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Manobo Storytelling as Approximation to Drama

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ABSTRACT

This paper deals with a description of the Manobo all-night storytelling complex, the Manobo raconteur's generic folk aim of 'taking his listeners to the very place where his story is taking place' and then 'keeping them focused on his story's development as it unfolds.' Finally, the paper deals with a description of the wealth of linguistic devices employed by the Manobo raconteur for enabling him to accomplish his goal, and for involving his audience as Manobo society's folk jurors in the preservation of their culture.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Until the past decade the Ilianen Manobo,[1] one of the indigenous-religion groups of the Philippines, lived in relative isolation, maintaining their folk practices and traditions handed down to them by their ancestors over the centuries. Their relative isolation and the fact that until recently only a small percentage of their society was literate have enabled them to maintain a very rich oral literature.

As a linguistic researcher studying their language, I often heard people extol the abilities of their storytellers. The ones whom people traveled farthest to hear were those who produced such moving performances that they assured me, *misan engkey se egkegkehiyen dan ini ne egkekita rey* "whatever (story) they are telling, we can really see it taking place!" The Manobo were also convinced that these stories were part of their cultural heritage which had been carefully preserved *rut te kelukesan te enenayan ne melimbag rut te sikami ne Menuvù* 'from our very first ancestors created, down to all of us Manobos today'. I was, therefore, stimulated to record as many of these performances as possible for my own study, as well as preserving them for Manobo posterity.

My initial recording session proved to be an unforgettable experience! As the duped villain in the story sat patiently waiting for a coveted haircut, only to receive a red-hot sizzling axe inserted into the pouch in his back instead, he jumps up screaming and heads for the river as flames completely envelop his body. "Now that's real!" a middle-aged woman nearby me chimed in while grasping me hard around my shoulders. In front of us a younger woman snatched at the knot of hair on top of her head, oohing a bit at the price the villain had finally had to pay for his deception. And over near the wall an old grandfather leaned out of the shadows and slapped the corner post of the house chuckling, "I tell you, it's just as if I am seeing it happen right here!" But soon the story was over and the crowd began making its way down the tall houseladder to the ground below; while the elderly woman raconteur still sat composed, enveloped in her world of thought.

"I did not go to school," she had told me earlier, "but I have spent a lifetime learning how to tell stories! I have learned when they are *kenà meited* 'not well put together', but it has taken me longer to learn how to take my audience to the very place where my story is taking place!"

"One reason for working so hard," she went on, "is so that everyone will learn to practice the good Manobo customs that were given to us Manobos when time first began and have been passed on to each new generation ever since." That she had developed the ability to unfold her drama before their very eyes was now evident! But what were the priceless tools of her language that had taken her a lifetime to forge?

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[1]The Ilianen Manobo live in North Cotabato on the island of Mindanao and refer to themselves as Illianen or Menuvù. Their language is Austronesian and belongs to the Manobo subfamily of Philippine languages (see Elkins 1974). The present data were collected on field trips from 1965 to 1980 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The writer would like to thank Dr. Robert Longacre for his consultant assistance in writing this paper.

Goody and Watt, in dealing with the ways in which the cultural heritage is transmitted in non-literate societies, say:

> " … the most significant elements of any human culture are undoubtedly channeled through words, and reside in the particular range of meanings and attitudes which members of any society attach to their verbal symbols. These elements include not only what we habitually think of as customary behaviour but also such items as ideas of space and time, generalized goals and aspirations, in short the *Weltanschauung* of every social group. In Durkheim's words, these categories of the understanding are 'priceless instruments of thought which the human groups have laboriously forged through the centuries and where they have accumulated the best of their intellectual capital'. The relative continuity of these categories of understanding from one generation to another is primarily ensured by language, which is the most direct and comprehensive expression of the social experience of the group."[2]

The consideration of certain types of Manobo oral literature impressed upon me the fact that 'traditionalism' was considered the bulwark of the stability of society. For example, the citing of a certain character's behavior in formal storytelling, when settling a Manobo custom-law case, proved as effective as the force of law in Western societies, especially when those characters were drawn from stories which are regularly told to establish precedents.

1.1 Manobo Genre Classification

Ilianen Manobo society, as is true of many oral tradition cultures, distinguishes between a news item, *tudtul,* an oral historical account*, guhud,* and formal storytelling (which often includes folktales), *teteremà*. But the distinction is not so insistent[3] as that drawn for 'folktale stories as fiction' in the Western world; for even Manobo 'formal storytelling' involving a world of fantasy lays claim to truth. And 'formal storytelling' involving their culture heroes is given as ready credence as a news report or an account of oral history.[4] Not to do so brings a defiant response of, "He's mocking the very customs of Manobos!" Even a narrator's repeated innovations of a story about a Manobo culture hero are simply interpreted as new information that has been communicated to the narrator by his 'familiar spirit', thereby indicating that the familiar spirit was

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[2] Jack Goody and Ian Watt, The consequences of literacy in *Literacy in traditional societies,* p. 28.

[3] Goody and Watt describe this difference in genre distinction as follows: "As long as the legendary and doctrinal aspects of the cultural tradition are mediated orally, they are kept in relative harmony with each other and with the present needs of society in two ways: through the unconscious operations of memory, and through the adjustment of the reciter's terms and attitudes to those of the audience before him. There is evidence, for example, that such adaptations and omissions occurred in the oral transmission of the Greek cultural tradition. But once the poems of Homer and Hesiod, which contained much of the earlier history, religion and cosmology of the Greeks, had been written down, succeeding generations were faced with old distinctions in sharply aggravated form: how far was the information about their gods and heroes literally true? How could its patent inconsistencies be explained? And how could the beliefs and attitudes implied be brought into line with those of the present?" (See Goody and Watt, p. 44.)

[4] Robt. McAmis, in discussing the place of folktales in the culture of the Muslim Maranao (who are neighbors of the Manobo), refers to an unnamed Maranao sociologist's conclusions that "The Maranaos consider these stories to be historical accounts of their ancestors." (See Robt. McAmis, *An Introduction to the Folk Tales of the Maranao Muslims of Mindanao,* p. 5.)

also a friend of the now-deceased culture hero. Thus, for Manobo society in general, beyond their describing *teteremà* 'formal storytelling' as characterized by what they term 'decorative language' *igundey ne lalag,* the distinction between it and other genres is simply one of filling a different role in society. In Manobo oral literature, for example, the worldwide famous swanmaiden motif of Aarne and Thompson's Tale Type 313 "The Girl as Helper in the Hero's Flight," is narrated in the *guhud* 'oral history' format when it is providing background concerning Beletamey, one of 'the first people', *ne nengeuna ne etew,* the early ancestors of Manobo.[5] When related in this manner, the Manobo oral historian and oral tradition (passed down from generation to generation) vouch for its veracity. But it is likewise narrated as a *teteremà* 'formal storytelling', with Type 400 "The Man on a Quest for his Lost Wife" (involving the well-known son-in-law tasks) appended to it, when it is being narrated as drama following the settling of a Manobo custom-law case, *kukuman.* In this function it serves as an unparalleled vehicle for establishing precedence for the custom-law decision pronounced earlier, as well as effectively transmitting their highly valued Manobo cultural mores and customs. For when it is employed in establishing precedence in the settlement of Manobo custom-law cases, its wealth of rhetorical devices functions effectively in the argumentation. To the younger generation, however, who have begun to avail themselves of formal education, a distinction is now being drawn.[6]

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[5] In Japanese oral tradition forty-six versions of this tale have been recorded, incorporating both the swanmaiden motif as well as the son-in-law tasks. The swanmaiden motif dates back to the eighth-century *Fudoki,* a collection of local records compiled by Imperial Order in A.D. 712, and is incorporated in a strikingly beautiful Noh drama, *Hagoromo* ('Feather Robe'). The son-in-law tasks are also found in the eighth-century historical and mythological record, the *Kojiki* (Seki 1963:86–88), where it is an episode in the story of Okuninushi, one of the mythical founders of the Japanese nation (Seki 1963:63)

In literary tradition, the swanmaiden motif appears in *The Thousand and One Nights* and forms one of the poems of the *Old NorseEdda.*

[6]A handful of professionals now represent an elite group within Manobo society, whose culture differs in part from that of the mass of the people. Many of this 'intellectual class' now distinguish much of Manobo oral narrative to be 'folktale' and therefore 'fiction'. They have also migrated to urban centers for further academic opportunity where they have sought out identities of professional interest that have reshaped their cultural views until they have often become quite alienated from their rural folk cousins. This is a development of significant interest to the folklorist.

R.M. Dorson, in his introduction to *African folklore,* cites two main conditions for the concept of folklore: (1) the appearance of an intellectual class with a culture partly different from that of the people, and (2) the emergence of a national identity. "In the tribal culture," Dorson points out, "all the members share the values, participate in the rituals, and belong fully to the culture, even if some hold privileged positions as chiefs and diviners. [While] in the national culture a schism divides the society. The intellectuals in the professions, on the university faculties, and in the government seem sometimes to have more in common with intellectuals in other countries than with their tribal countrymen." (See R.M. Dorson, *African folklore,* p. 4.)

Yale historian Edgar Wickberg describes this phenomenon as it developed during the urbanization of Manila under the Spanish during the half-century from 1850 to 1898. He distinguishes two levels of culture in the Philippines at that time: the urban form of hispanization, with Manila at its center; which he labels "filipinized Hispanic culture," and the less polished rural folk culture which he labels "hispanized Philippine culture." Of the former (the urban form of hispanization) he elaborates further:

1.2 The Manobo All-Night Storytelling Complex

I describe here a typical setting in which a Manobo story is told, that is, in the sense of locale, or time and place, and situation, which includes the appropriate behavior patterns. It is a Manobo home with relatives gathered from a distance for the two-day New Year celebration.[7]

An older man (or woman) who desires to tell a story at night to the people gathered for such an occasion keeps rising up from his position on the floor, slightly adjusting his position again and again until he is observed by one of the men[8] If he is known to be competent in his art, he is promptly invited to speak. Anyone present may do this with *Na kalu ke edtetarem si Anggam ne ebpemineg ki en,* 'Ah, perhaps Uncle[9] will tell a story now so we'll all listen'. And while it is unheard of in Manobo culture for an audience to suggest to him a specific story, since every performance is tailored to the occasion, it is common for them to suggest that Uncle tell them a new story about one of their culture heroes. The suggestion is not carried further than that.

If the would-be storyteller is not deemed competent, his attempts to be recognized are ignored.[10] But, having been acknowledged and invited to tell his story, the storyteller either asks his host to extinguish the single household candle, or seats himself with his back toward his audience, pulling up over his head his tubular sleeping garment. This is considered modest and appropriate conduct,

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"But Spaniards were not the only professionals in Manila. As the urbanization of Manila proceeded, and as more and more mestizos and indios entered law, medicine, and pharmacy, a small but highly important professional group, whose membership transcended ethnic lines, developed in Manila. For such people, an identity of professional interest and attitude was more important than cultural practices. Another important leavening influence was provided by young mestizo and indio intellectuals returning from study in Spain…. They formed a small but important cosmopolitan group—the so called illustrado (enlightened) class which transcended ethnic lines." The result, Wickberg concludes, was "a larger gulf between elite and the lower classes—especially in rural areas—than had hitherto existed." (See Edgar Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine life,* 132–134.)

[7]Although a chief travels from one area to another to celebrate the New Year and anoint all his subjects, the older generation of each area will attend at least one celebration other than their own, travelling great distances to do so.

[8]The gathering may be comprised of several well-known raconteurs who have been invited by the chief, as well as other younger narrators anxious to demonstrate their abilities. It is to such gatherings as these that the beginning narrator comes to learn his art.

[9]*Anggam* 'Uncle' is used here as a term of respect to all males older than oneself.

[10]This is especially true in the case of young people still learning the art, for they are expected to practice on their peers. They seek opportunities to do this by grouping themselves separately on days when several families are husking corn together inside the house, or to stay overnight with relatives where the young men stay awake late, voluntarily entertaining one another with storytelling.

Benedict briefly describes the storytelling situation of a young Bagobo (a language group related to Ilianen Manobo) practicing on her peers. "As twilight comes and young Bagobo women are forced to leave work at their looms," Benedict says, "she sits on the floor, or lies on her back with hands clasped behind her head, and pours out her story in an unbroken flow to the eager young men and girls who gather to listen. I have seen a girl of thirteen the sole auditor while a boy but little older than she rolled off [a story] that seemed interminable. . . . The children did not glance at each other but the face of each was all alight with joy at the tale." (See Laura Watson Benedict, Bagobo myths, *Journal of American Folklore*. 26 [1913]:15.)

while a face-to-face position is thought to be both immodest and distracting. He would be sure to forget the story if he faced the audience, he says. But, of deeper significance, perhaps, is the environment of receptivity he is thereby creating for all of his listeners, wherein darkness is necessary in order to give wider scope to their imaginations so that each one can see the story-participants performing before them as he envisions them.[11] Whatever the Manobo narrator's story, he begins with the narrative discourse introducer *Hane* 'Take note', then pauses slightly to clear his throat before plunging into his story: "And there we are with the woman who lives all alone." The throat-clearing pause helps create an expectant air by assuring a Manobo audience that their narrator is "stretching his mind" to give them the best performance possible; they can lean back and enjoy themselves, for a competent raconteur is in control!

This early in the story the audience is expected to begin assuring him that they are listening by making *undug te etew* 'audience responses'. Audiences scarcely ever fail to participate in the interaction I describe here. But they do employ the silent treatment on occasion to demonstrate their opinion of a storyteller whose recent conduct has been socially unacceptable. In this case, the performance is brought to a close as a means of social pressure upon the storyteller and not a measure of his storytelling ability.

They thus begin by encouraging the narrator following the very first sentence of his story's setting with comments such as *Nè be enduena nu ve iya!* 'Keep on now, for it's just as you say!' or *Upiani nu en!* 'Now really make it good!' Subsequent audience responses throughout the tale give evidence that the narrator is doing just that: *Etuwey keniyan!* 'What a sight that is!' *Na inteng kew ma!* 'You just take a look at this!' or *Na mekeayamayam!* 'My, how beautiful!' The story's hero is backed by the audience much as a quarterback in a football stadium is cheered on by his fans in the bleachers: *Nè Pilas merani ke en!* 'Be careful, Monkey (the hero in a monkey's skin), you're getting close now!' And a little later, 'Get going now, and prove you can do it; show yourself a man!' While the hero's enemy is chided: *Nè Buaya, ne warà nu en maa mesaut!* 'Aha, Crocodile, you couldn't catch him!' When the storyteller's pause suggests he may be drawing to a close, and his story has been a good one, his audience will most certainly ask for a further story involving the same characters with the comment: *Ne endei en be ke edtetarem?* 'Now what else can you tell us about them?' The cultural preference is for one storyteller to fill the entire night, preferably with one story; for a good Manobo raconteur is expected to hold the attention of his audience until dawn and the pressures of the season force them to go to work in their fields. And while his audience may drink their coffee or chew betelnut throughout those long night hours, he is expected to drink his coffee and chew his betelnut ahead of time to avoid any interruption during the presentation of his story. When one considers the irregularity of Manobo meals and the low nutritional value of their food, coupled with the daily heat and fatigue, to say nothing of the rigors of planting and harvesting seasons, maintaining one's alertness throughout an entire night is a feat for any audience! But for the

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[11]For a description of the storytelling situation of isolated farmsteads in Hungary, see István Tömörkény, A Tanyai ember Ag Illses, *Ethnology* 25 (1914):98.

narrator, whose voice may be reduced to a whisper for days to come, it constitutes a challenge for the very fittest!

2. EVOKING IMAGES FOR STORY SETTINGS

Audience participation as described above reflects linguistic responses characteristic of that social context. The raconteur, on the other hand, is responsible for the linguistic stimuli in the same context. As a traditional narrator of Manobo stories, his constant purpose is to accomplish his over-all generic folk aim of *egkepeneheewit ke menge etew ne ebpemineg diyà te edteteremen* 'taking the listeners to the very place where his story is taking place'. To do so he must first of all evoke a stage with images to serve as setting for his story, and to which he can constantly direct his audience's focus of attention. To accomplish this he begins with the obligatory narrative discourse introducer *Hane* 'Take note' (Wrigglesworth 1971), then pauses slightly to put his audience at ease and to help create an expectant air, before transporting them to the distant scene where his story is taking place: *diyà te pè ma ki Pilanduk* 'there [far away out of sight] we [you and I inclusive] are with Pilanduk'. [12] The second sentence of the story setting produces an effect analogous to that of a camera lens zooming in on its subject: by emphatically preposing a focused noun phrase[13] *ini si Pilanduk ini* 'this Pilanduk here' (where deictic pronouns and locationals co-occur), the narrator brings the story participant he had just brought on stage up front. *Ini si Pilanduk ini ne etew ne midsiveysivey* 'This Pilanduk here is a person who lived all alone'. The final sentence of the story-setting makes known the problem, claim, or lack (see Labov and Waletzky 1967, Grimes 1971) that will provide the plot involvement for the story, *Su wà duma ne ed-ul-ulaan din ke kenà ke tarù ne edlelehen din,* 'For there is nothing else he continually engages in except his deception of others when he speaks'. On the discourse level *su* 'for, because' functions as a marker indicating a sequence relationship to the

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[12]Manobo settings specify either a proper name, a person or an animal. The Pilanduk tale presented in this paper is drawn from a cycle of Pilanduk tales in Ilianen Manobo oral literature. Manobo people often cite Pilanduk as representative of themselves trying to survive sometimes insurmountable odds.

Pilanduk also constitutes a cycle of tales found among the Muslim neighbors of the Manobo, the Maranao and Magindanao. (See Robt. McAmis, *An Introduction to* the *Folk Tales of the Maranao Muslims of Mindanao,* 14.)

Pilanduk stories are also found in North Borneo, where he is portrayed as a clever mouse-deer who outwits larger adversaries. (See *Sarawak Museum Journal,* Vol. 10, 511–534 and Ribu and Harrisson 1955:573–577.)

The version of the Pilanduk tale cited here represents a Manobo adaptation of AT (Aarne and Thompson's *Types of the Folktale)* No. 58 "The Crocodile Carries the Jackal;" AT No. 5 "Biting the Foot," AT No. 6 "Animal captor persuaded to talk and release victim from his mouth;" and AT No. 66A "The Cave Call." Familiar motifs present in this version and well adapted to Manobo culture are (from Thompson's *Motif-Index of folk literature)* H1381.3.1 "Quest for Bride for Oneself;" M246.3. "Covenant to Get Friend a Bride;" K1722. "Monkey [Pilanduk] Pretends that His House Always Answers Him;" B571. "Animals Perform Tasks for Man;" K2010. "Hypocrite Pretends Friendship but Attacks."

[13]The noun phrase is filled by the proper name, person, or animal specified in the initial sentence.

preceding statement: "This Pilanduk is a person who lived all alone."[14] Here, *su* introduces a "negative conditional sentence," one of three externally cross-referenced sentence types in Illianen Manobo. It contrasts with other sentence types in that (1) each clause takes the form of a negative statement: 'there is nothing else he engages in' *wà duma ne ed-ul-ulaan din* and 'if not his deceiving (of others) when he speaks' *ke kenà ke tarù din ne edlelehen din;* (2) the positive/negative values of both clauses are reversed so that both statements are contrary to fact; and (3) the *su* marker may be permuted to precede either clause: *Su ke kenà ke tarù din ne edlelehen din, wà duma ne ed-ul-ulaan din.* 'For except for his deception when he speaks, there is nothing else he continually…engages in'.[15]

Having transported his audience to the remote and spatially-defined setting for his story, and zeroed in upon its key participant with his problem (claim, or lack), it is the narrator's constant aim to keep his audience focused on his story's development as it unfolds.

The narrator shifts the scene from that introduced in his story setting by moving his story-participants offstage by means of motion verbs followed by a time setting that is illustrated by the following examples: "He went home now. And when he arrived…." or "he finished dressing and set out now. When he arrived at the seashore…." Or, the motion verb may function in response to a self-command given in soliloquy, as well as to a command delivered in dialogue: "And so he is going off now to gather wood," when gathering firewood constituted the command. However, when the motion verb moves the story-participant offstage without a subsequent time setting, as, e.g., by saying "He went home now," or "He went on downstream (taking the story-participant out of sight)," the narrator creates a new episode setting with: *Hane kayi te pè ma te….* 'Take note, here [close at hand, within close range of sight] we [you and I inclusive] are with….' The new episode setting serves to introduce a new key story-participant or, after they have all been introduced, to span distance in shifting rapidly back and forth between them in order to keep the audience current and involved with the progress of each of them.[16] It is the narrator's skillful handling of episode settings that enables an all-night audience, prone to dozing, to more easily reorient themselves and

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[14]On the clause level *su* 'for, because' indicates 'cause' as well as 'result'. Thus the statement "I cried at night because I was lonely," *Nekesinehew a te merukilem* can be transformed to "I am lonely as evidenced by the fact that I cry at night," *Egkelimengawan a su nekesinehew a te merukilem.* (See Jean Shand, Ilianen Manobo sentence structure, *Papers in Philippine Linguistics,* No. 8:50, 59, 82.)

[15]A frequent linguistic alternative by which the Manobo narrator handles the same information in this final sentence of setting is by means of sentence topicalization, wherein the verb ranking rules are circumvented by transforming the sentence into a topic-comment relationship; *lyan din dà ed-ul-ulaan ne edtarùtarù te lalag din.* 'As for what he constantly does, it is repeated deception in his talking'.

[16]Should an action taking place on stage, such as the tinkling of bells, be heard some distance away in the territory of a yet-unintroduced key story-participant, the narrator will create a new episode setting with *riyà* 'there [far away, out of sight]' in the homeland of that hero. In such cases the narrator not only brings on stage a story-participant who is already involved in his story's plot (that is, a young man intrigued by the sound of tinkling bells which he recognizes as a Manobo heirloom often associated with a chieftain's daughter, the princess), but the narrator also sparks audience interest by involving them with the ramifications of anticipated action on the stage.

exclaim, *Na pemineg kew su riyan en ma ke vai:*[17] 'Now everyone pay attention for there's the princess back again!' While their absence often causes an audience to complain, *Meambe ayan ke egketekewtekew?* 'Why is she going so suddenly from one (person) to the next (in her story)?' *Egkevadtìvadtì embiya warà 'hane kayi te pè ma….' te teteremen din.* "It's too broken up when there is no 'Take note, here we are now with….' in her story."

3. HEIGHTENING VIVIDNESS FOR MAINTAINING THE AUDIENCE'S INTEREST

Having evoked a stage with images as setting for his story, and having transported his audience to the very place where his story is taking place, a Manobo narrator's constant aim is to keep his audience focused on the tale's action as it unfolds. For heightening the vividness of his story, and thereby convincing his audience that they are witnessing the events of his story taking place, a Manobo narrator may shift to a more specific person, or he may choose one of two possible shifts in tense in order to effect a more dramatic portrayal of his tale.

3.1 A Pronoun Shift

Except for the pronoun exponents of dialogue, a Manobo narrative is basically told in the third person. But to enliven the imagination of his audience as heads begin to nod, a Manobo raconteur draws heavily upon a shift to the second person "you" to identify with a story-participant on stage. In the Pilanduk story, cited earlier, Pilanduk sets out on a mission to kidnap a queen to be his wife. After much deliberation he finally makes a bargain with a crocodile to give him the soon-to-be kidnapped queen in return for a ride across the river on the crocodile's back; Pilanduk is thus enabled to continue on to the palace.

> As you arrived there in the (palace) yard, how intensely *you* are looking all around. What should *you* see but a mango tree. Said Pilanduk, "I'd better climb that mango tree to the very top," he said, "to sing my song to the queen so that it will be clearly heard."

In similar fashion the narrator shifts to the second person pronoun "you" or to the first person dual pronoun "we [you and I inclusive]" to tie himself more closely with his audience; in the latter case overtly injecting himself as a first-person participant observer.[18] Somewhat later in the above story, after Pilanduk has lost

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[17] *Vai* or *Baivai* 'a female chief' occurs in Manobo oral literature for "queen" or "princess." *Putelì* 'princess' also occurs, especially in tales which are also found among their Muslim neighbors, the Maranao and Magindanao, to whom, according to reports, the Manobo people were once forced to pay tribute though they did not embrace Islam. In this case, *Putelì* would be the Manobo phonological equivalent of the Muslim terms *Putri* and *Putli* 'princess'.

[18] Rhetoricians also point out the use of "you" and "us" as devices by which the speaker identifies himself with his audience. In oratorical communion the speaker may try to merge himself with his audience. "The…effect is obtained by *enallage* of person in which "I" or "he" is replaced by "you" making the hearer imagine he sees himself in the midst of the danger, and which is a figure relating both to presence and to communion." (See Ch. Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The new rhetoric*, p. 178.)

the kidnapped queen and finds himself cut off in the forest without food or water, the narrator zeroes in upon his audience to remind them that they are viewing the story together. This time his shift occurs as he approaches the peak of an episode.

> We [you and I] will get right to the point for the story goes faster now and Pilanduk keeps on wandering around looking for water to drink here in the forest. You [listener] might say that Pilanduk could go to the river for water if it weren't for being bitten by the crocodiles (his enemies).

At this point in another version of the same story, a different narrator zeroes in even more intensely upon Pilanduk (alone) as he ventures to the river for water.

> So Pilanduk is getting busy now and *you,* Pilanduk, are grabbing hold of your bamboo water-container. Now Pilanduk is going down to the water at the river. When *you* arrived, Pilanduk, there at the river, all at once, without *your* realizing what was happening, *you* were bitten by a crocodile. Where should *you* be bitten, Pilanduk, but right there on *your* knee is precisely where *you* were bitten by the crocodile.

The narrator may also shift directly from a pronominal reference to a story-participant on stage to a pronoun referring to his audience, all in the same sentence. In a story about their culture hero, Lenà, we approach the peak of the first episode as Lenà reaches his homeland of Nelendangan after encountering place after place that has been entirely wiped out, its corpses still piled up upon the ground.

> And to show *you* [listener] that these people of Nelendangan had really outdone themselves in defending their place, there in the clearing set aside for games *you,* young man, are amazed at the indications of their fighting left upon the ground.

Finally the young man hears someone crying and discovers the magic comb left behind by his princess sister, who has been captured by the murderous invaders. Learning from the comb that the enemy arrived in a rock-like vessel from the sea, which disgorged its murderers only to reclaim them again along with their captives, the young man sets out in pursuit of them.

> And to show *you* [listener] how fast the young man was going now, *you* [young man on stage] jump from one bend of the river to the next. And now to show how serious he is, it is seven bends of the river that the young man takes in one leap as he journeys on. That shows *you* [listener] how fast he was travelling.

Audiences often respond verbally to the key story-participant on stage being focused upon, by shouting bravos to him or her, assuring them of eventual success. In doing so, the audience raises that story-participant to the land of the living, thereby creating an on-the-spot effect as if they were viewing that person for themselves.

3.2 A Shift to the Dramatic Present Tense

In order to heighten the vividness of certain events in his story, the Manobo narrator shifts his surface-structure tense from past tense to the irrealis tense. In its lower-level functions, irrealis denotes 'postulated action' rather than 'real' action. 0n the discourse level, however, it denotes action that is presently

taking place, which I refer to here as the "Dramatic Present."[19] It most frequently functions in response to a command: either a command to oneself delivered in soliloquy, or a command given by another story-participant in dialogue; even a prognostic interjection by the raconteur himself may prove equally authoritative. When the command is to oneself, the order usually stems from a sudden inspiration gained, from a stated urgent need to come up with a fast solution to some dilemma being faced, or an ostentatious speech of boasting and vaunting one's own capabilities (that is, making a claim). It occurs in the initial paragraph of an episode, where it serves not only to initiate the action for that episode, but to dramatize the action being carried out; and it is frequently combined with a shift to the second person to highlight the story-participant involved. And while the use of the dramatic present tense is not a device which the Manobo narrator reserves only for marking the surface structure peaks in his narrative, he employs it there as well in order to add its contribution of drama to his aggregate of rhetorical devices marking peak and Peak (Climax in the deep structure) of his story. From over one hundred occurrences of the dramatic present tense in the Pilanduk story, I cite the following examples.

3.2.1 Those which occur in the initial paragraph of an episode

In the first episode it is Pilanduk's initial claim, "… I'm going to kidnap the queen and make her my wife" that triggers the use of the dramatic present tense.

> Having decided that (his claim), Pilanduk is *dressing up* now. When he had finished dressing, he is *setting out.* Take note, when YOU arrived at the seashore, Pilanduk had a big problem; for what YOUR problem was is how to get across the sea. And so Pilanduk is *staying* there along the shore until the seventh day (trying to figure out a solution).

On the seventh day Pilanduk comes up with the idea of calling King Crocodile in the ocean and making a bargain with him to be given a ride across the water.

> And so Pilanduk is *going over* and is *calling* the king of the crocodiles. And the king of the crocodiles is *surfacing* now. Said the crocodile, "What did you call me for, Pilanduk?"

In the dialogue exchange between Pilanduk and King Crocodile an agreement is made that Pilanduk will give Crocodile the soon-to-be kidnapped queen in return for a ride across the water on his back. With the agreement settled, King Crocodile tells Pilanduk,

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[19]Linguists, grammarians, and rhetoricians have described a similar tense usage for English and other languages as well. Linguist Koen demonstrates plot divisions bracketed by groups of verbs marked for historical tense in Apalai narrative (See Edward H. Koen, The historical tense in Apalai narrative, *IJAL* 42:243–252.)

Grammarian Curme says: "In narrative, especially in a lively style, the 'historical present' is much used to make past events more vivid and bring them nearer the hearer.… " (See George O. Curme, *English grammar,* p. 253.)

And rhetoricians as Ch. Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca state, "An audience can also be influenced by the use of tense…. The present has the further property of conveying most readily what we have called 'the feeling of presence'." (See Ch. Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The new rhetoric: A treatise on argumentation,* p. 160.)

> "Get on my back then, Pilanduk, for I'll take you across the sea." And with that Pilanduk is *climbing on* the back of Crocodile and they *are crossing the sea.*

A further dialogue paragraph ensues as King Crocodile questions Pilanduk as to when he can expect the queen to be delivered to him; then with Pilanduk's assurance that he will look for Crocodile as soon as he has the queen, the narrator has Crocodile send Pilanduk off with a rhetorically underlined reminder,

> "All right, I won't leave (to go anywhere else); I'll wait right here for you!" Having gotten across the sea, Pilanduk is *setting out.* He is *journeying on* for seven days in his travels. At last on the eighth day he came to the place of the king. And so Pilanduk is *arriving* here at the place of the king and is *remaining* here at the edge of the place while he considers what to do next.

3.2.2 Those which occur at episode peaks

In marking an episode peak with a shift to the dramatic present tense (overlapping somewhat with my discussion of peak-marking devices), its use not only heightens the vividness of the action being performed but increases audience suspense by dramatizing an action upon which very often hinges the success or failure of the story's plot. As we approach the peak of episode two, Pilanduk has just directed his song to the queen in order to entice her to try to capture him.

> The queen is *getting up* now and is *going* to her husband. Says she, "Your Highness, you order your servants to capture that bird up in the mango tree for his song is really beautiful!"

The narrator subsequently underlines rhetorically for his audience three lines of paraphrase regarding the deft agility of the king's male servants, then he proceeds to dramatize their actions as they set out.

> As soon as the servants heard the king, they *are setting out* now. When they arrived at the mango tree, how they *are searching* and *are climbing* the tree, but they were not able to find Pilanduk here. At not being able to find anything, these servants of the king *are going home* now.

Again in episode three we reach the peak as the queen has given the king her ultimatum that he must find the talking bird or she will leave him.

> Take note, as soon as the king heard this, he is *ordering* his young men again to capture the bird doing the singing . . . But these servants of the king *are returning* once more and *are reporting* that they cannot find the bird who knows how to talk.

Of the dramatized action of a story-participant in the initial paragraph of an episode, the audience often declares that it is "just as though it were truly happening" *iring te tidtu ne egketemenan.* But of the dramatized action which takes place as tension mounts at an episode's peak (here it is the Peak of the entire embedded narrative) the Manobo audience often slap its thighs in amazement at the kaleidoscope of action before them, "It's just as if the interaction of every participant in the story is vivid before our eyes" *iring te egkekitakita ke uman senge etew kayi te teteremen.*

3.3 A Shift to the Regular Present Tense with Continuative and Intensive Aspect

A further significant device for heightening vividness is a shift to the regular present tense, along with continuative or intensive aspect: “keeps on ringing,” and “really rains and rains,” since concurrency helps create an on-the-spot effect as if the audience were really observing these actions for themselves. Combined with present tense verbs is the frequent use of emphatic adverbial particles such as “*really*” and “*thoroughly*.” Present tense verbs frequently occur in topicalized sentences: “As for what is delaying the princess, it is because she keeps tinkling together the tiny balls.” Topicalization thus circumvents the verb ranking rules by transforming the entire sentence into a topic-comment wherein the verb must acknowledge the topic by focus cross reference. Topicalized sentences are further couched in metaphors ranging from diminutives to hyperbole and are often accompanied by a shift to the second person pronoun in order to highlight one of the story-participants on stage. The regular co-occurrence of these features constitutes what I call the depictive paragraph.

While a Manobo narrator’s shift to the dramatic present tense serves to heighten the vividness of certain actions in his story and to intensify his audience’s suspense, his shift to the regular present tense, combined with emphatic and continuative action and highly-topicalized sentences, involves actions which help depict a story-participant’s character traits, or highly valued cultural items and values, which are being held up before the audience’s eyes. Depictive paragraphs not only provide an evaluative comment (Labov and Waletsky 1967), revealing the narrator’s attitude toward the story by emphasizing certain units in contrast to others, but they emotionally involve the audience with his story-participants by arousing the audience’s admiration, sympathy, or sometimes plain amusement. Manobo audiences may even restrain a narrator when their sympathy for a cultural hero, in particular, has reached its limit. On one occasion a storyteller’s portrayal of their culture hero Tulalang suffering extreme deprivation on a long journey—until he was almost disfigured—resulted in his audience protesting with, “That’s enough now!” And the narrator did not proceed with any further description.

Because of the unique evaluative content of depictive paragraphs, they occur largely in the earlier portion of a tale, where they function to characterize the key story-participants being introduced, and to introduce any pertinent cultural issues; then their occurrence tapers off considerably toward the story’s concluding episodes. Depictive paragraphs occur strategically interspersed between dramatic event-oriented paragraphs and dialogue paragraphs, and are often found in pre-peak position. Here they serve to stretch time out, thus indicating the narrator’s keen awareness of the necessity of maintaining a tense story pulse;[20] later on in his story the narrator loosens this restraint and allows events to run headlong toward conclusion. In the latter case he needs such action in order to enliven a

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[20]It was Dr. Austin Hale who first suggested the analogue of a story pulse.

dozing audience. And while such paragraphs occur largely in the pre-peak position of episodes, their semantic content is integrally tied to plot.

In a story about a princess and her widowed mother who have exhausted their supply of food, the two set out through the forest in hope of finding someone who is still harvesting rice so that they can join in with harvesting and be given a share. After travelling a well-trodden path for several days, they turn off it to a narrower path, which takes them to a river. The depictive paragraph's content alerts the audience to the fact that the princess and her mother are now entering very unusual territory which must belong to royalty.[21]

> As for the sand in this river, it is (made up of) very white beads. As for the small stones, they are tiny tinkling bells. As for the large stones, they are large brass gongs. And how this young princess is intensely enjoying the water! For this water is very crystal clear! What is delaying the princess here is that she keeps on tinkling together the tiny bells. This young girl is saying, "Why indeed are there no people living here in such a beautiful place?"

A little later in the same episode, a further depictive paragraph provides another semantic clue concerning the kingdom's ruler.

> As this woman is trying to remember the length of time of their journeying, they come to a clearing. And you (both) are startled at the fence here. For what it is made of are whole logs standing up on end. Says the woman, "What is this? Who owns this huge, overly-impressive fence? If it were me I'd never even be able to lift those heavy logs!"

Upon their arrival the princess and her mother are housed with the prince's aunt; but it isn't long before the prince comes to visit. And as the two older women cook supper, the narrator employs a solitary depictive paragraph to indicate the prince's fast-growing interest in the visiting princess, and the princess' very proper and modest response.

> Take note, and while Tulalang (the prince) keeps on weaving his ornamental knee bands, his eyes never leave this young woman. Beginning at her feet his eyes are travelling upward until they reach her head. And you, Tulalang, cannot find even the slightest flaw or imperfection in her, for no one has beauty equal to her! And this young princess keeps right on weaving now, she doesn't so much as lift the corner of an eyelid.[22]

The narrator may also employ depictive paragraphs to provide his audience with a bit of laughter during the narration of a story. As comedy, they often mark the peak of what would be an otherwise serious, even pathetic, episode. In another story, the prince, disguised in a monkey skin, wins the favor of a king to the extent that the king offers his youngest and most beautiful daughter in marriage to the monkey in return. Outraged by such an act,[23] the king's wife and subjects disown him; even his once-trusted head servant now usurps his place as leader of

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[21] A Manobo audience recognizes beads, bells, and gongs of the type referred to here as coveted heirlooms. Such an accumulation of wealth as this could only belong to a chieftain, king, or prince, since Manobo chiefs are often paid for their services in settling custom-law cases with family heirlooms such as these.

[22] It is considered very improper for a Manobo girl to betray any expression of interest in the attentions of a young man.

[23] To speak of intermarriage between human beings and the animal world violates the Manobo system of taboos regulating incest; punishment by *Manewvanew,* the spirit deity of a*nit,* takes many forms of catastrophe as devastating floods, or illness with crippling effects.

the kingdom. Depictive paragraphs throughout the early episodes of this lengthy, one-hundred-and-sixty-page story portray the selfish taunts of the queen and her subjects toward the now lonely king, his daughter, and her monkey-husband, as well as portraying the generosity and patience shown in return by the three who have been disowned. Finally, the monkey-husband takes his beautiful wife and father-in-law to the mountains, and we approach the peak of this lengthy episode as the monkey-husband reveals his identity to them, showing them his paradise home of luxury, with food beyond their wildest dreams. The narrator employs two depictive paragraphs to portray the king's reaction. And since 'fear' is considered by the Manobo people to be a very unmanly trait—something only to be scoffed at—laughter results. But more directly, a Manobo audience laughs at anyone who is fooled by something that is not real, calling them *panseb pa ne menge etew* 'people who got fooled'. In any case, Manobo storytelling gives license for laughing at a chief that personal encounters would never permit.[24]

> As for this king, he is going up the steps into his new home when he suddenly falls backward to the ground because he is intensely afraid of snakes. For what should you (king) be looking at there on the steps but a python, indeed! For that which was the railing to hold onto was a (carved) cobra! Said the king, "I'm sure to be bitten by this python!"

Once inside the house, the monkey-husband points out the luxury of an individual bedroom reserved for the king. And, since a Manobo is not to show amazement over such new and novel things—for by so doing that person makes himself the special prey of the *busew* spirits' attention in return—the chieftain becomes a source of mild amusement for the audience. People who show their bewilderment over the 'new' and 'different' also become the subject of Manobo songs (a source of social pressure), and the chief reminds himself of this danger later on in the story.

> So you (king) are to have that room, and you are delighted with just looking around inside the house, for there are many, many things for you to see. One thing there that you are staring at (in wonder) is something like a huge lake with seven shoals of real fish in it. What they are doing is constantly swimming around and around in the water right inside the house. And as he goes inside his bedroom we (narrator and audience) can just see him grab his breast in amazement, for he doesn't recognize a thing in this bedroom that is to be his. What he sees are many kinds of new clothes, and his bed and mattress are of gold. And so the chief remains here inside his room.

But back in the king's former kingdom, a famine of unparalleled severity has struck. As we approach the peak of that episode, which has largely been carried by dialogue, the narrator shifts to a depictive paragraph which soon has the audience slapping its thighs with laughter, mainly with vicarious enjoyment of the punishment that seems to have already been meted out to the king's former wife and subjects through their present circumstances of famine. "Well, they finally got what was coming to them!" the audience chuckles.

> As for Sebandar (former head servant of the king) and the others, their backs are now sticking to the floor from being too weak to move. As for the queen, the only thing that she still keeps moving are her eyeballs; she isn't even able to get up now! You (audience) might say that

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[24]Because of its metaphorical language, Manobo song grants even greater license for the presentation of criticism and sources of anxiety and conflict.

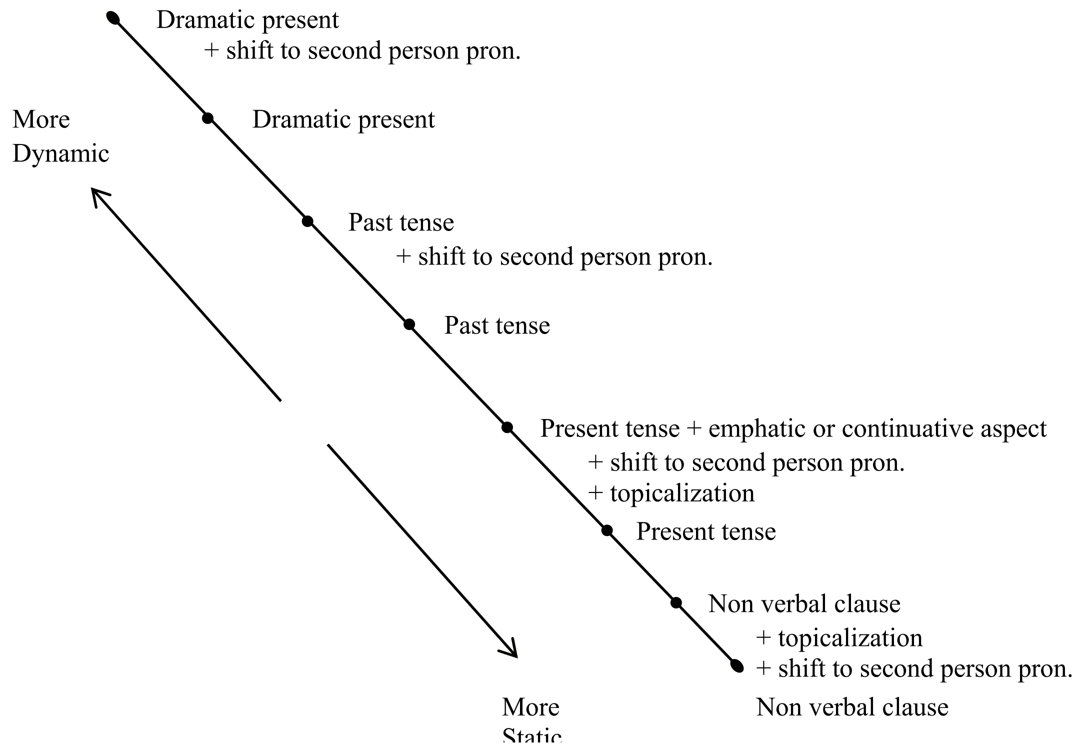
> where could you go for food anyway since there isn't any to be had? So as for the famine, we can see that it has lasted for quite some time now!

It is the depictive paragraph which provides amusement, and also moves audiences to exclaim, “My how beautiful!”; to try their own hand at description: “Perhaps the tinkling of those little bells is like the humming of bees!” or to warn, “Aha, Aha! Take note of that!” indicating that the semantic content provides clues forewarning them of further complication, or resolution of plot. However, effective as the depictive paragraph is, it does not satisfy a Manobo audience for long. Indeed, Manobo audiences recognize that the story's event-line is not promoted by it. And when story participants fail to move the event-line forward, an audience admonishes the narrator to hurry up and finish off the villain so the hero can marry the beautiful princess.

Thus the narrator's handling of his shift to the regular present tense in the depictive paragraph requires special skill; but it is invaluable in helping him maintain the dynamic flow of his all-night story performance. As a strategist he capitalizes on the momentum which has already been gained, for he knows his audience is anxiously waiting for the resumption of action in his tale.

From the foregoing discussion it is therefore meaningful to distinguish between the backbone, or event-line, of a Manobo narrative discourse and evaluative or depictive material (Longacre 1981). The former correlates with independent clauses whose verb is in the past tense or dramatic present, while the present tense forms, by the addition of such features as aspect, emphatic adverbial particles, and topicalization, are indicative of depictive. The following ranking scheme is posited on a cline of dynamicity ranging from the most dynamic elements in the narrative comprising backbone (upper left hand) to those which are most static and depictive (lower right). (See p. 19.)

And, while it is the past tense and dramatic present tense of the story's backbone or skeletal form that chart the story's progress forward, it is the present tense combined with features of aspect and topicalization, along with highly topicalized non-verbal clauses, which provide flesh for the skeleton. Indeed, without evaluative or depictive content Manobo narrative would lose much of its artistic value.



4. RHETORICAL DEVICES MARKING SURFACE STRUCTURE PEAK

In addition to heightening the vividness of his story and thereby convincing his audience that they are witnessing the events of his story taking place, it is also of crucial importance to the storyteller that his all-night audience be able to recognize various sorts of high points or peaks in his narrative, whether in individual episodes of the story, or as its main climax and final denouement. Especially is this so in an 'oral tradition literature' since there is no recourse to a 'rereading' of any portion of it the following day. The Manobo raconteur therefore draws from his wealth of linguistic devices to indicate such peaks in the surface structure of his narrative. Under the following headings I discuss the essential devices he employs: rhetorical underlining, a concentration of participants on stage, rhetorical question, dramatic dialogue, a shift in vantage point, a change of pace, and condensation of time.[25]

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[25]R.E. Longacre's "Plot and similar structures" in *An Anatomy of Speech Notions,* 1976, furthered the crystalizing of my earlier observations concerning the variety of devices I saw operating in Ilianen Manobo narrative discourse. I employ some of his terminology here, but have added to his inventory in order to account for my data.

The analysis presented here represents considerable expansion and revision of my earlier work. See Wrigglesworth 1969. "Ilianen Manobo narrative, procedural, hortatory, and dramatic discourse texts," in R. Longacre, (ed.), *Discourse, paragraph, and sentence structure in selected Philippine Languages,* 192–268; 1971. "Discourse and paragraph structure of Ilianen Manobo," in R. Longacre (ed.) *Philippine Discourse and Paragraph Studies,* 85–194; 1977. "Sociolinguistic features of narrative discourse in Ilianen Manobo," *Lingua* 41:101–124; and 1980. "Rhetorical devices

4.1 Rhetorical Underlining by Parallelism and Paraphrase

A master narrator does not want his listeners to miss a single crucial point in his story. As an effective rhetorical device he employs paraphrase, or carefully-metered couplet, triplet, and quadruplet stanzas to tautologically underscore a surface structure peak which he does not want to go by unnoticed when the hour is late and the audience is tired. In the Pilanduk story, we approach the second episode's peak as Pilanduk reaches the palace, dresses in black and climbs a tree in the palace yard; pretending to be a talking bird, he directs his song to the queen in order to entice her to come down from the palace and capture him—so that he, in turn, can kidnap her and carry her off to be his wife. His song goes as follows:

"If I could only be captured
how famous the king would be,
including that one, the queen,
if I could be captured by him;
for it would be told in places far and
near," he said,
"that the queen has captured a bird
who knows how to talk,
who knows how to sing."

Pilanduk's song has its desired effect. The queen urges her husband to send out his male-servants at once, and the king orders them off 'to catch that bird over there in the top of the mango tree'. Then to promote an air of expectancy towards the competency of the king's male-servant staff (and hence intimating their probability of success), the narrator rhetorically underlines his description of their deportment for his audience.

My, and you (king) have no difficulty
commanding these servants of yours to do something,
for they always sit ready on their haunches,
so they will be quick to be up at the king's command,
not taking long to get up on their feet.

But the king's servants return without success, and we approach the peak of episode three as Pilanduk's song becomes more flattering and seductive[26] than ever. His song again hits its mark, for the narrator reports that

The queen is compelled to listen to
Pilanduk's song,
for it's as though you (queen) are forced
to sit in a patch of itchy weeds,
for you are simply unable to sit still.

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distinguishing the genre of folktale from that of oral history in Ilianen Manobo narrative discourse," *Philippine Journal of Linguistics,* 11(1):45–79.

[26]Seductiveness in song is accomplished by constant innovations of both melody and rhythm, which often produce an emotion-laden response from the opposite sex of a Manobo audience.

In response, the queen voices her ultimatum to the king.

"Your Highness,[27] you think harder now
how to catch that bird over there,
for he's keeping my heart in suspense;
and if you cannot catch that bird,
then even though we've produced children
prolifically,[28]
still our relationship will go no further[29]
for we'll be separated for certain,
unless you can capture that bird
who knows how to sing.
But, if we can capture that bird,
my, how famous our kingdom could become
for he really knows how to sing!"

Although the king loses no time in ordering his men out to search a second time, the third episode closes as his servants return without success. We reach the peak of the final episode (and Peak of the entire embedded narrative as well) as Pilanduk delivers his final warning that the queen must come alone if she is to capture him. Quickly, the queen puts an end to any further delay.

"Since that's how it is," said the queen,
"that I am the one desired by the bird,
then why should I depend upon someone else?
I had better go myself.
Now what I want is for you (maid-servants)
not to go with me;
for if you do, then that bird will not be caught.
It's better that I go alone."[30]

With her decision made, the queen goes down the palace steps alone, muttering to herself, "This darkness doesn't bother me, if I can only catch that bird!" And with that she walks into the web of Pilanduk's carefully-laid plans. Here the art of rhetorical underlining serves the Manobo narrator well; not only in alerting his

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[27]Si *Keretuan* 'Your Highness' is a literary term occurring in Manobo oral literature based on the term *datù* 'chief'. It occurs as a term of address only in oral literature; in real life it occurs as a term of reference to indicate the arrogance of a chief.

[28]To be prolific in childbearing is commonly expressed in Manobo with the simile used here "to be like the rudsing-banana," a species of banana which puts forth an early abundance of suckers.

[29]To discontinue the marriage relationship employs the metaphor of a "boat or raft not sailing any further downstream."

[30]As the onset of a narrative's Peak is a zone of turbulence where the regular flow of grammatical rules is temporarily suspended, so may cultural rules and mores similarly be temporarily laid aside. Thus the queen is allowed to go out into the night alone, a practice unacceptable for a woman in Manobo culture during the daytime, and totally so at night. And the nighttime scene above has been described by the narrator as being "too dark for even brothers to recognize one another." But instances of unacceptable behavior as this (see also footnote 37) are expected to be challenged by the Manobo audience who act as folk-jurors of Manobo custom. "Now just look at the queen going out alone by herself!" they interject.

audience to crucial peak points in his story, but in keeping his audience overtly involved as folk-jurors of Manobo morals and cultural values as well.[31]

4.2 A Concentration of Story-Participants on Stage

At the Peak (Climax in the deep structure) of his story, and often at Peak in a lengthy embedded narrative as well, a Manobo narrator frequently brings on stage all who have been associated with his key story-participants; very often it is to alert his audience to crucial moral judgments about to be made to which they should be paying attention. Thus at Peak in the embedded narrative discussed in the previous section, the Manobo narrator brings on stage the king, his men-servants, the queen, her maid-servants, and even Pilanduk himself, thus approximating the universal set (Longacre 1976). As for Pilanduk's presence on stage, the narrator on two occasions clearly points this out for his audience by saying, "the queen's discussion with her husband concerning the bird is being overheard by Pilanduk as well," and again somewhat later "that Pilanduk intensifies the pleading in his song as he sees the intense anxiety of the queen over her desire to capture him." Thus Pilanduk's involvement with the actors on stage (by being able to constantly see and overhear what is being said and done) places him on a corner of that stage—with the stage including not only the palace verandah where the royal family and attendants sit, but the palace yard as well, where Pilanduk sits hidden in the mango tree. Certainly he is no farther afield than one of the stage's wings.

4.3 Rhetorical Question

A further means by which the Manobo narrator marks the surface structure peak of an episode is by the use of rhetorical question.[32] This he frequently rhetorically underlines with parallelism or paraphrase as well. Thus in the second main episode of the Pilanduk story proper (after the embedded discourse concerning Pilanduk's failure to keep his promise to King Crocodile to give him the kidnapped queen), Pilanduk finds himself completely cut off from all sources of water or food, unable to approach even the smallest stream without finding a crocodile there waiting to grab him[33]. Having already been bitten once, Pilanduk

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[31]Nowhere does this become more evident than in the narration of a story which is told in its entirety as establishing precedence in the settling of Manobo custom-law cases. In such occurrences, every episode peak (including the deep structure Climax and Denouement) involves some crucial compliance with, or violation of, Manobo cultural mores and norms that are rhetorically underlined with parallelism and paraphrase, and responded to by heavy audience approval or disapproval as the case may warrant.

[32]Since the occurrence of rhetorical question in narrative partakes of certain features of dialogue without being true dialogue, Longacre posits the term 'pseudo-dialogue', plotting it on a parameter with four ordered values:

Narr → Pseudo-Dialogue → Dialogue → Drama (see R.E. Longacre, *An Anatomy of Speech Notions,* 221).

[33]From Pilanduk's deception of King Crocodile in this tale, the Manobo people trace the origin of crocodiles killing men because of their repeated unfortunate relationships with the trickery of Pilanduk as man's representative. Prior to this time, crocodiles were considered as mankind's friends. This friendship of crocodiles toward mankind is portrayed in their "Bad Character and Good Character Girl" story in my *Anthology of Ilianen Manobo Folktales* 1981:180–194.

sums up the extremity of his situation with a soliloquy which is punctuated with rhetorical questions.

> "Well now," says Pilanduk, "the wisdom of man has completely been brought to an end (i.e., my capacity for trickery)! *For where can I go,*" he says, *"to satisfy my thirst?* For wherever I go I meet up with crocodiles! There's nothing else to do except for me to stay here in the mountains. *But what can I get here?* I might even have to use up all of the water to be found in the rattan (growing here) in order to satisfy my thirst! *Then where will I go?"*

And in the swanmaiden story, referred to in the introduction of this paper, the Peak of the entire narrative is likewise marked with rhetorical questions. A young hunter in the forest hears a rumbling sound in the sky overhead, and looks up to see seven young skymaidens clad in feather-winged robes descending to a nearby pool. As the skymaidens occupy themselves with bathing, the hunter steals one of their robes; the young women emerge from the pool, but when one is unable to find her dress she is forced to remain on earth as the young man's wife. The hunter hides the feather robe in a bamboo flute which he places in the rafters at the peak of their house. A child is later born to them, who one day, as the father is out hunting, cries incessantly for the flute she sees up in the rafters. Unable to pacify her, the mother finally gives in; and we approach the Peak of the entire narrative as the mother begins her climb. It is marked by the following three rhetorical questions:

> "What are you crying for?" (she mutters to a child who has not yet learned to talk.) Then reaching for the instrument, "Why can't we have some music now that there is an instrument here to play? For I really like to play the flute!" But there is no sound. "My goodness, what's wrong with this bamboo flute that it makes no sound?"

When she can see nothing by attempting to look inside, she bangs it against the rafters and out tumbles her feather robe, enabling her at last to return home to her own kingdom. In another variant of this story, its narrator employs three rhetorical questions (one rhetorically underlined with paraphrase) to mark his narrative's peak just as the feather robe falls from its hiding place.

> "Why did you put my dress in here if you didn't want it to be eventually discovered?" said the woman. "You didn't care enough for me to prevent my leaving you by burning my dress? Why did you put my dress away if you didn't want it to be discovered?" said the woman.

4.4 Dramatic Dialogue

When more than one story-participant is present at an episode's peak (very often the protagonist or villain has a companion), the narrator's shift may not be to rhetorical question, which is characteristically delivered in soliloquy, but rather a shift from the regular dialogue form in his story to that of dramatic dialogue to mark the Peak of his narrative. In the "Meluagpeka (Wideback)" story,[34] the narrator shifts to a paragraph of dramatic dialogue at Peak which is

[34]Meluagpeka (Wideback) is one of a host of Manobo story-participants whose names semantically define their roles. He is so named because of his hunchback and the common folk belief that all hunchbacked people have hollow backs. It is therefore his hollow back in which he stores the spoils that he gets from stealing.

to be found nowhere else in her story. Meluagpeka as the story's villain has succeeded in stealing each day's catch of fisherman Berentenigewtigew by first harming the fisherman's younger brother, Berengkenitutkitut, who is left at home to dry-roast the fish. When Berentenigewtigew can tolerate it no longer, he carefully sets his decoy for the villain, then goes off fishing as usual. As we reach the story's Peak (and the roles are about to be reversed), Berentenigewtigew returns home from fishing and calls out to his brother to see if he is still alive and well; but covertly, he is also curious regarding the villain's response to his decoy. At the Peak of this narrative, the narrator employs a paragraph of dramatic dialogue; where, except for initial and closing quotes, which serve to bracket the entire paragraph, the quotes drop out and the brothers simply address each another in the second person. The quote used in the initial sentence serves to identify Berengkenitutkitut's acknowledgement of his fisherman brother, who has just returned home; while the quote of the closing sentence not only serves to mark closure for the previous lengthy dialogue speech, but also serves to identify Berentenigewtigew's newly-gained confidence upon hearing the results of his 'decoy head-shaving job' done on his younger brother. This identification is important for the audience since Berentenigewtigew and the villain are the two participants involved in the upcoming reversal of roles. In addition, just prior to this bracketed final sentence, the narrator draws special attention to the content of Berengkenitutkitut's final speech by rhetorically underlining it. That is, that the decoy head-shave *IS* producing the desired response from the villain, and upon this fact hang the remaining events of the story.

> "Yes," said Berengkenitutkitut, "I'm still here."
> "Well, nothing happened to you this time?"
> "Well, nothing yet."
> "And did Meluagpeka come?"
> "Yes, he was here a bit ago."
> "Well, and you weren't hurt by Meluagpeka this time?"
> "Not at all! *For he really liked my nice looking head! He really liked the way you shaved my head!* and he said that he would return tomorrow so you could shave his head also."
> "All right," said Berentenigewtigew, "if that's what he wants then I won't leave so early this morning, for I'11 just wait for Meluagpeka."

4.5 A Shift in Vantage Point

To mark the Peak (Climax) or Peak (Denouement) of his story, or sometimes the peak of an important episode particularly crucial to the plot, the Manobo narrator may shift to a different vantage point as well. In formal storytelling, the narrator employs the omniscient viewpoint; that is, he considers himself omniscient or omnipresent in knowing everything there is to know about his characters and his story. While this viewpoint requires greater skill to handle, it allows him to give his audience more information, and in more varied ways, than any other viewpoint.[35] He can take his audience anywhere in time or space; not only does he change scenes, but also creates new settings (and returns to old ones as well) in order to shift back-and-forth from the action of one story-participant to

[35] I refer to Omniscient Viewpoint in contrast to the other major journalistic viewpoints as "Actor A, third person," "the minor character narrator, first person," "objective," or "Actor A, first person."

another. An entirely different effect, however, is accomplished by a shift in vantage point, a feature he employs to mark a crucial peak in his story. In the story about the prince disguised in a monkey skin (cited earlier), the monkey wins the favor of the king to the extent that the king insists on taking the monkey home with him to marry his youngest daughter. We approach the peak of this crucial episode—involving the unheard-of situation of a king taking a monkey home as a proposed son-in-law—with the monkey carrying a large, heavy rice-container that the king was unable to even lift. Then just as they are about to arrive back at the king's village and his wife and subjects will now be put to the test (in how they will respond to the king's plan to have the monkey marry his daughter—with its fearful consequences of everyone becoming hunchbacked because of having offended their *anit*-deity by such behavior), the narrator suddenly shifts the vantage point in his story to that of a group of the king's subjects, and it is now through their eyes that we are viewing the arrival of the king and the monkey.

> As you (the king and monkey) approached the village, there were people watching. "Look at *that* [in-the-distance deictic] rice-container walking along the ground *there* [in-the-distance locational],"said the men. "Get the wife of His Highness so she can see the amazing sight *there* [in-the-distance locational]—a rice-container that can walk without being carried by anyone. How can *that* [in-the-distance deictic] be possible?" asked the king's subjects *here* [locational, close-at-hand]. And so people quickly tore down the walls of their houses *here* [locational, close-at-hand] in order to be able to see into the distance—*that* [in-the-distance deictic] rice-container that is walking along with the king following behind it.

The shift in vantage point is accomplished by a shift in deictic pronouns which involve a parameter of proximity between the story-participants in focus and the speaker and hearer. Thus far in the story, the king and the monkey have been marked with the in-focus deictic pronoun *ini* 'this' [that is, close at hand to the narrator], followed by the locative *ini* 'here' [close at hand]. But as the narrator shifts his vantage point to view their arrival through the eyes of the king's subjects back home, it is by their side that we now stand. The king and the monkey remain in focus, but they are now marked with the more-spatially-remote deictic *ayan* 'that/those [some distance away]'.

Much later in the story, after the king has carried out his plan to have the monkey marry his daughter, he is disowned by his outraged wife and subjects, and his once-trusted head-servant usurps his place as leader of the kingdom. But when it is discovered that the king is living in luxury while they are suffering from a severe famine, they make a trip to investigate. Treated lavishly on that occasion by the monkey-husband son-in-law (though the king remains in his room, livid with anger), they hurry home to pack up their things and return to the king's new 'home of plenty'. The narrator traces their return journey back to the monkey-husband's palatial home, and we approach Peak of the entire narrative as they are about to arrive at the palace and the king will now publicly be put to the test (whether he really practices the good Manobo customs he has long advocated

as their king).[36] At this strategic point the narrator again employs an effective shift to a new vantage point and we are now viewing through the king's eyes the arrival of the crowd of his former subjects, headed by his former wife.

> At the same time (as the crowd approaches), *this* [in-focus deictic, close-at-hand] king is looking out his window *here* [locational, close-at-hand], when what should the king see but his wife approaching, leading a large group of people. "See that now, *there* [some distance away] you come now," said the king. "I was disowned by you before, but now (there you are). It's just not possible, it's not permissible, I say, for *those* [some distance away] people to come here. Go back where you came from, return where you came from!" he said. And with that he grabbed his spear saying, "I'll kill her, for only now does she care anything about me, now that I'm in these (luxurious) circumstances," he said. "Now only do they show any concern for us. Well that simply cannot be (that they're going to get away with it)!"

Thus far in this episode the former subjects of the king have been marked with the in-focus deictic pronoun *ini* 'this' crowd of people [that is, close at hand to the narrator], followed by the locative *ini* 'here [close at hand]'; but as the narrator shifts his vantage point to view their arrival through the eyes of the embittered king, it is now the king whom the narrator marks with the in-focus deictic of proximity *ini* 'this.' And it is by his side that we now stand. The crowd of people remain in focus, but they are now marked with the more-spatially-remote deictic *ayan* 'those [near hearer, or some distance away]'. The burst of anger from the embittered king is met with wise counsel from the monkey son-in-law—which the narrator rhetorically underlines for his audience—and is quickly responded to by his audience with: *Benar kew ve!* 'You're certainly right!'

And if we now turn to the story of "The Woman Who Lived Alone" (see Wrigglesworth 1981:66–69), we find the narrator of that story marking the peak of a very important episode with a triple shift in vantage point (the third one outranking the earlier two) that correlates with an important turning-point in the role played by the small prince. The very young prince, in that story, has set out through the forest to find help for his mother to bury his father. After a lengthy journey, the prince suddenly begins to hear voices, then comes into a clearing in the forest where he sees a farm being well cared for by a large group of people, indicating it is the home of a wealthy chieftain. As we approach the peak of this episode, involving the extraordinary situation of a very young prince having trekked through the forest alone to seek assistance for the burial of his father, the narrator suddenly shifts the vantage point to that of a group of young ladies who are pounding rice on the chieftain's farm, and it is now through their eyes that we view the arrival of the strange little prince.

> Take note, when you (prince) are still at quite a distance away, you are noticed *here* [locational, close-at-hand] by one of the young girls who is pounding rice. As soon as you were noticed by *this* [in-focus deictic, close-at-hand] young woman *here* [locational, close-at-hand] pounding rice, she stood motionless saying, "Girls, see *that* [in-the-distance deictic] child who is coming toward us," said *that* [just-referred-to] young girl *here* [locational, close-at-hand]… . "Just look at *that* [in-the-distance deictic] child with a G-string."

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[36]That the Manobo king's behavior is about to be put to the test is augmented by the fact that the audience has already expressed its folk-jury decision regarding the king's former subjects by laughing deridingly at their comeuppance of now having to suffer famine.

Thus far in the story (almost the entire first half) all speech of the prince has been marked with *sika* ‘that one [just-referred-to]’, an in-focus deictic employed in quotation formulas to trace a key participant throughout discourse. As the narrator shifts vantage points, it is now the speech of one of a group of young ladies pounding rice that the narrator marks with the participant-tracking deictic *sika* ‘that one [just-referred-to]’; but, since the young ladies are entirely new participants in the story, the narrator first brings them on stage by employing emphatic preposing of a focused noun phrase: *this* ‘[in-focus deictic, close-at-hand]’ young woman *here* ‘(locational, close-at-hand]’ (discussed earlier in the introductory section). The prince, though still in focus, is now marked with the most-spatially-remote deictic *eyè* ‘there [in-the-distance, but not quite out of sight]’. Then to further underline the significance of the strange arrival of the little prince, the narrator quickly shifts the vantage point a second time to a group of the king’s servants playing kickball nearby, and it is now through their eyes that we view the arrival of the prince.

> Take note, then it was also seen by *these* [in-focus deictic, close-at-hand] young men *here* [locational, close-at-hand] who were playing kickball. When it was seen by *these* [in-focus deictic, close-at-hand] young men *here* [locational, close-at-hand], he nudged his companion and pointed to *that* [in-the-distance deictic] child.

But the narrator does not stop there; she makes one further shift of vantage point, this time combined with the added dramatic feature of a new episode setting, the combined feature outranking the two earlier shifts. It is now through the eyes of the king’s head-servant Sebandar that we view the prince’s arrival as it is being pointed out to him by the young men who were a few minutes ago playing kickball.

> Take note, here we are now with Sebandar. Said Sebandar, “What’s that you are whispering about?” “Well,” said one of the young men, “there is *that* [in-focus deictic, in-the-distance] child who is approaching. Where could *that-one* [in-focus deictic, in-the-distance] be coming from?” said *that* [one-just-referred-to] young man.

The narrator’s triple shift of vantage point in her story correlates with the beginning of the prince’s rise to becoming an extremely successful and famous ruler.

4.6 A Change in Pace

A further device employed by the Manobo narrator for marking Peak (deep structure Climax) in his story involves a change of pace. And since it is dialogue that he relies upon most heavily to carry the final episodes of his tale, there is often a noticeable contrast in the size of the dialogue which occurs at his story’s Peak. In the “Lena” story, we approach Peak of the entire narrative as the narrator takes his listeners inside the enemy vessel where the hero’s youngest and most beautiful sister Ikuwangan is being pressured into marriage by her brutal captor, the chief of the raiding party. Earlier terse dialogue now gives way to lengthy dialogue and long involved sentences (with five rhetorical questions) in Ikuwangan’s brave

refusal of the attentions of the warrior chief.[37] Topicalized equational sentences help mark the boundaries between the lengthy sentences.

> "Oh, is that what you want? Well it cannot be!" said the young woman. "The reason that it can never be is because you should think over the fact that we are your captives, or what are really called slaves, and it is therefore just not possible for any of you to marry us. The only thing that we are fit for is to be sent on errands in rain or shine," said the young woman, "but it is a violation against the *anit*-deity regulating incest for one of us to marry our captor's chief."
>
> "Never mind that," said the chief, "because the whole reason why I raided Nelendangan was for no other reason except you, even risking death if I could only get you," said the chief. "What you should keep in mind is that I've thought this over as I traveled around to all of the surrounding places, and there is just no one else that I can think of except you who is good enough for me!"
>
> "Well, if it was really your purpose to marry me, then why did you have to invade our place? For if that was really your purpose, you certainly didn't make the proper approach," said the young woman, "for if I was your whole purpose, then you should have made the initial bride-price offer of a spear, but you certainly didn't do that, for you didn't receive any response from my relatives, my parents, or those in charge of me in Nelendangan as having refused your intentions (or I would have known it). It's only now," she said, "that it suddenly comes to your mind to marry me because I'm now your slave. As far as I'm concerned," said Ikuwangan, "since things have turned out for us as they have, I'm no longer respected by you as being your equal. The only way you think of me is as your slave!" said Ikuwangan.
>
> "That's not so!" said the chief. "What I want you to do is to fix a betelnut chew so that we can be married."
>
> "If that's what it is," said Ikuwangan, "that you have in mind then I can never agree, because it's a serious offence for someone like me who is a slave to marry the one who has seized me by force; and that's the very reason I will never," said the young woman, "give in to what you want until I die, for us long as I live you are not going to get from me what you want, for I no longer have any respect in your sight because I'm just one of the many slaves you own, for you just glance over there at my companions as Yugung who lie here inside this ship in chains. Is that good to think about? Certainly not!" she said. "Just keep still now for you're not going to get from me what you want, for if you had made a proper approach to marrying me then, my goodness, I wouldn't have rejected you; but as it is I am simply your captive."
>
> Said the chief, "Perhaps there is someone there in Nelendangan that you still expect to rescue you since there still seems to be someone you are trusting in to save you, or why would you be talking back to me like that? Perhaps you should just take a look around you here at your companions stretched out helpless in chains, for if you had any power then why are you all my captives? Why is it that you don't like me, because it was my very strength that enabled me to capture your place, because I am very powerful!"

A barrage of audience support for Ikuwangan results. "You tell him, Princess! Don't ever agree to marry that man! Don't do it!"

The Manobo narrator also commonly employs embedded discourse to mark his story's Peak. In the swanmaiden story (cited previously), the swanmaiden's discovery of her feather-winged robe hidden in a bamboo flute enables her to return home again. Her hunter husband, from earth, follows in search of her; and we approach the Peak of the entire narrative as the hunter finally reaches his wife's

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[37]Although it is generally considered unacceptable behavior for a Manobo woman to talk back in this fashion, the disparaging circumstances involved warrant it and the full support of the audience. See footnote 23 for a further discussion of the *anit* taboo. (See also footnote 30 for a further instance of unacceptable Manobo behavior occurring at a story's Peak, where it is expected to be challenged by the audience.)

palace home. Just as the hunter is being assigned the task of identifying his wife from among her six identical sisters, he is asked by his father-in-law, the king,

> "But how do I really know that you were ever married to my daughter?" "Well it all happened like this, Your Highness…." replies the hunter.

And a lengthy embedded discourse results as Hunter relates each detail, beginning with the day he went hunting in the forest and first discovered the skymaidens alighting at the pool.

A lengthy embedded discourse also marks Peak in a hunting story about Mehasà and Telingenup. Mehasà (whose name is derived from *gasà* 'thin') joins the hunting party of Telingenup (whose name is derived from *penganup* 'to hunt with dogs'), but is refused even the tiniest piece of the day's catch of fifty wild-pig and deer. Instead he is instructed to eat his cold lunch of rice (which he does) enjoying only the odor of the roasting meat. However, a court-case results when Telingenup discovers his deer and pig meat are tasteless; and Mehasà is charged with having stolen all the flavor of the meat. We approach the story's Peak (Climax in the deep structure) as the questioning in the court-case begins.

> "Well," said the chief, "what do you have to say about these charges, Mehasà? What about Telingenup's accusations? Are they true?" "Well," said Mehasà, "it's like this…."

And a lengthy embedded discourse is the result as Mehasà carefully explains to the chief his every action on the hunting trip, beginning with his very reasons for going in the first place.

4.7 A Condensation of Time

A further device for marking peak in the development of a Manobo story's plot involves the condensation of time: "My, the story goes faster now…," followed by a statement of the amount of time being spanned, such as, "for it is afternoon already, and now it is morning again." In the Pilanduk story (cited previously), Pilanduk sits at the top of the mango tree in the palace yard pretending to be a talking bird, his song enticing the queen to come down and capture him. The king's servants have already made two futile attempts and the queen, in disgust, has even sent out her personal maid-servants to search for the bird. We approach the Peak of this entire embedded narrative as the queen's servants return to report their lack of success. With only one option remaining (that the queen give in and comply with the bird's bidding to come alone herself) and with that question yet unanswered, the narrator employs his first condensation of time.

> Take note, *now the story goes faster,* but the situation is still the same. No one has seen this bird.

The queen quickly succumbs to Pilanduk's plea and he is able to kidnap her and start for home. But an argument with King Crocodile ensues when Pilanduk refuses to keep his agreement with Crocodile to give him the kidnapped queen; and the palace servants are thus enabled to rescue the queen, forcing Pilanduk to flee. As this lengthy embedded discourse closes, there is further embedding of a short narrative as the rescued queen relates to her husband back at the palace that she has overheard the argument between Pilanduk and King Crocodile, and that as a result, Pilanduk

now has to face all King Crocodile's angry subjects. With the queen's report to her husband foreshadowing problems ahead for Pilanduk, the narrator employs his second condensation of time, this occurrence outranking his earlier one by combining it with a new episode setting as well. Here, the narrator spans considerable time by bringing his audience more quickly to the peak of his story's second main episode and Crocodile's ultimatum to Pilanduk, which is further rhetorically underlined with paraphrase.

> Take note, we will end our discussion about the queen, for we will now talk about Pilanduk and Crocodile here. *The story moves faster now,* for after two days Pilanduk again met up with Crocodile. Says Crocodile, "We've encountered each other again so that you will know that
> wherever you go,
> whether you crawl inside a hole (on earth),
> or go up to the sky above,
> or down to the underworld below," he says,
> "I'm going to follow you until I kill you!
> For because of what you did in deceiving me,
> beginning with our meeting today,
> I'm really going to be your enemy," says Crocodile.

However, since Pilanduk is well noted for his wisdom and trickery in getting out of tight situations, the narrator is faced with portraying a dilemma where the odds are stacked heavily against him. The narrator, therefore, follows hard upon the heels of his second usage of the condensation of time, with a third occurrence, now strategically placed between two depictive paragraphs, and concluded with soliloquy.

> Take note, Pilanduk is worrying about what he will ever do here, for wherever you (Pilanduk) go you are confronted with the crocodiles as enemies. If it were only that one crocodile (that you deceived) it wouldn't be so bad; but it's all of the crocodiles from those in the sea to those in large and even small streams, they all are your enemies. And we (narrator and audience) can just see it, *for my story moves faster now,* and Pilanduk keeps on wandering around here in the forest. You (listener) might say that Pilanduk could go to the river for water if it weren't for being bitten by the crocodiles. What is truly difficult to endure here in the forest is Pilanduk's thirst. For where can he ever get water when what he is being constantly confronted with are crocodiles? "Well now," says Pilanduk, "the wisdom of man has completely been brought to an end! For where can I go," he says "to satisfy my thirst? For wherever I go I meet up with crocodiles! There's nothing else to do except for me to stay here in the mountains. But what can I get here? I might even have to use up all of the water to be found in the rattan growing here in order to satisfy my thirst! Then where will I go?"

The narrator's strategy of sandwiching his third condensation of time between two depictive paragraphs (which have been further enhanced with features of rhetorical underlining, rhetorical question, and a shift to the second person pronoun to focus directly upon Pilanduk in his dilemma) serve him well in maintaining a tense story pulse. From the tension generated by his second condensation of time he then relaxes his story's pulse with a depictive paragraph (where the event-line maintains status quo), then quickly knots time up again with his third and final condensation of time, only to relax it once more with another graphically depictive paragraph Thus his yo-yo effect in maintaining a tense story pulse by the deft combination of various rhetorical devices demonstrates a comprehension of drama of no little magnitude! And, hopeless as Pilanduk's dilemma appears, the narrator's final use of his condensation of time persuades the audience to expect the impossible. "Hurry, think of something fast!" they interject. And the narrator tells us, "At that Pilanduk thought of what he should do." Pilanduk's plan proves successful; thus the

narrator's final condensation of time correlates with the beginning of a way out for Pilanduk.

In the "Meluagpeka (Wideback)" story (cited previously), the narrator reserves her time condensing device for marking significant peaks in the structure of a counter-plot, beginning with the first subtle hint that such a counter-plot might exist. Meluagpeka as villain has succeeded in stealing each day's catch of fisherman Berentenigewtigew by first harming the fisherman's younger brother, Berengkenitutkitut, who is left at home to dry-roast the fish. We reach the peak of the first episode as Berentenigewtigew returns home to find his brother laid out in the yard and the fish again stolen. After resuscitating his younger brother, the fisherman confidently orders his brother to gather more firewood and begin dry-roasting today's catch. The younger brother's ready compliance is combined with the narrator's depiction of the newly-gathered supply of wood: "To show how much wood Berengkenitutkitut gathered, it was taller than he was when he stood up." It is at this juncture, at the episode's peak, that the narrator suspends any further flow of action by her first use of a condensation of time, hinting very subtly (at this point) that the protagonist may be developing a new role in order to counteract the villain.

> Take note, for it is afternoon already. And now the story moves faster for it was morning again.

As the narrator resumes the scene the following morning, the fisherman again instructs his younger brother Berengkenitutkitut to remain by the fire, dry-roasting the fish. And, though Berengkenitutkitut readily agrees, he disobeys the moment his brother has left to go fishing.[38] Instead, he digs himself a hole in which to hide from the villain, leaving only his nose protruding above the earth in order to breathe. Meluagpeka returns, finds no one at home, and looks around until he spies a fishing pole which he drags the length and width of the yard. Finally it snags Berengkenitutkitut's nose, and his scream reveals his hiding place. Again, the villain leaves him dead in the yard and escapes with the fish. We reach the episode's peak as Berentenigewtigew returns home, resuscitates his brother, and once more orders his brother to get firewood for drying the new catch of fish. But this time Berentenigewtigew orders Berengkenitutkitut "to increase the supply of wood because you will have need of it!" And with the wood gathered, Berentenigewtigew adds, "Now come here (Berengkenitutkitut), for I'd better do a shaving job on your head." With the fancy head-shaving job completed, Berentenigewtigew stands back to appraise his handiwork with an aura of confidence that is also rhetorically underlined with paraphrase; the first portion of his comment is addressed to his brother, while the second part employs the third person as though Berentenigewtigew's newly-increased confidence in his yet-unexpressed plan compels him to throw out a challenge to the villain that he is now ready for him; the stage is now set! It is at this juncture of Berentenigewtigew's newly-gained confidence that the narrator temporarily suspends the flow of further action by a second use of the device of condensing time.

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[38]Berengkenitutkitut's act of disobedience is the only action initiated solely by him in the entire story; all other actions function simply as responses to his older brother's commands. Thus he serves more as a prop than a true participant in the story.

> "Now indeed," said Berentenigewtigew, "you really look good, Berengkenitutkitut! When I look at Berengkenitutkitut now, he's an exceptionally good looking person!" *And now nightfall has overtaken you. The story moves faster now for it is already morning for you.*

When the narrator again resumes the scene the following morning, it is to set in place his decoy which proves so successful that the villain is deterred from any further stealing because of his intense interest in having his head shaved the same way. We reach the episode's peak (and Peak of the entire narrative as well) as Berentenigewtigew returns home and is informed in a paragraph of dramatic dialogue that the villainy has ceased because of Meluagpeka's new intense interest in having his own head shaved also. To this the fisherman simply responds, "All right, I won't leave so early tomorrow morning to go fishing." With the villain's entrapment now assured, the counter-plot has reached its peak, and the narrator employs her final condensation of time.[39]

> *My! my story goes quickly now for nightfall has come, and then morning dawned again.*

The story is subsequently propelled to a rapid conclusion, with the now-duped villain seemingly compelled to comply with the fisherman's every command. The audience swears that they "can just see Meluagpeka as Berentenigewtigew inserts the sizzling, red-hot axe into the pouch in his back," which means his end.

5. 'CLOSURE' OF HIS PERFORMANCE

Just as a Manobo narrator has employed linguistic devices in order to transport his audience to the very scene where his tale is taking place, followed by the use of a variety of rhetorical features to keep his audience's attention focused upon the story and aware of its peaks as the events unfold before them, so it is of obligatory importance that he closes his story in a formal Manobo fashion. Closures include several variants based on the Manobo word *taman* 'the limit, the end', such as "And that's the end now," followed by the optional specification of "my story." A second group of closures are based on the word

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[39]Subsequent to the analysis presented here, it was discovered in a tape-recorded retelling of this tale on a later occasion that the narrator was less covert about her protagonist's attitude and intentions toward the villain, and thus did not employ the time condensing device. Instead, at the precise point where the first hint of Berentenigewtigew's developing a new role in-order-to-counteract-the-villain is provided in this text by the subtle use of the device of condensing time, the variant text has him overtly state, "Well, now," said Berentenigewtigew, "that Meluagpeka has been really destructive here!" The second hint provided covertly in this text by employing the time condensing device to close the important scene depicting Berentenigewtigew's smug satisfaction with his shaving job done on his brother's head, is likewise overtly expressed in the variant text with "Well, all right, since this is what is happening to you, Berengkenitutkitut, my patience has come to an end!" said Berentenigewtigew. "There's a way for us (dual) to get revenge." The final instance of condensation of time in this text, which occurs following Berentenigewtigew's decision to remain at home and wait for Meluagpeka (upon learning from his brother that the villain has begged to return the following morning to have his head shaved also) is more overtly expressed in the variant text by exhibiting Berentenigewtigew's personal feelings with the comment: "Well, now that's good!" said Berentenigewtigew, "for I'll certainly shave him!" (That is, "And how I will shave him!") However, it is the narrator's more subtle handling of her story that keeps an audience in suspense through the all-night storytelling hours, ultimately earning a reputation for her that places her in much demand as a most competent raconteur!

amin 'to use up or consume something', or the closely-related term *ipus* 'to finish, to complete something'. But he often chooses to employ metaphor because of the colorful images it conjures up: "And now the story has come to the other end and is finished," where the expression "has come to the other end" is derived from *epus* 'the final smoldering embers of a log which has burned its way through its entire length'. A variant of one of these closures is certain to be employed by the master Manobo raconteur to formally conclude his performance; in over two-thousand pages of their formal stories, no story occurs without it.

6. CONCLUSION

As the Manobo audience finally disperses into the night, their ready exchange of comments over some particularly expressive action or gesture in the performance just witnessed, reflects a theatrical flavor reminiscent of the after-performance chatter of theatre lobbies back home. It has now begun to become clear that when a Manobo person speaks of a narrator's ability to "put a story together well" or "to have it hold together," the Manobo idiom they use has far-reaching implications. For the examples they provided refer to the narrator's very ability to "heighten the vividness" of her story, and to "mark peaks in its surface structure" so unmistakably that they would not be missed by the audience. And when the audience refers to narrators who, as yet, held no interest for them because they still "broke up their story" or "did not yet put it together well," it is because those narrators had not yet gained a mastery of these tools.

It is, therefore, evident that a very integral part of understanding the Manobo storytelling performance, and the Manobo oral transmission process as well, involves their language. And that the Manobo language possesses a dynamic array of rhetorical devices for enabling the Manobo storyteller to become not only a master of dramatic entertainment, but a master in the art of maintaining the emotional involvement of her audience through the important Manobo cultural implications found strategically distributed at peak points throughout her tales. Cultural implications that constantly remind the audience to stay awake as society's jurors and support or condemn a story-participant's actions now! The very perpetuation of Manobo culture stands to suffer from their silence! For tomorrow may be too late![40]

[40]A threat less easily coped with stems from the increased political unrest in many areas of Mindanao which makes it no longer possible for a group of families to gather together at nighttime lest their storytelling be interpreted as suspect to the military forces present. Important cultural duties, as the settling of custom-law cases, now have to be dealt with during the daylight hours, without the concomitant all-night storytelling that once functioned as an integral part of such affairs. Of necessity, then, the art of storytelling is declining in the high function it formerly filled. And the younger generation no longer sees a purpose in taking up the art, a highly-developed art which has been maintained through the centuries by narrators who have spent a lifetime perfecting their mastery of devices that enabled them to hold an audience spellbound until dawn.

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