child +wife'	acay campay
'homeland'	'valley +river'	cruang daq
'home community'	'house +village'	dŭng vĕl
'mfd. goods'	'mfd. goods +goods'	hang-hoq
'farm goods'	'tobacco +hemp'	hut kidŏl
'fields'	'fields +fields'	piday-clai
'wealth'	'money +silver'	tian práq
'betel & materials'	'betel +betel'	troi-turuiq
'writing'	'letter, book, etc.'	uráq-u-ar
attributes		
'dead and gone'	'dead +lost'	chĕt pít
'desperate, pitiful'	'poor +poor'	diaiq-túh
'successful'	'skillful +wise'	hôi tubĕq
'peaceful'	'easy +good'	ian o
'wealthy'	'rich +rich'	xŭc-xian
'extravagantly wealthy'	'rich +luxurious'	xŭc parnha

3.2.4.2 Inclusion classes of concepts

The concepts of the Discourse are listed below in their inclusion classes from generic to specific. The items listed are considered to be individual concepts, e.g., 'thing' and 'child'. However, I have used a few class labels for which I may not have a lexical item in the Pacoh dictionary, e.g., 'relational'.

thing > human > Pacoh, Vietnamese, mother, father, sister, brother, wife, child

> spirit > earth-spirit, sky-spirit

> place > field, valley, river, region, house, village, earth, sky, roadway

> product > money, book, goods, tobacco, hemp, betel

> time > generation

existence

action > work > farm, trade, fight, defeat, kill, eat

> travel > abandon

process > live, die

experience > know, see, experience, hate, resent

attribute (item) > old, rich, prosperous

(activity) > fast, well, successful

(experience) > difficult, dead, lost, insane, peaceful, successful

quantifier > many, little, one, plural

relational (space) > far-below, below, here, above, far-above

(time) > distant-past, past, present, future

(direction) > from, to

(coordination) > and, but, equal, reciprocal

(degree) > comparative, superlative

negation > no, cautious no

3.2.4.3 Dictionary of concepts

Concepts from the inclusion classes above are defined below in relation to the referential realm of the Communication Situation (|rr), and to the Morphotactics (/DM). Phonotactic shape is explicit in the Morphemic shape

since the orthography is Phonemic. Since these correlations are required for definitions, concept correlations are not included in section 3.6.4; however, concept clusters are.

Only a few examples of definitions are given, particularly those which occasion further discussion.

ACTIONS

One participant

go (ACT) AGENT:human, animal, vehicle |rr motion away from point of departure

/DM pôc, e.g., do pôc tốq piday 'he went to field'

return (ACT) AGENT:human, animal |rr motion toward home

/DM chŏ, e.g., do chŏ tốq dứng 'he returned home'

Two participants

abandon (ACT) AGENT:human, animal |rr leave and forsake those with whom one has relationships

/DM tấh, e.g., tấh a-i a-ấm abandon parents'

cook (ACT) AGENT:human |rr prepare for eating

/DM tấq, e.g., tấq adếh 'cook with stove'

defeat, conquer, win (ACT) AGENT:human, animal |rr gain advantage or control over another

/DM cha, e.g., cu cha may 'I beat you'

eat (ACT) AGENT:human, animal |rr ingest food

/DM cha, e.g., do cha dŏi 'he eats rice'

fight (ACT) AGENT:human |rr expend effort to injure a person for defensive or offensive purposes

/DM **tấq**, e.g., **tấq picon** 'fight enemies'

farm (ACT) AGENT:human |rr effort applied to soil, seeds, plants, etc. for a harvest

/DM **tấq**, e.g., **do tấq piday** 'he farms field',

do tấq tro 'he farms rice'

kill (ACT) AGENT:human |rr cause to cease from all physical activity

/DM **cachĕt**, e.g., **do cachĕt a-ât** 'he killed an animal'

prepare (ACT) AGENT:human, animal |rr make ready, put in due condition for something

/DM **tấq**, e.g., **tấq tanna** 'prepare food', **tấq hang-hoq** 'prepare products for sale'

throw away, discard (ACT) |rr rid oneself of something as though it had no value

/DM **tấh**, e.g., **tấh ao cŭn tiaq** 'discard old clothes'

work (ACT) AGENT:human |rr effort applied for livelihood

/DM **tấq**, e.g., **tấq cha** 'He works to eat'

Three participants

give (ACT) AGENT:human, animal |rr transfer of ref. (g) from ref. (a) to ref. (b) freely or as a token of agreement

/DM **dyŏn**, e.g., **dyŏn pinhêq ado cumŏr** 'give gift to girl-friend'

trade (ACT) AGENT:human |rr exchange of something by referent (a) for something else from referent (b)

/DM **tarkíl**, e.g., **xeq may tarkíl axâq alŭng cu** 'please trade rice with me'

||when ref. a is engaged in commerce /DM **tấq puan** 'do trading, selling'

EXPERIENCE EVENTS

hate (EXP) AG-EXPR:human |rr regard with strong or passionate dislike

/DM a-ĩnh, e.g., ngai a-ĩnh do ân xũc 'they hate the rich man'

know (EXP) AG-EXPR:human, animal |rr mental ability to recollect or manipulate information

/DM chom, e.g., chom uráq 'know books, i.e., be literate'

PROCESSES

die (PROC) PATIENT:living things |rr cease apparent physical activity

/DM cuchĕt, e.g., do cuchĕt 'he died'

live (PROC) PATIENT:living things |rr maintain apparent physical activity

/DM tumŏng, e.g., do yôl tumŏng 'he still lives'

STATES

alive (STATE) ITEM:living thing |rr in a state of living

/DM mŏng, e.g., kire mŏng 'live rattan'

dead (STATE) ITEM:living thing |rr in state of death

/DM chĕt, e.g., put ân chĕt 'many are dead'

lost (STATE) ITEM:thing |rr in state of unknown location

/DM pít, e.g., do ân pít 'the lost one'

THINGS

rice (product) |rr 1. a grass and its grain grown for food, also called paddy

/DM tro, e.g., he chŏh tro 'we raise rice'

|rr 2. hulled rice grains to be used for food

/DM axâq, e.g., clŏh tro abôn axâq 'pound rice to get rice'

|rr 3. cooked rice grains

/DM dŏi, e.g., dyeal axâq ticŏh dŏi 'take rice and cook rice'

generation (TIME) |rr a period of time relative to the lifetime of a living thing or even an Event or Attribution

/DM pang ngai 'their generation'

pang hôi tubếq 'age of reason'

ATTRIBUTES

old (ATTR) ||F ITEM: non-living thing |rr long lifetime relative to usefulness or some other standard

/DM tiaq, e.g., dŭng tiaq 'old house',

pang ntiaq 'old generation'

||F ITEM: human, animal |rr beyond age of child-bearing

/DM iauq, e.g., ngai ân iauq 'old folks'

poor (ATTR) ITEM: living thing |rr having inadequate resources for livelihood

/DM diaiq, e.g., ticuai diaiq 'poor people'

difficult (ATTR-Event) |rr requiring relatively great effort--physical, emotional, etc.

/DM diaiq (-tŭh), e.g., diaiq lu tumŏng 'it's very hard to live'

easy (ATTR-Event) |rr requiring relatively little effort--physical, emotional, etc.

/DM ian, e.g., ian lu i-at 'it's very easy to live'

skillful (ATTR) ITEM:human,animal |rr able to succeed well in endeavors

/DM hôi, e.g., do hôi tấq dŭng 'he builds houses skillfully'

wise (ATTR) ITEM:human |rr able to think well and make good decisions

/DM tubếq, e.g., do tubếq lu 'he is very wise'

3.2.4.4 Discussion of concepts

Certain concepts are discussed below with respect to their internal constituency, coherence, and prominence within the Discourse. Several concepts are of particular interest because they contrast with each other, analogous to the Contrast Schemes in which they are ultimate constituents.

The TOPIC concepts consist of the following components: TOPIC-past, pang **ngai ntiaq inô-ntra** 'old generation of people of the past' combines thing > generation > human > Pacoh with time > distant past. TOPIC-present, pang he **aki nnêh** 'our generation now', combines thing > generation > human > Vietnamese and Pacoh with time > present. In the thing class, 'Pacoh' contrasts with 'Vietnamese-and-Pacoh'. In the time class, 'distant past' contrasts with 'the present'. (Cf. addenda at the end of section 3.3.5.1 regarding interpretation of **ngai ntiaq** as 'the ancestors'.)

Several ACTION concepts demonstrate contrast through marked prominence of secondary components. The concept 'work' has a cluster of context-determined components surrounding the nuclear component, 'exertion directed to accomplish something'. In the TOPIC-past Points of the Discourse the secondary component, 'peaceful livelihood', is marked by the context of fields, crops, and goods, e.g., **tâq piday** 'work fields', but in the TOPIC-present Points the secondary component 'violent warfare' is marked by human PATIENTS, e.g., **tâq Yoan** 'fight Vietnamese'. A similar contrast of components is found in the word cha 'eat/defeat'. In Point 2 in the context of peaceful work 'ingest' is prominent; but in Point 18 in the context of death and fighting and the PATIENT 'each-other', the figurative component 'defeat' is prominent. Likewise, the verb **tâh** 'to discard, abandon' takes on a component of emotional violence when directed towards people and homeland (Point 4).

Thus the concept 'violence' is prominent in TOPIC-present Points of the Discourse via a marked component in several concepts, though it is only naturally prominent in one, that is, cachĕt 'kill' (Point 11). The concept 'violence' never occurs in TOPIC-past Points.

The verb vaih 'exist/appear' includes a component of change, not simply existence. The situations described in Point 4 (people are abandoned) and Point 12 (insanity against heaven and earth) represent change from the past.

The EXPERIENCE chom 'know' indicates 'academic skill', i.e., 'literacy/book knowledge' in the THESIS of the Discourse, i.e., in Points 1 and 3, but 'discernment and social/political skill' in the final COMMENT, '(I) don't know how to live so as to avoid death, and stop the fighting and conquering' (Point 18). As stated in section 3.2.3.4, coherence of case frames in the Discourse indicates that 'living' and 'dying' are better viewed as Experiences than as Processes (or States in the case of 'dead and lost'). Consider 'difficult living' in Point 5, 'dead and lost' in 6, 'peaceful living' in 13, and 'early dying' in 15. This is also consistent with Pacoh belief that life goes on after one experiences death of the body. In future analyses I will be more inclined to treat these concepts culturally as EXPERIENCES rather than clinically as PROCESSES or STATES.

3.3 Grammatical Distribution and Manifestation Modes (DM)

In this section, the Text is described with respect to surface Distribution and Manifestation only. As stated in 2.3, this is not a claim for formal analysis without reference to meaning (i.e., Communication Situation and Function mode). The analysis behind this description relies heavily upon

reference to meaning or function, and correlations between form and meaning are freely acknowledged. However, the Morphotactic structure is described below with as little use of semantic terminology as possible in order to enhance the view of the form by itself, and to prepare for meaningful correlation formulas. Some semantic-sounding traditional terms are used just to avoid awkwardness.

3.3.1 Text structure

In addition to what are usually treated as 'normal' Morphotactic (DM) constructions, this Text exhibits binary and trinary Morphotactic structuring super-imposed upon the normal constructions. Binary structuring is common to Expository Texts, but the trinary structuring appears to be more particular to specific types, like the Evaluation Scheme of this Text. Some of the trinary structuring can be interpreted binarily, as will be shown in various sections below, but there is some which can only be trinary. (Cf. binary and trinary structuring in the Function mode (3.2) and in the Phonology (3.4).)

The Text and its constituents are described level-by-level in terms of "normal" structures, and "special" binary and trinary structures. (Binary and trinary structuring correlate with Function mode coherence and prominence, and with CS speaker eloquence.)

3.3.1.1 Constituency

The structure of the Text as a whole is Text-initial Phrase plus Body. The Body consists of three Paragraphs: A, B, and C.

3.3.1.2 Linkage (or 'texture')

Kinds of linkage found in this text are a) parallelism of constituent structures, b) 'sandwich' structure, and c) nominal reference.

a. Parallelism of constituent structures.

The three Paragraphs are linked to each other by parallelism of internal structuring, including similar and identical lexical elements. For example, Paragraphs A and C have nearly identical Paragraph-initial Phrases (PIPH): **pang ngai ntiaq inô-ntra** 'their old generation past', and **pang ngai ân tatiaq inô-ntra** 'their old generations past', respectively. (Addition of **ta-** in the latter specifies plurality of generations.) Paragraph B has a somewhat similar initial Phrase, **he Pacŏh te anâh te ahân** 'we Pacoh from ancient from olden times', but it differs in that it merges the fillers of SIPH and C1P, making the Prepositional Phrase part of the Noun Phrase.

All three Paragraphs also have similar Paragraph-medial Phrases (also called Subparagraph-initial Phrases in section 3.3.2). They are 'our present generation', 'the present', and 'our generation', respectively. Paragraphs A and B are joined to each other by juxtaposition, and are together joined to Paragraph C by the conjunction **icŏh** 'therefore'.

The binary character of the Text is exhibited by the divisions between Title and Body, and between Paragraphs AB and Paragraph C, and between Paragraphs A and B (cf. Display 3:8).

b. 'Sandwich' structure

The Text is also tied together by a 'sandwich' structure which is super-imposed upon it independent of the Paragraph divisions(cf. Beekman and Callow 1979:79,82). This 'sandwich' is accomplished in two ways. First, Subparagraph B.1(1-3) occurs embedded into the middle of Paragraph B. This is a distinctive three-Sentence Subparagraph type which occurs in its 'normal' position at the end of Paragraphs A and C (A.2cde and C.2cde). (The 'normal' position correlates with the logical order of F-Scheme structure

shown in the tree diagram, Display 3:4.) Second, the Clause segment **lu lâyq chom** 'really not know', and the verbs **táq cha** 'work to eat, fight to win' found in the first two Sentences of the Text (A.1ab) are repeated in the last Sentence (C.2e).

The sandwich structure is further enhanced by a special parallelism between the three-Sentence Subparagraphs of the first and last Paragraphs. Sentences A.2c and 2d are parallel adjectival binary structures parallel to binary Sentences C.2c and C.2d. However, Sentence A.2e is a negated Transitive-sentential Clause containing three ClF fillers parallel to Sentence C.2e.

The trinary character of the Text at this level is exhibited by its three parallel Paragraphs (A, B, and C). Though a conjunction between B and C divides them binarily, they also present a trinary perspective because of their internal parallels.

c. Nominal reference

Nominal reference in this Text consists of (1) expanded Noun Phrases, (2) anaphora, and (3) ellipsis.

(1) Expanded Noun Phrases usually fill the Text-initial Phrase (TIPH), Paragraph-initial Phrases (PIPH), and Subparagraph-initial Phrases (EPIPH 'embedded Paragraph-initial Phrases'). Expanded Noun Phrases contain at least an NPF and/or NPFF filler in addition to NPC. In this Text the fillers of TIPH and the PIPHs, i.e. initial Phrases of constituents A.1, B.1, and C.1, are all expanded Noun Phrases containing both NPF and NPFF fillers, e.g. **pang ngai ntiaq inô ntra** 'the old days long ago'. Fillers of Subparagraph-initial Phrases of A.2 and C.2 are similar. But the filler of B.2 is somewhat reduced, i.e. **aki nnêh** 'time present', perhaps because it

appears in the second Paragraph of a Section.

The first reference to an EPIPH filler in a Section is an expanded Noun Phrase even when it fills a ClF slot, e.g. pang he ndŏng néh 'our days present time' at the end of C.1. It appears that pang nnéh 'these days' in B.1 is somewhat reduced since it it not the first reference in the first Section, though it is the first in Paragraph B.

Anaphora. Successive reference to the same referent in the same Paragraph is normally reduced. Sentence A.1b has the same SIPH filler as A.1a, but it is reduced by omission of the NPFF filler ntiaq inô ntra 'which old past'. The fact that pang nnéh 'these days (B.1) and aki nnéh 'this time' (B.2) are reduced from pang he aki nnéh in the preceding Paragraph may be evidence of Section structure.

In the third Paragraph pang he nnéh 'days ours these' (C.2a) is only very slightly reduced from pang he ndŏng néh 'days ours time this' above (C.1b) indicates that it fills an EPIPH.

3) Ellipsis. The rules of elision in this Text involve the fillers of Clause-initial constituent ClP. Wherever a ClP filler is elided, its antecedent is the last explicit ClP filler (correlating with F-AGENT) or is derivable from the preceding SIPH filler. One exception of this rule is found in the last Sentence of the Text (C.2e), in which the elided ClP filler correlates with F-speaker as either 'I' or 'we Pacoh'.

Stated as a prediction, the rule says that one can normally expect fillers of ClP to be elided when they are the same as the preceding ClP filler or, in an Expository Text, are derivable from the preceding SIPH filler. In Sentence A.1a the Clause 'really not know' derives its ClP filler from ngai 'they' of the SIPH filler 'days they old past'. All of the Clauses

of the second Sentence (A.1b) derive their ClP filler from ngai 'they' of its SIPH filler 'days they'. The ClP filler of Sentence C.2b is the same as its antecedent, the ClP filler of Sentence C.2a **do ân xûc** 'he who rich'.

3.3.2 Paragraph Structure

In general a Paragraph is a construction of more than one Sentence in length filling a Text constituent. An embedded Paragraph ('Subparagraph') is a construction of more than one Sentence in length filling a constituent of a Paragraph, Sentence, Clause, or Phrase. The three main Paragraphs of the Text are described in section 3.3.2.1 below. Then the Subparagraphs, which are constituents of the Paragraphs, are described in section 3.3.2.2.

3.3.2.1 The Main Paragraphs

a. Classification and constituency

In this Text, the main Paragraphs are defined by occurrence of two Paragraph constituents (PC1 and PC2) joined by the conjunction **cóh ma** 'but'. PC1 is a Sentence or Subparagraph which begins with a SIPH or EPIPH filler (Sentence or Embedded paragraph-initial Phrase), similar to the TIPH filler 'The Old Days' (which correlates with F-Title, i.e., TOPIC-past). PC2 is a Sentence or Subparagraph which begins with the SIPH or EPIPH, 'the present' (correlating with F-TOPIC-present). Dividing the Text according to the alternation between each pair of PC1 and PC2, results in three parallel Paragraphs (A, B, and C). Paragraph A consists of two Subparagraphs; Paragraph B consists of two Sentences; and Paragraph C consists of two Subparagraphs. (The initial Phrase of each Paragraph (PIPH) is simultaneously an SIPH. In A.1a and C.1a, but not in B.1, it is also an EPIPH.) (In Display 3:6) below the Paragraph and Subparagraph conjunctions are underlined.

DISPLAY 3:6 Paragraphs and Sentences of 'The Old Days'

	Part 1 (|F TOPIC)	Part 2 (|F COMMENT)	(|F-Point)
A.1a	The old days,	really not know books know letters.	(1)
1b	But their days	just worked just ate, got money,	
		worked fields, traded goods.	(2)
A.2	But at present,	a. there are many who know books . . .	(3)
		b. But it happens: abandon parents. . .	(4)
		c. Very desperate very difficult.	(5)
		d. Many are dead, many are lost.	(6)
		e. Cannot see parents, homes, families.	(7)
B.1	We Pacoh of old	never experienced like the present:	(8)
		(1) Vietnamese fight Vietnamese.	(9)
		(2) Pacoh even fight each other.	(10)
		(3) Fathers kill sons-sons kill fathers.	(11)
B.2	But at present	it happens: insane against heaven . . .	(12)
C.1	Thus the old days	a. very peaceful very good,	
		b. very rich very rich beyond present.	(13)
C.2	But at the present,	a. the rich are very rich, not poor . . .	(14)
		b. But die fast.	(15)
		c. The successful are only hated.	(16)
		d. The prosperous are only resented.	(17)
		e. (I) really don't know which way to live,	
		to avoid death and stop fighting . . .	(18)

Each Paragraph is further characterized by a third construction. This is a distinctive three-Sentence Subparagraph which occurs as a constituent of either PC1 or PC2. In the first Paragraph A.2c,d,e follows PC2, i.e., A.2b. In the third Paragraph C.2c,d,e also follows PC2, i.e., C.2b. But in the second Paragraph it (B.1(1-3)) follows PC1, i.e., B.1, as mentioned above regarding the sandwich structure (3.3.1).

b. Binary and trinary structuring of Paragraphs

Binary structuring within the main Paragraphs is obvious in the alternation between the two main constituents (PC1 and PC2), which are to some extent, parallel structures.

The distinctive three-Sentence Subparagraph of each Paragraph is analyzed as a constituent of one of the main constituents; however, its distinctive shape gives it the appearance of a third constituent. Thus, there is simultaneously a binary view produced by conjunction of PC1 and PC2, and a trinary view produced by division of either PC1 or PC2 into two parts, one of which is itself a trinary construction, i.e., A.2c,d,e, B.1(1-3), and C.2c,d,e.

(The three Paragraphs correlate well with the three Evaluations of the F-Scheme structure. However, there is some skewing of constituents which will be described below.)

3.3.2.2 Subparagraphs

It would seem neater to divide Paragraphs into either Subparagraphs or Sentences, rather than both, but they are divided into main constituents without regard to construction level. Some Paragraph constituents are best

described as Subparagraph (cf. Display 3:6)s. The initial Phrases of Subparagraphs (EPIPHs) are always simultaneous with Sentence-initial Phrases (SIPHs), but the reverse is not true.

a. Classification and constituency

Paragraph constituents A.1, A.2, C.1, and C.2 are conjunctive Subparagraphs, whereas, B.1 and B.2 are conjunctive Sentences. Also, the three-Sentence groupings, A.2cde, B.1(1-3), and C.2cde, are Subparagraphs in apposition to the Sentence or Subparagraph immediately preceding.

Subparagraph A.1 consists of three constituents: Sentence 1a, Sentence 1b, and the conjunction cŏh ma 'but'. That Sentences 1a and 1b belong to the same Subparagraph is evident in their nearly identical Sentence-initial Phrases, 'the old days past' and 'the old days', respectively. The presence of Sentence-initial Phrases in both is evidence for distinguishing them as separate Sentences. (They correlate with parallel Scheme constituents in the Function mode, i.e., CONCESSION and CONTRA-EXPECT. of the first Contra-expectation Scheme.)

Subparagraph A.2 consists of two Subparagraphs. The first contains two conjunctive Sentences (A.2a and 2b) joined by 'but', similar to A.1 above. However, A.2a and 2b share the same SIPH, 'our present generation', which is only present at the beginning of A.2a. They could be considered as a single Sentence containing two conjunctive Clauses, but that would be very long and awkward. The second included Subparagraph consists of three Sentences (A.2c, 2d, and 2e) not joined by conjunctions. This second Subparagraph is considAered to belong to Subparagraph A.2 because it shares the same Subparagraph-initial Phrase (EPIPH), 'at present '. (See the last Paragraph below for further discussion of the three-Sentence Subparagraphs.)

Subparagraph B.1(1-3) consists of three parallel Sentences embedded in (or in apposition to) the third Clause constituent (ClF) of Sentence B.1, i.e., 'like the present: (Vietnamese fight . . . Pacoh fight . . . Fathers and sons kill . . .)'.

Subparagraph C.2 contains two Subparagraphs. The first Subparagraph (C.2a,b) parallels Subparagraph A.2a,b (and correlates with F-Points 14 and 15), but its second constituent (C.2b) **cuchĕt nhaq** 'die fast' is a Sentence fragment rather than a full Sentence. Subparagraph C.2c,d,e contains three Sentences in juxtaposition.

In order to recognize the Morphotactic unity of the three-Sentence Subparagraphs, it is necessary to compare them with each other. All three stand together in apposition to a preceding Sentence, and have no conjunctions as the conjunctive Subparagraphs or Paragraphs do. All three lack the EPIPHs, which characterize all other Subparagraphs. And, in all three, there is a pattern of two Sentences of nearly identical structure followed by a third Sentence which is structurally different and longer. That is, A.2c and d are both expanded Non-verbal Clauses, while A.2e is a Verbal Clause which has three binomial pairs filling ClF; B.1(1) and (2) are both reciprocal Clauses which have the same verb, **tâq** 'fight', filling ClC, whereas B.1(3) is a reciprocal Sentence, having two Clauses which exchange ClP and ClF fillers, fathers and sons, and which have the verb **cachĕt** 'kill' filling ClC; C.2c and d are identical in structure, differing only in the fillers of SIPH and ClC, whereas C.23 has no explicit filler of either SIPH or ClP, and ClF is filled by two conjunctive Relative Clauses.

The fact that there are three Sentences and that the third differs from the first two correlates with the structure of the Evaluation Schemes, in

which two constituents of THESIS are followed by a COMMENT. This is observed in the lower-level Evaluations in which two parts of a Contrast Scheme are followed by a COMMENT, and at the first-level Evaluation, which is particularly significant because the third Sentence of the third COMMENT is simultaneously the final COMMENT of the Discourse.

The unity of the three-Sentence Subparagraphs is also borne out by their Phonotactic meter (cf. 3.4.3), and by their sharing of the same TOPIC-present (cf. 3.2.2.1a).

b. Binary and trinary structuring of Subparagraphs

Binary structuring is evident in the double constituency of Subparagraphs A.1, A.2, and C.2, and in the pairing of the first two Sentences of each three-Sentence Subparagraph. Trinary structuring is evident in the three-Sentence structuring of Subparagraphs A.2c,d,e, B.1(1-3), and C.2c,d,e.

3.3.3 Sentence structure

Sentences are generally defined in this study as Paragraph or Subparagraph constituents which consist of at least one main Clause. In this analysis all but three Sentences (B.1, 2, and C.1) belong to Subparagraphs, rather than belonging directly to Paragraphs.

In dividing the Text into Sentences there are two possible extremes. One is to treat all of the 18 more-or-less independent Clauses of the Text as Sentences (correlating with the 18 Points of the Function mode, 3.2.3). The opposite extreme would be to consider conjunctive strings of Clauses as all belonging to the same Sentence. This would combine the first four Sentences of Paragraph A into a single Sentence because they are all joined by the

conjunction cṓh ma 'but'. (The following three Sentences might even be thrown in because they are appositional to the preceding.) However, it seems unnecessary here to assume two degrees of coordination. The pair A.1a and 1b and the pair A.2a and 2b are joined by one degree (correlating with Contra-expectation Scheme), while the two pairs are joined to each other by a higher degree (correlating with Contrast Scheme).

My preference for this Text is to treat all main Clauses joined by the conjunction cṓh ma 'but' as separate Sentences, i.e., the first extreme above. The Clause fragment cuchĕt nhaq 'die fast' (C.2b) might better be combined with the preceding Sentence, but for now I am treating it as a Sentence which is dependent on the context of the preceding Sentence (cf. Waterhouse (1963) on dependent Sentences).

3.3.3.1 Classification and constituency of Sentences

The Text is divided into eighteen Sentences (cf. Display 3:7 below). There are Sentences containing SIPH, plus a main Clause, plus further expansion, those in which SIPH is elided, and one in which both SIPH and ClP are elided (C.2b). SIPH slots are considered to belong simultaneously to Sentences and Subparagraphs (EPIPH), except in the case of A.1b, in which 'their generation' is a Sentence constituent only. Note that in B.1, SIPH and ClP appear to be merged. Most of the conjunctions of this Text are Paragraph or Subparagraph constituents (PCON); however, ma 'but' (a reduced form of cṓh ma) and anha 'and' in C.2e are Sentence-level conjunctions (SCON). Most Sentences of this Text manifest Sentence expansion, i.e., doubling or tripling of the main Clause of the Sentence, or of embedded Clauses. This phenomenon is described further under binary and trinary structuring below.

DISPLAY 3:7 Sentence structure of 'The Old Days'

Sentence				(F-Point)
A.1a	= SIPH	+Tr-Sent. Clause	+Clause exp.	1
A.1b	= SIPH	+Trans. Clause	+Clause exp.	2
A.2a	= SIPH	+Stative Clause	+Clause exp.	3
A.2b	=	vi 'exist' Clause	+Emb. Cl. exp.	4
A.2c	=	Stative Clause	+Clause exp.	5
A.2d	=	Stative Clause	+Sentence exp.	6
A.2e	=	Tr-sent. Clause	+Clause exp.	7
B.1	= SIPH	+Tr-sent. Clause	+3-Sentence exp.	8
B.1(1)	=	Trans. Clause		9
B.1(2)	=	Trans. Clause		10
B.1(3)	=	Trans. Clause	+Sentence exp.	12
B.2	= SIPH	+vi 'exist' Clause	+Emb. Sent. exp.	12
C.1a	= SIPH	+Stative Clause	+Sentence exp.	13
C.2a	= SIPH	+Stative Clause	+Sentence exp.	14
C.2b	=	Intransitive Clause		15
C.2c	=	Tr-sent. Clause		16
C.2d	=	Tr-sent. Clause		17
C.2e	=	Tr-sent. Clause	+ma Clause exp.	18

The conjunction cṓh 'then' or ma 'but' occurs following SIPH when its filler is identical to the filler of a constituent of the following Clause, which is then elided (cf. ma in C.2c and C.2d, and cṓh in C.2a).

The Sentences of the Text contain only one main Clause, but nearly half also contain a Sentence-initial Phrase, and most contain some kind of Sentence expansion. The expansions may be called either Clause or Sentence expansion, depending upon the size of the resultant construction, but all are Sentence expansions in the sense that they are added to complete Sentences. (Expansion is abbreviated 'exp.' in Display 3:7 above.)

3.3.3.2 Binary and trinary structuring

a. Binary expansions

Binary structuring of Sentences can be seen from two points of view. One is the division between the SIPH (|F TOPIC) and the rest of the Sentence (|F COMMENT) (cf. Display 3:7). The other is doubling within the rest of the Sentence (cf. Display 3:8 below). Doubling involves the addition of Clauses parallel to the main Clause. In most cases, the main Clause is doubled or quadrupled by repetition of the verb. All of the examples of such doubling are listed below; however, notice that there is not a sharp distinction between Sentence and Clause expansion; so a few examples are repeated under Clause expansion (cf. section 3.3.4).

DISPLAY 3:8 DM binary structuring of 'The Old Days'

Text	= Title	+Body
Body	= Para. A+B	+Para. C
Para. A	= A.1	+A.2
Para. B	= B.1	+B.2
Para. C	= C.1	+C.2

Sentence			(|F-Point)
A.1a	not know books-	know books	1
1b	only worked	only ate	2
2a	many who know books-	know books	3
	nearly equal-	equal Vietnamese	
2b	abandon mothers-	abandon fathers	4
	abandon bros. & sis.	abandon valleys and rivers	
	each one his region-	each one his river.	
2c	very desperate-	very desperate	5
2d	many are dead-	many are lost	6
B.1	from olden times	not exp'd. like this:	8
	(1) VN fight VN	(2) Pacoh fight Pacoh	9,10
	(3) fathers kill sons-	sons kill fathers.	11
2	insane against heaven-	insane against earth	12
C.1a	very peaceful-	very good	13
1b	very rich-	very wealthy beyond present	
2a	the rich people	are very rich,	14
	not even a little poor	b. but they die fast:	15
2c	the successful	are just hated	16
2d	the prosperous people	are just resented	17
2e	to avoid death	and stop the fighting, . . .	18

1) Doubling

A.1a lâyq chom uráq chom u-ar 'not know books know books'

A.2c lu diaiq lu túh 'very desperate very desperate'

A.2d put ngâh chĕt put ngâh pít 'many are dead many are lost'

B.1(3) a-ám cachĕt acay, acay cachĕt a-ám 'fathers kill sons, sons kill fathers'

B.2 yúc alúng rbang, yúc alúng cuteac 'insanity against heaven, insanity against earth'

2) Quadrupling

A.1b llám táq llám cha, abôn tian práq, táq piday clai, táq hang-hoq 'just work and eat, earn money, work fields, work products' (note that the second Clause has the verb abôn rather than táq, but it is grouped with the others)

A.2b itáh a-i, itáh a-ám, itáh a-em achai, itáh cruang daq . . . 'abandon mothers, abandon fathers, abandon siblings, abandon homelands'.

b. Trinary expansions

An appearance of trinary structuring involves the three-way division between SIPH, as part (a) of the Sentence, and the binary doubling within part (b) of the Sentences shown in Display 3:8 above. However, more significant examples of trinary structuring in Sentences are shown in Display 3:9 below.

DISPLAY 3:9 DM trinary structuring of 'The Old Days'

Text =	Title	Body	Sent. C.2e
Body =	Para. A	Para. B	Para. C
P. A =	SubP. A.1ab	Subp. A.2ab	Subp. A.2cde
P. B =	Sent. B.1	Subp. B.1(1-3)	Sent. B.2
P. C =	Subp. C.1ab	Subp. C.2ab	Subp. C.2cde

Sentences:

(A.1b)	**abôn tian práq**	**táq piday-clai**	**táq hang-hoq**
	earn money (R)	work fields (R)	prepare goods (R)
	(hang-hoq)	**hut kidol**	**troi-turuiq**
	goods (R)	tobacco hemp	betel (R)
A.2b	**tấh a-i**	**tấh a-ấm**	**tấh a-em achai**
	abandon mothers	abandon fathers	abandon siblings
	tấh cruang daq	**mâh náq mâh muang**	**mâh náq mâh daq**
	abandon homeland	each one his region	each one his river
2c	**Lu diaiq lu tũh**	**Put ngâh chẽt...pít**	**Lâyq ibôn hôm:**
	Very desperate(R)	Many are dead...lost	Don't get to-see
	a-i a-ấm	**a-em achai**	**acay campay**
	mothers & fathers	brothers & sisters	children & wives
B1(1-3)	**Yoan táq Yoan**	**Pacốh ma tartáq**	**A-ấm cachẽt acay (R)**
	VNese fight VNese	Pacoh even fight(R)	Fathers kill sons (R)
C.2bcd	**Cốh ma nhaq cuchẽt**	**Do ân hôi ngai a-ính**	**Do ân xũc ngai oan**
	But quickly die	Successful they hate	The wealthy they resent
2e	**Lu lâyq chom carna**	**ma buih cuchẽt**	**anha acâp nnáng:**
	Sure not know live	but not die	and stop forever:
	tartáq	**tarcha**	**tartuaq.**
	fight-each-other	defeat-each-other	among-each-other.

3.3.4 Clause structure

The Clauses of this Text belong to both Verbal and Nonverbal Clause types (cf. section 2.3.4).

3.3.4.1 Verbal Clauses

There are four Verbal Clause types found in this Text. They are described below and appear in Display 3:10. Only fillers of the ClC constituent are obligatory in Verbal Clauses. Fillers of other constituents can be elided (cf. ellipsis in section 3.3.1).

In addition to the nuclear Clause constituents described in section 2.3.4, there is a non-nuclear ClM (Clause-movable) filled by an Adjective Phrase or Noun Phrase found in two Clauses of the third Clause type described below. There is also a ClPP position portmanteau with SIPH illustrated in Sentences C.2c and C.2d under (e) below.

a. Vi Clauses. There are two vi Clauses, both of which have the verb **vaih** 'happens, exists' filling ClC. Both have embedded Sentences filling ClF. In Sentence A.2b, ClF is filled by a series of Transitive Clauses, **itáh a-i. . .** 'people abandon mothers . . .'. In B.2, ClF is filled by a pair of Stative Clauses, **yúc alúng rbang yúc alúng cuteac** 'insane against heaven insane against earth'.

b. Intransitive Clauses (±ClP:NP +ClC:VP)

There are three Intransitive Clauses in the Text. The first example, 'die early' (C.2b), manifests only ClC and a non-nuclear ClM constituent. ClM is filled by the adjective **dũh** 'fast, early'.

The second example, 'live whichever way', is embedded in the sentential filler of C1F of Sentence C.2e. It is of special interest because it illustrates a Noun Phrase filling C1M, which is very rare. The Noun Phrase **carna mmo** 'whichever way' is not the filler of C1F of a three-constituent Clause, as it might appear. The verb **tumŏng** 'live' is intransitive and cannot be followed by C1F, but the Noun Phrase correlates with F-MANNER and could be translated by the adjective 'how'.

The third example, **buih cuchĕt** 'not die', is embedded in the C1F of Sentence C.2e.

c. Three-constituent Transitive-sentential Clauses (±C1P +C1C ±C1F)

Most of the Clauses of the Text are three-constituent Clauses. Six Clauses contain transitive-sentential verbs which potentially take either Noun Phrase or sentential fillers of C1F. Only one actually contains a sentential filler, i.e., Sentence C.2e, **lu lâyq chom tumŏng carna mmo . . .** 'really not know how to live . . .' Two others contain the verb **chom** 'know' (A.1a, A.2a); one contains the verb **hôm** 'see' (A.23); one contains the verb **a-înh** 'hate' (C.2c), and one contains the verb **oan** 'resent' (C.2d). The latter two are of special interest in that the C1F fillers 'the successful' and 'the prosperous' are fronted to C1PP.

d. Three-constituent Transitive Clauses

The Clauses filling Sentences A.1b, A.2b (except **vaih**), B.1(1-3), and the last Clause of C.2e are Transitive Clauses. Those of A.1b do not have fillers of C1P, and the first two do not have fillers of C1F, since they are non-specific. However, the C1F fillers (OBJECTS) of **tâq** 'work' are specified

in the following Clauses, i.e., 'fields' and 'products'. The Clauses of A.2b have a verb prefix, i- 'non-specific agent', which substitutes for (or pre-empts) any filler of C1P. The verb prefix tar- 'reciprocal action' substitutes for (or pre-empts) any filler of C1F, indicating that the potential filler of C1F is identical to the filler of C1P (cf. 'Pacoh' in Sentence B.1(2)). The fillers of C1P in the final embedded Clause, tartáq tarcha tartuaq 'fight-each-other defeat-each-other each-other' (C.2e) are non-specific and not manifested. It can be assumed that they would be indicated by the i- prefix, except that already-prefixed verbs cannot also take another prefix. The potential C1F fillers are well marked as being the same by triple repetition of tar- 'reciprocation'.

DISPLAY 3:10 Verbal Clauses of 'The Old Days'

	±ClP:NP	+ClC:VP	±CLF:NP,Sent. ±ClM:Adj,NP
A.1a Tr-sent.		lu lâyq chom	uráq
	(they)	really not know	books
A.1b Tr.		num llám táq	llám cha
	(they)	just only worked	only ate
		abôn	tian práq
	(they)	got	money silver
		táq	piday-clai
	(they)	worked	fields
		táq	hang-hoq
	(they)	worked	products
A.2b vi Clause		vaih	itáh a-i
		happens	some abandon mothers
(A.2b) Tr.	i-	táh	a-i
	non-spec.	abandon	mothers
	i-	táh	a-ám
	non-spec.	abandon	fathers
	i-	táh	a-em achai
	non-spec.	abandon	siblings
	i-	táh	cruang daq
	non-spec.	abandon	homelands
A.2e Tr-sent.		lâyq ibôn	hôm a-i a-ám, dúng
	non-spec.	not experience	seeing parents, homes
B.1 Tr-sent.	he Pacóh	lâyq bôn	ân arâq pang nnéh
	we Pacoh	not experience	what like gen. this
B.1(1) Tr.	Yoan	liah táq	Yoan
	Vietnamese	back fight	Vietnamese

		±C1C: VP	+C1C: VP	±C1F: NP, Sent.	±C1M: Adj, NP
B.1(2)	Tr.	Pacŏh	ma tartáq		
		Pacoh	even fight	each-other	
B.1(3)	Tr.	a-ám	cachĕt	acay	
		fathers	kill	sons	
		acay	cachĕt	a-ám	
		children	kill	fathers	
B.2	vi Clause		vaih	yŭc alŭng rbang	
		(it)	happens	insane against heaven	
C.2b	Intr.		cuchĕt		nhaq
		(the rich)	die		fast
C.2d	Tr-sent.	ngai	ma num a-ính	do ân hôi tubĕq	
		people	just hate	the successful	
2d	Tr-sent.	ngai	ma num oan	do ân xŭc parnha	
		people	just resent	the prosperous	
C.2e	Tr-sent.		lu lâyq chom	tumŏng . . .	
		(I/we)	really not know	how to live	
	Intr.		tumŏng		carna mmo
			live		whichever way
	Intr.		buih cuchĕt		
			not die		
	Tr.		acâp tartáq tarcha tartuaq		
			stop fight defeat each-other		

3.3.4.2 Non-verbal Clauses

Non-verbal Clauses are defined by their two obligatory constituents: ClP:NP, AdjP and ClF:NP, AdjP, Clause. (There is no example of the 'optional' ClC filler la in this Text.) Examples of all three subtypes are found.

Note that when a Sentence label appears in parentheses in the listings below, it indicates that the Clause is embedded within a Clause.

a. ClP:NP +ClF:NP (Equative)

(A.2b) = ClP:**mâh náq** 'one person' +ClF:**mâh muang** 'one region', +ClP:**mâh náq** 'one person' +ClF:**mâh daq** 'one river'. This example is idiomatic and could be taken as correlating with Location = ITEM +LOCATION, but in this case, it appears to correlate with the preceding Activities, indicating that the ACTION 'abandon' is elided.

b. ClP:NP +ClF:Adjective Phrase (Stative)

A.2c = SIPH (ClP):**tốq pang he aki mnếh** 'at our present generation' +ClF:**lu diaiq lu túh** 'very difficult very desperate'

C.1 = SIPH (ClP):**pang ngai ân tatiaq inô-ntra** 'their old generation long ago' +ClF:**lu ian lu o** 'very peaceful very good' +ClF:**lu xúc lu xian clât pang he** . . . 'very rich very rich beyond our generation . . .'

Notice that in both examples above ClP is merged with SIPH. In C.1 it is identical with SIPH; but in A.2c, it is only the Noun Phrase embedded in the Prepositional Phrase which fills SIPH.

C.2a = ClP:**do ân xúc** 'the rich' +ClF:**xúc lu** 'very rich, not poor even a little' (the topicalizer **cốh** is omitted from the above example because it is a Sentence constituent).

ClP:AdjP +ClF:NP (Stative with AdjP in ClP)

A.2a = ClP:put 'many' +ClF:ngai ân chom uráq 'those who know books'

A.2d = ClP:put 'many' +ClF:ngâh chĕt 'the dead; ClP:put 'many' +ClF:ngâh pít 'the lost'.

In A.2d above, the word ngâh is a contraction of the pronoun ngai 'they' plus the relative pronoun ân 'who', giving 'those who . . .'.

c. ClP:relative pronoun ân +ClF:dem., AdjP, Cl. (Relative Clause)

Relative Clauses containing demonstratives are: B.2 with nnéh 'which is this one', and C.2a with mmo 'whichever one' (C.23). Notice that the relative pronoun ân occurs as the prefix /N-/ on one-syllable fillers of the AXIS.

Relative Clauses containing adjectives are: A.1a with ntiaq 'which is old', C.1a with ân tatiaq 'which are old', C.2a with ân xúc 'who are rich', C.2d with ân hôi tubéq 'who are successful', C.2d with ân xúc parnha 'who are prosperous', and B.1, which has an Adjective Phrase with an unexpressed adjective, ân ∅ arâq pang nnéh 'which was ∅ like this generation'.

Relative Clauses embedded in Clauses are: ân chom uráq 'who know books' (A.2a), and ngâh chĕt ngâh pít '(they) who are dead (they) who are lost' (A.2d). (Note in the last example that ân is combined with ngai 'they' in the contraction ngâh 'they who'.)

3.3.4.3 Binary Clause structuring

In all of the Clause types described above, there are examples of binary structuring resulting from the doubling of certain constituents. Examples are presented below according to Clause type.

a. Binary Verbal Clauses

The doubling of C1C:VP +C1F:NP in Sentence A.1a, 'really not know books-know books', and A.2a, 'abandon mothers-abandon fathers', labeled as Sentence expansion in 3.3.3.2. It is also considered as Clause expansion because it repeats the identical verb with both members of a binomial pair filling C1F. In A.1b, 'only worked only ate' is considered as only Clause expansion. It doubles only the Verb Phrase, and it is followed by three Clauses which constitute the Sentence expansion.

A.2b is a Subjectless Clause containing two pairs of parallel Verb Phrases and a pair of Non-verbal Clauses embedded in its C1F, '(it) happens: people abandon mothers, abandon fathers, abandon siblings, abandon homelands, each one his region, each one his river.'

B.2 contains a doubled Clause, 'it happens: insanity against heaven-insanity against earth'.

B.1(1-3) form two pairs of Sentences filling C1F: '(not happened like this:) Vietnamese fight . . .; Even Pacoh fight . . .; Fathers kill sons, and sons kill fathers'.

b. Non-verbal Clauses

Sentence A.2b contains a reduplicated Clause, 'each one his region each one his river'.

C.1 contains a pair of Adjective Phrases, 'very peaceful and good, very rich and wealthy'.

C.2a contains a pair of Adjective Phrases, the second of which negates the first: 'very rich, not poor even a little'.

A.2d contains a doubled Clause, 'many the dead, many the lost'.

3.3.4.4 Trinary Clause structuring

Sentence A.1b contains three compound nouns filling ClF: 'goods-products, tobacco-hemp, betel-betel'.

C.2e contains tripling of the ClC of its final Clause, tartâq tarcha tartuaq 'fight (R), defeat (R), each-other'. (tartuaq 'between, among each other' is a preposition (cf. section 3.3.5.4), but its redundancy here, where the verbs are already prefixed by tar- 'reciprocation (R)', indicates that it is being used as if it were a third verb of a trinary Verb Phrase.)

3.3.5 Phrase structure

This Text exhibits three types of centered Phrases--Noun, Verb, and Adjective, two types of Relator-axis Phrase--Prepositional and Adverbial, and finally binary and trinary expansions of Phrases.

3.3.5.1 Noun Phrases (±NPP3 ±NPP2 ±NPP1 ±NPC ±NPF ±NPFF)

The Noun Phrases of the Text are listed in Display 3:11. In the Display some Sentence labels (A.2a and B.2) are placed in parentheses to indicate that these Phrases are embedded in Prepositional Phrases. There are no examples of NPP3 fillers found in the Text. The only examples of NPP2 and NPP1 are mâh 'one' and náq 'cl-person', respectively (A.2b). In the Phrases, mâh muang 'one region' and mâh daq 'one river', an NPP1 filler (classifier) does not occur because the nouns are 'mass' nouns. In the Phrase mâh náq 'one cl.-person', the NPC filler (noun head) is unspecified. The NPC filler of B.1 is also unspecified, but is potentially a word like amâh 'whatever'.

NPC fillers are either nouns or pronouns. The most frequent noun in the Text is pang 'generation' which correlates with F-TIME, similar to aki 'time' found in A.2a and B.2.

NPF is filled by the noun Pacŏh in B.1, by the pronoun ngai 'they, their' in A.1a, 1b, and C.1a, and the pronoun he 'we, our' in A.2a, C.1b, and C.2a. NPFF is filled by Noun Phrases aki nnĕh 'time this' (A.2a) and ndŏng nĕh 'time this' (C.1), by a Prepositional Phrase in B.1, and by a Relative Clause in A.1a, A.2a, B.2, C.1a, C.2a, 2c, 2d, and 2e.

The formula above indicates that all Noun Phrase constituents are optional. See section 2.3.5 for a fuller explanation.

(A last minute addendum involves the Phrase pang ngai ntiaq inô ntra now translated 'lifetime of ancestors past'. I have interpreted ntiaq 'which old' as modifying 'lifetime' rather than ngai 'they' because iauq 'old' is used of living people while tiaq is used of things. However, it occurs to me that tiaq is probably used of the ancestors who have passed beyond the physical aging process which iauq involves. Thus ngai ntiaq 'they who are old (like non-physical things)' probably refers to the ancestors.)

DISPLAY 3:11 Noun Phrases of 'The Old Days'

	±NPP2	±NPP1	±NPCentral	±NPF	±NPFF
A.1a			pang	ngai	ntiaq inô-ntra
			generation	theirs	which old time past
A.1b			pang	ngai	
			generation	theirs	
(A.2a)			pang	he	aki nnéh
			generation	ours	time this
A.2a			do		ân chom urấq
			they		who know books
A.2b	mâh	náq	——		
	one	person (cl.)			
	mâh		muang		
	one		region		
	mâh		daq		
	one		river		
B.1			he	Pacŏh	te anâh te ahân
			we	Pacoh	from long long ago
(B.2)			aki		nnéh
			time		this
C.1a			pang	ngai	ân tatiaq inô-ntra
			generation	theirs	which old time past
C.1b			pang	he	ndŏng néh
			gener.	ours	time this
C.2a			pang	he	nnéh
			gener.	ours	this
C.2c			do		ân hôi tubếq
			they		who successful
C.2d			do		ân xúc parnha
			they		who prosperous
C.2e			carna		mmo
			way		whichever

3.3.5.2 Verb Phrases (±VPP3 ±VPP2 ±VPP1 +VPC)

The Verb Phrases of the Text are listed in Display 3:12. In most of the Clauses of this Text, only ClC is filled. Examples of other Verb Phrase constituents are: VPP3 filled by lu 'very' (in A.1a, C.2b) and num 'just' (in A.1b), VPP2 filled by both negatives, lâyq, and buih, and VPP1 filled by liah 'reciprocal' (in B.1(1)).

DISPLAY 3:12 Verbal Phrases of 'The Old Days'

	±VPP3	±VPP2	±VPP1	+VPCentral
A.1a	lu	lâyq		chom
	really	not		know
A.1b	num	llám		táq
	just	only		worked
		llám		cha
		only		ate
A.2e		lâyq		ibôn
		not		experience
B.1		lâyq		bôn
		not		experience
B.1(1)			liah	táq
			retaliate	fight
C.2b	lu	lâyq		chom
	really	not		know
C.2e		buih		cuchĕt
		not		die
		acâp		tartáq tarcha
		stop		fight (R) defeat (R)

3.3.5.3 Adjective Phrases (±AdjPP2 ±AdjPP1 +AdjPC ±AdjPF)

Four examples of AdjPP2:**lu** 'very' are found in the double pair of Adjective Phrases in C.1, **lu ian lu o, lu xűc lu xian** 'very peaceful very good, very rich very wealthy'. An example of AdjPP1:negative is found in C.2a, **buih diaiq-tűh** 'not poor-poor'. The rest of that Phrase, **ndîh mâh dyeaq** 'not-even a little', is an Adverbial Phrase filling AdjPF. Sentence C.2a also gives an example of the intensifier **lu** 'very' filling AdjPF, **xűc lu** 'rich very'.

Sentence A.2c illustrates the same adjective compound found in C.2a (**diaiq-tűh**), but here it is expanded by repetition of AdjPP2, **lu diaiq lu tűh** 'very poor very poor'.

3.3.5.4 Prepositional Phrases (+RELATOR:prep. +AXIS:NP)

Four Prepositional Phrases are found in the Text. Two are found as Subparagraph or Sentence-initial Phrases (EPIPH or SIPH), one (B.1) as a NPFF filler, and one (B.2) as a ClF filler:

A.2a **tőq pang he aki nnếh** 'at generation ours time this'

B.2 **tőq aki nnếh** 'at time this'

B.1 **te anâh te ahân** 'from ancient from olden times'

B.2 **alűng rbang alűng cuteac** 'against heaven against earth'.

There is one exception to the rule that a filler of AXIS is obligatory. The Preposition **tartuaq** 'between, among' often occurs alone, as in Sentence C.2e, because the filler of AXIS is assumed to be identical to the filler of ClP. In other words, 'between' could be paraphrased as 'each-other'.

3.3.5.5 Adverbial Phrases (+RELATOR:adv. prep. +AXIS:NP)

There are three examples of Adverbial Phrases in the Text. They fill AdjPF of Adjective Phrases. The RELATOR is filled by an adverbial preposition and the AXIS by a Noun Phrase, as follows:

B.1 **arâq pang nnéh** 'like generation this'

C.1 **(xûc-xian) clât pang he ndŏng néh** '(rich) beyond the present generation'

C.2a **(buih diaiq-tûh) ndîh mâh dyeaq** '(not poor) not-even a little'

Note that in B.1 above, the adjective which is antecedent to the Adverbial Phrase is unexpressed, though the sense is something on the order of **nnhŏp** 'bad', which is a potential filler of that position.

3.3.5.6 Binary and trinary Phrase expansions

The multi-centered Phrases of this Text are not present for the purpose of adding information so much as to enhance the binary and trinary style, as already noted in the higher-level constructions. Since binomial compounds are described under word compounding below, they are not repeated here except when involved in Phrase expansion.

a. Noun Phrase expansion

Most Noun Phrase expansion is found in ClF constituents of Clauses, as mentioned above. However, some Noun Phrases which fill Paragraph and Sentence-initial Phrase constituents also contain doubling in their NPFF constituents, e.g., A.1a, B.1, and C.1 below:

A.1a **pang ngai ntiaq inô-ntra** 'their generation long-ago (literally yesterday-day-before-yesterday)'

B.1 **He Pacŏh te anâh te ahân** 'We Pacoh from-old-from-old'

C.1 **pang ngai ân tatiaq inô-ntra** 'their gen. which old long-ago'

b. Verb Phrase expansion

There are two examples of expanded Verb Phrases, which might also be treated as expanded Clauses. They are a binary expansion, **llâm tâq llâm cha** 'only worked only ate' (A.1b), and a trinary expansion, **tartâq tarcha tartuaq** 'fight defeat each-other'. In the latter example, **tartuaq** 'between, among' is analyzed as a preposition rather than a verb, but it is placed in this Phrase to appear stylistically parallel to the verbs (cf. 3.4.4).

c. Adjective Phrase expansion

Examples of expanded Adjective Phrases are: **lu diaiq lu tûh** 'very poor very poor' (A.2c), **lu ian lu o** 'very peaceful very good' (C.1a), **lu xûc lu xian** 'very rich very rich' (C.1b).

d. Prepositional Phrase expansion

There are two examples of expanded Prepositional Phrases. One, in B.2, is already described under Clause expansions, but the other is strictly phrasal, **te anâh te ahân** 'from ancient from olden times' (B.1).

3.3.6 Word structure

Words found in the Text are described below according to their Morphotactic distribution classes, their affixation, and their compounding. In this Text, compound words are either semi-bound or free. The second member of a semi-bound compound can not occur without the first member, whereas the members of free compounds can occur independent of each other.

3.3.6.1 Nouns (fillers of NPC)

There are common nouns, proper nouns, and pronouns in the Text. Common nouns are subdivided between those which occur in NPFF and correlate with

F-time, and those which do not.

Time terms are: inô-ntra 'past time' (literally, 'yesterday, day-before-yesterday'), aki 'time', anâh-ahân, and ndŏng 'time'.

Non-time terms are: uráq-u-ar 'books, letters', tian práq 'money silver', piday-clai 'fields', hang-hoq 'manufactured goods', hut kidŏl 'tobacco and hemp', troi-turuiq 'betel', a-i a-ám 'mother and father, parents', a-em achai 'younger-older siblings', cruang daq 'valley and river', dŭng vĕl 'house and village', acay campay 'children and wives', rbang cuteac 'heaven and earth', carna 'way, road', dyeaq 'small amount'.

Proper nouns are: Yoan 'Vietnamese', and Pacoh 'Pacoh'.

Pronouns are: ngai 'third-person-plural, i.e., they, them, their', and he 'first-person-plural, i.e., we, us, our'.

There is no noun affixation found in this Text, except for the a- kinship marker found on all one-syllable kin terms.

Only common nouns occur compounded in this Text. The compounds (binomial pairs) which occur in the Text are listed above (bound forms are marked by hyphenation).

3.3.6.2 Verbs (fillers of VPC)

There are examples of four verb classes found in the Text, as follows:

vi verbs: vi 'exist, happen, have', vaih 'exist, happen'

Intransitive: cuchĕt 'die', tumŏng 'live'

Transitive: tâq 'work, fight, do', cha 'eat, defeat', abôn 'get', cachĕt 'kill', a-înh 'hate', oan 'resent'.

Transitive-sentential: chom 'know', bôn 'have, experience', and hôm 'see'.

Examples of affixation are: i- 'unspecified actor' found on **tấh** 'abandon' and **bôn** 'get-to'; **cu-/tu-** 'intransitivizer' on adjectives **chĕt** 'dead' and **mŏng** 'alive', giving **cuchĕt** 'die' and **tumŏng** 'live'; **ca-/a-** 'causative' on the adj. **chĕt** 'dead' and the verb **bon** 'have', giving **cachĕt** 'kill' and **abôn** 'get'; and **tar-** 'reciprocal' on **tấq** 'work, fight' and **cha** 'eat, defeat', giving **tartấq** 'fight-each-other' and **tarcha** 'defeat-each-other'.

The **a-** found in **a-ĭnh** 'hate' marks it as the opposite of **ĭnh** 'like, want', but **a-** does not appear to be productive in many other words in this way. (The principle negative in the Pahi dialect is **avaih**, meaning literally 'not be'.)

Verbs are often repeated with binomial pairs or Phrases in Clause expansions in the Text. But there is only one example of a binomial verb pair, **tấq cha** 'work and eat, fight and defeat' (A.1b, C.2e).

3.3.6.3 Adjectives (fillers of AdjPC)

As with the nouns, most of the adjectives in this Text occur in pairs. Again, bound pairs are marked by hyphenation while free pairs are not: **tiaq** 'old', **tarli-li** 'equal with', **diaiq-tŭh** 'poor, desperate', **chĕt pĭt** 'dead and lost', **yŭc** 'crazy', **ian o** 'peaceful and good', **xŭc-xian** 'rich', **hôi tubĕq** 'skillful and wise, successful', **xŭc parnha** 'rich wealthy, prosperous'.

Affixation is found in **ntiaq** 'old' in which **n-** is a contraction of **ân** 'who/which', in **tatiaq** 'old' in which **ta-** indicates a plural antecedent (**ngai ân tatiaq** 'they who old'), and in **tarli-li** in which **tar-** marks reciprocation as with verbs.

Reduplication of **li** 'equal' in **tarli-li** marks de-intensification, i.e., 'somewhat equal with each other'.

3.3.6.4 Adverbs (fillers of AdjPP, AdjPF, and VPP3)

Both adverbs, **lu** 'very' and **num** 'just', are present in this Text. **Lu** occurs in two parallel Verb Phrases, **lu lâyq chom** 'really not know' (A.1a, C.2e). It also occurs in several Adjective Phrases, in initial position, e.g., **lu xûc** 'very rich' (C.1b), and in final position, **xûc lu** 'rich very' (C.2a). As stated under Adjective Phrase expansion, **lu** is repeated with adjective pairs, as in **lu diaiq lu tûh** 'very difficult very desperate' (A.2c).

Num 'just' occurs in a Verb Phrase (VPP3), **num llâm tâq** 'just only worked' (A.1b). (In other contexts, **lu** and **num** are not so easily tied to fixed positions and might be better called 'movable particles', cf. section 4.3.6.4.)

3.3.6.5 Prepositions (fillers of RELATOR of R-A Phrases)

Both prepositions and adverbial prepositions are found in the Text.

a. Prepositions

Four prepositions are found in the Text. **Tôq** 'to, at' occurs in 'at our present generation' (A.2a), and 'at the present time' (B.2). **Te** 'from' occurs in **te anâh te ahân** 'from ancient from olden time', embedded in the NPFF of a Noun Phrase (B.1). **Alûng** 'against' occurs in ClF of the two embedded Clauses of B.2, 'it happens: insane against heaven insane against earth'. **Tartuaq** 'between, among' fills ClF of the last Clause of the Text (C.2e). It is interesting because it usually occurs without an AXIS filler, simply replacing the verb prefix **tar-** for two-syllable verbs. However, it can occur in a full Phrase, such as, **tartuaq a-em achai** 'between brother and sister' (not in this Text).

b. Adverbial prepositions

The three adverbial prepositions found in the Text are: clât 'beyond, more than' (C.1b), arâq 'like' (B.1), and ndĩh 'not even' (C.2a).

3.3.6.6 Quantifiers (ngếq 'all' words)

There are no quantifier words in this Text, though the adjective put 'big' correlates with F-QUANTIFIER in put do ân chom . . . 'many who know' (A.2a).

3.3.6.7 Counters (fillers of NPP2)

The numeral mâh 'one', is repeated four times in the reduplicated Non-verbal Clause, mâh náq mâh muang mâh náq mâh daq 'one person one region one person one river'.

3.3.6.8 Classifiers (fillers of NPP1)

The classifier náq 'cl-person', occurs in the reduplicated Clause (A.2b) illustrated above (3.3.6.7). The following NPC filler is often elided because of the specificity of náq.

3.3.6.9 Demonstratives (fillers of NPF)

The demonstrative nếh 'here/now' is prefixed by n-, indicating that it belongs to a Relative Clause, i.e., 'which is this' (A.2a, B.1, B.2, C.2a). In one case, ndống nếh 'time this' (C.1b), it is not prefixed. The demonstrative mo 'wherever, whichever', is prefixed by N-, putting it into a Relative Clause, carna mmo 'way whichever' (C.2e).

3.3.7.0 Auxiliaries (fillers of VPP1)

The auxiliary liah 'retaliate, reciprocate' occurs in B.1(1), liah táq 'fight back'. (It is also a verb meaning 'turn back'.)

3.3.7.1 Limiters (fillers of VPP2 and AdjPP1)

Lâyq 'not' occurs in identical Verb Phrases in the first and last Sentences of the Text, **lu lâyq chom** 'really not know' (A.1a and C.2e), and also in A.2e, and B.1. **Buih** 'cautious not' occurs in C.2e, **buih cuchĕt** 'not die', and in C.23, **buih diaiq-tûh** 'not poor'. (Buih is less assertive than lâyq, so is often used to avoid angering the spirits.)

Llâm 'only' is found in VPP2 of A.1b. **Acâp** 'don't, stop' occurs in an embedded Clause, 'stop any longer fighting and defeating each other' (C.2e).

3.3.7.2 Conjunctions

Icốh 'therefore' (C.1a) occurs as a Text-medial conjunction. **Cốh ma** 'but' occurs as a Paragraph-medial conjunction between A.1 and A.2, B.1 and B.2, and C.1 and C.2, and in Subparagraphs between A.1a and 1b, A.2a and 2b, and C.2a and 2b). **Anha** 'and' and **ma** 'but' occur as Sentence-medial conjunctions in the embedded Sentence of C.2e 'to live whichever way but not die and stop the fighting . . . .'

The conjunctions **cốh** and **ma**, occur as Sentence topicalizers following SIPH or ClP (cf. section 3.3.3). Ma indicates adversity or Contra-expectation, e.g., B.1(2) **Pacốh ma tartâq** 'even Pacoh fight-each-other' (see also C.2c and 2d). **Cốh** follows ClP of a Stative Clause in Sentence C.2a, **do ân xûc cốh xûc lu** 'he who is rich is very rich'.

3.3.7.3 Relative pronoun ân

Ân 'which' is the relative pronoun which fills RELATOR of Relative Clauses.

3.4 Special Phonotactics

As stated in section 2.4, this section is concerned with 'special' Phonotactics, not with ordinary Phonotactics common to all Pacoh speech. It is not always easy to distinguish the ordinary from the special, but an example of the distinction is given in section 3.4.1 below. Analysis into Breath Groups and Pause Groups is based on internal structure, punctuation by a newly-literate native speaker, and my memory of the telling of the Utterance, since the tape was lost. There may at times be some bias from Morphotactic structure.

Some of the material described as Phonotactically significant could be merely semantically determined; however, there is enough clear evidence of special Phonotactic significance that all cases cited are at least highly suspect of having special Phonotactic significance in addition to ordinary Function mode and Morphotactic correlations. A greater knowledge of poetics and other rhetorical devices would probably lead to even more insights than those cited here.

Special Phonotactics in Pacoh is primarily a matter of reduplication, as described to some extent in an earlier study (R. Watson 1966b). However, that study was concerned primarily with the linguistic shapes of the items, not with their patterning throughout the levels of an Utterance. It is this patterning which is described below and illustrated in Display 3:13. English glosses are usually omitted in this section because the focus is on Phonological shapes only.

3.4.1 Utterance level structures

There is considerable repetition throughout the Utterance. Of special interest at this level is the repetition of **pang** in most of the introductory Pause Groups, beginning with the Title and including A.1a, 1b, 2a, B.1, C.1, and C.2. It also occurs in a later constituent of C.1. Of further interest are the Feet which co-occur with **pang**, i.e., **ntiaq** or **tatiaq** in the Title, A.1a, and C.1, **ngai** in A.1a, 1b, and C.1, and **he**, **nnéh**, or **he nnéh** in A.2a, B.1, C.1, and C.2. **Nnéh** also occurs with a substitute for **pang** (i.e., **aki** 'time') in B.2.

There is also the chiastic repetition of **lu lâyq chon** in the second column of the first Breath Group (A.1a) and the first column of the last Breath Group (C.2e). Along with that is repetition of **táq cha** of A.1b in **tartáq tarcha** of C.2e.

3.4.2 Breath Groups (correlating with DM-Sentences)

Generally, each Breath Group of the Utterance correlates with a Sentence. (In fact, Sentence labels are used in designating the location of Breath Groups.) However, there are exceptions—one is the division of Sentence A.1b into two Breath Groups, i.e., dividing between **llám cha**, and **Abôn tian**. Not only is Sentence A.1b quite long, but each of its two Breath Groups contains its own pattern of reduplication. Most Breath Groups of the Utterance have a particular patterning, resulting from reduplicative elements. Breath Groups also pattern together in groupings of Breath Groups. (Cf. Display 3:13. Reduplicative elements are underlined.)

DISPLAY 3:13 Phonotactic orchestration of Pang Ntiaq

Introductory Element	Redup. element (a)	Redup. element (b)	Add-on
A.1a Pang ngai ntiaq...,	lư lâyq chom uráq	chom u-ar.	
1b Cốh ma pang ngai,	nưm llấm táq	llấm cha;	
	Abôn tian práq,	táq piday-clai,	
	táq hang-hoq,	hưt kidol,	troi-turuiq.
A.2a Cốh ma tốq pang he,	pưt do ân chom uráq	chom u-ar,	mếq tarli-li Yoan.
2b Cốh ma vaih:	itấh a-i	itấh a-ấm,	
	itấh a-em achai,	itấh cruang daq,	
	mâh náq mâh mưang	mâh náq mâh daq.	
A.2c	Lư diaiq	lư túh.	
2d	Pưt ngâh chết,	pưt ngâh pít.	
2e Lâyq ibôn hôm:	a-i a-ấm,	dúng vẽl,	acay campay.
B.1 He Pacốh	te anâh	te ahân,	
lâyq bôn...pang nnếh:	Yoan liah táq Yoan.	Pacốh ma tartáq.	
	A-ấm cachết acay,	acay cachết a-ấm.	
B.2 Cốh ma tốq aki nnếh,	vaih yúc alứng rbang	yúc alứng cuteac.	
C.1 Icốh pang ngai...,	lư ian	lư o,	
	lư xúc	lư xian	clât pang he...
C.2a Cốh ma pang he nnếh,	do ân xúc	cốh xúc lu.	
	bưih diaiq-túh	ndíh mâh dyeaq.	
2b Cốh ma cuchết dứh.	Do ân hôi tubếq	ma nưm ngai a-ính.	
	Do ân xúc parnha	ma nưm ngai oan.	
C.2e Lư lâyq chom...	ma bưih cuchết	anha acâp nnáng:	
	tartáq	tarcha	tartuaq.

The first three Breath Groups cohere together into a larger group forming a 3-3-3 reduplicative sequence. A.1a contains an introductory Pause Group plus two reduplicative Pause Groups, **chom uráq chom u-ar.** (Whether they are two Pause Groups or two reduplicative elements of a single Pause Group is not clear.) The first Breath Group of A.1b is similar, i.e an introductory Pause Group plus **llám táq llám cha.** The second Breath Group of A.1b contains a threesome followed by a twosome. The threesome is made up of three Pause Groups of equal meter, i.e., each has three Feet of which the second and third are a reduplicative pair. (Cf. section 3.4.3 below for further description of reduplicative Pause Groups.) They are **abôn tian práq, táq piday-clai, táq hang-hoq.** The final twosome contains two reduplicative pairs of Feet. Their reduplication is primarily in meter, i.e., syllable beat, but the second pair is also segmentally reduplicative, **hut kidŏl, troi-turuiq.**

The next grouping contains two reduplicative Breath Groups (A.2a and 2b) forming a 4-3-2-2 reduplicative pattern. A.2a contains two sequences of pairs. The first is identical to the first Breath Group above, containing the reduplicative Pause Groups **chom uráq chom u-ar;** however, it adds **méq tarli-li Yoan,** which contains some reduplication of its own. A.2b contains two pairs of reduplicative Pause Groups, beginning with **itáh,** and a pair of reduplicative Pause Groups, each beginning with **mâh.**

The third grouping contains three reduplicative Breath Groups (A.2c,d, and e) forming a 2-2-3 reduplicative pattern. A.2c is **lu diaiq lu túh.** A.2d is **put ngâh chĕt, put ngâh pít.** A.2e contains three reduplicative pairs of Feet, **a-i a-ám, dúng vĕl, acay campay.**

The next grouping contains five Breath Groups (B.1, (1-3), and B.2) forming a 3-3-2-3 pattern. The first Pause Group is divided over three columns in Display 3:13 because of its reduplicative pair, **te anâh te ahân.** (This also places **pang mnéh** in its usual column as an introductory Pause Group.) The next two, B.1(1 and 2), have the same meter and repeat the Foot **tartáq**, i.e., **Yoan tartáq Yoan; Pacŏh ma tartáq.** (In the first, **tartáq** links two identical Feet (**Yoan**); in the second, **ma** links two non-identical Feet.) The fourth Breath Group, B.1(3), divides into two Pause Groups each having the same meter as the two above. The second of the pair repeats the same three Feet of the first, but in opposite order, giving a chiastic sequence, **a-ấm cachĕt acay—acay cachĕt a-ấm.** The fifth Breath Group (B.2) contains two reduplicative Pause Groups, **yŭc alŭng rbang, yŭc alŭng cuteac.**

The third grouping of the Utterance contains five Breath Groups forming a (3-3)-(3-2)-(3-2) pattern. The first Breath Group (C.1) contains an introductory Pause Group plus a reduplicative pair, **lu ian lu o,** followed by another reduplicative pair, **lu xŭc lu xian,** and an added Pause Group, **clât pang nnéh.** The second (C.2a) has the same structure as C.1, except that it does not have an added column-four Pause Group. The third Breath Group (C.2b) **cŏh ma cuchĕt dŭh,** is not reduplicative, but it introduces the next two. C.2c and 2d are a reduplicative pair, **do ân hôi tubĕq ma num ngai a -ính; do ân xŭc parnha ma num ngai oan.** They could be listed in columns two and three in Display 3:13, but they each divide into rhythmic pairs.

The final Breath Group of the Utterance (C.2e) is different, having a 1-2-3 pattern of its own, i.e., 1) lu **lâyq chom tumŏng carna** mmo, 2) ma **buih cuchĕt** 3) **anha acâp nnáng: tartáq tarcha tartuaq.** The reduplication is found in the threesome contained in the third Pause Group.

3.4.3 Pause Groups (correlating with Phrases and Clauses)

Pause Groups in this Utterance may be reduplicative externally or internally. They are reduplicative externally when they share alliteration, rhyme, meter, or identical Feet with another Pause Groups. Most of the reduplicative Pause Groups of this Utterance are described in 3.4.2 above because they characterize Breath Groups. For example, the Foot **chom** is repeated with the members of a pair of reduplicative Feet, in **chom uráq chom u-ar**, but **taq** is repeated with two different pairs of Feet, in **táq piday-clai, táq hang-hoq.**

An example of two Pause Groups with matching meter plus a repeated word is **do ân xŭc cŏh xŭc lu** (C.2a). An example with only matching meter is **do ân hôi tubĕq—ma num ngai a-ính** (C.2c) and its matching Breath Group (C.2d), which have four matching Feet in each Pause Group. In one case, two Pause Groups are joined by rhyming of the first and third Feet and second and fifth Feet, **buih diaiq ndĭh mâh dyeaq** (C.2a).

Pause Groups are internally reduplicative when they contain reduplicative pairs of Feet, either joined, as in **a-i a-ám**, or separated by a repeated item, as in **te anâh te ahân** (B.1). Reduplicative pairs of Feet often occur as Pause Groups, but they are described on the Foot level below because they are in some respects more like Feet. One rare combination which must be described at this level is **tartáq tarcha tartuaq** (C.2e). The first two Feet form a reduplicative pair and the addition of **tartuaq** is Morphotactically superfluous (cf. 3.3.4.4), but it is added for the euphonic effect of triple alliteration in a triple Pause Group.

3.4.4 Feet (correlating with DM-words)

The use of paired Feet in Pacoh eloquent speech is well-developed. All pairs are joined by a weak-strong stress pattern, but many are also joined by alliteration, rhyme, and combinations of alliteration and metathesis. Examples from the Utterance are grouped under these three categories below. (Note that the letter q, representing syllable-initial glottal stop, is added to the beginning of some Feet where it did not occur in previous sections. It is deleted in the standard orthography, but replaced in this section in order to demonstrate alliteration.)

Alliterative pairs are: **qinô-qantra** 'past time' (A.1a, C.1a), **hang-hoq** 'products' (A.1b), **troi-turuiq** 'betel' (A.1b), **qa-i qa-ám** 'moms and dads' (A.2b,e), **qa-em qachai** 'younger and older siblings' (A.2b), **qian qo** 'peaceful and good' (C.1a), and **xúc-xian** 'rich' (C.1a). Others, like **diaiq-túh**, may be considered as nearly alliterative.

Rhyming is exhibited in **piday-clai** 'fields' (A.1b), **chĕt pít** 'dead and lost' (A.2d), and **qacay campay** 'children and wives' (A.2e). Again, **diaiq-túh** may be considered as marginal since the Pacoh often match the glottal sounds /h/ and /ʔ/.

Alliteration plus metathesis is exhibited in **qanâh-qahân** 'olden times' (B.1), and **quráq-quqar** 'books' (A.1a, 2a).

3.5 Communication Situation correlations

The following correlations include only performative relations and are by no means all that could be drawn from the Text. They are somewhat outside the scope of this present grammar, but help to give a sampling of more that should be done. There are correlations between the Communication Situation

(cf. section 3.1) and the Grammatical Function mode and between the CS and the Phonological hierarchy.

CS/F: Communicator's intent to explain correlates with Evaluation Scheme as a type of Expository Discourse. CS/F Communicator's intent to show respect correlates with prominence of TOPIC-past, i.e., he only claimed expertise in past history, not in the present dilemma.
Communicator's interest in resolving his dilemma correlates with the final COMMENT, in which he stated the dilemma in a way which invited response without risking his own prestige.
Communicator's desire to impress correlates with his skillful use of related concepts, e.g., synonyms, etc.
Miller's (1956) "magic" number seven appears to be a factor in the Communication Situation, limiting the constituency of F-Scheme structure to seven layers (cf. 3.2.1).

CS/P: The communicator's desire to impress his audience correlates with his skillful use of Phonotactic reduplication (cf. 3.4).

3.6 Grammatical correlations--F/DM

Grammatical correlations of the Discourse are listed in the order of the Function mode constituents described in section 3.2, i.e., Scheme, Point, Proposition, and concept. Note that the first item in each correlation formula below, i.e., preceding the slash (/), is a Function mode constituent. Each item following the slash is a constituent of the Distribution plus Manifestation modes. Since detailed analysis is presented in the preceding sections, only summary formulas are given below for routine correlations. Correlations of special interest are given more attention.

3.6.1 Discourse structure correlations

The Discourse is defined as Expository because of its TOPIC-COMMENT structure. At the highest level TOPIC correlates with the Text-initial Phrase **Pang Ntiaq** 'The Old Days', and COMMENT with the Body of the Text. In the Points TOPIC correlates with PIPHS, EPIPHS, and SIPHS, which are generally related to TIPH (either morphotactically or semantically). Point COMMENTS correlate with Clauses and Clause clusters.

Another correlation of Expository Discourse is the elision of 'subject' filler, i.e., ClP following SIPH, e.g., 'the old days (they) didn't know books'.

3.6.2 Scheme structure correlations

Schemes may correlate with constructions as large as the full Body of the Text, or as small as a single Clause. In the Texts under study there are Schemes which correlate only with major constructions, cf. Evaluation, Syllogism, and Paraphrase below. Contrasts correlate with Paragraphs and Contra-expectations correlate with Sentences or Subparagraphs. Comparison is exceptional in correlating with a single Clause.

Each Scheme type and its constituents are listed below with their correlations according to this Text. Where there is more than one correlation for the same item, conditioning factors are indicated when known. They follow a double vertical bar, i.e., || 'in the environment of'. It is significant that Evaluation constituents and Paraphrase constituents correlate with constructions joined by juxtaposition. Thus the difference must be determined at the concept level. Contrast constituents and Contra-expectation constituents are both joined by the conjunction **cŏh ma** 'but'; so the

difference between Schemes is determined in the Proposition structure and/or concept information (cf. section 3.2.3.4).

Evaluation Scheme /DM Body of the Text

/DM Paragraph (A,B,C)

THESIS /DM Body except the last Sentence (C.2e)

/DM Paragraph exccluding the special 3-Sentence Subparagraph (A,B,C)

COMMENT /DM Juxtaposition +Sentence (C.2e)

/DM Juxtaposition + a 3-Sentence Subparagraph (A.2cde, (B.1(1-3), C.2cde)

Syllogism Scheme /DM Body except the last Sentence (C.2e)

PREMISE /DM Paragraph (A,B)

CONCLUSION /DM icốh 'therefore' +Paragraph (C)

Paraphrase Scheme /DM Section (Paragraphs A and B)

THESIS /DM Paragraph (A)

RESTATEMENT /DM Juxtaposition +Paragraph (B)

Contrast Scheme/DM +Subparagraph

THESIS /DM Subparagraph (A.1, B.1) or Sentence, e.g., 'in the old days (it was) peaceful . . .' (C.1)

CONTRA-THESIS /DM cốh ma 'but' +Subparagraph (A.2, C.2) or Sentence, e.g., 'but at present there is insanity against heaven and earth' (B.2)

Contra-expectation Scheme /DM Subparagraph

CONCESSION /DM Sentence (A.1a, 2a, C.2a)

CONTRA-EXPECTATION /DM cốh ma 'but' +Sentence (A.1b, 2b, C.2b)

Comparison Scheme /DM Sentence (C.1)

Paraphrase Scheme /DM three Sentences (C.2b,c,d)

GENERIC /DM Sentence (C.2b)

SPECIFIC /DM juxtaposition +Sentence (C.2c, 2d)

ITEM A /DM Stative Clause (C.1a)

DEGREE /DM adverb clât 'beyond, more than' (C.1b)

ITEM B /DM NP filling AXIS of Adverbial Phrase, e.g., 'our present generation'

In summary, Evaluation Schemes correlate with the major constituents of the Text, i.e., the entire Body and each of the three Paragraphs. Syllogism is a major Scheme correlating with the three Paragraphs, and Paraphrase is a major Scheme correlating with the joining of the first two Paragraphs into a Section. (A GENERIC-SPECIFIC Paraphrase occurs embedded at a lower level to join Sentences C.2b, 2c, and 2d.) Contrast and Contra-expectation Schemes correlate with the joining of Sentences or Clauses with the conjunction 'but', but the constituents of Contrasts have different TOPICS while those of Contra-expectations have the same TOPICS but different Proposition types. Lower-level Evaluation COMMENTS correlate with three-Sentence Subparagraphs, whereas the Discourse-final COMMENT correlates with a single Sentence, different in structure from the two preceding. With respect to the Paragraph it is a member of a threesome (C.2c,d,e), but in respect to the Text it is a Text-final Sentence (and contains its own three-some).

3.6.3 Point and Proposition structure correlations

Point correlations are included in section 3.6.2 above since they are identical with the terminal constituents of the Schemes. In this section TOPIC correlations are given separate discussion, followed by Proposition structure correlations.

3.6.3.1 TOPIC correlations

The Discourse TOPIC always correlates with a Paragraph-initial Phrase filled by a Noun Phrase, though in one case the noun head (filler of NPC) is the pronoun he 'we' instead of pang 'generation, lifetime'. That one case appears to be conditioned by the fact that it opens a Paragraph which correlates with a more active RESTATEMENT (B.1).

The counter-TOPIC, 'the present', correlates with Subparagraph-initial Phrases (EPIPH) which may be filled by either a Noun Phrase or a Prepositional Phrase. In either case, the noun head is a time noun, pang 'generation' or aki 'time'. It may also correlate with AXIS of an Adverbial Phrase. The correlation formulas are summarized below:

Discourse TOPIC /DM SIPH:expanded NP, e.g., pang ngai ntiaq inô ntra 'generation they who old long ago' (A.1a, C.1)

/DM SIPH: expanded NP with pronoun head || RESTATEMENT, i.e., he Pacóh te anâh te ahân 'we Pacoh from ancient times' (B.1)

/DM SIPH:reduced Noun Phrase || second Sentence of the Text, e.g., pang ngai 'their generation' (A.1b)

Counter-TOPIC /DM EPIPH:NP, PP (A.2, B.2, C.2)

/DM SIPH:∅ || successive Sentences in the same Subparagraph (A.2b,c,d,e, C.2b,c,d,e)

/DM AXIS of AdvP || ? (B.1, C.1)

3.6.3.2 Proposition structure correlations

All of the Propositions of the Discourse are summarized below according to their Proposition type and their DM Morphotactic correlates. These appear to be fairly routine in this Text.

Experiential Event /DM Transitive-sentential Clause, 'they didn't know books' (cf. Clauses A.1a, 23, B.1, C.2c,d,e)

Two-participant Activity Event /DM Transitive Clause, e.g., 'Vietnamese fight back Vietnamese' (cf. Clauses A.1b, B.1(1-3))

Process Event /DM Intransitive Clause, e.g., '(the rich) die fast' (cf. Clauses C.2b, 2e)

Existential /DM vi, vaih Clauses, e.g., 'happens: people abandon mothers abandon fathers . . .' (cf. Clauses A.2b, B.2)

Quantification /DM Stative Clause (adj. +NP) 'many (are) they who know books . . .' (cf. Clauses A.2a, 2d)

Attribution /DM Stative Clause (NP +AdjP), e.g., 'the old generation (was) very peaceful . . .' (cf. Clauses C.1, C.2a)

3.6.4 Concept structure correlations

Most concept correlations are presented in the dictionary (cf. section 3.2.4.3). However, complex concept correlations need further attention. They involve proposition-like relationships which could have been described under Proposition structure above, except for reasons given in section 2.2.4.

This section is divided between concept identification and concept extension.

3.6.4.1 Concept identification correlations

The downgraded predication types found in concept identification in this Text are Classification, Association, Attribution, Location in time, and Specification. All correlate with some form of Noun Phrase:

Classification = MEMBER +CLASS /DM NPC:prn +NPF:noun, e.g., he 'we' +Pacŏh

'we Pacoh people' (B.1)

Association = ITEM +ASSOC. /DM NPC:noun +NPF:pronoun, e.g., pang 'generation +ngai 'they' 'their days' (cf. A.1a, 1b, 2a, B.1, C.1,2)

Identification = ITEM +IDENTITY /DM NPC +NPFF:Relative Clause, e.g., pang 'generation' +ntiaq 'which old' (cf. TIPH, A.1, B.1, C.2a, c,d)

Location in time = LOCATED +LOCATION /DM NPC +NPFF: NP, PP, e.g., pang he 'our gen.' +aki mnêh 'present' (A.3, B.1, C.1)

Specification = ITEM +SPECIF. /DM NPC +NPFF:ân +demonstrative, e.g., aki 'time' +mnêh 'this' (A.2a, B.1, 2, C.1, 2a, 2e)

3.6.4.2 Concept extension

Binomial pairs in this Text correlate primarily with CS speaker eloquence; but some also correlate with functions grouped under the label 'concept extension'. These are described below under three divisions: thing, action, and attribute extensions.

a. Thing extension

A component of generality, including plurality, correlates with binomial doubling of nouns. For example, the word **urâq** by itself usually specifies 'something written', e.g., a book, or just an orthographic letter. But, when used together with its echo form, **u-ar**, the meaning is extended to include everything from letters of the alphabet to all kinds of written materials together. Other examples from the Text are the following: **tian prâq** 'money-silver--all kinds of currency', **piday-clai** 'field-field--all kinds of fields', **hang-hoq** 'all kinds of traded goods', **hut kidŏl** 'tobacco-hemp--all that fits the category', **troi-turuiq** 'betel nuts and everything needed for making betel quids', **a-i a-âm** 'mother-father--parents', **a-em achai**

'younger-older siblings', acay campay 'children-wives', cruang daq 'valleys-rivers—environs', muang daq 'region-river--homeland', dŭng vĕl 'house-village--home community', rbang cuteac 'heaven-earth—everywhere'.

b. Action extension

Action concepts which have their meanings extended by word compounding are: tăq cha 'work-eat--make a livelihood', tartăq tarcha 'fight-defeat-each-other--make warfare'.

c. Attribute extension

Attribute concepts which have their meanings extended by word compounding are: diaiq-tŭh 'poor, difficult—desperately poor or difficult', chĕt pĭt 'dead-lost—wiped out', ian o 'peaceful-good—wonderful', xŭc xian 'rich--wealthy', hôi tubĕq 'skillful-wise--successful', xŭc parnha 'rich-luxurious—prosperous'.

3.7 Grammatical correlations--DM|F

To a large extent the following correlation formulas are simply the reverse of the F/DM correlations above, and so redundant. However, they provide a cross-reference and they also reveal different groupings and occasional skewings between the modes. As in other descriptions of DM constructions, the order followed is from Text to morpheme. In almost every level of structure this text contains expansions, such as the Sentence-Clause expansion chom uráq chom u-ar 'know books know books'. These all correlate with CS speaker eloquence, so are not repeated in each section below.

3.7.1 Text structure correlations

Correlations between Text structure constituents and the Function mode are of special interest because of the controversy regarding grammatical structure above the Sentence level. If the following correlations are viewed as belonging to a single hierarchy, I believe the argument is strong for Paragraph and Text structure. If they are split between syntax and semantics, an argument for syntactic structure above the Sentence is weak—the degree of weakness depending on the amount of 'meaning' held in the syntax of one's model.

The correlation of Text-initial Phrase (TIPH) to Discourse TOPIC is considered to be significant in Expository Discourse because of the correlations between the same TOPIC and Point COMMENTS throughout the Discourse.

All of the Text-level constituents are summarized below:

Text-initial Phrase (TIPH) |F Discourse TOPIC-past (Title)

Body (Para. A, B, C) |F Exposition, i.e., Evaluation Scheme

Section (Paragraphs A+B) |F Syllogism PREMISES joined by Paraphrase

Paragraph A |F THESIS of a Paraphrase

Paragraph B |F RESTATEMENT of a Paraphrase

Paragraph C |F CONCLUSION of a Syllogism

3.7.2 Paragraph structure correlations

It is significant that the Paragraph-initial Phrases all correlate with the Discourse TOPIC 'the old days'. Secondly, Paragraphs and their linkages correlate with Scheme constituents and their relations.

Each of the three Paragraphs is composed of three constituents correlating with Evaluation-Scheme as shown in the correlations below:

PIPH |F Discourse TOPIC 'the old days' (A.1,B.1,C.1)

EPIPH |F Counter-TOPIC 'the present' (A.2,B.2,C.2)

conjunction cốh ma 'but' |F conjoins THESIS AND CONTRA-THESIS of Contrast Schemes (between Points 2 and 3, 8 and 11, 13 and 14)

|F conjoins CONCESSION and CONTRA-EXPECT of Contra-expectation Schemes (between Points 1 and 2, 3 and 4, 14 and 15)

Juxtaposition |F conjoins constituents of Paraphrase Schemes (between Points 7 and 8)

|F conjoins constituents of Evaluation-Schemes (between Points 11 and 13, 17 and 18)

|F conjoins members of simple couplings, (between Points 5 and 7, 9 and 11, and 16 and 18)

Subparagraph |F a Contra-expectation Scheme (Points 1-2, 3-4, 14-15)

|F Coupled Evaluation COMMENTS (Points 5-7, 9-11, 15-18)

Sentence |F CONCESSION of Contra-expectation (Points 1, 3, 14)

|F CONTRA-EXPECT of Contra-expectation (Points 2, 4, 15)

|F COMMENT of Evaluation (Points 5-7, 9-11, 15-18)

|F THESIS of a Contrast (Point 8)

|F CONTRA-THESIS of a Contrast (Point 12)

3.7.3 Sentence structure correlations

Three kinds of Sentence constituents are listed below with their correlations: Sentence-initial Phrases (SIPH), Clauses, and conjunctions. The significance of Sentence-initial Phrases has been discussed sufficiently. The conjunction ma is of special interest because of its two functions: as a topicalizer and as a conjunction between Clauses.

SIPH |F Discourse TOPIC (past) ‖ when simultaneous with PIPH or when in the second Sentence of the Text (Points 1, 2, 8, 13)

|F Second-rank TOPIC (present) ‖ elsewhere (Points 3, 12, 14)

vi, vaih Clause |F Existence ('happen' in Points 4, 12)

Intransitive Clause |F Process (or perhaps a one-participant Event) ('live', 'die' in Points 15, 18)

Transitive Clause |F Activity Event, e.g., 'they just only ate' (cf. Points 2, 4, 9-11)

Transitive-sentential Clause |F Experience Event, e.g., '(they) didn't know books' (cf. Points 1, 3, 7, 8, 16-18)

Stative Clause |F Quantification ‖ adj. put 'big, many' filling ClP, i.e., 'many (are) they who know books' (cf. Points 3, 6)

|F Attribution ‖ adj. filling ClF, e.g., 'the old days (were) very peaceful' (cf. Points 5, 13, 14)

conjunction **cốh** |F marks TOPIC ‖ when TOPIC is identical to the filler of a Proposition constituent, e.g., **do ân xức cốh xức lu** 'they who rich cốh (are) very rich' (Point 14).

conjunction **ma** 'but' |F marks TOPIC (+ Contra-expectation) ‖ when TOPIC is identical to the filler of a Propositional constituent, e.g., **Pacốh ma tartấq** 'Pacoh even fight each other ' (Point 10), or **do ân hôi tubếq ma num ngai a-ính** 'the successful ma they just hate' (cf. Points 16, 17)

|F conjoining THESIS and CONTRA-THESIS of an embedded Contrast Scheme, e.g., 'the way to live but not die' (Point 18)

conjuncation **anha** 'and' |F ADDITION, i.e., simple coupling, e.g., 'not die and stop the fighting' (Point 18)

3.7.4 Clause constituent correlations

Correlations of Clause constituents are significant because of the multiple functions which corelate with them. ClPP is portmanteau with SIPH. Its filler can be a fronted, nuclear Clause constituent, e.g., 'the successful are just hated' (Point 16), or a peripheral Sentence constituent, e.g., 'the old days (they) didn't know books' (part 1). Following is a summary of the Clause constituents:

ClPP |F TOPIC, e.g., a peripheral Propositional constituent TIME 'the old days' (Point 1), or a nuclear SOURCE 'the successful' (Point 16)

ClP |F AGENT || Verbal Clause except vi and vaih

|F QUANTIFIER || Stative Clause with a counter or the adjective put 'big, many' filling ClP, e.g., put do ân chom 'many are they who know'

|F ITEM || Non-verbal Clause with a NP willing ClP, e.g., do ân xúc cốh xúc lu 'the rich are very rich' (C.2a)

ClC |F EXPERIENCE || Tr-sent. Clause, e.g., 'not know books' (cf. A.1a,2a,2e,B.1,C.2c,d,e)

|F ACTION (two-participant) || Transitive Clause, e.g, 'Vietnamese fight Vietnamese' (cf. A.1b,2b,B.1,(1-3))

|F PROCESS || Intr. Clause, e.g., 'they die fast' (cf. B.2b, 2e)

|F EXISTENCE || vi, vaih Clause (A.2a, B.2)

ClF |F ITEM || NP FILLING ClF of a non-verbal Clause (A.2a)

|F ATTRIBUTE || AdjP filling ClF of a non-verbal Clause (A.2c,d,C.1,2a)

|F Event || Verbal Clause embedded in vi, vaih Clause (A.1b)

|F SOURCE (thing) || Tr-sent. Clause (A.1a,2a)

|F (Event) || embedded Clause in ClF of a Tr-sent. Clause (B.1,C.2e)

|F LOCATION || place noun, e.g., 'one person one region' (A.2b)

|F PATIENT || Transitive Clause (A.1b,2b,B.1(1-3))

|F GOAL || Prep. Phrase, e.g., 'against heaven' (B.2)

|F RECIPROCATION || tartuaq 'each other' (correlates with Speaker eloquence where tartuaq is superfluousfollowing verbs with the tar- prefix (cf. Sentence C.2e)

ClFF |F Comparison || AdvP with clât 'beyond' filling ClFF of a Stative Clause (C.1).

3.7.5 Phrase constituent correlates

3.7.5.1 Noun Phrase constituent correlations

The NPC position always correlates with ITEM, and NPP2 and NPP1 with Quantification and Classification respectively. However, NPF and NPFF correlate with multiple functions. NPF also correlates with other functions of 'possession phrases' not found in this Text. NPFF correlates with IDENTIFIER, SPECIFIER and LOCATION.

NPC |F ITEM

NPP2 |F ENUMERATOR mâh 'one' in A.2b

NPP1 |F CLASSIFIER náq 'person' in A.2b

NPF |F ASSOCIATED || pronoun following a time noun, e.g., pang ngai 'their generation' i C.1a

|F CLASS || proper noun, e.g., Pacoh in B.1

NPFF |F IDENTIFIER || Relative Cl., e.g., pang ntiaq 'generation which olden' (Title)

|F SPECIFIER || demonstrative in a Rel. C., e.g., aki nnéh 'this time' (B.2)

|F TEMPORAL LOCATION || time nouns in NP or PP, e.g., inô ntra 'past time' (A.1a) te anâh te ahân 'from ancient times' (B.1)

3.7.5.2 Verb Phrase constituent correlations

All Verb Phrase constituents correlate with multiple functions, though VPP1 illustrates only one in this Text.

VPP3 |F INTENSIFIER, e.g., **lu** 'really' (A.1a)

|F DE-INTENSIFIER, e.g., **num** 'just' (A.1b)

VPP2 |F NEGATOR, e.g., **lâyq** 'not' (A.1a)

|F DELIMITER, e.g., **llám** 'only' (A.1b)

|F PROHIBITOR, e.g., **acâp** 'don't, stop' (C.2e)

VPP1 |F RECIPROCATOR, e.g., auxiliary **liah** 'back' (B.1(1))

VPC |F EXPERIENCE, e.g., **chom** 'know' (A.1a)

|F ACTION, e.g., **táq** 'do, work, fight' (A.1b, B.1(1,2), C.2e)

|F PROCESS, e.g., **cuchĕt** 'die' (C.2b, 2e)

3.7.5.3 Adjective Phrase constituent correlations

Ajective Phrase correlations are fairly routine. NPC correlates with either ATTRIBUTE-thing or ATTRIBUTE-Event, depending upon its filler class.

AdjPP2 |F INTENSIFIER, e.g., **lu** 'very' (A.2c)

AdjPP1 |F NEGATOR, e.g., **buih** 'not' (C.2a)

AdjPC |F ATTRIBUTE-Event, e.g., **diaiq** 'difficult' (A.2c)

|F ATTRIBUTE-thing, e.g., **diaiq** 'poor' (C.2a)

AdjPF |F INTENSIFIER, e.g., **ndîh . . .** 'not even . . .' (C.2a)

3.7.5.4 Prepositional Phrase constituent correlations

In a Prepositional Phrase it is the preposition, i.e., RELATOR, which correlates with functions just as position slots do. The preposition **tŏq** 'at, to' correlates with TEMPORAL LOCATION in this Text, e.g., **tŏq pang he**

'at our generation'. The preposition **alŭng** 'with, against' correlates with GOAL, e.g., **yŭc alŭng rbang** 'insane (rebellious) against heaven'.

3.7.5.5 Adverbial Phrase constituent correlations

Adverbial Phrases correlate with Equations and Comparisons. The filler of RELATOR **arâq** 'like' correlates with RELATIONAL-EQUIVALENCE and the fillers **clât** 'more than' and **ndîh** 'not even' correlate with RELATIONAL-DEGREE. AXIS correlates with the ITEM, Event, or ATTRIBUTE equated or compared.

RELATOR |F RELATIONAL-EQUIVALENCE || prep. arâq 'like' (B.1)

|F RELATIONAL-DEGREE || prep. **clât** 'beyond' or **ndîh** 'not even' (C.1)

AXIS |F TEMP LOCATION || time noun, e.g., pang 'generation' (B.1)

|F Attribution || NP representing an implicit Propostion, e.g., pang he (xŭc lu) 'our generation (is very rich)' (C.1b)

3.8 Phonological correlations

In general Phonotactic constituents correlate with Morphotactic constituents as mentioned in section 2.4. Such general correlations belong in a general description of morpho-phonology, but are not in focus in this Discourse grammar. Of interest here are direct correlations with the Communication Situation.

Display 3:14 presents the Utterance divided according to reduplicative constituents. The first column, labeled 'introductory element', is usually a Pause Group, but not always. It does not contain reduplicative elements, but the items in the second column contain at least one element which is reduplicated by an identical element in the third column (except for two Pause Groups in C.2e).

Reduplicative elements may include both repeated items and members of

paired Feet, such as **chom uráq chom u-ar** in A.1a. Or they may be only identical elements, such as **xúc** in both the second and third columns of C.1, or rhymed elements, such as **-ih** and **-q** in C.2a. Or they may include elements of equal meter, such as the two paired Feet at the end of A.1b, or the two matched Breath Groups of C.2c and 2d. In the latter case, the second Breath Group, **do ân hôi tubếq ma num ngai a-ính**, could have been placed in the third column reduplicating the first, **do ân xúc parnha ma num ngai oan**; but they were divided because of length and matching meter. The four elements in the fourth column, labeled 'other', are mentioned again below.

3.8.1 Utterance constituent correlations

Running through the introductory Pause Groups of the Breath Groups, there is frequent repetition of the Feet **cốh ma** and **pang**. **Pang** co-occurs with **ntiaq** in the first Pause Group (Title) and the first Breath Group (A.1a). It co-occurs with **ngai** in A.1a, 1b, and C.1; and with **he, nnếh**, or **he nnếh** in A.2a, B.1, and C.2a. Also, **nnếh** occurs with a substitute for **pang** in B.2. All of this repetition correlates with F-COHERENCE. The same is true of the chiastic occurrence of the Feet **lu lâyq chom** in the first and last Breath Groups (A.1a and C.23).

The reduplicative meter which carries through parts two and three of the Utterance, resulting from Pause Group reduplication, correlates with CS-speaker eloquence.

The five extra reduplicative elements occurring in column four divide the Utterance into two halves, each of which has an extra element in the middle and at the end. The first and third (A.2a and C.1) correlate with Comparison Schemes (Points 3 and 13); the second and fourth (A.2e and C.2e)

correlate with expansions of the first COMMENT (Point 7) and the final Comment (Point 18). They also correlate with the trinary structure of Evaluation Scheme.

3.8.2 Breath Group constituent correlations

At least two Pause Groups of almost every Breath Group are reduplicative, correlating with CS-speaker eloquence. Four Breath Groups contain a third Pause Group which appears to correlate with the trinary structure of F-Evaluation Scheme (cf. A.2a, A.2e, and C.1, mentioned in the previous section). Other triple Breath Groups, e.g., the three lines of A.2b, or 2.cde, may also correlate with F-Evaluation Scheme. Apparent correlations between Phonotactic shape and Scheme structure may be only incidental to Morphotactic correlations, but either way they correlate with both speaker eloquence and Scheme structure.

3.8.3 Pause Group constituent correlations

Identical Feet repeated in the Pause Groups of column one are mentioned under Utterance constituents above. Reduplicative Pause Groups, resulting from repetition of Feet or parts of Feet, or from use of paired Feet, correlate with CS-speaker eloquence (cf. examples in the introduction above, and in Display 3:13). Even Pause Groups made up of paired Feet which do not alliterate or rhyme, e.g., hut **kidol**, are treated as reduplicative because of their matching meter.

3.8.4 Reduplicative Foot constituent correlations

The second member of a reduplicative pair of Feet correlates with F-concept extension (cf. 3.6.4.2). However, in this Text concept extension is considered to be incidental to CS-speaker eloquence.

CHAPTER IV

EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE – A SYLLOGISM SCHEME

In this chapter a second Pacoh Text, **Rit Ngai ân Lalâu Cumŏr tốq Muang He Pacốh** 'Pacoh Fellows and Girls', is described. It is an example of Syllogism Scheme, considered to be a type of Expository Scheme. The Text is presented in Display 4:1 with an interlinear translation. A free translation is presented in Display 4:2. Raised numbers indicate both the Points and the Sentences (though Sentence numbers are usually distinguished by ABC letters for Paragraph divisions). The description of the Text is presented in the same order as that followed in chapters two and three.

DISPLAY 4:1 The Text

RIT NGAI ÂN LALÂU CUMŎR TỐQ MUANG HE PACỐH
CUSTOM THEY WHO FELLOWS GIRLS AT REGION US PACOH

[1]**Ngai ân lalâu cốh phai pôc tốq ngai ân cumŏr,**
They who fellows so must go to they who girls.

[2]**anáq do ân cumŏr lâyq ính ma ngai ân lalâu icốh**
Even-if some who girls don't like but they who fellows like-that

rit, [3]**nám ính clŏn cumŏr mmo cốh phai pôc tốq dứng cumŏr**
custom. If want court girl any so must go to home girl

ncốh dyŏn tian, [4]**Ma nám cumŏr ncốh ính pôc clŏn alứng**
that give money. But if girl that wants go court with

lalâu ncốh cốh dyeal tian do ân lalâu, [5]ma nấm lâyq ính
fellow that so takes money his who fellow. But if not want

pôc clŏn alúng lalâu ncốh cốh lâyq dyeal tian do cốh,
go court with fellow that so not take money his that.

[6]anáq dyŏn put li mmo ma nấm lâyq ính pôc clŏn alúng
Even-if gives much however but if not want go court with

lalâu ncốh cốh cumŏr lâyq dyeal tian do ân lalâu.
fellow that so girl not take money his who fellow.

[7]Tốq he nấm tốq dyê nno a-úm nno ân puaq cốh
At us if arrived already season corn season which hot so

ngai ân lalâu ibu idau cốh par-át tốq xu cumŏr, [8]Ngai pôc
they who fellows evening night so stay at homes girls'. They go

chum cha a-úm-apo, [9]ngai pôc clŏn pôc tarlếnh alúng do ân cumŏr
beg eat corn. they go court go tease(R) with some who girls

tốq dyê ang [10]cốh ngai chŏ táq proaq-tampáq alúng a-i a-ám,
until already dawn. Then they return to work with parents.

[11]nấm tốq dyê ibu cốh ngai pôc loi parchôq alúng
If arrived already evening then they go again get-together with

yâu-bây, pôc dông khên tirĕl, dông tian cua ính dyŏn pinêq
friends, go take pipes flutes, take money belongings want give gifts

ado cumŏr, [12]do ân bôn ao cốh dông ao
to girls, He who has cloth so take cloth.

[13]do ân bôn práq cốh dông práq [14]amâh vi ibôn
He who has silver so take silver. Whatever is one-has

cốh dông, [15]damo cumŏr ính cốh cumŏr dyeal.
so take. Whichever girl likes so girl takes.

[16]A-i a-ám ma ngai ính ipôc clŏn ipôc anhoi
Mom dad but they want one-go court one-go play

cốh ma acâp itấq ân lâyq phep, pôc clŏn lu llấm clŏn,
but "Don't you-do what's not ethical, go court really only court,

acâp tấq parrŏih-tancayh abuih chĕt a-i a-ám. [17]Anấq arâq ncốh
don't do fornication lest dead mom dad." Though like that

muang he ngai clŏn ngai ất alứng cumŏr, cốh ma buih dĩq ngai tấq
region our they court they stay with girls but not hardly they do

lâyq phep, [18]beaq nnấq num tấq ân lâyq phep
not ethical. Few persons only do what's not ethical.

[19]arâq mâh chít nâq cốh vi mâh nấq num ân lâyq phep,
Like one of-ten persons so is one person only who's unethical.

[20]a-i a-ám ngai, ngai achung acay-acon ngai dyoq itấq
Moms dads theirs, they instruct children they forbid one-do

ân lâyq o ân prâh cốh ngai lâyq dấh tấq,
what not good what bad so they not dare do.

[21]nấm tấq lâyq phep cốh ma anhuq pếq acay cốh
If do not ethical so but bears carry child so

nnau canhin mŏi lấh a-eq ado dứng xu cruang cuteac.
whoever repent, and: a curse to house hut valley land.

[22]Nấm do ân tấq lâyq phep cốh phai vi tiriaq carrốq, alic
If he who does not ethical so must have buffalo cattle, pigs

ntruai, ian ngâh atức ado yang-prấh, mŏi lấh têq
chickens, in-order to sacrifice to ancestor-spirits, and: obey

dyấm cang a-i a-ấm achung.
respect voice moms dads instruct.

[23]Icốh rit muang he ân ngai clŏn cumŏr
Thus custom region our that they court girls

ma ngai buih tấq lâyq o.
but they not do not good.

DISPLAY 4:2 Free translation of the Text

COURTSHIP AMONG PACOH FELLOWS AND GIRLS

[1]The fellows have to go to the girls. [2]Even if the girls don't like it that way, but that's the way the custom is for the fellows. [3]If one wants to court any girl, then he must go to that girl's house and give money.

[4]But if that girl wants to go courting with that fellow, then she will take his money. [5]But if she doesn't want to go courting with him, then she won't take his money. [6]Even if he offers however much, if she doesn't want to go courting with him, then she won't take that fellow's money.

[7]In our region, if the sunny corn season has arrived, the fellows go stay at the girls' homes all night. [8]They go mooch corn to eat. [9]They go courting and teasing with the girls until dawn. [10]Then they return to work with their parents.

[11]If evening has arrived they go again to get together with their friends, take musical instruments, and take valuables to give gifts to the girls. [12]He that has cloth, so takes cloth. [13]He that has silver, so takes silver. [14]Whatever one has, so he takes. [15]Whichever the girl wants, so she takes.

[16]Parents like their kids to go courting, but "Don't do anything unethical, go courting--really only court, don't commit fornication lest your parents die."

[17]Even though the fellows court the girls like that in our region, they rarely do unethically. [18] Only a few do what is unethical. [19]For example, out of ten there might be just one unethical person. [20]The parents instruct their kids; they forbid their doing anything unethical or bad; so they don't dare do it. [21]If someone does unethically so becomes pregnant, whoever it is must repent, and furthermore, it's a curse on the community and the land. [22]If there is someone who does unethically, he must have buffalo and cattle, pigs and chickens, in order to sacrifice to the ancestor spirits. And furthermore, one must obey his parents' instructions.

[23]Therefore, such is the custom of our region wherein fellows court girls but they don't misbehave.

4.1 Communication Situation (CS)

As stated in section 2.1, the Communication Situation (CS) is treated in five sections: the referential realm, language and culture, social setting and relationships, communicator's intents and attitudes, and audience's intents and attitudes. Again, the referential realm is analyzed according the the particle-wave-field and contrast-variation-distribution matrix found in Young, Becker and Pike (1970).

4.1.1 Referential realm

a. Particle-contrast: Courting is an activity which is identified by the following features: boys go to girls' homes, offer gifts, and hope the girls will accept; girls may accept or reject the gift and the fellow. The giving of money and other gifts on the part of boys and acceptance on the part of girls involves the making of a formal pledge to each other; it is not a matter of payment, as westerners mistakenly believe. These small gifts for dating are a pledge of integrity similar to the much larger amounts required for marriage.

b. Wave-contrast: Courtship is a wave of activities contrasting with the play of children and of married couples. For the fellows it contrasts with working in the fields with parents and going to their own homes for dinner and sleep.

c. Field-contrast: Courtship involves a system of features which contrasts with other systems. For example, corn season is primarily characterized by adults as a planting-harvest cycle, but, to the young people, it is also characterized by courting. During corn season, if fellows arrive at the homes of girls, carrying musical instruments and gifts, the

girls and their parents know what to expect. Parents provide instruction and extra food. Girls accept the fellows (and, perhaps, the gifts) they like best, and feed and entertain them. Courting is a nighttime system versus working as a daytime system.

d. Particle-variation: Artifacts which the fellows take with them vary. They take whatever musical instruments they can play and whatever gifts they have to give. The girls' choices of fellows varies according to the availability of fellows and gifts.

e. Wave-variation: Courting activities no doubt increase as the summer progresses. Friendships warm up, the weather warms up, and both food and money are more available.

f. Field-variation: For the most part the young people are ethical and the system operates according to the norm. In rare cases of unethical behavior the community is upset by a scandal with accompanying need of special action, such as sacrifices to the spirits and greater discipline.

g. Particle-distribution: Pacoh courtship is a unit distributed within a larger context. Space-wise it occurs at the girls' homes. Time-wise it occurs at night during the corn season. Psychologically and socially it occurs between fellows and girls, but also between parents and children (i.e., in encouragements and warning). Spiritually it occurs between villagers and the spirits of their areas.

h. Wave-distribution: Pacoh courtship is seen as an activity which increases as boys and girls mature, i.e., between childhood and marriage. It starts as soon as the fellows can get off work and it ends at dawn when they must return to work. It is also most pronounced during the summer.

i. Field-distribution: Pacoh courtship is a subsystem within the total system of Pacoh culture. It is a part of social customs as seen in the formalities of the invitation, the gift giving, and the staying at the girls' homes. The willingness of the peole to feed the fellows away from home is tied to social custom. There is a relationship with the structure of play activities for different age and sex groups. The parents fit courtship into their program of education for the children in terms of sex education and social and spiritual behavior. The parents arrange for boys to earn money or other objects which can be used for gifts. Courtship belongs to the rites of passage in children's approach to marriage and becoming part of the adult society. The tunes and lyrics of the courting songs have a place in the total music of the tribe. The taboos and responsibilities involved fit into larger systems of social and spiritual mores.

There is also a problem of misunderstanding because of the distribution of the Pacoh system within the same country as the Vietnamese, Rade, and other systems which contrast in various features.

4.1.2 Language and culture.

The language and culture of the Discourse are Pacoh. However, there is a certain amount of Vietnamese, Raday, and American culture implicit, in that the author was attempting to offset the association of Pacoh courtship with courtship in cultures which permit less formality and greater sexual involvement. He was also attempting to offset association with the Malayo-Polynesian matriarchal system of the Raday, which a Vietnamese writer had alleged in the book mentioned below.

The language may have been kept simpler for the sake of a non-Pacoh audience. The original presentation of the Text was written, not oral.

4.1.3 Social setting and relationships.

The communicator, Cubuat, was a young Pacoh man of about 21 years of age employed by an American linguist who was studying his language and culture. He lived and worked in the American's home in a Vietnamese city most of the time. Relationships included employee to employer, teacher to learner, and friend to friend.

4.1.4 Communicator's intents and attitudes

The communicator had read a booklet by a Vietnamese writer who stated that the Pacoh, as well as other tribes, practice the custom of 'sleeping together' before marriage. The communicator strongly disagreed and was incensed over the charge of immorality; so he wrote the Text to correct the wrong information. He wanted to correct two misconceptions: one, that Pacoh courtship belongs to a matriarchal system in which the girl's family initiates courtship, and two, that it involves immorality. It would not have been correct for him to have said that Pacoh fellows and girls don't sleep together; nor to have said that they do, but without immorality. He attempted a fuller explanation, but still failed to clarify some important cultural differences, e.g., they don't sleep in beds or bedrooms, but on the floor, fully clothed in a large room with other young people, and with very serious social and spiritual restraints.

The communicator had been taught to look down upon his own culture, but was beginning to appreciate its values. His attitude changed from taking the defensive to taking the offensive, as demonstrated in writing the Text.

Cubuat, however, mistakenly assumed that his audience would understand that money used in courtship and marriage is a pledge of good faith, rather

than an exchange for favors. Had he realized the implication to audiences of other cultures, he would undoubtedly have made the Pacoh thinking on the subject explicit within the Text itself, as he later did for the linguist. He also assumed that his audience would understand the implications of 'death to parents' (Point 16) (i.e., death through illnesses caused by the offended spirits), 'a curse on the community and land' (Point 21) and necessity of 'sacrifice to the ancestor spirits' (Point 22) which would be offended by fornication.

4.1.5 Audience's intents and attitudes.

The principal audience was an American linguist intent on learning the Pacoh language and culture. His attitude was one of acceptance and appreciation of Pacoh. He assumed that the communicator, as a native Pacoh, had a more accurate explanation of Pacoh courtship than the Vietnamese writer.

4.2 Grammatical Function mode (F)

As in chapter three, the Function mode of this Discourse is described in terms of the structures of four components viewed as levels of a single hierarchy. They are Discourse structure (4.2.1), Scheme structure (4.2.2), Point and Proposition structure (4.2.3), and concept structure (4.2.4). Each component of the Discourse is described according to the procedure described in chapter two, that is, by classification and constituency, by coherence, and by prominence and theme.

4.2.1 Discourse structure

The highest level constituents of the Discourse are its TOPIC filled by the Title, and its COMMENT filled by a Syllogism Scheme. That is, the Title serves as a general TOPIC of which the entire Exposition is COMMENT.

With respect to illocutionary force, the full Discourse is classified as a statement. In fact, every constituent of the Discourse is a statement; so there is no need for further reference to illocutionary force.

The rest of Discourse structure involves the structures of the other three components below.

4.2.2 Scheme structure of the Discourse

The Scheme structure is presented in two displays. Display 4:3 is an indented outline which can be viewed as a table of contents of Scheme constituents and contains glosses from the free translation. Display 4:4 is an inverted tree diagram depicting a top-to-bottom hierarchical structure. Most of the following description can be best related back to this latter Display.

Within the Scheme level, as many as seven layers of embedded Schemes are found. Their terminal fillers, the main Propositions of the Points, may occur as high in the structure as the third layer, i.e., Point 23, or as low as the eighth layer, i.e., Points 12-14.

4.2.2.1 Constituency and classification of Scheme

In Display 4:4, as in Display 3:4, the label for each constituent includes a two-part number. The first number represents the layer in the tree structure from higher to lower; the second represents the ordering within that layer from left to right. For example, THESIS 3-1 is the constituent which is found in the third layer of Scheme structure, and in

the first position from the left-hand side of the tree diagram. The Contra-expectation Scheme which fills THESIS 3-1 may also be referred to as Contra-expectation 3-1.

Before starting into the constituency structure, notice that a Scheme having two PREMISES and a CONCLUSION is classified as a Syllogism, even if the PREMISES are not joined by the familiar GENERIC-SPECIFIC Paraphrase, e.g., 'All men are mortal; Socrates was a man; therefore Socrates was mortal'. In this Discourse we find PREMISES joined by Contra-expectations (4-6) and (4-7), as well as by simple coupling, i.e., having no Scheme relationship to each other except for sharing the same CONCLUSION (cf. PREMISES 2-1 and 2-3, and PREMISES 3-3 and 3-4). Notice also that it is sometimes difficult to choose between alternative configurations. For example, Points 7-10 were treated as Narrative SETTING 4-3 +Episode SETTING 5-5 +four EVENTS in Sequence 5-6. But from an Expository point of view the Sequence could better be treated as a Paraphrase in which Point 7b is GENERIC and Points 8-10 are three SPECIFIC EVENTS. This explains why Points 8-10 manifest ngai 'they' filling CLP in three separate Sentences rather than ellipsis as in a normal Narrative chain such as Sentence 11.

The following is a prose account of the constituency and classification of the Schemes within the Scheme structure as shown in Displays 4:3 and 4:4 below. Only a sample is given in order to illustrate how the diagram is read.

The Discourse exposition of 'Pacoh Fellows and Girls' is filled by a Syllogism Scheme. The constituents of that Syllogism Scheme are two PREMISES (2-1 and 2-2) and a CONCLUSION (2-3). DESCRIPTION PREMISE 2-1 is filled by an Illustration Scheme; EXPLANATION PREMISE 2-2 is filled by a Syllogism

Scheme; and CONCLUSION 2-3 is filled by a Paraphrase Scheme.

The constituents of the Illustration are THESIS 3-1 filled by a Contrast Scheme, and ILLUSTRATION 3-2 filled by an embedded Narrative Scheme. The constituents of the Contrast are THESIS 4-1 filled by a Paraphrase Scheme, and CONTRA-THESIS 4-2 filled by a Contrast Scheme.

The constituents of Paraphrase 4-1 are THESIS 5-1 filled by Point 1, and AMPLIFICATION 5-2 filled by a Contra-expectation Scheme. The constituents of the Contra-expectation are CONCESSION 6-1 filled by Point 2a and CONTRA-EXPECT 6-2 filled by a Paraphrase.

DISPLAY 4:3 Indented outline of Scheme structure

1. Discourse = TOPIC + COMMENT

1-1 TOPIC: Title 'Courtship among Pacoh Fellows and Girls'

1-2 COMMENT: Syllogism Scheme

2-1 DESCRIPTION PREMISE: Illustration Scheme

3-1 THESIS: Contrast Scheme

4-1 THESIS: Paraphrase Scheme

5-1 THESIS: Point 1 'The fellows must go to the girls'

5-2 AMPLIFICATION: Contra-expectation Scheme

6-1 CONCESSION: Point 2a 'Even if the girls don't like it'

6-2 CONTRA-EXPECTATION: Paraphrase Scheme

7-1 THESIS: Point 2b 'but that's the way the custom is for the fellows'

7-2 AMPLIFICATION: Implication Scheme

8-1 CONDITION: Point 3a 'If one wants to court any girl'

8-2 CONSEQUENCE: Point 3b 'then he must go to that girl's house and offer money'

4-2 CONTRA-THESIS: Contrast Scheme 'But'

5-3 THESIS: Implication Scheme

6-3 CONDITION: Point 4a 'if that girl wants to go . . .'

6-4 CONSEQUENCE: Point 4b 'then she will take his money'

5-4 CONTRA-THESIS: Paraphrase Scheme 'But'

6-5 THESIS: Implication Scheme

7-3 CONDITION: Point 5a 'If she doesn't want to go . . .'

7-4 CONSEQUENCE: Point 5b 'then she won't take his money'

6-6 AMPLIFICATION: Contra-expectation Scheme

7-5 CONCESSION: Point 6ai 'Even if he offers however much'

7-6 CONTRA-EXPECTATION: Implication Scheme

8-3 CONDITION: Point 6aii 'if she doesn't want to go . . .'

8-4 CONSEQUENCE: Point 6b 'then she won't take that fellow's money'

3-2 ILLUSTRATION: Embedded Narrative Scheme

4-3 SETTING: Point 7ai 'In our region'

4-4 PRIOR: Episode Scheme

5-5 SETTING: Point 7aii 'if the sunny corn season has arrived'

5-6 EVENT-LINE: Sequence Scheme

6-7 PRELIMINARY EVENT: Point 7b 'the fellows go stay at the girl's homes all night'

6-8 OCCASIONING EVENT: Point 8 'They go mooch corn to eat'

6-9 OCCASIONING EVENT: Point 9 'They go courting and teasing with the girls until dawn'

6-10 CONCLUDING EVENT: Point 10 'Then they return to work with their parents'

4-5 SUBSEQUENT: Episode Scheme

5-7 SETTING: Point 11a 'If evening has arrived'

5-8 EVENT-LINE: Sequence Scheme

6-11 PRELIMINARY EVENT: Point 11bi 'they go again . . .'

6-12 OCCASIONING EVENT: Point 11bii 'take musical instruments'

6-13 OCCASIONING EVENT: Means Scheme

7-7 MEANS: Paraphrase Scheme

8-5 GENERIC: Point 11biii 'and take valuables'

8-6 SPECIFIC: Point 12 'He who has cloth so takes cloth'

8-7 SPECIFIC: Point 13 'He who has silver so takes silver'

8-8 SPECIFIC: Point 14 'whatever one has so he takes'

7-8 PURPOSE: Point 11biv 'to give gifts to the girls'

6-14 CONCLUDING EVENT: Point 15 'Whichever the girl wants so she takes'

2-2 EXPLANATION PREMISE: Syllogism Scheme

3-3 PREMISE 1: Syllogism Scheme

4-6 PREMISE: Contra-expectation Scheme

5-9 CONCESSION: Point 16a 'Parents like their kids to go courting'

5-10 CONTRA-EXPECT: Point 16b 'but "Don't do anything unethical"'

4-7 CONCLUSION: Contra-expectation Scheme

5-11 CONCESSION: Point 17a 'Even though the fellows court the girls like that . . .'

5-12 CONTRA-EXPECTATION: Paraphrase

6-15 GENERIC: Point 17b 'they rarely ever do unethically'

6-16 SPECIFIC: Exemplification

7-9 THESIS: Point 18 'Only a few do what's unethical'

7-10 EXAMPLE: Point 19 'For example, out of ten there might be just one unethical'

3-4 PREMISE: Syllogism Scheme

4-8 PREMISE: Point 20ai 'The parents instruct their kids'

4-9 PREMISE: Paraphrase Scheme

5-13 GENERIC: Point 20aii 'they forbid their doing anything bad'

5-14 SPECIFIC: Implication Scheme

6-17 CONDITION: Implication Scheme

7-11 CONDITION: Point 21ai 'If someone does unethical'

7-12 CONSEQUENCE: Point 21aii 'so becomes pregnant'

6-18 CONSEQUENCE: Point 21b 'so whoever it is must repent'

6-19 CONSEQUENCE: Point 21c 'and furthermore it's a curse . . .'

5-15 SPECIFIC: Implication Scheme

6-20 CONDITION: Point 22a 'If there is someone who does unethically'

6-21 CONSEQUENCE: Point 22b 'so he must have buffalo and cattle, pigs and chickens in order to sacrifice . . .'

5-16 SPECIFIC: Point 22c 'and furthermore, one must obey his parents' instructions'

4-10 CONCLUSION: Point 20b 'so they don't do it'

3-5 CONCLUSION: Paraphrase (same as 2-3)

2-3 CONCLUSION: Paraphrase Scheme (same as 3-5) 'Therefore'

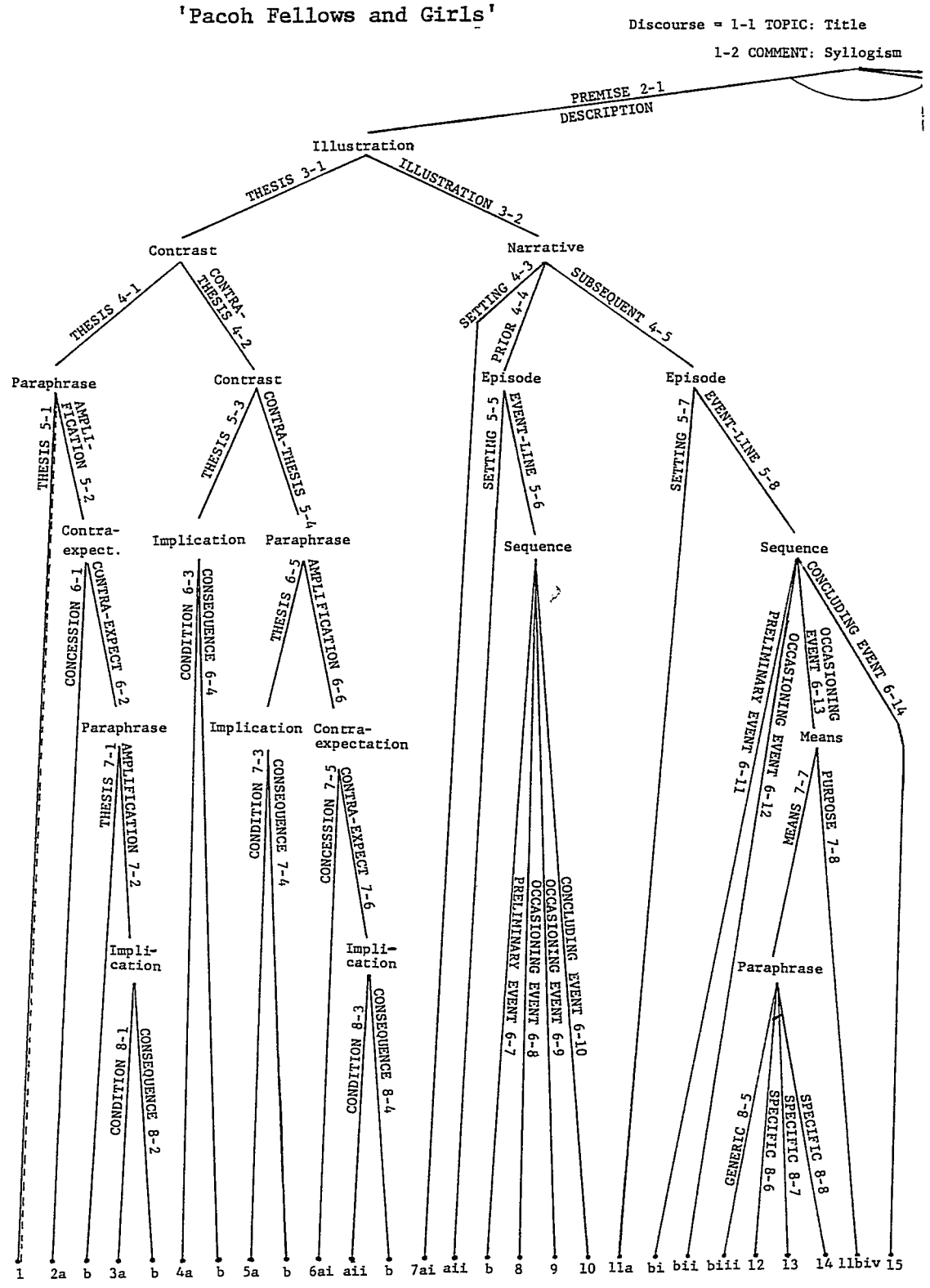
3-6 GENERIC: Point 23a 'such is the custom of our region'

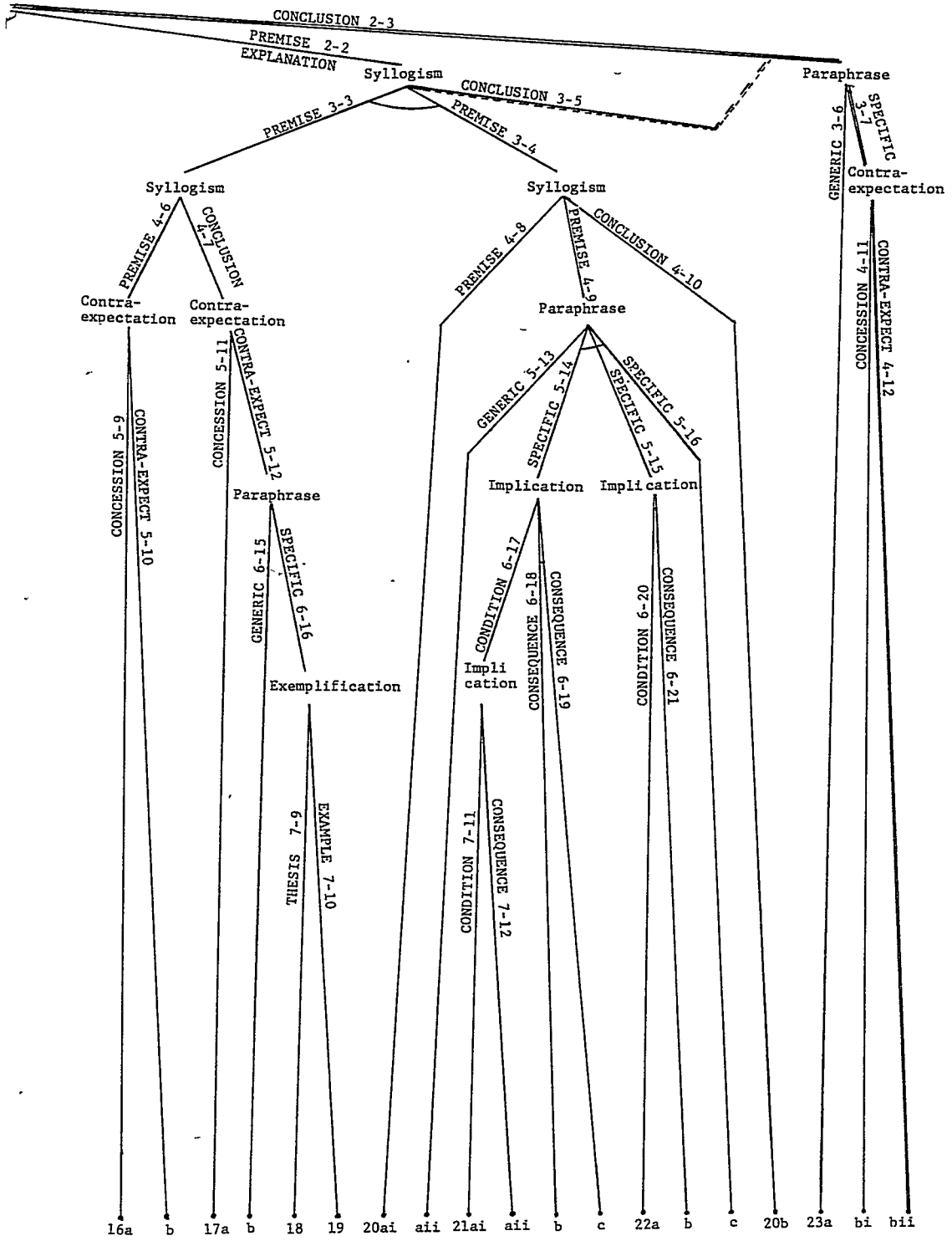
3-7 SPECIFIC: Contra-expectation

4-11 CONCESSION: Point 23bi 'wherein fellows court girls'

4-12 CONTRA-EXPECT: Point 23bii 'but they don't misbehave.'

DISPLAY 4:4 Tree Diagram of Scheme structure of 'Pacoh Fellows and Girls'




CONCLUSION 2-3
PREMISE 2-2
EXPLANATION
Syllogism
CONCLUSION 3-5
Paraphrase
PREMISE 3-3
PREMISE 3-4
GENERIC 3-6
SPECIFIC 3-7
Syllogism
Syllogism
Contra-expectation
PREMISE 4-6
CONCLUSION 4-7
PREMISE 4-8
PREMISE 4-9
CONCLUSION 4-10
CONCESSION 4-11
CONTRA-EXPECT 4-12
Contra-expectation
Contra-expectation
Paraphrase
CONCESSION 5-9
CONTRA-EXPECT 5-10
CONCESSION 5-11
CONTRA-EXPECT 5-12
GENERIC 5-13
SPECIFIC 5-14
SPECIFIC 5-15
SPECIFIC 5-16
Implication
Implication
Paraphrase
GENERIC 6-15
SPECIFIC 6-16
CONDITION 6-17
CONSEQUENCE 6-18
CONSEQUENCE 6-19
CONDITION 6-20
CONSEQUENCE 6-21
Exemplification
Impli cation
THESIS 6-7
EXAMPLE 7-10
CONDITION 7-11
CONSEQUENCE 7-12
16a
b
17a
b
18
19
20ai
aii
21ai
aii
b
c
22a
b
c
20b
23a
bi
bii

4.2.2.2 Coherence in Scheme structure

First, the Scheme structure is found to be coherent in that it does not exceed seven layers (cf. Miller 1956). Second, it is found to be coherent by means of typical Scheme relationships. For example, it is typical for a Syllogism Scheme to consist of two PREMISES and a CONCLUSION. However, in this Discourse when there are two similar constituents in the same Scheme, e.g., two PREMISES, it is not predictable what further relationship there may be between them. It is clear that both PREMISES relate to the CONCLUSION, but between the two PREMISES there may be another Scheme relationship, such as Contra-expectation or Paraphrase, or there may be none. 'Simple coupling' refers to parallel constituents of the same Scheme which are not joined by a further Scheme relationship. Examples of simple coupling are the two OCCASIONING EVENTS of Sequence 5-6 and 5-8, three SPECIFIC MEANS of Paraphrase 7-7, two SPECIFICS of Paraphrase 5-12, three SPECIFICS of Paraphrase 4-9, and two CONSEQUENCES of Implication 5-14. Note that these couplings are marked in Display 4:4 by an arc joining the constituents near the node rather than by adding another node. (As stated by Becker (1967:110), "Conjoining adds to the number of constituents at a level; subjoining does not.")

Following is a list of coherence features observed in the Scheme structure: 1) Both the first Scheme cluster of the Discourse (4-1) and the last (2-3) are Paraphrases containing a Contra-expectation Scheme.

2) The first-level Scheme is a Syllogism which is backed up by a Syllogism as its second PREMISE (2-2), and by two further Syllogisms filling PREMISES 3-3 and 3-4.

3) The CONCLUSION (3-5) of the second half of the Discourse, i.e., Syllogism 2-2, is portmanteau with the final CONCLUSION (2-3) of the Discourse.

4) The argumentation of the Syllogism Scheme as a whole is carried out by repetition of three basic Scheme types in addition to Syllogisms: seven Paraphrases, five Contra-expectations, and eight Implications. Other than these there are two Contrasts, one Narrative, and one Means.

5) The Narrative ILLUSTRATION (3-2) has a SETTING and two EPISODES, each of which also has its own SETTING plus an EVENT-LINE filled by a Sequence of four EVENTS. The fact that this Narrative Scheme is embedded within an Exposition is shown by the portmanteau Paraphrase in the first Episode and the Means Scheme embedded within OCCASIONING EVENT 6-13 of the second Episode. CONCLUDING EVENT 6-14 is also portmanteau with a SPECIFIC (8-9) of the Means Paraphrase. An article by Hunt (1980) has just arrived which addresses the matter of portmanteau relations between Propositions. Hunt's particular interest is in combinations of developmental (addition) relations with logical relations. Contrastive and Contra-expectation relations can also be combined.

4.2.2.3 Prominence and theme in Scheme structure

In a Syllogism Scheme the CONCLUSION is naturally prominent. In this Discourse the final CONCLUSION sums up the entire theme in a single Point (23), 'Like that is the custom of our region in which they court the girls but they don't do unethically.' (It is marked on Display 4:4 with a solid double line.) Notice that the final CONCLUSION is fairly simple. This is similar to the final COMMENT of the Evaluation Scheme in chapter 3.2 and to the final MORAL of a Narrative Scheme (cf. 5.2). Brevity in the final

constituent of a Discourse is a prominence device.

Of the two PREMISES, the EXPLANATION (2-2) may have greater prominence because it has a CONCLUSION (3-5) portmanteau with the Discourse-final CONCLUSION (given above). (This is marked on Display 4:4 by a double dotted line.) Also, it restates the theme in each of its two Syllogisms (cf. Contra-expectations 4-6 and 4-7 and PREMISE 4-8). In DESCRIPTION (2-1) THESIS 3-1 is prominent and within it THESIS 5-1 is prominent. The latter is filled by Point 1 'The fellows must go to the girls', which is the theme statement for this Scheme cluster (2-1). (This is also marked on Display 4:4 by a dotted double line.)

Within the Narrative (3-2), each Episode contains a CONCLUDING EVENT, but the second (6-14) is given greater prominence by means of the prepeak slowdown provided by insertion of an Expository Means Scheme into OCCASIONING EVENT 6-13. On the other hand, the CONCLUDING EVENT is so parallel to MEANS 8-8 that it takes a moment to catch its impact.

As stated in chapter 2.2.1.3, a summary of the Discourse could be progressively expanded by adding sub-themes from each Scheme according to its relative prominence until the entire Discourse would be reconstructed.

4.2.3 Point and Proposition structures

As discussed in section 2.2.2, Scheme structure terminates in Points and Point constituents. Points are then further described according to their propositional constituents. In Display 4:5a the TOPIC-COMMENT structure of the Points is shown in their correlations with two-part Sentences joined by the topicalizers cóh and ma. In Display 4:5b the Propositional fillers of each TOPIC and COMMENT are listed.

DISPLAY 4:5a Point structure of 'Pacoh Fellows and Girls'

TOPIC		COMMENT
1 Ngai ân lalâu	cŏh	phai pôc tŏq ngai ân cumŏr.
The fellows	so	must go to the girls.
2 Anáq do ân cumŏr lâyq ính	ma	ngai ân lalâu icŏh rit.
Even-if a girl doesn't like	but	the fellows like-that custom.
3 Nám ính clŏn cumŏr mmo	cŏh	phai pôc tŏq dúng cumŏr ncŏh dyŏn tian.
If want to court girl any	so	must go to home of girl that give money.
4 Ma nám cumŏr ncŏh ính		
But if girl that wants to		
pôc clŏn alúng lalâu ncŏh	cŏh	dyeal tian do ân lalâu.
go court with fellow that	so	takes money his.
5 Ma nám lâyq ính pôc		
But if doesn't want go		
clŏn alúng lalâu ncŏh	cŏh	lâyq dyeal tian do cŏh.
court with fellow that	so	doesn't take money his.
6 Anáq dyŏn put li mmo		
Even-if gives however much		
ma nám lâyq ính pôc		
but if doesn't want to go		
clŏn alúng lalâu ncŏh	cŏh	cumŏr lâyq dyeal tian do ân lalâu
court with fellow that	so	girl not take money fellow's.
7 Tŏq he nám tŏq dyê		
At us if came already		
nno a-úm nno ân puaq	cŏh	
corn season hot season	so	
ngai ân lalâu ibu idau	cŏh	par-ât tŏq xu cumŏr.
the fellows evening night	so	stay at girls' homes.
8		Ngai pôc chum cha a-úm-apo.
		They go beg eat corn.

9 Ngai pốc clŏn pôc tarlĕnh alŭng
They go court go tease with
do ân cumŏr tốq dyê ang.
the girls until already dawn.

10 Cốh ngai chŏ tấq proaq-tampấq
Then they return do work
alŭng a-i a-ám.
with moms and dads.

11 Nám tốq dyê ibu cốh ngai pôc loi parchôq alŭng yâu-bây,
If arrive already evening then they go again together with friends,
pôc dông khên tirĕl, dông tian cua
take flutes, take belongings
ính dyŏn pinêq ado cumŏr.
want give gifts to girls.

12 Do ân bôn ao cốh dông ao.
He who has cloth so gives cloth.

13 Do ân bôn práq cốh dông práq.
He who has silver so takes silver.

14 Amâh vi ibôn cốh dông.
Whatever is one-has so takes.

15 Damo cumŏr ính cốh cumŏr dyeal.
Whichever girl likes so girl takes.

16 A-i a-ám ma
Parents but

ngai ính ipôc clŏn ipôc anhoi cốh ma "Acâp itấq ân lâyq phep;
they want we-go courting but "Don't you-do what not ethical;
pôc clŏn lu llấm clŏn; acâp tấq
go court really only court; don't do
parrŏih-tancayh abuih chĕt a-i a-ám."
fornication so-not dead parents."

17 Anáq arâq ncŏh muang he ngai
Though like that region us they

clŏn ngai át alŭng cumŏr — cŏh ma buih dĭq ngai táq lâyq phep.
court they stay with girls — but not hardly they do not ethical.

18 Beaq mnáq — num táq ân lâyq phep.
Few persons — only do what not ethical.

19 Arâq mâh chít náq — cŏh vi mâh náq num ân lâyq phep.
Like out of ten persons — so is one person only who not ethical.

20 A-i a-ám ngai, ngai
Parents theirs, they

achung acay-acon ngai dyoq
instruct kids they forbid

itáq ân lâyq o ân prâh — cŏh ngai lâyq dâh táq.
do what not good what bad — so they don't dare do it.

21 Nám táq lâyq phep
If do unethically

cŏh ma anhuq pĕq acay — cŏh nnau canhin.
so but bears carry child — so whoever (it is) repents.

mŏi lâh a-eq ado dŭng-xu cruang-cuteac.
and a curse upon homes and lands.

22 Nám do ân táq lâyq phep — cŏh phai vi tiriaq carróq alic ntruai
If one who does unethically — so must have buffalo cattle, pigs chickens

ian ngâh atŭc ado yang-práh.
in-order to sacrifice to spirits.

mŏi lâh têq dyám cang a-i a-ám achung.
furthermore obey voice parents instruct.

23 Icŏh rit muang he
Thus custom region ours

ân ngai clŏn cumŏr — ma ngai buih táq lâyq o.
that they court girls — but they don't do not good.

DISPLAY 4:5b Propositional Point structure

TOPIC	COMMENT
1 Thematic participant	Activity Event
2 Experience Event	Attribution (Activity)
3 Experience Event	Activity Event
4 Experience Event	Activity Event
5 Experience Event	Activity Event
6 Experience Event	Activity Event
7 Locations and participant	Activity Event
8	Activity Event
9	Activity Event
10	Activity Event
11 Location in time	Activity Event
12 Possession	Activity Event
13 Possession	Activity Event
14 Possession	Activity Event
15 Experience Event	Activity Event
16 Experience Event	Speech Act Event
17 Activity Event	Activity Event
18	Activity Event
19	Existence (Activity Event)
20 Speech Act Event	Activity Event
21 Activity Events	Activity Event and a State
22 Activity Event	Possession + Activity, and Activity
23 Attribution (Activity)	Activity Event

4.2.3.1 Points as TOPIC-COMMENT constructions

The Discourse, 'Pacoh Fellows and Girls', divides into 23 Points. There are two kinds of TOPIC-COMMENT relationships in this Discourse. The first kind of TOPIC-COMMENT relationship is the combining of thematic participant with a main Proposition. That is, in Points 1 and 7 'the fellows' are identified as first-ranking thematic participant for the first PREMISE, i.e., Illustration 2-1. In Points 16 and 20 'parents' are identified as first-ranking participants for the second PREMISE, i.e., Syllogism 2-2. The second kind of TOPIC-COMMENT relationship is the combining of left-branching Scheme constituents with right-branching Scheme constituents. For example, in Point 2 TOPIC is a Proposition filling CONCESSION 6-1 while COMMENT is a Proposition filling the main constituent of CONTRA-EXPECTATION 6-2. A third configuration combines both participant and left-branching constituent in TOPIC as in Points 7, 16, and 20. Use of the term TOPIC to include left-branching Propositions makes it somewhat of a 'surface' term, but I have no better solution yet.

All Points easily divide into TOPIC and COMMENT except Points 8-10. (The division almost always correlates with occurrence of DM conjunctions.) In the case of Points 8 to 10, a single TOPIC, i.e., Point 7a, serves several COMMENTS. This is significant in that Points 7-10 fill an embedded Narrative Episode, of which the TOPIC, Point 7a, is SETTING (5-5). In terms of the Episode, four Build-ups follow a SETTING, but in terms of Expository Points, four COMMENTS follow a single TOPIC.

All of the Points are described below under both TOPIC and COMMENT divisions (cf. Display 4:5).

a. TOPICS. The TOPIC of the first Point, i.e., ngai ân lalâu 'fellows', is first-ranking thematic participant for all the Points of the first PREMISE (DESCRIPTION 2-1), but more specifically of the first major Scheme cluster (THESIS 3-1) filled by Points 1-6. The first-rank thematic participant interacts with secondary participant, ngai ân cumŏr 'girls'. TOPICS of Points 2-6 are Propositions filling left-branching Scheme constituents, e.g., Point 2a 'even if the girl doesn't like it' fills CONCESSION 6-1. The TOPIC of Point 6 is more complex in that it fills two left-branching constituents: CONCESSION 7-5 and CONDITION 8-3, 'however much he gives, if she doesn't want to go court with him, . . .'.

The TOPIC of Points 7-10 is complex, containing a four-part SETTING. Its principle division is between time and space orientation and thematic participant, repeating 'fellows', given in the TOPIC of Point 1 above. The first part, 'at us', goes with the entire Narrative, while 'sunny corn season', 'fellows', and 'evening-night' go with the Episode.

The TOPIC of Point 11 is a new SETTING for Episode 4-5, 'if evening has arrived'. The TOPIC of Point 12 identifies AGENT of the Proposition filling SPECIFIC MEANS 8-6. It also subdivides the preceding reference to 'fellows', i.e., 'he who has cloth'. The same is true of Point 13 TOPIC, 'he who has silver'. Point 14 TOPIC, 'whatever one has', is PATIENT of the Proposition, further subdividing PATIENT of the last Proposition of Point 11, i.e., 'belongings'. Point 15 TOPIC is a Proposition filling Implication CONDITION 7-9, 'whoever-whatever the girl wants'. (The term damo 'whichever' is ambiguous, indicating subdivision of either AGENT or PATIENT or both. It is not possible to check with the speaker, but I suspect that the ambiguity was deliberate.)

Point 16 TOPIC is complex, introducing the first-ranking participants of the second embedded Discourse (Syllogism 2-2), a-i a-ám 'parents', and containing a Proposition filling CONCESSION 5-9, i.e., 'want the kids to go courting'. Point 17 TOPIC is a Proposition filling CONCESSION 5-11, 'even though they court like that'. Point 18 TOPIC subdivides second-rank participants 'fellows' mentioned in the preceding COMMENT. The subdivision is 'a few individuals only'. Point 18 TOPIC adds a different subdivision, 'for example, a group of ten'.

Point 20 TOPIC is a pair of Propositions, reintroducing 'parents' as thematic (just as Point 7 TOPIC repeats thematic participant for DESCRIPTION 2-1), and filling PREMISE 4-6, i.e., 'they instruct children, they forbid doing bad'. Point 21 TOPIC is complex, including two Propositions filling CONDITION 6-17, i.e., 'if one does unethically so bears a child'. Point 22 TOPIC is a Proposition filling CONDITION 6-20, i.e., 'if there is one who does unethically'.

Point 23 TOPIC is a Proposition filling GENERIC 3-6, i.e., 'thus is custom of our region'.

In summary, note that the TOPICS of Points 1, 7, 16, and 20 introduce thematic participants, and TOPICS of all Points except Points 1, 12-14, 18-19 contain Propositions filling left-branching constituents of Schemes. The fact that a participant may span several Schemes indicates that participant selection is determined at the highest levels of the Scheme structure.

b. COMMENTS. The COMMENTS of the Points of this Discourse are almost all filled by Propositions or Proposition clusters filling right-branching

constituents of the Scheme structure. For example, Point 2 COMMENT is a Proposition filling CONTRA-EXPECT 6-2, i.e., 'thus is the fellows' custom'. Exceptions are described below:

Point 1 is a single Proposition filling THESIS 5-1. The COMMENT is the predication 'must go to the girls'.

Points 12-14 are single Propositions filling SPECIFIC MEANS 8-6, 7, and 8. The COMMENTS are the predications 'take cloth', 'take silver', and 'take', respectively. (These SPECIFIC MEANS could also be shown to be constituents of a further Paraphrase Scheme, 'cloth', 'silver', and 'whatever', being SPECIFICS of the GENERIC 'belongings'.)

Points 18 and 19 are single Propositions filling SPECIFICS 6-16 and 6-17. The COMMENT of Point 18 is the predication 'do what is unethical'. The COMMENT of Point 19 is the Existence, 'there is only one (out of ten) who is unethical'.

Note that the three Points (8-10) which lack separate TOPICS are both Build-ups in an embedded Narrative Episode and SPECIFICS in an embedded Paraphrase. Note also that of the six Points which are single Propositions, one is the first Point of the Discourse, and five (12-14, 18, 19) are SPECIFICS in Paraphrase Schemes 7-7 and 5-12. Thus the shape of the Points appears to be related to Scheme type.

4.2.3.2 Points as Propositions

In the Point analysis above, there are basically two situations, one in which a Point is a single Proposition, and one in which TOPIC and COMMENT contain separate Propositions. When a Point is a single Proposition, the TOPIC is always a nuclear argument of the Proposition, i.e., AGENT or PATIENT (not non-nuclear such as the time TOPICS of 'The Old Days' of chapter 3.2).

In the following description, main Propositions which are Events are: Experience Events (a), Activity Events (b-f), Attributions (g), Existence (h), and Possession (i). (Fillers shown in parentheses are elided in the surface structure.)

a. Experience Event = AGENT (EXPR) +EXPERIENCE +SOURCE

Point 2a = AGENT: 'the girls' +NEG: 'not' +EXP: 'want, like' +SOURCE: Point 1 (This apparently indicates that some girls might prefer alternative ways of arranging dates.)

Point 3a = AGENT: (fellows) +EXP: 'want' +SOURCE: Event 'go court any girl'

Point 4a = AGENT: 'girl' +EXP: 'want' +SOURCE: Event 'go court with that fellow'

Point 5a = negation of 4a above

Point 6aii = same as 5a above

Point 15a = AGENT: 'girl' +EXP: 'wants' +SOURCE: 'whichever'

Point 16a = AGENT: 'parents' +EXP: 'want' +SOURCE: Event 'kids go courting'

Point 20b = AGENT: 'fellows' +NEG: 'not' +EXP: 'dare' +SOURCE: Event 'do unethically'

Point 22c = AGENT: (children) + EXP: 'obey, respect' +SOURCE: Event 'Parents instruct'

Activity Events:

b. One-participant Activity w/o GOAL = AGENT +ACTIVITY

Point 21b = AG: 'all concerned' +ACT: 'repent'

c. One-participant Activities with GOAL = AGENT +ACTIVITY +GOAL

Point 1 = AG:'fellows' +MODAL:'must' +ACT:'go' +GOAL:'girls'

Point 3b = AG:(fellow) +MODAL:'must' +ACT:'go' +GOAL:'house'

Point 11 = AG:'fellows' +ACT:'go' +REPETITIVE:'again' +ACT:'get together' +ACCOMP:'friends'

d. Two-participant Activities = AGENT +ACTIVITY +PATIENT or RANGE

Point 8 = AG:'fellows' +ACT:'go' +ACT:'mooch' +PATENT:'corn'

Point 9 = AG:'fellows' +ACT:'go' +ACT:'court' +ACT:'tease' +AG+PAT:'girls' +DURATION:'dawn'

Point 10 = AG:'fellows' +ACT:'return' +ACT:'work' RANGE:'work' +ACCOMP:'parents'

Point 17a = MANNER:'thus' +LOC:'our region' +AG:'fellows' +ACT:'court' +AG+PAT:'girls'

Point 17b = AG:'fellows' +NEG:'not hardly' +ACT:'behave' +MANNER:'unethically'

Point 18 = AG:'sub-fellows' +ACT:'behave' +MANNER:'unethically'

Point 20b = AG:'fellows'+ NEG:'not' +MODAL:'dare' +ACT:'do' +RANGE:(bad deeds)

Point 21ai = AG:(kids) +ACT:'behave' +MANNER:'unethically'

Point 21aii = AG:(girl) +MODAL:'suffer' +ACT:'carry' +PAT:'baby'

Point 22bii = AG:(kids) +ACT:'obey, respect' +RANGE:'parents' voice'

Point 23bii = AG:'fellows' +NEG:'not' +ACT:'do' +MANNER:'unethically'

e. Three-participant Activity = AGENT +ACTIVITY +PATIENT (+GOAL or SOURCE)

Point 11biii = AG:'fellows' +ACT:'take' +PAT:'flutes, money-belongings'

Point 12 = AG:'subgroup-fellows' +ACT:'take' +PAT:'cloth'

Point 13 = AG:'sub-fellows' +ACT:'take' +PAT:'silver'

Point 14 = PAT:'whatever' +ACT:'take' + AG:(sub-fellows)

Point 15b = PAT:'whichever' +ACT:'receive' +AG:'girls'

f. Speech Event = AG/SOURCE +ACT +GOAL +RANGE

Point 16b = AG/S:'parents' +ACT:(say) +RANGE:'Don't . . .'

Point 20 = AG/S:'parents' +ACT:'instruct' +GOAL:'children'; +ACT:'forbid' +RANGE:"Don't do . . ."

g. Attribution = ITEM or Event +ATTRIBUTE

Point 2b = ITEM:'custom' +ATTR:'like that'

Point 17a = ATTR:'like-that' +Event:'they court'

Point 17b = Event:'do' +ATTR:'unethically'

Point 23b = ITEM:'custom' +ATTR:'like that (Discourse)'

h. Existence = EXISTENT

Point 19 = EXISTENT: '(one unethical) person'

i. Possession = ITEM +POSSESSOR

Point 22b = ITEM:'cattle, etc.' +POSSESSOR:'person'

4.2.3.3 Embedded Propositions

As in chapter 3, only assertions are described below as embedded Propositions. Downgraded predications such as Noun Phrase identification or specification are described at the concept level (4.2.3) rather than at the Proposition level.

Point 11b PURPOSE:Exp. Event = AGENT:(fellows) +EXP:'want' +SOURCE:Transfer

Event = AG:(fellows) +ACT:'give' +PATIENT:'gifts' +GOAL:'girls'

Point 16a = SOURCE:Act. Event +AG:(fellows) +ACT:'court' +ACCOMP:'girls' +ACT:'stay' +ACCOMP:'girls'

Point 16b RANGE:three coordinate Activity Events embedded in an exhortation = AG:(you) +NEG:'don't' +ACT:'do' +RANGE:'deeds' +ACT:'court' +VERIFICATION:'genuinely' +NEG:'don't' +ACT:'fornicate' +REASON:Process

Point 16b REASON:Process +NEG:'lest' +PROCESS:'die' +PATIENT:'parents'

Point 20a RANGE:Act. Event = AG:(children) +ACT:'do' +RANGE:'deeds'

Point 22b PURPOSE:Act. Event = AG:(people) +ACT:'sacrifice' +PAT:(cattle, etc.) +GOAL:'spirits'

Point 22c SOURCE:Speech Act +RANGE:'language' +AG:'parents' +ACT:'instruct'

4.2.3.4 Coherence in Points and Propositions

Points are coherent elements of the Discourse because of their TOPIC-COMMENT relationships and because of their Propositional relationships. The TOPIC-COMMENT relationships are discussed first.

a. TOPIC-COMMENT coherence

As described in 4.2.3.1, there are two kinds of TOPIC-COMMENT relationship in the Points of this Discourse. The one joins a thematic participant as AGENT to the Predication. Point 1 illustrates this, 'fellows so must go to the girls'. The other joins left-branching Scheme constituents to right-branching constituents. This is illustrated by most of the Points. Both of these relationships tie Points together with respect to their external Scheme structure and their internal Proposition structure.

Three Points combine the two relationships. Point 7 TOPIC combines time and space SETTING with thematic participant 'fellows' as AGENT of the following predication. In Points 16 and 20 TOPIC is both thematic participant, 'parents' as AGENT and SPEAKER of the following predications, and left-branching constituent, i.e., CONCESSION 5-10 and GENERIC 5-14 respectively.

Regarding case frame coherence notice that almost the whole Discourse is composed of Activity Events except for the left-branching Propositions of Points 2-6 and 16 (cf. Display 4:5b).

Points 8-10 and 12-15 deserve special attention because of their embedded status. Points 8-10 are a kind of hybrid between Narrative and Expository. As Narrative, they are a sequence of Activity Events following a single SETTING. Their coherence is found in parallel Event structure, identical AGENT: 'they', and in the referential sequence 'go eat', 'go court', then 'return to work'.

Points 12-15 are, in a sense, an embedded Subdivision Scheme. Both the AGENT 'fellows' and the PATIENT 'money-belongings' in the last Proposition of 11b above are subdivided in the four TOPICS, as 'he who has cloth', 'he who has silver', 'whatever one has', and 'whichever the girls want', respectively. For the same Points to belong simultaneously to two Scheme types demonstrates additional cohesive ties.

b. Proposition coherence

The coherence of Propositions depends upon the implicit or explicit presence of their nuclear constituents and upon collocational compatibility of all the constituents. In this Discourse all predicates are explicit and

all arguments are compatible. Where arguments are implicit, they can be shown to be implicit by use of the deletion rules presented in section 4.3.2.2.

4.2.3.5 Prominence in Points and Propositions

In Points there is both TOPIC prominence and COMMENT prominence. In a one-Proposition Point, the TOPIC gives prominence to the first-rank participant of the Scheme cluster which it introduces, e.g., Point 1a 'fellows'. The COMMENT carries predicate prominence, and may also introduce the second-rank participant, e.g., Point 1b 'go to the girls'.

In a two-Proposition Point, TOPIC is prominent as introducer of the left-branching constituent of a Scheme, e.g., CONCESSION, but COMMENT is prominent as carrier of the more naturally prominent constituent of the Scheme, i.e., the right-branching constituent, such as CONSEQUENCE of an Implication Scheme.

In Event and Process Propositions the predicates are more prominent than the arguments, though an argument which is also a thematic participant, e.g., 'fellows', has a span of greater prominence at a higher level of structure. Part of the anomaly of Prop. 21a is that there is no choice of prominence in an Existence.

4.2.4 Concept structure

This section is divided into four parts. Concept clusters are first divided into their components, i.e., embedded concepts, then concepts are described in terms of inclusion classes, semantic dictionary, and discussion of special relationships between concepts within the Discourse.

4.2.4.1 Concept clusters

Downgraded predications (cf. section 2.2.4.1) are distinguished below under Identification, Specification, Association, Possession, and Quantification. Compounding is also discussed in this section, though it is not considered to involve any kind of predication.

a. Identification = ITEM +IDENTIFIER

Point 1a, 2b, 4b, 6b, 7aiii ITEM:'they' +IDENTIFIER:'fellow'

Point 1b, 2a, 9 ITEM:'they' +IDENTIFIER:'maiden'

Point 7aii ITEM:'season' +IDENTIFIER:'corn, hot'

Point 16b, 20a ITEM:Event 'do' +IDENTIFIER:'unethical'

Point 19 ITEM:'person' +IDENTIFIER:'unethical'

Point 22a ITEM:'person' +IDENTIFIER:Activity Event

Point 23 ITEM:'custom' +IDENTIFIER:Act. Event--courtship

b. Specification = ITEM +SPECIFIER

Point 3a ITEM:'girl' +SPECIFIER:'whichever'

Point 3b, 4a ITEM:'girl' +SPECIFIER:'that'

Point 4a, 5a, b, 6a ITEM:'fellow' +SPECIFIER:'that'

c. Association = ITEM +ASSOCIATOR

Points 17a,23a ITEM:'custom' +ASSOCIATOR:'region'

Point 3b, 7b ITEM:'house' +ASSOCIATOR:'girl'

d. Possession = ITEM +POSSESSOR

Points 4b, 5b, 6b ITEM:'money' +POSSESSOR:'fellow'

Point 12 ITEM:'cloth' +POSSESSOR:'fellow'

Point 13 ITEM:'silver' +POSSESSOR:'fellow'

Point 14 ITEM:'whatever' +POSSESSOR:'fellow'

e. Quantification = ITEM +QUANTITY

Point 6 ITEM:'money' +QUANTITY:'much'

Point 18 ITEM:'persons' +QUANTITY:'few'

Point 19 ITEM:'ten persons' +QUANTITY:'one'

f. Compounding. Certain concepts are compounded to produce a portmanteau of the two. In this Discourse compounds include things and actions. Bound compounds are identified by hyphenation and by lack of separate meaning for the second part. Compounding adds a feature of amplitude to the concepts involved.

THINGS

corn	corn +corn	a-úm-apo
parents	mother +father	a-i a-ám
teenagers	fellows +maidens	lalâu cumŏr
off-work social time	evening +night	ibu idau
musical instruments	reeded pipes +flutes	khên tirĕl
valuables	money +belongings	tian cua
important spirits	spirits +ancestor spirits	yang práh
livestock (large)	buffalo +cattle	tiriaq carróq
livestock (small)	pigs +chicken	alic ntruai
land, source of livelihood	river valley +land	cruang cuteac
home community	house +hut	dŭng xu
friends	friend +friend	yâu-bây

ACTIONS

mooch	beg +eat	chum cha
play, court	play +play	clŏn anhoi
fornication	fornication +fornication	parrŏih tancayh
obey	obey +respect	têq dyám

4.2.4.2 Inclusion classes

The concepts of the Discourse are divided into ten inclusion classes (or categories): action, attribute, experience, modal, possession, process, state, quantity, relational, speech, thing, and location.

action (one-participant) > repent

> travel > go, return

(two-participant) > court, play, tease, work, visit, sacrifice, obey, respect, mooch, eat, fornicate

(three-participant) > transfer >give, take, receive

attribute (item) > ethical, good, evil, cursed

(event) > ethical, customary

experience > want, respect

modal (negation) > not, don't, lest, not (cautious)

(obligation) > must

possession > have

process > conceive

state > dead

quantity > few, one, ten

relational (direction) > to, at

(coordination) > and, with, but, reciprocal

(subordination) > if, even if, then, therefore

(generic) > whoever, whatever

(kinship) > mother, father, child, ancestor

(social) > fellow, girl, parent, child, friend

(supernatural) > spirit

speech > instruct, forbid, say

thing > human > Pacoh > fellow, girl, man, woman, child

> spirit

> animal > buffalo, cattle, pig, chicken

> artifact > money, cloth, silver, flute

> food > corn

location > place > region, valley, earth, home

> time > season, evening, night, dawn

4.2.4.3 Dictionary of concepts

Concepts are defined in relation to the referential realm of the Communication Situation (|rr), and the Morphotactics (/DM). Only a few examples of definitions are given, especially those which are particularly relevant to further discussion.

ACTIONS

go (ACT) AG: human, animal |rr motion towards a GOAL

/DM v. pôc

play (ACT) AG: human, animal |rr participation in activities for enjoyment

/DM v. clŏn, anhoi 'play'

court (ACT) AG: human, animal |rr participation in ethical activities with the opposite sex for enjoyment

/v. clŏn (-anhoi) alứng ... 'court with ...'

beg (ACT) AG: human |rr ask for something without intention of repaying

/DM v. chum 'beg'

eat (ACT) AG: human, animal |rr ingest food

/DM v. cha 'eat'

fornicate (ACT) AG: human |rr sexual intercourse between unmarried persons

/DM v.+n. tấq parrŏih-tancayh 'do fornication'

return (ACT) AG: human, animal |rr motion towards home

/DM v. chŏ 'return'

PROCESS

conceive (PROC) PATIENT: human, animal |rr pregnancy

|| PATIENT: human /DM v. dandông 'carrying'

v.+n. pế̌q acay 'carry child'

NP bar mất 'two faces'

|| PATIENT: animal (numerous terms)

QUANTITY

few (QUAN) |rr any amount considered relatively insignificant under the situation

/DM counter beaq, dyeaq 'few'

plural (QUAN) |rr more than two

/DM n. compounds, e.g., acay acon 'children'

plural pronouns e.g., he 'we'

counters--all beyond bar 'two'

THING

fellow (HUMAN) |rr unmarried male beyond age of puberty

/DM n. lalâu 'fellow'

maiden (HUMAN) |rr unmarried female beyond age of puberty

/DM n. cumŏr 'maiden, girl'

4.2.4.4 Discussion of concepts

The concepts 'fellows' (lalâu) and 'girls or maidens' (cumŏr) are alike except for the components male-female. However, this difference correlates with numerous biological, psychological, and social differences relevant to the Discourse. Likewise, the concepts 'court or play' and 'do fornication' might be viewed as different only with respect to ethics, but this difference includes far-reaching biological, psychological, social, and spiritual implications. Note the use of euphemisms for fornication, 'do unethical, do not good, do evil', except in one case (Point 16b) where the meaning is made explicit. In the Propositional structure, these were all labelled ACTION: 'do' + MANNER: 'unethical'. The predicate 'do' (tâq) might be considered as a dummy not needed in the Function mode, but there are a number of activities for which it seems important in Pacoh and English, e.g., adultery and fornication.

The concept 'money' (tian) is used as typical of gifts given to girls (cf. Points 3-6). The combination of money and belongings (tian-cua) is used as generic of all such gifts (cf. Points 11-14).

The concept 'not' (lâyq) is fairly absolute, but the concept 'cautious not' (buih) is not absolute. In Point 16b death of the parents is contingent upon an Event which presumably will not occur. In Points 17b and 23b caution is needed because unethical behavior does sometimes occur. It is also con-

sidered more prudent to use the cautious term in cases where the spirits might consider one's use of the absolute term as presumptuous.

It is questionable whether the concept 'instruct' (achung) is generic, including 'forbid' (dyoq), or is rather the positive of which 'forbid' is the negative. Either way, Point 20 fills some kind of Paraphrase Scheme.

It is not known by the analyst if the concept 'few' (beaq) is exemplified by the Quantification 'one out of ten', or if the Quantification might rather be an idiom meant to amplify, i.e., 'very few'.

4.3 Grammatical Distribution and Manifestation Modes (DM)

In this section, the Text is broken down into constituents according to surface distribution slots plus manifesting fillers, i.e., Distribution plus Manifestation modes. As stated in chapter 2, this is not a claim for formal analysis without reference to function. Rather, having analyzed the Text with reference to function, we choose to describe the Function mode distinct from the Distribution plus Manifestation modes, and vice versa.

Beginning with the Text as a whole, each constituent level is described according to its constituency, linkage, and other special features.

4.3.1 Structure of the Text

In this section we consider first the highest level constituents of the Text (4.3.1.1) and then the smallest. Special relationships between words and Phrases which carry through the Text are usually lost by the time the Text is broken down into these smallest constituents, but they are important to the structural unity or 'texture' of the Text (cf. Halliday and Hasan 1976). These are described in two sections: verb and adjective relationships (4.3.1.2) and nominal reference (4.3.1.3).

4.3.1.1 Classification and linkage of Text-level constituents

At its highest level, the Text is composed of a Title and a Body. The Title is linked to the Body by its three constituent Phrases, which are repeated in the Body: rit 'custom' is repeated in A.2b and E.23a, ngai ân lalâu 'fellows' is repeated in whole or in part in Sentences A.1, 2, 4, 5, 6, B.7-11, C.17, D.20, and E.23; ngai ân cumŏr 'girls' is repeated in A.1-4, 6, B.7,9,11,15, C.17, D.20, and E.23; ngai ân cumŏr 'girls' is repeated in A.1-4,6, B.7,9,11,15, and E.23, and tŏq muang he 'at our region' is repeated in B.7, C.17, and E.23. Repetition of ngai ân lalâu 'fellows' in Sentence A.1 constitutes head-head linkage as well. The Title is typically a Noun Phrase preceding a whole Text.

The Body is composed of three constituents, i.e., two Sections and a final Sentence. Each Section somewhat resembles the Text in that it opens with a Noun Phrase and it divides into two Paragraphs. The first Section opens with the Phrase Ngai ân lalâu 'fellows', which is also repeated from the Title. The second Paragraph of this Section is linked to the first by juxtaposition of parallel structures, i.e., parallel Sentence structures, by repetition of the same initial Phrase, and by repetition of other Clauses, Phrases, and words, e.g., 'fellows go, court, give money to girls, girls accept'.

The second Section opens with the Noun Phrase a-i a-am 'parents'. The second Paragraph of this Section is linked to the first by repetition of the same opening Noun Phrase, by juxtaposition of parallel structures, and by repetition of similar Clauses, Phrases, and words, especially the Clause fragment tăq lâyq phep 'do unethical', which occurs six times (C.16-19 and D.20-22). The two Sections are linked to each other by juxtaposition of

parallel structures, i.e., parallel Paragraph and Sentence structures, and by repetition of similar constituents, e.g., pôc clŏn 'go play' (C.16), ngai clŏn ngai ât alŭng cumŏr 'they court they stay with girls' (C.17).

There is an interesting parallel between the final sentences of the two Sections. Sentence B.15 is parallel in structure to Sentences B.12-14 even though it has a different TOPIC and AGENT than 12-14 and it correlates with CONCLUDING EVENT rather than the MEANS Paraphrase which 12-14 do.

Likewise Sentence D.22 is parallel in structure to Sentence D.21 even though the parallelism between Clauses b and c in 21 correlate with coordination of two CONSEQUENCES of the same IMPLICATION; whereas in 22 it does not correlate with coordination at all. It correlates with a subtle addition of another PREMISE for good behavior.

Final Sentence E.23 is linked to the two Sections by the conjunction icŏh 'like that', by the word rit 'custom' repeated from A.2, the Phrase muang he 'our region' repeated from B.7 and C.17, by the Clause ngai clŏn cumŏr 'they court girls' repeated from all all four Paragraphs, and by the Clause ngai buih tâq lâyq o 'they don't do unethical' repeated in similar words from C.16-19 and D.20-22. Two special features are observed in the final Sentence. First, it is just a Sentence filling a Text-level constituent. Second, it has only one main Clause and its two-part division is found in a conjunctive Sentence embedded in a Relative Clause. All other Sentences of the Text either divide between ClP and ClC of a main Clause, or between two main Clauses.

4.3.1.2 Verb and adjective relationships

The verb pôc 'go' is the most frequent verb, occurring in Paragraph A in part (b) of Sentences 1 and 3, and part (a) of Sentences 4, 5, 6. In Paragraph B it occurs in Part (b) of Sentences 8, 9, and 11. A counterpart, chŏ 'return' occurs in 10. In Paragraph C pôc occurs in 16a and b. In seven cases it co-occurs with other verbs.

The verb ĩnh 'want, like' occurs in A.2a,4a,5a,6a, B.11b,15a, and C.16a. In six cases it co-occurs with other verbs.

The verb clŏn 'court' often co-occurs with ĩnh and pôc, but not always. It is found in A.3a,4a,5a,6a, B.9, C.16a,b,17a, and E.23.

The verb dyeal 'take' occurs in A.4b,5b,6b, and B.15. The verb tấq 'work,do' occurs in B.10, C.16b,17b,18b,19b, D.20a,b,21a,22a, and E.23b.

The Adjective Phrase lâyq phep 'unethical' usually occurs with the verb tấq, but once without it, i.e., in C.19b. Its synonym lâyq o 'not good, unethical' replaces it in D.20a and E.23b.

The frequency of repetition of these verbs throughout the Text in combination with the three participant groups described below provides considerable unity.

4.3.1.3 Nominal reference

Verbs are restated in every Clause with rare exception even though the same one may carry across a considerable span. Nouns, on the other hand, are often elided or abbreviated. In this section we will describe first the identification of participants, then the ways in which further reference is elided or abbreviated. ('Participant reference' belongs to the Function mode, so most functional correlations are not presented until sections 4.6 and 4.7.)

Participant reference in this Text correlates with the following forms: 1) noun or pronoun +Relative Clause, 2) noun or pronoun +demonstrative, 3) noun or pronoun, 4) ellipsis (∅).

Rules of back-reference:

1. First-rank participant is introduced in SIPH-ClP of the Paragraph-initial Sentence by means of a noun or pronoun +Relative Phrase, e.g., ngai ân lalâu 'they who fellows'

2. First-rank is further manifest by ∅ except as superceded by other rules

3. Second-rank participant is introduced the first time in ClF of the Paragraph-initial Sentence by means of a noun or pronoun +Relative Clause

4. If the first- and second-rank participants switch positions, they are manifest by means of a noun or pronoun +demonstrative

5. Where pronoun +demonstrative is ambiguous, noun +demonstrative is used

6. If first-rank occurs in a new position, other than ClP or ClF, he is re-identified by means of a noun or pronoun +Relative Clause

7. In juxtaposed Sentences, i.e., a list, ClP is filled by a pronoun for first-rank, a noun for second-rank, and a prn +Rel.Cl. for additional (subdivided) participants

8. Following a point of complication, e.g., in A.2a or A.6a, identities are re-stated, e.g., in A.2b or A.6b

In the Title there is a participant group manifested by pronoun +Relative Clause, which is divided into two groups in the Paragraph A-initial Sentence. 'They who fellows' is introduced as 'first-rank' for the Discourse by means of a pronoun +Relative Clause filling SIPH-ClP of the same Sentence. 'They who girls' is introduced as 'second-rank' participant by means of a pronoun +Relative Clause filling ClF of the same Sentence. In Sentence A.2a

a partially different second-rank participant (subdivision) is introduced in the ClP by means of prn.+Rel.Cl., requiring that the first-rank be reintroduced in A.2b ClP in the same way. In the rest of the Paragraph reference to 'the fellows' is always elided when in ClP position, even in A.6a where 'the girl' is also elided.

In the Subparagraph A.4-6 there is a reversal, moving girls to ClP and fellows to ClF. This requires the use of noun +demonstrative, i.e., ClP: **cumŏr ncŏh** 'girl that' and ClF: **lalâu ncŏh** 'fellow that' (the pronoun would not distinguish the two). In a new position, i.e., NPF of the ClF of A.4b the first-rank person is re-identified by means of the prn.+Rel.Cl. Since 'the girl' is established in ClP as Subparagraph first-rank, it is elided in A.5 and A.6a, but restated as **cumŏr** 'girl' in A.6b because the Discourse first-rank participant was also elided in A.5a. In 5b NPF of ClF 'he who fellow' is reduced to 'he that', i,e. 'that one', but in 6b the full form occurs again, probably because of the potential confusion of 6a.

In Paragraph B **ngai ân lalâu** 'they who fellows' is reintroduced as first-rank participant. In Sentences 8-10 ClP is filled by the pronoun **ngai** 'they' rather than ∅ because they occur as a set of juxtaposed Sentences (|F Paraphrase). In Sentence 11 the pronoun occurs in ClP of a Subparagraph-initial Sentence. In Sentences 12-13 a partially new participant is identified by prn +Rel.Cl. in juxtaposed Sentences. In Sentence 14 it occurs as i- 'non-specific agent' embedded in a Relative Clause. In Sentence 15 there is a reversal of positions in which the noun **cumŏr** 'girl' fills ClP and the prn +demonstrative **damo** 'he or it, whichever' fills ClF.

In Paragraph C a new Paragraph first-rank participant is introduced by a noun, a-i a-ám 'parents' (the Relative Clause is not needed because of the F-kinship relating this concept back to the thematic participants). The i- infix on embedded verbs of C.16 refers back to the pronoun ngai and marks 'fellows' as second-rank participant in the Paragraph. In C.17 C1P is filled by ngai 'they' which is known to refer back to i- above rather than 'parents' because of the verb clŏn to which it is prefixed. This C1P filler then introduces 'the fellows' as Subparagraph first-rank participant, which is elided in 17b. In Sentence 17-18 a Sub-subparagraph introduces a new grouping by means of numeral Phrases, 'few persons', 'ten persons', and 'one person'. In Paragraph D the noun compound a-i a-ám filling SIPH-C1P of the Paragraph-initial Sentence instates 'parents' as first-rank participants, and acay acon filling C1F re-instates 'children' as second-rank participants. The pronoun ngai +verb táq filling C1P of D.20b instates the kids as Subparagraph first-rank participants. Elision in C1P of D.21aii refers back to ngai in 21ai. The pronoun nnau 'whoever' in C1P of 21b refers back to the hypothetical nature of ngai in 21a. In D.22a the pronoun +Relative Clause 'he who misbehaves' appears to refer back to be a partially new participant filling C1F of a vi 'exist' Clause (though vi is elided). Elision in 22b refers back to the filler of C1P in 22a.

In the terminal Sentence (E.23) the noun rit re-instates 'custom' as thematic topic of the Discourse, referring back to the Title and A.2b. The pronoun ngai +verb clŏn continues to refer back to ngai ân lalâu 'the fellows' of A.3 and all of Paragraphs B, C, and D.

4.3.2 Paragraph structure

The Text divides into four main Paragraphs. The Paragraphs divide into both Subparagraphs and Sentences. Main Paragraphs and Subparagraphs are described in separate sections below. Display 4:6 of Paragraph and Subparagraph divisions follows section 4.3.2.1 below.

4.3.2.1 The Main Paragraphs

Each of the four main Paragraphs of the Text have two major constituents (PC1 and PC2). Paragraph A is composed of a single Paragraph-initial Sentence followed by five two-part conjunctive Sentences. The first part of each conjunctive Sentence is a Transitive-sentential Clause having the verb **ính** 'want'. Paragraph A consists of two Subparagraphs, A.1-3 and A.4-6. Subparagraph A.4-6 is linked to A.1-3 by juxtaposition of parallel structures and by tail-head linkage. In A.1-3 'the fellows' fills C1P and 'the girls' fills C1F (except in A.2a); in A.4-6 'that girl' fills C1P and 'that fellow' fills C1F. In part (b) of A.1-3 'fellows go'; in part (b) of A.4-6 'girls take fellow's money'.

Paragraph B consists of two Subparagraphs, B.7-10 and B.11-15. B.11-15 is linked to B.7-10 by its opening Prepositional Phrase **nám tốq dyê ibu** 'if arrived already evening', which is parallel to the Phrase **nám tốq dyê nno a-úm** 'if arrived already corn season' in B.7a.

Paragraph C consists of a Sentence, C.16, plus a Subparagraph, C.17-19, joined by tail-head linkage. Sentence C.16 has **a-i a-ám** 'parents' telling the kids to play, but not unethically, and C.17-19 has **ngai** 'the kids' playing, not unethically.

Paragraph D consists of Sentence D.20 and Subparagraph D.21-22, joined by the same tail-head linkage as in Paragraph C.

DISPLAY 4:6 Paragraph structure

A.1-6
- 1-3
- 4-6
  - 4-5

B.7-15
- 7-10
  - 7
  - 8-10
- 11-15
  - 11
  - 12-15
    - 12-13
    - 14-15
  - (15)

C.16-19
- 16
- 17-18

D.20-22
- 20
- 21-22

E.23

4.3.2.2 Subparagraphs

Subparagraph A.1-3 consists of three two-part Sentences linked by tail-head linkage. The ClF filler, **ngai ân cumŏr** of A.1 is ClP filler of A.2a; then the ClF filler, **ngai ân lalâu** 'fellows' of A.2b is ClP filler of A.3a. Also, Clause A.3b is nearly identical to Sentence A.1b; (in the Function mode, A.2b is also identical).

Subparagraph A.4-6 consists of three nearly identical two-part Sentences. Each part (a) contains the Clause **nâm cumŏr ính pôc clŏn alŭng lalâu ncŏh** 'if girl wants to go court with that fellow', with some slight variation, such as the addition of **lâyq** 'not'. Each part (b) consists of the

Clause **cumŏr dyeal tian do ân lalâu** 'girl accepts the fellow's money', with slight variations. Sentences 4 and 5 are also joined by the conjunction **ma** which precedes each, indicating alternative 1 versus alternative 2.

Subparagraph B.7-10 divides between Sentence 7 and Subparagraph B.8-10. Sentence B.7 is a typical two-part Sentence, whereas Sentences 8-10 are the only one-part Sentences of the Text. All four Sentences are linked by parallelism. ClP filler **ngai** is the same for all three Sentences 8-10 and ties back to **ngai ân lalâu** 'they who fellows' in B.7. Also, all four Sentences are Semi-transitive Clauses. The included Subparagraph B.8-10 consists of three parallel Sentences linked by the same ClP filler and nearly identical structure, as stated above.

Subparagraph B.11-15 consists of Sentence B.11 plus Subparagraph B.12-15. Subparagraph B.12-15 is linked to Sentence B.11 by repetition of the verb **dông** 'take' in 12-14 and the verb **dyeal** of the same bitransitive type in 15. Subparagraph B.12-15 can be divided in either of two ways. If one is following the structure of the first part of each Sentence, he will group 12 and 13 in which ClP is filled by **do ân bôn . . .** 'he who has' against 14 and 15 in which ClP is filled by an embedded Clause in which the ClF: **amâh** 'whatever' and **damo** 'whichever' is fronted. However, if he follows the second part, he will group the first three (12-14), which have the same ClC filler **dông** 'take', and separate 15, which changes to **dyeal** 'accept' filling ClC. The latter division is truer to the F-Scheme structure, and to the linkage of Paragraph B back to Paragraph A where we find the same Clause, **cumŏr dyeal** 'girls accept'. (The indeterminacy here appears to correlate with a prepeak slow-down, cf. 4.7.)

Subparagraph C.17-19 divides between Sentence 17, which begins with a

conjunction, and Sentences 18 and 19 which do not. Sentences 18 and 19 are one-Clause Sentences and have the same ClP filler náq 'person' in the first part. All three Sentences have a similar second part, cf. 'do unethical', 'do what unethical', and 'what unethical', respectively.

Subparagraph D.21-22 consists of two Sentences linked by parallel structures. Both have a part (a) which begins with the conjunction nấm 'if' and two part (b's). Part (bi) begins with the conjunction cốh 'so', and part (bii) begins with the conjunction mŏi 'and'. Part (a) of each contains the Phrase tấq lâyq phep 'do unethical'.

The quotation contained in C.16b is a Subparagraph, containing three related Sentences, but lacking the closure of a main Paragraph.

4.3.3 Sentence structure

This Text illustrates some interesting Sentences as a result of superimposing Expository two-part structure upon them. The first thing to notice is that all but three of the twenty-three Sentences are divided into two parts by a conjunction, such as cốh 'topicalizer, so, then'. Also, most Sentences other than the Paragraph-initial Sentence are preceded by the subordinating conjunction nấm 'if', or anấq 'even if', even when they may not, in fact, be subordinating Sentences. For example, in Sentences 7 and 11 nấm 'if' is superfluous preceding the time Phrases beginning with tốq, which would usually read 'when' in Narrative. In Sentence 22 nấm 'if' precedes a Noun Phrase filling ClP of a conjunctive Sentence, not a subordinating Sentence, i.e., 'he who does unethically must have buffalo ...'.

Major Sentence types found in the Text are presented in the Display below and described in section 4.3.3.1, followed by minor Sentence types in section 4.3.3.2.

DISPLAY 4:7 Sentence structure

	Part (a)		Part (b)
a. Simple Sentences: 1) without Clause embedding			
B.8,9,10	SIPH-ClP	cốh	Clause
A.1,C.19	SIPH-ClP	cốh	ClC +ClF
C.18	SIPH-ClP	num	ClC +ClF
2) with Clause embedded in ClP			
B.12,13	SIPH-ClP	cốh	ClC +ClF
3) with Clause embedded in ClPP			
B.14	SIPH-ClPP	cốh	ClC
B.15	SIPH-ClPP	cốh	ClP +ClC
4) with Clause embedded in ClF			
E.23	Equative Clause	ân	Relative Clause
b. Conjunctive Sentences			
C.16	SIPH +ma +Clause	cốh ma	Clause
D.20	SIPH +Clause	cốh ma	Clause
c. Subordinating Sentences			
B.7	SIPH +nấm +Cl. +cốh +ClP	cốh	ClC +ClF
A.3-5,B.11	nấm +Clause	cốh	Clause
A.2	anấq +Clause	ma	Clause
C.17	anấq +Clause	cốh ma	Clause
A.6	anấq +Cl. +ma +nấm +Cl.	cốh	Clause
d. Subordinating-conjunctive Sentences			
D.21	nấm +Cl. +cốh ma +Cl.	cốh	Clause
		+mŏi	ClC+ClF
D.22	nấm +ClP:NP	cốh	ClC+ClF+ClFF
		+mŏi	ClC+ClF

4.3.3.1 Major Sentence types

The main Sentences of the Text are classified as Simple, Conjunctive, Subordinating, and Subordinating-conjunctive.

a. Simple Sentences. Sentences composed of a single Clause, with or without other Sentence-peripheral Phrases, are labeled 'simple'. Sentences B.8, 9, and 10 are each composed of a single Clause. They are atypical to this Text because they are not divided by the conjunction cốh. Sentences A.1 and C.19 are distinguished as Expository by the occurrence of cốh 'topicalizer' between ClP and ClC. In C.18, beaq mnáq num táq ân lâyq phep 'few persons only do what is unethical', the particle num 'only', appears to replace cốh as topicalizer.

Sentences B.12-15, C.17, 18, and E.23 are classified as simple, but they are somewhat more complex than the above because the main Clause contains embedded Clauses, i.e., they are 'Clause clusters'. B.12 and 13 each contain a Relative Clause in the NP filling SIPH (ClP). C.17 and 18 each contain a Relative Clause in the Noun Phrase filling SIPH (ClPP) (cf. section 4.3.4.2 on embedded Clauses).

In Sentence E.23, a Relative Sentence is found in the Noun Phrase filling ClF. This Relative Clause contains a conjunctive Sentence, giving the including Sentence the appearance of being conjunctive.

b. Conjunctive Sentences. Sentences having two main Clauses or Clause clusters joined by a conjunction are found in C.16 and D.20. In C.16 there is a Sentence initial Phrase, a-i a-âm 'parents' followed by ma 'topicalizer', and two Clauses which are joined by the conjunction cốh ma 'but'. The second Clause is elliptical, containing only a quotation filling ClFF.

In D.20 the SIPH 'their parents', is followed by two Clauses joined by the conjunction cốh.

c. Subordinating Sentences. Sentences having two main Clauses or Clause clusters joined by a conjunction and having the first Clause preceded by a conjunction are A.2-5, B.7, 11, and C.17. In A.2 and C.17 the first Clause is preceded by anáq 'even if', and the second is preceded by ma or cốh ma 'but'. In A.3-5, B.7, and 11, the first Clause is preceded by nấm 'if', and the second is preceded by cốh 'so, then'. However, note that the subordinating conjunction nấm 'if' is superfluous for the already subordinate Clauses of B.7 and 11, i.e., tốq dyê mo a-ứm 'when already corn season' and tốq dyê ibu 'when already evening'. It appears to be added to keep the embedded Narrative Paragraph within the Expository framework.

Sentence A.6 has a three-Clause subordination in which the first Clause begins with anáq 'even if' and is joined to the second Clause by ma 'but', then the second Clause begins with nấm 'if' and is joined to the third by cốh 'so'.

d. Subordinating-conjunctive Sentences. Sentence D.21 is basically subordinating, but it involves conjunction as well. Part (b) contains two Clauses (bi and bii) joined by the conjunction mŏi lấh 'furthermore'. Parallel conjunction would be indicated by repetition of cốh, but mŏi lấh indicates addition of something different. The construction following mŏi lấh is not at all parallel with the preceding.

Sentence D.22 appears to be subordinating because of the conjuction nấm 'if' preceding the first part. Though the first part only manifests a Noun Phrase filling CLP, I assume that it represents a vi Clause in which the verb

vi 'exists' is elided. The third part is conjunctive. It is joined to the second by the conjunction **mŏi lâh** 'furthermore', involves the addition of something quite different, as in D.21 above. (According to the F-Scheme structure, there is no reason for 22bii to be joined to Sentence 22, except for Morphotactic parallelism with Sentence 21.)

4.3.3.2 Minor Sentence types

In addition to the major Sentence types described above, there are some minor types to which some constituents of the main Sentence belong. These are merging, compounding, juxtaposed, and infinitizing (cf. Thomas 1979:10). They are considered as minor because they do not characterize the main Sentences of the Text and because they could, to some extent, be handled on the Clause level.

a. Merging Sentences. When two verbs can occur in the same Verb Phrase and the first is semi-tr. **pôc** 'go', **chŏ** 'return', or **ât** 'stay' the two are considered to belong to a single merged Sentence if the first is followed by a ClF filler. For example, in A.3b the merger **pôc dyŏn** 'go give' is expanded to **pôc tŏq dŭng cumŏr ncŏh dyŏn** tian 'go to that girl's house and give money'. The presence of a ClF slot following each verb gives reason for treating this as a two-Clause Sentence. In B.11b the merger **pôc parchôq** 'go get together' is expanded to **pôc loi parchôq alŭng yâu-bây** 'go again get together with friends'.

b. Compounding Sentences. When the same verb is repeated, or when two verbs of a compound pair occur together, they are considered to belong to a single compound Sentence if the first is followed by a ClF filler. For

example, in B.11b the verb **dông** 'take' is compounded by repetition with a different ClF filler, **pôc dông khên tirĕl, dông tian cua** 'go take flutes, take valuables'. In D.20a the compound verbs **achung dyoq** 'instruct forbid' are expanded by repetition of the ClP filler and by different ClF fillers, **ngai achung acay-acon ngai dyoq itáq . . .** 'they instruct children they forbid doing . . .'. (The first verb is followed by ClF correlating with F-GOAL while the second is followed by ClF correlating with F-RANGE.)

c. Juxtaposed Sentence. In Sentence C.16b the construction **pôc clŏn lu llám clŏn** 'go court really only court' would be joined by the subordinating conjunctions 'if . . . then . . .' if it were not embedded in a hortatory quotation. As it stands, it is considered to be an example of a juxtaposed sentence.

d. Infinitizing Sentences. Sentences B.11, C.16 and D.22 each contain a Clause filling a peripheral slot which does not follow any of the criteria above. (These Clauses correlate with F-PURPOSE.) In B.11 that Clause is **ính dyŏn pinêq . . .** 'in order to give a gift . . .', in C.16b it is **abuih chĕt a-i a-ám** 'to-not-cause death of parents', and in D.22b it is **ian ngâh atúc . . .** 'in order to sacrifice . . .'

4.3.4 Clause structure

The Clauses of this Text are divided between main Clauses and embedded Clauses and are described in the same order as shown on Display 4:8, beginning with Subjectless Clauses. (Stative Clauses are omitted from the display.) (In cases of complex Verb Phrases, Clause type is determined by the potential constituents following the last verb, e.g., **ngai chŏ táq** 'they

return work' is classified as Transitive because of the potential for a Noun Phrase filling ClF following tấq 'do, work'.)

4.3.4.1 Main Clauses

Most of the Clauses of the Text are considered main Clauses. A Clause filling part (a) of a conjunctive Sentence is a main clause, though it may be preceded by a subordinating conjunction. Clause types (a) through (g) are Verbal Clauses; (h) is stative.

a. vi Clauses. Clauses with the verbs vi 'exist,have' or vaih 'exist' have the form ±ClP +ClC +ClF and are never found with the ClP replacement i- 'non-specific person' or ClF filled by an Adjective Phrase (cf. C.19 and D.22).

b. Intransitive Clauses. There is only one, mau canhin 'whoever (it is) repents' (D.21b).

c. Semi-transitive Clauses. In A.1 and 3b the verb pôc 'go' is followed by a Prepositional Phrase filling ClF; in B.11b it is followed by loi 'again'. In B.7b and C.17 the verb ất 'stay' is followed by a Prep. Phrase filling ClF.

d. Transitive Clauses. Transitive Clauses have the following verbs: bôn 'have' (B.12-14), chum cha 'mooch' (B.8), tấq 'work, do' (B.10, C.16b, 17b, 18, 19, D.20b, 21ai, E.23b), pếq 'carry' (D.21aii), and têq dyấm 'obey, respect' (D.22bii), clŏn 'court' (A.3a,4a,5a,6a,B.9m c.16,17,E.23a), and tarlếnh (c.9).

In all of these examples there is a ClF filled by a Noun Phrase, except in the cases in which tấq 'do' is followed only by an Adjective Phrase, e.g., lâyq phep 'unethical', or by a Relative Clause, e.g., ân lâyq phep 'which unethical' (which could be interpreted as an NP with an implicit or zero filler of NPC, i.e., tantấq 'doings'). Also, in D.20b the Phrases ân lâyq o ân prâh 'which not good which bad' are elided, being explicit in the preceding Clause. In two cases (A.3a, E.23a) ClF following the verb clŏn 'court, play' is filled by a Noun Phrase, but in all other cases it is filled by a Prepositional Phrase, e.g., alŭng cumŏr ncŏh 'with that girl'. (The ClF slot correlates with F-PATIENT in either case, but F-AGENT is added by the preposition alŭng 'with', giving the notion of reciprocation or accompaniment.)

e. Transitive-sentential. Transitive-sentential Clauses have only one verb in this Text, i.e., ĭnh 'want' in A.4a-6a and in C.16a.

f. Bitransitive Clauses. Bitransitive Clauses have the following verbs: dyŏn 'give' (A.3b, 6ai, B.11b), dyeal 'take, receive' A.4b-6b, B.15), dôŋ 'take, carry' (B.11b-14), and atŭc 'sacrifice' (D.22bi). There is only one example with fillers present in both ClF and ClFF, i.e., dyŏn pinêq ado cumŏr 'give gifts to girls'.

g. Bitransitive-sentential. In C.16b there is an implicit verb (tôŋ 'say') which introduces the quotation to an implicit audience (ado acay-acon 'to children'). In D.20a ŋgai achuŋ acay ŋgai dyoq itấq . . . 'they instruct children they forbid to do . . .' both of the verb achuŋ and dyoq can potentially be followed by both ClF:NP and ClFF:Sent.

h. Stative Clause (ClP:AdjP,AdvP + ClF:NP). In A.2b and E.23 icốh 'like that' is an Adverbial Phrase, and rit 'custom' is the noun center of the Noun Phrase icốh rit ngai ân lalâu 'like that is custom of the fellows'. Clause 2b differs slightly in that the Phrase ngai ân lalâu 'the fellows' is fronted to precede icốh in ClP, ngai ân lalâu icốh rit 'the fellows, like-that is custom'. In C.17a arâq ncốh 'like that' is an Adverbial Phrase and muang he 'our region' is a Noun Phrase. In D.21b a-eq ado dũng xu 'cursed upon community' the filler of ClP is the preceding Clauses (D.21a). ClF is filled by the adjective 'cursed', and ClFF is filled by a Prepositional Phrase.

It is important to note that a Noun Phrase constituent is fronted in the Stative Clause of A.2b so that it is no longer contiguous with the Noun Phrase in order to correlate with re-introduction of first-rank thematic participant (cf. section 4.6, 4.7).

DISPLAY 4:8 Verbal Clauses of 'Pacoh Fellows and Girls'

	Cl P: NP	Cl C: VP	Cl F: NP, PP, AdjP, Cl Cl FF: PP, NP, S
a) vi Clauses:			
C.19	mâh chít náq	vi	mâh náq num
	of ten persons	exists	only one person . . .
D.22	do ân táq . . .	phai vi	tiriaq carrốq . . .
	he who does . . .	must have	buffalo cattle . . .
b) Intransitive Clauses:			
D.20b	nnau	canhin	
	whoever it is	repents	
c) Semi-transitive Clauses:			
A.1	ngai ân lalâu	phai pôc	tốq ngai . . .
	they who fellows	must go	to they who . . .
A.3b	(ngai)	phai pôc	tốq dŭng cumŏr
	(they)	must go	to girls' houses
B.9	ngai	pôc clŏn . . .	alŭng cumŏr
	they	go court	with girls
C.16a		ipôc clŏn . . .	
	(you)	one-goes court . . .	
C.16b		pôc clŏn	
	(you)	go court	
		lu llám clŏn	
(you)		really only court	
C.17	ngai	clŏn, át	alŭng cumŏr
	they	court, stay	with girls
B.7b	ngai ân lalâu	par-át	tốq xu cumŏr
	the fellows	stay together	at houses girls'
B.11bi	ngai	pôc	loi
	they	go	again

d) Transitive Clauses:

A.3	ngai	clŏn	cumŏr mmo
	they	court	girl whichever
B.8	ngai	pôc chum cha	a-úm apo
	they	go beg eat	corn
B.10	ngai	chŏ tấq	proaq tampấq
	they	return work	work work
C.17b	ngai	(buih dĭq) tấq	lâyq phep
	they	(not hardly) do	unethically
C.18	beaq mnấq num	tấq	ân lâyq phep
	few persons only	do	what unethical
D.20b	ngai	lâyq dấh tấq	
	they	not dare do	
D.21ai		tấq	lâyq phep
		do	unethically
D.21aii		anhuq pếq	acay
		bear carry	a child
D.22bii		têq dyám	cang a-i . . .
		obey respect	voice parents
E.23a	ngai	clŏn	cumŏr
	they	court	girls
E.23b	ngai	buih tấq	lâyq o
	they	not do	not good.

e) Transitive-Sentential Clauses:

A.4a-6a	cumŏr	(lâyq) ính	pôc clŏn alúng . . .
	girl	(not) want	go court with . . .
B.11b		ính	dyŏn pinêq ado cumŏr
		want	give gifts to girls
C.16a	ngai	ính	ipôc clŏn . . .
	they	want	one-goes court

f) Bitransitive Clause:

A. 3b		**dyŏn**	**tian**
		give	money
A. 4b-6b	**cumŏr**	**(lâyq) dyeal**	**tian . . .**
	girl	(not) takes	money . . .
A. 6ai		**dyŏn**	**put limmo**
		give	however much
B. 11b	**ngai**	**pôc dông**	**khên tirĕl**
	they	go take	flutes
B. 11b		**dông**	**tian cua**
		take	money belongings
B. 11b		**ính**	**dyŏn pinêq ado cumŏr**
		want	give gifts to girls
B. 12	**do ân bôn ao**	**dông**	**ao**
	he who has cloth	takes	cloth
B. 13	**do ân bôn práq**	**dông**	**práq**
	he who has silver	takes	silver

g) Bitransitive-sentential Clauses:

C. 16b	**(ngai)**	**(tông)**	**"Acâp itáq . . ."**
	(they)	(say)	"Don't do . . ."
D. 20aii	**ngai**	**dyoq**	**itáq . . .**
	they	forbid	one-does . . .

4.3.4.2 Embedded Clauses and Sentences

Embedded Clauses and Sentences are described according to the slots which they fill: peripheral slots, ClF, ClFF, ClP, and NPFF respectively.

a. Clauses embedded in peripheral slots

In B.7a a Subjectless Clause having ClC filled by **tốq** 'arrive' precedes the main Clause, **tốq dyê nno a-úm** 'arrived already corn season'. B.11a is similar, **tốq dyê ibu** 'arrived already evening'. In B.9 a similar Clause follows the main Clause, **tốq dyê ang** 'arrived already dawn'. (These all correlate with F-TIME.) In B.11a a Transitive-sent. Clause follows the main Clauses, **ính dyŏn pinêq ado cumŏr** 'want to give gifts to girls'. In C.16b a Stative Clause follows the main Clause, **abuih chĕt a-i a-ám** 'so as not dead parents'. In D.22b we find the following Bitransitive Clause following the main Clause, **ian ngâh atúc ado yang práh** 'easy to sacrifice to spirits'. (The above three Clauses are also included under Infinitizing Sentences in 4.3.3.2 above.)

b. Clauses embedded in ClF

All the Clauses filling ClF in this Text are found following the Transitive-sentential verb **ính** 'want'. In A.4a-6a we find **pôc clŏn alúng lalâu ncốh** 'go court with that fellow', and in C.16a we find **ipôc clŏn ipôc anhoi** '(they) go courting (they) go courting'

c. Clauses and Sentences embedded in ClFF

Sentence C.16b contains an implicit Bitransitive-sentential quotative (**ngai tông** 'they say'). The quotation is actually a three Sentence Paragraph. Notice that **acâp itáq . . .** 'don't you do . . .' can only be a second

person imperative embedded in a quote. The second and third Sentences are also second person imperatives.

d. Clauses, etc. embedded in ClP

In a Stative Clause the filler of ClP can be most anything. In A.2b icốh 'like that' refers back to A.1, and in E.23 icốh refers back to the entire preceding Text. In D.21c there is no adverbial to refer back—ClP is filled by Sentence D.21ab.

e. Clauses embedded in NPFF

Clauses embedded in a Noun Phrase are generally called Relative Clauses. They divide into two types: those having the relative pronoun ân and those which do not. B.14a and 15a are examples of those which do not have ân. The noun filler of NPC is portmanteau with the ClF filler of the embedded Clause. That is, amâh 'whatever' fills NPC and ClF of vi ibôn 'exists one-has' simultaneously. Likewise damo 'whichever' is both NPC and ClF filler of cumŏr înh 'girl wants'. The noun is focal in the main Clause, but the embedded Clause clearly slips in an additional assertion. (Notice the Function mode parallel between Sentences A.6b and B.15, both Paragraphs closing with the girl having the last word.)

Relative Clauses having the relative pronoun ân may have a noun, demonstrative, Adjective Phrase, a Clause, or a Sentence filling the AXIS, e.g., ngai ân lalâu 'they who fellows', lalâu ncốh 'fellow who that', ân lâyq phep 'which unethical', and do ân bôn ao 'he who has cloth'. Notice that in ncốh 'which that' the RELATOR ân is prefixed to the demonstrative cốh 'that'. For practical reasons ncốh is hereafter treated as a demonstrative, the same as

cŏh 'that', though it is considered to be in some sense a Relative Clause as well. (In participant reference it contrasts with other Relative Clauses which correlate with F-Identification rather than Specification.) In C.16b, 17b, and D.20a ân lâyq phep 'which is unethical' and ân lâyq o 'which is not good' do not have explicit antecedents. This is because the logical antecedent of both would be a word such as tan-táq 'doings' which is merely a nominalization of the explicit verb táq 'do', e.g., 'do (a doing) which is unethical'. (All examples of Relative Clauses are shown in the NPFF column of Noun Phrase Display 4:9. Relative Clauses correlate with F-concept identification.)

4.3.5 Phrase structure

Constructions on the Phrase level are described below according to Phrase type, i.e., Noun, Verb, Adjective, Prepositional, and Adverbial Phrases.

4.3.5.1 Noun Phrases (±NPP3 ±NPP2 ±NPP1 ±NPC ±NPF ±NPFF)

The Noun Phrases of the Text are listed in Display 4:9. In most cases a noun or pronoun fills the NPC slot and is followed by a filler of either a NPF or NPFF slot. In this Text, there are no cases of both NPF and NPFF in the same Phrase; therefore, fillers are assigned to NPF or NPFF on the basis of criteria from other Texts. All nouns, Noun Phrases, pronouns, and demonstratives are assigned to NPF, while Relative Clauses and Sentences are assigned to NPFF.

There are no examples of fillers of NPP3. NPP2 is filled by counters: beaq 'few', mâh 'one', and mâh chĭt 'ten'.

DISPLAY 4:9 Noun Phrases of 'Pacoh Fellows and Girls'

NPP2	NPP1	NPC:n,pr n	NPF:NP,dem.	NPFF:NP,Rel.Cl.
Title		rit	ngai ân ...	tốq muang ...
		custom	they who ...	at region ...
(Title)*		ngai		ân lalâu cumŏr
		they		who fellows & girls
(Title)		muang	he Pacốh	
		region	we Pacoh	
A.1a,2b,7a		ngai		ân lalâu
		they		who fellows
(1b)		ngai		ân cumŏr
		they		who girls
2a,(9)		do		ân cumŏr
		she, some		who girl(s)
3a		cumŏr		mmo
		girl		any, whichever
3(b)		dúng	cumŏr ncốh ,	
		house	that girl	
(3b),4a		cumŏr		ncốh
		girl		that
(4a,5a,6a)		lalâu		ncốh
		fellow		that
4b,6b		tian	do ân lalâu	
		money	he who fellow	
(4b,6b)		do		ân lalâu
		he		who fellow

	NPP2	NPP1	NPC:n,prn	NPF:NP,dem.	NPFF:NP,Rel.Cl.
A. 5b			tian	do cốh	
			money	that one's	
			do	cốh	
			he	that	
B. 7a			mno	a-úm	
			season	corn	
7a			mno		ân puaq
			season		which sunny
(7b)			xu	cumŏr	
			hut	girl's	
12			do		ân bôn ao
			he, those		who have cloth
13			do		ân bôn práq
			he, those		who have silver
14			amâh		vi ibôn
			whatever		it is one has
15			damo		cumŏr 'inh
			whichever		girl wants
C. 16,18			Ø		ân lâyq phep
			(actions)		what's unethical
17,(23)			muang	he	
			region	us	
18	beaq	mnáq	(lalâu)		
	few	person	fellow		
(19)	mâh chít	náq	(lalâu)		
	ten	person	(fellows)		
19	mâh	náq			ân lâyq phep
	one	person			who not ethical

D.20a	a-i a-ám	ngai	
	parents	their	
20a	∅		ân lâyq o ân prâh
	(actions)		which not good . . .
22a	do		ân tấq lâyq phep
	he		who does unethically
	cang		a-i a-ám achung
	voice		parents instruct
E.23	rit	muang he	ân ngai clŏn . ..
	custom	our region	in which they court . . .

*Parentheses indicate Noun Phrases which are embedded in a NP, PP, or Adverbial Phrase.

4.3.5.2 Verb Phrases (±VPP3 ±VPP2 ±VPP1 +VPC)

The Verb Phrases of the Text are listed in Display 4:10. There are no examples of fillers of VPP3, but there are six examples of negatives filling VPP2. In A.2a, 5a, 6a, 6b, and D.20 lâyq 'not' precedes the verb filler of NPC, and in D.20 it also precedes dâh 'dare', filling VPP1. In E.23 VPP2 is filled by buih 'not'. In C.17b buih díq 'not hardly' is fronted to ClPP (though charted as if in VPP2).

VPP2 is filled by phai 'must' in A.1, 3b, and D.22bi, by dâh 'dare' in D.20b, and by anhuq 'bear' in D.21a.

DISPLAY 4:10 Verb Phrases of 'Pacoh Fellows and Girls'

	VPP3	VPP2	VPP1	VPC
A.1,3b			phai	pôc
			must	go
2a,5a,6a		lâyq		ính
		not		want, like
5b,6b		lâyq		dyeal
		not		take
B.8				pôc chum cha
				go beg eat
9,16				pôc clŏn
				go court
9				pôc tarlếnh
				go tease
10				chŏ tấq
				return work
11b				pôc dŏng
				go take (carry)
C.(16a)				ipôc anhoi
				one-go court
16b	lu	llấm		clŏn
	really	only		court
17b		(buih díq)		tấq
		(not hardly)		do
D.20b		lâyq	dấh	tấq
		not	dare	do
21a			anhuq	pếq
			bear	carry (be pregnant)
22b			phai	vi
			must	have
22c				têq dyấm
				obey respect
E.23		buih		tấq
		not		do

The central constituent of the Verb Phrase (VPC) is often filled by single verbs, such as **pôc** 'go' in A.1, or **ính** 'want' in A.2a. It is also filled by coordinate verbs, including compounds, such as **chum cha** 'beg-eat-mooch' in B.8, or **têq dyám** 'obey-respect' in D.22bii. VPC is also often filled by complex combinations, such as an intransitive verb, **pôc** 'go' plus transitive verb, **clŏn** 'court' in A.4a, 5a, and 6a, and **chŏ tấq** 'return work' in B.10. Finally, there are complex-compound combinations, such as **pôc chum cha** 'go beg eat' in B.8.

A compound Verb Phrase may be separated by repetition of another verb in the same Verb Phrase, e.g., **ngai pôc clŏn pôc tarlếnh alứng cumŏr** 'they go court go tease with girls' (B.9). In the above example, they also share the same ClF, 'with girls'.

The prefix i- 'non-specified AGENT' indicates that a verb belongs to an embedded Clause.

4.3.5.3 Adjective Phrases (±AdjPP2 ±AdjPP1 +AdjPC ±AdjPF)

In this Text only five Adjective Phrases are found. One consists of AdjPC filled by the adjective **put** 'big' plus AdjPF filled by the Adverbial Phrase **li mmo** 'however much'. The other five consist of AdjPP1 filled by the negative **lâyq** or **buih** 'not', plus AdjPC filled by an adjective. The most common Adjective Phrase is **lâyq phep** 'unethical, immoral', which occurs six times (C.16b, 19b, D.21ai, and 22a). **Lâyq o** 'not good' occurs twice (D.20a, E.23b), and **buih chĕt** 'not dead' occurs once (C.16b). (In C.16b **buih chĕt** is preceded by the prefix **a-** 'causative', making it an embedded Clause, cf. section 4.3.4.2 above.)

4.3.5.4 Prepositional Phrases

Three different prepositions occur in Prepositional Phrases in the Text. Tốq 'to, at' occurs in A.1, 3, and B.7a. In three cases a PP with tốq 'to' +NP fills ClF following the intransitive verb pôc 'go'. In one case, tốq he 'at us', is an introductory Phrase filling SIPH (B.7).

Alứng 'with' occurs in A.4a-6a, B.9-11, and C.17. In A.4a-6a, B.9, and C.17, the PP with alứng 'with' fills ClF following the intransitive verb clŏn 'court, play'. In B.10 and 11 it fills ClFF or ClF following the transitive verbs tấq 'work' and par-chôq 'get together' respectively.

Ado 'to, for' occurs in B.11b filling ClFF following the bitransitive verb dyŏn 'give', and in D.22bi following the bitransitive verb atức 'sacrifice'. In D.21bii it fills ClFF of a Stative Clause.

4.3.5.5 Adverbial Phrases

There are three Adverbial Phrases in the Text: arâq ncốh 'like that' (E.23), arâq mâh chít náq 'like ten persons' (C.19), and li mmo 'equal whatever' (A.6ai). The conjunction icốh 'like that' is considered to be a portmanteau Adverbial Phrase, i.e., i- 'adverbializer' +cốh 'that'.

4.3.6 Word structure

Words found in the Text are described below according to their Morphotactic distribution classes, their affixation, and their compounding.

4.3.6.1 Nouns (fillers of NPC)

There are common nouns, pronouns, and one proper noun in the Text. Nouns correlating with F-time are not so relevant to this Text as they are to the Text of chapter 3, but since they occur only in peripheral Sentence slots in the Narrative Episodes, they are listed separately below.

Time terms are: **ang** 'dawn', **ibu** 'evening', **idau** 'night', and nno 'season'.

Non-time terms are: **acay** 'children', **alic** 'pig', **ao** 'cloth', **a-ám** 'father', **a-i** 'mother', **a-úm** 'corn', **cang** 'speech', **carrŏq** 'cattle', **cruang** 'valley', **cua** 'belongings', **cumŏr** 'girl', **dŭng** 'house', **khên** 'reeded pipes', **lalâu** 'fellow', **muang** 'region', **ntruai** 'chicken', **par-rŏih** 'fornication', **pinêq** 'gift', **práq** 'silver', **proaq** 'work', **tampáq** 'work', **tian** 'money', **tirĕl** 'flute', **tiriaq** 'buffalo', **xu** 'hut', **yang** 'spirit', **yâu** 'friend'.

Pronouns are: **amâh** 'whatever', **damo** 'whichever-whomever', **do** 'third person singular', **he** 'first-person-plural', **ngai** 'third-person-plural', **nnau** 'whoever, anyone'.

The only proper noun is **Pacŏh** 'Pacoh', found in the Title.

Noun affixation is found in the **a-** 'kinship' prefix found on **a-i** **a-ám**, and **acay-acon**, the **i-** 'time' prefix found on **ibu** and **idau**, and the **-N-** 'nominalizer' infix found in **tampáq**, derived from the verb **táq** 'work'.

There are four semi-bound compounds and several other free compounds. The semi-bound compounds are marked by hyphenization: Only the second member is bound, so there are occurrences of the first member alone. (Semi-bound pairs are irreversible; some free pairs are also irreversible.) All of the compounds found in the Text are: **acay-acon** 'children', **a-i a-ám** 'parents', **alic ntruai** 'pigs chickens', **a-úm-apo** 'corn', **cruang cuteac** 'home-area', **dŭng xu** 'community', **ibu idau** 'free time (quitting time to dawn)', **khên tirĕl** 'reeded pipes-flutes', **lalâu cumŏr** 'unmarried fellows-girls', **parrŏih-tancayh** 'fornication', **proaq tampáq** 'work', **tian cua** 'valuables', **tiriaq carrŏq** 'large stock', **yang-práh** 'ancestor spirits', **yâu-bây** 'friends'.

4.3.6.2 Verbs (fillers of VPC)

There are examples of six verb classes found in the Text, as follows:

Subjectless: Tốq 'arrived, when' is a verb when it occurs in a peripheral Clause or Sentence slot and is potentially followed by dyê 'already', as it described in 4.3.4.2a above. Vi 'exist' is also subjectless and never takes the prefix i-.

Intransitive verbs are: anhoi 'play, court', ất 'stay', chỗ 'return', clỗn 'court, play', parchôq 'get together', and pôc 'go'. (clỗn appears to be transitive A.3a and E.23.)

Transitive verbs are: chum 'beg', cha 'eat', clỗn 'play, court', pếq 'carry', táq 'do, work', lếnh 'tease'. (clỗn appears to be transitive only when 'fellows' fills ClP, not when 'girls' fills ClP.)

Transitive-sentential verbs are: dyám 'respect', ính 'want', and têq 'obey'.

Bitransitive verbs are: atúc 'sacrifice', dông 'carry', dyeal 'take, receive', and dyỗn 'give'.

Bitransitive-sentential verbs are achung 'instruct', dyoq 'forbid' and tông 'say'. In C.16b tông does not appear though it is normally explicit except in dramatic Texts or in Exposition such as here.

Examples of affixation are: i- 'unspecified actor' on ibôn 'one-has' and ipôc 'one-goes', par- 'plural actors' on parchôq 'get together' and par-ất 'stay together', and tar- 'reciprocal action' on tarlếnh 'tease each other'. (The clitic ngâh with atúc (D.21b) is a phonologically conditioned alternate of i- occurring with two-syllable verbs.)

Compounds are: achung dyoq 'instruct forbid', chum cha 'mooch', clỗn anhoi 'court play', têq dyám 'obey respect'.

4.3.6.3 Adjectives (fillers of AdjPC)

There are seven adjectives in the Text, put 'big, many', phep 'ethical, moral', chĕt 'dead', o 'good', prâh 'bad', a-eq 'cursed, taboo', and ian 'easy'. There is no prefixation or compounding.

4.3.6.4 Adverbs (fillers of AdjPP, AdjPF, and VPP3)

There are two words in the Text which are loosely labeled adverbs, though they might better be labeled 'movable particles' (cf. 2.3.6.4). Num 'only' occurs between ClP and ClC in Sentence C.18 and between ClP and ClF in Sentence C.19. Dyê 'already' occurs between ClC filled by tŏ̂q 'arrived, when' and ClF filled by nno a-ûm 'corn season' in B.7a, ang 'dawn' in B.9, and ibu 'evening' in B.11.

4.3.6.5 Prepositions (fillers of RELATOR of R-A Phrases)

Prepositions found in the Text are: tŏ̂q 'at, to', alŭng 'with', and ado 'to, for'. (The preposition tŏ̂q is closely related to the subjectless verb tŏ̂q 'arrive', cf. section 4.3.6.2.)

Adverbial prepositions found in the Text are li 'even, equal', and arâq 'like'.

4.3.6.6 Quantifiers (none)

4.3.6.7 Counters (fillers of NPP2)

Beaq 'few' occurs in C.18 preceding nnâ̆q 'person classifier'. Both mâh 'one' and mâh chít 'ten' occur in Sentence C.19, preceding the classifier nâ̆q 'person'.

4.3.6.8 Classifiers (fillers of NPP1)

The classifier náq 'person' occurs in Sentence C.18, following beaq 'few', and twice in C.19, following the numerals above.

The -L- prefix which precedes náq in C.18 frequently precedes classifiers preceded by the counters 'one', 'each', and 'few'. The precise function is not know as yet, but appears to re-inforce individuality.

4.3.6.9 Demonstratives (fillers of NPF)

Cốh 'that' occurs several times in the Text, usually in a Relative Clause prefixed by N- 'which', e.g., in Sentences A.4a-6a. It also occurs in do cốh 'he--that one' in A.5b. Mo 'which' occurs in Relative Clauses prefixed by N- 'which' in A.3a and 6a, meaning 'whichever'. Though demonstratives having the prefix N- are considered to be Relative Clauses, they are referred to as ordinary demonstratives because of their function in participant reference, which differs from other Relative Phrases.

4.3.7.0 Auxiliaries (fillers of VPP1)

The auxiliaries of the Text are: phai 'must', dấh 'dare', and anhuq 'bear'.

4.3.7.1 Limiters (fillers of VPP2 and AdjPP1)

Lâyq 'not' occurs several times, acâp 'don't' occurs twice (C.16b), buih díq 'hardly at all' occurs once' (C.17), and buih 'cautious not' occurs once (E.23).

4.3.7.2 Conjunctions

Cŏh 'so, then, topicalizer' is a Sentence-medial conjunction, occurring in most Sentences of the Text. Ma 'but, topicalizer' is a Sentence-medial conjunction in A.2 and E.23, a Paragraph-medial conjunction between Sentences A.3 and A.4, and between A.4 and A.5, and a topicalizer between SIPH and the first Clause of C.16a. Cŏh ma 'but' occurs Sentence-medially between Clauses in C.16 and 17.

Anáq 'even if, although' and nám 'if' occur Sentence-initial on Subordinate Clauses. Anáq is always followed by Sentence-medial ma or cŏh ma, and nám is followed by Sentence-medial cŏh. Mŏi 'and, furthermore' occurs between a Sentence and an additional Clause (D.21c and 22c).

Icŏh 'thus, like that' is simultaneously Text-medial conjunction between Paragraph D and the Final Sentence, and adjective filler of ClP of the main Clause of that Sentence (E.23).

4.3.7.3 Relative pronoun ân

Ân 'which' (including its reduced forms, n- and m-) is a relative pronoun filling RELATOR of Relative Clauses.

4.3.8 Dictionary of words and morphemes

In this section Pacoh words are correlated with their Function mode correlates (i.e., 'semantic' components). Since the simple glosses assigned to words and morphemes under 4.3.6 above are usually adequate for our purposes, only a sample of words are presented below, especially those which involve some skewing between Morphotactic distribution class and Function mode inclusion class. (A left bracket [indicates an inclusive 'both-and' relationship, while a left brace indicates an 'either-or' relationship.)

acay (noun) 1.‖F Kinship |rr human

descent > direct

maturity > undifferentiated

ngai achung acay-acon 'they instruct their children'

2. | human

maturity > young

number > undifferentiated

‖ +acon | plural amplification

ất (verb) | remain in place

time > relatively long, e.g., overnight

cu ất dấng Hêq 'I live in Hue.'

cang (noun) | voice

language

ngai têq cang a-ấm 'they obey voice of father'

clŏn (s-tr., tr. verb) | activity

purpose > enjoyable experience

ethics > good

do ĩnh clŏn banh 'he likes to play ball'

do ĩnh clŏn cumŏr 'he likes to court girls'

damo (pronoun) | third person

indefinite

damo may ĩnh? 'Which one do you want?'

do (pronoun) | human > 3rd person

singular > definite

singular or plural > indefinite ‖ DM Relative Clause

do ân vi ao cốh dông ao 'he (those) who has (have) cloth bring cloth'

dyŏn (verb) | offer

give

do dyŏn ao ado cumŏr 'he offered, gave cloth to the girl'

i- (prefix) 1. || verb | unspecified AGENT, EXPR

usually in an embedded Clause

2. || demonstrative | conclusion, i.e., links activity or quality to a thing

icŏh rit he 'like-that our custom' (links custom to preceding Discourse)

lalâu (noun) |rr human

male

unmarried

maturity > marriageable

do yŏl lalâu 'he is still an unmarried fellow'

parrŏih (noun) |rr sexual intercourse

unmarried participants

unethical

acâp táq parrŏih 'don't commit fornication'

|| +tancayh |F amplification

ngai (pronoun) |rr human > third-person

plural

generic

ngai ân lalâu pôc tŏq ngai ân cumŏr 'the fellows go to the girls'

pé̋q (tr. verb) |rr carry child on back

||rr AGENT=pregnant woman |rr carry child in womb

amoq pé̋q acay dyo 'she is pregnant already'

tốq (verb) |rr completed motion

towards the referents

príq táp tốq achếq 'suddenly arrived--birds'

tốq (prep.) |rr direction toward

time until

tốq muang he vi axếh 'at our region there are horses'

vi (verb) |rr existence

vi mâh náq 'there is one person'

||F +AGENT |rr possession

do vi práq 'he has silver'

4.4 Special Phonotactics

There is very little of Phonotactic significance observed in this Utterance. Most of the phonetic parallelism, such as the use of anáq or nám at the beginning and cốh or cốh ma in the middle of most Sentences, is explained syntactically. On the word level, compounds such as lalâu cumŏr 'fellows and girls' and a-i a-ám 'parents' are also explained syntactically. However, there are a few examples of structures which appear to be unnecessary apart from the speaker's interest in euphonic style.

A possible candidate for euphonic relevance in Breath Groups is the parallelism of the two structures beginning with mŏi lâh added onto both D.21 and D.22 (cf. Display 4:5). This is something more than the 'if . . . then . . .' type structure of most other Sentences and gives something of an iambic meter.

At the Pause Group level, there are several reduplicative Groups:

B.7 **mno a-ŭm mno ân puaq** 'corn season sunny season'

ngai ân lalâu ibu idau 'they who fellows evening-night'

B.8 **chum cha a-ŭm-apo** 'beg eat corn-corn'

B.9 **pôc clŏn pôc tarlĕnh** 'go courting go teasing'

B10 **chŏ táq proaq tampáq** 'return-work work-work'

C.16a **ipôc clŏn ipôc anhoi** 'them to go courting them to go playing'

C.17 **ngai clŏn ngai át** 'they court they stay'

D.20 **ân lâyq o ân prâh** 'which not good which bad'

D.21c **dŭng xu cruang cuteac** 'houses-huts valleys-lands'

D.22b **tiriaq carrŏq alic ntruai** 'buffalo-cattle pigs-chickens'

In B.7, 9, C.16a, 17a, and D.20 the same first element is repeated with members of reduplicative Feet. The first element is joined to the second by meter and by rhyme of final consonants. In B.8 the first elements both close with /m/ while the second are both open syllables. In B.10 the same elements rhyme.

Reduplicative Feet which appear to contribute to euphonic style other than those given in the Groups above, and othe r than those required for lexical-syntactic reasons are: **yâu-bây, khên tirĕl,** and **tian cua.** It is interesting to note that most of the reduplication is found in B.7-11.

4.5 Communication Situation correlations

As stated in section 3.4, this is only a sampling of much more which should be done in a study of pragmatics. First are correlations from the Communication Situation (CS) to the Function mode of the Grammatical hierarchy (CS/F), and then correlations from the CS to the Phonological hierarchy.

4.5.1 Communication Situation correlations with Function mode

CS/F: Communicator's intent to argue a case correlates with his choice of Syllogism Scheme as a type of Expository Discourse. CS/F: Communicator's intent to describe a real-life situation correlates with his choice of an Illustration Scheme as his first PREMISE. Also, the Proposition level is characterized by Activity Events and a few Experience Events. CS/F: Communicator's intent to disprove the notion of female initiative correlates with placement of 'the fellows' as first-rank participant in the first PREMISE (2-1). 'The girls' are given second-rank status. CS/F: Communicator's intent to disprove the charge that courtship was an immoral affair correlates with introduction of 'the parents' as first-rank participants and 'the kids' as second-rank in the second PREMISE (2-2). It also correlates with Proposition-level negation of unethical activities.

CS/F: Communicator's interest in displaying his authority based on first-hand knowledge correlates with his use of the Pacoh language and reference to Pacoh custom in the Title and Points 2, 17, and 23. It also correlates with identification of himself as Pacoh, i.e., 'we Pacoh' in the Title and in Points 7, 17, and 23.

CS/F: Communicator's attitude: the Communicator demonstrated pride in his people and their customs by the seriousness of his intent, i.e., to write a Discourse rather than simply make offhand remarks, by writing in Pacoh and otherwise identifying himself as Pacoh, and by giving parents first-rank position for authority and respect. He also referred to their fear of being cursed by the spirit world and the necessity of sacrificing to the spirits. CS/F: the Communicator also demonstrated honesty in not overstating the case for morality. In Points 17-19 he uses the cautious negation buih, and

admitted to some immorality. (His purpose was not to deny immorality, but to explain the real purpose of courtship.)

4.5.2 Communication Situation correlations with the Phonological hierarchy

Lack of elaborate reduplicative style appears to correlate with the fact that this is written for an exclusively non-Pacoh audience--who lack the sophistication to appreciate it and might only be confused by it. The same lack is found in other materials as well, but especially in instructive material for young children. Most of the reduplicative style which is found may correlate with marked prominence in the Narrative description.

4.6 Grammatical correlations--F/DM

The correlations of this section are listed in order of the Function mode description (cf. section 4.2). Since detailed analysis is presented in the preceding sections, only summary formulas are given here for routine correlations. Correlations of special interest are given more attention.

4.6.1 Discourse structure correlations

The Expository genre is exhibited in the TOPIC-COMMENT Point structure found in two-part Sentences, having a first part filled by a Phrase and/or Clause, a second part filled by a Clause, and the two joined by a conjunction. This two-part correlation begins at the highest level, i.e., TOPIC: Title /DM Text-initial Noun Phrase (TIPH) +COMMENT: Exposition /DM Body of the Text.

4.6.2 Scheme structure correlations

As in chapter three (3.6.2), the Scheme types and their constituents are summarized with their DM mode correlates. They are listed in the order of Display 4:3 where more examples can be found. Where there is more than one

correlation for the same item, conditioning factors are given if known or suspected. They follow the double vertical bars ||, which read 'in the environment of'. Conditioning factors may be taken from whichever mode appears to be most relevant.

Syllogism, Illustration, and Contrast Schemes always correlate with Paragraph or larger constructions. Implication and Contra-expectation Schemes correlate with Sentences. Paraphrase Schemes range from Sentence correlations to Subparagraph correlations.

Paraphrase Scheme correlations are interesting because they do not necessarily conform to Sentence boundaries, especially not GENERIC-SPECIFIC constituents. For example, in Paraphrase 7-7 GENERIC 8-5 correlates with Clause B.11biii while three SPECIFICS correlate with Sentences B.12-14. In Paraphrase 4-9 GENERIC 5-13 correlates with Clause D.20aii while three SPECIFICS correlate with 21, 22ab, and 22c. Paraphrase coherence correlates with DM juxtaposition together with F mode shared concept information.

There is an interesting contrast between the two Episodes (4-4 and 4-5). The first is skewed by a portmanteau Paraphrase Scheme. Therefore the four EVENTS correlate with full Sentences joined by juxtaposition, except for the CONCLUDING EVENT which is joined by the Event-line conjunction cṓh 'then'. The second Episode is skewed by a Means Scheme embedded in the third EVENT, 'take valuables in order to give gifts to girls . . .' (B.11biii). The Means Scheme correlates with the same Clause (B.11biii), but the first part is a GENERIC MEANS and the second part is PURPOSE. Then three SPECIFIC MEANS correlate with three Sentences (B.12-14) followed by the CONCLUDING EVENT which correlates with Sentence B.15.

Contra-expectation Scheme correlations are of interest because of their alternative forms. A Sentence may or may not begin with the subordinating conjunction anáq 'even if' and may have the medial conjunction ma 'but' or cóh ma 'but'. The conditions for these differences appear to be the following. First, if a Contra-expectation fills a THESIS or CONTRA-THESIS (as in section 3.2.2), or a PREMISE (e.g., 4-6), it will correlate with a Sentence not containing anáq 'even if'. In other words, the conjunction anáq cannot occur initially in a Paragraph or Subparagraph. When anaq 'even if' does not occur, a Contra-expectation can be distinguished from a Contrast only by concept information. Of the two medial conjunctions, cóh ma 'but' appears to be more emphatic, i.e., a stronger Contrast or Contra-expectation than ma 'but'.

Implication 6-17 correlates with two Clauses having the medial conjunction cóh ma literally 'so but' rather than cóh 'so, then' as expected. Presumably this is because the CONSEQUENCE is adverse. However, the fact that it fills the CONDITION of an Implication (5-14) may be a complicating factor.

Following is the summary of Scheme structure correlations:

Syllogism Scheme /DM Body of the Text

/DM Paragraph (C,D)

PREMISE /DM Section (I, II)

/DM Clause (C.16a, 16b, D.20ai, 20aii)

CONCLUSION /DM icóh 'therefore' +Sentence (E.23)

/DM Subparagraph (C.17-19)

/DM cóh 'so' +Clause (C.20b)

Illustration Scheme /DM Section (I)

THESIS /DM Paragraph (A)

ILLUSTRATION /DM Paragraph (B)

Contrast Scheme /DM Paragraph +medial ma 'but' (A)

/DM Subparagraph +medial ma 'but' (A.1-3)

THESIS /DM Subparagraph (A.4)

/DM Sentence (A.4)

CONTRA-THESIS /DM ma 'but' +Subparagraph (A.4-6, 5-6)

/DM anáq 'even if' +Clause +cốh ma 'but' +Clause

/DM PIPH +ma 'but' +Clause +cốh ma 'but' +Clause || filling PREMISES (C.16)

/DM Clause +ma 'but' +Clause (E.23b)

CONCESSION /DM anáq +Clause, e.g., 'even if some girls don't like it' (A.2a, also see A.6ai, C.17a)

/DM SIPH +ma +Clause || PREMISE (4-6) (C.16a)

/DM embedded Clause, i.e., 'they court girls' (E.23bi)

CONTRA-EXPECT /DM ma 'but' +Clause, e.g., 'the fellows like that are accustomed' (A.2b, 6aii-b, E.23b)

/DM cốh ma 'but' +Clause (C.16b, 17b)

Implication Scheme /DM Sentence, e.g., 'if the girl wants to go . . . then she takes the fellows money' (A.4,5,6aii-b, B.15, D.21)

CONDITION /DM nấm 'if' +Clause (A.4a,5a,6aii, B.15a,21ai)

CONSEQUENCE /DM cốh 'then, so' +Clause (A.4b,5b,6b, B.15b)

/DM cốh ma 'so but' +Clause || adversative CONSEQUENCE embedded in a larger Implication, i.e., 'but bear pregnancy' (D.21aii)

/DM mŏi 'and' +Clause || conjoined to a preceding CONSEQUENCE (D.21c)

Paraphrase Scheme /DM Sentence +Sentence, e.g., 'fellows must go to the girls. Even if they don't like it but that's the fellows' custom' (A.1-2,5-6)

/DM Clause +Sentence(s), e.g., 'that's the fellows custom. If the fellow wants . . .' (A.2b-3, C.biii-14, C.17b-19, D.2-aii-22, E.23a-b)

THESIS /DM Sentence (A.1, A.5)

AMPLIFICATION /DM Sentence (A.2, A.3)

GENERIC /DM Clause (B.11biii, C.17b, D.20aii, E.23a)

SPECIFIC /DM Sentence (B.12,13,14, C.18,19, D.21,22, E.23b)

/DM mŏi 'and' +Clause || conjoined to a preceding SPECIFIC (D.22c)

Narrative Scheme /DM Paragraph B

SETTING /DM Prepositional Phrase 'At us' (B.7ai)

embedded Episode /DM Subparagraph (B.7aii-10, B.11-15)

SETTING /DM nám 'if' +Subjectless Clause, e.g., 'if arrived already sunny corn season' (B.7aii, B.11)

Sequence Scheme /DM Sentences || simultaneous with GENERIC-SPECIFIC Paraphrase, i.e., 'they stay . . . They go eat . . . . They go court . . . . Then they return . . . .' (B.7-10)

/DM a string of Clauses having successive CLP fillers elided +a final Sentence, i.e., 'they go again . . , go take flutes, take valuables . . . . Whichever the girl likes she takes' (B.11-15)

Means Scheme /DM Clause +Subparagraph (B.11biii-14)

MEANS /DM coordinate Clause, i.e., 'take money-belongings' (B.11biii)

PURPOSE /DM infinitizing Clause, i.e., 'in order to give gifts to girls' (B.11biv)

Exemplification Scheme /DM a Subparagraph, i.e., 'only a few act unethically. Such as only one out of ten' (C.18-19)

THESIS /DM Sentence (C.18)

EXAMPLE /DM Sentence (C.19)

4.6.3 Point and Proposition structure correlations

Point structure in this Discourse is not so simple as that of chapter three, and so its correlations are also not simple. TOPIC concept correlations are discussed first (4.6.3.1), then the correlations of Points as clusters of Propositions (4.6.3.2), and finally Proposition structure correlations (4.6.3.1).

4.6.3.1 TOPIC concept correlations

Although I have referred to two kinds of TOPICS in the Points of this Discourse, 'Pacoh Fellows and Girls', TOPIC concepts are the more valid use of the term. As in 'The Old Days', first-rank TOPIC correlates with PIPH and second-rank with EPIPH or C1F. This means that 'the fellows' are first-rank TOPIC and 'the girls' are second-rank TOPIC in the first Section (Paragraphs A and B). It also means that 'parents' are first-rank TOPIC and 'fellows' are second-rank TOPIC in the second Section (Paragraphs C and D). What is more interesting is that the 'the fellows', and to some extent, 'the girls' are first-rank Discourse TOPICS for the entire Discourse. This correlates nicely with the TIPH 'Pacoh Fellows and Girls', but it is not limited to the TIPH. First, note that although 'parents' are manifested in the PIPH of both Paragraphs of Section II, the pronoun ngai 'they' always refers to 'the fellows' except when it occurs in apposition to a-i a-ăm 'parents'. That is, 'the fellows' are the unmarked TOPIC and are in focus in all but the first

Sentence of each Paragraph. Finally, 'they' are in focus in both Clauses of the last Sentence (E.23). That 'the girls' maintain second rank at the Discourse level correlates with their appearance in focus in the last Clauses in Paragraphs A and B, and together with the fellows in the last Sentence of the Text.

4.6.3.2 Point structure correlations

In chapter three it was fairly simple to say that the Points like the terminal Scheme constituents correlated with the Sentences of the Text ('The Old Days'). In this section we can say that the Points correlate with the Sentences of the Text ('Pacoh Fellows and Girls')--but not in one-to-one correspondence with the terminal Scheme constituents. Many of the Points of this Text contain a cluster of Propositions which fill several Scheme constituents, and their Sentence correlates are correspondingly complex.

The first difference to be noted is that many Points have two main Propositions corresponding to left- and right-branching Scheme constituents which correlate with Conjunctive and Subordinating Sentences. It is always clear that a Point corresponding with an Implication Scheme will correlate with a Subordinating Sentence, i.e., anáq 'if' . . . cŏh 'then'. And it is clear that a Point corresponding with a Syllogism Scheme will correlate with a Conjunctive Sentence. But a Point corresponding to a Contra-expectation Scheme can correlate with either a Conjunctive or a Subordinating Sentence depending upon the Scheme constituent which dominates it. For example, Point 16 corresponds to a Contra-expectation dominated by a PREMISE and so correlates with a Conjunctive Sentence (C.16), whereas other Contra-expectation Points correlate with Subordinating Sentences, i.e., anáq 'even if' . . . ma but' . . .'. Basically, the rule is that the first Sentence of a Paragraph

cannot begin with a subordinating conjunction. Thus there is an interplay between the individual Scheme constituents which Point Propositions fill and their place in the Scheme structure.

Four general types of Point correlations are summarized below, followed by further discussion of complications and one case of skewing.

Point /DM simple Sentence, i.e., SIPH +conj. +Clause || Discourse-initial THESIS (A.1), || Subdivision Paraphrase (Points 12-15, 18-19)

/DM conjunctive Sentence, i.e., SIPH ±conj. +Clause (a) +conj. +Clause || PREMISE or THESIS of a major Scheme cluster (Points 7, 16, and 20)

/DM subordinating conj. +Clause +conj. +Clause ±(conj. +Clause) (A.2-6, C.17, D.21-22)

/DM simple Sentence without SIPH || Paraphrase SPECIFICS (Points 8-10, 12-15).

There are double subordinating Sentences which result from Implications within Implications or within Contra-expectations, e.g., Points 6 and 21. Point 21 is further complicated by addition of a second CONSEQUENCE, correlating with Clause (c). Point 22 appears on the surface to be parallel with Point 21 in adding a second CONSEQUENCE. However, closer analysis reveals that the third Proposition relates back to 'parents' instructions' in the first PREMISE of Point 20, indicating that it is an additional SPECIFIC parallel with the first two Propositions of Point 22, and not a CONSEQUENCE at all. Perhaps this skewing comes from the Function mode for a surprise punch, or perhaps it is done only for surface structure esthetics, or it might even turn out to be a formula for both purposes (cf. 5.1.3.1).

4.6.3.3 Proposition structure correlations

The basic Proposition structure correlations are fairly routine, but are summarized below because there are several found in this Discourse which do not occur in the 'The Old Days', e.g., three-participant Transfer and Speech Activities.

Features of special interest are topicalization, correlating with fronting to ClPP and the topicalizing conjunctions cŏh and ma, and correlations with prepositions. In a Proposition such as do clŏn cumŏr 'he courts a girl' the function PATIENT correlates with the position ClF. However, in the Proposition do clŏn alŭng cumŏr 'he courts with a girl' the function AGENT correlates with the preposition 'with' indicating that 'girl' is simultaneously PATIENT and AGENT. This is an example of AGENT in a non-TOPIC correlation.

Types of Proposition correlations with constituent correlations (note that AGENT correlation is the same in all Events, so is only given once):

1) Experience Event /DM Transitive-sentential Clause

AGENT (EXPR) /DM ClP:noun,prn, EXPERIENCE /DM ClC:tr-sent. verb,

SOURCE || concept /DM ClF:noun,pronoun (B.15a)

|| Event /DM ClF:embedded Clause (A.2-6, B.11b, D.20b, 22c).

(Activity Events)

2) One-participant without GOAL /DM Intransitive Clause

ACT /DM ClC:intr. verb, e.g., canhin 'repent' (D.21)

3) One-participant with GOAL /DM Semi-transitive Clause

ACT /DM ClC:s-tr. verb, e.g., pôc 'go', GOAL /DM PP, e.g., 'to girl's house'

4) Two-participant Activity Events /DM Transitive Clause

ACT /DM ClC:tr. verb, e.g., tăq 'do, work', RANGE /DM ClF:noun, e.g.,

proaq-tampáq 'work,doings', PATIENT /DM ClF:noun, e.g., **a-ŭm** 'corn'

5) Three-participant Transfer Events /DM Bitransitive Clause

ACT /DM ClC:bitr. verb, e.g., **dyŏn** 'give', PATIENT /DM ClF:noun or pronoun, e.g., **tian** 'money', GOAL /DM ClFF:PP **ado cumŏr** 'to girl' (in the case of 'give', SOURCE is portmanteau with AGENT; in the case of 'take', RECIPIENT is portmanteau with AGENT and SOURCE correlates with ClFF.

6) Speech Acts /DM Bitransitive-sentential Clauses

SPEECH ACT /DM ClC:bitr-sent verb, e.g., **tông** 'say', GOAL /DM ClF:PP **ado acay** to child', RANGE /DM ClFF:anything from a sound to a Text

(SOURCE-SPEAKER is portmanteau with AGENT)

Additional functions which may occur with Activity Events:

ACCOMPANIER /DM ClFF:PP, e.g., **alŭng yâu** 'with friends' (B.11)

PURPOSE /DM Sentence-infinitizing Clause, e.g., **ính . . .** 'in order to . . .' (B.11b, C.16b, D.22b)

MANNER /DM ClF:AdjP, e.g., **lâyq o** 'unethically'

/DM coordinate VP, e.g., **lu llám clŏn** 'really only court' (C.16b)

7) Attribution Proposition /DM Stative Clause (A.2b, C.17a, E.23)

ATTRIBUTE /DM ClP:Adj., AdvP, e.g., **icŏh** 'like-that'

ITEM /DM ClF:n,prn, e.g., **rit** 'custom'.

8) Existence Proposition /DM **vi** Clause with **vi** or **vaih** filling ClC

EXISTENT /DM ClF:anything from a sound to a Text. An optional function is LOCATION or GROUPING /DM ClP:NP,PP, e.g., 'out of ten persons' (C.19). In D.22a it appears that **vi** is lacking, perhaps because it occurs in 22b correlating with POSSESSIVE.)

9) Possession Proposition /DM Transitive Clause with ClC filled by **bôn** 'have'

/DM **vi** Clause with ClC filled by **vi** 'have'

POSSESSOR /DM ClP:n,prn, ITEM /DM ClF:nouns, pronouns (D.22).

4.6.4 Concept level correlations

Concept correlations are shown in the dictionary of concepts (4.2.4.3), but concept cluster correlations are given here. Some of the same functions listed below also appear under Proposition functions above. The difference is that in the examples above they involve assertions, but here they do not. ITEM /DM NPC:noun or pronoun, IDENTIFIER /DM NPFF:Relative Clause, SPECIFIER /DM NPF:demonstrative, ASSOCIATOR /DM NPF:noun, pronoun, POSSESSOR /DM NPF:noun or pronoun, QUANTITY /DM NPP2:counter ±NPP1: classifier.

4.6.5 Multi-level correlations

Following is a summary of some of the correlations of Discourse coherence and prominence with the surface structure.

Coherence /DM repetition, e.g., constituents of the Title are repeated throughout the Text. Also, concepts and Propositions from the theme-line, such as 'fellows court girls' and 'they don't do unethically' are repeated for both coherence and prominence.

/DM closure, i.e., a detached, initial NP and a detached, final Sentence.

Prominence /DM fronting, e.g., Title, THESIS statement 5-1, 'the fellows' in A.1,2b, B.7, 'parents' in C.17, D.20.

/DM repetition, e.g., theme statements in A.1 and A.2b, and in C.17 and E.23, negation of unethical activities in C.16-19, D.20, E.23.

/DM conjunction icóh 'therefore'

/DM brief closure, i.e., CONCLUDING EVENT 6-14 /B.15, and final CONCLUSIONS 2-3 and 3-5 /E.23.

/DM quotations in Bitransitive-sentential Clauses of C.16 and introduced by Bitr-sent. Clauses in D.20.

4.7 Grammatical correlations--DM|F

In this section grammatical forms are correlated with their functions. The order followed is that of section 4.3, beginning with the Text level and ending with Phrases. Word and morpheme correlates are presented in section 4.3.6. The item to the left of the vertical bar is the DM form while the item to the right is the function.

4.7.1 Text structure correlations

The binary structure of the Text correlates with the TOPIC-COMMENT structure of Expository Discourse. This binary structuring begins with the division between the Text-initial Phrase and the Body and continues through the Paragraphs and Sentences described below. Also, the pairing of Paragraphs into two Sections and the addition of a Text-final Sentence correlate with the structure of the main Syllogism, i.e., two PREMISES plus CONCLUSION. Major Paragraphs and Sections correlate with major Schemes. The Text-final Sentence is distinct from the two Sections and is joined to them by the Text-medial conjunction icóh 'therefore'.

4.7.2 Paragraph structure correlations

The division of the Paragraphs into Subparagraphs and Sentences correlates with the Expository Schemes of the Function mode. Paragraph A divides first into two Subparagraphs joined by the conjunction ma 'but' correlating with Contrast Scheme 3-1. The first Subparagraph (A.1-3) divides

between the initial 'topic' Sentence and two supporting Sentences joined by juxtaposition correlating with Paraphrase 4-1. The second Subparagraph (A.4-6) also divides between a Sentence (A.4) and a Subparagraph (A.5-6) joined by the conjunction ma correlating with Contrast 4-2.

Paragraph B divides into two Subparagraphs, but in this case they each begin with an introductory subordinate Clause correlating with the SETTINGS of Narrative Episodes.

Paragraphs C and D each divide between a topic Sentence and a Subparagraph. In Paragraph C the topic Sentence correlates with introduction of a new TOPIC and with the two PREMISES of Syllogism 3-3. The Subparagraph correlates with CONCLUSION of the Syllogism. In Paragraph C the topic sentence correlates with reinstatement of TOPIC plus both PREMISES and the CONCLUSION of Syllogism 3-4. Subparagraph D.21-22 correlates with a Paraphrase of the PREMISES.

Correlations of the four Paragraphs and their constituents are summarized in correlation formulas below:

Para. A |F THESIS 3-1:Contrast Scheme

A.1-3 |F THESIS 4-1:Paraphrase Scheme

A.4-6 |F CONTRA-THESIS 4-2:Contrast Scheme

Para. B |F ILLUSTRATION 3-2:Narrative Scheme

B.8-10 |F PRIOR 4-4:Episode

B.11-15 |F SUBSEQUENT 4-5:Episode

B.12-14 |F SPECIFIC MEANS

Para. C |F PREMISE 3-3:Syllogism Scheme

C.17-19 |F CONCLUSION 4-7:Contra-expectation Scheme

C.18-19 |F SPECIFIC 6-16:Exemplification Scheme

Para. D |F PREMISE 3-4:Syllogism Scheme

D.21-22 |F SPECIFICS 5-14,15,16

4.7.3 Sentence structure correlations

The major Sentence types of the Text correlate with Scheme-level constituents while the minor types correlate with lower-level relationships. Major types are discussed first under 4.7.3.1 followed by minor types under 4.7.3.2.

4.7.3.1 Major Sentence types in this Discourse

a. Simple Sentences correlate with the Discourse-initial and final Points and with Paraphrase SPECIFICS, including Exemplification constituents and the EVENTS of Sequence 5-6. It is interesting to contrast the first and last Sentences. The first is a typical 'topic' Sentence which primarily introduces first-rank TOPIC in its SIPH and second-rank TOPIC in CLF of its Clause. The last Sentence consists of a main Clause which correlates with the GENERIC summary 'thus is the custom of our region'. It also contains a Relative Sentence which amplifies the summary in a form parallel to that of C.17 'the fellows court the girls but they don't misbehave'.

Simple Sentence correlations are summarized in correlation formulas below with Sentence references at the left margin:

A.1 |F First Point of Discourse, i.e., THESIS 5-1:Point 1

B.8,9,10 |F SPECIFIC EVENTS 6-8,9,10:Points 8-10

B.12,13,14 |F SPECIFIC MEANS 8-6,7,8:Points 12-14

B.15 |F CONCLUDING EVENT 6-14:Point 15 || skewed to parallel the preceding Sentence structure just as the last Sentence of the second Section is (D.22)

C.17 |F Contra-expect 4-7:Point 17

C.18 |F Exemplification THESIS 7-9:Point 18

EXAMPLE 7-10:Point 19

E.23 |F Last Point of Discourse, i.e., CONCLUSIONS 2-3 and 3-4:Point 23

b. Conjunctive Sentences correlate with the initial Point of a Syllogism (Sentences C.16 and D.20).

c. Subordinating Sentences correlate with Expository Implication Schemes and with Contra-expectation Schemes except when dominated by a THESIS or PREMISE, which excludes Paragraph-initial position where subordinating conjunctions are not permitted. Subordinating Sentences also correlate with Narrative Episodes in which a subordinating Clause can occur Paragraph-initial correlating with SETTING. These correlations are summarized below:

A.2,C.17 |F Contra-expectation Schemes:Points 2,17

A.3,4,5 |F Implications 7-2, 5-3, and 6-5:Points 3,4,5

B.7,11 |F Episodes 4-4,4-5:Points 7,11

d. Subordinating-conjunctive Sentence correlations

Subordinating-conjunctive Sentences correlate with double Implication (D.21) or with two Points merged into one Sentence for surface structure parallelism (D.22, cf. Point 22c in section 4.6.3 above).

4.7.3.2 Minor Sentence types

Minor Sentence types appear to correlate with functions which are not relevant to the Scheme structure. Merging Sentence correlate with TEMPORAL SEQUENCE, e.g., **pôc dyŏn** 'go give' (cf. A.3b, B.11b). Compounding Sentence correlates with TEMPORAL OVERLAP, e.g., **dông khên tirĕl dông tian cua** 'take flutes take valuables' (B.11b). Juxtaposed Sentences correlate with LOGICAL OVERLAP e.g., **pôc clŏn lu llăm clŏn** 'go courting really only court' (C.16b).

(This might better be VERIFICATION, cf. section 4.7.5.2 below.) Infinitizing Sentences correlate with PURPOSE, e.g., **ính dyŏn . . .** 'in order to give . . .' (cf. B.11b, C.16b, and D.22).

4.7.4 Clause structure correlations

The correlations of Clause types and their constituents are fairly routine, so are simply summarized in correlation formulas below:

vi Clause || DM +ClP |F Possession

ClP |F POSSR, ClC:vi |F POSS, ClF |F ITEM, e.g., **do vi tiriaq** 'he has buffalo'

|F Existence || ±non-nuclear ClP

ClC:vi, vaih |F (empty), ClF |F EXISTENT, e.g., **vi mâh náq** 'there is one'

Intransitive Clause |F One-participant Event

ClP |F AGENT, ClC |F ACTIVITY, e.g., nnau canhin 'whoever it is repents'

Semi-transitive Clause |F one-participant travel Events

ClP |F AGENT, ClC |F ACT, ClF |F GOAL, e.g., **do pôc tŏq dŭng** 'he went home'

Transitive Clauses |F two-participant Events

ClP |F AGENT, ClC |F ACT, ClF |F PATIENT, RANGE, MANNER, e.g., **do táq tampáq** 'he does deeds', **cha a-ŭm** 'eats corn', **táq lâyq phep** 'acts unethically'

Bitransitive Clause |F three-participant Transfer Event

ClP |F AGENT (SOURCE or GOAL), ClC |F TRANSFER ACTIVITY, ClF |F PATIENT, ClFF |F GOAL or SOURCE, e.g., **do dông pinêq ado cumŏr** 'he takes gift to girl', **cumŏr dyeal pinêq te do** 'she takes gift from him'

Transitive-sentential Clause |F Experience Event

ClP |F AGENT (EXPR), ClC |F EXPERIENCE, ClF |F SOURCE, e.g., ngai **ính he clŏn** 'they want us to court'

Bitransitive-sentential Clause |F Speech Event

C1P |F SPEAKER, SOURCE, C1C |F SPEECH ACT, C1F |F GOAL, C1FF |F RANGE, ngai tông, acâp itấq lâyq phep 'they said, "don't do unethically."'

Stative Clause |F Attribution

C1P |F ATTRIBUTE, reference to ATTRIBUTE, C1F |F ITEM, e.g., icố̂h rit he 'like that custom ours'

b. Correlations of embedded Clauses and their constituents

Embedded Clauses are of special interest in that they fill Clause positions which correlate with the same functions whether filled by Clauses or Phrases. Non-relative embedded Clauses correlate with Events, and Relative Clauses correlate with Identification or Specification. Examples of Non-relative and Relative Clause correlations are given in the formulas below:

Non-relative embedded Clause |F SOURCE of Experience Event, e.g., (ngai ính) dyŏn pinêq '(they want) to give gifts' (cf. B.11b, C.16a)

|F RANGE of Speech Act:Prohibition Event, e.g., "acâp itấq lâyq phếp" '"don't do unethically"' (C.16b)

Relative Clause |F IDENTIFICATION

±C1C:ân |F RELATOR, C1F |F IDENTITY, e.g., (ngai) ân lalâu '(they) who fellows', (damo) cumŏr ính '(whichever) girl wants'

cF SPECIFICATION ||DM N- +demonstrative, e.g., (cumŏr) ncố̂h 'that (girl)'

4.7.5 Phrase level correlations

4.7.5.1 Noun Phrase correlations

Noun Phrases themselves correlate with various kinds of modification of an ITEM. Each Noun Phrase constituent correlates with one or more kinds of modification. These are listed below in correlation formulas with examples.

NPC |F ITEM, e.g., lalâu 'fellow'

NPP1 |F CLASSIFIER (INDIVIDUALIZER), e.g., . . . náq (lalâu) 'person (fellow)'

NPP2 |F QUANTIFIER, e.g., mâh (náq lalâu) 'one (person fellow)'

NPF |F OWNER, e.g., (tian) do 'her (money)'

|F ASSOCIATOR, e.g., (muang) he 'our (region)'

|F ORIGIN, e.g., (he) Pacốh '(we) Pacoh'

|F DIRECTION ||DM CLF filled by a dem., e.g., (do) cốh '(he) there'

NPFF |F IDENTIFIER || filled by a Relative Clause, e.g., (ngai) ân lalâu '(they) who are fellows'

|F SPECIFIER ||DM filled by N- +dem., e.g., (lalâu) ncốh '(fellow) there'

|F TEMPORAL LOCATION || time noun in NP or PP, e.g., te inô ntra 'from the past'

4.7.5.2 Verb Phrase correlations

Verb Phrases not only correlate with modifications of an ACTION or EXPERIENCE but modifications of the whole Event. Verb Phrase constituents and their correlations are listed below with examples.

VPP3 |F VERIFICATION, e.g., lu llấm clŏn 'really only court'

VPP2 |F NEGATION || lâyq, buih 'not'

|F DELIMITATION || llấm 'only'

VPP1 |F OBLIGATION || phai 'must'

|F DARING || dấh 'dare'

|F MISFORTUNE || anhuq 'bear, suffer'

VPC |F one-participant ACTIVITY ||DM intr. verb, e.g., canhin 'repent'

|F one-participant TRAVEL ACTIVITY ||DM semi-tr. verb, e.g., pôc 'go'

|F two-participant ACTIVITY ||DM tr. verb, e.g., **tấq** 'do, work'

|F EXPERIENCE ||DM tr-sent. verb, e.g., **ĩnh** 'want'

|F TRANSFER ACTIVITY ||DM bitr. verb, e.g., **dyŏn** 'give'

|F SPEECH ACT ||DM bitr-sent. verb, e.g., **tông** 'say'

|F POSSESSSION ||DM **vi, bôn** 'have'

|F EXISTENCE ||DM **vi, vaih** 'exist'

4.7.5.3 Adjective Phrase correlations

An Adjective Phrase correlates with modification of an ATTRIBUTE. The central constituent AdjPC correlates with ATTRIBUTE. AdjPP2 correlates with INTENSIFICATION, **lu** 'very', or DE-INTENSIFICATION, **num** 'just'. AdjPP1 correlates with NEGATION, **lâyq, buih** 'not'. AdjPF correlates with INTENSIFICATION, e.g., **(put) lu** 'very (big) or **(put) li mmo** 'however (big)'.

4.7.5.4 Preposition Phrase correlations

The AXIS of a Prepositional Phrase is filled by a Noun Phrase with the same correlations as named above. Only the preposition filling RELATOR correlates with a Prepositional Phrase function. Three three prepositions of the Text are listed below with their correlations. The first two are especially significant because of their double functions.

tốq |F SPATIAL LOCATION >distant, e.g., **tốq muang he** 'at our region'

|F SPATIAL DIRECTION || ClF of a Semi-tr. Clause, e.g., **(pôc) tốq dứng cumŏr** '(go) to her house'

alứng |F ACCOMPANIER || ClF of Intr. or Semi-tr. Clause, **(pôc) alứng yâu** 'go with friend'

|F CO-AGENT || ClF of a Tr. Clause, e.g., **Do tấq alứng apong** 'he fights with a bear'

ado-|F GOAL, e.g., (dyŏn) ado cumŏr '(give) to girl'

4.7.5.5 Adverbial Phrase correlations

Adverbial Phrases correlate with Equation. An adverbial preposition correlates with DEGREE OF EQUALITY while the AdvPF correlates with one term of the Equation, e.g., arâq ncôh 'like that', li mmo 'equal to whatever'.

(Word and morpheme correlates are presented in section 4.3.6.)

4.8 Phonological correlations

Phonological correlates in the Communication Situation (P|CS). The lack of much Phonotactic reduplication, as observed in section 4.4, appears to correlate with the fact that the author was writing to non-Pacoh speakers, so Pacoh euphonic style would not impress, and might impede comprehension. Lack of Phonotactic style may also be characteristic of Instructive materials for Pacoh children. Furthermore, since writing is a new skill among the Pacoh, they may find it more difficult to exercise a style which has previously been associated only with oral literature.

Phonological correlates in the Function mode (P|F). The fact that most of the reduplication of this Discourse is found in the Narrative Scheme may correlate with marked prominence, or simply a notion that illustrative material need not be so somber as argumentation.

CHAPTER V

EVALUATIONS

The intent of this chapter is to evaluate, but in a considerably different style from the Evaluation Scheme of chapter three. In the first part (5.1) the same outline followed in chapters two through four is followed to compare the two Texts of chapters three and four, and consequently, to generalize the characteristics of Expository Discourse from them. In the second part (5.2) the same outline is followed to compare Narrative Discourse with Expository. Some less relevant sections of the outline are omitted, but the numbering sequence is maintained. Then, finally, the third part (5.3) evaluates the model and the results accomplished by using it.

5.1 Comparisons between the two Expository Texts

The two Texts of chapters three and four were chosen somewhat at random from among a number of Pacoh Texts; but with some idea that they were both Expositions, and with the hope that they would be sufficiently different to show something of the range and variety of Expository Discourse. In the comparisons below 'The Old Days' is designated D1 (Discourse #1) and 'Pacoh Fellows and Girls' is designated D2.

5.1.1 Communication Situation

In both D1 and D2 the communicators were native Pacoh speakers and part of their audience was an American linguist. However, there are many differences in the Communication Situations, as listed below:

'The Old Days' (D1)	'Pacoh Fellows and Girls' (D2)
comm. was the village chief	comm. was a young villager
Text was solicited	Text was unsolicited
Text was oral	Text was written
audience included other villagers	potentially included other outsiders
rr was war and social turmoil	rr was Pacoh courtship and a VN charge of immorality
intent was to compare generations and question the value of western education	intent was to describe Pacoh courtship and refute the charges of immorality and matriarchy

5.1.2 Grammatical Function mode

5.1.2.1 Discourse structure

Both D1 and D2 are characterized by binary TOPIC +COMMENT structure.

5.1.2.2 Scheme structure

5.1.2.2.1 Classification and constituency

Both D1 and D2 have similar Scheme structures in that both are composed of the same kinds of logical, two-constituent relationships. Both contain Contrast, Contra-expectation, Syllogism and Paraphrase. Both have seven layers of recursion, which appears to be a natural threshhold (Miller 1956).

By way of difference, the first Discourse is an Evaluation Scheme, whereas the second is a Syllogism. The second also contains Implication Schemes, which are not found in the first.

5.1.2.2.2 Coherence

Both D1 and D2 use parallelism, e.g., the first is an Evaluation backed up by two parallel Evaluations, and also contains parallel Episodes,

Contra-expectations, and Implications. In D1 final COMMENT 2-2 is portmanteau with final embedded COMMENT 4-6, and in D2 final CONCLUSION 2-3 is portmanteau with final embedded CONCLUSION 3-5.

However, the first uses a 'sandwich' structure which the second does not, and the second has less Scheme coherence between its two major PREMISES (2-1 and 2-2).

5.1.2.2.3 Prominence

Both D1 and D2 follow the same rules for matching theme-line to naturally prominent constituents of each Scheme. Both use the same kind of TOPIC concept prominence. Both use a type of Paraphrastic RESTATEMENT for the second major Scheme cluster (ILLUSTRATION in D2) to give marked prominence to the THESIS. Both use similar closure, i.e., D1 closes with a brief COMMENT and D2 with a brief CONCLUSION.

D1 and D2 differ in that the final COMMENT of D1 carries only secondary prominence, whereas the final CONCLUSION of D2 carries primary prominence.

5.1.2.3 Points and Propositions

5.1.2.3.1 Classification and constituency

Both D1 and D2 have binary Points forming a layer between Schemes and Propositions. In both, the TOPIC concepts span Scheme clusters indicating that selection of TOPIC concepts is determined in the highest levels of the Scheme structure. Both have Points composed of TOPIC:concept +COMMENT:Proposition. In both there are Points which omit TOPIC—in D1 these are Points filling Evaluation COMMENTS; in D2 they are Points filling Paraphrase SPECIFICS.

D1 and D2 differ in that D2 has Points of a different type as well, that is, TOPIC:Proposition +COMMENT:Proposition, in which the first Proposition fills a left-branching Scheme constituent while the second fills a right-branching constituent. Both have the same basic Proposition types, but only the second includes Speech Events.

5.1.2.3.2 Coherence

Both have TOPIC +COMMENT coherence of the first kind, i.e., concept +Proposition, but the second also has Point coherence of the second kind, i.e., Proposition +Proposition filling left and right-branching Scheme constituents.

5.1.2.3.3 Prominence

Both D1 and D2 make use of both TOPIC prominence and COMMENT prominence. However, in the case of Proposition+Proposition Points it appears that the COMMENT carries the natural prominence of the Scheme.

5.1.2.4 Concepts

Both D1 and D2 make use of down-graded predications, especially for identification and specification of the TOPIC concepts. However, there is no temporal identification in the concepts of D2 as there is in D1, e.g., pang ntiaq inô ntra 'generation which olden long ago'. Both make use of compounds for concept expansion, e.g., a-i a-ám 'parents', but D1 uses many more than D2. In D1 TOPIC concepts are temporal concepts, e.g., 'generation, lifetime', whereas in D2 they are AGENT and EXPERIENCER participants, i.e., 'fellows, girls, and parents'.

5.1.3 Grammatical Distribution: Manifestation modes

5.1.3.1 Text structure

Both Texts exhibit binary structuring, but D1 also exhibits trinary structuring not found in D2. D1 exhibits a sandwich structure which is not found in D2 (cf. section 3.3.1), but both Texts exhibit parallelism of Paragraph or Section-final Sentences (cf. sections 3.3.1.2 and 4.3.1.1).

5.1.3.2 Paragraph structure

Both Texts have binary Paragraphs joined by cṓh ma 'but', and both have Subparagraphs as well as Sentences as major Paragraph constituents. However, in D1 each of the three Paragraphs divides into two parts with the same conjunction; whereas in D2 Paragraph A has Subparagraphs A.1-3 and A.4-6 joined by both ma 'but' and tail-head linkage; Paragraph B has B.7-10 and B.11-15 joined by head-head linkage, and Paragraphs C and D both have their Subparagraphs joined by tail-head linkage.

5.1.3.3 Sentence structure

Both Texts are characterized by binary Sentence structure. However, D2 is characterized by subordinating Sentences not found in D1. All Sentences of D2 use cṓh or ma as topicalizers following SIPH, except Sentence D.20, whereas only three Sentences of D1 do so. In D1 only those three Sentences contain nuclear Clause constituents filling.

5.1.3.4 Clause structure

Both Texts have basically the same range of Clause types, but those of D1 contain Clause doubling via word compounds to a much greater extent than D2, and Clause tripling, which is not found in D2 at all.

5.1.3.5 Phrase structure

There is no significant difference in Phrase structure between the two Texts, except for the much greater amount of binary and trinary expansion in D1.

5.1.3.6 Word structure

There is no significant difference in word structure between the two Texts, except for the greater amount of compounding in D1.

5.1.4 Special Phonotactics

The first Utterance is loaded with Phonotactic orchestration (cf. Display 3:13), whereas D2 has very little, limited to ten reduplicative Pause Groups and three additional Feet.

5.1.5 Communication Situation correlations

The fact that both communicators were native Pacoh persons correlates with their use of Pacoh Expository structure for explanatory type information. However, their different intents correlate with the difference between their choices of Evaluation Scheme versus Syllogism Scheme. The first communicator intended to evaluate two TOPICS. The second intended to use a descriptive PREMISE and an explanatory PREMISE to bring the reader to the CONCLUSION that Pacoh courtship is not immoral. The greater age and speaking experience of the first communicator correlates with his composition of a tighter structure, e.g., an Evaluation backed up by three Evaluations, each of which has three COMMENT Points, his use of a 'sandwich' structure, and a carefully orchestrated, 'poetic' Phonotactic structure. The latter may also correlate with his having a mostly Pacoh audience, and an oral delivery rather than written.

5.1.6 Grammatical Function mode correlations

In both D1 and D2, Expository Discourse type is exhibited in binary Scheme relationships which correlate with binary Paragraphs and Sentence linkage, and in TOPIC-COMMENT Point structure which correlates with two-part Sentences. In both Discourses, the major Scheme clusters correlate with Paragraphs, and minor Scheme clusters correlate with Subparagraphs. The terminal constituents, i.e., Propositions, correlate with Clauses.

In D1 a Contrast Scheme always correlates with two Paragraph constituents (Sentences or Subparagraphs) linked by cốh ma 'but'. In D2 Subparagraphs are linked by ma 'but'. This difference may correlate with a 'weaker' Contrast, i.e., 'on the other hand'. In D2 Contra-expectation may correlate with two Clauses linked by cốh ma 'but' (C.16), or anáq 'even if' +Clause +ma +Clause (A.2), or anáq +Clause +cốh ma +Clause (C.17) depending upon the Scheme function which dominates it and whether the two Clauses have the same AGENT or a change of AGENTS. Contra-expectation correlations in D1 are similar to the first correlation above, but not to the other two. In the second correlation formula ma 'but' is in the environment of change of AGENT, whereas in the third, cốh ma 'but' is in the environment of the same AGENT in both Clauses, as is the case in D1 as well. A Paraphrase Scheme correlates with juxtaposed Sentences or Paragraphs depending on its level in the Scheme structure. In D1 Paraphrase 3-1 correlates with juxtaposition of Paragraphs A and B. In D2 Paraphrase 7-7 correlates with juxtaposition of Sentences B.12, 13, and 14.

5.1.7 Multi-level function correlations

5.1.7.1 Coherence

In both Discourses coherence correlates with repetition at every level. In both, the means of participant reference are similar, even though TOPIC concepts are temporal in D1 but AGENTS in D2. For example, first-rank TOPIC is first identified by means of NPFF in a Noun Phrase filling the Title and the PIPH of each Paragraph; TOPIC is also restated in the second Sentence, but it includes NPFF for re-identification only if sequencing is interrupted, (cf. Sentence 2 of D2). In both Discourses closure correlates with a Text-initial Phrase at the beginning and Text-final Sentence structured differently from the other Sentences of the Text.

5.1.7.2 Prominence correlations

In both D1 and D2 TOPIC concept prominence correlates with first position, i.e., TIPH, PIPH, and SIPH. The first Sentence of a Paragraph is a 'topic' Sentence correlating with a THESIS or PREMISE in the Scheme structure. Prominence of the closing constituents correlates with a brevity in the Text-initial Phrase and in the Text-final Sentence in contrast to the usual Paragraph-sized constituents of the Text. CONCLUSION prominence is marked by the conjunction icóh 'therefore'. By way of differences, D2 uses Narrative Episodes and Speech Events which D1 does not.

5.1.8 Summary Conclusions

In summary, I conclude that the two Texts analyzed belong to the same Discourse type, i.e., Pacoh Expository Discourse. Furthermore, their differences indicate a two-dimensional subtyping. First, they are subtyped as Evaluation Scheme versus Syllogism Scheme. Second, they are subtyped as

poetic style versus non-poetic style. A further conclusion is that the difference between Evaluation and Syllogism does not effect the grammar below the Point/Sentence level. However, the difference between poetic and non-poetic style does, and the differences between other Discourse types may. The next step is to compare and contrast Expository Discourse with some other Discourse type.

5.2 Comparisons between Expository and Narrative Texts

Time and space do not presently permit a full analysis and description of Narrative Texts in the same way as was done for the two Expository Texts. However, some important conclusions can be drawn from partial analyses of two Narrative Texts which were done previously under different models. The first Text (D3) is **Do ân Mnîn** 'An Industrious Person' (Watson 1977), and the second (D4) is **Pôc Papênh** 'Going Hunting' (unpublished paper). Both Texts are reproduced in the Appendix. The same approach is used here to compare Discourse types as was used to compare the two Discourses above.

5.2.1 Communication Situation

The author of the two Narrative Texts was Cubuat, the same one who wrote 'Pacoh Fellows and Girls' (D2). The audience was primarily the same American linguist, but eventually Pacoh people who would be reading or listening to readings from the book of Pacoh Texts which was being compiled. The principal difference between D1,2 and D3,4 is intent. The intent of both D3 and D4 was to tell a story, especially one containing Pacoh cultural interest. However, a secondary intent of D3 was to teach a moral.

5.2.2 Grammatical Function mode

5.2.2.1 Discourse structure

Whereas D1, and D2 are characterized by binary structure, D3, and D4 are not (except for having the same division between Title and Discourse). D3,4 are rather characterized by chronological sequence which is n-ary (i.e., 'having multiple pats, not restricted to two or three', cf. Longacre 1976a:199).

5.2.2.2 Scheme versus Plot structure

5.2.2.2.1 Classification of Scheme and Plot

Expository Scheme structure begins with a single Scheme and divides into two (or three) constituents which continue to divide into various binary configurations forming a tree structure of Schemes such as shown in Displays 3:4 and 4:4. Chronological Plot structure, on the other hand, is basically a Sequence of Events along an Event-line. The Sequence is structured more like the analogy of beads on a string in which some are larger or smaller and some are closer or further apart (Grimes 1975:40, Jones and Jones 1979:5,6). This does not mean that Narrative does not contain some logical Schemes, e.g., D3 contains two Contrasts and two Implications. However, the logical Schemes are embedded in the chronological sequences or additional to them rather than vice versa. The clusters of 'beads' on the Narrative strings in D3,4 are composed of a temporal or spacial SETTING followed by a sequence of Events. However, D3 closes with a double Implication Scheme composed of a CONDITION, a first CONSEQUENCE which is a portmanteau second CONDITION, and a second CONSEQUENCE, i.e., 'if anyone is lazy, so everyone warns, saying, "Don't act like him!" so he doesn't like that'.

5.2.2.2.2 Coherence in Scheme versus Plot

In Scheme structure coherence is accomplished primarily through the spans of TOPIC concepts and through the logical relationships between Scheme constituents. In Plot structure coherence is accomplished through temporal SETTINGS, Event-line sequencing, and AGENT-orientation.

5.2.2.2.3 Prominence

In Scheme structure prominence follows TOPIC ranking and both natural and marked prominence of Scheme constituents through the theme-line of the structure from top to bottom. In Narrative, prominence follows the main Event-line and is heightened at Peak points in the Sequence along a 'horizontal' chronology. I find nothing like a Peak in Expository theme-line except for statements of the theme.

5.2.2.3 Point and Proposition structure

There are no Expository TOPIC +COMMENT structures in D4 and only a few in D3 corresponding to embedded Expository Schemes. Instead there Narrative Points consisting of SETTING +Event and there are simple Event Propositions. In Expository Points TOPIC is what is being talked about, whereas in Narrative Points SETTING is background information.

Proposition types in Expository Discourses D1,2 are varied. In fact, Ellis Deibler is reported as saying that "expository discourse contains the greatest variety of clause types of any discourse genre" (Longacre 1976a:204). Narrative Discourse is more restrictive. In D4, for example, all of the main Propositions are Events except for two Quantifications.

5.2.2.4 Concepts

In D4 there are almost no downgraded predications for identification or specification, but perhaps this is because the main characters are brothers and parents, so kin terms constitute all the identification and specification needed. In D3, on the other hand, the main characters require more identification, i.e., 'he who is industrious' and 'they who from this village'. However, there is generally much less identification and specification in Narrative, where a sequence of Events may maintain the same Agent over a longer span.

5.2.3 Grammatical Distribution: Manifestation modes

5.2.3.1 Text structure

Both Expository and Narrative Texts divide into Paragraphs and Sentences. However, Expository Paragraph boundaries conform to binary divisions of the Text, whereas Narrative Paragraph boundaries are not restricted to pairing.

5.2.3.2 Paragraph structure

Expository Paragraphs divide up binarily into Subparagraphs and Sentences, whereas Narrative Paragraphs may contain a series of Sentences interrupted only by occasional tense markers. Expository Paragraph boundaries are marked by a Paragraph-initial Phrase, whereas Narrative Paragraph boundaries are marked by a Paragraph-initial dependent Clause. In an Expository Paragraph Sentences are usually paired by use of conjunctions or juxtaposition, whereas in Narrative a series of Sentences can be joined by cṓh 'then'.

5.2.3.3 Sentence structure

Expository Sentences are generally binary structures. A non-binary Sentence will belong to embedded Narrative or a Subparagraph of simple Sentences joined by juxtaposition (correlating with Paraphrase SPECIFICS). Narrative Sentences are generally one-part or two-part Sentences, but the first part of a two-part Narrative Sentence is a Clausal or Phrasal tense marker, as described below. Also, two-part Sentences are much less frequent in Narrative, especially in the flow of the Event-line.

5.2.3.4 Clause structure

Most Clauses are structured the same in both Expository and Narrative Texts, but two differences are found. First, in both D3 and D4 all Bitransitive-sentential Clauses contain an explicit quotative, e.g., 'he said', but quotatives are missing in D2, and D1 has no Bitransitive-sentential Clauses at all. Apparently speech acts belong to Event-line narration, but may be slipped into exposition. Second, most introductory Clauses of Narrative Sentences are tense markers which differ from Clauses found in Expository Texts (except when found in embedded Narrative, e.g., B.7,11 of D2). They are generally Subjectless and contain the conjunction dyê 'already'. In the embedded Narrative of D2 we find tốq dyê . . . 'arrived already . . .'. D3 opens with át callúng vĕl 'staying in the village'; and D4 has át dáng cốh lu nhúm 'having stayed there very long', dyê ti ncốh 'already there', etc.

5.2.3.5 Phrase structure

The Prepositional Phrase tu ncốh bâq 'from then finally' is a tense marker found only in Sentence-initial Phrases of Narrative Sentences (D4).

5.2.3.6 Word structure

No differences are found in words, except that the conjunction cŏh bâq 'then finally' is found only in Narrative Sentences for chronological sequencing. Also, I find no examples of the verb prefix i- or the clitic ngâh 'non-specific AGENT' in Narrative but they are fairly common in Exposition. (Narrative Discourse is AGENT oriented, whereas Expository Discourse is TOPIC oriented.)

5.2.4 Special Phonotactics

There is very little poetic style found in either of the Narrative Utterances. This may not be conclusive, however, since the same author wrote them who wrote D2. On the other hand, he put considerable poetic style into Descriptive Discourses. Analysis of further Texts will be required before the distribution of poetic style in Discourse types can be determined.

5.2.5 Communication Situation correlations

The intent of the communicator of D3,4, to tell a story, clearly accounts for his choice of Narrative Discourse over Expository. However, an additional intent—to teach a moral—accounts for certain Expository features in D3.

5.2.6 Grammatical Function mode correlations

Whereas Expository Scheme and Point structure correlate with binary Paragraph and Sentence structure in Expository Text, the chronological Event-line of Narrative Discourse correlates with the n-ary structure of Narrative Paragraphs. It also correlates with the use of Subjectless introductory Clauses to mark tense in Narrative Paragraphs and Sentences.

Though Narrative Plot structure does not involve a hierarchical layering of Scheme structure, it does involve a variety of information levels (Jones and Jones 1979:6). Special Events on the Event-line correlate with Sentences introduced by introductory Clauses, Phrases, or the conjunctions cốh and cốh bâq. Ordinary Events correlate with juxtaposed Sentences. And background Events correlate with Text-initial Sentence or Paragraph and Sentence or Paragraph initial Clauses, e.g., 'living in the village'. These levels also correlate with Clause types to some extent. Background information is often correlated with Intransitive and Stative Clauses, while Event-line information correlates with Semi-transitive and Transitive Clause types, including Bitransitive-sentential quotations.

5.2.7. Multi-level functions

5.2.7.1 Coherence

Both Expository and Narrative Discourses have similar devices for participant reference, except that in Narrative the thematic participant is not usually re-identified by a full Noun Phrase after the opening Sentence of the Text. In Expository Discourse we find binary coupling between Scheme constituents, e.g., Contrast Scheme correlates with cốh ma or ma 'but' between two Sentences or Subparagraphs. But in Narrative Discourse chronological sequence correlates with n-ary Clause groupings which are interrupted only to insert background information, prominence clues, or to change AGENTS. Temporal overlap correlates with juxtaposition; temporal sequence with tense markers or the conjunctions cốh or cốh bâq 'finally'.

Narrative Discourses are characterized by groupings of Event Propositions with SETTINGS and not the kinds of binary parallelism which characterizes Exposition (cf. section 5.1.3.1).

5.2.7.2 Prominence

In Expository Discourse the primary means of prominence are topicalization correlating with fronting of the TOPIC concept, and natural prominence correlating with the theme-line through the structure to a theme statement. In Narrative Discourse prominence follows the Event-line and is especially marked by concentration of verbs and by frequent use of the conjunction cóh 'then' (sometimes finalized with cóh bâq 'then finally'). It may also be heightened by monologue or dialogue.

Another prominence device found in both Expository and Narrative Discourses is the brevity of the final COMMENT (D1), CONCLUSION (D2), MORAL (D3), or CONCLUDING EVENT (D4).

5.2.8 Summary conclusions

There is no difficulty in distinguishing D3 and 4 from D1 and 2 as examples of different Discourse types. Even Narrative embedding in Expository Text is easily distinguished by its introductory Clause, and its n-ary Event-line (cf. B.7-11 in D2). Expository Schemes embedded in Narrative are also clearly distinguished by their conjunctions and binary relationships (cf. Paragraph VII in D3). However, I also conclude that a comparative analysis of D3 and D4 would have been helpful since it turns out that they are more different than I had anticipated. The intent of the author to teach a moral in D3 introduced several Expository structures into the story, and his intent to tell about an activity in D4 is reflected in a Verb Phrase filler of the Title/TIPH and a lot of procedural background information.

5.3 Evaluation of the model

The evaluation intended here is primarily in the form of evaluative comments, not comparisons and contrasts with other models. My comments primarily concern the importance of the Discourse approach and some concluding thoughts. First, though, I would like to reply to some criticisms.

"Doesn't the use of function terms in the DM modes indicate that the model has failed?" It certainly means that the analyst has failed to coin enough non-function terms, but I don't think this reflects upon the model. There have been grammars written which assigned only numbers to word classes or simply used a member of the class to stand for the class, cf. ngêq 'all' for the quantifier class. I relented from strict adherence to such a method for the sake of readers who were already overloaded with new terminology.

A related question is, "How can you determine without reference to meaning that NPP3 is not NPP1 when NPP2 and NPP1 may be absent?" First, I have stated that my DM surface view of grammar is not some kind of machine parse which can be carried out without reference to grammatical meaning. Rather it merely observes what the surface structure looks like without grammatical meaning. Secondly, the fillers of NPP3 are a unique class of members which always precede fillers of NPP1 and NPP2 when they do occur. Note that the analysis is not based on meaning but on the morphotactic facts of the data together with their meanings.

"Haven't you lost the important use of 'subject' and 'object' as high levels of abstraction by use of CLP and CLF?" There is no question that subject and object are lost in the surface structure of this model. Since all function is relegated to the Function mode, any "high level of abstrac-

tion" belongs there. But in the Function mode we do not find subject and object either, but rather such functions as AGENT, PATIENT, and TOPIC. Subject and object do not belong to either the IM modes or the Function mode but are artifacts of particular correlations between the two. For Pacoh I can easily define subject as AGENT, which always correlates with ClP. But one must use the term subject with much caution because it means different things to different people, largely based on its confusion with TOPIC. Li (1976) cites confusion with the term as it is used for many languages of the world, but notice the following quote from a book close at hand. Phyllis Healey (Longacre 1976:126) said,

> Some [languages], like the Philippine languages, have a single causative clause with both 'agent' (causer) and 'subject' (agent) tagmemes. (Actually, the 'agent' usually ends up marked as grammatical Subject, and the 'subject' as grammatical Object--Accessory or Referent or whatever.)

Unless the reader is well-versed in Philippine linguistics, he is confused already and Healey has not even mentioned topic focus which adds further confusion to the term subject.

Use of the term subject allows elasticity which is necessary if one wants to have both surface functions and deep functions. But I prefer to make a clear separation between function and form so that I can be crystal clear when I am talking about a surface position, or a deep function, or any particular correlation between position and function, e.g., ClP correlated with AGENT (±TOPIC), or SIPH correlated with TOPIC +(AGENT, PATIENT, TIME, etc.). It is all a matter of how one cuts the linguistic pie. I have generally adhered to tagmemic fundamentals except in this one issue—that I make an analytical cut between surface minus meaning and meaning minus surface but bring them back together again in clearly defined correlations.

"Do you still assume as you did in chapter one that Paragraphs and Texts are formal linguistic structures on the same order as Clauses and Sentences?" I have not attempted to prove the validity of that assumption, but I want to comment on it. First, I have described structural features of Paragraphs and Texts and stated some similarities within Expository Texts and some contrasts between these and Narrative structures. I believe a good case could be made for grammatical structure. However, its interpretation depends entirely on where one divides between grammar and semantics. Within a tagmemic model I have little doubt about the grammaticality of Text and Paragraph structures because grammatical meaning belongs to the grammatical hierarchy, whether in an elastic hierarchy or a double-sided one as in this study. But, if deep structure meaning is assigned to semantics, then I agree with Halliday (1980) that a Text is a semantic unit more that it is a grammatical one. (But then we might say the same of Clauses and Sentences, too). It is all a question of how one cuts the linguistic pie.

Finally, "Why is such a model necessary when several theories already have adequate models?" There are several replies to this question. First, I note that Katz and Fodor, to name only two, have not considered Chomsky to have the last word (cf. Katz 1980). One lesson that I have tried to learn from my mentors is not to be afraid to attempt new approaches and to carry them through in spite of difficulties. That the last words have not been spoken in any theory is obvious from clear statements by the leaders in the field and by their less clear vacillations, e.g., between use of 'semantics' in one publication and rejection of it in the next. Or vice versa in the case of the leader of another theory.

Finally, we often learn by contrast and we cannot be sure that a model is good, bad, or indifferent until we have given it a fair trial. It is important to learn different systems in order to discuss them intelligently, and to learn from their limitations and from their strengths. And I do not really learn a differing system until I have carried it all the way through a body of data. Isolated examples are not sufficient.

5.3.1 The Discourse approach

In Chapter one I mentioned reasons why progress in Discourse analysis has been delayed. Now I have learned another reason--it is a lot of work. It is far easier to gather examples to fit your analysis than to analyze all the examples of a natural corpus. One cannot choose what he wants to call 'context free' forms and relegate the rest to residue. Furthermore, the data includes every level and non-level and the interrelationships between them. Here I have expanded two short Texts to fill a volume, and yet the description pales alongside of the simple Texts themselves. Certainly language is more wonderful than linguistics, as a well-put saying, or a picture, is better than a thousand paraphrases.

Analyses of two Texts are probably not adequate to define Expository Discourse. However, there are advantages in detailed analyses of two complete Texts over a more superficial examination of many. Furthermore, as in any detailed comparison it is less confusing to work with two at a time (cf. comparative reconstruction from cognate sets). This work is only a cornerstone for much more required to describe Pacoh Discourse.

Following is an example of a lesson I would not likely have learned in a more general approach. Contra-expectation Schemes often correlate with sur-

face Sentences joined by the medial conjunction cóh ma or ma 'but' just as Contrast Schemes do. The subordinating conjunction anáq 'even-if' is missing from Sentences correlating with Contra-expectation Schemes when they are dominated by PREMISES or THESES. In such cases the audience is dependent upon concept and Proposition information to distinguish Contra-expectation from Contrast. An outsider to the culture or to the immediate context of a Discourse will recognize that a Contrast exists wherever the conjunction ma 'but' occurs, but he will often miss the clues to Contra-expectation when anáq 'even if' is missing. The converse is also true. Cubuat did not consider the last Sentence of 'Pacoh Fellows and Girls' to be a Contra-expectation, i.e., 'such is the custom of our region--in which the fellows court the girls but they don't misbehave'. But he knew that his audience would and that was his reason for writing.

Working down from the higher levels of the grammatical hierarchy requires one to talk about constituents which belong to lower levels before having described them on those levels. However, I believe that the holistic view gained is worth the awkwardness, and most readers are already familiar with most of the constituents anyway, e.g., Sentences, Phrases, and word classes.

This study of two Expository Texts has convinced me more than ever of the importance of a Discourse approach, not only to analyze all levels, but to give priority to the higher levels of the hierarchy. The logic of Scheme structure and its correlations in binarily related Paragraphs divided down into Subparagraphs and Sentences is at least as important to a linguistic description as Clause structure. I believe it is probably more so, because it involves the coherence and prominence features of a Discourse more than

can be discovered from the Clause, Phrase, and word levels. For example, what could one do with such an anomalous Clause as A.2b of D2 ngai ân lalâu icóh rit 'they who fellows like-that custom'. There is no logical way that the Noun Phrase 'the fellows' can fill ClP of this Stative Clause, but a Discourse analysis shows us three things: First, in accord with Sentences C.17 and E.23 the real antecedent of icóh 'like that' and implicit filler of ClP is the first Sentence, 'the fellows must go to the girls'; second, as seen in the Title and in Sentence E.23 'the fellows' fills NPFF of the Noun Phrase 'custom of the fellows', and third, according to participant reference, 'the fellows' is fronted to ClPP position to re-instate them as first-rank participants following an interruption by the second-rank in A.2a.

A Discourse approach helps to clarify the apposition of TOPIC concept to Proposition (correlating with Sentence-initial Phrase to Clause) in Expository Discourse. In D1 TOPIC is filled by temporal concepts which, from a Propositional perspective, are peripheral, but which, from a Discourse perspective are more thematic than most of the Clauses. This also explains the use of a conjunction between SIPH and the Clause when SIPH has the same filler as a Clause constituent--to indicate that the SIPH filler is more than just a Clause-level filler.

For this particular study a general description of Pacoh grammar was included in chapter two to illustrate an unfamiliar model, but ordinarily a general grammar should be written after Discourse-specific grammars and be built upon them. In fact, I have had to go back and revise chapter two from time to time while writing the subsequent chapters, but I have not yet turned it into a grammar built upon the results of the Discourse analyses--that must come later.

At the beginning of my analysis I had 'Subjectless' Clauses, but thinking that I had found a couple of counter-examples, I either combined them with Transitive or called them vi Clauses. Now I see that the 'subjects' in the apparent counter-examples were TOPICS. For example, ngai vaih chom could be translated 'they came to know', but the same Clause without an SIPH correlating with TOPIC would be vaih ngai chom 'it happened that they knew'. Therefore, vi and vaih are truly 'subjectless' as I first thought. (I was confused between 'subject' and 'topic' in the only situation where I attempted to use the term subject.)

Discourse analysis is important for typological studies. A form in one Discourse type may have a different function from the same form in another Discourse type, e.g., cŏh primarily marks TOPIC in Expository Discourse, but Temporal Sequence in Narrative. Only the kinds of information provided by Discourse analysis can save a linguist the embarrassment of basing a 'topic-prominent' typology of one language on examples drawn from Expository Discourse and a 'subject-prominent' typology of another language on examples drawn from Narrative Discourse. This may not be true of Li and Thompson's (1976) typologies, but some of their examples are sufficiently suspect to alert us to the danger (cf. Longacre 1980a).

One final note of interest that I observe from comparing Narrative and Expository Discourses is that Narrative is probably more adaptable to teaching morals. While it is true that an Exposition can include interesting examples, the Narrative can weave a moral through an interesting story in such a way that it is in fact portmanteau with it, and not debatable. The audience of 'The Old Days' is left wishing for the old days, but not knowing

what to do. The audience of 'Pacoh Fellows and Girls' is always tempted to question either the PREMISES or the CONCLUSION or both. But the audience of 'The Industrious Man' is both entertained and inspired to go and do likewise. (Perhaps the linguistic profession suffers somewhat from the cold, analytic Discourse type which we are required to employ.)

5.3.2 The deep-surface grammar dichotomy

Enough has been said about the importance of deep structure in analyzing Discourse. And since my goal as a field worker is to analyze Discourse, I will dispense with further discussion of the surface versus deep structure controversy with one final note. I believe that a model which requires three distinct procedures—deep structure analysis, surface structure analysis, and correlation of the two—forces greater explicitness, and ends up with both units and relationships which I find very useful.

5.3.3 Thoughts regarding processes

One theoretical issue which has not been mentioned at all is that of linguistic process. I have no question as to the importance of process and I have referred to fronting, anaphora, and elision, but I have generally ignored the issue for two reasons. First, there is considerable disagreement as to what kinds of processes are valid and what is a base form. Second, I believe it is necessary to analyze the structure of a language into taxonomies first. Then, having control of the data, one can attempt to deal with process rules.

If I were to attempt process rules, based on the results of this study I would start from the top down using the notion of macro-structure (cf. van

Dijk 1977, Kintsch 1977b, Longacre 1977). Following are a few samples of potential process rules:

—matching TOPIC concepts to Propositions to give Point structures

—manifestation of TOPIC concepts as SIPH fillers and Proposition clusters as COMMENT fillers

—insertion of cŏh following TOPIC/SIPH when its filler is identical with the filler of a Proposition constituent

—deletion of the filler of a C1P|AGENT when it is identical to a thematic concept filling TOPIC/SIPH

—modification of the filler of C1P to anaphoric reference when it is identical to a non-thematic concept filling TOPIC/SIPH.

It appears that 'fronting' is never needed in an approach which starts from the top of the hierarchy. For example, when PATIENT fills the SIPH slot up front, he is always absent from the little C1F slot out back, but when AGENT fills the SIPH slot up front, he may also have an anaphoric reference filling C1P, depending upon his status in the Scheme structure.

5.3.4 Concluding thoughts

I believe I have defended the model enough, but I will sum up my opinion of it by saying that it helped me accomplish my three goals—to learn more about the Pacoh language, about Discourse structure, and about deep structure. I believe all three parts of the procedure are necessary in spite of the resulting redundancy which has made it difficult for the reader to endure the routine until he reaches especially significant features.

Would I ever use this model again? I expect the principles which have been utilized to be the basis for continued adaptations—to different audiences, different Discourse

types, different parts of Discourse, and new insights from other models. But I am open to scrapping it entirely when the time comes to try something different.

Finally, I am impressed most with the value of deep grammar perspective upon Pacoh Expository Scheme. After spending considerable time and effort reconstructing the Scheme structures of each of the Expository Discourses, I am amazed at the clear but intricate logic exhibited. I am amazed partly because I could not have said the Text any better and yet it took me so long to analyze it, and partly because only a few Pacoh have learned even the basics of what we call literacy. However, they are certainly not 'illiterate'. Pacoh speaking ability correlates with the large body of oral literature which their culture maintains and with the speaking contests which they enjoy. They tell of debating contests which have continued for as long as ten days and nights until one of the last two contestants is bested by his opponent's skillful use of the resources of the language and tribal wisdom.

APPENDIX 1

DISCOURSE 3 (D3)

DO AN MMIN

HE WHO IS INDUSTRIOUS

Discourse 3 (D3)

DO ÂN MMÍN

HE WHO IS INDUSTRIOUS

I. (1) Át callúng vĕl cu vi hôm mâh náq do ân mmín.
Living in village I did see a person he who industrious.

(2) Nốh do Tum. (3a) Ngéq ngai ân ti vĕl mnéh nong nong pôc tốq
Name his Tum. All them who from village this always went to

piday, (3b) cốh phai cray mâh ntúq ân vi cong. (4) Cong ncốh
field, so must run-into a place which had barrier. Barrier that

tacang carna.
blocked road.

II. (1) Cốh damo damo ma mŏt plean na arúm tốh cong ncốh.
So everyone just entered squeezed way under barrier that.

(2a) Ngéq hôm lu diaiq (2b) ma lâyq ính treal vít, (2c) nthe mŏt.
All saw very difficult but not want chop dispose, rather enter.

III. (1) Cốh ma vi anhi Tum, lu o lom, chom amŏih
But there-was uncle Tum, very good heart, knew pity

ngai cannóh, mŏi do la ticuai mmín. (2a) Cốh tốq ingay ncốh pôc
them others, and he was person industrious. So arrived day that went

tốq piday tui, (2b) hôm cong ncốh damo damo ma mŏt. (3) Cốh do
to field too, saw barrier that everyone just entered. So he

rngíh inéh, (3'a) "Châq day dyeal achát, dyeal acốq, (3'b) cốh
thought like-this, "Well I'll get axe, get bushknife, then

bâq treal vít, treal táq bar tarcál."
finally chop dispose, shop make two pieces."

IV. Cốh carna ncốh buih nnáng diaiq.
So road that no longer difficult.

V. (1a) Cốh ngếq ngai te vĕl mŏi ngai ân pôc na carna ncốh
So all them from village and them who went by road that

inô-ntra hôm ntúq ncốh lu diaiq cốh ma ncốh khoiq pít, (1b) cốh
past saw place that very difficult but now already disposed, so

chom vi do ân treal vít. (2) Cốh damo damo ma lu
knew there-was he who chopped disposed. So everyone just really

ayô, tông, (2'a) "Ticuai ân tấq nnếh dyŏn o toi tumống, (2'b) dyŏn
praised, said, "Person who did this give so long live, give

o rúh adếh chếh acay." (3) Vĕl dúng ngai ayô cŏnh ncốh,
so fill pots bear children." Villages houses they praised man that,

(3'a) chom amŏih ngai mŏi lu o lom, (3'b) ngếq mâh vĕl nnếh lâyq
knows-how-to pity them and very good heart, all one village this not

bôn mnau ân arâq do cốh.
have anyone who like him.

VI. (1a) Te lám-lŏi nnếh damo damo ma mŏt ma cŏp,
From past this everyone just entered just grabbed,

(1b) nthe chiuq diaiq túh, (1c) lâyq bôn vi lom arâq lom do cốh.
rather bear difficulty, not exists liver like liver his.

(2) Inếh vi parngíh do te lom, (2'a) "Lấh ngếq damo damo ma mŏt
Thus were thoughts his from liver, "If all everyone just enters

(2'b) cốh cong nnếh lâyq hôi pít. (2"a) Cốh ma nấm itreal vít
so barrier this not able dispose. But if one-chops disposes

(2"b) cốh ian ipôc, (2"c) mŏi ngai ma vi ayô tŏ." (3) Dúng
so easy to-go, and they just will praise me." Houses

vĕl ngai hôm cŏnh ncốh lu mmín, (4a) cốh damo damo ma lấng
villages they saw man that very industrious, so everyone just loved

dyấm, (4b) buih a-ính buih achếc. (5) Damo damo ma barbŏiq tông,
respected, not hated not disrespected. Everyone just often said,

"Tammông ân alang cang ân abel."
"Language which melodious speech which musical."

VII. (1a) Láh damo ma tấq tarxín tấq lâyq phep (1b) cốh
If anyone just acts lazy acts not proper so

nnau nnau ma acấm, tông, (1') "Acâp itấq arâq do cốh."--"Xáng mmoaq
everyone just warns, says, "Don't act like him." —"Sounds vulgar

xáng tarnao." (2) Cốh do lâyq ính cang ân arâq ncốh.
sounds cursing." So he not like speech which like that.

THE INDUSTRIOUS MAN

When I lived in the village, I saw an industrious man. His name was Tum. All the people of that village always went to the fields, so they had to run into a place that had a barrier. That barrier blocked the road.

So everyone just entered and squeezed a way under the barrier. They all saw that it was very difficult, but they didn't want to chop it away; they would rather just crawl through.

But there was uncle Tum; he had a good heart; he knew how to pity others, and he was an industrious person. So on that day he was going to the fields, too, and saw that barrier everyone was entering. Then he thought thus: "Well, I'll get my axe and my bushknife, then I'll chop it away; I'll chop it in two."

Then that road was no longer difficult.

Then all those from the village and those who had gone by that road in the past and had seen that that place was very difficult, now saw that it was already disposed of, then they knew there was one who chopped it away. Then everyone really praised, saying, "To the man that did this give long life; give full pots and many children." Everyone in the village praised that man: "He knows how to pity others and has a good heart. All this village doesn't have anyone else like him."

From the past everyone just pulled their way in, they'd rather put up with the difficulty; there wasn't anyone with a heart like his heart. These were his thoughts from the heart: "If everyone just enters, this barrier can't be disposed of. But if it were chopped away, it would be easy to go, and they will praise me."

Everyone in the village saw that that man was very industrious. Then everyone just loved and respected him, no one hated or disrespected him. Everyone just continually said "melodious language and musical speech" [about him].

If someone acted lazy and unethical, everyone would warn, saying, "Don't act like him" [and making] "vulgar sounds and cursing sounds [about him]. So he wouldn't like that kind of talk.

APPENDIX 2

DISCOURSE 4 (D4)

POC PAPENH

GOING HUNTING

Discourse 4 (D4)

POC PAPÉNH
GOING HUNTING

(1) Nháng achai cu parchôq pôc papénh. (2) Nno dŏm culay
We brother I got-together go hunting. Season ripe fruit
ahúng, chir achéq cha, pŏr, treat, a-ât abêh, ato, tilê vŏc-ivŏc.
papaya, many birds eat, por, treat, squirrel, ato, tile very many.
(3) Dyê ti ncŏh nhang táq tanu dáng tôm ahúng ncŏh. (4) Dyê nháng
Already at there we built blind at trunk papaya there. Already we
át ti ncŏh carvo mâh bŏr-bŏc, príq tấp tŏq achéq pŏr, treat,
Stay at there about one pipeful, many suddenly arrived birds por, treat,
a-ât abêh, ato, tilê. (5) Pénh ma lu lâyq cray. (6) Taráh ma khoiq
squirrels, ato, tile. Shot but very inaccurate. Arrows but al-
inh ngéq; (7) yŏl nnáng pe poan ntrayh. (8) Tu ncŏh bâq bôn
most gone; remained only three four lengths. From then finally got
pénh. (9) Ixai cu bôn pénh mâh llám abêh mŏi llám tilê. (10) Cu num
shot. Brother mine got shot one squirrel and one tile. I only
llám ato.
one ato.

(11) Át dáng cŏh lu nhŭm. (12) Inh idau dyê, nháng achai cu
Stayed at there very long. Almost night already, we brother I
parchôq chŏ; tông chŏ. (13) Tiráp tilĕt, a-ŏh, tumiang, lu
got-together return; said return. Prepared basket, quiver, bow, really
chŏ. (14) Chŏ carlŏm carna.
returned. Returned along trail.

(15) Dyê idau tarngáp-ngáp, cŏh cu hôm llám achéq treat. (1b) Cu
Already evening dusk, then I saw a bird treat. I
tông ado achai, "Dyŏn cu pénh au, achai." (17) Achai tông, "Âq."
said to brother, "Let me shoot okay, brother." Brother said, "Okay."

(18) Cốh cu pếnh dyê cray, (19) lât ntŏh tốq tôm. (20) Cốh cu pôc
So I shot right on, off (it) fell to trunk. Then I went
pĕh. (21) chŏ te ncốh tốq dúng tarngấp lu dyê. (22) Achai
took. Returned from there to house dark very already. Brother
chŏ mŏt abốh achai, (23) cu chŏ mŏt abốh cu.
returned entered kitchen his, I returned entered kitchen mine.
(24) Cu chúh tilĕt, (25) Cu yoa a-i anha a-ám ruah achếq mŏi ato
I took-off basket, I told mom and dad take bird and ato
te tilĕt.
from basket.

(26) A-i anha á-am chicha dyê, cốh a-i cato tanna cu tốq
Mom and dad had-eaten already, so mom pointed food mine to
dyáh ncốh. (27) A-i anha a-ám tấq ato mŏi treat, tông, "Doq parnô
shelf there. Mom and dad fixed ato and treat, said, "Leave tomorrow
icha au acay?" (29) Cu tông, "Imo inha a-ám ính tấq." (30) Cốh
to eat okay son?" I said, "However you dad want to do." Then
a-ám plốh cu, "Ndo ixai mâh li mmo bôn pếnh?" (31) Cu tông, "Li
dad asked me, "Of brother your how many got shot?" I said, "Even
ncu, ma ndo dyeaq put; ndo abêh mŏi tilê." (32) A-ám tông, "In
mine, but his a-bit bigger; his squirrel and tile." Father said, "Same
tui."
too."

(33) A-i a-ám tấq dyê, doq ado parnô. (34) Ibu ncốh lâyq
Mom dad fixed already, left for tomorrow. Evening that not
yốh cha. (35) Dyê ncốh ariac bốc-beoq, bíq tấp.
yet ate. Already that smoked pipes, slept quickly.

GOING HUNTING

My brother and I got together to go hunting. It was papaya season and many pŏr and treat birds were feeding, and lots of squirrels. When we arrived there, we made a hunting blind at the foot of the papaya tree there.

After we stayed there about one pipeful, many birds and squirrels arrived. We shot, but not accurately, our arrows were nearly gone--only about three or four left--from then we finally got good shots.

My brother shot one squirrel and one chipmunk. I only got one squirrel. We stayed there very long. It was nearly night. My brother and I urged each other to return home; we said, "Let's go." We prepared our baskets, quivers, crossbows, and we really went. We returned along the road. It was already night and very dark, then I saw a treat bird. I said to my brother, "Let me shoot, okay, brother?" He said, "Okay." Then I shot right on target; it fell to the trunk; then I went and picked it up. We returned from there to the house and it was already very dark.

My brother returned to his kitchen and I returned to mine. I took off my basket and told my mom and dad to take out the bird and the squirrel. Mom and Dad had already eaten so Mom pointed to my food on the shelf. Mom and Dad prepared the bird and the squirrel. They said, "Leave it until tomorrow to eat, okay son?" I said, "Whatever you and Dad want to do."

Then Dad asked me, How many did your brother get?" I replied, "The same as me, but his are a little bigger; his are a squirrel and a tilê bird." Dad said, "That's just the same." Mom and Dad finished preparing them and left them for tomorrow. We didn't eat them yet that evening.

After smoking our pipes, we fell asleep quickly.

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