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# FOCUS RANKING IN TBOLI DISCOURSE<sup>1</sup>

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The aim of this paper is to identify the various factors that can be shown to influence the choice of focused items in Tboli clauses and to indicate how they interrelate within a discourse.

The term 'focused item' is used to refer to that noun phrase or verbal complement within a clause which stands in a special relationship to the predicate and is so marked by the form of affixation found in the predicate. The term 'focus' is used to refer to the special relationship that holds between such predicate--complement pairs. The term 'focused item' as used here is equivalent to the term 'clause topic' in Porter, forthcoming, and to the term 'subject' in McKaughan, 1973.<sup>2</sup>

The factors that seem clearly relevant to the choice of focused item in Tboli are the following:

1. Verb classes and how they rank roles within the clause,
2. Eligibility for focus and participant groupings,
3. Promotion and demotion, exceptions to normal ranking, and
4. Continuity and conflict among participant groupings within discourse.

We will discuss each of these in turn. The paper concludes with an illustrative text.

## 1. Verb Classes And How They Rank Roles Within The Clause.

The marking of focused items in Tboli is accomplished primarily by verbal affixation. Although it is true that there are both focused and nonfocused pronouns, and that in noun phrases which have personal names as their heads there are two determiners which can mark the phrase as nonfocused, in the majority of instances in running text the only overt marking of focus is given by the focus affix in the verb. A further characteristic of the focus system in Tboli which may be related to this is the constraint that only noun phrases or complements in nuclear roles can be brought into focus, and that for any given verb class there is one role that is placed in focus by the lack of overt focus affixation (or, if one prefers, by a zero affix).

The statement that focused items are marked primarily by verbal cross reference affixes needs elaboration in one other respect. The term, verb, is used only of a class of roots that for many other languages would be referred to as transitive verbs. The remaining predicates that

would be referred to as intransitive verbs, descriptives and the like are viewed as statives. Statives are of two sorts, inherent and derived. Inherent statives cross reference to a focused item with Zero affixation. The following are examples of this.

1. Hulô kudà Kasi.  
red horse Kasi  
'Kasi's horse is red.'
2. Tey tahà fét ni.  
intensive long rope this  
'This rope is very long.'
3. Tey tungô tau ni.  
intensive sleep person this  
'This person really sleeps.'

Hulô 'red', tahà 'long', and tungô 'sleep' are the statives in these examples. For each of these statives there is one and only one role that can be in focus, and cross reference to that role is accomplished by zero affixation. Since what is to be discussed in this paper is primarily the set of factors that underlies the choice of focused item, statives need no discussion since they allow no such choice.

What remains after the exclusion of statives are two classes of verbs that are distinguished from one another by the role that is brought into focus with zero affixation. For Class I verbs it is the patient that is brought into focus in this way and for Class II verbs it is the instrument. In each case the focused role can be visualized as the role that stands in an intermediate position between the agent which initiates the action and the third role (whether beneficiary or patient) that stands at the end point of the action as the ultimate recipient or goal. In both classes of verbs the agent is brought into focus with an affix, m-, (which becomes an infix, -em-, on roots with initial consonant clusters) and the role at the end point of the action is brought into focus with an affix, n-, (which becomes an infix, -en-, on roots with initial consonant clusters). Classes I and II differ, then in the focused roles that stand at the midpoints and at the end points of their respective transitive ranges of action. In both cases the role brought into focus by zero affixation is the prefocused role. Other things being equal, if there is an eligible noun phrase in the prefocused role it will be the focused noun phrase of the clause. Failing that, if there is an eligible noun phrase in the 'end-point' or n- focused role, it will be the focused noun phrase of the clause. Failing that, and usually only under rather special conditions, an eligible agent can be focused upon. The ranking of role foci for the two classes of verbs is summarized in Figure 1.

<u>Focus Affixes</u>	<u>Focused Roles for Class I Verbs</u>	<u>Focused Roles for Class II Verbs</u>
$\emptyset$	Patient	Instrument
<u>n-</u> / <u>-en-</u>	Beneficiary	Patient
<u>m-</u> / <u>-em-</u>	Agent	Agent

Figure 1. Verb classes and the ranking of role foci which define them.

Zero affixation with focus upon the prefocused role can be illustrated for Class I verbs by the following sentence.

4. Blay Kasi kuda-en ke Gadu.  
 give Kasi horse-his Det Gadu  
 'Kasi gave his horse to Gadu.'

(Det stands for determiner.)

In this sentence, blay 'give' is the verb without affixation. Kasi is the agent, ke Gadu is the beneficiary (where ke is a nonfocused determiner used only with proper names) and kuda-en 'his horse' is the patient as well as the focused item.

A similar example can be given for the Class II verbs.

5. Deng angay Min ke Ting kudà Kasi.  
 Concomitant action fetch Min Det Ting horse Kasi.  
 'Min fetched Ting with Kasi's horse.'

Again the verb, angay 'fetch', appears without affixation. Min is the agent; Ting, the patient with nonfocused determiner; and kudà Kasi 'Kasi's horse' is the focused instrument.

The lower ranked roles for the verbs of each class can also be in focus but before looking at examples it will be profitable to consider what is involved in the notion of 'eligibility' for focus.

## 2. Eligibility For Focus And Participant Groupings.

It is not always the case that the focused item is the constituent in the highest ranked role. To be eligible for focus at all a constituent must refer to an entity which is to some extent a specific known bounded whole. The focused item, then, is the eligible constituent with the highest ranked role.<sup>6</sup> In Examples 4 and 5 the highest ranked role for each of the respective verb classes represented was eligible for focus since Kasi's horse is a specific known bounded whole within the context. In Examples 6 and 7, however, the noun phrases with the highest ranked roles are not eligible for focus.

6. Benlay Kasi Gadu kudà.  
     give    Kasi   Gadu horse  
     'Kasi gave a horse to Gadu.'

7. Bemlay Kasi kudà.  
     give    Kasi horse  
     'Kasi gives horses away.'

In Example 6 the highest ranked role is patient, but the patient noun phrase is neither specific nor known, so focus passes to the highest ranked eligible role, namely to the beneficiary, Gadu. In Example 7 the patient is not eligible, the beneficiary is not specified, and as a result focus passes on to the agent, Kasi.

The same kind of relationship between eligibility and role ranking is illustrated for Class II verbs by Examples 8 and 9.

8. Deng                            nangay Min Ting.  
     Concomitant action   fetch   Min Ting  
     Pred                           Agt Pat  
     'Min fetched Ting.'
9. Deng                            mangay Min tau.  
     Concomitant action   fetch   Min people  
     Pred                           Agt Pat  
     'Min has fetched some people.'

(Pred stands for predicate; Agt, for agent; and Pat, for patient.) In Example 8 the highest ranked role, that of instrument, is not specified and so focus is allowed to pass to the next highest role, that of patient represented by Ting, which as a proper name refers to a specific known bounded whole within the context. In Example 9 the patient is not specific, the instrument is not specified, and thus focus falls upon the agent, Min.

It could be claimed that in Tboli discourse, participants are never brought on stage in focus, but that participants can be focused upon only after proper introduction. The support given to such a claim by casual inspection of texts, however, is not entirely transparent.

In the story of Tò Tit given at the end of this paper, for example, the bird, tukol is brought on stage in Sentence 5 as a focused patient. Further on in the text the plant which is to become the tree of wealth is brought on stage as a focused patient (Sentence 23). It is also somewhat difficult to see just how these eligibility requirements apply to instances in which the focused item is an embedded clause as is the case in Sentence 31.

Paradoxically, however, as one finds more and more apparent exceptions to this claim in the story of Tò Tit, a possible modification of this claim begins to look increasingly attractive. In Sentence 36 guns are brought on stage as focused instruments. In Sentence 37 an expensive Moslem material is brought on stage as a focused instrument, as are the beads in Sentence 38, the 'sticky ocean' in Sentence 39, the brass wire and the money in 40, the gold and the skirt material in 41, and the clouds in 42. What seems to be going on in this passage is not the introduction of new props that are totally unrelated to one another, but is rather the elaboration of an established prop grouping that has already been defined by the tree. The fact that each of the focused instruments is part of an extended simile which identifies the tree as the source of wealth which will supply the orphans' lack and thereby resolve the narrative complication lends further support to this view.

What would this suggest as an explanation of tukol's entrance on stage as a focused patient or of the fact that the tree is also first referred to as a focused patient? The extension seems quite natural. The tree is a representative of tukol, and does not establish a new participant or prop grouping when it arrives on stage. The tree is an extension of tukol, another manifestation of tukol, willed by tukol and foreseen by him. As it comes on stage it represents an already established participant grouping. And what about tukol? He appears to step right into the participant grouping first established by Tò Tit's mother and father in Sentence 1. At this point the only thing we can suggest about embedded clauses that fall into focus is that these focus relations are governed by clause level grammatical considerations of an entirely different nature.

Our revised hypothesis for Tboli would then be that a participant-prop grouping is not introduced in focus but that once such a plot-related grouping has been established, the group can be expanded by in-focus references to new representatives of the group and these representatives can be viewed as specific, known, bounded wholes by virtue of their relationship to an established participant grouping.

It seems quite plausible to say, for example, that when the hero is brought on stage he brings with him all his body parts, his weapons, and his cohorts and that by virtue of his having been brought properly on stage, these other members of the group are all eligible for focus, whether they have been explicitly referred to before or not. Similarly, in a procedural discourse, for example, on basket weaving, once the procedure is introduced properly any ingredient prop, such as a particular piece of bamboo is eligible for in-focus reference even

though it has not specifically been mentioned before within the context.<sup>8</sup>

### 3. Promotion And Demotion: Exceptions To Normal Ranking.

What has been said to this point is that in Tboli clauses there is a ranking of roles for focus that is controlled by the verb. If we distinguish three role types, 1) initiator of the action, 2) mediator of the action, and 3) terminal point of the action, we can then say that the highest ranked role will be the mediator role, the next highest, the terminal role, and the lowest, the initiator role. Furthermore, we have distinguished between eligible noun phrases that are specific definite wholes associated with an established participant grouping on the one hand as over against ineligible noun phrases that are either nonspecific or not associated with an established grouping on the other. It is the interaction between role ranking and eligibility that defines the normal choice of focused item at clause level. Thus, the item chosen for focus within a verbal clause will be the highest ranked role that is represented by an eligible noun phrase.

Focus, however, also performs a cohesive function in discourse, and this cohesive function is something it shares with a rather different structure, namely, that of sentence topic. If this discourse function is to be performed, there must be ways of manipulating or bypassing the normal rules for focus assignment in such a way as to give adequate in focus representation to discourse topics and section topics. To this point the one device that might be posited as a way to manipulate the ranking so as to keep a given participant in focus over a longer stretch of text in spite of its participation in a variety of roles is that of noun phrase eligibility. A writer or speaker can keep a participant in focus in whatever role the participant happens to have provided there is no eligible noun phrase in any higher ranked role within the clauses concerned. It would seem, however, that this does not allow sufficient flexibility in focus choice to permit focus its proper function in discourse and, in fact, this is not the only device available for manipulation of the focus hierarchy. There are several devices in Tboli for circumventing the normal selection of focused item by reference to role ranking.

Important in this respect are those devices that allow the promotion of an agent into focus regardless of what other roles are represented by eligible noun phrases within the clause. One such device is emphatic preposing. Consider, for example, the following sentence.

10. Nwit      Juan   nga-en   ebè   yem   tau      mulung.  
 PF, took Juan   child-his   Spec   person   doctor  
 'Juan took his child to the doctor.'

(PF stands for patient focus; Spec, for specifier.)  
 As the sentence stands the highest ranking eligible participant is 'his child' and under normal clause rules of focus, this would be the only possible choice. If, however, the structure of the discourse requires

that the agent, 'Juan' be the focused item, it is possible to promote Juan into focus by emphatic preposing.

11. Juan mit du yem nga-en ebe' yem tau mulung.  
 Juan AF, took NT Spec child-his Spec person doctor  
 'Juan took his child to the doctor.'

(NT stands for nontopic marker; AF, for agent focus.)

Emphatic preposing is, of course, not limited to agents, but it does allow a participant other than the highest ranked one to be chosen as the focused item.

A second device is that of sentence topicalization. This device circumvents the ranking imposed by the verb by transforming the whole into a topic-comment structure in which the verb is forced to acknowledge the topic by focus cross reference. The following sentence is the outcome of sentence topicalization.

12. Bong hangahen fi debwak, laen bolen ke là hlò  
 as for branches LM downstream not-is mixture-its if not all  
kawat.  
 brass wire

'As for the branches facing downstream, there is nothing else intermingled in them but only brass wire (used for making jewelry).'  
 To Tit, Sentence 40

The verb, 'intermingle' calls for 'brass wire' to be topic. However, 'the branches' are made referentially prominent by preposed topicalization.

A third such device is the agent emphasis particle, fen 'to be the one'. This particle may substitute for the noun phrase in sentence topic position. In the clause,

13. Nwit yem logi yó kem kimu.  
 PF, carries the man that plural dowry  
 'The man carries the dowry.'

The dowry is the focused item. It is possible, however, to make the man in some sense focal or topical by recasting this sentence as follows.

14. Fen nwit yem logi yó kem kimu.  
 agent emphasis PF, carries the man that plural dowry  
 'The man is the one who carries the dowry.'

A fourth such device involves imbedding the sentence into the complement of a higher level predicate which has the desired focus characteristics. In a quotation sentence with a single quotation verb the quotation is the ranking item for focus. Thus we have sentences such as the following.



15. Mon-en "E wè btik-i kun."  
 QF, say-she Oh friend wake-you PR  
 'She said, "Friend, wake up!"'

In this sentence the quotation is the focused item. It is possible, however, to focus upon the actor of the quotation verb by embedding such a sentence as the complement of another verb as in the following.

16. M-udél yem ngà mon-en "E wè btik-i kun."  
 S,AF,speak the child say,QF-she Oh friend wake-you PR  
 'The child spoke and said, "Friend, wake up!"'

A fifth such device involves certain particles that occur in prepredicate position and which attract actor pronouns to that position and in so doing impose actor focus upon the verb. Interestingly enough, one of the more prominent sets of such particles, while imposing the actor focus form upon the verb requires the nonfocus form of the attracted actor pronoun. It would appear that this focus demotion of the attracted actor does not have the function of putting the actor out of focus, but rather is used at points in a discourse at which the action of the verb is placed in higher prominence than the participants. We will refer to such attracted pronouns as fronted, demoted, infocus agents. A few of the particles involved in this are the following: ne e 'now', lel 'besides', omin 'then', igo 'while', klawi 'for the length of time of', gu laan 'before'. For examples see Sentences 24, 35, 54, and 57 of the appended text.

#### 4. Continuity And Conflict Among Participant Groupings Within Discourse.

It has long been recognized that the choice of focused items falls under constraints from discourse. The discourse pressures upon focus choices in Tboli appear to be of two sorts. In nonconflict or build-up passages, focus provides continuity by remaining for the most part upon a single participant or participant grouping throughout a section. The in-focus item for the section can then be considered to be something like a section topic or participant theme. In conflict or climax passages, on the other hand, the stage is crowded and focus shifts from one side of the conflict to the other. The behavior of focus patterns in non-conflict passages is well portrayed in Figures 2 through 7, which chart the focused items of the story of Tò Tit. The behavior of focus patterns in conflict situation can be seen in Figures 8 through 12 which chart the focused forms of the story of Hnu and the Big Spirit.

Discourse Topic: Needy Participant		Section Topic: Benefactor	
Tò Tit		Tukol	The Tree
4.	Tò Tit		
5.		Tukol	
6.		Tukol	
7.		"o" (me)	
8.		Tukol	
9.		Tukol	
		"o" (me)	
11.		Tukol	
		"o" (me)	
12.		"o" (me)	
13.		"o" (me)	
15.		Tukol	
16.		Tukol	
		"o" (me)	
17.		"o" (me)	
18.		"o" (me)	
19.		ø (him)	
20.		"o" (me)	
23.			the beginning of the growth of the plant
		the voice of Tukol	

Figure 2. Chart of in-focus props and participants in Act 1 (Sentences 4 - 25) to Tò Tit. [The numbers in the left-hand column are sentence numbers. Horizontal lines in this column are paragraph breaks. Items listed within quotes occur in embedded quotation.]

Discourse		
Topic: Needy Participant		Section Topic: Benefactor
	To Tit	The Tree and its Fruit
28.		/it/
29.		beads
30.		/it/
31.		the place where To Tit's head lay
33.	To Tit	
35.		Ø (it)
36.		guns
37.		Moslem material
38.		beads
39.		sticky ocean
40.		brass wire
		money
41.		branch
		gold
		skirt material
42.		clouds
45.		skirt material
46.		skirt material

Figure 3. Chart of in-focus props and participants in Act II (Sentences 26 - 47). [Items within slant lines are fronted, demoted infocus agents.]

	Section Topic: Girl	Girl's Benefactors		
	Girl	Enchanted Tree Complex	Girl's Mother	Father
50.	this child	the enchanted tree the enchanted tree	she	"/I/"
53.	that child			
54.	"this child"			
56.				
57.				
61.				
64.				
65.	her child			
66.				
67.				
69.	she	where he had put the child		
70		the doves		
71.		the nectar		
72.	/the child/			
73.	/the child/			
74.		∅ (the tree)		
75.	the girl			

Figure 4. Chart of in-focus props and participants in the first half of Act III, (Sentences 48 - 79).

	Discourse Topic: Needy Participant	Section Topic		Benefactor	
				The Tree	The House
77.		/the child/			
78.			heart fruit likon fruit dulon fruit		
79.		she			
80.		ø (she)	a small mountain		
81.			a small mountain		
83.		her gaze		a tree	
84.		ø (she)			
85.					no house
87.				the tree	
88.		the girl		ø (it)	
93.		the girl		things that were lying under the tree	
94.	the boy				
95.					
97.		/the girl/			
98.	his awakening				
101.		/the girl/			

Figure 5. Chart of focused props and participants in the second half of Act III (Sentences 80 - 103).

	Discourse Topic: Needy Participant	Section Topic: Benefactor	
	Tò Tit	The Tree	The House
105.	/Tò Tit/	The tree with all kinds of special fruit	The House
107.			

Figure 6. Chart of focused props and participants in Act IV  
(Sentences 104 - 109).

	Discourse Topic: Needy Participant		Section Topic: Benefactor Complex	
	Tò Tit	Girl	The Tree /Tukol	The House and Associated Items
110.	"you"	the girl		
114.				
115.		"I"		
120.			"the tree that you planted" "ø" (it)	a big voice     a big house many beautiful women
125.	/-----they-----/	(includes Tukol)	/-----/	
126				
128.	/-----"you"-----/			
130	/-----"you"-----/			
133.	/-----they-----/			
135.				
137.	/-----they-----/			

Discourse Topic: Needy Participant		Section Topic: Benefactor Complex	
Tò Tit	Girl	The Tree / Tukol	The House and Associated Items
141.	the girl		the sound of merriment
142.			
143.			Ø (the house)
144.			the the and the gongs, drums, bamboo harp
145.			/they/ (instruments)
146.			/no one/
148.		the tip of the tree	
149.			/an old man/
151.		the medicine	
/-----you-----/			

figure 7. Chart of focused props and participants in the Climax Resolution and Conclusion (Sentences 110 - 152).

The story of Tò Tit (given in full in Appendix A) has two main participant groupings, a needy participant complex (To Tit and the girl), and a benefactor complex (Tukol, the tree, the house). Associated with the girl are two conflicting sets of benefactors, her mother on the one hand and the enchanted tree on the other. The father is a rather enigmatic character who appears in focus but once and then only in a demoted agent form that subordinates him as a participant to the act that he performed (Sentence 61).

In Figures 2 and 3 the focus pattern is quite typical of a non-conflict passage. Tò Tit appears in focus once in Act I and once in Act II, and these appearances are probably a consequence of To Tit's role as discourse topic. The section topic for these two acts, however, is clearly Tukol and his successor, the tree, which remain steadily in focus throughout. This steady focus is the expected pattern for non-conflict passages.

In Figure 4 the girl is picked up as the main participant of Act III, but the demoted agent forms that appear in the Figure between slanted lines indicate that in this act the girl is given less prominence than the actions in which she is involved, and these actions highlight the various stages of her development as a child under the beneficent influence of the enchanted tree. Thus, while the girl is the main participant of Act III, the enchanted tree would be the obvious choice for topic of the first half of that act. In Sentences 48 - 66 there is a conflict between the girl's mother, the girl's father and the enchanted tree which shows up in the focus pattern.

The second half of Act III as presented in Figure 5 consists of three shorter sections: The account of the girl's journey (Sentences 77 - 82) in which the journey serves as section topic, the girl's discovery of the tree (Sentences 83 - 92) in which the tree is section topic, and the girl's discovery of the boy (Sentences 93 - 103) in which Tò Tit and his awakening is the section topic. The demoted agent form in 95 subordinates the girl and lends prominence to her act of looking for the boy's companion. In 97 she is subordinated to her act of coming and sitting by the boy. In 101 she is subordinated to her act of waking the boy.

In Act III, then, we have the girl as the main participant maintained periodically in focus throughout, but at a lower level we have four sections, each with its own topic in focus throughout the section. The net effect of this use of topic hierarchy appears to be that of establishing continuity of focus simultaneously at two levels of discourse structure and it may also have the effect of creating tension or suspense even in a nonconflict situation.

Act IV is charted in Figure 6 and has for its topic items of the benefactor complex. Even the main participant of the discourse, Tò Tit, is subordinated by agent demotion to his action of seeing and hearing the fantastic sights and sounds of the tree and the house which



represent the satisfaction of the initial lack conveyed in Sentence 1.

Figure 7 charts the celebration-like final section which serves to prolong the intense vicarious pleasure and satisfaction at the lavish provision of the benefactors for all of the needs of To Tit. The predominance of demoted agent reference to the main participants in the discourse, and the grouping of these participants within the scope of plural pronouns by contrast with the focused highlighting of the tree and the house again makes it quite clear that the benefactor complex constitutes the topic grouping for this section.

In the figures that follow we trace the focus patterns through the text, 'Hnu and the Big Spirit'. In the left hand column of each figure appears the free English translation with focused items underlined. On the right hand side of each figure are columns for each of the major participants in the story. Each column is interpreted as a participant-prop grouping. As a participant or prop is placed in focus in a given sentence, that item is entered in the appropriate column opposite the free translation of that sentence in the figure. This display is intended to make the shifting focus patterns that are associated so commonly with conflict stand out for easy inspection. The story falls naturally into four major sections: I. Setting (1-7), II. Complication (8-20), III. Narrative Episode Sequence (21-57), and IV. Conclusion (58).

I. Setting (1 - 7)

	Hero: Hnu	Victim: Mother	Villain: Big Spirit
1. This is the story of Hnu.			
2. Hnu is an orphan, only his mother is living.			
3. They live by themselves, just the two of them.			
4. What Hnu always did, he always made traps, so much that he completely provided for his mother.			
5. Hnu's traps were always springing.			
6. But that which was always irritating Hnu was Big Spirit.			
7. <u>He</u> was always bothering his <u>mother</u> when Hnu left <u>his mother</u> up in the house.		Mother	Big Spirit

Figure 8. Focus pattern in the setting section of 'Hnu and the Big Spirit.'

In the setting of Hnu and the Big Spirit we have the usual pattern. Participants are brought on stage in introductory constructions that avoid the use of verbal focus. Only at the end of this section do we have true focus constructions. It is interesting to note that the major conflict groupings involve Hnu and his mother as one group and the Big Spirit as the opposing group. The focus pattern that is found in the setting may be thought of as foreshadowing this conflict.

II. Complication (8 - 20)	Hnu	Mother	Big Spirit
8. As for Hnu, one day he hid <u>his mother</u> in the hole of the buk-buk.		Mother	
9. And <u>Hnu</u> left.	(Hnu)		
10. Hnu had no sooner turned his back when his mother heard the <u>loud talking</u> of the spirit coming up from below.			loud talking
11. It said, "Taste, taste, this is its odor."			
12. And wouldn't you know, this mother of Hnu was always full of laughter.			
13. As for Big Spirit, he kept on saying "Taste, taste, this is its smell," and Mother of Hnu just jumped out of the buk-buk hole.			
14. And then <u>Big Spirit</u> just caught Hnu's mother.			Big Spirit
15. How Hnu's mother screamed, so much so that Hnu had to help her again.			
16. "What has happened to you, Mother?" said Hnu.			
17. When Big Spirit heard Hnu's <u>shout of help</u> he just jumped away from the fire table.	shout		
18. By the time Hnu had arrived, Big Spirit was long gone.			
19. Now <u>Hnu</u> got weary of the whole thing. Each time he left his mother behind Big Spirit would bother her.	Hnu		
20. He was always tickling <u>Hnu's mother</u> .		Mother	

Figure 9. Focus pattern in the complication section of 'Hnu and the Big Spirit'.

III. Narrative Episode Sequence (21 - 57)	Hnu	Mother	Big Spirit
21. Now <u>Hnu</u> made a plan, <u>he</u> made a big fish trap.	Hnu		
22. When it was finished, Hnu put <u>it</u> on the shelf above the fire table.	Trap		
23. He <del>put</del> ripe bananas in <u>it</u> .	Trap		
24. And then <u>he</u> left again but first he hid <u>his mother</u> in the tip of the rafters	Hnu	Mother	
25. When Hnu's back was turned again, there again was <u>Big Spirit</u> talking spirit talk coming from below.			Big Spirit
26. He said, "Taste, taste, this is its odor."			
27. But when Big Spirit was still a long way off he had already seen the <u>ripe bananas</u> on the shelf.	Bananas		
28. "Oh boy! Ripe bananas!" said Big Spirit.			
29. He stopped <u>what he was saying</u> to look for Hnu's mother.			what he was saying
30. He tried to get <u>the bananas</u> .	Bananas		
31. "Whoops," said the Big Spirit, "They are in something."			
32. <u>Big Spirit</u> looked for a way. He said "How am I going to get those bananas?"			Big Spirit
33. He tried to reach <u>them</u> , but no, he couldn't reach <u>them</u> .	Bananas		
34. <u>Big Spirit</u> didn't even talk, maybe someone would hear.			Big Spirit
35. <u>Big Spirit</u> just went and entered into it to eat <u>bananas</u> to his full inside it.	Bananas		

Figure 10. Focus pattern in the first episode of the narrative sequence.

III. Narrative Episode Sequence (Con'd)	Hnu	Mother	Big Spirit
36. Wow! How full he got!			
37. When <u>Big Spirit</u> had finished eating bananas he tried to get out.			Big Spirit
38. Whoops, there was no way to get out!			
39. Big Spirit was inside until he just fell asleep.			
40. And it was only then that Hnu could do his work well, there was no one to bother him, he no longer had to run to the house to help his mother.			
41. It was now mid day and Hnu felt <u>hungry</u> .	Hunger		
42. There is <u>Hnu</u> returning to the house while <u>Big Spirit</u> is snoring noisily away in the fish trap on the shelf.	Hnu		
43. Now Hnu has arrived at the house.			
44. The first thing his eye lights on is what is there on the shelf.			
45. "There," said Hnu, "is the one that is always bothering me!"			
46. Hnu made <u>a big fire</u> and he fed <u>it</u> a lot of fuel.	Fire		
47. And Big Spirit felt <u>the intense heat</u> and <u>smoke</u> .	Heat Smoke		
48. Now he woke up screaming at the same time.			
49. <u>He</u> kept screaming to no avail, there was no one to help him.			Big Spirit
50. And there is Big Spirit, <u>he</u> continued screaming until he had no more strength.			Big Spirit
51. Big Spirit was completely smoked.			

Figure 11. Focus pattern in first part of the second episode of the narrative sequence.

III. Narrative Episode Sequence (Con'd)	Hnu	Mother	Big Spirit
52. His feet just stuck out from the shelf.			
53. "Serves you right!" said Hnu. "How you are always bothering me, bothering Mother, and stealing my bananas!"			
54. Now Hnu tipped <u>the fishtrap</u> off the shelf with Big Spirit in it.	Trap		
55. It just banged to the floor. Big Spirit was stiffened out straight.			
56. <u>Hnu</u> just cut up Big Spirit.	Hnu		
57. Then <u>he</u> just threw the pieces all over.	Hnu		
IV. Conclusion.			
58. This is the end of the story of Hnu.			

Figure 12. Focus pattern in the concluding portion of the 'Hnu and the Big Spirit.'

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## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>This paper is a revised and expanded version of some earlier papers by Doris Porter entitled, 'Focus in Tboli Verbal Clauses,' and 'Focus Predictability in Tboli Verbal Clauses'. We wish to thank Kemp Pallesen, Richard Elkins, Phyllis Healey, Lou Hohulin, and David Thomas for helpful and stimulating suggestions. None of these, however, should be held accountable for deficiencies in this particular draft of the paper. The analysis is almost entirely Porter's work. Hale did a bit of stimulating and was the one to write the last draft. For this reason the deficiencies in presentation are due to Hale.

<sup>2</sup>If we distinguish between preposed clause topics (constituents of the clause that are removed from the clause and preposed to the predicate of the clause) and sentence topics (settings and other kinds of topics that are not in any sense removed from the clause they precede, and which could be deleted, while leaving behind a clause that is complete so far as its internal constituents are concerned) then we can say that in Tboli only focused items can be preposed clause topics. As a consequence, the distinction that McKaughan, 1973, draws between 'subject' and 'topic' is a nonorthogonal one for Tboli. In these terms there are subjects that are not topics, subjects that are topics, but there are no topics that are not subjects.

<sup>3</sup>The terms used to refer to these roles in this paper are the semantic role relations, agent, patient, beneficiary, and instrument. Informally the agent may be thought of as the initiator or performer of an action, the patient as the undergoer of an action, the beneficiary as the recipient of a patient, and the instrument as that which is used to perform an action. There are taken here simply as convenient labels. There will be no attempt in this paper to show that the grammatical labels, Subject, Object, Indirect Object, and Accessory would not do the job just as well. Nor is it the task of this paper to answer the question as to whether the focus relationship observed in Tboli clauses is one that holds primarily between the predicate and a grammatically defined slot or between the predicate and a semantically or situationally defined role. This is not to say that the question is not important or that no answers can be given.

<sup>4</sup>There are, however, some interesting parallels that can be drawn between statives and verbs that should at least be noted in passing. As will be mentioned below, there are three focus affixes for verbs, very roughly a zero,  $\emptyset$ , which cross references the prefocused item for any given verb class, an affix, m-, (or its variant -em-) which cross references the item that stands semantically at the end of the chain of action (i.e. the beneficiary for patient oriented verbs or the patient for instrument oriented verbs). Thus for verbs we have an m- to focus upon the initiator of an action, an n- to focus upon the role that stands at the extreme receiving end of the action, and a zero with which to focus upon that intermediate role that stands between the initiator and the endpoint of the action and which (for other reasons) is considered to be the prefocused role of the verb. The interesting parallel to be noted here is that even though any given stative has but one possible focused role, there are three classes of statives, the underived statives with zero exemplified by Sentence 1, statives derived from nouns with a prefix, m-, such as the following:

<u>Tey</u>	<u>mloy</u>	<u>kuda-u.</u>
intensive	run	horse-my
'My horse can really run.'		

and statives derived from nouns with a prefix, n-, such as the following:

<u>Tey</u>	<u>nusing</u>	<u>kgal-en.</u>
intensive	dirty	shirt-his
'His shirt is very dirty.'		

There even seems to be a loose semantic correlation between the m- derived statives (kudà 'horse' → kmudà 'to ride a horse', lowil 'life' → mowil 'to be alive', udin 'civil law' → mudin 'to have lots of laws') and an agent-like role, between the n- derived statives (lekef 'a cold' → lenekef 'to have a cold', halī 'a cut or sore' → hnalī 'to have a cut or sore', using 'dirt' → nusing 'to be dirty') and a role that represents the end point of some action, and between the  $\emptyset$  derived statives and a role that represents neither the initiator nor the end point (hulô 'red',



tahà 'long', tungô 'asleep', kinî 'hot', tilob 'pretty'), though it must be admitted that the correlation is relatively fragile and not to be leaned upon heavily.

<sup>5</sup> There is, of course, a device for promoting agents to the highest rank and this device can override the rules of normal ranking described here. See Section 3, below.

<sup>6</sup> Again we have reference here to normal ranking, and are ignoring for the moment the discourse related devices associated with agent promotion.

<sup>7</sup> There is also another way of looking at this. It would not be hard to substantiate the claim that Tukol is a known participant when he is brought on stage. He is a magical bird who appears in many stories and is therefore known to the Tboli audience.

<sup>8</sup> This hypothesis, which may need further testing for Tboli, does not seem to hold for certain other languages, such as Western Bukidnon Manobo, where a participant grouping can be established by an in-focus reference to a key participant in the very first word of a discourse. For such languages it may well be that the attributes 'specific, known, bounded whole' are simply asserted by the use of a focused form and that they can be negated by the use of indefinite, nonfocused forms. Focus choices for such languages may not be the consequence of an independently established information structure within a text, as seems to be quite a plausible possibility for Tboli, but that it is rather an attribution of specificity and closure which can be made independently of such a structure.

<sup>9</sup> David Thomas has called our attention to one of the earliest comments that related clause focus to discourse. It is found in Healey, 1958, 79. Speaking of Yogad, Healey says, 'The second unit [focused item] tends to represent the continuing topic of discussion, where as the first unit [preposed topic] tends to be a semantic element newly introduced into the discussion, to be contrasted and emphasized.' [Comments in square brackets are ours.]

More recently Clay Johnston has shown for Cotabato Manobo that in nonconflict passages there is discourse pressure for the focus to remain on a given participant throughout a section (Johnston, 1976).

Appendix

Tò Tit, a Tboli Story  
by Gadu Ugal  
analysis by Doris Porter

Key to Abbreviations

AF	Agent Focus	P	Punctillear
AGT	Agent Form	PA	Polite Address
AS	Associative	PCA	Past Completed Action
ATTN	expression used to attract the attention of the audience	PD	Polite Dual Pronoun
CS	Causative	PF	Patient Focus
EM	Emphatic	PR	Polite Request
EXCL	Exclamation	PUR	Purposive
HAB	Habitual	QF	Quotative Focus
IF	Instrument Focus	QW	Question Word
INT	Intensifier	RS	Reported Speech, disclaimer of responsibility for the facts
IV	Involuntary	S	Stative, a derivative affix
NML	Nominalizer	T	Topic
NT	Non-topic	R	Reflexive nominal

1. Hek kun Tò Tit, Tek sotu-hen nù bè  
ATTN RS To Tit only one-of him be at  
yem gunù, yem tehe gunù ma-en ne  
the house the long ago house father-his and  
yé-en. 2. Deng le m-atay bè des  
mother-his PCA AGT, they S, AF-die from sickness  
ugu. 3. Tek sotu-hen buhé bélé le.  
Ugu only one-of him survive of all them

4. Sotu kdaw kun m-yón lubang damay  
one day RS S, AF-sit bird watch a tree  
Tò Tit. 5. Ton-en tukol. 6. M-udél tukol  
To Tit PF, see-he wren S, AF-speak wren  
e-bè Tò Tit. 7. Mon tukol, "Ni, Tò Tit,  
to-at To Tit QF, say wren now! To Tit  
ge-n-ti-em o." 8. Tahu se kun, ge-n-tí  
-PF-shoot-you me true! EM RS -PF-shoot

Tò Tit tukol.  
To Tit wren

9. Bud m-udél tukol, mon-en "He-tlasik  
again S, AF-speak wren PF, say-he CS-hurry  
Tò Tit, n-it-em o m-ulék bè gunu-em.  
To Tit PF-take-you me S, AF-return to house-your  
10. Tahu se kun.  
true! EM RS

11. Kól bè gunu-en Tò Tit, bud m-udél  
arrive at house-his To Tit again S, AF-  
tukol, mon-en, "He-tlasik Tò Tit, géhél  
speak wren QF, say-he CS-hurry To Tit hurry  
ken-em o." 12. "Okóm," mon tukol, "bé-em  
PF, eat-you me but QF, say wren don't-  
se-n-fà o. 13. Tódô hlo-hem o."  
you -PF-chew me. P, just PF, swallow-you me  
14. Tahu se kun. 15. Tódô hlo Tò Tit  
true EM RS P, just PF, swallow To Tit

1. Now this is the story of Tò Tit, just he alone is left in his house, the house of his dead mother and father. 2. They died from small pox. 3. He was the only one left alive.

4. One day Tò Tit was sitting in his bird watch at the damay tree. 5. He saw Tukol (a bird similar to a wren). 6. Tukol spoke to Tò Tit. 7. Tukol said, "Here, Tò Tit, shoot me." 8. True, Tò Tit shot Tukol.

9. Tukol spoke again, he said, "Hurry, Tò Tit, take me back to your house." 10. True, he did.

11. Tò Tit arrived at his house. Tukol spoke again, he said, "Hurry, Tò Tit, hurry and eat me." 12. But, said Tukol, don't chew me, 13. just swallow me. 14. True. 15. Tò Tit just swallowed Tukol.

tukol.  
wren

16. Timbów deng kól lem blutut Tò Tit  
when PCA arrive in stomach To Tit
- tukol, bud m-udél tukol, mon-en "He-tlasik  
wren again S,AF-speak wren QF,say-he CS-hurry
- Tò Tit, géhél ké-em o. 17. Bé=em kâ  
To Tit hurry PF,expel-you me don't-you PF,
- expel o bè kótól. 18. Ké-em o tak  
me in toilet PF,expel-you me in
- klósól." 19. Tahu se kun nimón Ø Tò Tit.  
yard true EM RS PF,obey (him) To Tit
20. Bede mon tukol, 'N-angat h-n-énég-em  
but QF,say wren PF-wait CS-PF-scrutinize-
- o." 21. Bé-i tungô efet lewu kdaw.  
you me don't-you,T sleep until two days
22. Tahu se, tódô n-ufos Tò Tit s-endaw ne  
true EM just PF-spent To Tit one-day and
- s-uloy buteng hinong m-yón te klósól.  
one-night night stare S,AF-sit in yard
23. Timbów ne e ton Tò Tit ngà towok hulu,  
when PUR PF,see To Tit child growth plant
- bede mom gading, là bud gungol-em  
but rather golden brown not again PF,hear-you
- du ne koni udél tukol. 24. Omin Tò Tit  
it,NT now recent word wren then To Tit
- yó he moo ketuk-en. 25. Tódô hugón bè  
there yet odor sleep-his just fall over at
- yó Tò Tit te klósól lem but yem ngà koyu.  
there To Tit in yard in base the child tree

26. Ngang-en mò du yem ngà koyu yó  
continue-it do it,NT the child tree there
- koni efet tahà e-ta. 27. Yó ne kun  
just mentioned until tall toward-up there now as

16. When Tukol had arrived in the stomach of Tò Tit, he spoke again, he said, "Hurry, Tò Tit, hurry and pass me. 17. Don't pass me in the toilet, 18. Pass me in the yard." 19. True, Tò Tit obeyed him. 20. But Tukol said, "Wait and watch me." 21. "Don't sleep for two days." 22. True, Tò Tit kept awake all day and all night sitting there in the yard. 23. When Tò Tit saw the beginning of the growth of the plant, it was golden brown instead and you could hear the voice of Tukol. 24. It was then that Tò Tit felt sleepy. 25. He just fell over there in the yard at the foot of the little tree.

26. The tree kept growing until it was tall. 27. And there was To Tit fast asleep. 28. It continued growing

Tò Tit h-long tungô. 28. Ngang-en  
for him To Tit CS-snore sleep continue-it

ne kun m-ulók ne yem koyu yó. 29. Là  
now as for it S,AF-flower now the tree that not

bol bulók-en kun ke là mimet. 30. Ne  
IF,mix flower-its RS if not beads and

ngang-en ne kun l-em-uyung yem koyu yó.  
continue-it now RS -S,AF-hump up the tree there

31. Tódô h-n-inggel-en m-sut bè  
just CS-PF-beautify-it,NT S,AF-come up at

seblà kulu Tò Tit yem luyung-en, 32. bede  
just at head To Tit the surface roots-its but

yem luyung-en kun la-en bol-en  
the surface roots-its RS not-there is mixture-its

són kmagi nabay. 33. Tódô kéng h-n-inggel  
only a necklace white gold just as if CS-PF-

he-tdanan-em kun Tò Tit ta  
beautiful CS-PF,cushion-you RS To Tit on top of

yem luyung koyu.  
the humped up root tree

34. Yó ne Tò Tit h-long henga  
there now To Tit CS-deep sleep really

tungô deng wolu ne halay-en. 35. Ne-m e  
sleep CPA eight now year-it now-you,AGT,NT

h-n-énég Ø laan nim koyu ni koni.  
CS-PF-look at (it) under the tree this just men-

36. La bol hanga-n fi dmata kdaw  
tioned not IF,mix branch-it toward eye sun

ke là snafang. 37. Là bol doun-en ke là  
if not guns not IF,mix leaf-it if not

tedyung. 38. Là bol hanga-n fi leged  
a material not IF,mix limbs-it toward up stream

ke là sendek. 39. Là bol doun-en ke là  
if not beads not IF,mix leaf-it if not

until the tree bore  
flowers. 29. The  
flowers were nothing  
but beads. 30. The  
tree kept on until  
the base of the tree  
humped out into  
large roots. 31. The  
roots just came up  
nicely right at the  
place where To Tit's  
head lay, 32. but  
those roots were  
nothing less than  
necklaces of white  
gold. 33. It was as  
if the roots of the  
tree came up to make  
a place for To Tit  
to put his head.

34. And there is To  
Tit, sleeping, it  
has been eight years.  
35. Look [at what  
there is] under this  
tree! 36. The bran-  
ches to the east are  
all guns. 37. Its  
leaves are all ex-  
pensive Moslem ma-  
terial. 38. The  
branches facing up-  
stream (north) are  
all beads. 39. The  
leaves there are the  
'sticky ocean'. 40.  
The branches facing  
downstream are of  
kawat (a brass wire  
used in making jewel-  
ry) and its leaves

mohin miket. 40. Bong hanga-n fi  
ocean sticky as for branches-it toward

debwak la-en bol-en ke là hlò kawat  
down stream not-is mixture-its if not all brass

ne là bol down-en ke là filak.  
wire and not IF,mix leaf-it if not money

41. H-n-énég-em hanga-n fi desdef  
CS-PF-scrutinize-you branch-it toward where

la-en bol-en ke là hlò blówón,  
the sun sets not-is mixture-its if not all gold

ne là bol down-en ke là fandi ndól.  
and not IF,mix leaves-it if not an expensive skirt

42. Ne là bol tinu-hen ke là lobun.  
material and not IF,mix stem-its if not clouds

43. Yó ne kun Tò Tit h-long tungô.  
there now as for him To Tit CS-deep sleep

44. Kéng h-n-inggel su-em  $\emptyset$   
as if CS-PF-beautiful PF,put-you,AGT,NT (him)

te tilam. 45. Là bol tdanan Tò Tit kun  
on sleeping mat not IF,mix pillow To Tit RS

ke là tedyung. 46. Kéng h-n-inggel  
if not skirt material as if CS-PF-beautiful

s-en-afin-em  $\emptyset$  47. Gel btang gu ta  
-PF-fold-you,AGT,NT (it) HAB fall from above

doun yem koyu-hen.  
leaves the tree-its

48. Hek kun ne e l-em-wót  
ATTN RS PUR -AF-leave(=in regard to)

tuha logi lewu le tuha libun-en, tólóng  
old man two them,AGT old woman-his<sub>s</sub>,separate

le kilil tniba le. 49. Sotu ngà le  
they,AGT edge field their one child their

libun, uma kóm lomi sut.  
girl wouldn't you know? new born.

are all money. 41.  
Look at the branches to the west  
[Lit. where the sun sets] they are all  
of gold and the  
leaves are all of  
expensive material.

42. And the stems  
are all of clouds.

43. And there is Tò  
Tit, sleeping,

sleeping. 44. It is  
as if you have put  
him on a sleeping  
cushion. 45. The

place for his head  
is all of Moslem  
cloth. 46. It is as

if you had folded  
it carefully. 47.  
The leaves fall

down from the trees.

48. Now here is another man and his wife who live on the edge of their field. 49. They have one child, a girl, who was recently born.

50. Sotu kdaw mon tuha libun mò ke tuha  
one day QF,say old woman to NT old

logi-n "E tuha logi, ne-m n-unung  
man-her Oh! old man now-you,AGT,NT PF-take

dou ni ngà. 51. Ne e 1-em-wót  
care of for me this child PUR -S,AF-leave

tuha libun.  
old woman

52. Weyò, ne e léét k-kól tuha libun.  
EXCL PUR delayed NML-arrive old woman

53. Ne e 1-em-wót dé kun tuha logi  
PUR -S,AF-leave EM as for him old man

ne-n e n-wit yó ngà. 54. Omin-en kól  
PUR-AGT,NT PF-bring that child then-he arrive

laan yem temnobung. 55. Fudél-em ke  
under the enchanted tree cause to speak-you NT

tuha logi, "E temnobung h-loni-hi  
old man Oh enchanted tree CS-come near-you<sub>R</sub>

do e-laan ne-w ne sdang  
to me toward-down under PUR-AGT,NT now PF,hang up

lem tnulun-em ni ne-dun." 56. Tahu se kun  
in tip-your this this-child true EM RS

he-g-laan temnobung. 57. Omin-em bud  
CS-IV-down enchanted tree,R then-it again

he-geta temnobung.  
CS-high enchanted tree,R

58. Deng ne e kól kun tuha libun.  
PCA PUR arrive as for her old woman

59. Mon-en mò ke tuha logi-n, "E tuha logi,  
QF,say-she to NT old man-her Oh old man

gun nù kut de ngà?" 60. Mòn tuha logi se,  
place stay PD QW child QF,say old man also

"Na, tehe nù bè huyu-en se koni."  
EXCL before be in hammock-her EM just now

50. One day the wife  
said to her husband,  
"Oh husband, look  
after the child for  
me for a bit." 51.  
Then the wife left.

52. Oh, oh, the wo-  
man was late in re-  
turning. 53. Now  
the man went out  
taking the child  
with him. 54. Then  
he arrived at the  
enchanted tree  
called temnobung.  
55. The man speaks,  
he says "Oh,  
temnobung come close  
to me down here and  
I will hang my child  
in the tip of your  
tree." 56. True, the  
tree bent down. 57.  
Then the temnobung  
went up again.

58. Then the woman  
arrived. 59. She  
said to her husband,  
"Oh husband, where  
is our child?" 60.  
The husband said,  
"Goodness, she was  
in her hammock a  
minute ago. 61. I  
went out to defe-  
cate." 62. "Oh, my,  
said the wife,

61. Hlun-u ne e tô m-ebel "something has hap-  
temporarily-I, AGT, NT PUR would fain AF-look pened to my child."  
solu. 62. "Dây," mon tuha libun, "  
for to face toward Oh my! QF, say old woman  
"deng wen des-en gi nga-u.  
PCA there is sickness-her EM child-my
63. Yô ne kun tuha libun na 63. And there was  
there now as for her old woman each the woman, her eyes  
k-bong-en klokub doloý klokub mata-hen were swollen to the  
NML-big-its shell a fruit lid eye-her size of doloý shells  
lan-en ali m-kik. 64. Na s-endaw-en ne (a fruit the size of  
path-she, AGT INT S, AF-cry now one-day-it and a small cabbage) be-  
s-uloý-en butent m-kik 65. N-kik-en cause of all her  
one-night-it night S, AF-cry (she) PF-cry-she crying. 64. She cried  
yem nga-en igo-en tek sôn yô ngà le. all day and all  
the child-her since-it just only that child their night. 65. She cried  
66. Okóm là kem dog tulón-en du se ni for her child, since  
but not INT PF, tell-he, NT it, NT EM this it was their only  
dum tuha logi-n yem gun hemsù ni ngà. child. 66. But the  
the old man-her the place put this child man did not tell her  
67. Ne-m e h-n-ungol 67. Now listen to  
PUR-you, NT CS-PF-listen (it) PR in what is happening  
tnulun tum temnobung. 68. Tôdô se-blanc at the tip of the  
tip the enchanted tree. P, just AS-talk enchanted tree. 68.  
tong dulong obun. The doves are all  
extent lullaby dove singing lullabys at  
69. Ngang-en ne kun yem ngà the same time.  
continue-she now as for her the child  
s-bol m-yôn lem eben-en ne s-bol beklil  
AS-mix S, AF-sit in blanket-her and AS-mix to  
1-em-okob 70. Yô  
turn around -S, AF-turn over prone (she) those  
kem obun gel le m-it bulók. 71. Gel  
plural dove HAB they AF-bring flowers HAB  
72. The  
until she could



h-sef le  $\emptyset$  yem ngà. 72. Ngang-en  
CS-suck,PF they (it) that child continue-she

ne kun yem ngà deng hulung m-dà.  
now as for her the child PCA to know how S,AF-

73. K-mon nawa temnobung du, deng  
stand NML-say spirit enchanted tree it PCA

hulung m-ógów ne yem ngà 74. Omin-en  
to know how S,AF-walk now the child then-it

bud h-eglaan  $\emptyset$  e-bè tonok. 75. Lelen  
again CS-down (it)R toward-loc ground aimless

m-ógów yem ngà libun. 76. Tahu se.  
S,AF-go the child girl true EM

77. Yó lelen n-mò yem ngà m-ógów  
that aimless PF,do the child S,AF-go

$\emptyset$  = gu = lem dlag = likón. 78. Là bol  
(she) from in forest bush-like tree not IF,mix

ken-en ke là hosò ne likón ne dulon.  
food-her if not heart and likon fruit and a wild

79. Lel-en gel m-sef yó kem  
fruit besides-she HAB AF-suck up that plural

bulók bnes.  
flower wild (Lit. of the forest)

80. Ngang-en holun m-ógów  $\emptyset$  kun  
continue-she aimless S,AF-go (she) as

efet h-n-otun-en yem sotu ngà  
for her until CS-PF-climb over-she the one child

bulul. 81. Timbów h-n-otun-en yem  
mountain when CS-PF-climb over-she the

ngà bulul tódô gungol-en nim tey hligal  
child mountain P,just PF,hear-she the INT happiness

lel = uni = k-m-intang = = = lel = uni =  
besides sound -S,AF-gong playing besides sound

tembol tnonggong lel = uni = h-em-glung.  
to beat drum besides sound CS-S,AF-heglung

stand up. 73. The spirit of the enchanted tree thought, now the child is able to walk. 74. Then it bent down to the ground. 75. The little girl wandered out. 76. True.

77. What the child did, she wandered in the forest of likon (a small bush-like tree). 78. She ate nothing but hoso and likon and dulon (wild fruits of the forest). 79. Besides she sucked the nectar from wild flowers.

80. She kept on walking slowly until she climbed a small mountain. 81. When she got to the top of the small mountain she heard happy sounds, the sound of the gongs and the sound of drums beating and the sound of the heglung (a two-string guitar-like instrument). 82. Then the little girl kept on going slowly.

82. Omin-en bud ganag h-olun kun  
playing. then-she again slowly CS-come close as

ngà libun.  
for her child girl

83. ne-n e n-kay klubéng mata-n  
PUR-AGT,NT PF, lift up eyelash eye-her

tódô ton-en tey koyu se-g-kay bungu-hen.  
just PF, see-she INT tree AS-IV-lift fruit-its

84. B-en kôl-en se tô h-m-énég  
-PF-in vain-she EM would fain CS-AF-scrutinize

ø du kun ke wen gunù. 85. La-en  
(she)it as for her if there was house there

du ton-en. 86. Tódô m-uni  
is not-it any PF, see-she P, just S, AF-make noise

lem tnulum yem koyu yó kun yem tey hligal.  
in tip the tree that RS the INT merriment

87. Tódô teneng yem ngà libun ne-n e  
P, just stare the child girl PUR-AGT,NT

ton yem tey koyu se-g-kay bungu-hen. 88. Omin-  
PF, see the INT tree AS-IV-lift fruit-its then-

en ganag h-loni kun yem ngà  
she slowly CS-PF, come near as for her the child

libun ne-n e h-n-énég ø lem but  
girl, R PUR-AGT,NT CS-PF-scrutinize (it) in base

yem koyu. 89. Tódô se-g-lafin kun tong  
the tree P, just AS-IV-layered RS to the

tedyung ne tong fandì ndól.  
extent Moslem material and extent skirt a material

90. Tódô se-g-faday tong snafang.  
P, just AS-IV-criss crossed extent guns

91. Ne tódô se-g-dilan tong kfilan.  
and P, just AS-IV-piled extent a type of bolo

92. Tong gel bungu yó sem koyu yó.  
extent HAB fruit the EM tree there

83. She raised her gaze and she saw a tree with very special fruits. 84. She looked in vain to see if there was a house. 85. There was none that she could see. 86. The happy sounds were coming from the forks of the tree. 87. The girl just stood there amazed at the tree she saw with all kinds of special fruit. 88. Then she slowly went closer to investigate at the base of the tree. 89. There were layers and layers of tedyung (Moslem material) and fandì ndol (expensive skirt material). 90. Guns lay criss-crossed. 91. And there were piles of expensive knives. 92. That was the extent of the fruit of that tree.

93. Yó n-n-ò ngà libun fen gel  
that -PF-do child girl the one HAB
- lelen se-n-tifun-en yó kem  
to pass the time AS-PF-gather-she that plural
- m-asà = = = laan yem koyu. 94. Ne e n-kay  
S,AF-lie down under the tree PUR PF-lift
- ngà libun de kun ke-tngel-en, tódô  
child girl EM as for her NML-look-her P,just
- ton-en ngà logi tungô hlékê lem but  
PF,see-she child boy sleep sprawled out in base
- yem koyu. 95. B-en-kól-en t-em-ngel du  
the tree -PF-in vain-she -AF-look at it
- ke wen dumu-hen yem ngà logi. 96. Tek  
if there is companion-his the child boy just
- sotu-n.  
one-he
97. Omin-en ganag hlóni se kun  
then-she slowly came near EM as for her
- ngà libun, ne omin-en m-yón bè kulu ngà  
child girl,R and then-she S,AF-sit at head child
- logi. 98. Tô n-angat-en k-ebtik-en.  
boy would fain PF-wait-she NML-awake-his
99. T-n-ódón-em ke dmemen efet s-endaw-en.  
-PF-wait-you if stir until one-day-its
100. T-n-ódón-em Tò Tit ke lengilos. 101. Omin  
-PF-wait-you To Tit if turn over then
- ngà libun m-nok te kulu Tò Tit mon-en, "E  
child girl S,AF-push on head To Tit say-she Oh
- wè, btik-i kun." 102. Tahu se, lengilos  
friend, wake-you PR true EM turn over
- Tò Tit ne omin-en btik. 103. Deng sfolò wolu  
To Tit and then-he woke up PCA ten eight
- halay-en.  
year-he

93. What the girl did, she gathered together the things that were lying there under the tree. 94. She lifted her gaze and she saw a boy sleeping there at the foot of the tree. 95. In vain she looked to see if he had a companion. 96. It was just he alone.

97. Then the girl walked slowly nearer and then she sat down at the head of the boy. 98. She would wait for him to wake up. 99. But he didn't even wake up all day long. 100. To Tit didn't even move. 101. Then the girl put her hand on To Tit's head and she said, "Friend, wake up!" 102. True, To Tit turned over and then woke up. 103. He was 18 years old.

104. Ke-tngel Tò Tit tódô ton-en kimu  
NML-look To Tit just PF,see-he wealth  
se-g-lansud. 105. Ne t-em-ngel e-ta Tò  
AS-IV-piled up and -AF-look toward-up To  
Tit tódô ton-en yem koyu se-g-kay bungu-  
Tit P,just PF,see-he the tree AS-IV-elevated fruit-  
hen. 106. Ne h-mung gungol-en se yem tey  
its and CS-accompany hear-he EM the INT  
hlial lel uni k-m-intang ne lel  
merriment besides sound -S-gong playing and besides  
uni h-em-glung ne lel uni sludoy.  
sound -S-heglung playing and besides sound bamboo  
107. Êkem wen se-m gunù ton Tò  
harp good if there is EM-the house PF,see To  
Tit. 108. Tódô m-uni lem tnulun yem koyu yó.  
Tit. P,just S-sound in tip the tree that  
109. Tong ge-sduk bè hanga lobun, yó ne  
extent IV-pierce on branch cloud there now  
kun yó du-m bungu-hen.  
RS that it-the fruit-its  
110. Ke-tngél Tò Tit e-be yem  
NML-looking To Tit toward-on the  
sebla tehe gunu-n k-m-ulu, tódô ton-en  
position previous place-his -S-head P,just PF,see-  
ngà libun m-yón bè yó. 111. "Na,"  
he child girl S,AF-sit at that goodness!  
mon Tò Tit, "k-kól-em kni du l-en-ibun?"  
QF,say To Tit NML-arrive-your here QW -PA-girl  
112. "Eginu ne," mon ngà libun. 113. "Són  
earlier now QF,say child girl only  
mou tô m-angat ke-btik-em. 114. Okóm là  
do would fain AF-wait NML-wake-your but not  
géhél-i btik. 115. Yó gunu-w tódô b-em-tik  
hurry-you wake up that reason-I P,just -AF-wake  
104. To Tit looked and saw all the articles of wealth piled up. 105. To Tit looked up and saw the tree with all kinds of special fruits. 106. And at the same time he heard the noise of merriment, the sound of the gongs and the sound of the two-stringed guitar and the sound of the bamboo harp. 107. And To Tit couldn't even see a house. 108. The sounds came from the top of the tree. 109. Not only did the branches have all these fruits, they even pierced the clouds.  
110. To Tit looked at the place where his head had been, he just saw a girl sitting there. 111. "Goodness," said To Tit, "when did you arrive here, little sister?" 112. "A while ago," said the girl. 113. "I have been waiting for you to wake up. 114. But you didn't hurry and wake up. 115. That is why I woke you up." 116. "That is good," said To Tit, "what a long time I have slept already! 117. The

kóm." 116. "Hyu yó sen," mon Tò Tit, tey  
you,NT good that EM QF,say To Tit INT

legen ne ni ke-gen-u tungô. 117. Là  
long time now this NML-time-my sleep not

deng-en tahà he nim towok nim koyu hulu-hu yem  
PCA-it long yet the growth the tree plant-I the

ke-wót-u tungô. 118. Hyu sen anì wen  
NML-go-my sleep good EM so that there is

dumu-w," mon Tò Tit.  
companion-my QF,say To Tit

119. Là deng-en legen ke-s-tulón le  
not PCA-it long time NML-AS-tell their

he-gdek se tukol ta abal Tò Tit. 120. Mon-en  
CS-land EM wren on shoulder To Tit QF,say-

mò ke Tò Tit, "Ton-em kô towok tehe koyu  
he to NT To Tit PF,see-you QW growth before tree

hulu-hem?" 121. "Ton-u," mon Tò Tit. 122. "Bê  
plant-you PF,see-I QF,say To Tit Don't

ye feng nù be ni," mon tukol.  
you,plural INT stay at this QF,say wren

123. Mung ye do." 124. Tahu se kun  
accompany you,plural me true EM RS

k-ulit lan tukol k-ulit se lan ni kem ngà  
NML-go path wren NML-go EM path this plural child

lewu.  
two

125. Ngang le mógôw efet le g-sut  
continue they S,AF-go until they IV-

bè yem tey lèhék ne wen linu nù  
arrive at the INT cliff and there is large pond at

bak he-sut-en. 126. Tódô gungol le nim  
opening CS-arrive-it P,just PF,hear they this

tey m-udél. 127. Kéng k-em-fô  
INT one who-speaks as if -AF-capture

growth of this tree  
that I planted was  
not yet tall when I  
went to sleep. 118.  
It is good now I  
have a companion,"  
said To Tit.

119. They hadn't  
talked for very long  
when Tukol landed on  
To Tit's shoulder.  
120. He said to To  
Tit, "Do you see the  
tree you planted?"  
121. "I see it,"  
said To Tit. 122.  
"Don't just stand  
there," said Tukol.  
123. "Come with me!"  
124. True, where  
Tukol went, that is  
where the two young  
people went.

125. They kept on  
going until they ar-  
rived at a big cliff  
and there was a pool  
at the base of it.  
126. They heard a  
big voice. 127. It  
was like the sound  
of thunder 128. The  
voice said, "You  
will only live if  
you know the reason

leték. 128. Mon tum m-udél  
 thunder-spirit QF,say that one who-speaks  
 "Song gunu ye là m-atay ke tngón ye  
 only place you,plural not S,AF-die if know you,  
 gumu ye là m-atay." 129. Mon  
 plural place you plural not S,AF-die QF,say  
 Tò Tit mò ke tukol, "Bang atul me du?"  
 To Tit to NT wren source plan we,exclusive QW  
 130. "Là," mon tukol, "bê ye liko  
 not QF,say wren don't you,plural S,be  
 131. Tódô he h-eneb e-lem yem  
 afraid P,just you,plural CS-dip toward-in the  
 tey linu yóó." 132. Tahu se kun, ne-le  
 INT large pool right there true EM RS PUR-  
 e h-eneb. 133. Omin le bud h-ewà  
 they,R CS-dip then they,R again CS-come out  
 e-ta tódô ton le tey gunu bong  
 toward-up P,just PF,see they INT house big  
 hono blówón ne aut-en hono blówón.  
 completely gold and steps-its all gold  
 134. Omin le h-otun kul kun. 135. Ton  
 then they CS-come up them RS PF,see  
 le yó kem tey dé tilob libun yem tukù  
 they that plural INT many pretty women the bun  
 le na ke-bang-en kuleng m-yón te kulu le.  
 their each NML-big-it kettle S,AF-sit on head their  
 136. Lel tey k-huték le ne mosò tí  
 besides INT NML-fair their and shapely calves  
 le. 137. Omin le m-otun ni kem lewu ngà.  
 their they they S,AF-go this plural two child  
 138. Ne-m e h-n-énég lówó le, deng tódô  
 PUR-you CS-PF-scrutinize body their PCA P,just  
 hlò blówón. 139. La-en kô bol-en  
 all gold there is not-it INT mixture-its

why you won't die."  
 129. To Tit said to  
 Tukol, "What shall  
 we do?" 130. "Never  
 mind," said Tukol,  
 "don't be afraid."  
 131. Just dip your-  
 selves in the big  
 pool." 132. True,  
 they dipped them-  
 selves. 133. Then  
 they came out and  
 they saw a big house  
 made of gold and the  
 steps were of gold.  
 134. Then someone  
 called them to come  
 up. 135. They saw  
 many beautiful wo-  
 men, their tuku  
 (Tboli-style hair  
 buns) were as big  
 as kettles sitting  
 on their heads.  
 136. And they were  
 fair-skinned and  
 their calves were  
 well rounded. 137.  
 Then the two young  
 people went up.  
 138. Look at their  
 bodies, they are  
 of gold! 139. They  
 are of pure gold  
 with nothing else  
 mixed in.

tódô le hlò tahu blówôn.  
P,just they all true gold

140. Ya tey k-bong-en kun yem gunù yó  
INT INT NML-big-it RS the house that  
koni. 141. Tódô bud gungol le  
just mentioned P,just again PF,hear they

se yem tey uni hligal yó koni.  
EM the INT sound merriment there just mentioned

142. M-udél yem ngà libun mon-en, "Gun  
S,AF-speak the child girl QF,say-she place

seblà kut de nim tey hligal?" 143. "Angat  
position PR QW the INT merriment future

ton ye Ø kedeng," mon yó  
tense PF,see you,plural it later QF,say that

kem libun h-otun kul le Tò Tit. 144.  
plural girl CS-come up them they To Tit.

Tahu se, bud ilud le dmata kdaw k-ógôw  
true EM again IF,move over they toward eye NML-go

le lem yem tey gunù tódô ton le ni  
their in the INT house P,just PF,see they this

kem klintang ne ni kem tngonggong ne ni  
plural gongs and this plural drum and this

kem sludoy. 145. Tódô le gotu m-utóm.  
plural bamboo harp P,just they all S-sound

146. La-en se kô dù tau m-ogot  
there is not-it EM INT any people AF-hold

kul. 147. Hningun te gun tódô lemmal  
them to illustrate you & I place P,just space

ni kem kimu m-uni ni, hningun  
occupied this plural property S-sound this to

te balu-en ke sotu sol tiba.  
illustrate you & I even-it if one whole field

148. Ke-tngel Tò Tit e-tembó beng  
NML-look To Tit toward-opening wall

140. What a big house  
this house here is!  
141. They then just  
heard the sounds of  
merriment again. 142.  
The girl spoke, she  
said, "Where are the  
sounds of merriment  
coming from?" 143.  
"You will see it in  
a minute," said the  
woman who had called  
To Tit and his com-  
panion up into the  
house. 144. True,  
they moved toward  
the east inside the  
house and they

saw the gongs and  
the drums and the  
bamboo harp. 145.  
They were all making  
music. 146. No one  
was holding them.  
147. If we were to  
show how much room  
these instruments  
took up, it was as  
if they would fill  
a whole field.

148. To Tit looked  
out of the window  
and saw the tip of

tôdô ton-en tuko yem toyu-hen tmowok gu  
P,just PF,see-he tip the tree-its S,grow from

t-laan. 149. Ne omin-en m-udél e-bélê le  
far-below and then-he S,AF-speak to-at them

yem tuha logi, mon-en, "Ni se gunù ye bè  
the old man QF,say-he this EM house your at

ni." 150. "G-efet dini towok yem hulu ye.  
this IV-reach here growth the plant your

151. Deng tngón ye se bulung-en anì  
PCA PF,know you,plural EM medicine-it so

là m-atay ye ne duhen yu  
that not S-die you,plural and therefore EM,you,

hol tahu kmimu bè k-lamang-en  
plural INT true having property in NML-wide-its

benwu." 152. Duhen yó abay dé ni kimu  
world therefore because much the wealth

tehe bungu koyu Tò Tit.  
previous fruit tree To Tit

the tree he had  
planted growing up  
from below. 149.

Then a man spoke to  
them, saying, "This  
is your house."

150. "The tree you  
planted has reached  
to here. 151. You  
know the medicine  
so that you won't  
die and now you are  
the most wealthy  
people of the whole  
world." 152. And so,  
that is the reason  
for all the articles  
of wealth in the  
world, because of  
the fruit of To  
Tit's tree.