

RHETORICAL DEVICES DISTINGUISHING THE GENRE OF
FOLKTALE (Fiction)¹ FROM THAT OF ORAL HISTORY (Fact)
IN ILIANEN MANOBO² NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

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1. INTRODUCTION

Ilianen Manobos indigenously recognize three sub-categories within the broad genre of narrative: (a) those which are called *tudtul*, from *tudtul* 'to report something', hence current or recent news happenings; (b) *teteremã* derived from *tarem* 'to tell', hence a story or folktale; and (c) *guhud* meaning 'to relate an historical account', hence legends and/or oral accounts of history.

The *teteremã* category of 'folktale' is readily distinguished by its 'decorative language' *igundey ne lalag*, as well as its formulistic features which permeate the narrator's story. The *tudtul* 'current or recent news happening', on the other hand, occurs more recently in time, is devoid of the decorative language and formulistic features of folktale, and requires little skill in relating since it is simply initiated by ordinary conversation, *Iyan ku ini tudtul* 'What I have to tell you' or a simple question, *Netuenan nu . . . ?* 'Did you know?' And while *guhud* 'legends and/or historical accounts' resemble *tudtul* 'news items' in their lack of the formulistic features found in folktales, they differ in that their content is limited to historical or legendary accounts which are always introduced by a time setting of the 'long ago' such as 'Long ago when the Muslim religion was first brought to us Manobos. . . .' 'Long ago in the time of our ancestor Agyu. . . .' or it

¹I use the categories of 'fact' versus 'fiction' (see Wellek and Warren 1949:25) since in Manobo oral literature the opposite of 'fiction' is not 'truth', but 'fact' or time-and-space existence. Even Manobo folktales, involving the world of fantasy, also lay claim to 'truth' (e.g. in establishing precedence in the settling of their custom-law cases) through their view of life (*Weltanschauung*).

The element of 'fact' or 'fiction' is not a determining factor in distinguishing genres of oral literature of older generation Manobos; most folktales involving their culture heroes are given as ready credence as a news report or an account of oral history. Not to do so brings a defiant response of, 'He's mocking the very customs of Manobos!' Even a narrator's repeated innovations of a tale about a Manobo culture hero are simply explained by the audience as information that has newly been communicated to the narrator by his personal 'familiar spirit', thereby indicating that the familiar spirit was also a friend of the now-deceased culture hero. Thus, for the older generation, each genre simply fills a distinctively different role within society.

To the younger generation, however, who have begun to avail themselves of education, a distinction is clearly being drawn. An increasing number of college students, agricultural technicians, schoolteachers, clergymen, one lawyer and one medical doctor now represent an elite group within their society, whose culture differs in part from that of the mass of the people. Many of this 'intellectual class' are interested in organizations which encourage education among ethnic group peoples and, almost without exception, now distinguish the folktale category as 'make-believe'.

²The Ilianen Manobo are an ethnic minority group in North Central Cotabato on the island of Mindanao, Philippines. They refer to themselves simply as Iliyanen or Menuvũ. The name Ilianen means 'people from Ilian', a small mountain in North Central Cotabato near the Pulangi River. Their language is Malayo-Polynesian and belongs to the Manobo subfamily of Philippine languages (see Richard Elkins 1974). The present data were collected on field trips from 1962 to 1971; the writer has intermittently been a resident in the area since 1962.

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focuses directly upon a well-recognized early ancestor as Beletamey. And just as *teteremã* 'folktales' are related by accomplished raconteurs, *guhud* 'legends and oral historical accounts' are told by a select group from the older generation of Manobos who are recognized as their valid historians.

Both *teteremã* folktales and *guhud* historical accounts may be further delineated to include specific sub-groups. A folktale may be told in the multiple first-person with little or no narration, which I call 'Dramatic Discourse', but such occurrences are few; while certain folktales repeatedly fill the role of proverb *sempitã* because of their highly didactic content. The *guhud* historical accounts may similarly be delineated to refer to genealogical accounts in particular, in which case the specific term becomes *ke guhud te kepuunpuun tew* 'the history of where we have come from (that is, from what ancestors)', derived from *puun* meaning 'origin, to come from somewhere'.

This paper focuses on the linguistic features distinguishing the genre of *teteremã* 'folktale' from that of *guhud* 'historical accounts'.³

And by using language data⁴ which function in Manobo culture both as an historical account concerning their early ancestors, and as a folktale for entertainment, the distinguishing linguistic features are forced into bold relief.

When the data are related as an historical account, usually by a shaman *weliyan* or an older man of authority *pekilukesen*, they are prefaced by a statement such as, 'This is a story about "The First People" (i.e. first Manobos)'. When it is related as folktale, by a master raconteur, a title is not usually specified. But upon enquiry, the narrator may simply call his tale, 'The Seven Young Women', or 'The Birdhunter'; on other occasions he may specifically name the birdhunter 'Itung' or 'The Famous Young Man' (both

³ Although the linguistic examples in this paper are drawn from but three texts, they are supported by a corpus of over 2,000 pages of folktale provided by several master raconteurs.

⁴ A brief résumé of the language data is as follows: A young man while hunting or walking in the forest (depending upon the version) hears a rumbling in the sky overhead, followed by seven young women clad in dresses with feather-wings descending to bathe in a forest pool. As the seven skymaidens, all equally beautiful, occupy themselves with swimming and bathing, the hunter steals one of their feather dresses. The young women emerge from the pool to return home, and when one of them (always the youngest) is unable to find her dress, she is forced to remain on earth as the young man's wife. The hunter later hides his wife's feather dress either in a cock-gear case, a bamboo musical instrument, or a woven basket which he tucks in the rafters at the peak of their house. A child is born to them who one day cries for the cock-case, the bamboo instrument, or the woven basket hanging from the rafters to be given her as a toy. The result is that the dress is discovered and the mother returns to her home in the sky. The Manobo oral historical account ends here; however, the folktale goes on to recount the husband's journey to find his wife. The search is climaxed by his being asked to fulfill certain tasks set by his chieftain father-in-law, which culminates in his successfully identifying her from among her six equally-beautiful sisters by recognizing the needle marks left on her finger from mending their clothes. Both are then permitted to return once again to earth where they live happily ever after.

The language data consists of the world-wide swanmaiden motif of Tale Type 313 I (b) *The Girl as Helper in the Hero's Flight*, when it is narrated as Manobo oral history; and is combined with Type 400 *The Man on a Quest for his Lost Wife* (involving the well-known son-in-law tasks) when it is narrated as folktale.

In Japanese oral tradition, forty-six versions of the tale have been recorded, incorporating both the swanmaiden motif as well as the son-in-law tasks. The swanmaiden motif dates back to the eighth-century *Fudoki*, a collection of local records compiled by Imperial order in A.D. 712, and is incorporated in a strikingly beautiful NOH drama, *Hagoromo* ('Feather Robe'). The son-in-law tasks are also found in the eighth-century historical and mythological record, the *Kojiki* (Seki 1963:86-88), where it is an episode in the story of Okuninushi, one of the mythical founders of the Japanese nation (Seki 1063:63).

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

nicknames for their culture hero, Tulalang); on still further occasions it may be Surayman⁵, or Beletamey⁶ (both names of their early Manobo ancestors).

The Manobo language is particularly rich in the rhetorical devices it possesses for informing and influencing the audience of folk narrative, by displaying or highlighting certain elements in the tale which the narrator wishes to focus attention upon in order to occupy the foreground of his listener's consciousness. And there is perhaps no other function in Manobo culture where a more highly-developed display of rhetoric is demonstrated than in the narration of folktales, especially those employed to establish precedents in the settlement of Manobo legal-cases *kukuman*.

The Manobo raconteur, as a traditional narrator of tales, draws from this wide range of Manobo rhetorical devices in order to accomplish his over-all generic folk aim of *egkepeneheewit ke munge etew ne ebpemineg riyã te edteteremen* 'causing those who are listening to be brought along [with him] to the very place where his story is taking place'.

2. VERBAL CONVENTIONS⁷

2.1. VERBAL CONVENTIONS FOR INTRODUCING AN ENTIRE DISCOURSE

For the introduction of his entire tale the Manobo narrator begins with the obligatory folktale introducer *hane* 'take note', then pauses slightly to put his audience at ease and to help create an expectant air, before transporting them to the make-believe scene where his story is taking place: there [far away, out of sight] we [you and I inclusive] are with Si Terengati.⁸ As introducer for the entire tale, *hane* serves to alert and command his audience's attention, and when coupled with the subsequent throat-clearing and brief pause, it combines to assure the audience that a competent raconteur is in control.

2.2. VERBAL CONVENTIONS FOR INTRODUCING INDIVIDUAL SCENES

Beginning with the initial setting of his tale, which serves to transport his audience 'there [far away, and out of sight] to his story's first participants', a Manobo narrator's constant aim is to keep his audience focussed on the tale's action as it unfolds. To help accomplish this goal, he employs a similar conventional setting for each new scene which

⁵Sulayman occurs in the folktales of the Muslim ethnic groups of Mindanao. For examples of Maranao see McAmis 1966:41-9.

⁶Manobos, in their oral accounts of history, commonly refer to *Beletamey* as one of their early ancestors. It is worthy of note that a genealogy chart of Saleeby records an eighth-generation descendent of Sarip Kabungsuwan (the Muslim sultan who is reported to be the first to bring Mohammedanism to the peoples of Mindanao) named *Beratamey*, to whom Magindanaos also trace their ancestry. The Manobo name, *Beletamey*, is the regular phonological equivalent of *Beratamey* (Saleeby 1905:36, Chart 3).

⁷Bennison Gray, defines 'A convention as . . . a verbal construction, restricted to literature, that recurs from work to work' (1971:296-7).

Max Luthi describes the 'Once upon a time' introductory phrase of folktale as embodying a brief statement of folktale philosophy. "Once there was, One day there will be". The Breton narrator understands perfectly: the phrase *Es war einmal* by no means is intended to stress the fact that events in the tale took place in the past. The intent is to suggest the very opposite: what once occurred, has the tendency continually to recur. The ancient incantations liked to refer first to a former situation wherein the gods, demons, or saints being implored actually did help. Thus, they will now help again. What once happened will happen again and again . . . There is no "if" and no "perhaps" (Luthi 1976:47).

⁸*Si Terengati*: is derived from *si* 'person marker', and *kati* 'to catch a wild bird by staking out a tame one as decoy'. The tale was narrated on August 6, 1976, by Mr. Ampatuan Ampalid of the Arakan Valley.

formally introduces or re-introduces key participants in his story. The conventional introductions for these scenes rely heavily upon the Manobo deictic category of demonstrative pronouns involving space. These formulaic introductions are most frequently represented by settings involving the deictic category of proximity: *Hane kayi te pè ma te* . . . 'Take note, here [close at hand] we [speaker and addressee] are with the . . .' or by one of its variants as *Ne kayi te pè maa egkehiya te* . . . 'And here we will return again to talk about . . .'.

In the 'Si Itung'⁹ version of the tale, the narrator rapidly shifts scenes between a focus upon the young man as he connives to steal one of the skywomen's feather robes while they bathe in a nearby pool, to a focus upon the young women as they finally emerge from the pool only to discover one of their dresses missing and the necessity of leaving their youngest sister behind on earth, to a final focus upon the young man as he leaves his hiding-place to claim his beautiful prize. The transition from the first to the second scene is accomplished by continuing to view the new scene through the eyes of the conniving young man who was in focus in the first scene, climaxed with the actual dialogue of the young women. With the third scene, however, the narrator approaches a peak point in his tale and, as if to alert his audience to this fact, he creates a new formulaically-introduced scene, with all of the aura of fantasy that such an introduction in Manobo oral literature commands. *Hane kayi te pa maa te kenakan ne mid-eles* 'Take note, here we will return again to the young man who lies hidden'.

Somewhat later in the same tale, as the young man (who has by now become the father of a growing daughter) is away on a trip, the young daughter cries endlessly for the cloth bag she sees suspended in the rafters overhead. The mother finally succeeds in quieting her child only by promising her that she must wait just until her father returns home. The narrator heightens the suspense of his tale by immediately creating a new scene bringing home the young father. *Hane kayi te pè ma te amey te vatà* . . . 'Take note, we will return here to the child's father. This father of the child is just about to arrive home again in his return from a journey. You, young man, were even still there on the house-ladder when you were confronted by your child'.

When, however, a narrator concludes a scene with the focus upon one of his story-participants whom he moves offstage to some distant location as *diyān* 'there (far away from both speaker and addressee)', he must again re-orient his audience to a change of location in the setting of the following scene. If it is a return to the stage recently vacated, it will be accomplished by the use of *kayi* 'here (close at hand)'; if it is to a scene more spatially remote, it will be with the use *diyā* 'there (far away, unseen)' in his new conventional setting.

In the 'Birdhunter' version of this tale, the hunter is likewise absent when the child cries for the bamboo flute she sees tucked in the rafters high overhead. The mother, however, complies with her child's persistent crying by climbing to the peak of the house herself to get it. When she tries to play the flute without success, she strikes it against a nearby rafter and is unexpectedly rewarded with the return of her feather dress which tumbles out. Her decision to return home is immediate. Thus she squeezes out some of her milk to leave behind for her crying child, bids the child farewell, and puts on her dress to fly off into the heavens above *diyān* 'there (far away, unseen)'. The narrator

⁹ *Si Itung*: is derived from *si* 'person marker', and *itung* a Manobo expression roughly equivalent to the English expression 'imagine that'; it occurs frequently as a literary nickname for young men who are especially fond of punctuating their speech with it. The tale was recorded in 1962, just prior to the untimely death of its narrator Mr. Juanito Ampalid, a younger brother of Ampatuan Ampalid.

then transports his audience to the distant forest scene of the husband, the only remaining key participant in his tale. *Hane diyā ka te ki Terengati* . . . 'Take note, there [far away, unseen] you are now with Terengati. Said Terengati, "I'll go home now for the sun is already high overhead". And that's what he did. Terengati's return home was fast indeed'.

To a Manobo in oral tradition, a folktale with properly-introduced scenes can be 'grasped immediately' *sekali ke metetau* and therefore more-easily retained.¹⁰ For the framework upon which the details of the story are hung is readily observable to all. But without these carefully introduced scenes, the story appears as a complicated maze; at best a rather baffling network of facts. In addition to enhancing the clarity of presentation, a formal setting for each new scene highlights peak points in the plot by creating an aura of fantasy and interest very similar to the once-upon-a-time introduction of the entire tale, and very often it even causes an already overly-tired audience (since folktales occupy the entire night) to respond with excitement. *Ne pemineg kew su riyā en mā ke pekaid en*. 'Now everyone pay attention for the one who brings harm [i.e. the villain] has just arrived'. While its absence causes the audience to complain, *Meambe ayan ke egketekewtekew guntaani?* 'Why is she going so suddenly from one person to the next (in her story)?' *Egkevadtivadtī embiya warā hane kayi te pē mā . . . te teteremen dīm*. 'It's too broken up when there is no "take note, there we are with . . ." in her story'.

2.3. VERBAL CONVENTIONS AS CLOSURES TO HIS TALE

A further linguistic convention of obligatory importance to the Manobo master-raconteur consists of the closure for his tale. Closures include several variants based on the Manobo word *taman* 'the limit', the end, such as *Ne arā dā taman~Dutun dā taman~Ketā dā taman~Wey ketā dā taman* all roughly equivalent to 'And that's the end' followed by the optional further specification of *ke teteremā ku* 'my tale'.

A second grouping of closures are based on the Manobo word *amin* 'to use up or consume something' or a closely-related Manobo term *ipus* 'to finish, to complete something'. Examples are: *Neipus embe imbe arā~Na neamin en~Nepupus en* 'It's used up, finished, completed now' which may, or may not, include the further addition of 'my tale'.

A final, more figurative closure (and possibly more colorful because of the images it conjures up) consists of *Hane* 'take note' *ne neveriyung ke epus ne nepupus en* 'and now it (the story) has come to the other end and is finished', wherein the expression it has come to the other end' is derived from *epus* 'the dying embers of a fire' which is used figuratively of 'something being used up, consumed'. A variant of one of these closures is certain to be employed by the master Manobo raconteur at the conclusion of his tale; in my entire corpus of data provided by such masters, no tale occurs without it.

¹⁰ The device for scene-shifting seems much more universal than for Manobo oral tradition literature alone, for it can be documented for the written literatures of other cultures of the world as well. An early American writer, James Fenimore Cooper, refers to it as 'an author's privilege' in his great adventure tale *The Last of the Mohicans* where he opens the action of his second chapter as follows: 'Leaving the unsuspecting Heyward and his companions to penetrate still deeper into a forest that contained such treacherous inmates, we must use an author's privilege, and shift the scene a few miles to the west' (1958:33).

Similarly for Manobo, broken quotatives [for example, 'What', he asked, 'happened', he said, 'to you?'] in dialogue constitute a vital part of Manobo oral style. They not only provide the narrator with a brief pause for collecting his thoughts, but likewise provide a means of controlling the appropriate rate of introduction of new material in an 'oral tradition' tale. To violate this is to overcrowd the communication channel. When this occurs, the audience loses interest because they are able to retain very little.

3. TECHNIQUES FOR ALERTING HIS AUDIENCE TO PEAK POINTS IN THE NARRATION OF HIS TALE¹¹

An accomplished Manobo narrator controls several devices for heightening suspense and for adding excitement to his tale until his audience is often compelled to exclaim that it is 'just as if it is happening all over again' *iring te tidu ne egketemanan*, because they 'are seeing each character come alive in the telling of his tale' *iring te egke-kitakita ke uman senge etew kayi te teteremen*.

3.1. PARALLELISM¹²

A Manobo narrator does not want his listeners to miss a single crucial point in his tale. As a special rhetorical device he therefore employs paraphrase, or carefully-metered lines of couplet, triplet, and quadruplet-form to tautologically underscore a point which he wants to ensure does not go by unnoticed because the hour is late and his audience is tired.

Although some narrators employ this device to a far greater extent than others,¹³ the 'Si Itung' version contains six occurrences in what is considered by Manobos to be a short tale. As the young man in this story hears a rumbling overhead while walking in the forest, he looks up to suddenly see seven equally-beautiful young women with feather wings alighting a short distance ahead. The narrator at this point, as if to alert his listeners to the first real peak in his story-characters' involvement, spells out for them this sudden dilemma confronting his hero, by rhetorically underscoring it in parallel lines:

Warã imbe ne bisbisen nu
 su langun ne merayirayi en.
 Wey midserpeng en ini se raha;
 warã edtehaken nu te paras.
 You couldn't tell them apart,
 for all were equally beautiful.
 These young women were identical;
 there was no way of distinguishing their appearance.¹⁴

¹¹ I am indebted to Robert E. Longacre (1976:215-213) for his discussion of some of these rhetorical devices found in English and American literature, in the 'oral literature' of some of the lesser-known languages of New Guinea, as well as some of my own Ilianen Manobo language data provided him; and especially for his example from Dickens' *Tale of Two Cities* employing the use of the first person inclusive pronoun combined with the present tense.

¹² Even the most unskilled Manobo, in singing or in story-telling, will repeat for days an attractive couplet of parallelism which he has just heard expressed in a tale, while savouring its every word. It continues to excite his aesthetic admiration and appreciation for the narrator, although during the tale-telling performance itself the parallelism filled quite a different function of argumentation within the tale. (See C. Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969:169, where they distinguish between 'figures of style' simply as embellishment or as filling a role in argumentation.)

Dennis Tedlock also discusses some of the implications of parallelism for Zuni oral narrative in his 'On the Translation of Style in Oral Narrative' (1971:131).

¹³ Mr. Ampatuan Ampalid's slightly longer version contains eleven occurrences of parallelism (most instances consisting of more than one couplet); while in my corpus of data involving several narrators and some two-thousand pages of text, other tales of comparable length rely even more heavily on parallelism as rhetorical underlining, some with a dozen or more occurrences to underscore the burden of the plot.

¹⁴ Mr. Juanito Ampalid likewise rhetorically underscores the parallel point in his version of the tale recorded 14 years earlier:

You can't tell which is the youngest, and you can't tell which is the oldest; you can't say which is the most beautiful,	for all are equal in appearance; all look exactly the same.
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Somewhat later in the tale as the young man (who has now become a father) returns from a journey, he is confronted with his daughter's request that he get her the forbidden cloth bag hanging from the rafters overhead. He tries to distract the child first by telling her that the bag doesn't belong to them (it has been placed there by an aunt who forbids that it be opened), and secondly by smothering her with kisses. But the child will have none of it and resumes her crying. To underscore the young father's crucial dilemma, the narrator tautologically portrays him

pacing the length of the house,
and pacing the width of the house,

in an effort to forestall any infringement upon the interdiction.¹⁵

Hane wey pã ura maa medsinehew se vatã ne ruen dẽ ma
iya. Mekepetilendu ne mekapehumblevahan se kenakan
ne ed-uyat te anak din ne kena ma iya ed-engked se vatã.

Take note, and so the child is continuing her crying.

The young man is pacing the length of the house,

and he is pacing the width of the house,

in his attempt to pacify his child's crying, but she
indeed would not stop.

Towards the conclusion of the same tale, after the feather robe has been discovered and the skywoman has returned home again, the despairing husband sets out on a journey to find her and if that fails, to put an end to his life. As the narrator describes the hero's stamina for persevering until he keels over from sheer exhaustion, and his body is transformed into an unrecognizable mass of cuts and bruises, he deftly adds to the pathos by underscoring it all with parallel words and clauses.

Meribpes meawang ne ibayã nu en ne kenakan. Hane
wey ke ura med-embeter se ed-ipanew ne warã
pekedukilemen, ne warã peked-endawen nu, ne
kenakan su tuus te edtantu ka ed-ipanew.

Tall grass, or open fields, you went through it all,
young man. Take note, and so you are hurrying along
in your journey for you are not aware of nighttime,
and you are not aware of day, young man, which shows
that you really overdid your walking.

To a Manobo narrator, the importance of rhetorical underlining must not be underestimated; it is one of his simplest devices for evoking, rather than describing for his audience, an intensely emotional state.

3.2. CONCENTRATION OF PARTICIPANTS

A further folk device for marking a crucial point in the development of plot is that of the crowded scene. As if to remind his audience that all of society is watching, the Manobo narrator brings into one crowded scene the bulk of his story-participants when he wishes to signal a crucial moral judgment about to be made.

In Mr. Ampatuan Ampalid's 'Birdhunter' version of the tale, the opening episode sets the scene of a poverty-stricken hunter, Terengati, setting traps in the forest without

¹⁵ In V. Propp's study of plot structure for Russian folktales, he discovered thirty-one such basic units, or functions, and that the sequence of these functions was relatively fixed (1958:24-59).

success, when he is suddenly startled one day by a swishing sound overhead. The discouraged Terengati comes out of his hunter's blind to see seven equally-beautiful skymaidens alighting at a pond nearby to bathe.¹⁶ The crowded scene suddenly mounts with intensity as the thus-far unsuccessful hunter calmly makes his boast that he will get himself one of these skymaidens for a wife.¹⁷ Then as he watches the skymaidens begin to remove their feather dresses before entering the pool, he reiterates his claim.¹⁸ The scene closes with the narrator's comment that Terengati 'is keeping still', but his eyes 'look like those of a guilty person'.

At the close of the same tale, as Terengati finally succeeds in locating his missing wife (who had returned to her chieftain father's home once she had discovered her dress), the narrator marks the final climax of his tale by crowding his scene this time with the chieftain's household. First, the guard of the chief's house-ladder thoroughly questions Terengati before allowing him even to enter the house, then he seats Terengati in a corner where he is left unnoticed for seven days before gaining access to the chief.¹⁹ Further questioning by the chief involves an embedded discourse as partial evidence for Terengati's claim to having been married to one of the chief's daughters. The windows to the sleeping-quarters of the seven princesses are then thrown open and Terengati is asked to present final evidence to his claim by identifying his wife from among the seven identical sisters. As Terengati ponders his predicament, his daughter breaks loose from his arms and runs over to identify her mother by hugging her. However, the chieftain is not yet fully satisfied and requires Terengati himself to provide some distinguishing feature of the woman he claims to have been married to. It is then that Terengati remembers seeing needle marks on his wife's fingers from her having to patch and repatch their clothes, and

¹⁶To further promote an air of expectancy for his audience, the Manobo narrator rhetorically underscores the introduction of his concentration of participants with poetic parallelism:

There was nothing about them you could criticize,
for all were exactly alike.
You couldn't tell which was the younger,
and you couldn't tell which was the older.
And you couldn't say which was the most beautiful,
for all of them were beautiful,
all were identical in appearance,
all of their postures were exactly the same.

¹⁷Again rhetorically underlined.
Ih, . . . this is the kind of fate that's never seen (in real life).
Without my even planning it,
I'm going to get something;
I'm going to really get something right today.
My fate is really good,
for someone who lives alone;
for I'll be able to get myself a wife.

¹⁸Likewise underscored rhetorically:
I'm going to get myself a wife now.
I'll marry any one of them,
the youngest,
or the oldest,
for they're all alike;
for not one of them is to be rejected
and not one is to be preferred,
for I really like all of them.

¹⁹In Mr. Juanito Ampalid's version of the tale, he adds another person to the chief's household: 'The keeper of the betelnut container', who assumes much of the questioning.

an immediate investigation reveals these needle pricks to be found only on the fingers of the princess whom the child had hugged earlier. With final resolution, the scene closes and the couple is permitted to return home where they live happily ever after.

In the 'Si Itung' version of the tale, the parallel crowded scene of the opening episode is further compounded by the presence of the princesses' seven pet monkeys who faithfully stand guard over their mistresses' feather dresses while the princesses swim and bathe in the pool. Tenseness in this scene mounts as the monkeys refuse to be enticed away with the bananas offered them by Itung. It is only with the very last banana tossed to them by Itung that he finally achieves success.

This version also provides two additional crowded scenes midway throughout the tale. As the narrator approaches the interdiction in his plot,²⁰ he again crowds the scene. This time it is with Itung's chieftain father's large household: the chieftain, his wife, their other sons and daughters-in-law; even minor participants are there in the person of the young men of the area who make the chieftain's yard their playground, as well as the many workers in the chieftain's fields. As Itung carries the sobbing maiden home, it is therefore not to the small *sabung* 'shelter' of the Terengati tale. Itung's arrival, on the contrary, is heralded by the largest family scene to be found in all of Manobo society, that of the chief. Indeed, his very arrival brings everyone's activities to an abrupt standstill—beginning with the field workers who first spot him in the distance and stop to stare at the young man approaching with a young woman thrown across his shoulders, to the young men playing *sipd* ball²¹ who likewise strain their eyes to determine who it is. With everyone's attention so suddenly riveted upon a new arrival the chief calls out to enquire, learns that it is his own son bringing home a wife,²² and is soon overwhelmed with her beauty. The chief's wife and daughters-in-law immediately become involved also by taking turns holding the beautiful skymaiden. To this already-crowded scene the old woman of the forest (and sister of the chief encountered in the opening episode) arrives to visit, delivering a package with its concomitant interdiction: 'Hang this cloth-bag up in the rafters of the roof, for this is not to be opened! And put it up really high!'

Later, when the interdiction has been broken and the skymaiden has recovered her feather-winged dress, she flies off skyward, with one final admonition to her husband that if he really wants to visit her he will find her kingdom 'there where the moon rises and the sun sets'. As she fades out of sight Itung loses no time in setting out to try to locate this strange kingdom and, if that fails, to commit suicide. Bidding his parents good-bye, he travels night and day until he collapses from exhaustion, and his body has become bruised beyond all recognition. As all probability of his ever succeeding in his quest now grows extremely dim, the narrator once again crowds his scene by a chance encounter of his hero with an old man of the mountain who summons 'all the birds of the air', and then 'all of the fish of the sea' to enquire if they know of such a kingdom. The birds are

²⁰ The 'Terengati' version does not possess a formal interdiction; a statement that 'Terengati searched hard to find a secure place in which to hide the feather dress, and then left the house only for brief periods of time lest the hiding-place be discovered' fills the role of interdiction. Propp discusses similar features of folktale material that strengthens or even replaces a formal interdiction (1958:26-7).

²¹ *edsipd*: derived from *sipd* 'to kick'; a Manobo men's game particularly popular before the advent of roads, it is played by two teams of four men each, with a rattan ball which is kicked by the men's heels and aimed at a target of betelnut *inepuhan* (often served by an attractive young woman) suspended from the limb of a tree. The first to hit the target wins the game for his team.

²² A Manobo audience recognizes Itung as their culture hero, Tulalang, who regularly brought home beautiful princesses as his wives.

unable to help,²³ but from the deliberations of the various species of fish an eel finally speaks up to provide explicit directions. After expressing great gratitude to the old man and the eel, the hero sets out on the final leg of his journey westward to cross the intervening seven mountains lying between him and the final resolution of his quest.

Four crucial peaks in the development of the 'Si Itung' plot: (1) the daring attempt to secure a skymaiden for a wife; (2) taking her home to a chieftain father's palace where his paternal aunt delivers the interdiction forbidding the entire household from ever opening a cloth bag she instructs to be hung from the roof rafters; (3) the hero finally **being** provided with explicit directions to his wife's remote kingdom 'where the moon rises and the sun sets', by a very unlikely donor: the eel; (4) the hero's final task of identifying his skymaiden wife from among her six identical sisters in the equally-crowded household of his chieftain father-in-law are all marked by the narrator's rhetorical device of moving from one or two participants on stage to a heavy concentration of the participants in his tale.

3.3. A RAPID ADVANCE IN TIME

Another hallmark of transition to peak in the development of plot in Manobo folktales consists of 'a fast jump forward in time'.²⁴ Both folktale narrators of the present data employ it to announce either the pregnancy or the birth of the hunter and swanmaiden's first child.

Once the stealing of the feather-dress has been accomplished and the swanmaiden has been forced to stay behind as the hunter's wife (albeit with much weeping and great protestation), the scene is laid for the delivery of the interdiction:

Hang this cloth-bag up in the rafters of the roof for
it is not to be opened! You put it up really high now!

But, with the feather-dress contents of the bag known only to the hunter (and in the 'Birdhunter' version known also to an aunt), further plot development hinges on a violator for the interdiction. If the Manobo narrator is 'to keep his audience with him' until this is realized, he cannot risk boring them with a detailed chronological presentation of events in real-life time (especially as the hour grows late and heads begin to nod). He, therefore, rolls time rapidly forward in order to bring into being the necessary dramatis personae who will serve as initiator for the violation of the interdiction in his plot. In Juanito Ampalid's version, this rapid advance forward in time spans the real-life trajectory of time from the delivery of the interdiction (soon after Itung has taken the swanmaiden home to his chieftain father) to the birth of their child.

Hane ebpekevevaen ta ke tetereman, ne warã mevahayi
te pira ne rahun ne mid-anak ini se esawa te kenakan.
meritan ini se vatã.

Take note, we will shorten the story, for it wasn't
many years before the young man's wife gave birth, and the child was a girl.

In the 'Birdhunter' version, however, the advance in time announces simply the

²³ Again rhetorically underscored for the audience:
All of the birds replied that they didn't know;
none of them had ever heard of this kingdom.

²⁴ A similar advance in time is employed as a plot device in making films, where it functions to portray a character transformation when a seemingly set character attempts to establish a new identity. See 'Cinema', In TIME, December 3, 1979, pp. 36-43.

pregnancy. The progression of that pregnancy and her delivery later on are told in brief narrative form.

Hane mehaan se teteremã ne mehingey en ini se esawa ni Terengati.

Take note, the story goes faster,²⁵ for the wife of Terengati was pregnant now. [And so Terengati continues living there as his wife's pregnancy progressed. When the ninth month came, what happened then was that she finally gave birth, Terengati. Ih,²⁵ this child of yours was a girl. Oh, and as you lived there, Terengati, it is only We would say that you are indeed very poor. There Terengati had nothing else to do but to go hunting with his tame-cock. And it was only for short periods of time for he was afraid that his wife would discover her dress that had been hidden.]

This narrator's added narrative description of events between the pregnancy and the actual birth is essential to the development of his plot, for his tale does not possess a 'formal' interdiction. Rather, an earlier statement that 'Terengati searched hard to find a secure place in which to hide the feather-dress', coupled with this later reinforcement that 'Terengati left the house only for brief periods of time lest the coveted feather-dress be discovered', serve to fill the role of interdiction.²⁶

The narrator of this version also employs a second rapid advance forward in time to realistically account for sufficient growth of the baby to become the violator.

Hane mehaan se teteremã ne nekuwa ketã na itung hustu en ed-ipanew en ini se batã ini.

Take note, my story goes faster, for it was time already for this child to begin walking.

The corresponding information in the 'Si Itung' tale is handled, instead, by metaphor:

Iring ma guntaan te ebperiyupen ini se lawa te vatã.
Megmehaan ne edekelã.

And now it's as if the body of this child was being blown up (as a balloon). It was not time before she was big.

A rapid advance in time thus provides the Manobo narrator with a further device for inciting suspense and developing conflict in the deep structure of his plot.

3.4. HEIGHTENED VIVIDNESS

Heightened vividness, which helps to create the effect of transporting his listener to the make-believe scene of the action, is achieved in the narration of a Manobo tale by (i) a shift in tense, often combined with emphatic verb forms and durative action which

²⁵The Manobo cultural interjections used by characters of folktale often prove difficult to translate. English interjections as 'Yikes!' 'My goodness!' and 'Heavens!' sound incongruous coming from the mouths of Manobo semi-deities and heroes. A further complication is posed by an interjection as *Ti* and *Ih*, ranging in meaning from simply 'My!' to 'Of course not!' For this reason no attempt has been made to translate interjections as *Ti*, *Ih*, *Etuwey*, and *Babeba* since the context usually makes their meaning quite clear.

²⁶See footnote 20 for a reference to Propp's discussion of folktale features which strengthen or even replace a formal interdiction in plot.

make vast use of two dynamic generic Manobo verbs; (ii) by a shift to the second person pronoun, and (iii) by a shift to rhetorical question and dialogue.

3.4.1. A SHIFT IN TENSE, in order to give prominence to specific events in the tale, is accomplished by the narrator's use of the Irrealis verbal affix marker *med-*. This affix is a lower-level grammatical feature in Manobo which the narrator employs on the higher narrative level as a highly-stylistic rhetorical device which I call the 'Dramatic Historical Present', following the already-established counterpart term in English grammar and in rhetoric.²⁷

On the discourse level of Ilianen Manobo folktales, the use of the Irrealis verbal affix to signal the Dramatic Historical tense²⁸ provides a Manobo narrator with a technique for highlighting certain actions in order to transport his audience in imagination to a more realistic presentation of his tale. Such highlighted action always occurs as an overt response to certain types of stimuli in his story. And the added emphasis given to these actions further heightens the vividness of his tale. Such stimuli may include (1) instructions, or conclusions, stated by a central character in the scene to another person, as well as to himself (in monologue form). When it is to himself, the self-order or conclusion usually stems from a rhetorical question just asked, from a stated urgent need to

²⁷ In its lower-level grammatical functions, Morey-Austin (1964:69-82) referred to this verbal affix marker as an 'unreal Aspect' marker for the Ata Manobo language. In her later analysis (1966:81-4) she adopts its Latin equivalent of Irrealis.

Shand (1964:67-8), however, described this verbal affix as an Irrealis tense marker of timeless action (action which doesn't happen) or postulated action (rather than real) for lower-level grammatical functions in Ilianen Manobo.

In the 1964 description of Ilianen Manobo verb tense by Shand, certain residue of data were left unsolved by her matrix model which did not deal with data beyond the level of sentence. At that time such residue could only be assumed to be functioning as higher level phenomena. This assumption subsequently led the writer in 1971 to note that verbs thus affixed often introduced paragraphs whose whole action occurs as a response to a demand stated in the previous paragraph. But because the focus did not rise above the paragraph-level, the hypothesis failed to account for the fact that certain narrators chose to mark portions of their story thus while other narrators did not; and that even in two accounts of a basic tale type different narrators (or, even the same narrator in different contexts) apparently held certain options in what they chose to highlight in their narration. This fact, that it functioned as a technique employed wholly at the discretion of the accomplished raconteur, still eluded description. (See Wrigglesworth 1971:85-194).

It is also worthy of note that scattered throughout the Gospel of Mark, a first century piece of Greek literature, are thirty occurrences of Historic Present tense verbs that are part of a past-tense narrative. Scholars of Greek have noted this and have ascribed it to a literary method which 'Greek authors frequently used. . . for the sake of heightened vividness, thereby transporting their readers in imagination to the actual scene at the time of occurrence' (Guthrie, Motyer, Stibes and Wiseman 1971: 851).

English grammarians, likewise, have described a similar usage for English: 'In narrative, especially in a lively style, the "historical present" is much used to make past events more vivid and bring them nearer the hearer. . .' (Curme 1947:253). And rhetoricians such as C. Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca state: 'An audience has the further property of conveying most readily what we have called "the feeling of presence"' (1969:160).

A somewhat similar use of the Historical tense has recently been documented for a previously oral tradition language of Brazil, where groups of verbs marked for Historical tense serve to bracket plot divisions (Koehn: 243-52).

²⁸ A linguistic clue signalling to a Manobo audience the immediate forthcoming use of the Dramatic Historical Present tense, is that it is nearly always preceded by the particle complex *wey embe-wey pe be-wey ara embe* 'and so', 'at that now'.

come up with a fast solution, or an ostentatious speech of boasting and vaunting one's own capabilities. Self-orders are always couched in monologue form, and the narrator may employ a lengthy monologue to further heighten the suspense by delay. The monologue's content may even employ action quite out of keeping with the social mores of Manobo culture when this serves to reinforce the dangerous extent to which the central character is being swayed or even duped. (2) On somewhat less frequent occasions the stimulus may be provided simply by the comments or actions of another story-participant. (3) Even a prognostic interjection by the raconteur himself may provide stimulus equally authoritative. The first two categories of stimuli have to do with the Manobo verb *kahi-ke se* 'to speak', 'to say', or one of its variants as *lalag* 'to talk' or *umew* 'to call' and, except for rhetorical questions which receive an immediate investigative response, they usually serve to remove the speaker from the scene. Whichever it is, the responsive action is described in the Dramatic Historical Present tense.

From forty-four occurrences of the Dramatic Historical Present tense occurring in the 'Si Terengati' story, and eighty-three occurrences in the 'Si Itung' tale of but half the length, I cite the following examples.

1 (a) At the beginning of the 'Itung' tale, the Manobo culture hero Itung runs out of *Adsam-vine* for weaving men's ornamental kneebands, a household occupation deemed especially appropriate for semideities. The stimulus for the use of the Dramatic Historical Present tense in this case consists of a self-order given by Itung to himself because of his urgent need.

Huna ve su netaman ne med-ubpàubpà kàyi te kenakan Itung
ne kuwa sikandin se neibperan en te ebeelan din ne tikes.
Ke se kenakan ne, "Iyan tumù kàyi te kedì," ke se kenakan,
"ne ebpemenginteng e pà te adsam su warà ini ne edraaran ku
ne tikes.

After some time of staying at home, this young man
Itung had nothing left for making knee-bands. Said the
young man, "I had better," he said, "go and look for some
Adsam-vine for I have nothing to weave knee-bands with."

Response: Wey ne megkuwa ini se kenakan ini ne medteganes ini
se kenakan ini. Huna su nekuwa se teganes ne migkuwa rin ke
kelepì. Nekeipus se egkuwa te kelepì ne med-ipanew sikandin.
Wey embe gunteani ne med-ipanew ini se kenakan ne itung
meriyù nè benar se ed-ipanawan din.

And so the young man is getting busy and is getting dressed.
When he had finished dressing he got his bolo. When he had gotten
his bolo he is setting out. And so the young man is setting out now and his
journey is a long one.

1(b) Before long, however, Itung finds himself completely lost in the forest and rhetorically asks himself where he has come from.

Huna su netaman ini se kenakan ne ed-ip-ipanew ne Itung
ne kuwe en kàyi te itungan din ini se netarin sikandin
su kenà din netuenan se endei mibpuun sikandin. "Endei
se ebpuunan ku?" ke se kenakan ini, "maan ne ed-engked ad
ini."

After this young man, Itung, had journeyed for some time he realized finally that he was lost for he didn't even know where he had come from. "Where have I come from?" said the young man, "I'll rest here awhile."

Response: Itung diyan en ta se wey embe me guntean ne med-ip-ipanew se kenakan ne Itung egkuwe sikandin ebpekeinum nevenar ini se kenakan. Endei embe ebpekeinum? Wey embe ne megkuwa ini se kenakan.
 There we are with this young man Itung and so he is keeping on walking and walking until he is overcome with thirst. But where will he be able to get a drink? [The narrator interjects.]
And so the young man is looking around to see.

1(c) With no water in sight Itung continues on but soon bumps his head against the corner-post of a house quite camouflaged by heavy jungle growth.

Huna su netaman ne iyan din kineengked se ed-ipanew se nekesungkul en te pelaus. Midlingakã ini se kenakan ne iyan din egkekita ayan se sabung. "Etu," ke se kenakan, "baley ves se kayi."

Sometime later he was brought to a halt in his journey when his head hit the corner post of a house. The young man looked up and what he saw was the corner post of a cottage. "Etu! " said the young man, "A house here? "

Response: Mebpemenayik ini se kenakan ne engkey ve se neumean din se meritan.

The young man is going up the house-ladder and who should he meet but a woman.

2(a) As he explains his presence in the forest to hunt *Adsam*-vine for weaving, the woman tells him about a pool nearby that is visited regularly at high noon by seven young women who go there to bathe. The young man's jesting reply (indicated by the Manobo particle of disbelief *uvag*) 'that he might even be able to get himself a wife' triggers a response from the old woman which is highlighted by the use of the Dramatic Historical Present tense. And her response, in turn, triggers a counter response on his part to delay his search for weaving materials in favor of checking out this most interesting bit of news, also highlighted in the same tense.

Ke se kenakan ne, "Meupiya ve arã," ke se kenakan, "su kema ke ebpekesawa ki uvag te seveka."

Said the young man, "That's very good," he said, "for perhaps I'll even be able to marry one (if it's really true)."

Response¹: Wey embe megkuwe en ini se meritan, ke se meritan,
 "Ne embiya kenã ka ebperetiyaya," ke sikandin, "ne ebpeninimaan nu uvag te egkeudtu ayan se andew.
And so this woman is saying, "If you don't believe me, then see for yourself when noontime comes."

Response² Arà dà ne wey embe megkuwa ini se kenakan ini ed-ubpà-ubpà keniya.

With that the young man is deciding to stay on there.

2(b) Since it is already the middle of the morning, the old woman wastes no time in instructing the young man how he is to go about his undertaking. And the young man's immediate compliance is highlighted in the Dramatic Historical Present tense.

"Iyan kayi te kedì, Anù, ne kuwa ke pà," ke sikandin, "ed-ipanew su kema ke iyan egkeuna" ke sikandin, "ke menge raha ne merehen," ke sikandin. "Iyan kayi te kedì," ke se meritan pè ma, "ne ewit ke pà te menge sahing ne pitu ne timan," ke se meritan pè ma, "su ayan se menge raha ne duen ayam dan ne menge uval. Ne arà ve keniya ne ini se sahing ini ne embiya ebpekeuvey ka ketà ne ibpembehey nu ketà ne menge uval su emu ebpekeawà en."

"I think, Anù,"²⁹ said she, "that you should set out now for perhaps they will get their first," she said, "and those young women are really difficult. I think," said the woman, "that you should take along seven bananas to the monkeys so that they will go away."

Response: Ne migkuwa en ini se kenakan ini. Wey be guntean ne med-ipanew ini se kenakan ini. Nekeuma sikandin ketà ne med-eles en.

The young man took the bananas then. And so now the young man is setting out. When he arrived (at the pool) he is hiding.

2(c) Eventually succeeding in obtaining one of the feather-dresses, as well as the the youngest skymaiden who is thereby forced to remain behind, Itung takes her home to his chieftain father. Later on the old woman encountered in the forest (now revealed as his chieftain father's sister) arrives for a visit, bringing a cloth-bag (containing the feather-dress stolen earlier by Itung) which she orders to be hung high from the rafters overhead and never opened. Sometime much later, after Itung's first child has learned to talk, the child begins begging for the little bag suspended from the rafters and will not be consoled without it. Then as the anxious father paces the length of the house, and paces the width of the house in his attempt to pacify the child, he can only reemphasize his aunt's prohibition when his worried wife instructs him to climb up and get whatever the child is crying for.

Hane ke se kenakan pè ma te, "Keveiyen," ke sikandin, "merehen te hinawa ku ayan se ebuyuen kayi te anak ta su intelaan ni Ayà se kenà ibpevukayat.

Take note, said the young man, "It is extremely difficult for me to give our child what she is asking for because Auntie instructed that it was never to opened."

²⁹ *Anù*: a name that everyone except other young men call a young man.

Response: Hane mekepeeneng-eneng se iney te vatà, ini ma se vatà
ne bulug ne edsinehew ne kenà egkeuyat.
Take note, the child's mother is keeping very, very quiet
while the child continues crying and will not be stopped.

3(a) In the 'Terengati' version of the tale as the seven maidens emerge from the water to discover the dress of their youngest sister missing, the older six remind her that they will all be severely scolded if they are late returning home; and with that they leave her to continue her search while they fly off to explain her absence to their father. At this juncture in his tale the narrator interjects rhetorically: 'And where will you ever see them again?' The response is portrayed in the Dramatic Historical Present tense.

Ih, arà dā iya guntaan se nekahi kayi te enem ne etew
ini ne midlayang dan en maan. Tī, endei nu en ma guntaani
egkepkepa ini se enem ne etew ini?

Ih, as soon as the six maidens had spoken they flew away.
Tī, where will you ever see the six of them again?

Response: Ew, ne nekuwa rā iya keniya te ari eyē se itung
newaan en sikandin, ne wey ura medsinehew
Well when that happened that the youngest was left behind,
how she is crying now

3(b) As the young man finally comes out of hiding to try to soothe the sobbing maiden he is offered gold, carabaos, horses, or even slaves if he will only give her back her dress; all without success. It is precisely at this point that the same narrator interjects a further dismal prognostication to the sky-maiden: 'No matter how you try, and no matter if you die in the attempt (of looking for your dress) you certainly won't see it, and you certainly won't find it'.³⁰ The maiden's response is highlighted in the Dramatic Historical Present tense.

Ne ah ebpekettidtuwan ta ma ketā se apey rē ma ebmemenu
ke pā ebpelumpepatey ke pā ne kenà nu iya egkekita ne
kenà nu iya egkekuwa.

And, well, we can just see that no matter how you try and
no matter if you die in the attempt, you certainly
won't see it (the dress), and you certainly won't find it.

Response: Wey ran embe keniya meked-esawa ne miduma en ni
Terengati diyā te sabung din
And so they are getting married and she accompanied
Terengati to his small house

3.4.1.1. THE DRAMATIC HISTORICAL PRESENT TENSE COMBINED WITH INTENSIVE OR EMPHATIC VERB FORMS AND CONTINUOUS OR DURATIVE ACTION

As a strategist the Manobo storyteller capitalizes on the momentum already gained through the use of the Dramatic Historical Present tense to further heighten the vivid-

³⁰The narrator's interjection itself is marked as 'crucial' by being tautologically underscored with paraphrase.

ness of his tale by combining yet a further rhetorical device as well. He does this by using the intensive or emphatic forms of the verb, such as 'really enjoying', 'really pleading', and 'really worrying'; and continuous or durative action 'keeps on calling', 'keeps on ringing', and 'keeps on running'. These aspects occur both on the verbs marked for Dramatic Historical Present and on other non-past tense verbs as well. He knows the audience is anxiously waiting for the next incident to begin.

In my example 1(b) cited from the 'Si Itung' tale the following Manobo description occurs:

Itung diyān en ta se wey embe me guntean ne med-ip-ipanew
se kenakan

There we are with this young man, Itung, and
so he is keeping on walking and walking

Here, the *med-ip-ipanew* verb is derived from *ipanew* 'to walk, to go some place' and is not only marked for Dramatic Historical Present tense with the prefix *med-*, but the word-base is also reduplicated to indicate an action that is being repeated. The resultant scene is one of intense frustration in not being able to find weaving materials, coupled with his soon being overcome by thirst.

And in example 2(c) as the worried father restates his aunt's prohibition in an attempt to counteract his wife's orders to climb up into the house-rafters and get whatever their child is crying for, we have the following response:

Hane mekepeeneng-eneng se iney te vatā, ini ma se vatā
ne bulug ne edsinehew ne kenā egkeuyat.

Take note, the child's mother is keeping very, very quiet while the child continues crying and will not be stopped.

The verb *mekepeeneng-eneng*, likewise, is not only marked for Dramatic Historical Present tense with the prefix *meke-* but also has a reduplicated stem to indicate that the mother is now puzzled and so is *keeping very, very quiet*. For one brief moment it would appear that the husband has been spared the horrifying task of bringing down from the rafters the very container used for hiding his wife's stolen feather dress; but that moment is short-lived. The next sentence tells us that the child continued crying until she had lost her voice; and with that the anxious wife resumes her pressure that 'if the bag does not contain poison' then it should certainly be given to the child to pacify her.

And in the 'Terengati' version, as the child cries for something she sees tucked in the rafters overhead, it is the skymaiden mother herself who climbs up to search for the object.

Mebpemenayik se meritan ini ne mehaan se kinepemenayik
keniyā. Nekeuma diyā te mibetangan te liliyungan ne
penikepsikepa.

The woman is climbing up then and was very
fast in doing so. As she reached the peak of the roof she
keeps feeling around with her hands (i.e. between the wooden
roof rafters and the grass roof).

The verb *penikepsikepa* is derived from *sikep* 'to reach into a hole or space between two objects to search for something' and is again not only marked for the Dramatic Historical Present tense with the suffix *-a*, but also has a reduplicated stem to indicate an action that is being repeated because of a crucial situation. That is, the mother was an-

xiously searching for whatever it was that the child was crying for in order to quickly put an end to it.

3.4.2. THE DRAMATIC HISTORICAL PRESENT TENSE COMBINED WITH TWO HIGHLY GENERIC VERBS

Two generic verbs of motion in Manobo, *waleng* 'to get busy, to proceed', or 'to take action in something', and *kù* 'to take, to grab hurriedly', or more idiomatically speaking 'to get going', where the specific nature of the action is made explicit by the verb which follows, or in some cases by the antecedent verb, constitute a highly-imaginative rhetorical device for highlighting for a Manobo audience each move or action of the story participant(s) in the tale. Born of 'oral tradition' that not only provokes the audience's imagination but allows for variation in the creative process, these verbs hold particular interest for Manobos because of their dynamic quality and chameleonic versatility, allowing one listener to interpret the verb in one fashion, while another listener interprets it in a slightly different manner, but in keeping with the context.

Often closely aligned with the occurrence of these two highly-generic verbs, and the use of the Dramatic Historical Present in the narration of Manobo folktales, is a 'chaining effect'³¹ which is of utmost importance to oral folktale style. This chaining effect in Manobo, in which part of a sentence is recapitulated in the onset of the succeeding sentence, is coupled with the dynamic qualities of the *medwaleng* and *megkuwa* generic verbs to provide the basis for the further highlighting of each single action in a lengthy chain of events. Their combination with the Dramatic Historical Present tense serves to highlight each motion as it is being narrated. That the story-participant's actions are being pictured more realistically for a Manobo audience, as a result, is indicated by their frequent backing of the narrator: *Iring en iya te egkekitakita ku en!* 'It's just as if I am truly seeing it happen right now!'

The setting of the 'Itung' version provides us with a vivid example of chaining, coupled with the generic quality of *megkuwa*, which is highlighted further by the use of the Dramatic Historical Present tense. As Itung realizes he has exhausted his supply of weaving materials he concludes that he had better go and look for some *Adsam*-vine.

Wey ne megkuwa ini se kenakan ini ne medtegenes ini se kenakan ini. Huna su nekuwa se teganes ne migkuwa rin ke kelepi. Nekeipus se egkuwa te kelepi ne med-ipanew sikandin. Wey embe gunteani ne med-ipanew ini se kenakan ne itung meriyù ne benar se ed-ipanawan din.

And so the young man is getting busy (megkuwa) and is getting dressed (medtegenes). When he had finished (nekuwa) his dressing, he

³¹Longacre describes such linkage as follows: 'Just as the *sine qua non* of Narrative genre is chronological sequence, so such sequence is likewise central to the Narrative paragraph. . . Regardless, however, of the varying grammatical or lexical forms of narrative linkage, the device basically consists in repeating, paraphrasing or referring in some manner at the onset of a succeeding sentence to the whole or part of the preceding sentence' (1960:56).

Although Boas had early cited this stylistic feature as a distinguishing characteristic of 'primitive' narrative (1940:491-493), Dennis Tedlock redefines it as 'oral' style for Zuni narrative; that is, 'the linking of two sentences or major clauses by the conversion of the final element of one into the initial element of the next, as in these lines: His uncle/went out hunting. Going out hunting/he came along . . .' (1971:130-1).

The same device is common in Yugoslav epic poetry as in the following example from Lord: 'And may God too make us merry. Make us merry and give us entertainment!' (Lord 1965:32).

went-for/got (*migkuwa*) his bolo. When he had finished getting (*egkuwa*) his bolo, he is setting out. And so the young man is setting out now, and his journey was a long one.

An occurrence somewhat later in the same story also provides us with a varied example of the *megkuwa* and *medwaleng* verbs, though without the added chaining effect of narrative linkage. In Itung's trip to the forest to look for weaving materials, he comes across the small cottage of the old woman who tells him about seven young skymaidens who come regularly to bathe at a nearby pool. She urges him to see for himself and, if he is interested in the women, to go early and take along some bananas to throw to the skymaidens' pet monkeys so they will be distracted from their careful watch over the maidens' feather dresses. Itung obeys and subsequently hides himself at the pool. Soon he hears a disturbing sound overhead and sees seven equally-beautiful skywomen alighting nearby.

Wey meguntean ne megkuwa ini se kenakan ini ne neuma rin ini se menge raha ini ne midluung se menge belegkas ne itung megkuwa keniya ebperihû. Wey imbe mebperihû ini se raha ini itung diyâ ke ve ma rema kayi te kenakan. Egkuwa se kenakan ini ne itung medwalengwaleng sikandin ne migkuwa rin ini se sahing ini ne ebpergentuhan nu ini se ruma ne uval ini ne egkuwa nu ini se enem ne timan ne uval. Wey embe megkuwa ini se kenakan ne itung ne iyan din itungan ini se edtameng te belegkas keniyâ te ineriyân. Wey imbe megkuwa ini se kenakan ne itung mid-entuhan te sahing ne ah merehen nevenar su kenâ ebpermineg inî se uval, kenâ egkaan keniyâ te sahing.³²

And so now the young man is creeping over (megkuwa) until he reached the young women who took off their clothes and indeed are getting ready/are going into the water (megkuwa) to bathe. And now the young women are bathing right near where you are, young man. The young man got up (egkuwa) and is proceeding/is reaching out (medwalengwaleng), then took the bananas and you threw them to the monkeys and you reached (egkuwa) six of them. And so the young man is making progress (megkuwa) for what he has in mind is to keep his eye on the clothes of the youngest. And thus the young man is trying again and threw some more bananas, but ah it was very discouraging for the monkeys wouldn't pay any attention they wouldn't eat the bananas.³²

The 'Terengati' version of the tale provides us with a graphic example of chaining coupled with the generic quality of both *medwaleng* and *megkuwa* verbs, highlighted further by the use of the Dramatic Historical Present tense. As Terengati makes one of his brief hunting trips to the forest for wild chickens, his swanmaiden wife climbs up into the roof rafters to get whatever it is their child has been pointing to and crying over. The result is the discovery of a bamboo flute into which her feather-dress has been carefully stuffed. Having exclaimed aloud her gratitude she continues, 'As for you now,

³²The highly dramatized scene is also rhetorically underlined with parallelism.

Terengati, you have to stay here, but I'm leaving'. The narrator then provides his audience with the following highly-picturesque scene:

Medwalengwaleng sikandin ne megkuwa te rudsun uvag ne intelau rin kayi te anak din ini. Nekekeres be sikandin te rudsun ne intelau rin na impuyut din ini se batã ne pinesusu rin pã neraan. Nekelipereng dã ketã midlelembung ini se meritan ini ne tĩ engkey nu pã da Ne riyen en nekelayang en.

She is getting busy (medwalengwaleng) and is getting/squeezing-out (megkuwa) some of her milk to leave behind for her child. When she had squeezed out some of her milk to leave behind, she put the child in its cloth hammock and nursed her before leaving. When the child was asleep, the woman then dressed herself and tĩ what you do And then she flew off far away.

3.4.2. A SHIFT TO A MORE SPECIFIC PERSON

Except for the pronoun exponents of dialogue, a Manobo folktale is basically told in the third person. As a rhetorical device, however, for heightening vividness and thereby convincing his audience that they, too, are witnessing the events of his tale, a Manobo raconteur draws heavily upon a further tool, from his seemingly-abundant store, and that is (1) a shift to the second person 'you' in order to highlight the action of a key story-participant; and (2) a shift to the second person 'you' to refer to his audience (on rare occasions a key story-participant may even address the audience by this means also), or to the first person dual pronoun 'we(you and I)' in order to tie himself more closely with his listeners, reminding them that they, together, are viewing the story as it unfolds.³³ These may be combined with the Dramatic Historical Present tense for a further heightened effect.

1(a) The very setting of the 'Terengati' tale makes effective use of the second person pronoun to highlight the intense discouragement of the main story-participant as he faces another day's hunt with no catch.

Wey embe guntaani iya med-ipanew si Terengati ini ne peketidtuwen ta ma keniya te matag ma iya se neudtu en se andew ne ketã ke rã ma iya. Terengati se ebpengati. Ah, ne warã iya egkeutel nu . . . Su misan ebmemenu ka Terengati ne kenã ed-ukarã ini se kati nu.. Ne engketã ded dema se kelesanen; warã ed-ukarã. Wey nu penge kaki ini se kati nu ne ah, kenã en su ebpengelivukvuk dẽ ma iya Terengati.

And so Terengati is setting out now and we can just see that even when the sun has already reached its zenith you, Terengati, are still hunting chickens. Ah, but you haven't caught anything yet . . . For no matter what you do, Terengati,

³³Rhetoricians point out the use of 'you' and 'us' as devices by which the speaker identifies himself with his audience. 'In oratorical communion the speaker may try to merge himself in his audience. The . . . effect is obtained by enallage of person in which "I" or "he" is replaced by "you" making the hearer imagine he sees himself in the midst of the danger, and which is a figure relating both to presence and to communion' (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969:178).

your hunting-cock won't crow. And it was the same also with the wild chickens; none of them crowed. And so you are clucking like a hen for your tame cock, but it did nothing except bury itself in the dust, Terengati.

1(b) The following day Terengati decides to leave home well before daylight so he can have his decoy set up in the forest before the first early-morning crowing of the wild chickens. And, again, the narrator portrays the utter futility of this hunting trip also by focusing on the hunter in the second person.

Tf arã en se mid-ipaneu en si Terengati ini te nepawã, merusirem pã. Wey ke be guntaani med-ipaneu Terengati ne peketidtuwen ta ma ketã se meabet imbe ne ked-ipaneu nu su ed-ahew ke ma te ked-ukarã te kelesanen. Hane engkey pe be iya guntaani, Terengati Guna su diyã te puntur te buvungan, diyã nu ma huntaani egkekuwa ni Terengati ne mid-ukarã se kelesanen

Tf, at that then Terengati set out before dawn; it was still dark. And so you, Terengati, are setting out and we we can just see how fast you are in walking for you are trying to arrive before the wild chickens begin crowing. As you reach the top of the mountain, then you heard a wild chicken that crowed, Terengati

Wey ke en be huntaan med-ipaneu Terengati ini peketidtuwen ta ketã se guna su edluuk ebpemenayik se andew ne nekeuma ka ketã te kuwa te buvungan puntur. Ketã ke en da Terengati se ebpengahad ke ed-ukarã guntaani ini se kelesanen ini.

And so you are setting out again. Terengati, and we can just see that the sun had reached the halfway point in its journey to the zenith before you reached the top of the mountain. There you waited then, Terengati, for the wild chickens to crow.

1(c) As Terengati lies in his hunter's blind, hungry, he suddenly hears a swishing-sound overhead. The scene he sees as he emerges from the blind is described by the narrator as follows:

Engkey pã se midlingakã ka Terengati, ne iyan nu nekita ini se pitu ne etew ne raha ini ne edlayang Ne warã rapit ne idsawey nu keniya su elin-elin neneked-iring eyẽ. Kenã nu egketuusan be eyẽ se ari ne kenã nu egketuusan se kakey. Ne kenã nu egkekahi se eyẽ se merayirayi su langun en ne merayirayi, memegidsan se paras. Langun te kegueyguey ran ne neneked-iring. Engkey pẽ be keniya Terengati te ebpememetien nu en eyẽ. Sekali ka metetau Terengati ne kayi en iya egkeulug-ulug te kayi en iya egkeulug-ulug te uvey nu. Ih, ne wey ka mekeeles keniya Terengati. What happened then was that you looked up, Terengati, and what you saw were seven young women flying overhead There was nothing about them you could criticize, for all of them were exactly alike. You couldn't tell which was the

younger, and you couldn't tell which was the older. And you couldn't say which was the most beautiful, for all of them were beautiful; all were identical in appearance. All of their postures were exactly alike. What you did then was just to wait. Before you knew it, Terengati, they were flying down right nearby, they were flying down right near you. Ih, and so you are hiding then, Terengati.

A subtle intermeshing of second-person 'you' combined with an on-the-spot portrayal achieved by means of the Dramatic Historical Present tense, further serve to heighten the vividness at a peak point in plot which the narrator has already thoroughly underscored with carefully-metered lines of parallelism. He does not want the point to go by unheeded because his audience is weary and the hour is growing late.³⁴

2(a) With the hunter lying securely hidden, and the sky-maidens about to jump into the pool, the narrator now shifts his focus of attention to his audience by means of the second person pronoun 'you'.

Tf̄endei se kinekepasad dan ne midlumbuk dan en kayi te peligt̄.³⁵ Ne ini ma guntaan ini se peligt̄ ini ne egkeeyaman ke ma ne edtengteng te peligt̄ su budtuk en imbe te metmetingew ne ini en iya guntaani se peligt̄ ini su apey ra memenu ne kenā egkelevug ini se kuwa ini peligt̄. Ne ketā ne iyan nu egkekita ketā te peligt̄ arā se pitu ne luyuran se belanak ne kenā ebpemekedsuweysuwey te kedsunggey ran kayi te peligt̄. Tf̄, when they had finished (undressing,) they jumped into the pool.³⁵ And this pool now, you (audience) would really enjoy looking at for it was crystal clear; and no matter how they played in it, the pool didn't become muddy. And in it you could see seven schools of belanak-fish which couldn't be separated from chasing each other all around the pool.

2(b) A little later the maidens emerge from the pool, discover their youngest sister's dress missing, and leave for home without her in order to explain to their father what has happened. The narrator then, with a very grim prognosis, rhetorically asks the remaining grieving skymaiden, 'Where will you ever see the six of them again?' before quickly shifting his focus of attention to his audience, also by means of the second person pronoun.

Ew ne nekuwa rā iya keniyā te ari eyē se itung newaan en sikandin ne wey ura medsinehew ne tuus nu ma keniyā te

³⁴ A good Manobo raconteur is expected to entertain his audience until either the successful conclusion of his tale coincides with daylight, or the pressures of the season force them all to go to work in their fields. The cultural preference is for one story to fill the entire night. Families sit on their sleeping-mats on the floor. The younger children are free to fall asleep and children or adults may relieve themselves at the corner post of the house reserved for that purpose. For a more detailed discussion of the sociolinguistic relations holding between the performance of a folktale and audience interaction see Wrigglesworth 1977.

³⁵ *peligt̄*: 'a soggy area of ground in the forest where pigs wallow', it is consistently the term employed in every known variant of this tale (in contrast to *wayig* 'a river or stream' where humans in folktale and in real life go to bathe), since Manobo folk belief holds that such areas are believed to be but a camouflage for the sparkling water which lies beneath it where semi-deities and evil spirits are accustomed to bathe.

midtentuwan din te edsinehew su matag ma iya se deruwa
ne hewii ne keta de ma iya se edsinehew ini se kuwa ini
raha ini ne netahak.

Well, when that happened that the youngest one was left
behind, how she is crying then, and to show you (audience)
how she overdid her crying, even on the second day this
young woman who had been left behind was still crying.

2(c) After a lengthy dialogue between the maiden and the hunter (she pleading
for the return of her dress; he pleading with her to marry him), the maiden flatly rejects
his offer telling him to be off, then resumes her crying. At this point, the narrator alter-
nates his use of the second person pronoun 'you' between a focus upon his audience to
a focus upon the crying maiden on stage – all within the same sentence. Then to involve
himself in a more intimate way with his listeners he employs the first person dual pro-
noun 'we(you and I)', reminding them that they all are involved in this together.³⁶

Wey en be guntaani medsinehew ini se raha ini ne tuus
nu ma te midtantu midsinehew su edlevag en ma guntaani
se mata nu. Ah ne kenà ketà dâ se edlevag se mata nu
su kenà ke en ebpekelevang ne edtelilid guntaan ini
se meritan ini. Ne ah ebpeketidtuwan ta ma ketà se
apey rê ma ebmenu ke pà ebpelumpepatey ke pà ne kenà
nu iya egkekita ne kenà nu iya egkekuwa.

And so the young woman is crying and to show you (audience)
how she overdid it she cried until your eyes (young woman)
are swelled. Well and you (young woman) not only made
your eyes swelled but you would no longer speak from
rolling on the ground. And, well, we (narrator and audience)
can just see that no matter how you (young woman) try and
no matter if you die in the attempt you certainly won't
see it (your dress), and you certainly won't find it.

The rapid shift back and forth between 'you' on stage, to 'you' in the audience, to
'we' narrator and audience, when also combined with the Dramatic Historical Present
tense at a point already rhetorically underlined with parallelism, serves to evoke a high
degree of 'presence', alerting his audience to a tense and emotion-laden peak in plot. The
Manobo master of such folk rhetoric has well earned his audience's enthusiasm when they
respond with, 'Keep going now' *ne ibpeiseg-iseg nu en* 'for it's just as you say (i.e. you're
telling it just as it originally happened)! *"su enduena nu ve iya!*'

2(d) As already mentioned, on rare occasions even a key story-participant may
address the audience by means of the second person pronoun 'you'. Earlier in the same
version of the tale as Terengati watches the seven beautiful skymaidens alight at the
pool, he blesses his fate for such a rare turn of events, and then calmly boasts that he will
get himself a wife. As Terengati sits alone carefully pondering his plan, the narrator gives
the audience privileged information: that Terengati's eyes are those of a guilty person.
It is little wonder, then, that Terengati admonishes his listeners: first, not to watch him as

³⁶Charles Dickens in his *Tale of Two Cities* employs the first person plural inclusive
pronoun, along with the present tense, to take his readers to the scene of the action; the reader sud-
denly finds that he is there in the stagecoach too: 'Houses in twos and threes pass by us The
hard, uneven pavement is under us Sometimes, we strike into the skirting mud'

he hides; and secondly, not to watch the young maidens as they undress to bathe in the pool.

Ke si Terengati ne, "Kenà su ed-eles a ebpetamantaman."
 Eyè ne itung nekeitindeg en eyè se pitu ne etew te lireg
 te peligi. "Hew," ke si Terengati, "engkey ve guntaani
 se egkepegitung dan ini? Ah, ne ebpemenluung dan en iya.
 Ih," ke si Terengati ini, "kenà ke pè be iya su ebpenluun
 dan en bes iya ini. Ebpekekuwa ad be te esawa ku guntaani
 kayi.

Said Terengati, "Don't watch me (you is implicit),
 for I'm going to hide as best I can." At that moment the
 seven maidens were standing at the edge of the pool. "My,"
 said Terengati, "what are they planning to do now? Ah, they
 are undressing. Ih," said Terengati, 'don't you (audience)
 watch for they are getting undressed now. I'm going to get
 myself a wife! "

3.4.3. A SHIFT TO RHETORICAL QUESTION AND DIALOGUE

A final rhetorical device for marking vividness involves a shift to rhetorical question and dialogue.³⁷ Some Manobo narrators choose to mark each incident peak of their tale with a single rhetorical question, and more crucial peaks in plot (as the violation of an interdiction or the violation of a weighty cultural taboo) with an underscoring of a succession of rhetorical questions – often combined with parallelism and paraphrase for further reinforcement. Other narrators choose simply to mark the latter; or they may also, as the narrators of the 'Itung' and 'Terengati' data of this paper, concentrate a series of rhetorical questions in the setting – especially if a claim is about to be made – in order to heighten the tension by portraying a situation that offers extremely little hope for the claim every being fulfilled. Part of the assertion of rhetorical questions in Manobo tales involves a prediction that events of major importance are about to take place. As such they foreshadow semantic content before the action actually happens. And, they nearly always constitute stimulus that provokes a response described in the Dramatic Historical Present tense,³⁸ combined with a shift to the second person pronoun, thereby accruing additional weight.

The following are examples of rhetorical question as employed by the narrators of 'Si Itung' and 'Si Terengati', placing this rhetorical device in context as to its occurrence in plot, along with its response and accompanying rhetorical devices summoned.

Si Terengati

Si Itung

³⁷Longacre (1976:221-2) labels such devices as apostrophe and rhetorical question 'pseudo-dialogue' (since they partake of certain features of dialogue without being true dialogue) and places them along a parameter with four ordered values: Narrative → Pseudo-Dialogue → Dialogue → Drama.

³⁸Even highly-skilled master Manobo raconteurs are not infallible. Because they are expected to drink their coffee and chew their betelnut before beginning their story, they become extremely weary as the hour grows late. Isolated examples, without the Dramatic Historical Present tense, occur in my corpus of over 2,000 pages of folktale text; but very often the narrator has apologized afterward for his lack of alertness. On one occasion a master raconteur insisted on retelling her tale because she felt she had left out some of the tale's dynamic features.

FOLKTALE AND HISTORY IN ILIANEN MANOBO

Each version of this tale employs three rhetorical questions in its setting to portray the seemingly quite-hopeless situation of the poverty-stricken hunter ever fulfilling his claim 'to get himself a beautiful sky-princess as a wife'.

- (1) "Aba, why haven't I had any luck catching wild chickens?" (1) "Where have I come from?"

Response: And so you are elucking like a hen for you tame cock, but it did nothing but bury itself in the dust, Terengati. **Response:** And so the young man is looking around.

- (2) "What can I do to catch something?" (2) "Where will he ever be able to get a drink?" (The narrator asks concerning the hero.)

Response: And so you are setting out, Terengati, and we can just see how fast you are in walking, for you are trying to reach there before the wild chickens begin crowing. **Response:** And so the young man is looking around.

- (3) "Ih, where is that wild chicken that I heard crowing from the top of this mountain?" (3) "Etu, a house here (in the forest)?"

Response. And so Terengati is staking out his tame cock here and ih it also crowed. **Response:** The young man is going up the house ladder and who should meet him but a woman.

Utterly dissatisfied with catching any other wild chicken than the one whose 'plaintive crowing' had reached his ears earlier, 'as if being wafted down on a bubbling stream', Terengati stakes his claim in the mountain-top setting from where he has just heard the sad and plaintive wild chicken's call originate. The next sentence tells us that it was noontime (a 'bewitching hour' in Manobo folk belief), accompanied by a 'swishing sound' overhead. It is thus the 'haunting and plaintive chicken's call' in this plot that serves as the catalyst, enticing Terengati to the proper locale for the arrival of the sky-maidens, with all of its subsequent involvements.

Itung's discovery of a house in the forest, on the other hand, provides an encounter with an old lady who serves as the 'source of information' and thereby 'the bridge' to the escapades that will involve this hero through succeeding episodes.

Both versions employ a rhetorical question to announce the sudden and strange arrival of the seven beautiful skymaidens.

- (4) "Ih, what is that swishing sound I hear?" (4) "Now what's this?" (After the narrator has just announced a disturbing sound overhead.)

Response: And so Terengati is startled and is coming out of his hunter's blind. What then but you looked up, Terengati, and what you saw were seven young women flying overhead. **Response:** And now the young man is creeping over until he reached the young women.

Each narrator also includes a rhetorical question in the episode involving the seven skymaidens and the hunter.

- (5) “Ti, where will you ever see the six of them again?”
(The narrator asks the youngest maiden who has been left behind without a dress.)

- (5) “What do you do now?” (Itung asks himself when one monkey stubbornly refuses to be distracted from guarding the princesses’ dresses, even though Itung has repeatedly thrown bananas to it.)

Response: Well, when that happened that the youngest one was left behind, how she is crying then

Response: It is taking the very last banana thrown to it by the young man and hurried off.

The ‘Terengati’ tale later employs a concentration of three rhetorical questions at the violation of the interdiction revealing the hidden dress.

- (6) “What are you crying for?” (The sky-princess mother addresses her child who has not yet learned to talk, but who is crying as she looks up at the cloth bag hung from the rafters above.)

Response: The woman is climbing up then and was very fast in doing so. As she reached the peak of the roof, she keeps feeling around with her hands.

- (7) “Why can’t we have some music now that there is an instrument here to play, for I really like to play the flute?”

Response: She is getting the flute and is blowing into it, but ah, there is no sound.

- (8) “Ih, what’s wrong with this bamboo flute that it makes no sound?”

Response: You are looking inside, but ih, you can’t see anything. The woman is proceeding to strike the flute against something.

The ‘Terengati’ tale also employs one final rhetorical question at the very peak of the final scene, just prior to its resolution.

- (9) “What shall I do now?”
(Terengati asks himself as he

is confronted with identifying his wife from among six identical sisters at her chieftain father's home.)

Response: After a while he let go of his child and babeba what happened then, Terengati, is that it was the one in the center that the child is running over to.

In the narration of tales at nighttime, a Manobo raconteur is faced with the additional challenge of keeping his audience awake. In the final episodes of his story, he therefore makes a shift away from narration to that of dialogue; this is then employed extensively in propelling his story to its final conclusion. Since Manobo tales are expected to last at least late into the night, the Manobo storyteller reserves his heavy use of dialogue for the points at which it can contribute the most. Not only does the narrator continue to confirm and drive home with rhetorical question and dialogue the cultural truths he has already indicated or hinted at earlier in his story, but such devices also serve him well to help keep his audience alert and involved in the cultural relevance of his tale.

In the covered lengthy tales of Manobo, the final third consists almost solidly of dialogue, peaks being marked by a shift to a more dramatic form of dialogue in which the quotation formulas drop out and the story participants speak to one another in an I-you relationship.³⁹ In the 'Si Itung' and 'Si Terengati' tales which are much shorter in length, however, the narrators' shift to dialogue involves instead a noticeable contrast in the size of the dialogue. The earlier terse dialogue construction now gives way to lengthy speeches.

In the 'Terengati' tale, for example, as the hunter finally comes out of hiding to confront the lone remaining skymaiden and to attempt to persuade her to become his wife, the tenseness of the scene is readily conveyed by a departure from the standard Manobo dialogue that is broken by frequent quotation formulas (see footnote 10) to lengthy, rambling dialogue indicative of the high state of their emotions.

"Well," said Terengati, "what's happened to you?
Why are you crying?"

"Ah, you're the one," she said, "who did this to me,
taking my dress!"

"Oh, but why?" said Terengati.

"Well you've hidden it and I want you to give it
back to me, for whatever it is you want in return," she said,
"I will give it to you and if what you need is gold — even a sack
of it — then it will be given to you by Father, or carabaos,
horses, he will give you those, too," she said, "or no
matter how many slaves, you can have them as well," said the
young woman.

"Ih," said Terengati, "that can't be paid to me,"
he said, "for I wasn't the one who got it. That might

³⁹For a more detailed discussion see Wrigglesworth 1971:109-111, where the omission of quotatives characterizes an entire genre which the writer labels 'Dramatic Discourse'.

have been appropriate if I had taken it, but even though you didn't pay anything for its return, why would I take the clothes of someone who like myself is to be pitied," he said, "for we are all the same and when I think about it, if I were the one in your place, I would be extremely worried just as you are. What I'm thinking, then, is that I will beg you to consider that since we've met in this forest — and you've also been left behind by your older sisters — ih, I will just take you in so that we can be married."

"Ah," said the young woman, "that will never be possible; so be on your way! "

In Manobo 'oral tradition literature', which relies so heavily upon quotations that are broken by frequent quotation formulas in order to allow a brief pause for the narrator to collect his thoughts, as well as controlling the appropriate rate of introducing new materials in order not to overcrowd the communication channel, such a divergence is permitted only when the audience needs to be alerted to a peak crisis — a key pivotal point upon which the resolution of the plot hinges.

3.5. A CHANGE OF PACE

A final device for marking peak in plot, and thus continuing to draw verbal support from his audience, involves a change of pace. Lengthy sentences and paragraphs, even an entire embedded discourse with its peak carefully marked in similar fashion, occurs.

In the 'Si Terengati' tale as the narrator approaches the peak of his final episode (involving the hero's arrival in a far-away kingdom in search of his wife), the chief begins by asking Terengati four questions — each of which is further underscored rhetorically with paraphrase. The fourth question brings a reply from Terengati which involves an entire embedded discourse rehearsing the course of events in the tale thus far, the peak of which is likewise tautologically underscored with paraphrase.

Said the chief, "Well, where are you headed? Why is it that this is your first time to visit my place? For as I recall," he said, "I haven't ever seen your face before. This is my first time to see your face, and where are you headed?"

"Well," said Terengati, "I have come, Chief, because I am looking for my wife here."

"Well, well, but why indeed," said the chief, "why have you come here? Why have you come looking for her here?"

"Well, I'm looking for her here in your place because I feel that this is where she headed for."

"But why, what was the beginning of it all?" said the chief. "Why is it you two were married (in the first place)?"

"What started it all," said Terengati, "is that I went hunting wild chickens with my tame cock, Chief, but what happened was that I caught nothing. Suddenly, almost before I realized it, there was a swishing-sound overhead. And when I looked up to see, there were seven young maidens. Ih, and I began thinking that I would marry one of them. I got busy and I took one of their dresses," he said. "Well, what

happened then is that a little later we were married. And to show you how long it's been that we've been married, you just look at our child here who is already walking. What ruined it all," he said, "is that she found what I'd hidden up overhead," he said, "at the peak of the house; that bamboo-flute, well she found it. And that's what made her leave. What I'm doing now is looking for my wife," he said, "wherever she went."

The embedded discourse is immediately followed by the chief's delivery of the son-in-law task: 'Well, well, if that's it, then you pick her out, if you're able to distinguish her from among the seven of them there in my daughters' sleeping-quarters, for I know which one she is'. But one brief glance by Terengati soon revealed the impossible impasse facing him and he rhetorically asks himself, 'What should I do now?'

4. THE RHETORICAL DEVICES OF FOLKTALE COMPARED WITH ORAL HISTORY

Having discussed at some length the vast array of rhetorical devices employed by the Manobo narrator of folktales in order to highlight certain elements of his tale and transport his audience to the very place where his story is taking place, we now turn to 'oral history' to determine whether similar devices are employed there.

4.1. VERBAL CONVENTIONS FOR INTRODUCING DISCOURSE AND INDIVIDUAL SCENES

The obligatory attention-getter of folktale *Hane* 'Take note', which precedes the discourse-level verbal convention introducing every tale, does not occur. Since the historical narrative is prefaced by a statement explaining that 'this is an account about the First People', the discourse proper is introduced by a sentence in which the sentence topic is drawn to the foreground: *Ini se etew*. . . 'This person. . .' followed by an equational sentence: *ne iyan din ngaran ne si Beletamey*⁴⁰ 'what his name was is Beletamey'.⁴⁰ The equational sentence is introduced by the emphasis marking particle *iyán*. Occurring initially, *iyán* acts as an anticipatory attention indicator upon the clause that follows.⁴¹ Thus, sentence topic plus emphasis or attention combine to formally introduce the narrative of oral history. The setting is completed with a second sentence of the same type. *Si Beletamey*. . . '(person marker) Beletamey' . . . followed by an equational sentence: *ne iyan din ebpulangan se ebpengpengati* 'what he was doing was constantly going hunting'.⁴²

On lower levels of the discourse, no verbal conventions for introducing individual scenes are employed; once the swanmaiden is acquired as wife and taken home, the scene is not changed. The husband no longer makes hunting forays into the forest.

A discourse closure defining the genre occurs: *Arà dà taman ke guhud ki Beletamey* 'And that's the end of my account about Beletamey'.

⁴⁰*Beletamey*: A Manobo culture hero recognized as one of their early ancestors. See footnote 6.

⁴¹For a fuller discussion of the emphasis marking particle *iyán*, see Morey-Austin 1966.

⁴²The two bases of an equational sentence in Ilianen Manobo are joined by *se* 'equals' or 'simultaneous with' except when base 2 is expounded by a proper noun phrase marked by *si* 'person marker'.

4.2. PARALLELISM

The narrator of the historical account makes no attempt to underline rhetorically with parallelism the striking and identical beauty of the seven swanmaidens alighting at the pool, as both the versions of folktale elaborately do. And there is no need for him to underscore rhetorically an interdiction which is never formally delivered. Nor does he choose to highlight with paraphrase the dilemma facing the young father as he is told to climb to the roof and get the cock-gear case for their crying child, though he knows it contains his wife's feather dress. The suspense element has already been significantly reduced by the hunter admitting to the swanmaiden, at the very outset, that he was the one who took her dress in order that they could be married. Although the narrator later tells us that the husband is sad over his wife's request to get the cock-gear case in order to pacify their crying child, he complies after a brief dialogue with her, 'But why is the child asking for this [the case] when there is nothing in it?' and 'But what is wrong with the child, for this cock-gear case cannot be eaten?' Not only does he comply, but he hands the case over to his child without any further warnings that the case should not be opened.⁴³

Not until the narrator reaches the peak of his entire discourse, the final parting scene between the skymaiden and her earthborn husband, does he employ paraphrase. His first use is to underscore rhetorically the skymaiden's barrage of rhetorical questions to her husband.

“Why, Beletamey, did you put my dress in here? You didn't burn it (as I thought)? It seems pretty clear that you really cared very little for me when we were married! Why did you put the dress away if you didn't want me to return home again to my parents?”

Then, having followed this with her announcement to leave her husband immediately, she turns to her daughter with a brief admonition underlined rhetorically with paraphrase.

“Be good now, Child. Don't cry because I'm leaving you.”

And, finally, she leaves a word of admonition to her husband, partially underscored with parallelism, as the husband increases his weeping.

“Beletamey, take care of yourself for I am leaving you today. I am leaving you because of the dress which you didn't destroy.”

4.3. CONCENTRATION OF PARTICIPANTS

Aside from one early scene in the historical account, describing the arrival of the seven skymaidens (without their pet monkeys as guardians of their feather dresses), there is no crowded scene. Subsequent occurrences of this device in the unfolding of the folktale as (1) the hero taking his skymaiden wife home to his chieftain father's household where the interdiction is delivered, (2) the hero finally being provided with explicit directions in his search for his wife's kingdom 'where the moon rises and the sun sets', and (3) the hero's final task of identifying his skymaiden wife from among her six

⁴³In similar fashion, the swanmaiden immediately ceased her crying earlier when the hunter admonished her, 'Stop crying because you will get sick. It would be better if you'd start thinking about how to be helpful, for what I have in mind is for us to be married'.

identical sisters in his chieftain father-in-law's home, are all absent from the historical account. Indeed the husband does not leave home in search of his wife, choosing rather to raise their child alone.

4.4. A RAPID ADVANCE IN TIME

In the historical narrative no rapid advance in time is employed to announce the swanmaiden's pregnancy, the birth of their child, nor to account for the rapid growth of this child. In lieu of these suspensive elements of plot, there is instead a more pervasive presence of fate or destiny. The hunter is not so filled with awe over the seven maidens' beauty, as in folktale, that he is willing to settle for 'any one of them'. From their very arrival at the pool, in the historical account, it is not a contest of the hero's wits, but a more obvious matter of fate that the dress falls into his hands.

As the seventh one arrived, the youngest, she is getting busy and is taking off her dress and threw it down. Where else but right near Beletamey is where she threw down the dress. And so Beletamey is taking the dress and is hiding it in the case for his cock-hunting gear.

And, while the 'Hero loves the youngest princess'⁴⁴ is a well-known trait of folktale in general, it is clearly not spelled out as a foregone conclusion in the 'Si Itung' and 'Si Terengati' tales. It is realized only after a suspenseful scene of the hero first attempting to distract the maidens' pet monkeys who are assigned as guardians over their feather dresses, then waiting until the maidens themselves are fully occupied with chasing one another around the pool, before he creeps out of hiding (quieter than a cat) to attempt to steal one of the feather dresses. None of this tense interplay, however, is present in the historical account.⁴⁵ Even after the youngest skymaiden has been forced to stay behind, the hunter does not cajole but admonishes her 'to stop crying (and thinking only about herself) and to begin considering others!' Her response is one of tacit obedience, followed by a matter-of-fact progression of events in the narrative.

And so they are being married. The result was that after a while the woman became pregnant. Some time later the woman gave birth to a daughter. And so they are continuing living there until the child grew quite large and, you know, one day she began to cry. The cock-gear case containing the feather dress, which had been placed up at the peak of the roof, is what she begged for.

4.5. HEIGHTENED VIVIDNESS

From the outset of episode one (immediately following the setting), the narrator of the historical account freely sprinkles his narrative with a use of the Dramatic Historical

⁴⁴Motif number T27.2. in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*.

⁴⁵In some respects the Manobo 'historical account' more closely resembles the Japanese 'folktale' [which dates back to their 8th century mythological record, the *Kojiki*] in that (1) the young man admits having taken the skymaiden's robe while refusing to give it back; (2) the skymaiden, upon discovering her robe and deciding to return home, first rises to the tree-top level [then returns to nurse her child, in the Manobo account]; and (3) rises a second time to the level of the clouds [and returns once more to nurse her child in the Manobo narrative] before finally going up to the sky. See 'The Woman Who Came Down from Heaven', in *Folktales of Japan*, edited by Keigo Seki, pages 63-69.

Present tense. The stimulus for triggering its use is nearly always comprised of an action of 'something heard' or 'something done'. As Beletamey sets out for the forest, in the historical account, he hears a wild chicken crowing.

Response: Medwaleng si Beletamey ne medsegkad en. Endei se peligi⁴⁶ ne rutun sikandin medsegkad te uvey. Guna su neuhet ne ed-uk-ukarâ en ini se kati ni Beletamey. Wey embe med-eles en si Beletamey kayi te peligi . . .

Beletamey is getting busy and is staking out his cock.
Where the pool was,⁴⁶ . . .

The liberal use of the Dramatic Historical Present tense continues, highlighting almost every action of the main story participants, and providing a vivid skeletal framework in itself.

. . . he is staking out his cock . . . he is hiding . . . she (the skymaiden) is getting busy and is taking off her dress and threw it down . . . Beletamey is taking it and is hiding it . . . The older sister is returning back (to earth) . . . She is trying to take her (youngest sister) inside her own dress . . . And so the youngest maiden is crying now . . .

The self-order monologue so characteristic of Manobo folktale from its opening episode on, and which always brings a response described in the Dramatic Historical Present tense, is noticeably absent.

Similarly, no instance occurs of a shift to the second person in order to highlight the action of a key story participant, and but one instance of a shift in person to refer to the narrator's audience. Even then, it is an idiomatic use of the pronoun rather than an attempt to heighten vividness for his audience. Furthermore, the second person pronoun most commonly employed for heightening vividness in folktale is the singular form *ka*, which singles out each audience member as an individual, and occurs with verbs involving the senses as 'you (audience) would really enjoy', and 'you (audience) can just see/hear/imagine/feel'. The historical narrative example, however, involves the plural form *kew* and the verb *tau* 'to know, be aware of, be knowledgeable of something'.

And so they are continuing living there until the child grew quite large and you-plural know-how-it-is, one day she began to cry.

Although even its use as an idiom of speech should have alerted his audience to a potential complication in the offing, the narrator of the historical account does not leave them to their own conclusions. Instead, he spells out the problem for them – and to that extent further lessens the suspense – in the following sentence.

The cock-gear case containing the feather dress, which had been placed up at the peak of the roof, is what she begged for.

⁴⁶'Where the pool was' constitutes a unique type of stimulus all its own. For to a Manobo audience, *peligi* 'a soggy area of ground in the forest where pigs wallow' is imbued with a wealth of folk belief, since such areas are believed to be but a camouflage for the sparkling water lying underneath where semi-deities come to bathe.

4.6. A SHIFT TO RHETORICAL QUESTION AND DIALOGUE

Except for brief monologue admonitions, in truncated dialogue not meant to elicit information, no actual repartee of dialogue occurs until the peak of the entire discourse is being approached. Even then it is interlaced with narrative. In the skymaiden's attempt to pacify her crying child, she orders her husband to climb up to the roof and get whatever it is the child is crying for.

Said the woman, "Beletamey, climb up to the peak of the roof and get whatever it is the child is looking at that she wants."

Beletamey said, "I don't know what the child wants up there."

The child cried so long that she couldn't get her breath. After some time, when Beletamey could bear it no longer, he climbed up again to the roof. And so he is scattering the dust up at the roof peak when the child stopped her crying. So the man is stopping his climbing when the child suddenly resumed her crying again.

Said the woman, "Why is the child still crying? Perhaps what she wants is the cock-gear case. Go back and get the case, Beletamey, for perhaps there is something in it that the child wants."

And so Beletamey is returning to the peak of the house. As he reached the cock-gear case he said, "Why is the child begging for this when there is nothing in the case?"

The woman said, "Get the cock-gear case, Beletamey, for that is certainly what the child is staring at."

Said Beletamey, "What is wrong with the child for this cock-gear case can't be eaten?"

Said the woman, "Get that case, Beletamey, in order to pacify the child."

As for Beletamey, he was sad because here in the cock-gear case he had put his wife's feather dress. And so Beletamey is getting the case and is carrying it down and is handing it to the child. The child stopped crying and is playing with the case until the dress fell out that Beletamey had hidden with his cock-gear.

Following hard upon the only occurrence of dialogue in the entire narrative is likewise the only occurrence of rhetorical question, which is underscored with paraphrase to signal the climax of the entire discourse.

"Why, Beletamey, did you put my dress in here? You didn't burn it (as I thought)? It seems pretty clear that you really cared very little for me when we were married! Why did you put the dress away if you didn't want me to return home again to my parents?"

4.7. A CHANGE OF PACE

The historical account, the far briefer narrative of the two genres, contains but one episode. The peak of that episode is not marked with the embedded discourse of folktale but, rather, by a stylistic change from the brief truncated form of admonitions occurring earlier in the narrative to full-fledged repartee in two paragraphs of dialogue – the only dialogue to be found in the entire narrative. And once that climax has been reached, the

dialogue ends and there is a return to the truncated form of admonition as meted out by the skymaiden – first to her earthbound husband, and then to their child.

“Our child here, you (Beletamey) be sure to raise her so she will remind you of me . . .”

“Be good, child. Don’t cry because I’m leaving you now . . .”

“Beletamey, take care of yourself because I’m leaving you today . . .”

5. CONCLUSION

Historical accounts thus fill a more limited, but very unique role. As narrative accounts of their early Manobo beginnings, they embody the very Manobo cultural heritage that has thus far been successfully preserved *rut te kehukesan te enenayan: ne melimbag rut te langun dut te sikami ne Manuvu* ‘from our very first ancestors created, down to all of us Manobos today’. That such a heritage bears continuance constitutes a sacred obligation enjoined upon every Manobo.⁴⁷

Historical accounts are, therefore, related by shaman, or older men of authority, at Manobo ceremonial gatherings as a means of historical orientation of the young. It is important for them to know that the offspring of Terengati and the skymaiden are held to have been immortal beings *meresen ne etew* who possessed the power to become invisible *inliven*, and who may still be summoned by a Manobo shaman to give direction and/or aid to present-day generations. Genealogies tracing Manobo ancestry back to Terengati are, therefore, frequently included.

Unlike *foktale*, the historical account is not episodic – with new escapades being added by the ever-creative and accomplished raconteur of tales. Thus it does not function to fill a nighttime of narration, with all of its accompanying pressures for rhetoric to heighten the suspense and vividness of the tale in order to keep an audience alert and involved.

And at the level of the speech act the goal of the accomplished Manobo raconteur is not simply one of entertainment, but one carefully intertwined with a steady reinforcement of their moral values and cultural world view (*Weltanschauung*). The plot of *folk-tale*, with a host of Manobo rhetorical devices available for heightening the vividness of that plot, is utilized as a subtle entrance-way to far more serious and weighty areas of consideration.

When the Manobo narrator employs carefully-metered lines of paraphrase to rhetorically underscore a crucial moral judgment about to be made, then combines that device with a shift to a more dramatic form of Manobo tense and aspect, at the same time combining a shifting contrast in pronominal focus between ‘you’ as story-participant and ‘you’ as a member of his audience, he not only excites their aesthetic appreciation but evokes a high degree of presence – causing the listener to see himself in the midst of the very danger being described in the tale. And when the narrator shifts from narrator to rhetorical question, or to a noticeable change of pace in dialogue, he involves his audience as folk jurors in the important cultural relevance of his tale as they respond with moral assessments of the story-participant’s character, as well as assurances that they themselves

⁴⁷For a variety of references, to this ‘sacred trust of perpetuating Manobo oral tradition’, see my unpublished manuscript of *Ilianen Manobo songs and tales*.

would never want to be guilty of a misdemeanor such as that! And, all without direct recourse to didacticism or exhortation.

The linguistic choices made by the Manobo raconteur of tales are socially and culturally significant, not only in the determining of folktale as a genre, but in determining the argumentation process and the specific rhetorical goals achieved. As entertainment, the Manobo narrator's tale becomes an unparalleled means for effectively transmitting their highly-valued cultural goals and mores. When the tale is employed further as parable *sempitã*, in establishing precedence in the settlement of Manobo legal-cases *kukuman*, its reiterative force is unexcelled in Manobo oral tradition.

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