THE LOGICAL SEMANTIC AND SCHEMATIC STRUCTURES
OF A BONTOC EXHORTATION

KEITH BENN
Summer Institute of Linguistics

1. INTRODUCTION

It has long been recognized that text has structure, and that a well-constructed text is easily recognized intuitively by a native speaker. But how good text is structured, and what linguistic features distinguish a well constructed from a poorly constructed text is just now becoming clear.

Native speakers of a language also recognize that texts differ according to the intention of the speaker (functional tenor in Functional Systemic terms). Thus, narratives differ from explanations, and procedural directions from exhortations.

Another feature of text which we intuitively recognize is that texts have chronological structure, with a beginning, middle, and end. This structure needs to be studied for each genre of text to highlight the features which characterize and distinguish the genre.

In this essay some of these features are studied in an exhortation in the Bontoc language spoken in the Philippines. We will look at the Schematic Structure, study the components of the elements which make up the Schematic Structure, and study the logical semantic relationships between clauses and sentences within each element.

We will also look briefly at the way in which conjunctive relations and reference chains help to decide the boundaries of the elements within the Schematic Structure.

1.1. THE BONTOC LANGUAGE

Bontoc is the name given by linguists and anthropologists to that variety of speech which is the most commonly used language in the communities of the Bontoc Municipality in Mountain Province, Philippines. This speech variety extends beyond the Bontoc Municipality north-east to include the communities in the Sadanga Municipality and south-east to the Barlig Municipality (Reid 1976).

The text under study in this paper was spoken by a middle aged man in the village of Tokokan, six kilometers north-east of Bontoc.

1.2. FIELD

Gambling is a curse in the village. Young, and sometimes middle-aged, men spend money they can ill afford, gambling on cards. From time to time it is forbidden by the village Council, but at the time of this exhortation, was back on the increase.

1.3. MODE

This exhortation is synthetic, to the extent that it was spoken, not to a live audience, but to a tape recorder. It is a monologue in that there is no response, and it is non-spontaneous in that it was rehearsed.

A number of mode distinctions may be considered:
1.4. PERSONAL TENOR

Personal Tenor takes into account the status relationship between speaker and listener (Martin, n.d.). In this exhortation Pasakra imagined that he was speaking to a group of married men younger than himself. He establishes his relationship to them in the first sentence by calling them ‘children’.

1.5. FUNCTIONAL TENOR

There is considerable disagreement among Functional Systemic linguists as to how functional tenor should be treated. Some do not recognize functional tenor as a distinct category of all. Some see functional tenor as a fourth category of equal status with Field, Mode and Personal Tenor (see Appendix 5). And others define functional tenor as a superordinate register category, having a deterministic influence over other register categories.

2. SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE

In his work done on Bontoc discourse Reid (1970) said that hortatory discourse consists of a series of Points, optionally preceded by an Aperture—introducing the discourse and stating its theme—and optionally followed by a closure tagmeme which recapitulates the theme. A Finis Tagmeme Obligatorily ends unembedded Hortatory Discourse.

This then would be his formula:

$$\text{Aperture} ^ \wedge \text{Point}_n ^ \wedge \text{Closure} ^ \wedge \text{Finis}.$$ 

In Pasakra I we found this structure:

$$\text{Aperture} ^ \wedge \text{Point 1} ^ \wedge \text{Point 2} ^ \wedge \text{Point 3} ^ \wedge \text{Point 4} ^ \wedge \text{Closure}.$$
2.1. EXPANSION OF SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE

Aperture

Exhortation A

Argument 1 for Exhortation A

Point 1

Exhortation B

Argument for Exhortation B

Point 2

Restatement of Argument 1 for Exhortation A

Elaboration of Restatement of Argument 1 for Exhortation A

Reinforcement 1 of Exhortation A

Point 3

Argument 2 for Exhortation A

Reinforcement 2 of Exhortation A

Point 4

Restatement of Argument 2 for Exhortation A

Elaboration (i) of Restatement of Argument 2 for Exhortation A

Elaboration (ii) of Restatement of Argument 2 for Exhortation A

Elaboration (iii) of Restatement of Argument 2 for Exhortation A

Closure

Reinforcement 3 of Exhortation A
This Schematic Structure could be rewritten thus:

**Aperture** | **Exh. A (1)** | Exhortation A (1)
---|---|---
**Point 1** | **Exh. B (3-4)** | Exhortation B (3-4)
---|---|---
**Point 2** | **Restat. Arg. 1.A (6-7)** | Restatement of Arg. 1 for Exh. A (6-7)
---|---|---
| **Elab. Arg. 1.A (8-10)** | Elaboration of Res. of Arg. 1 for Exh. A (8-10)
---|---|---
| **Reinf. 1.A (11)** | Reinforcement 1 of Exh. A (11)
---|---|---
**Point 3** | **Elab. Arg. 2.A (12-18)** | Argument 1 for Exhortation A
---|---|---
**Point 4** | **Elab. Arg. 2.A (20)** | Argument for Exhortation B (5)
---|---|---
| **Elab. Arg. 2.A (21-22)** | Because gambling upsets, disturbing our way of life.
---|---|---
| **Elab. Arg. 2.A (23-27)** | So it is in the case of a farmer: if he does not gamble, he has a livelihood for future days.
---|---|---
| **Elab. Arg. 2.A (28-35)** | Because when we get to thinking of all that we have lost, saying that can be so ld if we have lost, saying that
---|---|---
**Closure** | **Reinf. 3.A (36)** | Consider very well, stop your gambling
---|---|---

This format graphically shows the progression of the discourse, and the periodic reinforcement of the exhortation at the conclusion of each point.

2.3. **ENGLISH TRANSLATION**

To make the structure a little more clear, I will restate the expansion of the schematic structure with an English translation.

**Aperture**

My advice to you children is, stop your gambling.

**Point 1**

The thing for us to do is work. It is appropriate for us to have a job.

**Point 2**

The gambling, it breaks up our way of life. There is nothing that cannot be sold if
Point 3  
Argument 2 for Exhortation A (12-18)  
You take. You steal.  
Oh, you come home to your house. Your wife becomes angry. Your minds become distraught, and you punch her. Gambling is wicked if it is not continually stopped.

Point 4  
Restatement of Argument 2 for Exh. A. (20)  
This gambling!!! Gambling is an evil spirit.

^  
Reinforcement 2 of Exhortation A (19)  
This is what I am emphasizing to you.

Elab. (i) of Restat. of Arg. 2 for Exh. A. (21-22)  
Because wherever a man's wife hides their money, if there is a reserve put away he finds out where it is, stealthily, searching for the money. No matter where she places it, her husband will still, finally get it for gambling.

Elab. (ii) of Restat. of Arg. 2 for Exh. A. (23-27)  
His wife says, 'You stay and do the house work', or 'You go to do the field work'. He answers that he will go to the field. But instead of going where he was supposed to, if he sees his friends along the way, gambling, that's the end of that. Then they gamble until evening. His work is not done.

Elab. (iii) of Restat. of Arg. 2 for Exh. A. (28-35)  
'You stay home', his wife says. 'This is your work for the day'. When his wife comes home, the preparation has not yet
been done of the food to be cooked. The rice is not yet pounded. What food is there then? — The food for the night? The husband and wife quarrel. But if the wife is hot-tempered, she will return his punches. Perhaps that will result in gossip.

Reinforcement 3 of Exhortation A (36) Please, stop your gambling.

3. LOGICAL SEMANTIC STRUCTURES

At this point I will take each element of the Schematic Structure in turn and give its logical semantic analysis. In this analysis I will be using the notation suggested by Halliday (1979).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree:</th>
<th>Type: of interdependence</th>
<th>(i)</th>
<th>(ii)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>paratactic</td>
<td>hypotactic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$1 \sim 2$</td>
<td>$a \circ \beta$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>extending</td>
<td>$1 \times 2$</td>
<td>$a \times \beta$</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$x$</td>
<td></td>
<td>$x \beta a$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>elaborating</td>
<td>$1 = 2$</td>
<td>$a = \beta$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>projected</td>
<td>$1 ' 2$</td>
<td>$a ' \beta$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1. APERTURE

1. Nan ifagfakhak ken chakkayo ay ananak,
   My advice to you children is

2. Tay nan sokhal, abolido;
   Because gambling upsets

Thus, 'stop your gambling' is considered to be a hypotactic projection of the first clause of sentence 1, and the clauses of sentence 2 are seen to be in an elaboration hypotactic relationship. Sentence 2, which has been mapped (2.1) as Argument 1 for Exhortation A, is analyzed as being in a paratactic extension relationship to the Exhortation.
3.2. POINT 1

3. Nan angen, inlagfo ta
   The thing to do is to work

4 a. Manongnong pay
    Moreover, it is appropriate

4 b. no waday inlagfowan
    if we have a place of work.

5 a. Ia a pay laeng cha manalon:
    So it is in the case of a farmer

5 b. mo adi insokhal,
    if he does not gamble

5 c. ket waday kasin kawaksan nan fiyag cha
    he has a livelihood for future days.

Sentences 4 and 5 both have dependent hypotactic clauses which extend the meaning of the independent clauses.

On the inter-sentence level we find that sentence 4 is in an elaborating relationship to sentence 3, and that sentence 5 extends the meaning of sentences 3 and 4. This is in concord with the expansion of the Schematic Structure already presented (2.1).

3.3. POINT 2

Abstract

1

6. Nan sokhal pay lomwilifok is kinasasaad
   Moreover, gambling breaks up the
   nan kinafiyag,
   stability of our way of life.

Orientation

1

2 a. Mid adi mailako
   There is nothing that cannot be sold

2 b. mo makoskosan ta isnan pinagfiyag.
   if we spend all we have.
Pasakra’s second Point is longer than the first and we see him here developing his theme, which is to persuade his hearers to stop gambling.

Perhaps the best way to analyze it is to consider it to be an embedded narrative of personal experience with the following schematic structure:

Abstract ^ Orientation ^ Complication ^ Resolution ^ Coda

3.3.1. ABSTRACT – SENTENCE 6

The role of Abstract is to set the scene for the narrative to come. Sentence 6 does this by recalling our attention to sentence 2 where the accusation is made that ‘gambling disturbs our way of life’.

3.3.2. ORIENTATION – SENTENCE 7
This sentence as a whole elaborates the abstract, and in so doing foreshadows that the intention of the narrative is to show the devastation gambling can wreck on the financial resources of a family.

The second clause of this clause complex extends the meaning of the first, and is in a hypotactic relationship to it.

### 3.3.3. COMPLICATION – SENTENCES 8-9

I have dissected out the initial particles of Sentence 8 of the display (3.3) to show the range over which their meaning is projected. Thus, ‘Tay’ relates sentences 6 and 7 taken as a unit to the whole of 8-10. And ‘mo’ relates the first three clauses of 8 to the last.

The essence of the Complication is expounded in Sentence 8. This is then extended in Sentence 9, and since the resolution of the narrative (or in this case, anti-resolution) is already foreshadowed in 8 as being inevitable, it is included paratactically as extending the meaning of 8.

The display in section 3.3 also allows us to see easily the chiastic structure of this Complication — Resolution — Coda.

\[
\begin{align*}
A & \text{ semkesemken (think and think)} \\
B & \text{ ninpaab- afak (all the things that were lost)} \\
C & \text{ \underline{quotation} ‘sobten’ (retrieve)} \\
D & \text{ ninwasit (throw away)} \\
E & \text{ mifafacheng (reserves)} \\
F & \text{ payew (rice field)} \\
wenno & \text{ (or)} \\
F & \text{ khameng (valuable pot)} \\
E & \text{ aakon (treasures)} \\
D & \text{ ilako (sell)} \\
C & \text{ \underline{quotation} ‘sobten’ (retrieve)} \\
B & \text{ ninpaafak (the things that were lost)} \\
A & \text{ semkesemken (think and think)}
\end{align*}
\]

I think the display in section 3.3. obviates the necessity to explain further the inter-clausal relationships.

### 3.3.4. RESOLUTION – SENTENCE 10

Right from the beginning of Point 2 we are being prepared for this (as Pasakra sees it) inevitable result — we lose. This result falls under the range of ‘Tay’ back in Sentence
8, and is part of the logical structure introduced by that particle. Along with 9, of which it is itself a logical extension, 10 is seen as a paratactic extension of the complication of 8.

3.3.5. CODA ~ SENTENCE 11

Normally a coda is a reflection on what has happened. So it is not unexpected that the speaker here would use that for the purposes of persuasion, seeing that the whole text is an exhortation.

The exhortation itself is a word-for-word repetition of the initial imperative. This is reflected by the expanded schematic structure in Section 2.1.

3.4. POINT 3

Orientation

\[
\begin{align*}
&1 \quad 12 \quad \text{Mangala yo} \\
&=2 \quad 13 \quad \text{Mangakhew kayo.} \\
&\quad \text{You take.} \\
&\quad \text{You steal.}
\end{align*}
\]

Evaluation

\[
\begin{align*}
&14 \quad \text{O} \\
&\quad \text{Oh}
\end{align*}
\]

Complication

\[
\begin{align*}
&1 \quad 15 \quad \text{Omchan kayo akhes isnan afong yo.} \\
&\quad \text{Again, you arrive home.} \\
&x2 \quad 16 \quad \text{Insonget nan asawa yo.} \\
&\quad \text{Your wife becomes angry.}
\end{align*}
\]

Evaluation

\[
\begin{align*}
&17a \quad 1 \quad \text{Maabolido nan olo yo} \\
&\quad \text{Your minds become distraught.}
\end{align*}
\]

Resolution

\[
\begin{align*}
&x2 \quad 18 \quad \text{Lawing nan sokhal} \\
&\quad \text{Gambling is wicked} \\
&x2 \quad b \quad \text{ya in-oyad yo et nan lima yo isnan asawa yo} \\
&\quad \text{and you punch her.}
\end{align*}
\]

Coda

\[
\begin{align*}
&\quad a \quad \text{is cha adi isalcheng.} \\
&\quad \text{is not being continually stopped.} \\
&x2 \quad xB \quad \text{Siya chi nan cha makmakwani ken chakayo.} \\
&\quad \text{This is what I'm continuing to emphasize to you.}
\end{align*}
\]
The text now takes a slightly different tack. As a whole, Point 3 is another narrative, with this structure:

Orientation \ Evaluation \ Complication \ Evaluation \ Resolution \ Coda

This point is seen as a second argument in favor of the initial exhortation (see 2.1.).

3.4.1. COMPLICATION — SENTENCES 12, 13

Two single clauses, paratactically related. The first generic, the second specific. Together they set a new scene, a somewhat unexpected scene since this possibility of stealing has not previously been mentioned in the monologue.

3.4.2. EVALUATION — SENTENCE 14

This modal element does no more than convey the speaker's attitude to the subject matter. He is deeply moved by the gravity of the situation he is depicting, and so pauses to briefly show emotion.

3.4.3. COMPLICATION — SENTENCES 15, 16

And now we see how this argument ties right in with the theme of the whole discourse, that gambling disturbs the way of life. Stealing may be something done away from home but it brings strife right into the home.

3.4.4. EVALUATION — SENTENCE 17a

It is a little difficult to know whether to analyse Sentence 17 as part of the Complication — 'Your wife becomes angry and both your minds become distraught', as an Evaluation, or as part of the Resolution — 'As a solution to your wife's anger you too become upset and you punch her up'.

3.4.5. RESOLUTION — SENTENCE 17b

But whichever way the first clause of 17 is analysed, 17 b 'and you punch her' is certainly a resolution of sorts. One suspects that the problem is not completely solved.

3.4.6. CODA — SENTENCES 18, 19

In this Coda we have both a reflection on the disruptive nature of gambling, plus an emphatic reminder by the speaker of what his advice entails. This Coda also reinforces the initial exhortation (see 2.1) but in a weaker way, relegating the previously imperative verb 'stop' to a dependent clause. More emphasis is given now to the gambling itself and to the initial exhortation.

3.5. POINT 4

Abstraction

20 Nan kay sokhal ya! Anito man nan sokhal.

This gambling, it is an evil spirit.
Because

Complication 1

Evaluation 1

Resolution 1

Reinforcement

Complication 1

Reinforcement

Resolution 1

21 a. Tay olay into nan mangitafonan nan

Because wherever a man’s wife

si asawa na isnan siping cha,

hides their money

b. mo way inchod-olin

if there is a reserve put away

1

aa c. ammoamon asawa na

he finds out where it is

Resolution 1

Reinforcement

Complication 1

22 a. Olay into nan nangisad-ana,

No matter where she places it,

b. Khakheng kay inalan kayet asawa na

her husband will still finally get it

Resolution 1

Reinforcement
Again, his wife says):

'You do the house work or go and do the field work'.

He also replies

that he will go to the field.

But instead of going where he was supposed to

if he sees his gambling friends along the way

that's the end of that!

Then they gamble until evening.

His work there is not done.
Orientation 3

also

"β"  

Kanan asawa na,

his wife says,

‘Siya akhes chi nan khabem isnan intengawam’

‘This is your work for the day’.

Complication 3

1

Somaal si asawa na.

His wife comes home.

30. Chaan metlaeng akhes nanongnong

The preparation has not yet been done

nan chaan ninloto

For the food yet to be cooked.

Evaluation 3

31. Chaan ninfayo

The rice is not yet pounded.

Resolution 3

32. Ngag nan kanen sidi — nan kanen isnan maschem?

What food is there then — the food for the evening meal?

33. Insoma cha et ay sin-asawa.

The husband and wife quarrel.

34a. Ngem mo masmassonget nan fafai,

But if the wife is hot-tempered

b. ket lomafan isnan lalaki

she will hit her husband back.
Coda 3

\[
\begin{align*}
35. \quad \text{Eleg kaifagfagan chi} \\
\text{Perhaps then that will be gossipped.}
\end{align*}
\]

Point 4 is the most extensive argument of the whole exhortation. Hinging on a single abstraction (Sentence 20), we have three embedded narratives, each with slightly different schematic structures.

3.5.1. ABSTRACT – SENTENCE 20

Having shown in Point 3 that gambling causes a person to steal, Pasakra now brings us a stage further and personifies gambling as an 'anito'. 'Anitos' are the spirits which cause all sorts of trouble in the village — they prevent women from conceiving, magnify the difficulties of childbirth, cause still births and infant mortality, aggravate sickness, etc.

So this abstraction brings gambling into a new light. It is realized by a single clause with an emphatic fronted nominal group.

3.5.2. EMBEDDED NARRATIVE 1 – SENTENCES 20-22

This first narrative is introduced as an argument in favour of the proposition of the Abstract by the particle 'Tay' — because. Initially this because ranges over the whole narrative of Sentences 21, 22, but as we shall see later, its range is extrapolated further by devices in Sentences 23 and 28.

This narrative displays the following structure:

\[
\text{Abstraction} \quad \text{Tay} \quad \text{Complication 1} \quad \text{Evaluation 1} \quad \text{Resolution 1} \quad \text{Reinforcement 1} \quad \text{Complication 1}
\]

\[
\text{Resolution 1}
\]

This narrative shows how the evil spirit of gambling perverts a man's mind so that he even steals from his own wife.

3.5.2.1. COMPLICATION – SENTENCE 21a

The Complication, Evaluation and Resolution of Narrative 1 together make up one clause complex. Both the Complication and Evaluation are in a hypotactic relationship to the Resolution.

3.5.2.2. EVALUATION – SENTENCE 21b

This is the first instance in this text where we have had more than one clause in a hypotactic relationship to a single independent clause. The Complication (21 a) and Evaluation (21 b) both extend the meaning of the Resolution (21 c).

3.5.2.3. RESOLUTION – SENTENCE 21c

In this Resolution we find a structure which seems to be characteristic of the Bontoc language — chaining of relative clauses. Thus we get the structure:
he finds out where the money is
he goes stealthily
he searches for the money

Each successive clause is more specific and less generic than its predecessor.

- generic
- Specific βa - generic
- Specific

3.5.2.4. REINFORCEMENT COMPLICATION – SENTENCE 22 a

Sentence 22 is an abridgement of Sentence 21. For this reason it is interpreted as a recursion of the elements of Complication and Resolution of Narrative 1.

Since elliptical reference and abbreviation permit a considerable conservation of energy, it is not surprising that we find it here. Pasakra has already made his point, so in repeating it he makes implicit the fact that the husband is looking for money, omits his method of looking for it, and uses the reference item 'she', to refer to the woman.

3.5.2.5. REINFORCEMENT RESOLUTION 1 – SENTENCE 22 b

Here we see other parallels between 21 and its abridgement in 22. Both Resolutions are independent clauses, both have defining relative clauses, and in both cases, the Complication is in an extending hypotactic relationship to it.

The element that comes out most forcibly in this Reinforcement Resolution is the use of particles to accentuate the problem. Khakkheng and Kayet both mean 'still', and emphasize the lengths to which the evil spirit of gambling will force a man to go against his own family.

3.5.3. EMBEDDED NARRATIVE 2 – SENTENCES 20, 23-27

I mentioned earlier that Tay, 'because', in Sentence 21 would have its range extended. This is achieved by the particle akhes – 'also' or 'again'. The implication here is, 'Here is another evidence for my statement that “gambling is an evil spirit”'.

Embedded Narrative 2 has the following schematic structure:

Abstraction (20) also Orientation ^ Complication ^ Resolution ^ Coda

3.5.3.1. ABSTRACT – SENTENCE 20

Whereas the first narrative showed that the evil spirit of gambling invades the financial stability of a family, the second narrative takes us to the field to show how gambling disrupts the most basic of all village work, that which produces food for young and old – the field work.

3.5.3.2. ORIENTATION – SENTENCES 23, 24
In this narrative we focus on the field work. This is set up by the wife giving the husband the choice, to go to the field, or to stay at home to do the home chores.

Bontoc men and women share the work load. Men gather wood, do the initial plowing of the rice fields, and control the irrigation. Women seed the nursery beds, plant out the seedlings and weed the crop. Both women and men share in the harvest.

But in this orientation it is the wife taking the initiative, forcing the husband into making a decision to work, whether at home or in the fields. This scene implies that already the evil spirit of gambling is affecting the husband's mind, reducing his ability to take the lead.

The Orientation is realized by a conversation, containing a single exchange between husband and wife.

3.5.3.3. COMPLICATION – SENTENCE 25

The Complication is realized by a clause complex comprizing three clauses in a $a, \beta, \gamma$ hypotactic elaborating relationship. The evil spirit of gambling has so affected the mind of the husband that he neglects the field work to gamble with his friends.

At the time that this exhortation was given, that is exactly what was happening. Men would sit around all day, instead of doing their work.

3.5.3.4. RESOLUTION – SENTENCE 26

The result is, unfortunately, inevitable. This inevitable – result device is used repeatedly by Pasakra to bring home the impact of his argument that gambling is a social evil, disrupting the family and livelihood of the village, and consequently must be stopped.

Logically, this Resolution is seen as a paratactic extension of the Complication.

3.5.3.5. CODA – SENTENCE 27

The Coda is also related to the Complication as a paratactic elaboration, 'His work is not done'.

3.5.4. EMBEDDED NARRATIVE 3 – SENTENCES 20, 28-35

Again, the range of 'because' back in Sentence 21 is extended to cover the passage from 28-35 by the use of the particle efes meaning 'also'.

In so doing, we have now another narrative based on the original abstract, in Sentence 20.

This narrative has the following schematic structure:

Abstraction (20) also Orientation ^ Complication ^ Evaluation ^ Resolution ^ Coda

3.5.4.1. ABSTRACT – SENTENCE 20

We have seen how the evil spirit of gambling upsets the financial stability of a family. We have seen how it affects a man's mind so that he does not do his day's field work. Now we see how the evil spirit of gambling so corrupts the husband's mind that while his wife is out working, he even neglects the home chores and food preparation.
3.5.4.2. ORIENTATION — SENTENCE 28

No longer does the wife give him a choice. He has proven his inability to be sufficiently self-disciplined and self-motivated to do the field work, so now she gives the orders. She even specifies the jobs to be done.

3.5.4.3. COMPLICATION — SENTENCES 29-31

By now the scenario is becoming familiar, so the author has no need to mention that the wife goes to the field, or that the husband spends his day gambling. All that is left implicit. And all this is of course familiar to the Tokokan hearer. Time and again I have seen men, on their way to feed the pigs (one of the home chores), stop to watch a group of gamblers, only to find an hour later that he had been distracted.

But this Complication is much worse. Not only is the rice for the evening meal not cooked, it is not even pounded. So when the wife comes home after dark, she has to start at the beginning to pound rice before it can even be put on to cook.

The Complication is realized by three clauses all related in paratactic elaboration as displayed in Section 5.3.

3.5.4.4. EVALUATION — SENTENCE 32

For the first time in this discourse we have a true Evaluation element following a Complication in an embedded narrative. This Evaluation is quite distinctive grammatically, because it is realized by a rhetorical question. This is the only interrogative of the whole text.

3.5.4.5. RESOLUTION — SENTENCES 33, 34

Two sentences, paratactically related, the second extending the meaning of the first.

The tension created in the Complication is resolved by an argument, and possibly a fight, the woman asserting her righteous anger by belting him back, the final indignity.

3.5.4.6. CODA — SENTENCE 35

As the final Coda of the final argument of the discourse we would expect something really significant. But do we have it? ‘Maybe that will be gossipped’. Does that really matter? Yes it does, in Bontoc society.

Filipinos are reluctant to physically punish a child. So children are reprimanded verbally, and ‘shamed’ into conforming to acceptable behavior.

In the village, this principle is widely applied to bring a wayward member of the community back into line. Socially aberrant behavior is “gossipped” around as a means of expressing censure and ensuring conformity to the village perception of good behavior.

And so we have the implied threat, and consequent impact of a seemingly mild Coda.

3.6 CLOSURE

36. a Pangpangngaasi yo

Please
And so we come to the final item of the discourse, a closure which neatly wraps up the exhortation by restating the hortative element of the original exhortation in Sentence 1, 'Stop your gambling' (see display in Section 2.1.).

4. STRUCTURAL BOUNDARIES

Martin (n.d.) states that 'Conjunction . . . is sensitive to the boundaries between elements of text structure. In general it appears that . . . external conjunctive relations do not link elements of the structure. Internal conjunctive relations commonly do relate one element of text structure to another' (38).

Generally, we find this to be true (see Appendix 3). First, let us look at the Schematic Structure of the whole text, along with Conjunction and Reference.

4.1. DISPLAY OF SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE/CONJUNCTION/REFERENCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schematic Structure</th>
<th>Conjunction</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aperture (1-2)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point 1 (3-5)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5c</td>
<td>farmers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>we two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point 2 (6-11)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>we two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2. DISCUSSION

As is shown in Appendix 3, this text is well constructed conjunctively, yet at none of the boundaries between elements in the structure is there external conjunction, and only on two occasions do we find internal conjunction. This agrees with the observation of Martin in Section 4.

I have included Reference in Section 4.1. because of the rather dramatic contrast which the reference chains show from element to element of the schematic structure. Apart from Point 1, which seems from the Reference chain to be a transition point, each Point displays its own unique reference string, with the Closure repeating the string found in Point 3.
4.3. STRUCTURAL BOUNDARIES WITHIN THE EMBEDDED NARRATIVES

What was true for the whole discourse seems not always to hold in its entirety for the elements within the embedded narratives.

4.3.1. POINT 2 – EMBEDDED NARRATIVE

This Embedded narrative displays a number of conjunctive relations, but only internally, across boundaries in the schematic structure.
If this analysis is correct, then we have external conjunction across the boundaries between Complication and Evaluation, and Evaluation and Resolution. It is interesting to note that each of these are temporal relationships, and are part of the real-life progression of the narrative. This raises the question as to whether external temporal conjunctive relations are an exception to the postulate in Section 4.

Alternately, I could have avoided this problem by analysing Point 3 thus:


Resolution: 15. You arrive home again to your house.

16. Your wife becomes angry.

17. Your minds become distraught, and you punch her.

Coda: 18. Gambling is wicked if not being continually stopped.

19. This is what I'm continuing to emphasize to you.

With this alternate analysis, external conjunction does not cross the boundaries between structural elements.

I favor the former analysis for two reasons:
1. Throughout this text, the Resolutions of Embedded Narratives tend to be realized by Material processes. The second analysis 'buries' two Relational processes in the Resolution. Also, throughout the text, Evaluations are Relational. The clause which was analyzed as being Resolution in the first analysis, 17 a, is Relational.

2. Each of the external conjunctive relations is temporal. As will be seen in Sections 4.3.3.2 and 4.3.3.3, this same situation reoccurs.

This point leads me to postulate an exception to Martin's rule (in Section 4) that 'external conjunctive relations do not link elements of the structure'. The exception is in the case of temporal relations.

4.3.3. POINT 4

Here we have three embedded narratives which will be treated individually.

4.3.3.1. POINT 4 – EMBEDDED NARRATIVE (20-22)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE</th>
<th>CONJUNCTION PROCESSES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstraction (20)</td>
<td>Relational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complication (21a)</td>
<td>21a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation (21b)</td>
<td>21b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolution (21c)</td>
<td>21c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reinforcement Complication (22a)</td>
<td>22a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reinforcement Resolution (22b)</td>
<td>22b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If we are to make it a rule that external conjunction cannot cross boundaries, then this narrative can have only three elements. But as is shown by the implicit, i.e., the content of 21 is mirrored in 22, making 21 and 22 in effect a single unit. It seems we have two choices here, either we say that this is not in fact an embedded narrative, or we say that external conjunction can, under certain circumstances, cross the boundaries between elements of structure.

Surely part of the problem here is that the whole narrative is compacted into three sentences, and even then the third is redundant. So we have the essence of the narrative realized by an abstraction and a clause complex where dependent clauses realize elements of the schematic structure of a narrative.
But notice, that even though this is so, the dependent Evaluation element is still realized by a relational clause. (See discussion later under Section 5.2 - Transitivity Considerations.)

4.3.3.2. POINT 4 - EMBEDDED NARRATIVE (20, 23-27)

The only external conjunctive relation crossing the structural boundary in this narrative is the temporal succession linking Complication to Resolution (see discussion in Section 4.3.2).

On the basis of the relational clause in 25c we could analyse 25a, b as the Complication and 25c as Evaluation, but here again we have the problem of dependent clauses realizing elements of Schematic Structure. (see Section 4.3.3.1).
### 4.3.3.3. POINT 4 – EMBEDDED NARRATIVE (20, 28-35)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE</th>
<th>CONJUNCTION</th>
<th>PROCESSES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstraction (20)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Relational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>exp. causal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation (28)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Verbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>imp. success</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complication (29-31)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Material</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Material</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>imp. success</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation (32)</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Relational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Material</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolution (33-34)</td>
<td>34b</td>
<td>Material</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>imp. addit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coda (35)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Relational</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On each occasion in this embedded narrative where external conjunction crosses the structural boundaries, it is a temporal successive. (See the discussion on this point in Section 4.3.2.)

Notice that the Evaluation element is a Relational process.

### 5. FUNCTIONAL TENOR REVISITED

Martin has shown that once the step of relating functional tenor to a text’s Structural Formula is taken, clear examples of its influence over experiential, interpersonal and textual meaning can be found (37).

At this point we will look at just two areas, Personal Tenor and Transitivity.

#### 5.1. THE INFLUENCE OF FUNCTIONAL TENOR OVER PERSONAL TENOR

The most dramatic influence of Functional Tenor over another register category in this text is seen in its deterministic influence over Personal Tenor.

Personal tenor does not remain static throughout the text. As a device, it is a valuable tool in Pasakra’s hand.

Point 4   man (particle – solidarity)   peers
          he, she   impersonal example   peers looking at someone else.
          they     of what gambling     does.
Closure  Please, please, please inferior to superior
stop your gambling.

So here we see the speaker beginning as an authority figure to deliver his first exhortation. Then he moves into the role of peer, expressing this both through the use of the dual pronoun 'we two', and through the use of the particle man.

In Point 3 he switches back and lays out accusations one after the other, as a superior to inferior. But in the last point he is again on an intimate relationship with the hearer as together they look at what other people do.

Then finally, in the Closure, the speaker prostrates himself at the feet of the hearers, and in the most polite terms possible, requests them to stop gambling.

5.2. TRANSITIVITY CONSIDERATIONS

In Appendix 2 there is a summary of the Mood and Transitivity of the independent clauses of the text.

The first thing we notice is that Pasakra has used Relational clause complexes to introduce the hearer to his Theme, and to set the Orientation for the text. This continues right throughout the Aperture and Point 1.

The author then goes into the body of his argument that 'gambling disturbs the way of life of the village' in Points 2, 3 and 4. Here we are throughout a majority of Material processes. But as we progress from Point 2 to Point 3 to Point 4 the proportion of Material processes decreases as the proportion of the Relational processes increases.

An explanation for this can be found in the fact that Evaluations and Codas of Embedded Narratives are always Relational processes.

This observation accords with that expressed by Joan Rothery in Martin (n.d.) that 'in a doctor's examination the types of process used during the actual examination are mainly material, ... But once ... doctor and patient ... discuss the results of the examination, mental processes are more prevalent' (37).

More study is needed on the types of process used in Evaluation and Coda elements of the schematic structures of Bontoc narratives.

6. CONCLUSION

In this analysis we have used conjunction, reference and semantic features to divide up a Bontoc text into its schematic structure.

But in doing so we have noticed that the speaker has made extensive use of narrative as a device to persuade his audience that gambling is wicked. More work needs to be done in the area of the use of narrative in Hortative Discourse.

These narratives regularly show a schematic structure of their own, with the evaluative elements in harmony with the overall Theme of the text, to persuade the listener of the disruptiveness of gambling.

We have also seen that the structure of a text and the Personal Tenor displayed within the text is strongly influenced by the Functional Tenor.

REFERENCES


MARTIN, J. n.d. Conjunction and conversational structures. University of Sydney. (draft)


THE LOGICAL SEMANTIC AND SCHEMATIC
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APPENDIX 1

PASAKRA NO. 1

Aperture

1. (a) Nan ifagfakhak ken chakkayo ay ananak, the saying-I to you link children
   My advice to you children is
   (b) isalcheng yo nan sokhal yo. stop you the gambling your.
   stop your gambling.

2. Tay nan sokhal, abolido; istolbo is pagfiyag. because the gambling upsetting disturbing of way-of-life
   Because gambling, it is upsetting, disturbing (our) livelihood.

Point 1

3. Nan angnen, inlagfo ta. the do work we
   The thing for us (two) to do is work.

4. (a) Manongnong pay well-arranged still
   (b) no waday inlagfowan. if there-is place-of-work
   Moreover, it is appropriate (for us) to have a job.

5. (a) Inapay laeng cha manalon: so also pl. farmer
   So in the case of a farmer:
   (b) mo adi insokhal, if not gamble
   (c) ket waday kasin kawaksan nan fiyag cha. particle there-is again future the life their
   if he does not gamble, he has a livelihood for the future.

Point 2

6. Nan sokhal pay lomilifok is kinasasaad nan kinasi fiyag. the gambling still break-up of situation of life
   Moreover, the gambling, it breaks up (our) way of life.

7. (a) Mid adi mailako nothing not able-to-sell
There is nothing that cannot be sold if we spend all we (two) have.

Because when we get to thinking of our losses,

saying that (we) will get it back

perhaps we throw away our reserves!

Any treasures are sold, thinking to retrieve the losses.

Instead, we still lose.

Consider very well indeed: stop your gambling.

You take.

You steal.

Oh!
15. Omchan kayo akhes isnan afong yo.  
arrive you also to house your  
You come home to your house.

16. Insonget nan asawa yo.  
become-angry the wife your  
Your wife becomes angry.

17. (a) Maabolido nan olo yo,  
upset the head your  
Your minds become distraught,

(b) ya in-oyad yo et nan lima yo isnan asawa yo.  
and stretch-out you immed. the hand your to wife your  
and you punch your wife.

18. (a) Lawing nan sokhal  
evil the gambling

(b) is cha adi isalcheng.  
in present-action not stop  
Gambling is wicked if it is not continually stopped.

it that the presently saying to you  
This is what I am emphasizing to you.

Point 4

the explan. gambling emph. spirit-of-dead part. the gambling  
This gambling (emphatic, explanatory); gambling is an evil spirit.

21. (a) Tay olay into nan mangitafo nan si asawa na  
for even where the hiding-place the personal-part wife his  
isnan siping cha,  
the money their  
Because wherever a man’s wife hides their money,

(b) mo way inchod-olin,  
if there-is put-away  
if there is a reserve put away,

(c) ammoamon asawa na  
learn-about husband her  
he finds out where it is
(d) ay imangikhotok
   link go-stealthily

(e) ay manganap isnan siping.
   link search the money
   in that he stealthily searches for it.

22. (a) Olay into nan nangisad-ana
   even where the putting-place
   No matter where she places it,

   (b) khakkheng kay inalan kayet asawa na ay nangisokhal.
       still particle get still husband her link gamble
       her husband wills till finally get it, for gambling.

23. Kanan akhes asawa na, “Inteel ka, wenno fomoknag ka.’
    say also wife his, ‘stay-home you or go-to-field you
    Again, his wife says, ‘you stay and do the house work,’ or ‘You go to do the
    field work.’

24. Kanan akhes en ta fomoknag.
    say also quote so-that go-to-field
    He answers also that he will go to the field.

25. (a) Imbis ta omey is omayana
    instead so-that go to going-place
    But instead of going where he was supposed to,

   (b) mo inchanana nan iba na ay sokhachol,
       if find-he the friend his link gambler
       if he sees his gambling friends along the way,

   (c) kecheng!
       finish
       that’s the end of that!

    then gamble they immediately until link night
    Then they gamble until evening.

27. Adi nakhaeb nan makhaeb sichi.
    not done the to-do there-anaphoric
    His work is not done.

28. ‘Inteel’ eses, kanan asawa na,
    stay-home also say wife his
    Again, ‘You stay home,’ his wife says,
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'siya akhes chi nan khabem isnan intengawam,' this also that the do-you in staying-home-your 'This also is your work for the day.'

29. Somaal si asawa na. come-home personal-part wife his His wife comes home.

30. Chaan metlaeng akhes nanongnong nan chaan ninloto. not-yet doubtful also prepared the not-yet cooked The preparation has not yet been done of the food to be cooked.

31. Chaan ninfayo. not-yet pounded The rice is not yet pounded.

32. Ngag nan kanen sidi? nan kanen isnan maschem? what the food there-anaphoric the food at night What food is there then? for the evening meal?

33. Insoma cha et ay sin-asawa. become-angry they immediately link husband-wife The husband and wife quarrel.

34. (a) Ngem mo masmassonget nan fafai, but if hot-tempered the wife But if the wife is hot tempered,

(b) ket lomafan isnan lalaki. particle hit-back at-the man she will fight back (when the husband hits her).

35. Eleg kaifagfagan chi. perhaps gossip that Perhaps that will be gossipped.

Closure

36. (a) Pang pang ngaasi yo please you

(b) ta isalcheng yo nan sokhal yo. so-that stop you the gambling your Please, stop your gambling.
APPENDIX NO. 2

MOOD AND TRANSITIVITY IN PASAKRA 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mood of Independent Clauses</th>
<th>Processes of Independent Clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aperture (1-2)</td>
<td>1 Imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Relational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Declarative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Relational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Declarative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point 1 (3-5)</td>
<td>4 Material</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(67%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Relational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Declarative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(17%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Mental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(17%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point 2 (6-11)</td>
<td>5 Material</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(56%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Declarative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Relational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(44%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 Material</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Interrogative</td>
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<td>5 Relational</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(31%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Verbal</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>(19%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Closure

1 Imperative

1 Material

APPENDIX NO. 3

CONJUNCTION IN PASAKRA 1

Aperture

1 exp. causal

2 exp. condit.

3 exp. e.g.

4a exp. condit.

4b exp. condit.

5a exp. condit.

5b exp. condit.

5c exp. contrast
Abbreviations

imp. implicit
exp. explicit
concess. concessive
purpos. purposive
addit. addition
condit. conditional
success. successive
simult. simultaneous
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APPENDIX NO. 4

REFERENCE IN PASAKRA 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aperture</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Listeners</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>I (ak)</td>
<td>you (chakayo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>you (yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>you (yo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>we two (ta)</td>
<td>farmers (cha manalon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>their (cha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>we two (ta)</td>
<td>reserves (mifafacheng)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>we two (ta)</td>
<td>whatever (ngag sisa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>we two (ta)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>them (sisa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>the (san)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>you (yo)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you (yo)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>your (yo)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>you (yo)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>you (kayo)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>you (kayo)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>your (yo)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Point 4

Speaker | Listeners
---|---
21 | he (na) wife (siasawa)
    | their (cha) her (na)
    | she (na) her (na)
23 | his (na) you (ka)
    | you (ka) his (na)
25 | his (na)
    | (Friend) friend (iba)
    | his (na) they (cha)
26 | there (sici)
27 | (CULTURAL CONTEXT)
28 | his (na) your (-m)
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29

that (siya . . . chi)  
your (-m)

32

his (na)  pers. pn.

there (sidi)  
at night

33

they (cha)

34

35

that (chi)

Closure

36

you (yo)

you (yo)

your (yo)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>APPENDIX NO. 5</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RELATED SCHEMATA OF REGISTER CATEGORIES</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Field</th>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Personal Tenor</th>
<th>Functional Tenor</th>
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<tr>
<td>GREGORY &amp; CARROLL, 1978</td>
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<td>BENSON &amp; GREAVES, 1973</td>
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<td>FORMALITY ROLE</td>
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<td>HASAN, 1973</td>
<td>SUBJECT &amp; SITUATION MATTER TYPE</td>
<td>MODE &amp; MEDIUM</td>
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<td>MODE</td>
<td>SOCIAL RELATION (TONE)</td>
<td>ROLE</td>
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<td>HYMES, 1967</td>
<td>SETTING &amp; ENDS</td>
<td>CHANNEL &amp; GENRE</td>
<td>PARTICIPANTS &amp; KE</td>
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</table>

1Summary by R.S.M. Lim, 14/10/80 Seminar paper for Descriptive Methods in Linguistics.