

STUDIES IN PHILIPPINE LINGUISTICS

Volume 5 Number 1 1984
[*Aspects of discourse I*]

Fe T. Otones and Austin Hale, series eds.

Robert Brichoux. "Hortatory strategy in Subanen II"
80–117



ISSN: 0119-6456

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Sample Citation Format

Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista. 1977. "The noun phrase in Tagalog—English code switching". *Studies in Philippine Linguistics* 1:1, 1–16. Online. URL: <http://www.sil.org/asia/philippines/> [etc.] + access date.

HORTATORY STRATEGY IN SUBANUN III

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0. Introduction

Data and insights from the author coupled with the analytical skills and writing experience of Austin Hale produced a preliminary study of Subanun hortatory, or persuasive, discourse in 1977 (Brichoux and Hale). In this subsequent paper I want to confirm some of our earlier, tentative conclusions, to point up thematic structures parallel to backbone, and finally, to indicate something of the role that mitigation plays in persuasion.²

1. Topic line

In our previous paper, we assumed that the exhortations in a hortatory discourse form the backbone of that discourse. My recent study confirms this and points up the occurrence of a topic line as well. The topic line consists of the noun phrases and nominalized clauses that are in focus³ in successive clauses. These focused items occur in preposed and postposed dependent clauses as well as in the independent, nuclear clauses. Position is not relevant.

Looking at the focused items in the two texts which I have added to the three used in our first study, I have found clearcut topic lines. The 70 sentences of Text D contain 55 items in focus, some, of course, in focus more than once (see Appendix A). The shorter, less developed Text E has 18 topics in 18 sentences (see Appendix B). The first ten focused items in

Text D which are not earlier focused items being repeated illustrate the thesis nicely. The topic line of part of the first embedded hortatory discourse in Text D is:

- 1) what will happen to us in the future
- 2) the way to go which will guarantee a reasonable future
- 3) we (inclusive)
- 4) the fact that we are known as backward
- 5) others (other ethnic groups)
- 6) the reason (we are behind)
- 7) the education (of some young Subanun)
- 8) what we learned
- 9) the reason (some of us have hidden what we know)
- 10) what's good to be done about it

Since we assumed in the earlier analysis that exhortations form the backbone of hortatory discourse, we did not look for further thematic content and missed the role that focus plays. The commands are the macro-structure of the discourse, but they would be ineffective as hortatory devices without the topic line. The topic line runs through the exhortations as well as through the hortatory motivations and statements of conflict situation. Previously we noted the shifting characteristic of focus. Now I can see the rationale behind it: it drives the discourse forward.

An outline of Text D will further illustrate my findings. The author of this discourse, Isis Guilingan, has divided it into four hortatory points, each expounded by an embedded hortatory discourse. The global theme is that the future is coming upon the Subanuns and that they need to do something to get ready for it. The first hortatory point says that Subanuns are behind, and those among them who are educated must use their education for the benefit of their people, and further that they must identify with them. The second point says that their ancestors had said that seemingly impossible things would happen in the future and what they said has been fulfilled. Now it is being said that God will judge the world. What are the Subanuns doing to prepare for this eventuality? The third point says that the young people must take note of the fact that most of what their elders had proscribed, would really have helped them get ahead had they only listened to them. In the final point, Guilingan says that the Subanuns are between a rock and a hard place, especially with respect to their traditional farming methods. They have got to prevail upon the government to help them out.

In addition to these four points there is a concluding section in which Gullingan suggests that in the light of the uncertainty of what will be done about the situation, the Subanuns' best recourse is to trust God to help them work out the future.

The discourse reaches its peak in the middle of the fourth point where the author, in an embedded narrative, tells the story of his own father's imprisonment for destroying government forest lands, which resulted from his following traditional Subanun farming methods.

In conclusion the ten sample topics cited above for Text D form the topic line, beginning with the global exhortation and extending to the first exhortation of the initial embedded discourse. The focused topic line for the rest of the text does not deviate from this trend. That is, it continues to trace the arguments marshalled to support the ensuing exhortation or exhortations.

Text E is advice to young men (presumably unmarried). The unique focused items in this text, written by Entong Anulay, are as follows:

- 1) the text
- 2) a grown young man
- 3) his livelihood in the married state (projected)
- 4) one he meets whom he wants to marry
- 5) the dowry
- 6) the provisions for the wedding
- 7) all he needs for the wedding
- 8) no lack thereof

and in the second point:

- 9) the advice of your parents
- 10) you and your parents
- 11) young people in general
- 12) their having been raised by their parents
- 13) the limit (in time) of their parent's support
- 14) how it is with married people
- 15) that illustrated by our parents' situation

- 16) what could happen with respect to our (married) life
- 17) people in general
- 18) parents

Since Text E is much shorter than Text D, we have quoted in translation all of the nonrepeated focused items, and they account for an uninterrupted progression of arguments leading from the two primary hortatory points: young men must learn from the wise in the community, and young men must heed their parents' advice.

The topic line itself does not tell what the exhortations are, and thus the discourse is incomplete without both the topic line and the exhortations.

Both Text D and Text E seem to be well formed, their difference in detail accounted for by degree of mitigation.

2. Prominence

Subanun has three separate, overt focus markers or case marking particles which mark topic. Felicia Brichoux (this volume) is currently looking into their semantic components, surface structure rules and discourse function. One of the three, ki, marks only thematic or prominent material.⁴ In some hortatory discourses ki does not occur at all and it may be that in the mind of the speaker or writer the subject itself is not prominent, not highly important. Since ki is a focus marker, all noun phrases (NP's) so marked are also members of the topic line.

Again, this point can be illustrated from Text D and Text E. In Text E, just as the author gives his exhortations only after prolonged explanatory passages, so he seldom uses ki. The introduction and first embedded discourse have no occurrence of ki. In the second embedded discourse Guilingan reminds the reader that the Subanun's immediate ancestors had predicted that within the next one or two generations they would see metal flying through the air, floating on the sea, and running along the ground. It is only after this illustration that ki is first used in the entire discourse:⁵

D:19 53Kig launanen, minita' ma na tu'u. We have seen ALL of
 DET all seen only already truly this happen.

All of what? All of the things predicted of metal which, at the time, any Subanun knew, did not fly, float nor run. For Guilingan this is one of the most important arguments he has to offer. Some of the things which are happening now in the world were foreseen by our own ancestors. Therefore (presumably), one cannot merely close one's eyes and hope the problems coming upon the Subanuns will go away.

In the next sentence Guilingan says that, yes, the Subanuns have witnessed or experienced these phenomena. But what yet does the future hold, he goes on to ask. Then he uses ki a second time:

D:21	56	Laak medengegta	duun	pa	pagid ki	We have heard, though,
		but hear.we(inc)	there.is	yet again	DET	that there is
						SOMETHING ABOUT TO
		sungu mateng,	57	su tinalu'	ukuman nug diwata	HAPPEN, that is, that
		soon arrive	DET said	judge	DET god	God is going to judge
						the whole world.
		sug tibuukan nug lumbang.				
		DET entire	DET world			

The following two sentences comprise a hortatory paragraph which is appropriate to these two arguments: that previous predictions have come true, and that here is another prediction of even more import. So far ki has marked only highly thematic material.

Similarly the use of ki throughout the rest of the discourse is reserved for thematic or most prominent material. In D:25 Guilingan introduces the idea of the whole discourse itself with ki. In D:34 it marks 'all' again and this time 'all' refers to a set of prohibitions voiced by immediate ancestors. This is reiterated with ki in D:36. The final use of ki in the entire discourse is in D:50 where it marks the land which is taxed every year, the central theme of the final embedded discourse.

Anulay, by contrast, uses the theme marking particle much more often, just as he makes frequent use of exhortation. Seemingly, the more mitigation in argumentative style, the less thematic highlighting. Just after the introduction, Anulay marks the audience with ki:

2	2Sa'	ki	getaw	gembagel na,	When a YOUNG MAN
		if	DET person	grown already	reaches some degree of maturity.

There follow eight sentences in which it is not again used, since the focus is on activities contributing to security. Beginning with E:9 the author has moved to his second hortatory point and in E:11 marks the audience again:

E:11	23	Kaas	ki	gembata'	ndi'	sumungal dig	So CHILDREN do not
		and.so	DET child	no	resist	DET	ignore their parent's
							instructions,
		megulangen,					
		parents					

Going on to point up the similarity between the situation facing young people and that which faced their parents when their parents were in the position of providers for these young people, he says:

E:13	29Pu'	suuunanta	kig	betad	getaw	We know HOW IT IS when
		for know.we(incl)	DET	way	person	people marry,
mesuy,						
separates (from parents),						

and this is right on the theme of heeding parents' advice. He continues to use ki frequently to mark theme throughout the remainder of the text.

Thus, in hortatory discourse there exist three strands of thematic material. There are the exhortations which form the backbone, the topic line interwoven with the commands, and the occurrences of the thematic ki at strategic points along the topic line. The topic line forms the speaker/writer's line of argument leading to or from exhortations. Giving a sort of zoom lens effect, the particle ki highlights the most prominent subject(s).

3. Surface structure

3.1 Extralinguistic factors

In the previous study we charted only the hortatory motivations, the projected conflict situations, and the command elements. Grimes' Thurman chart (Grimes 1975:83) gave us the basic ideas and arrangement for setting up charts for this study in which we used seven columns: exhortation (or command element), participant identification, hortatory motivation, conflict situation, evaluation or result, collateral material, and performatives. Without an astute informant or a fairly fluent speaking ability in Subanun, it would be difficult to apply such a chart to the data. There are, for example, extralinguistic or ethnographic factors evoked by the semantic components of the vocabulary. We allude to this in Section 4. An extremely clear example of extralinguistic hortatory motivation and conflict situation would be the following from American traffic control practices near schools: we see a number of children crossing a street at a marked crosswalk, and a traffic patrolman in the middle of the crosswalk with raised hand holding a sign. The only linguistic item is the printed word 'STOP' on the patrolman's sign, yet we can assume in most cases that the exhortation is quite intelligible and effective.

I will illustrate the content of the various columns from our charting of Text D.

Exhortation:

- D:8 25Laak pegdelendem niu gupia sug melengas Just stop and think a
 but think you well DET good minute about what we
 penggulaulaan... ought to do about
 to.do this...

Participant identification:

- D:2 6ita kini nug bansa Subaanen we who constitute this
 we(inc) this DET tribe Subanun tribe of Subanuns

Hortatory motivation:

- D:1 1Naa sa' di gunaan nda' ta pa suunay Now, with respect to
 now if DET ahead not we(inc) yet know what's ahead, we do
 ta' alandun i gempenggulaulata dig binaya' not yet know what will
 Q what DET happen.we(inc) DET behind happen to us in the
 gebii muka' nu gendaw... future...
 night and DET day

Conflict situation:

- D:2 7mibinaya' na Ø gupia We are already well
 behinded already we(inc) well behind

Evaluation:

- D:3 9sunggu na Ø metulan dig ditaas they are just about to
 almost already they enter DET up make it

Collateral:

- D:6 20Saaken niu, 21Mauma egludenen Ø? You ask, 'Why does he
 ask you(pl) why hides.he it hide it?'

Performative:

- D:2 5Pu' sa' nda' niu suunay, In case you don't
 for if not you(pl) know, know,

The exhortation or command element corresponds to Grimes' event; hortatory motivation to his setting; conflict situation to background; and the others correspond with his usage enough to retain his labels.

3.2 Tagmemic representation

We also looked at the constituent structure of our two texts in terms of tagmemic representations (Peck 1981).⁶ The texts considered here, along with the three in the previous study, in addition to ten more in our immediate corpus may all be characterized by the following tagmemic formula:

±Introduction +Hortatory pointⁿ ±Conclusion ±Closure

Some form of the introduction is obligatory, but since sometimes the material which introduces the theme of the discourse is embedded in the first hortatory point, we left the 'Introduction' optional in the formula. The hortatory point is the only obligatory surface structure constituent. As communication by writing becomes more widespread, perhaps 'Title' will come to serve the function of introduction. Four of the discourses in our corpus use only their titles as introduction.

The examples below illustrate first a separate introduction, and then introductory information embedded in the first sentence of a hortatory point:

E:1 iNaa, sug titulu' dig begutaw.
now DET instructions DET bachelor

Now then (here are)
some instructions for
young men.

E:1 Naa, kiin migawid ma na amu
now this held only already you(pl)

Now then, here you
are, having made your
vows, this is what
will occupy your
attention, how to make
a living, working in
the fields and
planting.

duayan, iin i pektalentenay niu ki
marriage it DET heed you(pl) DET

kegleketubu' niu, mengimbaal muka'
livelihood your(pl) work.in.fields and

megimula.
plant

In the latter text the introductory material is highly stereotyped, but embedded: 'here you are, having made your vows...' The introduction of Text E is a noun phrase in sentence 1, which is unusual. Text D has a long introduction, too long to quote here (see Appendices). The other exponents of introduction that we have found so far are a single sentence or, in a few cases, a noun phrase.

The hortatory point consists, minimally, of a single sentence and, maximally, of an embedded discourse. It may be that other kinds of discourse may be embedded in a hortatory discourse, but we have not found any except explanatory material. We have found most further embeddings, but not all, to be explanatory types. The norm is for the embedded hortatory

discourse to consist of only a paragraph or a series of paragraphs. These paragraphs are always arguments and evidence that support the exhortation.

The embedded hortatory discourse often has an introduction and material leading up to the final exhortation. The exhortation which points toward the resolution of the conflict situation delineated in the progress of the hortatory discourse is usually final in the discourse, and most often is the final sentence of the embedded discourse.

The well formed hortatory discourse also has a concluding generic statement, for example:

Kaas iin i muli' memikil su nga getawa	So all of you
thus it DET return think DET (pl) person	listening to me today
	would do well to weigh
mekedengeg, megeklung, meglingkaga'.	carefully what I'm
can.hear look.down look.up	saying.

Closure is a phrase built around the word daal 'all'.⁷ Although it is not obligatory to this discourse type, with other discourse types closure invariably occurs last and usually does in hortatory texts. In Text D it is embedded in the conclusion:

D:66 149Naa, daal da ini telu'enku	Now, this is all I
now all just this say.I	have to say to you.
diniu.	
to.you(pl)	

Elsewhere in our corpus we have the final phrase:

Daal da.
all just

'That's all now.'

We can't imagine more than a sentence in this slot.

The body of the hortatory discourse, made up of one or a string of hortatory points, has nearly limitless possible exponents. Nearly all the paragraph types listed by Peck (1981) except for dramatic types occur in the embedded discourses in our corpus. Dialogue paragraph does not, but we have heard it used in stereotyped settings among the Subanuns, such as litigation in which one of the elder speakers will use the gathering as an opportunity to 'preach' a little to the young people. He will use dialogue paragraphs in his talk.

Examples of some paragraph types can be found in Text D and Text E:

- Text D, Sentences 44-46 Narrative paragraph
- Text D, Sentences 5-7 Explanatory paragraph
- Text D, Sentences 22-23 Hortatory paragraph
- Text D, Sentences 28-31 Exemplification paragraph
- Text D, Sentences 18-19 Rhetorical question-answer paragraph
- Text D, Sentences 53-55 Contrast paragraph
- Text D, Sentences 59-65 Parallel paragraph
- Text E, Sentences 11-14 Explanatory paragraph

4. Focal content

In the previous study of Subanun hortatory discourse we referred to focal content. This is Hale's term and is not very different from Labov and Waletzky's evaluative functions in narrative discourse (Labov and Waletzky 1967:13). At once focal content refers to those surface structures which keep the audience interested in the discourse and to the underlying intent and message of the speaker or writer. It is not so much implied as it is evoked, and it is an obligatory part of the discourse rather than an optional part. I will point out this focal content in the succeeding paragraphs.

Text E was written to be published as a pamphlet to motivate Guilingan's fellow Subanuns, young and old, starting from the status quo, to move into the 20th century. The Subanuns who speak Guilingan's language comprise roughly 31/100's of a percent of the total population of the Philippines. If the five principal Subanun language groups are added together, they account for about 20%, however, of their immediate population, that is of the Zamboanga peninsula of Mindanao. Even so, for the most part, they regard themselves as the bottom rung of the social or caste-like ladder. In Wolff's massive dictionary of the Cebuano Visayan language we find the following entries under suba 'river': "suban-un noun 1) person living near the river. 2) the Subano, a non-Christian tribe of Western Mindanao. a) having dirty habits, like the Subano's." The Cebuano people are the immigrant, but dominant, ethnic group of Mindanao, having supplanted numerous native peoples of Mindanao in the last one hundred years. Although we cannot document it, we have been told by Subanuns that sometimes when a Cebuano mother (in the Zamboanga provinces) wants to shame her child into more acceptable behavior, she may say something which means, 'You're just like a Subano. Wipe your nose!' Any group of Subanuns will switch from their own language to Cebuano Visayan if a single Cebuano enters the room or area. They regard their own language as inferior for important communication since school, religion, and commerce are all carried on in one of the Visayan dialects, Pilipino or English. Many

educated and bilingual Subanuns, will not read their own language, although there are several books and pamphlets available in Subanun. We could aptly state their global attitude toward themselves as, 'The way to get ahead is to leave Subanun (language and culture) behind.' Indeed a small proportion of the population has done so.

Several sentences, phrases, and even words in the Guilingan text point to this attitude.

D:2 '...we, this Subanun tribe, are the ones spoken of when they say, 'they are well behind.' '

D:6,7 'Why do (we young educated Subanun) hide (our knowledge and skills)? This is the reason, because we are ashamed of our tribe, because among us Subanuns it is indisputable that there are many, many who are ignorant.'

D:8 '...so that your tribe won't be talked about behind your backs.'

D:22 '...be behind...'

D:29 '...food for the Turks...'

D:33 'We, the Subanuns, have no livelihood...'

D:41 '...as for me, I am suffering because of the way things are for us these days, we of the Subanun tribe.'

And so forth. Seemingly a good many Subanun have placed a minus value on being Subanun. Be that as it sadly may, this value is appealed to in this text.

Another value appealed to is 'togetherness', expressed primarily through the use of the inclusive pronoun as topic. 'We (inclusive)' occurs 21 times in Text D. The projected result of the final exhortation in embedded discourse four (D:39) states it explicitly, '...so that we will gather together to live (dwell).' The next sentence reinforces this notion, 'And if we are one as to the place where we live...'

Although a minus value, 'shame' figures prominently in Text D. Instances are so varied as to require a listing:

D:1 'Considering what lies before us, it is certainly true that we do not know what the future holds for us, but what is even worse is for a people not even to be looking for the way which will guarantee a reasonable future in life.'

D:2 'I'm sure that you are all aware of the fact that we Subanuns are known as backward.'

D:6,7 'Why do (we young educated Subanun) hide (our knowledge and skills)? This is the reason, because we are ashamed of our tribe, because among us Subanuns it is indisputable that there are many who are ignorant.'

D:12 'So, in my view we have got to share what we know with our fellow Subanuns so that they won't end up doing something inappropriate that we get involved in. (Same sentence continues) And, don't be ashamed to identify with them wherever we meet them.'

A value, not immediately apparent on the surface is rhetorical skill. As such it is in a state of flux for the Subanuns who, used to chanting arguments back and forth in litigation or in competitive story telling, now are adapting to *barrio* or *baranggay* litigation accomplished through clever argument, citation of similar cases, and the telling of traditional stories. Gullingan, though writing this exhortation, uses oral techniques such as the oft repeated, *Pu' sa' nda' niu suunay*, 'For, in case you don't know it...'

Other examples of oral technique used in Text D are as follows:

Simile:

<p>D:3 8Su ngag duma, sa' maa' niin dagid DET (pl) companion if like this but</p> <p>pekpenaik di gegdan, 9sungu na metulan climbing DET ladder soon already enter</p> <p>dig ditaas... DET upstairs</p>	<p>Now, take other ethnic groups. If we liken all of us to those mounting the stairs into a house, they are just about to enter...</p>
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Metaphor:

<p>D:5 17laak igluden sug tinawanen, but hid.he DET skill.his</p> <p>18inisenen ditug dialem nu kaban... inserted.he DET inside DET trunk</p>	<p>...but he had hidden his know-how, he has put it in his trunk...</p>
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Rhetorical question and answer:

<p>D:6 20Saaken niu 21'Mauma egludenen ask you(pl) why.on.earth hides.he</p> <p>Ø?' D:7 22Kiin ig puunanen, 23saba' it this DET origin.its because</p> <p>mpiid tug bansanen... ashamed DET tribe.his</p>	<p>You ask, 'Why on earth does he hide it (his know-how)?' The reason is that he is ashamed of his ethnic origin.</p>
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Invoking the supernatural:

<p>D:11 32Pu' sug diwata, mesuunanen ta' bensaay for DET god/God knows.he what tribe dun. he</p>	<p>For god/God knows what tribe a person belongs to.</p>
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The sayings of their forebears:

Sentences 16-19 (see Appendix A)

Exemplification:

Sentences 28-34 (see Appendix A)

A narrative:

Sentences 43-52 (see Appendix A)

By means of these rhetorical devices Guilingan is, in effect, saying that he is a qualified exhorter.

5. Mitigation in the command element

'The effectiveness of a hortation depends not simply upon the skill with which the verbal material is handled. Rather it also depends upon how the hearer accredits the speaker, what social pressures are brought to bear, and what consequences are likely to ensue.' (Brichoux and Hale 1977:75-95)

These sentences from our former paper point up the fact that Guilingan's strategy must be different from that of the authors whose discourses were considered in that article. In the cases of Texts A, B and C (and E here) the authors have a familial or political relationship to the people they are exhorting and can evoke social pressure to induce conformity. They also point out the consequences of failure to heed the commands they give. Although Guilingan uses the latter strategy, he primarily uses rhetorical skill. One of the chief tactics in his strategy is mitigation. He achieves mitigation by three means: 1) infrequent use of commands; 2) strategic location of the commands; and 3) syntactic devices such as polite forms, modals, requests, and suggestions.

5.1 Infrequent use of command elements

In the earlier paper we talked about the effectiveness of hortatory discourse, and one very significant measure of such effectiveness is the standing in the community of the author. Readers will note that Text D has very few commands, overt or covert, that is, direct or variously mitigated, while the other illustrative texts have a high proportion of exhortation

with hortatory motivations and conflict situations sharing the same sentence with these exhortations.

The brevity of Text E and the greater length and development of Text D reflect the differing standings of the two authors in their respective communities. The author of Text D is neither a hereditary traditional leader nor one of the two highest elected leaders of his Subanun community, but because of natural ability he exercises considerable authority in the community. We can illustrate his standing by the following incident: He was at SIL's study center working with us on another project when an event, conceived of by the community as catastrophic, occurred in his home area. He was sent for and when we inquired why, he in all humility responded, 'They won't do anything without me there.' There are roughly 2500 people in his area.

The author of Text E, on the other hand, is 'first councilor' (that is, second in command of the lowest political grouping) of his area. Although the home area of Entong Anulay, author of Text E, is much smaller and has a population of roughly 200, his leadership probably only affects half that number. We cannot say that the differing features of the two texts are the only reason for the differing standings of the authors, but we can say that the more effective leader uses the more mitigated style.

Although Text D is 70 full-blown sentences long, there are only 13 commands, requests, and suggestions. By contrast Text A has nine command elements in twelve sentences; Text B has twelve command elements in nineteen; Text C has five in ten; and Text E has eight in eighteen. Gulingan is comparatively sparing in the use of command elements.

5.2 Strategic location of command elements

Where does he put them in his discourse? The first command element, which we will later explain was veiled suggestion, is placed in the introductory sentence and is global to the whole discourse: 'But what is even worse than that is for a people not even to be looking for the way which will guarantee a reasonable future in life.' While this is a veiled suggestion, it is also a claim which the remainder of the discourse supports. The reader is 'hooked' to go on reading. Gulingan is really saying something like, 'Granted that not knowing what the future holds for us is a bad deal, it is even worse--stupid--shall we say, not to be doing anything about it!'

In the first embedded discourse, D:2-12, the 'we' is identified and then a lengthy series of explanatory paragraphs gives the hortatory motivations and conflict situations appropriate to the first command element (which occurs in D:12). This section is interrupted once by a command which is a direct imperative: 'Just consider carefully then what's good to do about it...' The author has made his points that Subanuns are behind the times and that the young, educated ones are doing nothing about it. This inserted command, which is not substantive to the discourse, but rather tells them to think about the issue, introduces further arguments to support the coming command element, which concludes this embedded material

in D:12. He seems to be saying, 'There's more I've got to say on this topic.' It is an exhortation to stay with him, not unlike the American, 'Are you with me?'

It is not until Guilingan has made his point and then reinforced it, that he gives his first command element which will lead to resolution of the conflict situation: 'So, in my view we have got to share what we know with our fellow Subanuns so that they won't end up doing something inappropriate that we get involved in. And, don't be ashamed to identify with them wherever we meet them.' (D:12).⁸ Although the surface structure of D:12 is that of a modal (slightly mitigated) command, 'We(inc) must...' following the lengthy explanation, it has the force of an appeal.

Text D's second embedded discourse consists of a series of explanatory paragraphs (D:13-23), again which culminate in a command element, in this case a hortatory paragraph addressed to the elders of his group. It is highly mitigated:

D:22 'All right then, what do you senior citizens think about his latter prediction?'

D:23 'Don't you think you could let us (inc) get ready for this eventuality so that when it does happen, we won't be caught in the lurch?'

D:22 is actually telling the elders to consider the implications of the prediction, while D:23 calls for action on the part of all to prepare. These command elements don't occur until after Guilingan has evoked three predictions by the elders concerning phenomena of modern times, all of which had been fulfilled, and a statement of a current prediction. Based on the reality of the first predictions, he appeals to the elders to consider seriously the new prediction.

Once again in the third embedded discourse, the author has an introductory exhortation, but it seems to be to himself, not to push the elders. The section continues with explanatory paragraphs built around an exemplification paragraph which quotes the elders for a second time. In this instance, however, what the elders said was not a prediction, but a warning against taking up education, farming, and land ownership. The modern Subanuns who've followed this advice, have nothing to show for it but a hard life. Guilingan urges the elders to consider very carefully what has happened, namely the following of bad advice, lest just such evil consequences happen again. Again he uses a first person plural modal imperative, having 'softened' his audience:

D:37 'What happened as a result we must never forget so that it won't happen again.'

D:38 'As we know now, it was not good at all to have proscribed those things.'

The fourth embedded discourse begins with another 'Still with me?' addressed to his fellow young people:

D:39 'Young people, please, pay attention to what I'm saying so that you can keep our tribe from dying out.'

Then it proceeds to show that Guilingan has a vital interest in the whole question of the tribe facing the new age foisted on them by the expansion into Mindanao of other, more educated, more economically sophisticated Filipinos. This discourse is the longest of the four and the most dramatic. It consists of D:39-65.

The largest single chunk of this embedded discourse is the embedded narrative in which Guilingan tells of his father's imprisonment. In the following lengthy series of explanatory paragraphs Guilingan explains the implications for Subanuns of land laws. This section is followed by a pseudo command of the form, 'This is what we could have done.' There is a particle in this sentence (D:53), however, familiar to Philippine linguistics, which indicates nonreality, frustration, and wishful thinking, *sia*. Guilingan quickly goes on to say, 'Of course the problem with that idea is that...' in D:55. This constitutes a possible resolution, but is quickly relegated to impracticality. There is a small explanatory paragraph following this, then come the final exhortations.

This fourth embedded discourse ends with an extensive hortatory unit. Thus D:59 through D:65 constitute a parallel hortatory paragraph in which the author calls on all his fellow people to prevail upon the government for help, specifically, to set aside for them a Subanun reservation. The exhortation is aimed at the people, but highly mitigated so as to take the form: 'In other words, the government has got to help us by giving us our own reservation.' Once again we have a long, sympathy-evoking series of paragraphs culminating in a mitigated exhortation. Guilingan's strategy is obviously to explain carefully, to evoke history, and to follow up with a mitigated command.

The coda-like conclusion is also mitigated, as the author wraps up the whole:

'Just let me add that we really don't know what will happen as a result of what I'm saying here...even so let's all of us Subanuns trust the whole thing to God.'

5.3 Syntactic devices

Labov and Fanshel construct a cline of mitigation for exhortations in therapeutic discourse. At this stage we prefer the matrix representation for Subanun shown in Figure 1. The labels Present and Irrealis refer to tense-like aspect; and Third, Inclusive and Second to pronoun categories. As one chooses constructions to the right and down, one's exhortation becomes more blunt, less mitigated.

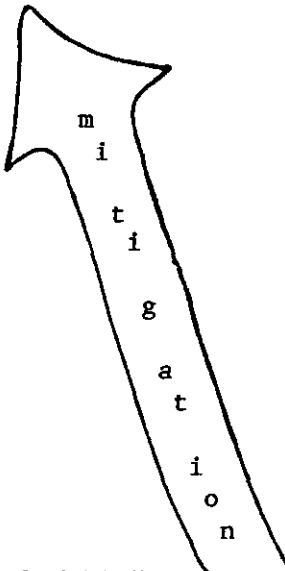
	Present Inclusive + <u>deli'</u> 'quickly'	
	+ <u>mesu'at ba</u> 'ok'	+ <u>kelelat</u> 'please'
	Second Present Inclusive	Irrealis Second
+ <u>melengas</u> 'good'	+ <u>melengas</u> 'good'	+ <u>melengas</u> 'good'
Present Third	Present Inclusive	Present Second
Present Third	Present Inclusive	Present Second
+ <u>subay</u> 'must'	+ <u>subay</u> 'must'	+ <u>subay</u> 'must'
Present Third	Present Inclusive	Present Second
Present Third (veiled suggestion)	Present Inclusive (veiled suggestion)	Irrealis Second

Figure 1. Matrix representation of syntactic devices

5.4 Hortatory verb clauses

In order to be sure that I get a firm grasp of what options there are for exhortation in Subanun at the clause level, I carefully studied all fifteen texts available to me to come up with the matrix presented in Figure 1. Mitigation tends to move upwards and to the left so far as I have charted it, but I am not certain all Subanuns would see it this way. The

following illustrate these devices, top to bottom, left to right from the matrix:

Present, inclusive + deli':

F:18	Mengamed ita deli'...	Let's quiet down
	be.quiet we(incl) quickly	now...

+ mesu'at ba + second, present inclusive:

D:23	60Mesu'at ba diniu pengendamenta...	Is it okay with you if
	okay Q you(pl) prepare.we(incl)	we prepare...

+ kelelat + irrealis, second:

D:39	96Naa, amu nu nga gembata', kelelat	Young people, please,
	now you(pl) DET (pl) children please	pay attention to what
		I'm saying...
	diniu, pektalenten na amu...	
	you(pl) pay.attention already you(pl)	

+ melengas + present, third:

D:61	137Melengas sia sukuden su ngag	It would be good to
	good hopefully measure DET (pl)	have it all
		surveyed...
	pegbenwananta...	
	dwelling.place.our(incl)	

+ melengas + present, inclusive:

L:3	1Kaas melengas dunutanta gupia si	So, it is good for us
	so good follow.we(incl) well DET	to follow Jesus
		well...
	Isus...	
	Jesus...	

melengas + present, second:

N:10	Kaas melengas megungangen ita...	So it would be good
	so good become.good we(incl)	for us to straighten
		up...

Present, third:

E:6	13Mektimud kuarta muka' babuy...	He (should) save up
	save.up.he money and pigs	some money and pigs...

Present, inclusive:

D:24	64Naa, sa' kalukalu megdua'dua' su	For the sake of those
	now if in.case confused DET	of us who are still
		confused about all

ginaa niu, ndi' data tegelen... this, let's not
emotion your(pl) not just.we(incl) force force...

Present, second:

M:16 Unutanku amu. Follow me/just follow
follow.me you(pl) me.

+ subay + present, third:

L:3 5subay pengmia'mia'en sug titulu'an ...one must instruct
must do.gently DET instruction them gently...

dinilan...
them

+ subay + present, inclusive:

D:12 33Kaas subay pentulu'enta sug So, in my view we have
so must instruct.we(incl) DET got to share what we
danita samaSubaanen... know with our fellow
our(incl) fellow.Subanun Subanuns...

+ subay + present, second:

E:9 20Subay pektalentenan niu gupia sug All of you must heed
must pay.attention you(pl) well DET well what your parents
tinitulu diniu nug megulang niu. have taught you.
instruction you(pl) DET parent your(pl)

Present, third veiled suggestion:

J:1 5pu' sebuten sia ua'en su kelegenay ...because hopefully
for agree.to hopefully remove DET hardship plans will be made to
pebianan dig begu ketubu' nemun... take away the
experienced DET new living nowadays hardships being
experienced nowadays...

Present, inclusive veiled suggestion:

D:1 3labi na sa' ndi'ta tanan ...but what is even
moreso already if not.we(incl) all worse than that is for
penengaun sug 4dalan melengas sia us not even to be
look DET path good hopefully looking for the way
which will
bianan pangay tug danita ketubu'an... guarantee...
way to DET our(incl) living

Irrealis, second:

D:8 25Laak pegdelendem niu gupia sug
but think you(pl) well DET

But consider carefully
then what it would be
good to do about it...

melengas penggulaulaan...
good do

6. Conclusion

What justified further study of Subanun hortatory discourse? Simply that we needed to verify the conclusions we reached in the first study. In the process however of looking in depth at two more Subanun hortatory texts while comparing our findings with ten others, I have found much more significant structures and devices for creating effective exhortations in Subanun.

First of all, in addition to the backbone discussed in the earlier paper, I have found both a clear cut topic line and a theme line. Another way to say that is to say that Subanun hortatory discourse marks backbone as exhortations, a topic line as a sequence of focused noun phrases which carry the discourse's argument, and a particle ki whose occurrence highlights the theme of the discourse.

In terms of taxonomic structures, Subanun hortatory discourse has a simple tagmemic representation and can be charted rhetorically as well.

Hale's notion of focal content was extremely useful to me in trying to discover what Subanuns are saying in addition to surface structures. This I equate with Labov and Waletzky's evaluative functions in narrative discourse.

Finally, making use of my full corpus of fifteen Subanun hortatory texts, I was able to outline three major strategies for mitigating commands. These were simply how often commands occur, where they occur, and how they are phrased. At least fifteen syntactic devices were discovered by which Subanuns mitigate or sharpen their persuasive statements.

My goal has been mastery of Subanun persuasive strategies. It seems clear we've moved much closer to attaining that goal.

NOTES

¹This paper was prepared during a discourse workshop under the direction of Dr. Robert E. Longacre at the study center of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Bukidnon, Philippines, June 14-August 20, 1982. Invaluable suggestions as to direction in this study were given by my consultant, Dr. Charles Peck, who also edited it. I would also like to thank Dr. Longacre; my wife, Felicia Brichoux; Dr. Austin Hale; and Subanun friends of many years, Ansulat Promon, Entong Anulay, and Isis Guilingan, for significant help in the preparation of the paper.

²Appended to this paper are Text D 'In the future' by Isis Guilingan, and Text E 'Advice to young men' by Entong Anulay. In addition, ten other texts were compared along with those appended to the previous study.

³The notion of focus, also variously referred to as 'voice' and 'topic', is familiar to researchers in Philippine linguistics, and there is extensive literature about it or alluding to it. Briefly, the notion describes a voice-like relationship between a marked noun phrase and the verb. In many languages the NP is marked by a determiner or case marking particle while the relationship between it and the verb is indicated by affixation of the verb and generally is referred to by such labels as actor, goal, site or instrument.

⁴Ki has a phonologically determined allomorph kig.

⁵The few abbreviations I use here are:

ANAPH anaphoric particle
 DET case marking particles
 EXIST existential
 inc first person plural inclusive pronoun
 Q question marking particles
 Ø in running text for zero realization of the third person
 singular focus pronoun which is the norm
 pl plural

A, B, and C refer to the texts appended to the 1977 article.

D and E refer to the texts appended here.

D: or E: followed by a number refer to sentence numbers in these respective texts.

Subscript numbers refer to clauses.

⁶As Peck points out, the basic ideas are Pike's, and appear in such formulae throughout the works of and volumes edited by Longacre.

⁷Though not synonyms of daal, the words deksu and tubus, both meaning 'finish', are also nuclear to this tagmeme.

⁸Presumably Guilingan could have incorporated the conflict situation and hortatory motivation into a single sentence with this command element parallel to the way the authors of Texts A, B, C, and E did.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Text D

Title: TUG LEMA' DENGLAG
 DET tomorrow day.after.tomorrow

THE FUTURE

1. 1Naa sa' di gunaan nda'ta pa
 now if DET ahead not.by.us(inc) yet
 suunay 2ta' alanduni gempenggulaulata dig
 know Q what.DET happening.by.us(inc) DET
 binaya' gebii muka' nu gendaw, 3labi na
 ... the future moreso already
 sa' ndi'ta tanan penengaun sug dalam
 if not.by.us(inc) all look.for DET path
 4melengas sia bianan pangay tug
 good hopefully way cause.go DET
 danita ketubu'an ditug binaya' gebii muka'
 our(inc) living DET ... the future
 nu gendaw.

1. Considering what lies before us, it is certainly true that we do not know what the future holds. But what is even worse than that is for a people not even to be searching for the way which will guarantee a reasonable future in life.

2. 5Pu' sa' nda' niu suunay, 6ita
 for if not by.you(pl) know we(inc)
 kini nug bansa Subanen, iin ma sug tinalu'
 this DET tribe Subanun it just DET was.said
 7mbinaya' na Ø gupia.
 is.behind already it very

2. I'm sure that you are all aware of the fact that we Subanuns are known as backward.

3. 8Su ngag duma, sa' maa' niin dagid
 DET (pl) other if like this but
 pekpenaik Ø di gegdan, 9sungu na
 are.climbing they DET stairs almost already
 Ø metulan dig ditaas, 10pu' saba'
 they reach DET upstairs for because.of
 mikpetuud ma Ø tug titulu'an dun
 have.believed just they DET instruction ANAPH

3. If we compare others with someone going up the stairs into a house, we can say that they are already in the house. And they are where they are because they paid some attention to those who had a higher level of knowledge.

nu ngag meketaas sinuunanen.
DET (pl) high knowledge.his

4. 11Naa, adun niu suunan, 12ita
now so.that by.you(pl) know we(inc)

kini, sa' mekilang dagid pektulug, 13pektulug
this if likened but sleeping sleeping

pa ita gusay.
yet we(inc) really

5. 14In ig puunanen, 15ita sia,
this DET origin.its we(inc) hopefully

metiba' na bata' 16metaas su nga
many already child high DET (pl)

gradunen dinita, 17laak igluden sug
grade.his among.us(inc) but hid.he DET

tinawanan, 18inisenan Ø ditug dialem nu
skill.his inserted.he it DET inside DET

kaban, 19adun ndi' da Ø maita'
trunk/footlocker so.that not only it be.seen

nug samaSubaanenen.
DET fellow.Subanun.his

6. 20Saaken niu, 21Mauma egludenen Ø?
be.asked by.you(pl) why hide.he it

7. 22Kiin ig puunanen, 23saba' mpiid Ø
this DET origin.its because.of ashamed he

tug bansanen, 24pu' kiin da ma tu'u,
DET tribe.his because this just only truly

Subaanen ma, metiba' pema ginduranti dun.
Subanun only many yet.also uneducated ANAPH

8. 25Laak pegdelendem niu gupia sug
but think you(pl) very DET

melengas penggulaulaan, 26adun ndi' da
good to.do so.that not just

amu melibakan nu ngag daniu
you(pl) be.talked.about DET (pl) of.you(pl)

4. Another analogy might be to compare us to someone asleep. We are still asleep and sleeping on!

5. The reason is simple. Those of us, and there are many now, who have got an education are hiding it. It is as if we had taken what we learned and stuffed it into the footlocker at the foot of our beds, so that it wouldn't be apparent to our fellow Subanuns.

6. You ask, 'Why would we hide it?'

7. This is the reason. It's because we are ashamed of being Subanuns. Everyone knows that the Subanuns are an ignorant lot!

8. Just consider carefully then what's good to do about it, so that our fellow tribespeople won't talk about us behind our backs.

bansa.
tribe

9. 27Pu' sa' nda' niu suunay, 28bisan
for if not by.you(pl) know even.tho

la' pelum ndunen pa dun pegeglud, 29sug
... also how yet ANAPH is.being.hid DET

danita, pekeSubaanen, bulug Subaanen.
of.us(inc) be(pl).Subanun still Subanun

10. 30Ngalanen Subaanen da gusay, 31bisan
name.his Subanun just really even

tanda' pa Ø melamug.
where yet he mix

11. 32Pu' sug diwata, mesuunanen ta'
for DET God known.by.him Q

bensaay dun.
type.of.tribe ANAPH

12. 33Kaas subay
and.so it.is.necessary

pentulu'enta sug danita
be.instructed.by.us(inc) DET our(inc)

samaSubaanen, 34adun ndi' ita niin
fellow.Subanuns so.that not we(inc) by.him

medela'ig,
be.involved.in.his.blame (if he does bad)

35muka' ndi' ita mpiid, 36bisan
and not we(inc) be.ashamed even

tanda'ta Ø pegita',
where.by.us(inc) he meet

37sembatenta.
befriend.by.us(inc)

13. 38Naa, kini pelum guksuganku, ndi' melaat
now this also story.my not evil

tu ginaa niu, 39pu' kini, tinalu'u
DET emotion your(pl) because this said.by.me

9. I'm sure you also realize that no matter how we try to hide it, we act like Subanun, because after all we are Subanun.

10. We are Subanun no matter where we chance to go.

11. Even God knows what tribe a person is.

12. So, in my view we have got to share what we know with our fellow Subanuns, so that they won't end up doing something inappropriate that we get involved in. And, don't be ashamed to identify with them wherever we meet them.

13. Now then, don't let what I'm saying get you down, because in a way it's aimed at those who are basically proud.

ditu laak getaw metakabul.
DET only person proud

14. 40Dagid kana' ma pelum tiba'anen meksama
but not only also all.its same

sug betaden.
DET ways.his

15. 41Kaas kini tinalu'u dadema, 42adun
and.so this said.by.me also so.that

sug meketekad tug melengasunggulaulaan,
DET can.attain DET good will.happen

43adun medelendemen Ø.
so.that think.about.by.him it

16. 44Naa, adun niu suunan su
now so.that you(pl) know DET

mipenggulaula dinita, 45di' ba talu' nu
happened to.us(inc) not Q say DET

ngag mekegulang, 46ita daw nug taman
(pl) parents we(inc) hearsay DET limit

da sesumpat sampay tug bata' gapu',
only one.generation until DET child grandchild

metiba' pa gupia maita'en.
much yet very see.he

17. 47Maita' pa ta daw 48sug putaw
see yet by.us(inc) hearsay DET iron

lumayug di gawanawan, 49sug putaw lutaw dig
fly DET atmosphere DET iron float DET

dagat, 50sug putaw gubek dig lupa', 51muka'
sea DET iron run DET land and

metiba' pa pagid ig tinawan nu nga getaw
many yet again DET skills DET (pl) person

dinig dibabaw nug lubang.
here.DET above/on.surface.of DET world

18. 52Naa, di' ba metuud da tu'u sug
now not Q true only truly DET

14. There are others
who can benefit from
it, I'm sure,

15. so I'm also saying
it to those of you who
are coming up with
some good approaches
to the problem we
face, so that you'll
be thinking about the
whole thing.

16. Let me remind you
that what has been
happening in our
experience is in line
with what our
grandparents said when
they said things like,
we of this generation
and the next would see
a lot of amazing
things.

17. They said we'd see
metal flying through
the air; metal
floating on the sea;
and metal running
along the ground; as
well as a host of
other things arising
from the know-how of
men here on the face
of the earth.

18. I think we've got
to admit that what
they predicted has

tinalu' nu ngag mekegulangta?
was.said DET (pl) parents.our(inc)

pretty much happened,
right?

19. 53Kig launanen, minita' ma na tu'u.
DET all.it saw only already truly

19. We've pretty much
seen all of it happen.

20. 54Laak iini nda' pa ta suunay,
but it.DET not yet by.us(inc) know

20. But, we still
don't know what the
future holds for us.

55su dig binaya' gebii muka' nu gendaw, ta'
DET DET ... the future Q

alanduni gempenggulaulata.
what.DET happen.to.us(inc)

21. 56Laak, medengegta duun pa pagid ki
but hear.we(inc) there.is yet again DET

21. We have heard,
though, that there is
something yet to
happen, maybe soon;
that is, that God is
going to judge the
whole world.

sungu mateng, 57su tinalu' ukuman nug diwata
soon arrive DET was.said judge DET God

sug tibuukan nug lumbang.
DET entire DET world

22. 58Naa, sa' yamu dun nug
now if you(pl) ANAPH DET

22. Okay then, what do
you senior citizens
think about this
latter prediction?

mekegulangta, 59alandun kali' ig delendeman
elders.our(inc) what then DET think

niu dun mekatag dig tinalu' kin?
you(pl) ANAPH concerning DET was.said this

23. 60Mesu'at ba diniu pengendementa,
can.it.be Q to.you(pl) prepare.by.us(inc)

23. Don't you think
you could let us get
ready for this
eventuality, so that
when it does happen we
won't be caught in the
lurch?

61adun ndi' da ita gusay mbinaya',
so.that not only really we(inc) be.behind

62sa' mateng na tu'u sug tinalu'
if/when arrive already truly DET was.said

kini?
this

24. 63Naa sa' kalukalu megdua'dua' su
now if in.case be.double.minded DET

24. For the sake of
those of us who are
still confused about
all this, let's not
force anyone to take
action just yet,

ginaa niu, 64ndi' data
emotion your(pl) not just.by.us(inc)

tegelen, 65pu' melaaten pelum duuni
force for evil also there.is.DET

because we know how
hard it is to be the
odd man out.

meksimawi' 66melaat su ginaanen.
go.against.concensus evil DET emotion.his

25. 67Adun niu suunan ki talu' kini,
so.that by.you(pl) know DET talk this

25. I want you to
understand that what I
am saying is not being
said flippantly.

68kana' ma Ø pu' saukat tinalu'.
not only it that trial was.said

26. 69Pu' mitekaden pa tanan sug tiba'anen,
for mastered.he yet all DET all

26. Do I know all
there is to know? No
way.

70nda' da dema.
not just also

27. 71Laak nda'en pasi' metekad,
but not.he by.contrast master.DET

27. Even so, I can
point out to you some
examples of where we
are now.

72duuni penenggi'anta dun.
there.is example.our(inc) ANAPH

28. 73Naa, kini su nga penenggi'anta,
now this DET (pl) example.our(inc)

28. Listen to this
which comes down to us
from our own
ancestors.

74migenat pa ini tu nga ginepu'ay nu ngag
frommed yet this DET (pl) ancestor DET (pl)

bansa Subaanen.
tribe Subanun

29. 75(1) Di' ba talu' nu nga mekegulang,
(1) not Q say DET (pl) elders

29. (1)Didn't the
elders tell us that it
wasn't good to go to
school because we'd be
fed to the Turks?

76ndi' daw mpia Ø meguskila, 77pu'
not hearsay good he attend.school because

paan Ø dig Turkus?
feed he DET Turks

30. 78(2) Di' ba talu' nu nga mekegulang,
(2) not Q say DET (pl) elders

30. (2)Didn't the
elders tell us that it
wasn't good to plant
coconuts because doing
so would bring
supernatural
retribution?

79ndi' pia sa' memula Ø ngag niug, 80pu'
not good if plant he (pl) coconut because

kiin, meketepu Ø?
this can.lead.to.retribution for.him

31. 81(3) Di' ba talu' nu nga mekegulang,
(3) not Q say DET (pl) elders
82ndi' pia sa' megbayad Ø glupa', 83pu'
not good if pay he land because
kiin, meketepu Ø da
this can.lead.to.retribution for.him only
pagid?
also
32. 84Naa, kini launanta, ta' ma
now this all.of.us(inc) Q only
alanduni mipenggulaulata?
what.DET happened.our(inc)
33. 85Ita nu ngag Subaanen, nda'iduni
we(inc) DET (pl) Subanun there.is.no.DET
ketubu'ta, 86pu' misaba' ma ita nu
life.our(inc) because caused only we(inc) DET
nga talu' nu nga mekegulang.
(pl) say DET (pl) elders
34. 87Laak masi' kig launanen kini,
but what.do.you.know DET all.of.it this
kepianan da sia.
good.for only hopefully.
35. 88Laak pigbelusan ita nilan.
but lied.to us(inc) they
36. 89Iin daan pegdelendemen nilan,
it previously are.thinking they
90pegakus ma ilan dig benwa, 91kaas tinalu'
leaving only they DET world and.so said
nilan ki ma'antu kitu.
they DET like.that that
37. 92Naa, kini pelum mipenggulaula kini, subay
now this also happened this must
betangen na ta ditug dialem
be.placed already we(inc) DET inside
31. (3)Didn't the
elders tell us that it
wasn't good to pay
land taxes because to
do so would also bring
down supernatural
retribution?
32. Now then, in light
of that, what has
happened to us, all of
us?
33. I'll tell you what
has happened: we
Subanuns have been
left with nothing to
live on, and we can
blame it all on what
the elders told us.
34. Because, and pay
attention to this: all
of what they told us
not to do would have
been good for us, had
we done it.
35. They LIED to us.
36. They had been
thinking that it
wouldn't affect them;
they were leaving the
world, so they told us
that.
37. What happened as a
result, we must never
forget, so that it
won't happen again.

delendemanta, 93adun ndi' na puli'
 thought.our(inc) so.that not already again

penggulaula ditug binaya' gebii muka' nu
 happen DET ... the future ...

gendaw.

...

38. 94Pu' kiin, misuunan ma ta,
 for this knew only we(inc)

95masi' kana' Ø ma mpia
 what.do.you.know not it only good

penggulaulaan.
 happen

39. 96Naa, amu nu nga gembata', kelelat
 now you(pl) DET (pl) children please

diniu, pektalnten na amu,
 by.you(pl) pay.attention already you(pl)

97adun metindeg da niu sug danita
 so.that stand just by.you DET of.our(inc)

bansa.
 tribe

40. 98Ditu saanta' endaw, mabu' peglelantan
 DET how.many days perhaps be.pitied

da ita nug diwata Megbebaya' dinig
 just we(inc) DET god God DET

dibabaw lumbang 99adun metimbang-timbang
 on.surface world so.that balance.somewhat

da sug tiba'an getaw dinig tibuukan benwa.
 just DET all people DET entire world

41. 100Naa, sa' nda'niu suunay, 101naku',
 now if not.you(pl) know I

melegenanu gupia saba' da dig danita
 suffer.I very due.to just DET our(inc)

kebetang nemun, nu ngag bansa Subaanen.
 situation nowadays DET (pl) tribe Subanun

38. As we know now it was not good at all to have proscribed those things.

39. Young people, please, pay attention to what I'm saying, so that you can keep our tribe from dying out.

40. Maybe some day God Almighty will take pity on us here in the world, so that everyone on earth will have more or less the same opportunity.

41. This whole question is not just academic to me, I've actually suffered because of our situation.

42. 102Mekelelat laak ita gupia, 103pu' 42. We Subanuns are
pitiful only we(inc) very because pitiful because we
nda'iduni seliganta. have nothing and no
there.is.no.DET trust.in.our(inc) one to trust in.
43. 104Pu' ukitu laak diniu di 43. Let me tell you
for relate.I only to.you(pl) DET about what happened to
mipenggulaula nu gama'u. my father.
happened DET father.my
44. 105Iin, tuminaun Ø dia da sakup 44. One year he
he cleared.forest he DET just part cleared the forest on
nug lupa'en. part of our land.
DET land.his
45. 106Bena' misuunan nu guardamunti, 45. When the company
when knew DET forest.guard forest concession
guards found out about
107sinumbung Ø dayun tu it, they had him
complaint.was.filed.against him then DET arraigned.
gupisina.
municipal.office
46. 108Naa, bena' misumbung 46. When that
now when complaint.was.filed.against happened, they came
after him, because he
Ø, 109linaawanen Ø dayun, 110pu' kini had been called for by
him fetched.he him then because this the government.
pitawag ma Ø nilan.
called only him they
47. 111Naa, bena' minateng Ø ditug lunsud, 47. When he got to
now when arrived he DET town town, he was put in
jail.
112pinirisu Ø dayun
jailed he then.
48. 113Pu' kali' pektalu' su gubirnu, 48. For the government
for then says DET government says that the person
who clears the forest
114subay Ø pirisuun pu' tuminaun Ø must be imprisoned for
must he imprison because cleared.forest he it.
di gulangan.
DET virgin.forest

49. 115Asa kana' Ø da sia
since not it just hopefully

gulangan sug tinaunen, 116letin da,
virgin.forest DET cleared.he regrowth just

117muka' Ø sakup pa pagid tug lupa'en.
and it part yet also DET land.his

50. 118Pu' masi' bisan pelum kig
for what.do.you.know even also DET

lupa', kada taun, pegbiadanta, 119kana' Ø da
land each year pay.we(inc) not it just

danita sa' nda' pa mesurbi, 120laak sug
our(inc) if not yet surveyed but DET

siinta ini pigalap.
money.our(inc) he.DET taken

51. 121Naa, kini gembagel da sia
now this large just hopefully

limbung.
extortion

52. 122Pu' sa' kana' Ø da limbung,
for if not it just extortion

123mauma dema pebayad ma dinita
why.on.earth also cause.to.pay only us(inc)

sug lupa' nga kana' pema danita 124sa'
DET land (pl) not yet.also ours(inc) if

nda' pa Ø mesurbi?
not yet it surveyed

53. 125Naa, iin daan sia melengas.
now it truly hopefully good

54. 126Segay nda' pa mesurbi Ø, 127ndi'
while not yet surveyed it no

na Ø deli' biadan.
already it please pay

55. 128Laak iin na pelumi problima dun,
but he already also.DET problem ANAPH

49. In this case,
however, it wasn't
real forest, just
regrowth on part of
our land.

50. But, as it
happens, even land has
to be paid for every
year, yet it isn't
ours before it's been
surveyed, even though
our money is taken for
it in the form of
taxes.

51. Isn't this a kind
of exploitation.

52. If it isn't
exploitation, why do
we have to pay for the
land, if it's not yet
ours, not having been
surveyed?

53. This is what ought
to be done.

54. While it's still
not surveyed, don't
require payment.

55. Of course the
problem with that idea
is that if we don't

129sa' ndi'ta biadan Ø 130lain ma pay, someone else will
if not.we(inc) pay for.it another only get the land.

na puli' malap dun.
already again gets ANAPH

56. 131Kaas laungku ita nug bansa
and.so think.I we(inc) DET tribe

56. That's why in my
view we Subanuns are
most to be pitied.

Subaanen, mekelelat-lelat Ø gupia.
Subanun pitiful we very

57. 132Pu' labi na nda' na lain
for moreso already not already other

57. But we have
nowhere to turn.

gengayanta.
destination.our(inc)

58. 133Pu' sa' lupa da dig mesempel dagat,
for if land just DET near sea

58. The land, for
example, near the sea
has all been acquired
by Visayans.

migela' na Ø Bisaya'.
consumed already it Visayan

59. 134Naa, subay sa' sia melelat dinita
now must if hopefully pity us(inc)

59. In other words,
the government has got
to help us by giving
us our own
reservation.

su gubirnu, 135begayan na ita niin
DET government be.given already we(inc) he

pegbenwananta.
living.place.our(inc)

60. 136Ndi' ita dega melemugan nu ngag
not we(inc) overly mix.with DET (pl)

60. We won't be mixed
with Visayans there.

Bisaya'.
Visayan

61. 137Melengas sia sukuden su ngag
good hopefully measure DET (pl)

61. It'd be good to
have it all surveyed
so that the Subanuns
would have a separate
place to live.

pegbenwananta, 138adun su ngag
living.place.our(inc) so.that DET (pl)

Subaanen, dig lain benwa.
Subanun DET another place

62. 139Labi na sug duma, migbenwa Ø
moreso already DET other lived he

62. Especially those
who now live off the
forest, because if

laak dig dialem gulangan, 140sa' maita' Ø nu
but DET inside forest if seen he DET

gubirnu, 141pirisuun Ø.
government imprison he

63. 142Pu' kiin, mikesaba' ma Ø gulangan.
for this harmed only he forest

64. 143Naa, adun ndi'ta mesaba' su nga
now so.that no.we(inc) harm DET (pl)

gayu, 144menengi ita kelelat tu
tree beg we(inc) consideration DET

gubirnu, 145sukudan ita lupa'
government measure for.us(inc) land

pegbenwananta, 146adun mekpungun
living.place.our(inc) so.that gather

na ita megbenwa.
already we(inc) live

65. 147Muka' sa' salabuuk na su
and if one already DET

pegbenwananta, 148melemu su kebegay
living.place.our(inc) easy DET giving

dinita hinabang nu gubirnu.
to.us(inc) aid DET government

66. 149Naa, daal da ini telu'enku diniu.
now all just this say.I to.you(pl)

67. 150Laak nda'ta suunay su di gunaan
but not.we(inc) know DET DET ahead

151sa' mesu'at ma su talu' kini 152sa' nda'
if can.be only DET say this if not

ma.
only

68. 153Laak saligta sug delendemanta,
but trust.we(inc) DET thoughts.our(inc)

ita nug launan bansa Subaanen, ditu na
we(inc) DET all tribe Subanun DET already

they were caught by
the government as is,
they would have to be
imprisoned

63. for destroying the
forest.

64. So then, to avoid
being the cause of the
decimation of the
forests, let's plead
with the government to
help us, measuring off
a place for us to
live, so that we can
all live together
there.

65. And if we had one
place for all of us to
live in, it would be
easier for the
government to meet our
needs.

66. That's about all I
have to say.

67. Just let me add
that we really don't
know what will happen
as a result of what
I'm saying here,
whether it will turn
out or not.

68. But even so, let's
all of us Subanuns
trust the whole thing
to God.

laak nug diwata.
only DET God/gods

69. 154Pu' nda' ig lain megbaya' subay
for no DET other control unless

diwata da.
God/gods only

70. 155Mabu' pedelendem tu
perhaps cause.think DET

gubirnuta nga gebangan ita
government.our(inc) (pl) help we(inc)

nilan.
they

69. Because, after all, there is no one else who controls everything the way God does.

70. Perhaps he will bring our need to the government's attention.

APPENDIX B

Text E

1. 1Naa, sug titulu' dig begutaw.
now DET instructions DET young.bachelors

2. 2Sa' ki getaw gembagel na, 3subay
if DET person mature already must

mektu'un di gungangen, 4adun sa' megawid
learn.he DET wise.one so.that when holds

duayan, 5ndi' mesebu'an duni
marriage not be.confused ANAPH.DET

kegleketubu'en.
making.a.living.his

3. 6Ndi' megdupang.
not do.bad.he.

4. 7Pu' sa' megdupang, 8maulayun dun.
for if does.bad.he become.habitual ANAPH

5. 9Megleketubu', 10mekasukat pedaan
earn.a.living.he gets.he in.advance

1. Here's an advice-to-young-men text.

2. When a young man reaches some degree of maturity, he must learn from those the community regards as good men, so that when he gets married, he won't be dismayed at earning a living.

3. He won't fool around.

4. Because a person who does, gets in the habit of living that way.

5. He'll earn a living and he'll earn ahead of time the money to

gastunen, 11adun sa' duun nai
expenses.his so.that when EXIST now.DET

metuunen keliagen, 12ndi' melegenan dun
finds.he likes.he not have.difficulty ANAPH

sug luatanen.
DET bride.price.his

6. 13Mektimud kuarta muka' babuy, 14adun
husbands money and pigs so.that

sa' menginsawa, 15muya' na gumamit dun
when marries.he ready already use.he ANAPH

ig launanen.
DET all.of.it

7. 16Ndai' kulang, pia alandun, 17kaas
not.EXIST lacking whatever what so

subay sug launanen sengkapien, 18pu'-adun ndi'
must DET all.of.it get.ready so.that not

megalengaleng dun.
have.difficulty ANAPH

8. 19Pu' misangkap na.
for has.been.readied already

9. 20Subay pektalentenan niu gupia sug
must heed you(pl) well DET

tinitulu' diniu nug megulang niu.
instructed you(pl) DET parent your(pl).

10. 21Sa' ndi' niu talentenan, 22daikenen
if not you(pl) heed its.result

yamu da muka' sug megulang niu.
you(pl) just and DET parent your(pl)

11. 23Kaas ki gembata', ndi' sumungai dig
so DET children not resist DET

megulangen, 24pu' mititisen gupiai
parent.his for experienced.he much.DET

kekpetubu'en dig bata'en, 25sampay mbagel,
raising.his DET child.his until matures

pay for his future expenses, so that when someone comes along that he falls in love with, he'll have no trouble coming up with the dowry.

6. He'll save as much money and as many pigs as he can, so that when he has the wedding, it'll all be ready for him to use.

7. He'll have everything he needs without exception, so he must get all of these things ready so that he'll have no difficulty.

8. It'll all be ready ahead of time.

9. All of you must heed well what your parents have taught you.

10. If you don't, the consequences will be yours and your parents' as well.

11. So children do not ignore their parents' instructions, because, after all, they go through being raised by their parents until they're grown up, until they're ready to marry.

26mateng pa di kesuayen.
reaches yet DET separating.his

12. 27In ig taman mekpetubu' dun nug
it DET extent raises.he ANAPH DET

megulangen 28sa' mesuay.
parent.his when separates.he

13. 29Pu' suunanta kig betad getaw
for know.we(inc) DET way person

mesuay, 30sug minita'ta ditug
separates DET saw.we(inc) DET

megulangta.
parent.our(inc)

14. 31Kekpetubu'en dinita
raising.his us(inc)

megela'ta mbianay.
will.entirely.we(inc) experience

15. 32Kaas ndi' ita sumungal dig
so not we(inc) resist DET

megulangta, 33pu' kia mai
parent.our(inc) for that only.DET

mpenggulaula.
happen

16. 34Ki getaw, sa' megleketubu', 35mpait
DET person when earns.living.he bitter

memis, mbianan.
sweet experiences.he

17. 36Naa, sug megulang, ma'antu dadema ki
now DET parent like.that also DET

kekpetubu'en ditug bata'en.
raising.his DET child.his

18. 37Kaas ndi' sungalen.
so not resist

12. When someone marries, that's the extent of his parents' looking out for him.

13. We know how it is when people marry because we've observed it with our own parents.

14. We've all gone through this experience.

15. So we do not ignore what our parents teach us because we may well experience being ignored by our children.

16. People have to take the good with the bad.

17. Now then, that's the way it is with our parents in having raised us.

18. So, let's not ignore what they teach. (lit. So it is not to be ignored.)

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