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SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF HORTATORY STRATEGY IN SUBANUN

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It is probably quite safe to say that everyone who communicates effectively in a given language to members of a given cultural community has gone through some kind of rhetorical apprenticeship. While it may be bad advice to tell a literary or oratorical master to conform to the patterns which have proven effective, it is undoubtedly good advice for anyone who has not completed such an apprenticeship, and it is particularly good advice for the non-native speaker.

Our interest in studying examples of effective hortation in Subanun stems from a desire to master the art. We feel that the study of Subanun discourse is a valuable part of the rhetorical apprenticeship through which the non-native speaker must go if he is to be effective in his use of the language.

We wish at the very least to construct an inventory of effective hortatory strategies. We want to describe these strategies in sufficient detail to be able to use them both in language learning and in translation. Our ultimate dream would be to succeed in characterizing the principles of literary, oratorical, and conversational creativity which enable the gifted native speaker to create stunningly effective discourses with radically new strategies. To the extent that we fall short of this rather ambitious goal we will also fail to close the canon, as it were, upon what can be called "effective" discourse in Subanun.

This paper represents just one step in the direction of our ultimate goal. The hypotheses we propose have arisen primarily from the study of the three hortatory texts which appear in full in Appendices A, B, and C. They are therefore quite tentative. Our purpose in presenting our findings at this relatively early stage is as much to share what appeal to us as fruitful analytic questions with which to approach this type of study as it is to make a modest contribution to the description of Subanum.

We started with the assumption that the texts we had were examples of effective hortation, and with the companion assumption that coherence, significance, and intelligibility are essential ingredients of effective discourse. From there it was up to us to ask the questions which had accessible answers of sufficiently general significance to be useful in our quest for mastery in the art of Subanun hortation. A good general question will give rise to hypotheses that invite testing against the data as well as against what we know about language in general. The following questions were among the more fruitful ones that we asked.

One of the most interesting results of our brief study was the emergence of the notion, conflict topic. This dual-purpose construct appears to govern both the major grouping of points in the backbone and the conflict patterns of focal content. Perhaps of even greater interest was the fact

that it begins to provide an explanation of the shifting focus pattern found in Subanun hortation. Before we can discuss this, however, there are questions relating both to coherence and to focal content that must be looked into.

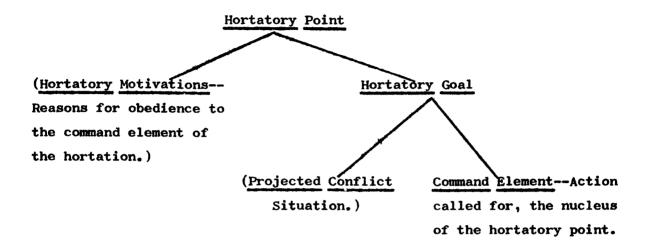


Figure 1. The structure of a hortatory point. (Parenthesized elements are optionally present.)

This kind of structure is so prevalent in the texts we have examined that it is virtually possible to account for whole texts by laying them out in the three columns suggested by Figure 1. Text A, for example, is represented in this way in Figure 2.

	Hortatory Motivations	Projected Conflict Situation	Command Element
Point 1	I am speaking to you in advance	1. Now, Dulin, before long you will go to the city and go to school.	[It's up to you] whether or not you will pay attention to my instruction to you.
Point 2	2. You know our situation that we don't have anything.		3. and so you must have consideration.
Point 3	4. If you have any consideration for your parents and if you have seen that our resources are really nothing.		help out with the
	- ii h		expenses for what little we have to get [by economizing].
Point 4	5. Even your cloth- ing is inadequate.	6. So if your co- horts invite you to drink or gamble	
Point 5	so that you may ful-		don't do it. 7. So have consideration for your parents' provision for you
	fill your plan to get an education.		
Point 6		1	B. Attend movies sparingly.
Point 7			please don't incur
Point 8		way	keep moderately priced things in mind.
			(Continued)

(Continued)

والمنظ المنط أرابة والمناور والمناطرة والمناطر		
Point 9	11. The same with regard to clothing. 12. When you come home from school	put on your old clothes and thus save your good change of clothes.

Figure 2. Analysis of Text A into hortatory points.

What makes a hortatory point coherent? It should, perhaps, be pointed out that a hortatory point can be incoherent and still have the structure of Figure 1. The following might be an example:

Hortatory Motivation Conflict Situation Command Element
Time flies--so you
can save some money.

Next time you go to Manila

don't book a flight-just borrow Hazel's
copy.

Figure 3. An incoherent hortatory point.

Clearly, a hortatory point can have an appropriate surface form and lack internal coherence. In this case there is a multiple equivocation in the phrase 'time flies' which destroys the force of the motivation so far as the command is concerned. What makes a point internally coherent from a formal point of view is the concern of formal logic. If Western concepts of logic explain coherence from a Subanun point of view, one need only point to the large and useful literature that exists on the subject. If not, it might be interesting to study conventional Subanun logic inductively, though there is little we can say at this point.

In intuitive terms, a point is coherent if the motivation has a compelling relationship to the performance of the command and if the situation is appropriate either as a limit or as a key example representing a whole set of appropriate circumstances. The two notions, 'appropriate' and 'compelling' involve us in a study of cultural values and norms that are crucial prerequisites to the mastery of hortatory discourse for both the speaker and the hearer. From this point of view the coherence of a hortation can never be completely divorced from its significance. The backbone of hortatory discourse is tied together with tension that derives from focal content in ways that will be made clear by what follows.

What makes hortatory points coherent within context? Each constituent of a hortatory point has a contribution to make to the coherence of the whole. A point consists minimally of an overt hortation or command element. Where the situation to which the command applies and the motivations for obeying the command are sufficiently clear, a hortatory point can consist entirely of the command element and still be coherent within context. When this is the case, the point may be said to cohere with its context by virtue of shared, understood hortatory motivations and projected situations. Point 6 of Figure 2 clearly shares at least the situation of Point 1, and the motivations of Points 2, 3, 4, and 5. The situation projected by the first point of that text holds for the whole discourse. Every command given relates to Dulin's time at school. The projected situation in Point 1 thus places certain limits on what a coherent point can be. A command such as 'Plant your rice during the week of the full moon' could not be substituted coherently for Point 2, since it does not relate to the school situation projected in Point 1, and it provides no transition to such a In this discourse Point 6 is the only one that consists entirely of the command element. Both the situation to which the command applies and the motivations for obedience are quite clear. There is no problem in seeing how Point 6 coheres with its context.

The projected situation, although optional as far as the point itself is concerned, does play an important role in linking successive commands to coherently related situations. Point 1 names 'school in the city' as the situation to which the whole following discourse relates. In Point 4, peer pressure situations are introduced. In Point 7 the situation is extended to include all occasions in which it is possible to avoid expense. Point 9 gives a concrete example of frugality in the care of one's possessions. In this discourse the projected situations contribute to the coherence of the whole by virtue of the fact that they all relate to the topic situation named in the opening sentence.

The hortatory motivations, can also play a part in providing coherence for a hortatory discourse. The motivations are explicit developments of the tension or pressure applied to the hearer to carry out the command element. If the sources of this tension are compatible and non-conflicting, the motivation can be viewed as coherent.

In this discourse Point 1 puts the interpersonal relation of the speaker to his younger brother on the line as a motivation for listening. Point 2 uses the limited nature of family resources as a motivation for considerate economic behavior. Point 3 adds to this the value placed on consideration to one's parents as a reason for economizing. Point 4 introduces the matter of personal appearance as a reason for resisting peer pressure to waste money. Implicit here is an argument to the effect that if you drink and gamble your money away not only will you deplete the family resources and show lack of consideration for your parents, you will also eliminate the possibility of getting better clothing. Point 5 adds to this the fact that extravagance could jeopardize his chances of completing his education. The motivations are coherent in that they all relate to economic considerations—they all pull in the direction of frugality. They all appeal to values that are of considerable importance to the hearer.

What makes a hortation significant (compelling) in Subanun? Hortation is appropriate only where potential conflicts can be projected and where the speaker-hearer relation is used in motivating the hearer's choices between options. The tension built by focal content in narrative and procedural types is normally aimed at holding an audience and impressing them with the significance, intent, or importance of the material conveyed by the discourse. In some instances the tension thus established is not entirely released at the climax or resolution or at the satisfaction of the initial Thus, a discourse on how to bake bread may succeed in holding an audience but if tension induced by the discourse is released completely at the end of the discourse it will fail to motivate the audience to bake bread in the intended manner. This second line of tension that aims at influencing conduct is typically hortatory, and to the extent that a procedural discourse motivates a change in behavior or a narrative discourse arouses an interest in the study of literature, such a discourse may be seen to have hortatory overtones.

How is tension built? Much of the tension that a successful hortatory discourse builds is resolved non-linguistically by the hearer, if at all. Similarly the effective sources of tension are also likely to be non-linguistic, involving various aspects of the speaker-hearer relation, that afford the speaker some leverage upon the hearer. Structured role relations such as that of employer to employee, father to son, and teacher to student afford certain types of leverage. The effectiveness of a hortation depends not simply upon the skill with which the verbal material is handled. Rather, it also depends upon how the hearer accredits the speaker, what social pressures are brought to bear, and what consequences are likely to ensue.

Text A, Gbetad Gtitulu, "Instruction Customs", was written by Entong Anulay and is set down as a heart-to-heart talk that he had either had or would have with his younger brother, Dulin, who was shortly to leave home to attend school in the city. Entong is the chief bread-winner of the family and therefore has considerable authority as well as responsibility within the family for financial matters. These facts give Entong a great deal of leverage in dealing with his younger brother. It gives considerable weight to the statement in Sentence 1, 'I am speaking to you ...' and it gives a sense of understatement and unexploited power to the statement 'It is up to you whether or not you pay attention.' The use of the vocative is also noteworthy. Proper name vocatives are rarely used in Subanun. The fact that Entong is able to call Dulin by name demonstrates a certain closeness of relationship.

The devices used to build tension in this discourse are given considerable prominence and can be shown to have a strong appeal in terms of values held dear in a Philippine context. Interestingly, this material is found almost exclusively in the string of hortatory premises in Sentences 1, 2, 4, 5, and 7. The specific content used for building tension includes the following.

Content used to build tension

- 1. The emotional component involved in going away from home for the first time.
- 2. The meager financial resources of the family.
- 4. Explicit mention of "Your parents". The appeal to pity them, to have mercy upon them, to help them out at home by cutting expenses.
- 5. Your clothes are something less than the best.
- 7. The desirability of finishing an education.

Philippine values to which these appeal

The value placed upon togetherness, the dread of being alone.

The value placed upon being approved by others.

The very high value placed upon respect for elders and upon reciprocity. One is expected to provide for one's parents in their old age.

The high value placed upon good outward appearance. To dress well is more important than to eat well.

The high status which accrues to the educated person.

How is focus marked in hortatory discourse? Johnston (1976) has demonstrated a tendency for focus in Cotabato Manobo to remain upon the chief participant throughout longer stretches of non-conflict discourse. Porter (forthcoming) has uncovered focus patterns in conflict passages in which there is a rapid shifting of focus from one participant to another, and even from combatant participants to key aspects of the conflict situation. This also fits the situation for conflict passages found in Johnston (1976). The correlation of shifting focus with conflict passages appears to be supported for other languages as well. If, then, it is the case that rapid shifts of focus from participant to participant or from participant to various aspects of the conflict situation constitutes a focus pattern associated with conflict, then this kind of focus pattern is entirely appropriate to hortatory discourse. Hortatory discourse is appropriate only where potential conflict situations can be projected.

The focus pattern in Text A is indeed a conflict pattern. In general terms there are four classes of items that are represented by focused forms:

- 1. The hearer, Dulin
- 2. The speech itself
- 3. Pressures upon Dulin to spend
- 4. Pressures upon Dulin to economize

It is interesting that focused items are rather narrowly selected. Among those items or participants never in focus are the parents, the speaker, the prospective cohorts of Dulin at school, and school itself. Since Dulin is the only participant in focus, the hortatory conflict appears to be staged as one that takes place in the mind of Dulin, and the conflict that is projected takes place between pressures to spend and pressures to economize. The focus pattern that suggests this is summarized in Figure 4. The columns in Figure 4 represent the four groups of items that fall

in focus. The rows are numbered to correspond with the sentences in Text A. In the cells are the English glosses of the items in focus. In a non-conflict passage, focus normally stays upon a given participant grouping or prop grouping throughout most of a paragraph or section. In a conflict passage the stage is crowded and focus moves from participant grouping to participant grouping among the elements engaged in the conflict.

	Dulin	The Speech	Pressures to Spend	Reasons for Economizing
1.	you (twice)	instruction		
2.			7	our situation
3.	you			·
4.	you			all our resources what little we have to get
5.				your clothing
6.	you		to drink or gamble	
7•				your parents' provision for you your plan to get an education
8.			movies	
9.			expenses	
11.			clothing	
12.				the old clothes change of clothing

Figure 4. Focus Pattern from Text A.

How do hortatory points group? One of the chief insights we missed in our early considerations of Text A and which came forcefully to our attention as a result of studying Texts B and C was the principle by which hortatory points group into coherent larger stretches, that is, into conflict topics. The reason we missed it in Text A was that there is only one such unit. By conflict topic we refer to the major issues in terms of which the hortatory options or alternatives are defined. The topic in Text A could be named frugality, and the hortatory options could be labeled temptations to

spend, and motivations for thrift. Figure 4 indicates how these options relate to the focus pattern of Text A. The grouping pattern that we missed in Text A was quite clear in Texts B and C since each of these texts contains more than one such conflict topic. In Text B, for example, we have two conflict topics: 1) domestic tranquility and 2) conjugal fidelity, each of which defines a pair of hortatory options.

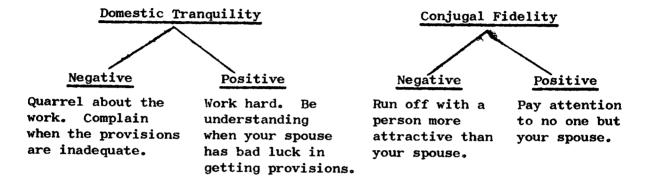


Figure 5. Conflict topics in Text B.

How does focal content relate to backbone in Subanun hortation? now possible to say that for the texts examined thus far the hortatory backbone consists of a sequence of points which can be grouped at a higher level into a sequence of conflict topics. For each topic a negative and a positive pole is defined within a projected conflict situation. Associated with this is the conflict focus pattern in which the hearer, and the activities associated with conflict choices are priority foci. The conflict topic may either be named explicitly in the discourse or may be implicit to a series of related points, but in either case it manifests a dual function. It is a high level backbone constituent upon which the discourse depends for its coherence and it is also the organizing principle for the projected conflicts upon which the discourse depends for its significance. The superimposition of focal content structure upon backbone structure in hortatory discourse appears to be a feature of hortation as a type quite distinct from narrative or procedural types where the two structures tend to be relatively distinct.

FOOTNOTES

For the gifted few this apprenticeship may simply be an implicit part of language learning. For many, however, explicit analysis is crucial for a practical mastery of discourse.

Texts recorded in real life situations are often easier to evaluate than elicited texts, since audience reaction can often provide an immediate index of effectiveness. See Wrigglesworth, forthcoming.

³For a discussion of our assumptions regarding coherence, significance, and intelligibility see Hale, 1973.

Especially that of R.E. Longacre, K.L. Pike, J.E. Grimes, and K. Callow.

⁵The sequence principle in hortatory discourse is thus as much a part of the logical content of the hortation as is the sequence principle in either narrative or procedural discourse.

Proper names can be used on occasion by an older person in addressing a younger person but younger people address senior relatives by use of kinship terms, rather than by proper name. A child who addresses a parent by a first name is being disrespectful in doing so in Subanun culture. It should be noted, however, that there is no vocative kin term for older or younger siblings, and that Dulin might also address his older brother by name--hence the impact of the proper name vocative here is simply that of chosing to use a vocative at all.

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Text A: Gbetad Gtitulu (Instruction Customs) by Entong Anulay

1. Naa, Dulin, kiin ndi' ma na maiben now Dulin this not only already long

dituunka ma na glunsud pegusekila, go-there-you only already town go-to-school

kiini telu'anku ya'a gdaan, adun sa' this-is speak-by-me you beforehand so-that if

pegdelendemenmu sa' ndi' su gtitulu'an dini'a. think-by-you if not the instruction to-you

2. Pu' kiini misuunanmu na ki for this-is knew-by-you already $\overline{\overline{th}}$ is

kebetangta, ki kelaunanen, nda'idun. situation-our(inc) this all-of-it none-is

3. Kaas subay ya'a nai so it-is-necessary you already-are

gmegbena'bena' dun. 4. Sa' melelata da di consider anaph, if pity-you only to-the

gmegulangmu muka' minita'mu na ki parents-your and saw-by-you already this

glaunanen nda' na daani gelapan dun, all-of-it not already truly-are acquire anaph.

pekemutemuten laak ki gbata' gsukat. help-with-expenses just this little provision

5. Pia nga gpenepetenmu, kulang. 6. Kaas even plural clothing-your lack so

sa' enggatenka nga gsamambata'mu meginum if invite-you by-plural friends-your to-drink-

atawaka menugal, pedasaymu dun. 7. Pu'liguor or gamble don't-you anaph. for

peginunu'aymu ki gsukat nu be-understanding-by-you this provision by-the

gmegulangmu, adun su gdelendemanmu tu parents-your so-that the plan-your to

kektu'unmu, melaammu. education-your may-acquire-you

1. Now, Dulin, since before long you will go to the city and go to school, I am speaking to you in advance, so, [it's up to you whether or not you pay attention to my instruction to you. 2. For after all, you know our situation, that we don't have anything 3. and so you must have consideration. 4. If you have any consideration for your parents and if you have seen that all our resources are really nothing, help out with the expenses for what little we have to get by cutting down on your own expenses . 5. Even your clothing is inadequate. 6. So if your cohorts invite you to drink or gamble, don't do it. 7. So have consideration for your parents' provision for you, so that you may fulfill your plan to get an education.

8. Ki gsini, sukalan dun gusay. 9. Ki this movie moderate anaph. very

gastu, sa' kena' da tantu gimpurtanti, pedasan expense if not only really important don't

dun deli', kaika'an. 10. Ma'antu da, anaph. please little like-that only

betangen di gsinukalay. 11. Ki gpenepeten, put to moderate this clothing

ma'antu da dema. 12. Sa' genat di gusekilaan, like-that only also if from to school

seluken su gdenulan, adun pektebudtebudi put-on the old(clothes) so-that be-careful-of-is

gilasan. change

8. Attend movies sparingly. 9. If expenses aren't really important, please don't incur them. 10. In the same way keep the moderately-priced things in mind. 11. The same with regard to clothing. 12. Put on your old clothes when you come home from school and thus save your good change of clothes.

Text B: Su Gbetad Kamal (Instructions to Newlyweds) by Entong Anulay

1. Naa, kiin migawid ma na amu now this held only already you-plural

gduayan, iini pektalentenay niu marriage this-is pay-attention-to by-you-plural

ki kegleketubu' niu, mengimbaal muka' this living your work-in-fields and

megimula. 2. Ndi' niu peksualay ki planting no by-you-plural dispute $\bar{t}\bar{h}$ is

gbaalen niu, pu' ndi' niu melaami work your because no by-you-plural acquire-is

ketubu' niu sa' sigi amu melibuleng. Iiving your if continue you-plural worry

- 3. (Pinenggi' laak kiini ngalan nu gbiila'i suppose only this-is name of married-couple
- si Isis muka' si Wilsita.) the Isis and the Wilsita
- 4. Naa, ya'a Isis, kiin misuaya ma na, now you Isis this separated-you only already

iini pektalentenaymu su gsawamu.
this-is pay-attention-to-by-you the spause-your

5. Pu' mbuus sa' duuni maita'mu glibun because later if there-is see-by-you woman

melengas pa dia gsawamu, kitu na pelumi beautiful yet to wife-your that already also-is

melingaymu, naa gmelaaten. Turn-around-your now bad

- 1. Now, since you have committed yourselves to marriage, what you should pay attention to is making your living, farming and planting.

 2. Do not argue about your work, for you will not be able to make your living if you are always troubled.
- 3. (Just suppose that the names of the couple being married are Isis and Wilsita.)
- 4. Now you, Isis, now that you have separated from your parents, what you should pay attention to is your wife.
 5. For if you should happen to see a woman prettier than your wife, and you should turn from your wife, that is bad.

6. Pu' subay adin su gpigbia'an because it-is-necessary whoever the have-power

dini'a, kitu dai pektalentenaymu, pia for-you that only-is pay-attention-by-you even

su gpenenggi'an maita' lumidusi the for-example see appear-through-is

glempaan di gliigen saba' keputi'en, vegetables to neck-her due to whiteness-her

maa'niin da nda'mu maita'. 7. Pu'
like-this only not-by-you see because

ki gsawamu, melaga' pa di gbulawani This spouse-your expensive yet to gold-is

kepetailmu dun. affection-your anaph.

- 8. Naa, ya'a dema Wilsita, ma'antu dadema.
 now you also Wilsita like-that only-also
- 9. Sa' meksukat dayun sa' mateng, nda'iduni if provide-he then when arrive-he none-is

mesukaten, ndi'mu sualay. 10. Pu' ki provide-his not-you dispute because this

gmeksukat, duumi gendaw mekesukat, duun provide there-is day can-provide there-is

da demai ndi'. 11. Kaas ndi' mpia sualen, only also-is not so not good dispute

pu' ndi' meksamai gendaw. 12. Damikian di because not same-is day like to

gpegutus, miktaanka gbubu. 13. Duuni gendaw fishing set-you trap there-is day

metaban, duun da demai gendaw ndi' metaban. catch there-is only also day not catch

14. Kaas su gsukat, ma'antu da dema. so the provision like-that only also

- 6. Because whatever one has been chosen for you, that is the one you should pay attention to, even if the other is so white that you can see the food right through her throat—let it be as though you hadn't even seen her.
- 7. Because you should treasure your wife above gold.

- 8. And you, Wilsita, the same for you. 9. If he goes out to get provisions, and then arrives and hasn't been able to get anything, don't scold him. 10. Because as for getting provisions, there are days when one can get provisions and days when one can't. 11. So it's not something to fight about because the days are not the same.
- setting bubu traps.
 13. There are days
 when something is
 caught in the bubu
 trap and days when
 nothing is.
 14. So it's the same

12. It's like fishing,

with getting provisions. 15. Naa, iini kedua'en, ki menglelingay.
now this-is-second this turning-around-

16. Ndi' mpia. 17. Pu' meketulag habitually not good because can-destroy

gsenlangan, kaas pia kenduta' kelengas geseg ki marriage so even how handsome male this

maita'mu, maa'niin da nda'mu maita'. see-by-you like-this only not-by-you see

18. Pu' iini pektalentenanmu, su because this-is pay attention-to-by-you the

da gpigbia'an dini'a. 19. Pu' iini only have-power to you because this

lengkeb selangmu su da gsawamu kaas sumapa of-one-heart-your the only spouse-your so vow

ita tu gmegbebaya' ki gsawata,
we(inc) to God this spouse-our(inc)

glimbang kemetta tantu.
other hand-our(inc) genuinely

15. And the second thing is being untrue to your husband. 16. It is not good. 17. It destroys a marriage, so no matter how handsome a man you see, let it be as if you hadn't even seen him. 18. Because what you should pay attention to is the one chosen for you. 19. Because the one of one heart with you is your husband, and therefore we pledge before God regarding our spouse, that he is like our other hand.

Text C: Kamal ni Ansulat (Ansulat's Instructions to Newlyweds) by Ansulat Promon

Naa keni, Pilimun, migawida ma na now this Philemon hold-you only already

duayanmu, naa penenginengiinta ditu marriage-your now pray-by-us(inc) to

gmegbebaya', naa glibun, geseg diniu, naa God now woman man of-you-plural now

petaasen dema tu'u ki gumulen. cause-length also truly this life-span-his/her

2. Glibun geseg diniu, naa medelendem woman man of-you-plural now think

gupia. 3. Ndi' niu peselingaway keni very no by-you-plural cause-forget this

gtitulu'anku diniu. 4. Gawas Pilimun, instruction-my to-you-plural outside Philemon

sa' su gbetad, ndi'u metitulu' diniu if the custom no-by-me instruct to-you-plural

nu gsenlangan, kalukalu kitui meseksug of married-couple perhaps that-is involvement

niu naa ndi'u megbasul dun. pu' by-you-plural now no-I blame anaph. because

amu sa' tanan megbasul amu nu gbegu you-plural if all blame you-plural of young

getaw mesu'at megbasul amu, pu' person possible blame you-plural because

gembata' amu. 6. Mm. child you-plural yes

7. Naa ya'a Pilimun, iini gtalentenaymu now you Philemon this-is pay-attention-by-you

gupia ki gtitulu'anku dini'a. very this instruction-my to-you

1. Now, Philemon, now that you have committed yourself to marriage, let us pray to God that you, both female and male, will have a very long life. 2. You, both the female and the male, consider carefully. 3. Do not forget this instruction that I am giving you. 4. Otherwise, Philemon, if I did not instruct you, the couple, concerning the customs, perhaps you would do wrong, and I would have no one else to blame, because I would be the one who had erred. 5. It's even more true of you, if you young people would try to blame someone else, you could blame someone else, because you are (only) children. 6. That's right, isn't it?

7. Now you, Philemon, you should pay careful attention to what I am teaching you.

8. Ya'a mikenginsawaa na, naa kelelat, you have-taken-a-wife-you already now please

ndi'a gusay meglalunglalung. 9. Pu' iini no-you really do-foolishness because this-is

kelalungmu, gagu' duun nai foolishness-your since there-is already-is

gsawamu, mekaita'a pelum glain glibun spouse-your can-see-you again another woman

melengas pa dun tu gsawamu, naa mayaka beautiful yet anaph. to spouse-your now desire-you

dun, ndi'mu penggulaulaay. 10. Pu' ndi'anaph. no-by-you do because no

pia.
fitting

8. You, now that you are married, please, do not act foolishly.
9. For the folly that you might fall into now that you have a wife is that you might see another woman more beautiful than your wife and desire her-don't get involved with her.
10. Because it is not good.