A GRAMMAR OF TWO PACOH TEXTS

by

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ABSTRACT

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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.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF DISPLAYS</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF SYMBOLS</td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

# Chapter

## I. INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.1 The setting and the problem                                           | 2    |
1.2 Upward to the Discourse                                             | 3    |
1.3 Inward to the deep structure                                        | 8    |
1.4 A modified tagmemic model                                           | 24   |

## II. FORMAT AND PROCEDURES

2.1 Communication Situation (CS)                                         | 33   |
2.2 Grammatical Function mode (F)                                        | 33   |
  2.2.1 Discourse structure                                              | 35   |
  2.2.2 Scheme and Plot structures                                       | 35   |
  2.2.3 Point and Proposition structures                                 | 42   |
  2.2.4 Concept structure                                               | 48   |
2.3 Grammatical Distribution and Manifestation modes (DM)                | 51   |
  2.3.1 Text structure                                                  | 52   |
  2.3.2 Paragraph structure                                             | 53   |
  2.3.3 Sentence structure                                              | 54   |
  2.3.4 Clause structure                                                | 54   |
  2.3.5 Phrase structure                                                | 58   |
  2.3.6 Word structure                                                  | 62   |
2.4 Phonology                                                           | 72   |
2.5 Communication Situation correlations                                | 81   |
2.6 Grammatical correlations—F/DM                                       | 82   |
2.7 Grammatical correlations—DM|F                                             | 82   |
2.8 Phonological correlations                                           | 82   |
### III. EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE—AN EVALUATION SCHEME

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Communication Situation (CS)</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Grammatical Function mode (F)</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3 Grammatical Distribution and Manifestation modes (DM)</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4 Special Phonotactics</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5 Communication Situation correlations</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6 Grammatical correlations—F/DM</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7 Grammatical correlations—DM</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.8 Phonological correlations</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### IV. EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE—A SYLLOGISM SCHEME

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1 Communication Situation (CS)</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 Grammatical Function mode (F)</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3 Grammatical Distribution and Manifestation modes (DM)</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4 Special Phonotactics</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5 Communication Situation correlations</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6 Grammatical correlations—F/DM</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7 Grammatical correlations—DM</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.8 Phonological correlations</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### V. EVALUATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.1 Comparisons between the two Expository Texts</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2 Comparisons between Expository and Narrative Texts</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3 Evaluation of the model</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### APPENDICES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Discourse 3 (D3): DO AN MMIN HE WHO INDUSTRIOUS</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Discourse 4 (D4): FOC PARENH GOING HUNTING</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### REFERENCES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF DISPLAYS

1:1 Structural elements of the model ........................................... 30
2:1 Pacoh Clause types ......................................................... 57
2:2 Pacoh Simple Foot structure ............................................. 75
2:3 Pacoh Compound Foot structure ......................................... 75
2:4 Pacoh consonant phonemes ............................................... 79
2:5 Pacoh vowel phonemes ..................................................... 80
3:1 The Text, PANG NTIQA GENERATION LONG AGO .................... 86
3:2 Free translation of the Text, THE OLD DAYS ......................... 87
3:3 Indented outline of Scheme structure of 'The Old Days' ........... 96
3:4 Tree diagram of Scheme structure of 'The Old Days' ............... 98
3:5 Point structure of 'The Old Days' ..................................... 103
3:6 Paragraphs and sentences of 'The Old Days' ......................... 127
3:7 Sentence structure of 'The Old Days' ................................ 133
3:8 DM binary structuring of 'The Old Days' ............................ 135
3:9 DM trinary structuring of 'The Old Days' ........................... 137
3:10 Verbal Clauses of 'The Old Days' ................................... 141
3:11 Noun Phrases of 'The Old Days' ................................... 148
3:12 Verb Phrases of 'The Old Days' ................................... 149
3:13 Phonotactic orchestration of Pang NTiqa .......................... 160
4:1 The Text, RIT NGAI AN LALAU CUMOR CUSTOM PACOH FELLOWS GIRLS 182
4:2 Free translation of the Text, PACOH FELLOWS AND GIRLS ........ 185
4:3 Indented outline of Scheme structure ................................ 193
4:4 Tree diagram of Scheme structure of 'Pach fellows and Girls' ... 197
4:5a Point structure of 'Pach fellows and Girls' ....................... 202
4:5b Propositional Point structure ....................................... 205
4:6 Paragraph structure .................................................... 230
4:7 Sentence structure ..................................................... 233
4:8 Verbal Clauses of 'Pach Fellows and Girls' .......................... 241
4:9 Noun Phrases of 'Pach Fellows and Girls' .......................... 247
4:10 Verb Phrases of 'Pach Fellows and Girls' .......................... 250
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
AdjPPL AdjP constituent preceding AdjPC
AdvPC AdjP constituent preceding AdjPPL
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
CLON 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-THESS CONTRASTIVE THESIS
CS Communication Situation
D Distribution mode
DM Distribution plus Manifestation
dem. demonstrative
emb. embedded
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ENP</td>
<td>Embedded Noun Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPIPH</td>
<td>Embedded Paragraph-initial Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXPD</td>
<td>EXPERIENCED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXPR</td>
<td>EXPERENCER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Function mode, following (as in CLF)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>initial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intr.</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Manifestation mode, movable (as in CLM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>NEGATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPC</td>
<td>Noun Phrase-central constituent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPF</td>
<td>NP constituent following NPC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPFF</td>
<td>NP constituent following NPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPP (1, 2, 3)</td>
<td>NP constituents preceding NPC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Paragraph, Phrase, preceding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Para.</td>
<td>Paragraph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAT</td>
<td>PATIENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC (1, 2, etc.)</td>
<td>Paragraph constituent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCLOS</td>
<td>Paragraph closure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCON</td>
<td>Paragraph-medial conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF</td>
<td>Paragraph-final constituent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ph.</td>
<td>Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ph.CON</td>
<td>Phrase-medial conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PILPH</td>
<td>Paragraph-initial Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN</td>
<td>Proposition (Predication)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSSR</td>
<td>POSSSESSOR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prep.</td>
<td>preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prn.</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-A</td>
<td>Relator-axis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rr</td>
<td>referential realm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S, Sent.</td>
<td>Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semi-tr.</td>
<td>semi-transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC (1,2, etc.)</td>
<td>Sentence constituent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIPH</td>
<td>Sentence-initial Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SF</td>
<td>Sentence-final constituent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCON</td>
<td>Sentence-medial conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sent.</td>
<td>Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subp.</td>
<td>Subparagraph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>Text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TC (1,2, etc.)</td>
<td>Text constituent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCLOS</td>
<td>Text closure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCON</td>
<td>Text-medial conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TF</td>
<td>Text-final constituent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIPH</td>
<td>Text-initial Phrase (Title)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TP</td>
<td>main Paragraph of the Text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tr.</td>
<td>transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tr-sent.</td>
<td>transitive-sentential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TT</td>
<td>Title of the Text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>Verb Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VPC</td>
<td>Verb Phrase-central constituent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VPF (1, 2, 3)</td>
<td>VP constituents preceding VPC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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
Ø  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-caih, 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 cōh '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.f1.13, 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).

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

The MIM 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 MIM 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 cōh '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:

\[ \text{Bl} \quad \text{T} \quad \text{Em} \quad \text{t}_{\text{to}} \]

\[ \text{B2} \quad \text{T} \quad \text{Em} \quad \text{t}_{\text{pass}} \quad \text{t}_{\text{Del}} \]

\[ \text{B3} \quad \text{T} \quad \text{Rel} \]

in which Bl, 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 P Running text...

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
mentalistic 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 $S \rightarrow NP + VP$, etc; but Fillmore added $S \rightarrow M(\text{modality}) + P(\text{proposition})$, and $P \rightarrow \text{Predicate} + \text{Arguments}$ (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
and Firth (1952:5-6) for supporting statements, and challenged de Saussure,
Hjelmslev, and others who separated the sign from its meaning. Since tag-
memes 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 func-
tion: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 storable 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 chō tōq dūng '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 tōq dūng can be topicalized so that TOPIC and GOAL correlate with CLPP while AGENT still correlates with CLP, i.e., tōq dūng Cubuat chō '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 CLIFF: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 chữ tâm đúng 'Cubuat returned home' is analyzed as CLP:n.

Cubuat +CLC:v. chữ +CLF:PP tâm đúng; 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 (Algemo [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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grammatical Hierarchy</th>
<th>Phonological Hierarchy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Function Mode</strong></td>
<td><strong>Distrib-M Manifest</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discourse</td>
<td>Text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scheme</td>
<td>Paragraph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point</td>
<td>Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proposition</td>
<td>Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>concept</td>
<td>word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>morpheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOPIC</td>
<td>SIPH (CLPP), CLP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGENT</td>
<td>CLP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PATIENT</td>
<td>CLF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOAL</td>
<td>CLF, CLFF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTIVITY</td>
<td>CLC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 constituent 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 (GROUND) +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-Morphotac-
tic 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 referen-
tial configuration (1977:130). This is applied to each level of her referen-
tial realm, i.e., performative interaction, script, point, and concept. At
each level (and at each recursive layer within a level) the theme is con-
sidered 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 Pachoh 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., dũng vếi ngai póc '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 sig-

ificant emic types. There are Experience Events, several types of Activity
Events, Processes, and three Static 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 Pachoh 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 Propositional 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 cōh between it and the PREDICATE, e.g., CUBUAT CŌH CHOM 'Cubuat cōh knows, i.e., is the one who knows'. A non-AGENT is marked as TOPIC by fronting, and by insertion of cōh, e.g., NGAI ĂN HŌI TUBÉQ CŌH NGAI A-INH 'those who are successful cōh 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 Pachon, 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]]_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 predication 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 empirically-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: predication, 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 predi-
cations 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 com-
ponents 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' (tâq) and 'eat-defeat' (cha). They are used with both of the
Discourse TOPICS, but with different components. With TOPIC-past tâq means
'work on things' and cha means 'eat edible things', but with TOPIC-present
tâq 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 'côh '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 +C1C: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 CLC filled by vi 'exist, happen, have' or vănh 'exist, happen' and CLF filled by a NP, Clause, Sentence, or Paragraph. CLP is obligatory when CLC is filled by vi correlating with POSSESSION.

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

3) A three-constituent Semi-transitive Clause consists of CLP:NP, CLC:VP, and CLF filled by a Prepositional Phrase, e.g., do póc tòq ụọq 'he went to Hue'.

4) In a three-constituent Transitive Clause, CLC is filled by verbs such as pênh 'shoot', and CLF is filled by a Noun Phrase, e.g., do pênh ạcháq 'he shot a bird'.

5) In a three-constituent Transitive-sentential Clause, CLC is filled by verbs such as đọc 'read', and CLF can be filled by a Noun Phrase, Clause, or Sentence, e.g., do chôm đóc ọchá 'he knows how to read books'.

6) In a four-constituent Bitransitive Clause, CLC is filled by verbs such as đòng 'take', CLF is filled by NP's, and CLFF by Prepositional Phrases, e.g., do đòng ạcháq tòq đúng 'he took the bird home'.

7) In a four-constituent Bitransitive-sentential Clause, CLC is filled by verbs such as tông 'say', CLF is filled by Prepositional Phrases, and CLFF by Sentences (or embedded Texts), e.g., cù tông ado ạchái, "dýn cù pênh au" 'I said to brother, "let me shoot". CLFP 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 Pacōh '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 Pacōh la icōh 'Pacoh people are like that', and put do ân chom urāq 'many (are) those who know books', and 3) Relative Clauses. Relative Clauses are of two kinds: those without a relative pronoun, e.g., damo cumōr înh '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., mmēh 'which is this one', ân Pacōh 'who is Pacoh', ân o 'who is good', ân chom urāq '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 Pacōh '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Label</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+CIP:NP</td>
<td>+C1C:VP</td>
<td>+C1F:PP,NP,Sent.</td>
<td>+C1FF:PP,NP,Sent.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) vi Clause</td>
<td>Vi ngai ân o</td>
<td>There are good people</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do</td>
<td>vi prâq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He</td>
<td>has silver</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vaih ngai tâh ân mnhôp</td>
<td>Happens they abandon evil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Intr.</td>
<td>Do yôl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He</td>
<td>remains</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>He went to Hue</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Semi-tr.</td>
<td>Do pôc tôq Hêq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Tr.</td>
<td>Do pênh achêq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He</td>
<td>shot a bird</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Tr-sent.</td>
<td>Do chôm doc sách</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He</td>
<td>knows to read books</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Bitr.</td>
<td>Do dông achêq</td>
<td>tôq động</td>
<td>home</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He</td>
<td>took the bird</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dyôn acu' prâq</td>
<td></td>
<td>money</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gave to me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) Bitr-sent. Cu</td>
<td>tông ado ahaul,</td>
<td>&quot;dyôn cu pênh&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Let me shoot&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>said to brother,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. Non-verbal Clause types:


1) Equative Do  la  ticuai Pacōh
   He  is  a Pacoh person

2) Stative Ticuai Pacōh  la  icōh
   Pacoh people  are  like that
   Put  do ān chom urāq
   Many  those who know books

3) Relative ān  chom urāq
   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-ąm a-i 'father mother', or a-ąm 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 +NPPI +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, NPPI 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 tícúí Pacóh 'Paco's person'. An example of a multi-centered Phrase is a-ęm achai a-ąm anhi 'brothers, sisters, fathers, mothers'. The sequence NPP3 +NPP2 +NPPI +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 inó-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 NPPP: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 tâq '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 diaq-tûh ndîh 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', inđ–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., tọq dúng 'to home', tọq ngai 'to them', tọq dúng cu 'to my house', or tọq nëh '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, (xuān-xian) clät pang ḫe '(wealthy) beyond our generation', (buih diaiğ) ndîh māh dyəaq '(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., (tọq) dúng 'to home', which (as in English) may occur without the preposition, e.g., 'he went ḫome'.

Relative Clauses could be treated as Relator-axis Phrases, consisting of a RELATOR (ān) 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 Hēq tọq Tîgon '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 tūh 'very poor very poor.' This example illustrates separation of a semi-bound form -tūh from the semi-bound pair diaiq-tūh '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-tūh 'poor-poor, difficult-desperate'. Others are not bound but are semantically synonymous, such as clōn anhōi 'play play'; and others are not synonyms but belong to the same semantic domain, such as a-i a-ūm '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 clōn-ŋan 'play-play'. -ŋan is a bound form never occurring without clōn; 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 chap-
ters. 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 CLF, 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., uraq 'book', piday 'field', etc. Non-classifiable nouns in-
clude 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-am 'father'. Both proper nouns and kin terms 
may also occur as vocatives. Pronouns are: cu 'I, me', may 'you', do 'he, 
she, it', nhap '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 tong, "day póc 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 parñō '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 ntrít 'ten days ago'. par- 'future' plus numeral gives days
future from parñō 'tomorrow' to parrit 'ten days ahead' (cf. R. Watson 1976).

Among common nouns, kin terms are marked with an a- prefix, e.g., a-ñám
'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 māh 'your
brother'.

Other noun prefixes occur only on occasional nouns, e.g., car- 'particu-
larizer' plus na 'direction' gives carña '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., urāq-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 aðaḥ te aḥān 'from past from
long ago', or Clause expansions, e.g., lāyq chom urāq 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 (btr.), and bitransitive with sentential filler of CLFF (btr-sent.). Examples of these seven classes are: 1) vi, vaih 'exist, happen' (vi class), 2) cuchët 'die' (intr.), 3) pôc 'go' (semi-tr.), 4) tâq 'work, fight' (tr.), 5) chom 'know' (tr-sent.), 6) dyôn 'give' (btr.), and 7) tông 'say, tell' (btr-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 chët 'dead' gives 'die', or tu- plus môn '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 chêt 'dead' equals 'die', and tu- plus mōng '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., cāh in cāh tacūt 'accidentally cut', or pāh in pāh tapāyq 'accidentally chopped'.

4) pa- indicates 'causative' and can be used with verb or adjective roots, e.g., pa- plus hōm 'bathe' equals 'to cause to bathe', and ca- plus chêt '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., tartāq 'fight each other', or carchêt 'kill each other'.

c. Verbal compounds. Many verbs enter into at least one binominal 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, acāp tartāq tarcha 'stop fighting-each-other devouring-each-other', or līm tāq līm 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 clōn ngai ngan 'they play they play'.

Stem reduplication indicates pretense, e.g., tāq tāq 'pretend to work'. In such constructions the first stem is usually prefixed by N- (e.g., ntāq tāq).
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', chêt 'dead', xúc 'rich'. Examples of verbal adjectives are: nhaq 'fast', amhêq '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)', yúc '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 cu-chêt '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 cún an 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., inēh 'like this', icōh '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-tūh 'difficult-difficult', xūc-xian 'rich-rich'. Examples in which the second member is free are: chēt pīt 'dead lost', ian o 'peaceful good', hōi tubēq 'skilled wise'. These can enter into Phrase expansion, e.g., lu diaiq lu tūh 'very difficult-very difficult'.

Adjectives also take stem reduplication as mentioned under affixation above, e.g., kēt kēt 'smallish', put put 'largish', nhaq nhaq 'fairly fast', and anhēq nhēq '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 AdjP2 and AdjPF constituents of Adjective Phrases, e.g., lu ian lu o 'very peaceful very good', xūc lu 'rich very', or lu bui lu 'very happy very'. Note that Adverbial Phrases do not occur in AdjP1. (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., tāq 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 tòq 'to' fill the RELATOR of Prepositional Phrases; 2) adverbial prepositions, such as aråq 'like', clåt, tilåt 'beyond', clùi '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 dång 'at', ti 'at, by', alùng 'with, by', callùng 'inside of', taltiah 'outside, of', idup 'below', iniang 'above', cådup 'behind', aniang 'on top of', arùm tòh 'under', axuái 'ahead of', and tatun 'behind'.

2.3.6.6 Ngèq 'all' words (quantifiers)

Ngèq words are the fillers of the NPP3 constituent of Noun Phrases. They are words such as ngèq '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 mòi 'one', bar 'two', pe 'three', poan 'four', xòng 'five', tìpåt 'six', tutpòi 'seven', tìkol 'eight', tìkåiah 'nine', and màh chît 'ten', and include complex numerals such as bar-chît-mòi 'twenty-one'. (See R. Watson 1976 for more on numerals). Other counters are beq 'few', cùp 'every', and tål 'each'.

b. Affixation. Ordinal numbers are composed of cardinal numbers preceded by a-, e.g., amòi 'first'. In the Pahi dialect, mòi 'one' is reduced to a prefix, mù- when preceding chît 'tens', i.e., muchità 'ten'. Numerals which take other affixes belong to other word classes, so are described elsewhere (cf. R. Watson 1976 for more on Pachoh numerals).
2.3.6.8 Classifiers

a. Definition. Classifiers are the fillers of the NPPl constituent of Noun Phrases. They are Words such as nāq 'classifier-persons', lām '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 nāq and lām, and possibly others, can be prefixed by a reduplicative consonant representing the numeral 'one', i.e., nnāq 'one person', llām 'one animal'.

2.3.6.9 Demonstratives

a. Definition. Demonstratives are among several classes of fillers of NPPl of Noun Phrases. They are also fillers of the AXIS of Prepositional Phrases, and of CLF of Relative Clauses. They are nēh 'this, here', cōh 'that, there', tīh 'up there', tōh 'down there', trāh 'over there', and chūh 'over yonder'.

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

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

c. Compounding. Demonstratives enter into compounding, e.g., nēh trāh 'here and there'. They also enter in Phrase expansion, e.g., te tānh te tarāh '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 tág 'fight back', or châm 'able' in lâyq châm tág 'not able to work (or fight)'. Others are vi 'realis' or 'certitude', and ính, méq '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 chôm 'not know', lâyq o, 'not good', and may póc lâyq? 'you are going, no?'. Lâyq mnâng and buih mnâng, both meaning 'never again', are two-word fillers, e.g., buih mnâng o 'never again good'. Lâyq dîq 'not at all' and buih dîq '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 côm 'then, so', côm ma 'but', ma 'but', icôm 'thus', môi 'and' and anha 'and'. Subordinating conjunctions are nâm 'if', dâm 'if', and anâq '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, côm and ma may mark CLP or CLPP as TOPIC i.e., do côm ính póc 'he wants to go' or do ân parnha côm ngai a-ính 'the wealthy they hate'.

An '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., Icôh ngêq 'Like that finished', or A-âh '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-ām cachēt acaẏ, acaẏ cachēt a-ām '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., īray 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., uraq-ur-ar 'books-books', a Pause Group is reduplicated, e.g., chom uraq chom ur-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 chêt-put ngâh pit '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 (│IM-simple words)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presyllables</th>
<th>CV</th>
<th>CVC</th>
<th>CV</th>
<th>CCVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>none:</td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>pāh</td>
<td>pla</td>
<td>clāh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'to talk'</td>
<td>'to slap'</td>
<td>'a book'</td>
<td>'to split'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV:</td>
<td>pa-pi</td>
<td>ta-pāh</td>
<td>ca-cra</td>
<td>ta-clāh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'to con-verse'</td>
<td>'to slap involuntarily'</td>
<td>'a tree'</td>
<td>'to split involuntarily'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC:</td>
<td>tar-pi</td>
<td>tar-pāh</td>
<td>pan-cra</td>
<td>tar-clāh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'to debate'</td>
<td>'to slap each other'</td>
<td>'to repair'</td>
<td>'to split between persons'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DISPLAY 2:3 Pacoh Compound Foot structure

Syllables: Pre-Main - Pre-Main

- troi - tu-ruiq 'betel-betel'
- a-i - a-ām 'mothers and fathers'
- pi-ēh - ēh '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-ēh-ēh 'pasty' or a-i a-ām 'parents'. A-i 'mother' and a-ām '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). Descriptors 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 descriptors, 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 descriptors and binomials. There may be alliteration, as in a-i a-am 'mothers and fathers', or urâq-u-ar 'books-books'. There may be metathesis, as between /räq/ and /qar/ of the latter example. Or there may be rhyming, as in chêt pît '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 prâq 'money silver' is part of a metered sequence of Pause Groups abôn tian prâq, tâq piday-clai, tâq hang-hôq, hut kidôl, 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 CVtC or CCVI'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/ [ŋb] and /dy/ [ŋj], 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, pâh, pla, and clâh; examples of Presylla—bles are pa—, and tar—. Examples of a presyllable with final nasals are, tantâq, mnhôp [ŋmnhôp], and pancra [ŋŋkra].

2.4.6 Pho nemes 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 [ɔ] and final variant [ɔ].

The glottalized stops are /b/, /d/, /dy/, and /q/. /b/ and /dy/ are considered to have initial variants [ʔb] and [ʔdy] and final variants [w] and [y]. 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 [ɔ] and a final variant [ɔ]. The voiced fricatives are /v/ and /y/. They have initial fricative variants [v] and [ɔ] 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 [ŋ] and a final variant [ŋ]. 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 pre-glottalized in Syllable-initial position and /b/ and /dy/ are post-glottalized in Syllable-final position.

DISPLAY 2:4 Pacoh consonant phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stops</th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>guttural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>simple:</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glottal:</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>dy</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless:</td>
<td></td>
<td>s</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced:</td>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>nh</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liquids</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral:</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill:</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Perlus 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: /i/, /i/, and /ia/, /u/, and /ua/, /u/, /u/, and /ua/; and short and long mid vowels: /ɛ/, /ɛ/, /a/, /o/, /ɔ/, /ɔ/. 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 u and o mark them as central vowels [u] and [ɔ] respectively. /â/ is the short form of /d/, contrary to the regular rules which would indicate /â/.

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: /ɛ/, /ɛ/, /ɛa/, /ɔ/, /ɔ/, /ɔ/, /ɔ/, /ɔa/; and the low vowels are: /ɛ/, /ɛ/, /a/, /a/, /o/, and /o/. In the orthography, breve (or hatchek (^) 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>long</td>
<td>glided</td>
<td>long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TRA reg.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high:</td>
<td>i [i]</td>
<td>ia [i]</td>
<td>u [u]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>u [u]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid:</td>
<td>e [e]</td>
<td>o [o]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TRR reg.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high:</td>
<td>e [e]</td>
<td>ea [e]</td>
<td>o [o]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low:</td>
<td>e [e]</td>
<td>a [a]</td>
<td>o [o]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 œ, 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 coph 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 coph 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. Onomatopoeic 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-onomatopoeic 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., icôh ngêq! or a-âh!

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 Pacho, 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 /cavoč/ correlates with only one morpheme, 'evenly tapered'. However, /ca-/ and /pa-/ correlate with the morpheme ca- 'causative' in other words such as cachi't '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 panah 'fly swatter' morphemically consists of the verb pāh '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.

85
DISPLAY 3:1  The Text

PANG NTIAQ
GENERATION LONG-AGO

1(A.1a) Pang ngai ntiaq inâ-ntra, lu láyq chom urâq chom ur-ar,
      Generation them olden time-past, really not know books know (R),
      but gen. them just only worked only ate. Got money silver,
      tâq piday-clai, tâq hang-hoq, hut kidol, troi-turuq.
      worked fields (R), worked products (R), tobacco hemp, betel (R).

2(A.1b) cóh ma pang ngai num llâm tâq llâm cha. Abôn tian práq,
      Gen. many he who know books
      But at gen. us time this, many he who know books

3(A.2a) Cóh ma tâq pang he aki mnêh, put do ân chom urâq
      know (R), almost equal Vietnamese.

4(A.2b) cóh ma vaih, itâh a-i itâh a-âm, itâh a-em achiy,
      But happens, abandon mothers abandon fathers, abandon siblings,
      itâh cruang daq, mäh nák mäh muang mäh nák mäh daq.
      abandon valley river, one ci-human one region one ci-human one river.

5(A.2c) Lu diaiq lu tûh, 6(A.2d) put ngâh chêt, put ngâh pít,
      Very difficult very desperate. Many who dead, many who lost.

6(A.2d) put ngâh chêt, put ngâh pít,
      Very difficult very desperate. Many who dead, many who lost.

7(A.2e) láyq ibôn hôm a-i a-âm, dông vêl, acay campay.
      Not one-gets see mothers fathers, homes villages, children wives.

8(B.1) He Pacôh te anâh te abôn láyq bôn ân arâq pang mnêh.
      We Pacoh from long-ago from (R) not had what like gen. this.

9(B.1(1)) Yoan liâh tâq Yoan, 10(B.1(2)) Pacôh ma tartâq,
      Vietnamese back fight VN, Pacoh even fight-each-other,

10(B.1(2)) Pacôh ma tartâq,
      Vietnamese back fight VN, Pacoh even fight-each-other,

11(B.1(3)) a-âm cachêt acay, acay cachêt a-âm, 12(B.2) cóh ma tâq
      fathers kill sons, sons kill fathers, but at
This happens insane against heaven insane against earth.

13(C.1a) Icôh pang ngai ân tâliaq inô -ntra lu ian lu o,
 Thus gen. them which old past-time very peaceful very good,
(C.1b) lu xúc lu xian chât pang he ndông nêh.
 very rich very wealthy beyond gen. us time this.

14(C.2a) Côh ma pang he nêh, do ân xúc côh xúc lu, buih
 But gen. us this, he who rich so rich very, not
diaq-tôh ndôh mêh dyeaq, 15(C.2b) côh ma cuchêt dôh,
desperate even a little, But die early (fast),
16(C.2c) do ân hôi ' tubêq ma num ngai a-înh,
 he who skillful wise but only they hate,
17(C.2d) do ân xúc parha ma num ngai oan.
 he who rich wealthy but only they resent.
18(C.2e) Lu Lâyq chom tumông carna mmo, ma buih cuchêt anha
 Really not know live pathway whichever, but not die and
acâp mmàng tartâq tartcha 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 (B.1(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.2a) 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 vaith '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 Mia, 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 capitalization 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 constituents 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-THONESIS 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-THONESIS 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., THESSES 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'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>TOPIC</strong></th>
<th><strong>COMMENT</strong></th>
<th>(/DM-Sentence)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Time-past</td>
<td>Experience Event</td>
<td>/A.1a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Time-past</td>
<td>Activity Event</td>
<td>/A.1b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Time-present</td>
<td>Quantification (Exp.)</td>
<td>/A.2a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. &quot;</td>
<td>Existence (Activity)</td>
<td>/A.2b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. &quot;</td>
<td>Attribution</td>
<td>/A.2c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. &quot;</td>
<td>Quantification</td>
<td>/A.2d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. &quot;</td>
<td>Experience Event</td>
<td>/A.2e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. AG—Time-past</td>
<td>Experience</td>
<td>/B.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. &quot;</td>
<td>Activity Event</td>
<td>/B.1(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. &quot;</td>
<td>Activity Event</td>
<td>/B.1(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Time-present</td>
<td>Existence (Attr.)</td>
<td>/B.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Time-past</td>
<td>Attribution (Exp.)</td>
<td>/C.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Time-present</td>
<td>Attribution</td>
<td>/C.2a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. &quot;</td>
<td>Process</td>
<td>/C.2b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. &quot;</td>
<td>Experience Event</td>
<td>/C.2c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. &quot;</td>
<td>Experience Event</td>
<td>/C.2d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. &quot;</td>
<td>Experience Event</td>
<td>/C.2e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It may be questioned how it is determined that the COMMENT Points (5–7, 9–11, and 16–18) take TOPIC-presents, 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  الإم ار نا Pang نن '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' الم '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 Pachon 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: $; +ACT: 'eat' +PAT: $; +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 urāq chom ur-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) ən chom uraq    '(he) who knows letters'
(Do) ən xuc         '(he) who rich'
(Do) ən hôi tubeq    '(he) who successful'
(Pang) ntiaq        '(generation) which old'
(Pang) ən tatiaq     '(generations) which old'
ən araq pang mēb    'what is like this generation'
(He) Pacōh          '(we) (who are) Pacoh'
b. Specification = ITEM +SPECIFIER

(pang) he ' (generation) us'
(pang) ngai ' (generation) them'
(pang) mêh ' (generation) this'
(ndông) nêh ' (time) this'
akî mêh ' (time) this'
(carna) mmò ' (pathway) whichever'

c. Quantification = ITEM +NUMERAL

mâh (nàq) '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)'
lù (o) 'very (good)'
lù (xúc) '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.

things
'a very long time ago' 'long ago +long ago' anâh ahan
'parents' 'mother +father' a-i a-ám
'siblings'
'children + wives'
'homeland'
'home community'
'mfd. goods'
'farm goods'
'fields'
'wealth'
'betel & materials'
'writing'

attributes
'dead and gone'
'desperate, pitiful'
'successful'
'peaceful'
'wealthy'
'extravagantly wealthy'

'younger sibs. + older sibs.' a-em achai
'child + wife' acay campay
'valley + river' cruang daq
'house + village' dung vel
'mfd. goods + goods' hang-hoq
'tobacco + hemp' hut kidôl
'fields + fields' piday-clai
'money + silver' tian präq
'betel + betel' troi-turuiq
'letter, book, etc.' urâq-u-ar

'dead + lost' chêt pît
'poor + poor' diaiq-tûh
'skillful + wise' hôi tubéq
'easy + good' ian o
'rich + rich' xúc-xian
'rich + luxurious' xúc 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 tâq píday 'he went to field'

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

/DM chô, e.g., do chô tâq dûng 'he returned home'

**Two participants**

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

/DM tâh, e.g., tâh a-í a-ám abandon parents'

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

/DM tâq, e.g., tâq adêh '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 dôi 'he eats rice'

fight (ACT) AGENT: human |rr expend effort to injure a person for defensive or offensive purposes
/DM tāq, e.g., tāq picon 'fight enemies'
farm (ACT) AGENT:human |rr effort applied to soil, seeds, plants, etc. for a harvest

/DM tāq, e.g., do tāq pida'y 'he farms field',
do tāq tro 'he farms rice'

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

/DM cachēt, e.g., do cachēt a-āt 'he killed an animal'

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

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

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

/DM tāh, e.g., tāh ao cūn tiaq 'discard old clothes'

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

/DM tāq, e.g., tāq 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 pinhēq ado cumōr 'give gift to girl-friend'

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

/DM tarkīl, e.g., xeq may tarkīl aḵaq alūng cu 'please trade rice with me'

||when ref. a is engaged in commerce /DM tāq puan 'do trading, selling'
EXPERIENCE EVENTS

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

/DM a-ính, e.g., ngai a-ính do ăn xúc 'they hate the rich man'

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

or manipulate information

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

PROCESSES

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

/DM cuchết, e.g., do cuchết 'he died'

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

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

STATES

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

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

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

/DM chêt, e.g., put ăn chêt 'many are dead'

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

/DM pít, e.g., do ăn 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 châu tro 'we raise rice'

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

/DM axâq, e.g., châu tro abôn axâq 'pound rice to get rice'
3. cooked rice grains

/DM døi, e.g., dyeal axâq ticôh døi '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 tubêq '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., ñung 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., ticuí diaiq 'poor people'

difficult (ATTR-Event) ||rr requiring relatively great effort—physical,

emotional, etc.

/DM diaiq (−tûh), e.g., diaiq lu tümông '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 tãq ñung 'he builds houses
skillfully'

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

/DM tubêq, e.g., do tubêq 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 inō-ntra 'old generation of people of the past' combines thing > generation > human > Pacoh with time > distant past. TOPIC-present, pang he aki mēh '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., tāq piday 'work fields', but in the TOPIC-present Points the secondary component 'violent warfare' is marked by human PATIENTS, e.g., tāq 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 tāh '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, cachê '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 inō-ntra 'their old generation past', and pang ngai ân tatiq inō-ntra 'their old generations past', respectively. (Addition of  ân in the latter specifies plurality of generations.) Paragraph B has a somewhat similar initial Phrase, *he Paç̣h te anâh te ahân 'we Paç̣h from ancient from olden times', but it differs in that it merges the fillers of SLPH and CLP, 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 icōh '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 tâq 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 mên '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 CLP slot, e.g. pang he ndong neh 'our days present time' at the end of C.1. It appears that pang mneh 'these days' in B.1 is somewhat reduced since it is 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 SIFH filler as A.1a, but it is reduced by omission of the NPFF filler ntiaq ino ntra 'which old past'. The fact that pang mneh 'these days (B.1) and aka mneh 'this time' (B.2) are reduced from pang he aka mneh in the preceding Paragraph may be evidence of Section structure.

In the third Paragraph pang he mneh 'days ours these' (C.2a) is only very slightly reduced from pang he ndong neh '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 SIFH 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 SIFH filler. In Sentence A.1a the Clause 'really not know' derives its CLP filler from ngai 'they' of the SIFH filler 'days they old past'. All of the Clauses
of the second Sentence (A.1b) derive their CLP filler from ngal 'they' of its SLPH filler 'days they'. The CLP filler of Sentence C.2b is the same as its antecedent, the CLP filler of Sentence C.2a do án x̂c '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 ĉh 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'

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

Subparagraph A.1 consists of three constituents: Sentence 1a, Sentence 1b, and the conjunction _Do_h 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 considered 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) cachet 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 BPEPHs, 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 cachet '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 cōh 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 cōh ma 'but' as separate Sentences, i.e., the first extreme above. The Clause fragment cuchēt 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 (EFLPH), 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 cōh 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'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>IF-Point</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.1a = SIPH</td>
<td>+Tr-Sent. Clause +Clause exp.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.1b = SIPH</td>
<td>+Trans. Clause +Clause exp.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.2a = SIPH</td>
<td>+Stative Clause +Clause exp.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.2b = vi 'exist' Clause</td>
<td>+Emb. Cl. exp.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.2c = Stative Clause</td>
<td>+Clause exp.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.2d = Stative Clause</td>
<td>+Sentence exp.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.2e = Tr-sent. Clause</td>
<td>+Clause exp.</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.1 = SIPH</td>
<td>+Tr-sent. Clause +3-Sentence exp.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.1(1) = Trans. Clause</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.1(2) = Trans. Clause</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.1(3) = Trans. Clause</td>
<td>+Sentence exp.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.2 = SIPH</td>
<td>+vi 'exist' Clause +Emb. Sent. exp.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.1a = SIPH</td>
<td>+Stative Clause +Sentence exp.</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.2a = SIPH</td>
<td>+Stative Clause +Sentence exp.</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.2b = Intransitive Clause</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.2c = Tr-sent. Clause</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.2d = Tr-sent. Clause</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.2e = Tr-sent. Clause +ma Clause exp.</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The conjunction 쓰 'then' or 마 'but' occurs following SIPH when its filler is identical to the filler of a constituent of the following Clause, which is then elided (cf. 마 in C.2c and C.2d, and 쓰 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 (IF TOPIC) and the rest of the Sentence (IF 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>(F-Point)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.1a not know books-</td>
<td>know books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b only worked</td>
<td>only ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a many who know books- nearly equal-</td>
<td>know books equal Vietnamese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b abandon mothers- abandon bros. &amp; sis. each one his region-</td>
<td>abandon fathers abandon valleys and rivers each one his river.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2c very desperate-</td>
<td>very desperate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d many are dead-</td>
<td>many are lost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.1 from olden times</td>
<td>not exp'd. like this:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) VN fight W</td>
<td>(2) Pacoh fight Pacoh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) fathers kill sons-</td>
<td>sons kill fathers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 insane against heaven-</td>
<td>insane against earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.1a very peaceful-</td>
<td>very good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b very rich-</td>
<td>very wealthy beyond present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a the rich people</td>
<td>are very rich,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not even a little poor</td>
<td>b. but they die fast:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2c the successful</td>
<td>are just hated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d the prosperous people</td>
<td>are just resented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2e to avoid death</td>
<td>and stop the fighting, ...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1) Doubling

A.1a lâyq chom urâq chom ur-âr 'not know books know books'
A.2c lu diaiq lu túh 'very desperate very desperate'
A.2d put ngâh chêt put ngâh pít 'many are dead many are lost'
B.1(3) a-âm cachêt acay, acay cachêt a-âm 'fathers kill sons, sons kill fathers'
B.2 yúc alûng rbang, yúc alûng cuteac 'insanity against heaven, insanity against earth'

2) Quadrupling

A.1b llâm táq llâm cha, abôn tian práq, tâq piday clai, tâq hang-hoq 'just work and eat, earn money, work fields, work products' (note that the second Clause has the verb abôn rather than tâq, but it is grouped with the others)
A.2b itâh a-i, itâh a-âm, itâh a-ém achâi, itâh cruang daq ... 'abandon mothers, abandon fathers, abandon siblings, abandon homelands'.

b. Trinary expansions

An appearance of trinary structuring involves the three-way division between SIFH, 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 prâq

tâq piday-clai

earn money (R)

work fields (R)

tâq hang-hoq

prepare goods (R)

(hang-hoq)

but kidol

troi-turuiq

goods (R)

tobacco hemp

betel (R)

A.2b

tâh a-i

abandon mothers

abandon fathers

abandon siblings

tâh a-âm

mâh náq mân muâng

mâh náq mân daq

abandon homeland

each one his region

each one his river

2c

Lu diaiq lu túh

Put ngâh chêt...pít

Very desperate (R)

Many are dead...lost

Lâyq ibôn hôm:

Don't get to-see

a-i a-âm

a-em achai

mothers & fathers

acay campay

brothers & sisters

children & wives

B1(1-3) Yoan tâq Yoan

Pacôh ma tartâq

VNese fight VNese

Pacoh even fight (R)

A-âm cachêt acay (R)

Fathers kill sons (R)

C.2bcd Côh ma nhaq cuchêt

Do an hôi ngai a-inh

But quickly die

Successful they hate

The wealthy they resent

2e

Lu lâyq chom carna

ma buih cuchêt

Sure not know live

but not die

tartâq

tarcha

fight-each-other

defeat-each-other

anha acâp màng:

and stop forever:

tartuaq.

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 SLPH illustrated in Sentences C.2c and C.2d under (a) below.

a. Vï Clauses. There are two vi Clauses, both of which have the verb vailh 'happens, exists' filling CLC. Both have embedded Sentences filling CLF. In Sentence A.2b, CLF is filled by a series of Transitive Clauses, itâh a-i... 'people abandon mothers ...'. In B.2, CLF is filled by a pair of Stative Clauses, yûc aïûng rbang yûc aïûng 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 dûh 'fast, early'.
The second example, 'live whichever way', is embedded in the sentential filler of CLF of Sentence C.2e. It is of special interest because it illustrates a Noun Phrase filling CLM, which is very rare. The Noun Phrase *carna mmo 'whichever way' is not the filler of CLF of a three-constituent Clause, as it might appear. The verb *tumong 'live' is intransitive and cannot be followed by CLF, but the Noun Phrase correlates with F-MANNER and could be translated by the adjective 'how'.

The third example, *buuih cuchet 'not die', is embedded in the CLF of Sentence C.2e.

c. Three-constituent Transitive-sentential Clauses (+CLP +CLC +CLF)

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 CLF. Only one actually contains a sentential filler, i.e., Sentence C.2e, *lu laysq chom tumong 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-ính 'hate' (C.2c), and one contains the verb oam 'resent' (C.2d). The latter two are of special interest in that the CLF fillers 'the successful' and 'the prosperous' are fronted to CLFP.

d. Three-constituent Transitive Clauses

The Clauses filling Sentences A.1b, A.2b (except vauih), B.1(1-3), and the last Clause of C.2e are Transitive Clauses. Those of A.1b do not have fillers of CLP, and the first two do not have fillers of CLF, since they are non-specific. However, the CLF 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 CLP. The verb prefix tar- 'reciprocal action' substitutes for (or pre-empts) any filler of CLF, indicating that the potential filler of CLF is identical to the filler of CLP (cf. 'Pacoh' in Sentence B.1(2)). The fillers of CLP in the final embedded Clause, tartaq 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 CLF fillers are well marked as being the same by triple repetition of tar- 'reciprocation'.
DISPLAY 3:10 Verbal Clauses of 'The Old Days'

A.1a Tr-sent.

+CLP:NP

lu lâyq chom urâq

+CLC:VP

really not know books

+CLP:NP,Sent. +CLM:Adj, NP

A.1b Tr.

num llâm tâq llâm cha

(the) just only worked only ate

abôn
tian prâq

got money silver

(tany)

piday-clai

worked fields

(tany)

hang-hoq

worked products

(tany)

A.2b vi Clause

vaïh itâh a-i

happens some abandon mothers

(A.2b) Tr.

i-
tâh a-i

non-spec. abandon mothers

i-
tâh a-âm

non-spec. abandon fathers

i-
tâh a-em achâi

non-spec. abandon siblings

i-
tâh cruang daq

non-spec. abandon homelands

A.2e Tr-sent.

lâyq ibôn hôm a-i a-âm, dûrg

non-spec. not experience seeing parents, homes

B.1 Tr-sent. he Pacôh lâyq bôn àn arâq pang mêh

we Pacoh not experience what like gen. this

B.1(1) Tr.

Yoan liah tâq Yoan

Vietnamese back fight Vietnamese
B.1(2) Tr.

+ClC: VP

Pacôh ma tartâq
Pacoh even fight each-other

B.1(3) Tr.

a-äm cachêt acay
fathers kill sons
acay cachêt a-äm
children kill fathers

B.2 vi Clause

vaih yúc alûng rbang
(it) happens insane against heaven

C.2b Intr.

cuchêt nhaq
(the rich) die fast

C.2d Tr-sent. ngai ma num a-înh do ân hoî tubêq
people just hate the successful

2d Tr-sent. ngai ma num oan do ân xúc parnha
people just resent the prosperous

C.2e Tr-sent. lu làyq chom tumông ...
(I/we) really not know how to live

Intr. tumông carna mmo
live whichever way

Intr. buîh cuchêt not die

Tr. acâp tartâq 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):tÔq pang he aki mâm 'at our present generation' +CLF:lu diaiq lu tâh 'very difficult very desperate'
C.1 = SIPH (CLP):pang ngâi ân tâliaq inô-ntra 'their old generation long ago' +CLF:lu iân lu o 'very peaceful very good' +CLF:lu xûc lu xian clêt 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 xûc 'the rich' +CLF:xûc lu 'very rich, not poor even a little' (the topicalizer côh is omitted from the above example because it is a Sentence constituent).
CLF:AdjP + CLF:NP (Stative with AdjP in CLP)

A.2a = CLP:put 'many' + CLF:ngai ān chom uraq 'those who know books'

A.2d = CLP:put 'many' + CLF:ngāh chēt 'the dead'; CLP:put 'many' + CLF:ngāh pīt 'the lost'.

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

c. CLF:relative pronoun ān + CLF:dem., AdjP, Cl. (Relative Clause)

Relative Clauses containing demonstratives are: B.2 with mēh 'which is this one', and C.2a with mmo 'whichever one' (C.23). Notice that the relative pronoun ān 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 ān tatiaq 'which are old', C.2a with ān xūc 'who are rich', C.2d with ān bēi tubēq 'who are successful', C.2d with ān xūc pānra 'who are prosperous', and B.1, which has an Adjective Phrase with an unexpressed adjective, ān ḫ araq pān mēh 'which was ḫ like this generation'.

Relative Clauses embedded in Clauses are: ān chom uraq 'who know books' (A.2a), and ngāh chēt ngāh pīt '(they) who are dead (they) who are lost' (A.2d). (Note in the last example that ān is combined with ngai 'they' in the contraction ngāh '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 CLF:VP +CLF:NPI 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 CLF. 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 CLF, '(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 CLF: '(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, tartaq 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 +NP +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
eamples of NPP3 fillers found in the Text. The only examples of NPP2 and
NPP1 are māh 'one' and nāq 'cl-person', respectively (A.2b). In the Phrases,
māh muang 'one region' and māh daq 'one river', an NPP1 filler (classifier)
does not occur because the nouns are 'mass' nouns. In the Phrase māh nāq
'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 amāh '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 Pasôh 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. NPPF is filled by Noun Phrases aki mêh 'time this' (A.2a) and nông mêh '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 mtra 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'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>^NP2</th>
<th>^HP1</th>
<th>^NPCentral</th>
<th>^NP</th>
<th>^HPF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.1a</td>
<td>pang</td>
<td>uguai</td>
<td>atiaq ino-utra</td>
<td>which old time past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.1b</td>
<td>pang</td>
<td>uguai</td>
<td>generation</td>
<td>theirs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A.2a)</td>
<td>pang</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>aki nāh</td>
<td>time this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A.2b)</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>an choa uraq</td>
<td>they</td>
<td>who know books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.2b</td>
<td>māh nāq</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>person (cl.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>māh</td>
<td>suan</td>
<td>one region</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>māh</td>
<td>daq</td>
<td>one river</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.1</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>Pacoh</td>
<td>te nāh te shān</td>
<td>from long long ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>we</td>
<td>Pacoh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B.2)</td>
<td>aki</td>
<td>nāh</td>
<td>time</td>
<td>this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.1a</td>
<td>pang</td>
<td>uguai</td>
<td>an tatiaq ino-utra</td>
<td>which old time past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.1b</td>
<td>pang</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>ndong nāh</td>
<td>time this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.2a</td>
<td>pang</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>nāh</td>
<td>this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.2b</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>an hōi tuba</td>
<td>they</td>
<td>who successful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.2c</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>an xūc parna</td>
<td>they</td>
<td>who prosperous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.2d</td>
<td>carna</td>
<td>smo</td>
<td>way</td>
<td>whichever</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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, láyq, and buih, and VPP1 filled by liah 'reciprocal' (in B.1(1)).

**Display 3:12 Verbal Phrases of 'The Old Days'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+VPP3</th>
<th>+VPP2</th>
<th>+VPP1</th>
<th>+VPCentral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.1a</td>
<td>lu</td>
<td>láyq</td>
<td>chom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>really</td>
<td>not</td>
<td>know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.1b</td>
<td>num</td>
<td>llám</td>
<td>tāq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>just</td>
<td>only</td>
<td>worked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>llám</td>
<td></td>
<td>cha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>only</td>
<td></td>
<td>ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.2a</td>
<td>láyq</td>
<td></td>
<td>ibôn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>not</td>
<td></td>
<td>experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.1</td>
<td>láyq</td>
<td></td>
<td>bôn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>not</td>
<td></td>
<td>experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.1(1)</td>
<td>liah</td>
<td>tāq</td>
<td>retaliate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.2b</td>
<td>lu</td>
<td>láyq</td>
<td>chom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>really</td>
<td>not</td>
<td>know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.2a</td>
<td>buih</td>
<td></td>
<td>cuchēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>not</td>
<td></td>
<td>die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>acâp</td>
<td></td>
<td>tartāq tarcha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stop</td>
<td></td>
<td>fight (R) defeat (R)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3.5.3 Adjective Phrases (+AdjPP2 +AdjPPL +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 xúc lu xian 'very peaceful very good, very rich very wealthy'. An example of AdjPPL: negative is found in C.2a, buih diai-q-tûh 'not poor-poor'. The rest of that Phrase, ndîh mâh dyéeaq 'not-even a little', is an Adverbial Phrase filling AdjPF. Sentence C.2a also gives an example of the intensifier lu 'very' filling AdjPF, xúc lu 'rich very'.

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

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

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 NPPF filler, and one (B.2) as a CLF filler:

A.2a tôq pang he aki mnêh 'at generation ours time this'
B.2 tôq aki mnêh 'at time this'
B.1 te amân te ahân 'from ancient from olden times'
B.2 alûng rbang alûng 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.2a, 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 měh 'like generation this'
C.1 (xuc-xian) clât pang he ngđng měh '(rich) beyond the present generation'
C.2a (buix 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 mûhôp '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-la, B.1, and C.1 below:

A-la pang ngai ntiaq inô-ntra 'their generation long-ago (literally yesterday-day-before-yesterday)'
B.1 He Pacôh 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, "llám tāq llám cha 'only worked only ate' (A.1b), and a trinary expansion, tartāq 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 tūh 'very poor very poor' (A.2c), lu ian lu o 'very peaceful very good' (C.1a), lu xūc 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 Morpho-photactic 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 ndông 'time'.

Non-time terms are: urâq-u-ar 'books, letters', tian prâq 'money silver', piday-clai 'fields', hang-hoq 'manufactured goods', but kidôl 'tobacco and hemp', troi-turuiq 'betel', a-i a-âm 'mother and father, parents', a-em achaï 'younger-older siblings', cruang daq 'valley and river', đong vêl 'house and village', acay campay 'children and wives', rbang cuteac 'heaven and earth', carna 'way, road', dyesaq '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', vair 'exist, happen'
Intransitive: cuçhêt 'die', tumông 'live'
Transitive: tàq 'work, fight, do', cha 'eat, defeat', abôn 'get', cachêt '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 tāh 'abandon' and bōn 'get-to'; cu-/tu- 'intransitivizer' on adjectives chēt 'dead' and mōng 'alive', giving cu-chēt 'die' and tu-mōng 'live'; ca-/a- 'causative' on the adj. chēt 'dead' and the verb bon 'have', giving ca-chēt 'kill' and abōn 'get'; and tar- 'reciprocal' on tāq 'work, fight' and cha 'eat, defeat', giving tartāq 'fight-each-other' and tarcha 'defeat-each-other'.

The a- found in a-fnh 'hate' marks it as the opposite of fnh '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 awaih, 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, tāq cha 'work and eat, fight and defeat' (A.1b, C.2a).

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', diaq-tāh 'poor, desperate', chēt pīt 'dead and lost', yūc 'crazy', ian o 'peaceful and good', xūc-xian 'rich', hōi tubēq 'skillful and wise, successful', xūc 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.2a). It also occurs in several Adjective Phrases, in initial position, e.g., lu xúc 'very rich' (C.1b), and in final position, xúc lu 'rich very' (C.2a). As stated under Adjective Phrase expansion, lu is repeated with adjective pairs, as in lu diaiq lu tūh 'very difficult very desperate' (A.2c).

Num 'just' occurs in a Verb Phrase (VPP3), num lâm tāq '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. Tōq 'to, at'. occurs in 'at our present generation' (A.2a), and 'at the present time' (B.2). Te 'from' occurs in te anāh te ahan 'from ancient from olden time', embedded in the NPFF of a Noun Phrase (B.1). Añung '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 acha' '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 ndîh 'not even' (C.2a).

3.3.6.6 Quantifiers (ngêq 'all' words)

There are no quantifier words in this Text, though the adjective put 'big' correlates with F-QUANTIFIER in put do ân chôm ... '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, mân nák mãh muang mãh nák mãh daq 'one person one region one person one river'.

3.3.6.8 Classifiers (fillers of NPP1)

The classifier nák '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 nák.

3.3.6.9 Demonstratives (fillers of NPP)

The demonstrative nêh '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, ndông nêh 'time this' (C.1b), it is not prefixed. The demonstrative mo 'wherever, whichever', is prefixed by N-, putting it into a Relative Clause, carna wmo 'way whichever' (C.2a).

3.3.7.0 Auxiliaries (fillers of VP1)

The auxiliary liâh 'retaliate, reciprocate' occurs in B.1(1), liâh tâq 'fight back'. (It is also a verb meaning 'turn back'.)
3.3.7.1 Limiters (fillers of VPP2 and AdjPPI)

Lāyq 'not' occurs in identical Verb Phrases in the first and last Sentences of the Text, 1u lāyq chom 'really not know' (A.1a and C.2e), and also in A.2e, and B.1. Buīh 'cautious not' occurs in C.2e, buīh cuchēt 'not die', and in C.23, buīh diaiq-tūh 'not poor'. (Buīh is less assertive than lāyq, so is often used to avoid angering the spirits.)

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

3.3.7.2 Conjunctions

Icōh 'therefore' (C.1a) occurs as a Text-medial conjunction. Ėh 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). Amha '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 čōh 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) Pacōh ma tartāq 'even Pacoh fight-each-other' (see also C.2c and 2d). Ėh follows CLP of a Stative Clause in Sentence C.2a, do ān xuc čōh xuc lu 'he who is rich is very rich'.

3.3.7.3 Relative pronoun ān

Ān '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., atiaq or tatiaq in the Title, A.1a, and C.1, ngai in A.1a, 1b, and C.1, and he, mmēh, or he mmēh in A.2a, B.1, C.1, and C.2. Naēh also occurs with a substitute for pang (i.e., aki 'time') in B.2.

There is also the chiastic repetition of  ámb chom 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 tāq cha of A.1b in tartāq 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  ámb cha, and Abōntian. 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 Ntiag

Introductory Element
A.1a Pang ngai ntiaq...
   1b Côhn ma pang ngai,

A.2a Côhn ma tôq pang he,
   2b Côhn ma vaih:

A.2c
  2d Lâyq ibônh hôm:

B.1 He Pacôh
   lâyq bôn...pang nnêh:

B.2 Côhn ma tôq aki nnêh,

C.1 Icôh pang ngai...

C.2a Côhn ma pang he nnêh,
   2b Côhn ma cuchêt dúvida.

C.2e Lû' lâyq chom...

Redup. element (a)

luh láyq chom urág
num lâlâm tôq
Abôn tian práq,
tôq hang-hoq,
put do ân chom urág
itâh a-î
itâh a-em achai,
mâh nôq mâh muang
Lu dialect
Pùt ngânh chôt,
a-î a-âm,

Redup. element (b) Add-on

chom u-ar.
llâm chá;
tôq piday-clai,
hût kidoî,
chom u-ar,
itâh a-âm,
itâh cruang daq,
mâh nôq mâh daq.
lû tûnh.
pùt ngânh pît.
dûng vêl,

acay campay.

B.1 He Pacôh
   lâyq bôn...pang nnêh:

Yoan liah tôq Yoan.
A-âm cachêt acay,
vaih yûc alûng rbang

C.1 Icôh pang ngai...

lu ion
lu xûc

C.2a Côhn ma pang he nnêh,
   2b Côhn ma cuchêt dúvida.

Do ân xûc
bûth diaq-tûnh
Do ân hôt tubêq
Do ân xûc parnha
ma bûth cuchêt

C.2e Lû' lâyq chom...

ma bûth cuchêt

lu' xian
cûlêt pang he...

côhn xûc lu.
ndôf mûh dyêaq.
ma nûm ngai a-înh.
ma nûm ngai oan.
anha acûp nnêng:
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 urāq 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 *llām tāq llām 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 *abōn tīan prāq, tāq piday-clai, tāq hang-haq*. 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, but *kidōl, troi-turuq*.

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 urāq chom u-ar*; however, it adds *māq tarli-li Yoam*, which contains some reduplication of its own. A.2b contains two pairs of reduplicative Pause Groups, beginning with *itāh*, and a pair of reduplicative Pause Groups, each beginning with *māh*.

The third grouping contains three reduplicative Breath Groups (A.2c,d, and e) forming a 2-2-3 reduplicative pattern. A.2c is *lu dīaig lu tūh*. A.2d is *put ngāh chēt, put ngāh pīt*. A.2e contains three reduplicative pairs of Feet, a-i a-ām, dūng vēl, acay campāy.
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 anāh te ahān. (This also places pang mēh 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 tartāq, i.e., Yoan tartāq Yoan; Pacōh ma tartāq. (In the first, tartāq 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-ām cachēt acay—acay cachēt a-ām. The fifth Breath Group (B.2) contains two reduplicative Pause Groups, yūc alūng rband, yūc alūng 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 xcū lu xian, and an added Pause Group, clāt pang mēh. 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) cōh ma cuchēt dūh, is not reduplicative, but it introduces the next two. C.2c and 2d are a reduplicative pair, do ān bōi tubēq ma num ngai a-īnh; do ān xcū 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 làyq chom tumōng carna mno, 2) ma bui h cuchēt 3) anha acāp māng: tartāq 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 Root *chom* is repeated with the members of a pair of reduplicative Feet, in *chom uraq chom ur-ar*, but *taq* is repeated with two different pairs of Feet, in *taq piday-clai, taq hang-houq*.

An example of two Pause Groups with matching meter plus a repeated word is *do an xuc coh xuc lu* (C.2a). An example with only matching meter is *do an hoi tubeq ma num ngai a-inh* (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, *buieh diaiq ndifh mahn dyeq* (C.2a).

Pause Groups are internally reduplicative when they contain reduplicative pairs of Feet, either joined, as in *a-i a-am*, or separated by a repeated item, as in *te anah te ahun* (B.1). Reduplicative pairs of Feet often occur as Pause Groups, but they are described on the Root level below because they are in some respects more like Feet. One rare combination which must be described at this level is *tartaq 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-qautra 'past time' (A.1a, C.1a), hang-hoq 'products' (A.1b), troi-turuiq 'betal' (A.1b), qa-i qa-âm 'moms and dads' (A.2b,e), qa-em qachai 'younger and older siblings' (A.2b), qian qo 'peaceful and good' (C.1a), and xuc-xian 'rich' (C.1a). Others, like diaiq-tûh, may be considered as nearly alliterative.

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

Alliteration plus metathesis is exhibited in qanâh-qabân 'olden times' (B.1), and qurâq-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 cóh 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 excluding 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 icēh '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 cōh 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 cōh 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 ino ntra 'generation they who old long ago' (A.1a, C.1)

/DM SIPH: expanded NP with pronoun head || RESTATEMENT, i.e., he Pacoh te anah te ahan '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:Ø || 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, 2a)

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 ex-
tension.

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' +Pac6h
'we Pacoh people' (B.1)

Association = ITEM +ASSOC. /DM NPC:noun +NP:pronoun, e.g., pang 'generation
+nŋai 'they' 'their days' (cf. A.1a, 1b, 2a, B.1, C.1, 2)

Identification = ITEM +IDENTITY /DM NPC +NP: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 +NP:NP, PP, e.g., pang he
'our gen.' +aki mēh 'present' (A.3, B.1, C.1)

Specification = ITEM +SPECIF. /DM NPC +NP:an +demonstrative, e.g., aki
'time' +mēh '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 elo-
quence; 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 urāq 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: tiaq prāq
'money-silver—all kinds of currency', piday-clai 'field-field—all kinds of
fields', hang-haq 'all kinds of traded goods', but kidōl 'tobacco-hemp—all
that fits the category', triu-turuiq 'betel nuts and everything needed for
making betel quids', a-i a-ām 'mother—father—parents', a-em acha
'younger-older siblings', acay campay 'children-wives', cruang daq
'valleys-rivers--environs', muang daq 'region-river--homeland', dōng vēl
'house-village--home community', rbang cuteac 'heaven-earth--everywhere'.

b. Action extension

Action concepts which have their meanings extended by word compounding
are: tāq cha 'work-eat--make a livelihood', tartāq tarcha
'fight-defeat-each-other--make warfare'.

c. Attribute extension

Attribute concepts which have their meanings extended by word compounding are: diaiq-tūn 'poor, difficult--desperately poor or difficult',
chēt pīt 'dead-lost--wiped out', ian o 'peaceful-good--wonderful', xuāc xian
'rich--wealthy', hōi tubēq 'skillful-wise--successful', xuāc parnha 'rich--lux-
urious--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 oc-
casional skewings between the modes. As in other descriptions of DM con-
structions, 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 urāq 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 cōh 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, vauh 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 C1P, i.e.,

'many (are) they who know books' (cf. Points 3, 6)

|F Attribution || adj. filling C1F, e.g., 'the old days (were) very peaceful' (cf. Points 5, 13, 14)

conjunction căh |F marks TOPIC || when TOPIC is identical to the filler of a Proposition constituent, e.g., do ân xúc căh xúc lu 'they who rich căh (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., Pacăh ma tartāq 'Pacoh even fight each other' (Point 10), or do ân hōi tubēq ma num ngai a-ing '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)

conjunction 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 correlate 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)

CLF | F AGENT || Verbal Clause except vi and vait

| F QUANTIFIER || Stative Clause with a counter or the adjective put 'big, many' filling CLP, e.g., put do ăn chởm 'many are they who know'

| F ITEM || Non-verbal Clause with a NP willing CLP, e.g., do ăn xúc cộ humiliating 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, vait 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, vait 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 || tartuq 'each other' (correlates with Speaker eloquence where tartuq is superfluous following verbs with the tar- prefix (cf. Sentence C.2e)
C E F Comparison || AdvP with clát '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 NPPl 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 mäh 'one' in A.2b
NPPl F CLASSIFIER nãq '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 mnäh 'this time' (B.2)
F TEMPORAL LOCATION || time nouns in NP or PP, e.g., inõ utra 'past time'
(A.1a) te anäh te ahãn 'from ancient times' (B.1)
3.7.5.2 Verb Phrase constituent correlations

All Verb Phrase constituents correlate with multiple functions, though
VPFI illustrates only one in this Text.

| VP3 | F INTENSIFIER, e.g., lu 'really' (A.1a) |
| F DE-INTENSIFIER, e.g., num 'just' (A.1b) |

| VP2 | F NEGATOR, e.g., làyq 'not' (A.1a) |
| F DELIMITER, e.g., lìām 'only' (A.1b) |
| F PROHIBITOR, e.g., acàp 'don't, stop' (C.2e) |

| VP1 | F RECIPROCATOR, e.g., auxiliary liāb 'back' (B.1(1)) |

| VP | F EXPERIENCE, e.g., chōm 'know' (A.1a) |
| F ACTION, e.g., tāq 'do, work, fight' (A.1b, B.1(1,2), C.2e) |
| F PROCESS, e.g., cuchēt 'die' (C.2b, 2e) |

3.7.5.3 Adjective Phrase constituent correlations

Adjective Phrase correlations are fairly routine. NPC correlates with either ATTRIBUTE-thing or ATTRIBUTE-Event, depending upon its filler class.

| AdjP2 | F INTENSIFIER, e.g., lu 'very' (A.2c) |
| AdjP1 | F NEGATOR, e.g., bułh 'not' (C.2a) |
| AdjP | F ATTRIBUTE-Event, e.g., diaīq 'difficult' (A.2c) |
| F ATTRIBUTE-thing, e.g., diaīq 'poor' (C.2a) |

| AdjPF | F INTENSIFIER, e.g., ndīh . . . '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 tāq 'at, to' correlates with TEMPORAL LOCATION in this Text, e.g., tāq pang he
'at our generation'. The preposition alung 'with, against' correlates with GOAL, e.g., yuc alung rbang 'insane (rebellious) against heaven'.

3.7.5.5 Adverbial Phrase constituent correlations

Adverbial Phrases correlate with Equations and Comparisons. The filler of RELATOR araq 'like' correlates with RELATIONAL-EQUIVALENCE and the fillers clat 'more than' and ndih 'not even' correlate with RELATIONAL-DEGREE. AXIS correlates with the ITEM, Event, or ATTRIBUTE equated or compared.

RELATOR |F RELATIONAL-EQUIVALENCE || prep. araq 'like' (B.1)

|F RELATIONAL-DEGREE || prep. clat 'beyond' or ndih 'not even' (C.1)

AXIS |F TEMP LOCATION || time noun, e.g., pang 'generation' (B.1)

|F Attribution || NP representing an implicit Proposition, e.g., pang he (xuc 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 urāq chom ur-ar* in A.1a. Or they may be only identical elements, such as *xūc* 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 ān hōi tubēq ma num ngai a-īnh, could have been placed in the third column reduplicating the first, do ān xūc pahnha 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 cōh ma and pang. Pang co-occurs with ntīaq 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, mnēh, or he mnēh in A.2a, B.1, and C.2a. Also, mnēh 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 lū lāyq 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., but 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 Cümöö tóq Muang He Pacöö '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 AN LALAU CUMOR TÓQ MUANG HE PACÖÖ
CUSTOM THEY WHO FELLOWS GIRLS AT REGION US PACOH

1Ngai ân lalâu cöh phai pöc tóq ngai ân cumör,
They who fellows so must go to they who girls.

2anâq do ân cumör layq ӳnh ma ngai ân lalâu icôh
Even-if some who girls don't like but they who fellows like-that

rit, 3nâm ӳnh clôn cumör mmo cöh phai pöc tóq düng cumör
custom. If want court girl any so must go to home girl

ncöö dyën tian, 4Ma nâm cumör ncöö ӳnh pöc clôn alûng
that give money. But if girl that wants go court with
lalau neqh coh dyesal tian do an lalau, 5ma nam layq inh fellow that so takes money his who fellow. But if not want poc clon alung lalau neqh coh layq dyesal tian do coh, go court with fellow that so not take money his that.

6 anaq dyon put li mmo ma nam layq inh poc clon alung Even-if gives much however but if not want go court with lalau neqh coh cumor layq dyesal tian do an lalau. fellow that so girl not take money his who fellow.

7 toq he nam toq dyel mno a-am mno an puaq coh
At us if arrived already season corn season which hot so ngai an lalau ibu idau coh par-at toq xu cumor, 8Ngai poc they who fellows evening night so stay at homes girls'. They go chum cha a-am-apo, 9ngai poc clon poc tarlenh alung do an cumor beg eat corn. they go court go tease(R) with some who girls toq dyel ang 10coh ngai coh toq proaq-tampaq alung a-i a-am, until already dawn. Then they return to work with parents.

11nam toq dyel ibu coh ngai poc loi parchaq alung If arrived already evening then they go again get-together with yau-bay, poc dong khon tirel, dong tian cua inh dyon pinesq friends, go take pipes flutes, take money belongings want give gifts ado cumor, 12do an bon ao coh dong ao to girls. He who has cloth so take cloth.

13do an bon praq coh dong praq 14amah vi ibon He who has silver so take silver. Whatever is one-has coh dong, 15damo cumor inh coh cumor dyeal. so take. Whichever girl likes so girl takes.

16A-i a-am ma ngai inh ipoc clon ipoc amhoi Mom dad but they want one-go court one-go play coh ma aqap itaq an layq phep, poc clon lu 11am clon, but "Don't you-do what's not ethical, go court really only court,
acăp tăq parrōih-tancayh abuih chēt a-i a-ām. 17Anāq arâq nōh
don't do fornication lest dead mom dad." Though like that
muang he ngai clōn ngai āt alūng cumōr, cōh ma buih diq ngai tăq
region our they court they stay with girls but not hardly they do
lăyq phep, 18beaq māq num tăq ān lăyq phep
not ethical. Few persons only do what's not ethical.
19arâq māh chīt nāq cōh vī māh nāq num ān lăyq phep,
Like one of-ten persons so is one person only who's unethical.
20a-i a-ām ngai, ngai achung acay-acon ngai dyoq ităq
Moms dads theirs, they instruct children they forbid one-do
ān lăyq o ān prāh cōh ngai lăyq dāh tăq,
what not good what bad so they not dare do.
21nām tăq lăyq phep cōh ma anhuq pēq acay cōh
If do not ethical so but bears carry child so
mnu w canhin mōi lāh a-eq ado dōng xu cruang cutēac
whoever repent, and: a curse to house hut valley land.
22Nām do ān tăq lăyq phep cōh phai vi tiriaq carrōq, alic
If he who does not ethical so must have buffalo cattle, pigs
utruai, ian ngāh atūc ado yang-prāh, mōi lāh tēq
chickens, in-order to sacrifice to ancestor-spirits, and: obey
dyām cang a-i a-ām achung.
respect voice moms dads instruct.
23Icōh rit muang he ān ngai clōn cumōr
Thus custom region our that they court girls
ma ngai buih tăq lăyq 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 people 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, Rade, 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 Rade, 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 ngaï 'they' filling C.1.P 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 7aai '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 11b1 '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 11bi1ii '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 20a1i '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 21a1i 'so becomes pregnant'
6-18 CONSEQUENCE: Point 21b1 'so whoever it is must repent'
6-19 CONSEQUENCE: Point 21c1 'and furthermore it's a curse ...'
5-15 SPECIFIC: Implication Scheme
6-20 CONDITION: Point 22a1 'If there is someone who does
unethically'
6-21 CONSEQUENCE: Point 22b1 'so he must have buffalo and
cattle, pigs and chickens in order to sacrifice ...'
5-16 SPECIFIC: Point 22c1 'and furthermore, one must obey his
parents' instructions'
4-10 CONCLUSION: Point 20b1 '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 23a1 'such is the custom of our region'
3-7 SPECIFIC: Contra-expectation
4-11 CONCESSION: Point 23bi1 'wherein fellows court girls'
4-12 CONTRA-EXPECT: Point 23bii1 'but they don't misbehave.'
Display 4:4  Tree Diagram of Scheme structure of

'Pacock Fellows and Girls'

Discourse = 1-1 Topic: Title
1-2 Comment: Syllogism

Illustration

Premise 2-1

Description

Contrast

Tesis 3-1

Illustration 3-2

Narrative

Setting 4-3

Subsequent 4-5

Paraphrase

Contrast

Tesis 4-1

Contrast

Tesis 5-2

Contrast

Tesis 6-2

Contrast

Tesis 7-2

Paraphrase

Implication

Contrast-expect. 3-3

Contrast-thesis 4-4

Contrast-expect. 5-5

Contrast-expect. 6-6

Condition 6-4

Condition 7-4

Paraphrase

Implication

Contrast-expect. 8-2

Subsequent 5-7

Sequence

Setting 5-7

Setting 6-7

Concluding event 6-16

Means

Preliminary event 6-16

Preliminary event 7-11

Preliminary event 7-12

Preliminary event 7-13

Preliminary event 7-14

Paraphrase

specifying 6-5

specifying 6-6

specifying 6-7

specifying 6-8

specifying 6-9

specifying 6-10

specifying 6-11

specifying 6-12

specifying 6-13

specifying 6-14

specifying 6-15

Points:
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  сох and ما. In Display 4:5b the Propositional fillers of each TOPIC and COMMENT are listed.
DISPLAY 4: 5a  Point structure of 'Pacoh Fellows and Girls'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOPIC</th>
<th>COMMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1  Ngaĩ ân lalâu</td>
<td>cóh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2  Anâq do ân cumôr láyq Inh</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3  Nâm Inh clôñ cumôr mmo</td>
<td>cóh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4  Ma nâm cumôr ncôh Inh</td>
<td>But if girl that wants to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5  Ma nâm láyq Inh pôc</td>
<td>But if doesn't want go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6  Anâq dyôn put lí mmo</td>
<td>Even-if gives however much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7  Tôq he nâm tôq dyê</td>
<td>At us if came already</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ngái poc clön poc tarlëngh alŭng
They go court go tease with
do ăn cümôr tòq dyê ang.
the girls until already dawn.
Côh
Then they return do work
alŭng a-i a-âm.
with moms and dads.

Ngái poc loi parchôq alŭng yâu-bây,
then they go again together with friends,
poc dông khên tirël, dông tian cua
take flutes, take belongings
inh dyôn pînêq ado cümôr.
want give gifts to girls.

Do ân bôn ao
He who has cloth
côh
doⁿg ao.
so
gives cloth.

Do ân bôn prâq
He who has silver
côh
doⁿg prâq.
so
takes silver.

Amûh vi ibôn
Whatever is one-has
côh
doⁿg.
so
takes.

Damo cümôr ình
Whichever girl likes
côh cümôr dyéal.
so
girl takes.

A-i a-âm
Parents
ma
but

Ngái find ipôc clön ipôc anhoi
côh ma "Acâp itâq ân lâyq phep;
they want we-go courting
but "Don't you-do what not ethical;
pôc clön iu llâm clön; acâp tâq
go court really only court; don't do
parrôih-tancayh abuih chêt a-i a-âm."
fornication so-not dead parents."
17 Anāq arāq ncoh muang he ngai
Though like that region us they
clo̱n ngai åt alûng cumôr
  court they stay with girls
côh ma buih dîq ngai tảq láyq phep.
  but not hardly they do not ethical.
18 Beaq mãq
  Few persons
num tảq ån láyq phep.
  only do what not ethical.
19 Arâq mãh chi̱t mãq
Like out of ten persons
côh vi mãh mãq num ån láyq phep.
  so is one person only who not ethical.
20 A-i a-âm ngai, ngai
Parents theirs, they
achung acay-acon ngai dyøq
  instruct kids they forbid
itâq ån láyq o ån práh
  do what not good what bad
côh ngai láyq dâh tảq.
  so they don't dare do it.
21 Nâm tòaq láyq phep
  If do unethically
côh ma anhuq pêq acay
  so but bears carry child
côh nnau canhîn.
  so whoever (it is) repents.
miô lâh a-eq ado dûng-xu cruang-cuteac.
  and a curse upon homes and lands.
22 Nâm do ån tôq láyq phep
If one who does unethically
so phai vi tiriaq carrôq alic ntruai
  must have buffalo cattle, pigs chickens
ian ngâh atûc ado yâng-prâh.
  in-order to sacrifice to spirits.
miô lâh tôq dyâm cang â-i a-âm achung.
  furthermore obey voice parents instruct.
23 Icoh rit muang he
Thus custom region ours
ân ngai clo̱n cumôr
  that they court girls
ma ngai buih tôq láyq o.
  but they don't do not good.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOPIC</th>
<th>COMMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Thematic participant</td>
<td>Activity Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Experience Event</td>
<td>Attribution (Activity)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Experience Event</td>
<td>Activity Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Experience Event</td>
<td>Activity Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Experience Event</td>
<td>Activity Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Experience Event</td>
<td>Activity Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Locations and participant</td>
<td>Activity Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Activity Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Activity Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Activity Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Location in time</td>
<td>Activity Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Possession</td>
<td>Activity Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Possession</td>
<td>Activity Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Possession</td>
<td>Activity Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Experience Event</td>
<td>Activity Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Experience Event</td>
<td>Speech Act Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Activity Event</td>
<td>Activity Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Activity Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Existence (Activity Event)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Speech Act Event</td>
<td>Activity Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Activity Events</td>
<td>Activity Event and a State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 Activity Event</td>
<td>Possession + Activity, and Activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Attribution (Activity)</td>
<td>Activity Event</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2.3.1 Points as TOPIC-COMMENT constructions

The Discourse, 'Pach 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 lalâlau '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 cumõr '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-am '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: (felloes) +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 6a = 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: 'felloes' +NEG: 'not' +EXP: 'dare' +SOURCE: Event 'do unethi-
cally'
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 21a1i = 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 predicators 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:(fellow) +ACT:'give' +PATIENT:'gifts' +GOAL:'girls'

Point 16a = SOURCE:Act. Event +AG:(fellow) +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 rela-
tionship in the Points of this Discourse. The one joins a thematic partici-
pant as AGENT to the Predication. Point 1 illustrates this, 'fellow 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 ex-
ternal 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 la 'fellow'. 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., 'fellow', 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, 7a with ITEM:'they' +IDENTIFIER:'fellow'
Point 1b, 2a, 9 ITEM:'they' +IDENTIFIER:'maiden'
Point 7a with 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 portman-
teau 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>corn</th>
<th>corn + corn</th>
<th>a-ūm-apo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>parents</td>
<td>mother + father</td>
<td>a-i a-ām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teenagers</td>
<td>fellows + maidens</td>
<td>lalau cumōr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>off-work social time</td>
<td>evening + night</td>
<td>ibu idau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musical instruments</td>
<td>reeded pipes + flutes</td>
<td>khēn tirēl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>valuables</td>
<td>money + belongings</td>
<td>tian cua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>important spirits</td>
<td>spirits + ancestor spirits</td>
<td>yang prāh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>livestock (large)</td>
<td>buffalo + cattle</td>
<td>tiriaq carrōq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>livestock (small)</td>
<td>pigs + chicken</td>
<td>alic ntruai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>land, source of livelihood river valley + land</td>
<td></td>
<td>cruang cuteac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>home community</td>
<td>house + hut</td>
<td>dũng xu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friends</td>
<td>friend + friend</td>
<td>yâu-bây</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. pōc

*play* (ACT) AG: human, animal |rr participation in activities for enjoyment

/DM v. clōn, anhōi 'play'

*court* (ACT) AG: human, animal |rr participation in ethical activities with the opposite sex for enjoyment
/v. cūlōn (‐anboi) alūng ... 'court with ...'
beg (ACT) AG: human |rr ask for something without intention of repaying
   /DM v. chum 'beg'
et (ACT) AG: human, animal |rr ingest food
   /DM v. cha 'eat'
fornicate (ACT) AG: human |rr sexual intercourse between unmarried persons
   /DM v.+n. tōq parrōih‐tancayh 'do fornication'
return (ACT) AG: human, animal |rr motion towards home
   /DM v. chō 'return'

PROCESS
conceive (PROC) PATIENT: human, animal |rr pregnancy
   || PATIENT: human /DM v. dandōng 'carrying'
      v.+n. pōq acay 'carry child'
      NP bar māt 'two faces'
   || PATIENT: animal (numerous terms)

QUANTITY
few (QUAN) |rr any amount considered relatively insignificant under the
   situation
   /DM counter beaq, dyeqaq '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'
fellow (HUMAN) | rr unmarried male beyond age of puberty

/DM n. lalāu 'fellow'

maiden (HUMAN) | rr unmarried female beyond age of puberty

/DM n. cumūr 'maiden, girl'

4.2.4.4 Discussion of concepts

The concepts 'fellows' (lalāu) and 'girls or maidens' (cumūr) 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' (tāq) 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 Pachon 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' (lāyq) is fairly absolute, but the concept 'cautious not' (buuīh) 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 exem-
plified 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 an 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 an cumôr 'girls' is repeated in A.1-4, 6, B.7, 9, 11, 15, C.17, D.20, and E.23; ngai an cumôr 'girls' is repeated in A.1-4, 6, B.7, 9, 11, 15, and E.23, and tâq muang he 'at our region' is repeated in B.7, C.17, and E.23. Repetition of ngai an 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 an 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 tâq 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., pōc clōn 'go play' (C.16), ngai clōn ngai āt alōng cumōr '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 icōh '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 clōn cumōr 'they court girls' repeated from all all four Paragraphs, and by the Clause ngai buih tāq lāq 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 pōc '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, chō 'return' occurs in 10. In Paragraph C pōc occurs in 16a and b. In seven cases it co-occurs with other verbs.

The verb īnh '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 clōn 'court' often co-occurs with īnh and pōc, but not always. It is found in A.3a, 4a, 5a, 6a, B.9, C.16a,b, 17a, and E.23.

The verb dyēal 'take' occurs in A.4b, 5b, 6b, and B.15. The verb tāq 'work, do' occurs in B.10, C.16b, 17b, 18b, 19b, D.20a,b, 21a, 22a, and E.23b.

The Adjective Phrase lāyq phep 'unethical' usually occurs with the verb tāq, but once without it, i.e., in C.19b. Its synonym lāyq 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 (\(\emptyset\)).

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 an lalāu
   'they who fellows'
2. First-rank is further manifest by \(\emptyset\) except as superceded by other rules
3. Second-rank participant is introduced the first time in CLF of the Para-
   graph-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 pron + Rel.Cl. for additional (sub-
   divided) 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 + Rela-

tive 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 reintro-
duced 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:
cumōr nōḥ 'girl that' and CLF: lalāu nōḥ 'fellow that' (the pronoun would
not distinguish the two). In a new position, i.e., NFF 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 cumōr 'girl' in A.6b because the Discourse
first-rank participant was also elided in A.5a. In 5b NFF 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 ʻān lalāu 'they who fellows' is reintroduced as
first-rank participant. In Sentences 8-10 CLP is filled by the pronoun ngai
'they' rather than Ø because they occur as a set of juxtaposed Sentences (IF
Paraphrase). In Sentence 11 the pronoun occurs in CLP of a Subparagraph-ini-
tial 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 cumōr '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-inflix 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 CIP is filled by ngai 'they' which is known to refer back to i- above rather than 'parents' because of the verb clōn to which it is prefixed. This CIP 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-CIP of the Paragraph-initial Sentence instates 'parents' as first-rank participants, and acon filling CIP re-instates 'children' as second-rank participants.

The pronoun ngai +verb tāq filling CIP of D.20b instates the kids as Subparagraph first-rank participants. Elision in CIP of D.21i refers back to ngai in 21a. The pronoun mnau 'whoever' in CIP 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 CIP of a vi 'exist' Clause (though vi is elided). Elision in 22b refers back to the filler of CIP 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 clōn continues to refer back to ngai ḗn lalāu '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 (PCL 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 finh '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 CIL and 'the girls' fills CIF (except in A.2a); in A.4-6 'that girl' fills CIL and 'that fellow' fills CIF. 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 nâm têq dyê ibu 'if arrived already evening', which is parallel to the Phrase nâm têq dyê mno a-ûm '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-ûm '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, ngaì ân cumôr of A.1 is CLP filler of A.2a; then the CLF filler, ngaì ân lalâun '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 cumôr ènh pêc clôñ alûng lalâun kõñèn '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 cumôr dyeal tian do ăn láâu '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 ngaî is the same for all three Sentences 8–10 and ties back to ngaî ăn láâu '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 ăn bôn ... 'he who has' against 14 and 15 in which CLP is filled by an embedded Clause in which the CLF: amânh 'whatever' and đamo 'whichever' is fronted. However, if he follows the second part, he will group the first three (12–14), which have the same CLF 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, cumôr 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 nāq '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 nām 'if' and two part (b)'s. Part (b1) begins with the conjunction cōh 'so', and part (bii) begins with the conjunction mōi 'and'. Part (a) of each contains the Phrase tāq làyq 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 cōh 'topicalizer, so, then'. Also, most Sentences other than the Paragraph-initial Sentence are preceded by the subordinating conjunction nām 'if', or anāq 'even if', even when they may not, in fact, be subordinating Sentences. For example, in Sentences 7 and 11 nām 'if' is superfluous preceding the time Phrases beginning with tōq, which would usually read 'when' in Narrative. In Sentence 22 nām '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)

**a. Simple Sentences:** 1) without Clause embedding

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.8,9,10 SIPH-C1P</td>
<td>cōh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.1, C.19 SIPH-C1P</td>
<td>cōh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.18 SIPH-C1P</td>
<td>num</td>
</tr>
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</table>

2) with Clause embedded in CLP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.12,13 SIPH-C1P</td>
<td>cōh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3) with Clause embedded in CLPF

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.14 SIPH-C1PP</td>
<td>cōh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.15 SIPH-C1PP</td>
<td>cōh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4) with Clause embedded in CLF

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E.23</td>
<td>Equative Clause</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Part (b)

**b. Conjunctive Sentences**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C.16 SIPH +ma +Clause</td>
<td>cōh ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.20 SIPH +Clause</td>
<td>cōh ma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Part (c)

**c. Subordinating Sentences**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.7 SIPH +nām +Cl. +cōh +CLP</td>
<td>cōh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.3-5, B.11 nām +Clause</td>
<td>cōh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.2 anāq +Clause</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.17 anāq +Clause</td>
<td>cōh ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.6 anāq +Cl. +ma +nām +Cl.</td>
<td>cōh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Part (d)

**d. Subordinating-conjunctive Sentences**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D.21 nām +Cl. +cōh ma +Cl.</td>
<td>cōh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+mōi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.22 nām +CLP+NP</td>
<td>cōh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+mōi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 cōh. Sentences A.1 and C.19 are distinguished as Expository by the occurrence of cōh 'topicalizer' between CLP and CLC. In C.18, beaq màq num tāq ān lāyq phep 'few persons only do what is unethical', the particle num 'only', appears to replace cōh 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-ām 'parents' followed by ma 'topicalizer', and two Clauses which are joined by the conjunction cōh ma 'but'. The second Clause is elliptical, containing only a quotation filling CLFF.
In D.20 the SIFH 'their parents', is followed by two Clauses joined by the conjunction cōh.

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 anāq 'even if', and the second is preceded by ma or cōh ma 'but'. In A.3-5, B.7, and 11, the first Clause is preceded by nām 'if', and the second is preceded by cōh 'so, then'. However, note that the subordinating conjunction nām 'if' is superfluous for the already subordinate Clauses of B.7 and 11, i.e., tōq dyē mno a-ām 'when already corn season' and tōq dyē 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 anāq 'even if' and is joined to the second Clause by ma 'but', then the second Clause begins with nām 'if' and is joined to the third by cōh '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 mōi lāh 'furthermore'. Parallel conjunction would be indicated by repetition of cōh, but mōi lāh indicates addition of something different. The construction following mōi lāh is not at all parallel with the preceding.

Sentence D.22 appears to be subordinating because of the conjunction nām 'if' preceding the first part. Though the first part only manifests a Nom 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 mới 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 2l.)

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', chô '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 dyôn 'go give' is expanded to pôc tôq dông cunôr ncôh dyôn 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.1lb the merger pôc parachôq 'go get together' is expanded to pôc loi parachôq alûng yâu-bêy '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, pəc dông kʰɛn tiraɬ, dông tiaŋ cuə 'go take flutes, take valuables'. In D.20a the compound verbs achung dyoq 'instruct forbid' are expanded by repetition of the CLF filler and by different CLF fillers, ngai achung acaŋ-açon ngai dyoq itəq ... '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 pəc ɬənm ɬən '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 ñən dyən piŋəq ... 'in order to give a gift ...', in C.16b it is abuŋ chət a-i a-ɜm 'to-not-cause death of parents', and in D.22b it is ian ngəh atūc ... '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 chə təq 'they
return work' is classified as Transitive because of the potential for a Noun Phrase filling CLF following tâq '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 +CIC +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 ât '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' (E.8), tâq 'work, do' (B.10, C.16b, 17b, 18, 19, D.20b, 21ai, E.23b), pêq 'carry' (D.21aii), and têq dyâm 'obey, respect' (D.22bii), clôn 'court' (A.3a, 4a, 5a, 6a, B.9m c.16, 17, E.23a), and tarlênh (c.9).
In all of these examples there is a CLF filled by a Noun Phrase, except in the cases in which tāq 'do' is followed only by an Adjective Phrase, e.g., lāyq phep 'unethical', or by a Relative Clause, e.g., ṣàn lāyq phep 'which unethical' (which could be interpreted as an NP with an implicit or zero filler of NPC, i.e., tantāq 'doings'). Also, in D.20b the Phrases ṣàn lāyq o ṣàn prāh 'which not good which bad' are elided, being explicit in the preceding Clause. In two cases (A.3a, E.23a) CLF following the verb clōn 'court, play' is filled by a Noun Phrase, but in all other cases it is filled by a Prepositional Phrase, e.g., alūŋ cumōr mōn 'with that girl'. (The CLF slot correlates with F-PATIENT in either case, but F-AGENT is added by the preposition alūŋ 'with', giving the notion of reciprocation or accompaniment.)

e. Transitive-sentential. Transitive-sentential Clauses have only one verb in this Text, i.e., ḫim 'want' in A.4a-6a and in C.16a.

f. Bitransitive Clauses. Bitransitive Clauses have the following verbs: dyōn 'give' (A.3b, 6ai, B.11b), dyēal 'take, receive' A.4b-6b, B.15), dōŋ 'take, carry' (B.11b-14), and atūc 'sacrifice' (D.22bi). There is only one example with fillers present in both CLF and CLFF, i.e., dyōn pinēq ado cumōr 'give gifts to girls'.

g. Bitransitive-sentential. In C.16b there is an implicit verb (tāng 'say') which introduces the quotation to an implicit audience (ado acay-acon 'to children'). In D.20a ngai achung acay ngai dyōq itāq . . . 'they instruct children they forbid to do . . . ' both of the verb achung and dyōq 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 icōh 'like that' is an Adverbial Phrase, and rit 'custom' is the noun center of the Noun Phrase icōh rit ngai ān lalāu 'like that is custom of the fellows'. Clause 2b differs slightly in that the Phrase ngai ān lalāu 'the fellows' is fronted to precede icōh in CLP, ngai ān lalāu icōh rit 'the fellows, like-that is custom'. In C.17a arāq ncōh 'like that' is an Adverbial Phrase and muang he 'our region' is a Noun Phrase. In D.21b a-eq ado dūng 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'

CIP: NP                       CIC: VP                           C1F:NP,PP,Adj,Cl C1FF:PP,NP,S

a) vi Clauses:

C.19 mān chīt nāq  vi  mān nāq num  
of ten persons  exists  only one person . . .

D.22 do ân tāq . . .  phai vi  tiriaq carrōq . . .  
he who does . . . must have  buffalo cattle . . .

b) Intransitive Clauses:

D.20b mnau  canhin  
whoever it is  repents

c) Semi-transitive Clauses:

A.1 ngai ân lalāu  phai pōc  tōq ngai . . .  
they who fellows  must go  to they who . . .

A.3b (ngai)  phai pōc  tōq dùng cumōr  
(they)  must go  to girls' houses

B.9 ngai  pōc clōn . . .  alūng cumōr  
they  go court  with girls

C.16a  ipōc clōn . . .  
(you)  one-goes court . . .

C.16b  pōc clōn  
(you)  go court  
(you)  really only court

C.17 ngai  clōn, ât  alūng cumōr  
they  court, stay  with girls

B.7b ngai ân lalāu  par-ât  tōq xu cumōr  
the fellows  stay together  at houses girls'

B.11bī ngai  pōc  loi  
they  go  again
d) **Transitive Clauses:**

A. 3 ngai clõn cumõr mmo
    they court girl whichever

B. 8 ngai poc chum cha a-ũm apo
    they go beg eat corn

B. 10 ngai chõ táq proaŋ tampaŋ
    they return work work work

C. 17b ngai (buih dĩq) táq láyq phep
    they (not hardly) do unethically

C. 18 beao máŋ num táq án láyq phep
    few persons only do what unethical

D. 20b ngai láyq dãh táq
    they not dare do

D. 21aí táq láyq phep
    do unethically

D. 21aíi anhúŋ pëq acay
    bear carry a child

D. 22bii táq dyãm cang a-i . . .
    obey respect voice parents

E. 23a ngai clõn cumõr
    they court girls

E. 23b ngai buiŋ táq láyq o
    they not do not good.

e) **Transitive-Sentential Clauses:**

A. 4a-6a cumõr (lãyq) iŋh poc clõn aĩŋ . . .
    girl (not) want go court with . . .

B. 11b iŋh dyõn pĩneŋ ado cumõr
    want give gifts to girls

C. 16a ngai iŋh ipõc clõn . . .
    they want one-goes court
f) **Bitransitive Clause:**

A. 3b

| dyŏn | tian |
| give | money |

A. 4b-6b cumŏr

| (lāyq) dyeal | tian |
| (not) takes | money |

A. 6aì

| dyŏn | put lîmmo |
| give | however much |

B. 11b ngai

| pôc dŏng | khên tirēl |
| they | flutes |

B. 11b

| dŏng | tian cua |
| take | money belongings |

B. 11b

| inh | dyŏn pinēq ado cumŏr |
| want | give gifts to girls |

B.12 do ân bôn ao

| dŏng | ao |
| he who has cloth | cloth |

B.13 do ân bôn prāq

| dŏng | prāq |
| he who has silver | silver |

**g) Bitransitive-sentential Clauses:**

C.16b (ngai)

| (tông) | "Acāp itāq ..." |
| (they) | "Don't do ..." |

D. 20aìi ngai

| dyoq | itāq |
| they | one-does |

| takes | |
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 tōq 'arrive' precedes the main Clause, tōq dyē mno a-ām 'arrived already corn season'. B.11a is similar, tōq dyē ibu 'arrived already evening'. In B.9 a similar Clause follows the main Clause, tōq dyē ang 'arrived already dawn'. (These all correlate with F-TIME.) In B.11a a Transitive-sent. Clause follows the main Clauses, ḫám dyōn pinēq ado cumōr 'want to give gifts to girls'. In C.16b a Stative Clause follows the main Clause, abūih cēt a-i a-ām 'so as not dead parents'. In D.22b we find the following Bitransitive Clause following the main Clause, ian ngāh atūc ado yang prāh '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 ḫám 'want'. In A.4a-6a we find pōc clōn alūng lalāu ncōh 'go court with that fellow', and in C.16a we find ipōc clōn ipōc anhoi '(they) go courting (they) go courting'

c. Clauses and Sentences embedded in CLFF

Sentence C.16b contains an implicit Bitransitive-sentential quotative (ngai tōng 'they say'). The quotation is actually a three Sentence Paragraph. Notice that acāp itāq . . . '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 icôh 'like that' refers back to A.1, and in E.23 icôh 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 NFFF

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 dâmo 'whichever' is both NPC and CLF filler of cumôr 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 fellow', lalâu ncôh 'fellow who that', ân lâyq phep 'which unethical', and do ân bôn ao 'he who has cloth'. Notice that in ncôh 'which that' the RELATOR ân is prefixed to the demonstrative côh 'that'. For practical reasons ncôh is hereafter treated as a demonstrative, the same as
cød '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 âm làyq phep 'which is unethical' and âm làyq 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-tàq 'doings' which is merely a nominalization of the explicit verb tàq 'do', e.g., 'do (a doing) which is unethical'. (All examples of Relative Clauses are shown in the NPF 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 (tNPP3 tNPP2 tNPP1 tNPC tNPF tNPFF)

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', mäh 'one', and mäh chít 'ten'.
**DISPLAY 4:9 Noun Phrases of 'Pacoh Fellows and Girls'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NPP2</th>
<th>NPP1</th>
<th>NPC:n,pr n NPP:NP:dem.</th>
<th>NPFF:NP:Rel.Cl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>rit</td>
<td>ngai ân ...</td>
<td>tôq muang ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>custom</td>
<td>they who ...</td>
<td>at region ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Title)*</td>
<td></td>
<td>ngai</td>
<td>ân lalâu cumôr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>they</td>
<td>who fellows &amp; girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Title)</td>
<td></td>
<td>muang</td>
<td>he Pacôh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>region</td>
<td>we Pacoh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a,2b,7a</td>
<td></td>
<td>ngai</td>
<td>ân lalâu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>they</td>
<td>who fellows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1b)</td>
<td></td>
<td>ngai</td>
<td>ân cumôr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>they</td>
<td>who girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a,(9)</td>
<td></td>
<td>do</td>
<td>ân cumôr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>she, some</td>
<td>who girl(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a</td>
<td></td>
<td>cumôr</td>
<td>mmo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>girl</td>
<td>any, whichever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3(b)</td>
<td></td>
<td>dúng</td>
<td>cumôr ncôh ,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>house</td>
<td>that girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3 b),4a</td>
<td></td>
<td>cumôr</td>
<td>ncôh</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>that</td>
</tr>
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<td>(4a,5a,6a)</td>
<td></td>
<td>lalâu</td>
<td>ncôh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fellow</td>
<td>that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4b,6b</td>
<td></td>
<td>tian</td>
<td>do ân lalâu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>money</td>
<td>he who fellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4 b,6b)</td>
<td></td>
<td>do</td>
<td>ân lalâu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>he</td>
<td>who fellow</td>
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<tr>
<td>NPP2</td>
<td>NPP1</td>
<td>NPC:n,pron</td>
<td>NPF:NP,dem.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A. 5b</td>
<td>tian</td>
<td>do cóh</td>
<td>money</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>do cóh</td>
<td>he</td>
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<tr>
<td>B. 7a</td>
<td>mno</td>
<td>a-ūm</td>
<td>season</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a</td>
<td>mno</td>
<td></td>
<td>season</td>
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<tr>
<td>(7b)</td>
<td>xu</td>
<td>cumūr</td>
<td>hut</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>do</td>
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<td></td>
<td>he, those</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>do</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>he, those</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>amāh</td>
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<td>whatever</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>domo</td>
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<td>whichever</td>
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<td>C.16,18</td>
<td>ø</td>
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<td>(actions)</td>
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<td>17,(23)</td>
<td>muang</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>region</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>beaq</td>
<td>māq</td>
<td>(lalāu)</td>
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<td>(19)</td>
<td>māh chift</td>
<td>māq</td>
<td>(lalāu)</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>māh</td>
<td>māq</td>
<td>one person</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
D.20a

a-i a-am ngai
parents their

20a

ø
(actions)

àn làyq o àn prâh
which not good...

22a
do
he

àn tâq làyq phep
who does unethically

cang
voice

a-i a-am achung
parents instruct

E.23

rit muang he
custom our region

àn ngai clôn...
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 làyq 'not' precedes the verb filler of NPC, and in D.20 it also precedes dâh 'dare', filling VPP1. In E.23 WPP2 is filled by buih 'not'. In C.17b buih dîq '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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VPP3</th>
<th>VPP2</th>
<th>VPP1</th>
<th>VPC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>phi</td>
<td>póc</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>must</td>
<td>go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a,5a,6a</td>
<td></td>
<td>lâyq</td>
<td>ṭinh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>not</td>
<td>want, like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5b,6b</td>
<td></td>
<td>lâyq</td>
<td>dyeal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>not</td>
<td>take</td>
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<td>B. 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>póc chum cha</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>go beg eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9,16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>póc tần</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>go court</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>póc tariênh</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>go tease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>chỏ tãq</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>return work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>póc dông</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>go take (carry)</td>
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<tr>
<td>C.(16a)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ipóc anhói</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>one—go court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16b</td>
<td>lu</td>
<td>llăm</td>
<td>clŏn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>really</td>
<td>only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17b</td>
<td>(buih dfq)</td>
<td>(not hardly)</td>
<td>tãq</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. 20b</td>
<td></td>
<td>lâyq</td>
<td>tãq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>not</td>
<td>dare</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>do</td>
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<td>21a</td>
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<td></td>
<td>bear</td>
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<td>22b</td>
<td></td>
<td>phi</td>
<td>vi</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>have</td>
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<td>22c</td>
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<td>tãq</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>obey respect</td>
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<td>E. 23</td>
<td>buih</td>
<td></td>
<td>tãq</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>not</td>
<td>do</td>
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</table>
The central constituent of the Verb Phrase (VPC) is often filled by single verbs, such as pôc 'go' in A.1, or fînh 'want' in A.2a. It is also filled by coordinate verbs, including compounds, such as chum cha 'beg-eat-mooch' in B.8, or tâq dyâm 'obey-respect' in D.22bii. VPC is also often filled by complex combinations, such as an intransitive verb, pôc 'go' plus transitive verb, clôn 'court' in A.4a, 5a, and 6a, and chô tâq '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., ngâi pôc clôn pôc tarînh alûng cumôr '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 †AdjPPL †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 AdjPPL 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.21a, and 22a). Lâyq o 'not good' occurs twice (D.20a, E.23b), and buih chêt 'not dead' occurs once (C.16b). (In C.16b buih chêt 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. Tōq 'to, at' occurs in A.1, 3, and B.7a. In three cases a PP with tōq 'to' +NP fills CLF following the intransitive verb pōc 'go'. In one case, tōq he 'at us', is an introductory Phrase filling SIPH (B.7).

Alung 'with' occurs in A.4a–6a, B.9–11, and C.17. In A.4a–6a, B.9, and C.17, the PP with alung 'with' fills CLF following the intransitive verb clōn 'court, play'. In B.10 and 11 it fills CLFF or CLF following the transitive verbs tāq 'work' and par-chōq 'get together' respectively.

Ado 'to, for' occurs in B.11b filling CLFF following the bitransitive verb dyōn 'give', and in D.22b following the bitransitive verb atūc '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: arāq ncōh 'like that' (E.23), arāq māh chīt nāq 'like ten persons' (C.19), and li mmo 'equal whatever' (A.6ai). The conjunction ncōh 'like that' is considered to be a portmanteau Adverbial Phrase, i.e., l- 'adverbializer' +cōh '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 mno 'season'.

Non-time terms are: acay 'children', alic 'pig', ao 'cloth', a-ām 'father', a-i 'mother', a-ūm 'corn', cang 'speech', carrōq 'cattle', cruang 'valley', cuh 'belongings', cumōr 'girl', dūng 'house', khên 'reeded pipes', lalāu 'fellow', muang 'region', ntruai 'chicken', par-rōih 'fornication', pinaq 'gift', prāq 'silver', proaq 'work', tampāq 'work', tian 'money', tirēl 'flute', tiraq 'buffalo', xu 'hut', yang 'spirit', yāu 'friend'.

Pronouns are: amāh 'whatever', damo 'whichever-whomever', do 'third person singular', he 'first-person-plural', ngai 'third-person-plural', mnau 'whoever, anyone'.

The only proper noun is Pacōh 'Pacoh', found in the Title.

Noun affixation is found in the a- 'kinship' prefix found on a-i a-ām, and acay-acon, the i- 'time' prefix found on ibu and idau, and the N- 'nominalizer' infix found in tampāq, derived from the verb tāq '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-ām 'parents', alic ntruai 'pigs chickens', a-ūm-apo 'corn', cruang cuteac 'home-area', dūng xu 'community', ibu idau 'free time (quitting time to dawn)', khên tirēl 'reeded pipes-flutes', lalāu cumōr 'unmarried fellows-girls', par-rōih-tancayh 'fornication', proaq tampāq 'work', tian cuh 'valuables', tiraq carrōq 'large stock', yang-prāh 'ancestor spirits', yāu-bāy 'friends'.

4.3.6.2 Verbs (fillers of VPC)

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

Subjectless: Tổq 'arrived, when' is a verb when it occurs in a peripheral Clause or Sentence slot and is potentially followed by dyề 'already', as it described in 4.3.4.2a above. Vì 'exist' is also subjectless and never takes the prefix i-.

Intransitive verbs are: anhoi 'play, court', āt 'stay', chô 'return', clôn 'court, play', parchôq 'get together', and pôc 'go'. (clôn appears to be transitive A.3a and E.23.)

Transitive verbs are: chum 'beg', cha 'eat', clôn 'play, court', pêq 'carry', têq 'do, work', lênh 'tease'. (clôn appears to be transitive only when 'fellows' fills CLP, not when 'girls' fills CLP.)

Transitive-sentential verbs are: dyâm 'respect', inh 'want', and têq 'obey'.

Bitransitive verbs are: atûc 'sacrifice', dông 'carry', dyeal 'take, receive', and dyôn 'give'.

Bitransitive-sentential verbs are achung 'instruct', dyôq '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-āt 'stay together', and tar- 'reciprocal action' on tarlênh 'tease each other'. (The clitic ñênh with atûc (D.2lb) is a phonologically conditioned alternate of i- occurring with two-syllable verbs.)

Compounds are: achung dyôq 'instruct forbid', chum cha 'mooch', clôn anhoi 'court play', têq dyâm 'obey respect'. 
4.3.6.3 Adjectives (fillers of AdjPC)

There are seven adjectives in the Text, put 'big, many', phep 'ethical, moral', chet 'dead', o 'good', prah '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 tōq 'arrived, when' and CLF filled by mno a-nm '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: tōq 'at, to', alûng 'with', and ado 'to, for'. (The preposition tōq is closely related to the subjectless verb tōq '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 māq 'person classifier'. Both māh 'one' and māh chit 'ten' occur in Sentence C.19, preceding the classifier māq 'person'.
4.3.6.8 Classifiers (fillers of NPP1)

The classifier nāq 'person' occurs in Sentence C.18, following baŋq 'few', and twice in C.19, following the numerals above.

The -L- prefix which precedes nāq in C.18 frequently precedes classifiers preceded by the counters 'one', 'each', and 'few'. The precise function is not known as yet, but appears to re-inforce individuality.

4.3.6.9 Demonstratives (fillers of NPP)

Cōh '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 cōh '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 VPPl)

The auxiliaries of the Text are: phi 'must', dāh 'dare', and anhuq 'bear'.

4.3.7.1 Limiters (fillers of VPP2 and AdjPPl)

Lāyq 'not' occurs several times, acâp 'don't' occurs twice (C.16b), buih diq 'hardly at all' occurs once (C.17), and buih 'cautious not' occurs once (E.23).
4.3.7.2 Conjunctions

Cōh '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. Cōh ma 'but' occurs Sentence-medially between Clauses in C.16 and 17.

Anāq 'even if, although' and nām 'if' occur Sentence-initial on Subordinate Clauses. Anāq is always followed by Sentence-medial ma or cōh ma, and nām is followed by Sentence-medial cōh. Mōi 'and, furthermore' occurs between a Sentence and an additional Clause (D.21c and 22c).

Icōh 'thus, like that' is simultaneously Text-medial conjunction between Paragraph D and the Final Sentence, and adjective filler of C1P of the main Clause of that Sentence (E.23).

4.3.7.3 Relative pronoun án

Án '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. Kinship | human
    descent > direct
    maturity > undifferentiated

ngai acabong acay-acon 'they instruct their children'

2. human
    maturity > young
    number > undifferentiated

|| +acon | plural amplification

ât (verb) | remain in place
    time > relatively long, e.g., overnight

cu ât dăng Hêq 'I live in Hue.'

cang (noun) | voice
    language

ngai têq cang a-âm 'they obey voice of father'

clôn (s-tr., tr. verb) | activity
    purpose > enjoyable experience
    ethics > good

dô inh clôn banh 'he likes to play ball'

dô inh clôn cumôr 'he likes to court girls'

damo (pronoun) | third person
    indefinite

    damo may inh? 'Which one do you want?'

do (pronoun) | human > 3rd person
    singular > definite
    singular or plural > indefinite || DM Relative Clause

    do ăn vi ao côb dông ao 'he (those) who has (have) cloth bring cloth'
dyŏn (verb) | offer
give

do dyŏn ao ado cumôr '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

icôh rit he 'like—that our custom' (links custom to preceding Discourse)

lalaũ (noun) | rr human

male
unmarried
maturity > marriageable

do yôl lalaũ 'he is still an unmarried fellow'

parrôih (noun) | rr sexual intercourse

unmarried participants
unethical

acâp tâq parrôih 'don't commit fornication'

|| +tancayh | F amplification

ngai (pronoun) | rr human > third-person

plural
generic

ngai ân lalaũ pôc tâq ngai ân cumôr 'the fellows go to the girls'

pêq (tr. verb) | rr carry child on back

||rr AGENT=pregnant woman | rr carry child in womb

amoq pêq acay dyo 'she is pregnant already'
tòq (verb) |rr completed motion
towards the referents
príq tóp tòq achēq 'suddenly arrived—birds'
tòq (prep.) |rr direction toward
time until
tòq muang he vi ažēh 'at our region there are horses'
vi (verb) |rr existence
vi māh nāq 'there is one person'
||F-AGENT |rr possession
do vi prâq 'he has silver'

4.4 Special Phonotactics

There is very little of Phonotactic significance observed in this Ut-
terance. Most of the phonetic parallelism, such as the use of anāq or nām at
the beginning and cóh or cóh ma in the middle of most Sentences, is explained
syntactically. On the word level, compounds such as lâluu cumôr 'fellows and
girls' and a-i a-âm '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 méi láh 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 ma a-um mo an puaq 'corn season sunny season'
    ngai an lalau ibu idau 'they who fellows evening—night'
B.8 chum cha a-um-apo 'beg eat corn-corn'
B.9 poc clon poc tarlenh 'go courting go teasing'
B.10 cho tao proaq tampaq 'return—work work—work'
C.16a ipoc clon ipoc anhau 'them to go courting them to go playing'
C.17 ngai clon ngai at 'they court they stay'
D.20 an layq o an prah 'which not good which bad'
D.21c dung xu cruang cuteac 'houses—huts valleys—lands'
D.22b tiriaq carrq alic ntrual '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 other than those required for lexical—syntactic reasons are: yau—bay, khên tirêl, 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 built, 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-Pacon audience—those 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.20a11 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 соh '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 anāq 'even if' and may have the medial conjunction ma 'but' or cōh 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 anāq 'even if'. In other words, the conjunction anāq 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, cōh 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 cōh ma literally 'so but' rather than cōh '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, 20a(ii)

CONCLUSION /DM icōh 'therefore' +Sentence (E.23)

/DM Subparagraph (C.17-19)

/DM cōh '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 anāq 'even if' +Clause +cōh ma 'but' +Clause

/DM SIFH +ma 'but' +Clause +cōh ma 'but' +Clause || filling PREMISES (C.16)

/DM Clause +ma 'but' +Clause (E.23b)

CONCESSION /DM anāq +Clause, e.g., 'even if some girls don't like it' (A.2a, also see A.6ai, C.17a)

/DM SIFH +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, 6a1i-b, E.23b)

/DM cōh 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 nām 'if' +Clause (A.4a,5a,6aii, B.15a,2lai)

CONSEQUENCE /DM cōh 'then, so' +Clause (A.4b,5b,6b, B.15b)

/DM cōh ma 'so but' +Clause || adversative CONSEQUENCE embedded in a larger implication, i.e., 'but bear pregnancy' (D.2laii)

/DM mōi '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.iii-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)

GENERAL /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 mōi '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 nām '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 FIPH 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 FIPH of both Paragraphs of Section II, the pronoun nga1 'they' always refers to 'the fellows' except when it occurs in apposition to a-i a-äm '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., anāq 'if' ... cōh '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., anāq '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., SIEPH +conj. +Clause || Discourse-initial THESIS (A.1), || Subdivision Paraphrase (Points 12–15, 18–19)

/DM conjunctive Sentence, i.e., SIEPH +conj. +Clause (a) +conj. +Clause || PREMISE or THESIS of a major Scheme cluster (Points 7, 16, and 20)


/DM simple Sentence without SIEPH || 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 cōh and ma, and correlations with prepositions. In a Proposition such as do clōn cūmōr 'he courts a girl', the function PATIENT correlates with the position CLF. However, in the Proposition do clōn alāng cūmōr '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-TOPI 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 CLF:noun, prn, EXPERIENCE /DM CLC:tr-sent. verb,
SOURCE || concept /DM CLF:noun, prn (B.15a)
(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., pōc '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., tāq 'do, work', RANGE /DM CLF:noun, e.g.,
proaq-tampaq 'work,doings', PATIENT /DM CLF:noun, e.g., a-ûm 'corn'

5) Three-participant Transfer Events /DM Bitransitive Clause

ACT /DM CLC:bitr. verb, e.g., dyôn 'give', PATIENT /DM CLF:noun or pronoun, e.g., tian 'money', GOAL /DM CLF:PP ado cumôr '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 CLIFF.

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 CLF:anything from a sound to a Text

(SOURCE–SPEAKER is portmanteau with AGENT)

Additional functions which may occur with Activity Events:

ACCOMPANIER /DM CLF:PP, e.g., allûng yâu 'with friends' (B.11)

PURPOSE /DM Sentence-infinitizing Clause, e.g., ình . . . 'in order to . . .'

(B.11b, C.16b, D.22b)

MANNER /DM CLF:AdjP, e.g., lâyq o 'unethically'

/DM coordinate VP, e.g., lu llâm clôn 'really only court' (C.16b)

7) Attribution Proposition /DM Stative Clause (A.2b, C.17a, E.23)

ATTRIBUTE /DM CLP:Adj., AdvP, e.g., icôh 'like-that'

ITEM /DM CLF:n,prn, e.g., rit 'custom'.

8) Existence Proposition /DM vi Clause with vi or vaïh 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'

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

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, E.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 ic6h '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 in-

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 Para-
graphs 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 ицы 'therefore'.

4.7.2 Paragraph structure correlations

The division of the Paragraphs into Subparagraphs and Sentences cor-
relates with the Expository Schemes of the Function mode. Paragraph A
divides first into two Subparagraphs joined by the conjunction ма '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 THERESIS 3-1:Contrast Scheme
A.1-3 |F THERESIS 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
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 | Exemplification THESIS 7-9: Point 18

EXAMPLE 7-10: Point 19

E.23 | 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 | Contra- expectation Schemes: Points 2, 17
A.3, 4, 5 | Implications 7-2, 5-3, and 6-5: Points 3, 4, 5
B.7, 11 | 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., pác dyôn 'go give' (cf. A.3b, B.11b). Compounding Sentence correlates with TEMPORAL OVERLAP, e.g., dông khên tirël dông tian cuă 'take flutes take valuables' (B.11b). Juxtaposed Sentences correlate with LOGICAL OVERLAP e.g., pác clôn lu llxám clôn '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., ینه یونو ... '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:

- \( \text{vi Clause} \ || \ \text{DM +CLP} \ || \text{F Possession} \)
- \( \text{CLP} \ || \text{F POSS}, \text{CLC:vi} \ || \text{F POSS}, \text{CLF} \ || \text{F ITEM}, \text{e.g.}, \text{do vi tiriaq 'he has buffalo'} \)
- \( \text{F Existence} \ || \text{non-nuclear CLP} \)
- \( \text{CLC:vi, vaih} \ || \text{F (empty)}, \text{CLF} \ || \text{F EXISTENT}, \text{e.g.}, \text{vi māh nāq 'there is one'} \)
  - Intransitive Clause || F One-participant Event
- \( \text{CLP} \ || \text{F AGENT}, \text{CLC} \ || \text{F ACTIVITY}, \text{e.g.}, \text{nnau canhin 'whoever it is repents'} \)
  - Semi-transitive Clause || F one-participant travel Events
- \( \text{CLP} \ || \text{F AGENT}, \text{CLC} \ || \text{F ACT}, \text{CLF} \ || \text{F GOAL}, \text{e.g.}, \text{do pōc tāq dūng 'he went home'} \)
  - Transitive Clauses || F two-participant Events
- \( \text{CLP} \ || \text{F AGENT}, \text{CLC} \ || \text{F ACT}, \text{CLF} \ || \text{F PATIENT}, \text{RANGE, MANNER}, \text{e.g.}, \text{do tāq tampāq 'he does deeds'}, \text{chā a-ūm 'eats corn'}, \text{tāq làyq phep 'acts unethically'} \)
  - Bitransitive Clause || F three-participant Transfer Event
- \( \text{CLP} \ || \text{F AGENT (SOURCE or GOAL), CLC} \ || \text{F TRANSFER ACTIVITY, CLF} \ || \text{F PATIENT, CLFF} \)
  - F GOAL or SOURCE, \text{e.g.}, \text{do dūng pinēq ado cumōr 'he takes gift to girl'}, \text{cumōr dyeal pinēq te do 'she takes gift from him'}
  - Transitive-sentential Clause || F Experience Event
- \( \text{CLF} \ || \text{F AGENT (EXPR), CLC} \ || \text{F EXPERIENCE, CLF} \ || \text{F SOURCE}, \text{e.g.}, \text{ngai ینه he cīn 'they want us to court'} \)
  - Bitransitive-sentential Clause || F Speech Event
CLP |F SPEAKER, SOURCE, CLC |F SPEECH ACT, CLF |F GOAL, CLFF |F RANGE, ngai tāng, acāp itāq láyq phep 'they said, "don't do unethically."'

Stative Clause |F Attribution

CLP |F ATTRIBUTE, reference to ATTRIBUTE, CLF |F ITEM, e.g., icōh rīt 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 ḳinh) dyōn pīnāq '(they want) to give gifts' (cf. B.11b, C.16a)

|F RANGE of Speech Act:Prohibition Event, e.g., "acāp itāq láyq phep"

'"don't do unethically"' (C.16b)

Relative Clause |F IDENTIFICATION

CLC:ān |F RELATOR, CLF |F IDENTITY, e.g., (ngai) ān lālāu '(they) who follows', (demo) cumōr ḳinh 'whichever) girl wants'

cF SPECIFICATION ||IM N-+demonstrative, e.g., (cumōr) ncōh '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., lalāu 'fellow'

NPP1 |F CLASSIFIER (INDIVIDUALIZER), e.g., ... nāq (lalāu) 'person (fellow)'

NPP2 |F QUANTIFIER, e.g., māh (nāq lalāu) '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) Pacōh '(we) Pacoh'
    |F DIRECTION ||DM CLF filled by a dem., e.g., (do) cōh '(he) there'

NPPF |F IDENTIFIER || filled by a Relative Clause, e.g., (ngai) an lalāu
    '(they) who are fellows'
    |F SPECIFIER ||DM filled by ₵- +dem., e.g., (lalāu) ncōh '(fellow) there'

|F TEMPORAL LOCATION || time noun in NP or PP, e.g., te ino 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 lām cūn 'really only court'

VPP2 |F NEGATION || lāyq, buih 'not'
    |F DELIMITATION || lām 'only'

VPP1 |F OBLIGATION || phai 'must'
    |F DARING || dāh 'dare'
    |F MISFORTUNE || anhuq 'bear, suffer'

VPC |F one-participant ACTIVITY ||DM intr. verb, e.g., canhīn 'repent'
    |F one-participant TRAVEL ACTIVITY ||DM semi-tr. verb, e.g., pōc 'go'
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, lāyq, biu '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.

tǒq |F SPATIAL LOCATION >distant, e.g., tǒq muang he 'at our region'

|F SPATIAL DIRECTION || CLF of a Semi-tr. Clause, e.g., (pōc) tǒq dung cumōr '(go) to her house'

alúng |F ACCOMPANIER || CLF of Intr. or Semi-tr. Clause, (pōc) alúng yāu 'go with friend'

|F CO-AGENT || CLF of a Tr. Clause, e.g., Do tǒq alúng apong 'he fights with a bear'
ado. | F GOAL, e.g., (dyōn) ado cumūr '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., arāq ncōh '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 (F|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)
comm. was the village chief
Text was solicited
Text was oral
audience included other villagers
rr was war and social turmoil
intent was to compare generations and question the value of western education

'Pacoh Fellows and Girls' (D2)
comm. was a young villager
Text was unsolicited
Text was written
potentially included other outsiders
rr was Pacoh courtship and a VN charge of immorality
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 threshold (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., panguq ino utra 'generation which olden long ago'. Both make use of compounds for concept expansion, e.g., a-i a-Âám '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 Dl also exhibits trinary structuring not found in D2. Dl 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 셀 ma 'but', and both have Subparagraphs as well as Sentences as major Paragraph constituents. However, in Dl 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 Dl. All Sentences of D2 use 셀 or ma as topicalizers following SILPH, except Sentence D.20, whereas only three Sentences of Dl do so. In Dl 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 Dl 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 cōh 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 cōh ma 'but' (C.16), or anāq 'even if' +Clause +ma +Clause (A.2), or anāq +Clause +cōh 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, cōh 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 icôh '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 affect 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 an Maín 'An Industrious Person' (Watson 1977), and the second
(D4) is Fôc Papên '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 princi-
pal 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 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.

5.2.2.3 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 cóh '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 tōq dyê . . . 'arrived already . . .'. D3 opens with āt callûng vēl 'staying in the village'; and D4 has āt đâng cô h lu nhûm 'having stayed there very long', dyê tī nônh 'already there', etc.

5.2.3.5 Phrase structure

The Prepositional Phrase tū nônh bāq '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 cōh bāq 'then finally' is found only in Narrative Sentences for chronological sequencing. Also, I find no examples of the verb prefix i- or the clitic ngāh '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 cóh and cóh bàq. 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 cóh 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 cóh or cóh bàq '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 cōh 'then' (sometimes finalized with cōh ḫaq '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. ngāq '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 NPIL when NPP2 and NPIL 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 NPIL 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.

"Have'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 DM 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 SIFH 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 Pocah 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  căh ma or ma 'but' just as Contrast Schemes do. The subordinating conjunction  anāq '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 anāq 'even if' is missing. The converse is also true. Cubuvt 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 ān lalāu icōh 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 icōh '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 NFFF 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 DI 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 SLPH 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., cōh 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 'Pacock 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 **c0h** following **TOPIC/SIPH** when its filler is identical with the filler of a Proposition constituent
- deletion of the filler of a **CLP/AGENT** when it is identical to a thematic concept filling **TOPIC/SIPH**
- modification of the filler of **CLP** 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 **CLF** slot out back, but when **AGENT** fills the **SIPH** slot up front, he may also have an anaphoric reference filling **CLP**, 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
DO AN MMÎN
HE WHO IS INDUSTRIOUS

I. (1) At callang vêl cu vi hôm mâu nàq do ân mmîn.
Living in village I did see a person he who industrious.

(2) Nhî do Tum. (3a) Ngêq ngai ân ti vêl mêm nong nong poc tôq
Name his Tum. All them who from village this always went to
piday, (3b) côn phai cray mâu ntàq ân vi cong. (4) Cong ncôh
field, so must run-into a place which had barrier. Barrier that
tâcang carna.
bloked road.

II. (1) Côh damo damo ma môt pleam na arûm tôc cong ncôh.
So everyone just entered squeezed way under barrier that.

(2a) Ngêq hôm lu diaiq (2b) ma lâyq inh treal vit, (2c) nthe môt.
All saw very difficult but not want chop dispose, rather enter.

III. (1) Côh ma vi anhî Tum, lu o lom, chom amôïh
But there-was uncle Tum, very good heart, knew pity
ngai cannoîh, môî do la ticuai mmîn. (2a) Côh tôq ingay ncôh pôc
them others, and he was person industrious. So arrived day that went
tôq piday tuî, (2b) hôm cong ncôh damo damo ma môt. (3) Côh do
to field too, saw barrier that everyone just entered. So he
rngîh inêh, (3'a) "Chôq day dyëal achat, dyëal acôq, (3'b) côh
thought like-this, "Well I'll get axe, get bushknife, then
bâq treal vit, treal tôq bar tarcăî." finally chop dispose, shop make two pieces."

IV. Côh carna ncôh buîh mâung diaiq.
So road that no longer difficult.
V. (1a) Cô h ngếq ngai te vếł mỏi ngai ân póc na carna ncôh
So all them from village and them who went by road that
inô-ntra hóm ntếq ncôh lu diaiq côh ma ncôh khoiq pít, (1b) côh
past saw place that very difficult but now already disposed, so
chom vi do ân treal vît. (2) Cô h damo damo ma lu
knew there-was he who chopped disposed. So everyone just really
ayô, tônq, (2'a) "Tıcuaî ân tấq miëh dyôn o toi tumult, (2'b) dyôn
praised, said, "Person who did this give so long live, give
o rûn adêh chênh acay." (3) Vếł dông ngai ayô côn nh ncôh,
so fill pots bear children." Villages houses they praised man that,
(3'a) chom amôih ngai môi lu o lôm, (3'b) ngếq mäh vếł miëh lâyq
knows-how to pity them and very good heart, all one village this not
bôn mau ân arâq do côh.
have anyone who like him.

VI. (1a) Te lâm-lôi miëh damo damo ma môt ma côp,
From past this everyone just entered just grabbed,
(1b) ntêh chiêu diaiq túnh, (1c) lâyq bôn vi lôm arâq lôm do côh.
rather bear difficulty, not exists liver like liver his.
(2) Inêh vi parngîh do te lôm, (2'a) "Lâh ngếq damo damo ma môt
Thus were thoughts his from liver, "If all everyone just enters
(2'b) côh cong miëh lâyq hôi pít. (2'a) Cô h ma nâm itreal vît
so barrier this not able dispose. But if one-chops disposes
(2'b) côh ian ipôc, (2''c) môi ngai ma vi ayô tô." (3) Dông
so easy to-go, and they just will praise me." Houses
vêl ngai hóm côn nh ncôh lu mmîn, (4a) cô h damo damo ma lâng
villages they saw man that very industrious, so everyone just loved
dyôm, (4b) buih a-Inh buih achéc. (5) Damo damo ma barbôiq tônq,
respected, not hated not disrespected. Everyone just often said,
"Tammông ăn alang cang ăn abel."
"Language which melodious speech which musical."

VII. (1a) Lính damo ma tài tâxít tài lâyq phep (1b) côh
If anyone just acts lazy acts not proper so

nnau nnau ma acâm, tông, (1') "Acâp itâq arâq do côh."—"Xáng mmoaq everyone just warns, says, "Don't act like him." —"Sounds vulgar
xăng tarnaò." (2) Côh do lâyq Ỉnh cang ăn arâq ncôh.
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 PAPÈNH
GOING HUNTING

(1) Nhàng achai cu parchq póc papènh. (2) Nuo dôm culay
We brother I got-together go hunting. Season ripe fruit
ahêng, chir achen cha, pôr, treat, a-˚t abêh, ato, tile vòc-ivôc.
papaya, many birds eat, por, treat, squirrel, ato, tile very many.
(3) Dyê ti nôño nhang tàq tanu dâng tôm ahêng nôh. (4) Dyê nhang
Already at there we built blind at trunk papaya there. Already we
˚at ti nôh carvo mâh bôr-bôc, prîq tàp tàq achen pôr, treat,
Stay at there about one pipeful, many suddenly arrived birds por, treat,
a-˚t abêh, ato, tile. (5) Pênh ma lu lâyq cray. (6) Tarâh ma khoiq
squirrels, ato, tile. Shot but very inaccurate. Arrows but al-
inî ngêq; (7) yôl nông pe poan ntrayh. (8) Tu nôh bâq bôn
most gone; remained only three four lengths. From then finally got
pênh. (9) Ixai cu bôn pênh mâh llâm abêh mòi llâm tile. (10) Cu num
shot. Brother mine got shot one squirrel and one tile. I only
llâm ato.
one ato.

(11) ˚at dâng côh lu nôm. (12) Inh idau dyê, nhàng achai cu
Stayed at there very long. Almost night already, we brother I
parchq chô; tông chô. (13) Tirâp tilêt, a-ôh, tumiang, lu
got-together return; said return. Prepared basket, quiver, bow, really
chô. (14) Chô carlôm carna.
returned. Returned along trail.

(15) Dyê idau tarngâp-ngâp, côh cu bôm llâm achen treat. (1b) Cu
Already evening dusk, then I saw a bird treat. I
said to brother, "Let me shoot okay, brother." Brother said, "Okay."
(18) Còh cu phêng dyê cray, (19) lêt nôh têq tôm. (20) Còh cu poc
So I shot right on, off (it) fell to trunk. Then I went
phêng. (21) chô te nôh têq dông tarrgâp lu dyê. (22) Achai
took. Returned from there to house dark very already. Brother
chô môt abôh achai, (23) cu chô môt abôh cu.
returned entered kitchen his, I returned entered kitchen mine.
(24) Cu, chûn tilêt, (25) Cu yoa a-i anha a-âm ruah achêq môt ato
I took-off basket, I told mom and dad take bird and ato
tilêt.
from basket.

(26) A-i anha a-âm chicha dyê, còh a-i cato tanna cu tôq
Mom and dad had-eaten already, so mom pointed food mine to
dyêch ncôh. (27) A-i anha a-âm tôq ato môt treat, tông, "Doq pano
shelf there. Mom and dad fixed ato and treat, said, "Leave tomorrow
ich a au acay?" (29) Cu tông, "Imo inha a-âm înh têq." (30) Còh
to eat okay son?" I said, "However you dad want to do." Then
a-âm plôh cu, "Nôo ixaî nôh li mëno' bôn phêng?" (31) Cu tông, "Li
dad asked me, "Of brother your how many got shot?" I said, "Even
ncu, ma ndo dyêq put; ndo abôh môt tilê." (32) A-âm tông, "In
mine, but his a-bit bigger; his squirrel and tile." Father said, "Same
tui."
too.

(33) A-i a-âm tôq dyê, doq ado pano. (34) Ibu ncôh lâyq
Mom dad fixed already, left for tomorrow. Evening that not
yôh cha. (35) Dyê ncôh ariac bôc-beoq, bigotry tôp.
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 pūr 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 tilē 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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