

PRONOUNS IN SAMA BANGINGI' HORTATORY DISCOURSE**JoAnn Gault***Summer Institute of Linguistics***ABSTRACT**

This preliminary study, based on three hortatory texts, examines the ways in which pronoun personage is expressed in exhortations and their supporting arguments in Sama Bangingi', a language of the southern Philippines. Main exhortations are most commonly expressed using second person imperative or first person inclusive cohortative. Second person imperative is the most direct form, and is used in all three texts examined for this paper. First person cohortative is a mitigated imperative and is used in variation with the second person direct imperative. The cohortative appears to be the most prevalent form of exhortation; with imperative forms becoming more frequent towards the end of the discourse. Arguments which support main exhortations may or may not employ the same personage as the exhortations themselves. Frequently generic personage is used in supporting arguments, and may be either second person singular, first person singular inclusive or third person. Generic third person often appears in secondary support, that is, arguments which support the arguments which immediately support the main exhortation. Bangingi' seems to like to employ a progression of pronoun personage through a series of arguments, frequently ending with an illustration.

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper explores the use of personal pronouns in exhortations and their supporting arguments in Sama Bangingi', a language of the southern Philippines¹. The study is preliminary, being based on a limited amount of data, and the conclusions are tentative; nevertheless, the observations are interesting and deserving of further study and refinement of analysis. Hopefully, they may also stimulate similar investigations in other Philippine languages.

The study is based on three texts totalling 299 sentences, some of those sentences being quite complex. Text 1 is an elicited text of 17 sentences, written by Hadji Attica Timbang around 1995, as if it was a letter sent to her niece who was working in Saudi Arabia at the time. Text 2 is an elicited oral text of 44 sentences, given by Fatima Barhama in 1977. It is an exhortation to her niece who was soon to go to college in Zamboanga City. Text 3 is a speech of 238 sentences given by Sulaiman Barhama (brother to Fatima) in 1975 at the

¹Sama Bangingi' is an ergative language and a member of the Sama-Bajaw sub-group of Western Austronesian. It is spoken from the Samales Island Group south of Basilan Island north to the coastal areas and islands of Basilan and the southern Zamboanga Peninsula including the coastal areas of Zamboanga del Sur.

GAULT

summer closing of the elementary school in the community of Panigayan on Malamaui Island, Basilan Province. Sulaiman was at that time Barangay Secretary and de facto head of the community since the elected Barangay Chairman did not reside in the community.

2. OVERVIEW OF PRONOUN USAGE

2.1 Pronoun chart

Sama Bangingi' pronouns have four 'persons', and two numbers, singular and plural. The four persons are first person exclusive of the person(s) being spoken to, first person inclusive of those being spoken to, second and third person. First person inclusive singular is commonly referred to as dual, i.e. 'we two.'

	1		1+2		2		3	
	<i>abs</i>	<i>erg</i>	<i>abs</i>	<i>erg</i>	<i>abs</i>	<i>erg</i>	<i>abs</i>	<i>erg</i>
Sing	aku	-ku	kita	-ta	kaa	-nu	iya	-na
Plural	kami	kami	kitabí	tabí	kaam	-bi	sigaaam	Sigaam

There are two classes of pronouns in Bangingi', absolutive and ergative. The absolutive pronouns are free pronouns. When they function as the syntactic subject, they usually occur in 'second position,' that is, either immediately following the verb, or immediately following pre-predicate particles such as negation, completive action, obligation or subordinating conjunctions. Absolutive pronouns may also occur with one of several oblique markers forming an oblique NP. The ergative pronouns are phonologically and grammatically bound to the preceding verb or ergative particle. Ergative pronouns also function as NP possessors.

- (1) ... *in pangadji'*, *minsán kaa manga tuwan manga dayang*
 TM education even 2sA PL gentlemen PL ladies
- painggahan,* *ta-bowa-bowa-nu.*²
 to-where TR.P-carry-2sE

'An education, wherever you(s) go, gentlemen and ladies, you(s) can take it [with you].'
 (T3.11)

² In this paper, grammatical information will be kept to a minimum in the interlinear examples. Grammatical categories will be signified by capital letters as follows:

A	Absolutive case	IN	Intransitive voice
ABL	Abilitative aspect	INT	Intensifier
AN	Antipassive voice	OP	Oblique case particle
CP	Contrast particle	P	Perfective aspect
CA	Causative	PA	Passive voice
D	Discourse marker	PL	Pluralizer
DP	Direction particle	PP	Present time particle
DT	Determiner	PPP	Pluperfect particle
E	Ergative case	QP	Question particle
EM	Emphatic particle	RP	Referent particle
EP	Ergative case particle	ST	Stative verb/adjective
IMP	Imperative	TM	Topic marker
		TR	Transitive voice

(2) *Dayang, itu aku anulat pa'u ni kaa.*
 Dear here 1sA AN.write to.there DP 2sA

'Dear, here I am writing to you(s).' (T1.1)

2.2 Summary statement of pronoun usage in hortatory discourse

Since this paper deals with the use of pronouns in hortatory discourse, it will be concerned only with the use of pronouns in exhortations and their supporting arguments, that is, it will be concerned with the use of first person inclusive, second person and generic third person pronouns in these contexts.

Main exhortations employ either second person imperative or indicative, or first person inclusive cohortative. Second person imperative is most direct, and is used in all three texts examined for this paper. Second person indicative is a mitigated form of imperative. Likewise, first person cohortative is a mitigated imperative and is used in variation with the second person direct imperative.

Arguments which support the main exhortations are frequently, though not always, expressed by generic personage. This may be either second person singular or first person singular inclusive. Generic third person also occurs in supporting arguments, frequently as secondary support, that is, in an argument which supports the arguments which support the main exhortation.

3. SYNOPSIS OF THE TEXTS

In this section, the general organization and progression of the arguments for each text will be described, but without examples in the language. Specific examples will be given later under the appropriate section and in section 7.

3.1 Text 1

Text 1 is a letter written as if to a niece who is working in Saudi Arabia. It imagines and addresses a very common problem, that of not being paid on schedule. The letter contains two exhortations, both employing second person singular pronouns. The first exhortation is a plea to the niece to be patient and not be influenced or persuaded by her fellow workers to do anything rash in response to the lack of pay. This exhortation is supported by an argument using generic personage. The second exhortation is a highly mitigated request that the niece return home to pursue employment. There is no supporting argument for this exhortation.

3.2 Text 2

Text 2 is a series of exhortations given to a niece on how to behave while going to college in Zamboanga City. There are four main topics under which the exhortations are grouped, followed by the closing exhortation. Note that the speaker has switched from first person inclusive in the first group, to second person in groups two and three, back to first person inclusive in group 4 and finally to second person again in the concluding section.

GAULT

Except for the closing exhortation, this speaker places her exhortations first, followed by the supporting arguments. Compare this style with that of the speaker of Text 3. A brief outline of the exhortations and their supporting arguments follow, with the pronouns that are used indicated in parenthesis.

Sentence #

1 City.”	Opening: “Lily, here you are soon to go to Zamboanga
1-9	Exhortation group 1: We (1+2s) must behave properly to those with whom we are staying. Four exhortations in (1+2s): take leave properly (2x) help around the house come right home from school Three supporting statements, all (1+2s).
10-17	Exhortation group 2: Be careful with your money Two direct imperatives (2s): be thrifty with your money don’t just buy anything Five supporting statements with (2s), and one with (1+2s)
18	Exhortation group 3: You (2s) study well to be an honor student.
19-31	Exhortation group 4: Let us (1+2s) not hang out with friends. Two exhortations with (1+2s): Let’s not have (lots of) friends Let’s choose our friends Nine supporting statements with (1+2s) and one with (3s).
32-44	Concluding exhortations: Therefore be good when you (2s) go to school. Three exhortations with (2s): be good help around the house remember what I’m telling One supporting statement with 2s; five with (1+2s); one with (3s).

At sentence 32 of 44 sentences, the speaker reaches the concluding exhortation which is introduced by ‘therefore.’ At this point it appears that the speaker plans to repeat or perhaps summarize her arguments, for she repeats an early argument almost word for word (“Whatever work is to be done around the house, you really help.”) but then goes off with it in a different direction entirely. The next nine sentences are an excursus on a truth that they all know so well, that unless one is rich, getting an education involves considerable sacrifice. There is an evident progression of pronoun personage in these sentences to be examined below in some detail.

The discourse ends with the final exhortation: “Remember well, Lily, this which I am telling you.”

3.3 Text 3

Text 3 is a long, well organized speech, but one which also flows with the emotion of the speaker. The stated theme of the speech is the value of an education, and the single purpose is to persuade the parents in the community that they must send their children to school. This exhortation is repeated sixteen times. The wording varies but all exhortations say essentially the same thing, "Send your children to school" or "Give your children an education." Five of these exhortations are direct imperatives using second person plural pronouns (2p); eleven are cohortative, using first person plural inclusive pronouns (1+2p). The direct imperatives are distributed as follows: Two direct imperatives occur among the first eight exhortations and three among the last eight, but if the speech itself is divided into two halves, four of the five direct imperatives occur in the last half, compared to six of the eleven cohortatives. This accords with the general tenor of the speech. The speaker is much more 'objective' in the first part, using generic personage for most of the argumentation, but becomes increasingly more subjective and emotionally involved in the second part, speaking directly to his audience and urging them to send their children to school.

Most often, an exhortation concludes a section, after the arguments or other support have been given, though it appears that a brief illustration or supporting statement may be allowed after the exhortation. It may be that this serves as a transition to the next section, especially when the next exhortation following the transition introduces a new section. Exhortations begin sections twice in this speech, at sentences 107 and 165, and each time they introduce a section which is highly exhortative. That is, there are several exhortations in the sections, either main exhortations or corollative exhortations. Both of these sections also end with an exhortation. The final exhortations from 226 to 235 are the concluding exhortations for the entire speech.

A brief outline of the exhortations and their supporting argumentation follows, with the pronouns that are used indicated in parenthesis. The elided words in the exhortations below are vocatives. The speaker's illustrations are either first or third person, and usually introduced by "You (2p) look at..." They are always those from the community who are going to college, or who have good positions because of their education.

Sentence

1-8	Introductory Remarks
9-29	Advantages of an education (2s, 1+2s)
30	Exhort 1: "Therefore, let us (1+2p) really cause (our children) to study; let us (1+2p) send our children to school."
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31-48	The Prophet's injunction and other advantages (2s, 1+2s, 3s)
49-55	Illustration
56	Exhort 2: "Therefore, ... you (2p) really cause them to study, you (2p) cause them to pursue knowledge."
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56-98	Six illustrations
99-100	Exhort 3: "Now therefore ..., let us (1+2p) not just neglect our (1+2p) children. Let us (1+2p) strive to send them to school."
101-106	Transitional illustration
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GAULT

107	Exhort 4: "Now therefore ..., let us (1+2p) really cause our (1+2p) children to pursue a school education."
108-110 111	Reason (2p): for the future of Panigayan Exhort 5: "Please ..., let us (1+2p) send our children to school; that's what I want!"
112-113 114	Corollative exhortation: "Let us (1+2p) pray to God ..." Exhort 6: "Therefore let us (1+2p) not just allow our children to play in the sea, and not even strive to send them to school."
115-120	Genuine love for children is to give them an education.
121-124	If they have an education, Panigayan will improve.
125	Exhort 7: "Therefore ... don't you (2p) grow tired of sending (them) to school."
126-127	Exhort 8: "Let us (1+2p) have pity on our children; let us cause them to pursue knowledge."
128-129	Corollative exhortation: "Let's (1+2p) not allow them to just fish."
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130-156	Education involves sacrifice Illustration
157-158	Exhort 9: "Let us (1+2p) not accustom our children to wear expensive clothes ... rather let us (1+2p) constrain our children to get an education."
159	Reason: "These children will do well."
160-164	Transitional illustration
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165	Exhort 10: "Now therefore ... when school opens, let us (1+2p) send our children to school."
166-168 169-181	Corollative exhortation: "Let's (1+2p) make the effort." Don't you (2p) believe the children when they complain against their teacher. Don't you (2p) believe it that it is useless to give a girl an education.
182-183	Exhort 11: "Therefore ... please I'll repeat, let us (1+2p) not grow tired; let us not be shy; let us not hold back from causing our children to pursue knowledge. That's what I want.
184	Exhort 12: "What I want to say to you (2p) is, provide your children with knowledge."
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185-209 210-211	Illustrations Exhort 13: "Now therefore ... we (1+2p) should not think that we will just be fishermen; we don't yet have an education. Pathetic! We are to be pitied."
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212-225	An education has eternal value (1+2p) Illustration
226-227	Exhort 14: "Therefore ..., don't you (2p) hesitate. You (2p) really send your children to school."
228-233	Please, it is enough that you (2p) are uneducated.

PRONOUNS IN SAMA BANGINGI

If your (2p) children also, there is nothing left.

You (2p) will always be led.

It is best if those who lead us (1+2s)
are our own blood.

- 234-235 **Exhort 15:** "Therefore this is long enough. Now let us (1+2p) send our children to school next year, that's what I want."
236-237 **Exhort 16:** "When it opens I want this school to be full. You (2p) really send your children to school."
238 "The peace and blessing of God be with you."

It is clear from the outline that the exhortations are not distributed evenly throughout the speech. There are three concentrations of exhortations, the first is from sentence 107 to sentence 129, the second from 165 to 184, and the third is the concluding section 226 to 237. Note that each of these concentrations contains two characteristics that add to the emotive impact of the exhortations: 'please' and 'this is what I want' (or something similar). The first concentration of exhortations is clearly the most important argument from the speaker's point of view, with the most exhortations of any section. The future of his community is the weightiest argument he can offer to convince the parents to give their children an education. Who will control Panigayan in the future if the next generation is not educated? Not surprisingly, it is this argument which is repeated in the closing exhortations.

4. GENERIC PERSONAGE

Bangingi' employs three pronoun 'persons' to express generic personage: second person singular, first person inclusive singular, and third person singular. Text 3 offers the best examples of this usage, both because it is long and because it is directed towards a group of people. When the speaker is speaking most directly to his audience (as opposed, for instance, to the use of rhetorical devices and oratorical style), he uses plural pronouns. He never uses singular pronouns in exhortations; all singular pronouns are in statements supporting those exhortations. Singular pronouns when directed to a group of people are generic personage. Example (1) above is an example of second person singular generic personage. The example below shows how second person singular and first person inclusive may alternate as generic personage.

- | | | | | | | | | |
|---------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------|--------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| (3) ... | <i>in pangadji'</i> | <i>anganjaga</i> | <i>ma</i> | <i>kaa;</i> | <i>pangadji'</i> | <i>anganjaga</i> | <i>ma</i> | <i>kita.</i> |
| | TM education | AN.guards | OP | 2sA | education | AN.guards | OP | 1+2sA |
| | <i>Sayyan-sayyan</i> | <i>taga pangadji'</i> | | <i>j-in-agahan</i> | <i>kita</i> | <i>ni</i> | <i>pangadji' -ta.</i> | |
| | whoever | has education | | PA-guard | 1+2sA | EP | education-1+2s | |

'... an education, it watches over you(s); an education watches over us (1+2s). Whoever [of us] has an education, we(1+2s) are guarded by our(1+2s) education.' (T3.17, 18)

It is more difficult to determine whether first or second person generic personage is used in Texts 1 and 2, since they are exhortations directed to one individual. Based on patterns observed in Text 3, it may be possible to consider them generic usage, and this will be considered under the section on argumentation. The only unambiguous use of generic person in these texts is the following example from Text 1.

GAULT

- (4) *Mau-u, bang aniya' diki 'diki' kasaan-nu agtuy kita ni-isi*
 there if there.is small mistake-2s immediately 1+2sA PA-put.in
- ni kalaboso insa 'niya' pagsara'.*
 DP jail none trial

'There, if you(s) make a little mistake immediately we(1+2s) are jailed without a trial.'
 (T1.8)

Even though Text 2 is directed toward one person, the use of second person singular in this sentence is generic. The point is, anyone (not just the recipient of the letter) could find himself jailed. The presence of the first person singular inclusive *kita* is evidence that this second person singular is generic personage. Obviously, the writer is not saying that one person breaks the law, and others are put in jail. Both first person inclusive and second person pronouns here are generic personage, and show alternation between the two similar to that in the previous example from Text 3.

Generic personage also appears as third person singular. Any reference to a non-specific person which may then be referred to by a pronoun will be considered as generic personage even though it is not strictly a pronoun. One example is given here, example (5) below. It is the second supporting argument for the second exhortation of Text 3. It could have just as easily been expressed as first person generic personage as in the previous argument, or as second person generic as in the following argument. But the speaker has chosen to put this one in third person generic. Compare example (5) with (6), which is the third supporting argument for the second exhortation.

- (5) *Maka bang aa insa 'niya' pangadji '-na, manga tuwan,*
 and if person none education-2s PL sir
- saka 'umulan sidja ingga 'i tood iya manjari pagbebayaan.*
 forever only not INT 3sA become leader

'And if a person has no education, gentlemen, he will never ever be able to become a leader.' (T3.37)

- (6) *Bang kaa insa 'niya' pangadji '-nu pasal agama, ni kasa 'umulan*
 if 2sA none education-2s about religion DP forever
- ingga 'i tood kaa manjari imam, hatib atawa bilal.*
 not INT 2s.A become prayér.leader preacher or muezzin

'If you(s) have no education about religion, you(s) will never ever be able to become a prayer leader, preacher or muezzin.' (T3.47)

5. MAIN EXHORTATIONS

Main exhortations may be expressed using any of several different constructions. The most direct are second person imperatives. Second person indicatives and first person inclusive cohortatives are mitigated exhortations.

5.1 Second person imperative and indicative

Direct imperatives may be expressed in Bangingi' in either transitive/ergative or intransitive/antipassive constructions. Transitive constructions employ a suffix. The agent is explicit when plural, but not when singular.

- (7) *Maka bang aniya' sin-nu, kimmat-kimmat-un tood.*
 and if there.is money-2s TR.hold.tightly-IMP INT

'And, if you(s) have any money, hold onto it.' (T2.10)

Transitive indicative may also be used with an imperative sense. This is a mitigated form of command or exhortation. I have frequently heard this form used in conversation, but only one example was found in the texts. Note that it is in the sentence which follows the one in example (7).

- (8) *Atawa, ayyan-ayyan na takakan e', daa hidja kaa*
 or whatever PP food that don't just 2sA
amilli insa' bidda', billi-nu sidja pe'.
 AN.buy no difference TR.buy-2sE just go-there

'That is, whatever food (there might be), don't you(s) just buy without discretion, (don't) you(s) just go and buy (it).' (T2.11)

Intransitive and antipassive imperatives are identical in form to indicatives. Context will disambiguate them, as well as the prohibitive negation *daa* 'don't' (when it occurs), and/or the presence of the intensifier *tood* as in the following examples.

- (9) *Ag-istudy tood kaa pahap, mboho' kaa maka-kollo' honor.*
 AN-study INT 2s.A well so.that 2sA AN.ABL-obtain award

'You(s) really study well so that you(s) can receive an award.' (T2.18)

- (10) *Angkan manga tuwan, daa tood kaam s-in-umu ag-pa-eskuwela.*
 therefore PL gentleman don't INT 2pA PA-tire AN-CA-school

'Therefore, gentlemen, don't you(pl) at all grow tired of sending (your children) to school.' (T3.125)

Because the indicative and imperative antipassive forms are identical, it is sometimes difficult to determine if its use is direct or mitigated imperative. The example below, however, from Text 1 is clearly mitigated. Note the absence of the intensifier *tood*.

GAULT

- (11) *Agkahagad kaa ma aku, ha Rayang, ma pama' -ku ma kaa itu,*
 AN.believe 2sA OP 1sA huh Dear OP TR.tell-1sE OP 2sA this
- pasabal kaa maka ahap lagi' bang makajari amole' na*
 IN.patient 2sA and good yet if AN.possible AN.come.home PP
- kaa paitu, mintu na kaa amiha hinang-nu.*
 2sA come.here here PP 2sA AN.look.for work-2s

'You(s) believe me, huh, Dear, this that I am telling to you; you(s) be patient (with me) and it would be better if possible, you(s) come home now; you(s) look for work here.' (T1.10)

The writer knows that her niece does not want to come back from Saudi Arabia, so she mitigates her exhortation by asking for patience and prefacing her exhortation with "and it would be better if possible". The exhortations are intransitive and antipassive with the force of an imperative. And indeed, the force of the imperative may actually be enhanced by the mitigation, for this is what the writer of the letter really wants to say.

5.2 First person cohortative

Another form of mitigated exhortation is the first person inclusive cohortative. The cohortative may be expressed either as a transitive/ergative construction as in example (12) below, or as an intransitive/antipassive as in (13). In these constructions, the speaker includes himself as a participant in the exhortation, even though the exhortation may not really apply to him. This is the most frequent form of exhortation in Text 3, occurring 11 times in contrast to the direct imperative which occurs five times. The following example is the first exhortation in Text 3. Note that at the time of giving this speech, the speaker was not married and had no children.

- (12) *Angkan, pa-adjí -tabi tood atawa pa-eskuwela-tabí*
 therefore TR.CA-study-1+2pE INT or TR.CA-school-1+2pE
- in manga kaanakan-tabí*
 TM PL children-1+2p

'Therefore, let us(1+2p) really cause our(1+2p) children to study, that is let us(1+2p) send (them) to school.' (T3.30)

In Text 2, the cohortative occurs as a main exhortation six times, as does also the direct imperative. The following example is the first exhortation. Note that the speaker will not be accompanying her niece to the city to go to school.

- (13) *Bang kita song ni eskuwela, ama'id kita mareyom luma'*
 if 1+2sA soon DP school AN.take.leave 1+2s inside house

'When we(1+2s) are about (to leave) for school, let us(1+2s) take leave (of those) in the house.' (T2.3)

5.3 Observable patterns

Several patterns can be observed in Texts 2 and 3 regarding the frequency and distribution of the exhortations. First, there is considerable switching back and forth between imperatives and cohortatives. This is quite consistent with an observed value in other Bangingi' discourse, that of variety of expression. A Bangingi' will rarely like to say the same thing the same way two times in sequence. This can be seen in the outline of Text 3. There are 16 main exhortations all on the same topic, and only two pairs of clauses are identical, the last clause in exhortations 1 and 165, and the last clause in exhortations 14 and 16.

Second, although there is switching between second person and first person in the main exhortations, there is no switching of number. Second person singular imperative patterns with first person singular inclusive cohortative. Likewise, second person plural imperative patterns with first person plural inclusive cohortative. This is of course not surprising, since the addressee in one case is one person, and in the other case a large audience. Nevertheless, it provides a basis of contrast with the use of pronouns in supporting argumentation where singular pronouns are allowed even when the addressee is plural.

Third, there may be an inverse relationship, generally speaking, between the degree of the exhortation and the frequency of its use, although admittedly this is clearly seen only in Text 3. Of the 16 main exhortations, 11 are cohortative and five are imperative. Of the five imperative, two are antipassive (sentences 56, and 125), and three are transitive (184, 227, 237). There are other exhortations that are corollaries to the main exhortations, but too few in these texts to be analyzed. In Text 2, the exhortations are evenly balanced, six imperatives and six cohortatives. And the imperatives are split between three antipassives and three transitives. In Text 1, there are only two main exhortations, all imperative. This may be reflective of this person's strong personality, and propensity to advise others. Indeed, each of the three exhorters were persons of authority, either an elder giving advice to a younger, or a community leader. In these contexts, second person imperatives are quite acceptable. They may not be in other contexts.

Fourth, the frequency of second person direct imperatives increases toward the end of the discourse when contrasted with first person cohortatives. I divided Texts 2 and 3 into a 'first part' and a 'second part'. Admittedly, the divisions were subjective and based on different criteria for the two texts. For Text 2, the division was made at sentence 32, where the speaker appears to begin her concluding exhortations before digressing onto the difficulty of getting an education. Using this division, which is roughly two-thirds of the way into the text, 50% of the second person imperatives occurred in the last third of the text (3 and 3). No cohortatives occurred in the last third, while six occurred in the first two-thirds. In Text 3, the concluding exhortations take up only about 5% of the speech, therefore it would not be a reasonable place to divide the text. Based on the number of exhortations in a section, the fourth section with five exhortations and other emotive content would appear to be the focal point of the text. This section spans the middle of the speech, so for want of a better place, I divided Text 3 right down the middle, sentences 1-119 and 120-138. Four out of five, or 80% of the second person imperatives occurred in the second half, contrasted with about 55% of the cohortatives. These four imperatives include all three of the transitive imperatives (assumed to be the most forceful exhortations). Furthermore, two of the three transitive imperatives occur in the concluding exhortations, specifically the fourteenth and sixteenth exhortations that begin and end the concluding section of the speech, lending credence to the

GAULT

hypothesis that the exhortations tend to become more direct and forceful toward the end of the discourse. Likewise in Text 2, the concluding exhortation and the last sentence of the discourse is a transitive imperative. The concluding exhortations of the two texts are given in examples (14) and (15).

- (14) *Pag-ukab* *ilu* *kabaya-an-ku* *eskuwela* *itu* *aponno', ah.*
when-open this want-1sA school this full
- Pa-eskuwela-hun-bi* *tood* *anak-bi.*
TR.CA-school-IMP-2pE INT child-2s

'At the next opening I want this school to be full, okay. You(pl) really send your(pl) children to school.' (T3.236, 237)

- (15) *Assobun* *tooran,* *Lily,* *pama'-ku* *itu* *ma* *kaa.*
remember-IMP INT TR.tell-1sE this OP 2sA

'Remember well, Lily, this that I am telling you(s).'

 (T2.44)

6. PATTERNS OF ARGUMENTATION

A variety of patterns of pronoun use were observable in the argumentation which supports the main exhortations. The supporting arguments may use the same pronoun personage as the exhortation, but often they do not. A series of primary statements of support may employ different personage, and frequently there seems to be a progression of pronoun personage through several levels of argumentation. Specifically, generic personage often is used in explanation or amplification of a supporting statement.

It must be remembered in the following discussions that each individual is unique and uses his or her language in a unique way to express what is desired. Whereas there is a general consensus among the speakers of a language regarding proper rules of syntax, the rules of discourse are much more subjective, and subject to many and various factors. In hortatory discourse, the relationship between the speaker and his or her audience, personal style of speaking, the subject matter and the speaker's personal commitment to it, and whether the audience is one person or many, are just a few of those factors.

Since the audience of Text 3 is a large group of people, the speaker may choose singular as well as plural pronouns. Main exhortations will always be expressed in plural personage, but the supporting statements may be singular. In Text 3, singular pronouns are considered generic personage.

The examples referred to in this section of the paper are cited in the following section, where large sections of each text are reproduced. They will be referred to by the sentence number of the text, e.g. (1.5) is from Text 1, sentence 5. In some cases only representative sentences from a section are included. In the free translations, the main exhortations begin on the left margin with the supporting statements indented under the statement which they support.

The speaker of Text 3 makes ample use of illustrations, but since the pronoun personage used in illustrations never varies, they will not play a major role in the discussion.

Illustrations are almost invariably introduced by “You look (at so and so)” with the number of the second person pronouns, as well as first person inclusive pronouns that occur in the illustrations, appropriate to the audience.

6.1 Supporting statements may maintain the same personage as the exhortation.

Main exhortations and supporting arguments in the same personage are much more common in Text 2 than in Text 3 (Text 1 has very little supporting argumentation). This may be because the audience is only one person, and therefore the speaker has less choice of pronouns than the speaker of Text 3. First person inclusive pronouns are used exclusively for both main exhortations and supporting statements in two exhortation groups, 1 and 4 (with the possible exception of one generic third person in group 4 which will not be part of the discussion at this time). The first five sentences of group 4 (2.19-23) are given in section 7.2 as examples of first person inclusive singular support for an exhortation in the same personage. In exhortation group 2, the main exhortation and most of the supporting arguments are second person singular. For examples, refer to (2.10-13).

There are three places in Text 3 where exhortations are immediately supported by statements using the same personage, two of these involve first person inclusive plural and one involves second person plural. In both places where first person inclusive is used, the supporting statements take the form of corollative exhortations, that is, they are expansions of the main exhortation rather than being grounds for it. The pronouns are all plural cohortatives. One of these expansions is reproduced in the next section (3.111-117). In this section of text, sentences (111) and (114) are the main exhortations (exhortations 5, 6) expressed as cohortatives. The corollative exhortations, which maintain the 1+2p personage are sentences (112) and (115).

The one example of second person plural used in supporting a main exhortation of the same personage is found in the concluding set of exhortations (3.226-231). I would speculate that it is the importance of the subject matter that motivated the speaker to use second person plural in the supporting statements in these sentences. Note that the same subject matter motivated the use of second person plural in sentences (3.108-110).

6.2 Supporting statements may employ generic personage.

While most of the exhortations in Text 2 are supported by statements using the same pronoun personage, in Text 3 the opposite is true. With the exception of the corollative cohortatives and the one instance of second person plural discussed above, virtually all supporting statements (other than illustrations) use a personage different from that used in the main exhortation of that section. Frequently this argumentation employs generic personage.

In the first two sections of the speech (Text 3), generic personage is used for most of the supporting arguments, leading to an exhortation at the end of each section, cohortative and imperative respectively. Representative sentences from these two sections are given in section 7.3, sentences (3.10-30) and (3.31-56). In these two sections, the speaker's arguments for giving children an education are more general and impersonal. He begins by stating several advantages of an education. In sentences (3.10-16), only generic second person (i.e.

singular) is used. Beginning at (3.17), a progression of personage is used. Sentence (3.17) begins with generic second person, and is amplified using generic first person inclusive. The speaker returns to generic second person in (3.19,20) for a contrasting statement about money, then supports that statement with a general statement (no pronouns) in (3.21) which is further supported by a statement using first person inclusive plural which involves his audience in the observation. The supporting statements continue in generic second person leading to the exhortation in (3.30).

In the second section, the speaker uses a variety of personage. The first supporting argument appeals to a statement by the Prophet Muhammed advocating the pursuit of knowledge which uses second plural imperative (3.31). The second argument uses generic third person (3.37), and the third (3.47) and fourth (example not included) return to generic second person. An illustration then follows. Note that in (3.31-32) the Prophet's statement is explained using generic first person, similar to the function of the same personage in (3.18).

Generic personage is not employed again in Text 3 until the concluding exhortations, where it occurs in a highly structured saying (3.232-233) given as support for an argument using second person plural (3.228-231) which in turn supports the main exhortation in (3.227).

Since Texts 1 and 2 are each directed to a single individual, the use of generic personage is more difficult to identify; nevertheless, there is at least one occurrence of generic personage in each text. In section 4, example (4), it was shown that the pronouns in sentence (1.8) are generic personage. This sentence supports, and amplifies, an argument which in turn supports a main exhortation.

The best example in this data of a progression of personage used in argumentation occurs in Text 2, sentences (2.32-43). The main exhortations are second person imperatives (2.32, 34). These are supported by arguments using first person inclusive (2.33, 2.34b-35). It may be that these are generic personage, since examples from Texts 1 and 3 have established the pattern of generic first person inclusive used in statements supporting second person exhortations. In any case, these statements using first person inclusive are further supported by a generic third person (2.36) which is in turn supported by the illustration in (2.39-42). Sentences (2.37, 43) give the contrasting situation to that of the rich.

7. TEXT SELECTIONS

7.1 Selections from Text 1

(1.5)	<i>Maka</i>	<i>Rayang</i>	<i>pama-assob-ku</i>	<i>itu</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>kaa, ...</i>	<i>daa</i>	<i>kaa</i>	<i>a-samot</i>
	and	Dear	TR.CA-remember-1sE	this	OP	2sA	don't	2sA	ST-quick
	<i>ta-bowa-bowa</i>	<i>ni-hinang</i>	<i>ingga'i</i>	<i>ahap</i>	<i>e'</i>	<i>manga</i>	<i>sehe'-nu</i>		
	TR.P-carry-carry	PA-do	not	good	EP	PL	companion-2s		
	<i>sokat</i>	<i>kaam</i>	<i>ingga'i</i>	<i>kagadji'</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>a-samot</i>	<i>itu.</i>		
	just.because	2pA	not	paid	OP	ST-quick	this		

PRONOUNS IN SAMA BANGINGI

- (1.6) *Sabal-in* *lagi'* *Dayang;* *daa* *ag-dai'-dai'* *amasu'* *atay-nu.*
 TR.patient-IMP still Dear don't AN-in.a.little.time AN.hot heart-2s
- (1.7) *Ya* *assob-un,* *lahat* *u,* *saddi* *parinta-sigaam;* ...
 DT TR.remember-IMP place that different government-3p
- (1.8) *Mau-u,* *bang* *aniya'* *diki'diki'* *kasaan-nu* *agtuy* *kita* *ni-isi*
 there if there-is small mistake-2s immediately 1+2sA PA-put.in
- ni* *kalaboso* *insa'niya'* *pagsara'.*
 DP jail none trial
- (1.9) *Manjari* *kasusahan-kami* *mintu* *amehe.*
 then worry-1p here big
- (1.10) *Agkahagad* *kaa* *ma* *aku,* *ha* *Rayang,* *ma* *pama'-ku* *ma* *kaa* *itu,*
 AN.believe 2sA OP 1sA huh Dear OP TR.tell-1sE OP 2sA this
- pasabal* *kaa* *maka* *ahap* *lagi'* *bang* *makajari* *amole'* *na*
 IN.patient 2sA and good yet if AN.possible AN.come.home PP
- kaa* *paitu,* *mintu* *na* *kaa* *amiha* *hinang-nu.*
 2sA come.here here PP 2sA AN.look.for work-2s

(5) 'And Dear, I want you(s) to remember this, ... don't you(s) quickly be drawn along by your(s) companions to do what is not good just because you(p) may not be paid soon.

(6) 'Endure(2s) [the situation] yet awhile, Dear; don't immediately get angry.

(7) 'What (you) must remember(2s) is, that place, their government is different.

(8) 'There, if you(s) make a little mistake immediately we(1+2s) are jailed without a trial.

(9) 'Then we(1p) will have a big problem here to worry about.'

(10) You(s) believe me, huh, Dear, this that I am telling to you; you(s) be patient [with me] and it would be better if possible, you(s) come home now; you(s) look for work here.'

7.2 Selections from Text 2

(2.10) *Maka* *bang* *aniya'* *sin-nu,* *kimmat-kimmat-un* *tood.*
 and if there.is money-2s TR.hold.tightly-IMP INT

(2.11) *Atawa,* *ayyan-ayyan* *na* *takakan* *e',* *daa* *hidja* *kaa*
 or whatever PP food that don't just 2sA

amilli *insa'* *bidda',* *billi-nu* *sidja* *pe'.*
 AN.buy no difference TR.buy-2sE just go-there

(2.12) *Sali'* *da* *kaa* *ama-kaat* *ma* *sin-nu.*
 like CP 2sA AN.CA-destroy OP money-2s

(2.13) *Ayyan* *u,* *aheka'* *sin* *paggastu* *na* *pa'in* *ma* *kaa*
 what that much money for.expenses PP yet OP 2sA

GAULT

pamilli kaginisan?
to.buy variety

(2.14) *Bang kita ag-eskuwela itu, na subay ba tood pikil-ta,*
when 1+2sA AN-school this D must EM INT think-1+2sE

duma'in ba bang asekot Panigayan e'.
not.so EM if close that

alanta' pama-bowahan ma kaa sin
far TR.CA-carry OP 2sA money

(10) 'And, if you(s) have any money, hold onto it.

(11) 'That is, whatever food (there might be), don't you(s) just buy without discretion, (don't) you(s) just go and buy (it).

(12) 'It's as if you(s) are wasting your(s) money.

(13) 'What, is there a lot of money to support you(s) to buy just anything?'

(14) When we(1+2s) go to school, well, we(1+2s) must really consider that Panigayan is not near by; it is a long way to send you(s) money.'

(2.19) *Daa kita ag-bagay-bagay.*
don't 1+2s AN-friend-friend

(2.20) *Minsan kita ag-bagay-bagay, enda'-ta isab*
even 1+2sA AN-friend-friend TR.look-1+2sE also

pagbagayan-ta e', bang ahap.
for.friend-1+2 that if good

(2.21) *Bang ya heka' lunsul bagay pe',*
if DT much wandering.around friend go.there,

ya ruwa ta-beya' na kita.
DT two TR.P-go.with PP 1+2sA

(2.22) *Bang ya bagay-ta e' mag-lengnganan, l-om-engngan da kita.*
if DT friend-1+2s that AN-walk.around IN-walk.around CP 1+2sA

(2.23) *Bang bagay-ta e' paninini, ya ruwa isab, ta-beya'-beya' kita.*
if friend-1+2s that movie.goer DT two also TR.P-go.along 1+2sA

(19) 'Let us(1+2s) not be making casual friends.

(20) 'Even though we(1+2s) make casual friends, let us(1+2s) see that our(1+2s) friends are good.

(21) 'If the friend wanders around a lot, we(1+2s) will also be drawn along.

(22) 'If our(1+2s) friend goes out often, we(1+2s) will also.

(23) 'If our(1+2s) friend is a movie goer, we(1+2s) will also be drawn along.'

PRONOUNS IN SAMA BANGINGI

- (2.32) *Angkan na pa-hap-un tood bang kaa ag-eskuwela.*
therefore CP TR.CA-good-IMP INT when 2sA AN-school
- (2.33) *Duma'in tood kita sali' mareyoman matto'a-ta.*
not.so INT 1+2sA like under.care parents-1+2s
- (2.34) *Minsan ayyan na hinang mareyom luma' e', anabang tood kaa*
even what CP work inside house that AN.help INT 2sA
- minsan sandalan-ta tooran, minsan lagi' ayyan na,*
even TR.endure-1+2sE INT even yet what CP
- bang pangahinang ma kita, bang kita a-baya' ag-ingat.*
if for.work OP 1+2sA if 1+2sA ST-want AN-knowledge
- (2.35) *Mau na kita ag-kakan, mau na ingga'i*
there CP 1+2sA AN.eat there CP not
- (2.36) *Insa'niya' ba bay ag-ingat angahap parasahan-na;*
not.any EM PPP AN-knowledge AN.become.good feeling-3s
- subay dayahan.*
must rich
- (2.37) *Bang sali' da kita itu kamiskinan-ta, na a-hunit.*
if like CP 1+2sA this poverty-1+2s D ST-hard
- (2.38) *Mahumu ag-kakan; mahumu ingga'i*
often AN-eat often not
- (2.39) *Anda-un ba bang aa subay hidja a-heka' sin-na.*
TR.look-IMP EM if person must just ST-much money-3s
- (2.40) *Mau na kaa amintang manga ma anak mbo'-nu*
there CP 2sA AN.take.lesson PL OP child grandparent-2s
- Hadji' Albaina inaan.*
that
- (2.41) *Subay hidja ...a-heka' sin-sigaam mboho' ag-eskuwela.*
must just ST-much money-3p so.that AN-school
- (2.42) *Na, bang sau pag-eskuwela, subay a-heka' ba sin.*
D if like.that going.to.school must ST-much EM money
- (2.43) *Ingga'i tood manjari; subay a-heka' sin-ta.*
not INT to.be must ST-much money-1+2s

GAULT

(2.44) *Assobun* *tooran,* *Lily,* *pama'-ku* *itu* *ma* *kaa.*
remember-IMP INT TR.tell-1sE this OP 2sA

(32) 'Therefore really behave (yourself) when you(s) go to school.

(33) 'It is not at all as if we(1+2s) were staying with our(1+2s) parents.

(34) 'Whatever is the work in that house, you(s) really help,

even though we(1+2s) must really endure, even whatever it is,

if it is given to us(1+2s) to do,

if we(1+2s) want to study.

(35) 'Whether we(1+2s) eat; whether (we) don't.

(36) 'No one who has studied has done so in comfort; only the rich.

(37) 'If like us(1+2s) here, our(1+2s) poverty, well, it's difficult.

(38) 'Sometimes (we) eat; sometimes not.

(39) 'Look(2s) at (what happens) when a person must have a lot of money.

(40) 'Learn a lesson there from the children of your(s) grandmother Hadji' Albaina.

(41) 'They must have a lot of money before they will go to school.

(42) 'Now, if that is how (one must) go to school, (he) must have a lot of money.'

(43) It is not possible [to go to school]; we(1+2s) must have a lot of money.'

(44) 'Remember well, Lily, this that I am telling you(s).'

7.3 Selections from Text 3

(3.10) *Manga tuwan* *manga* *dayang,* *in* *pangadji'* *sambat* *Mirikano,*
PL gentlemen PL ladies TM education saying American

kunsi' *sin* *manga* *kahemon* *lawang.*
key of PL all door

(3.11) *Ya* *sa* *hati-na* *kunsi'* *sin* *kahemon* *lawang,* *in* *pangadji'*
DT EM meaning-3s key of all door TM education

minsan *kaa* *manga* *tuwan,* *manga* *dayang* *pa-inggahan,*
even 2sA PL gentlemen PL ladies IN-to.where

ta-bowa-bowa-nu;
TR.P-carry-carry-2sE

...ingga'i *kaa* *t-in-aw* *pa-harap* *ma* *sayyan* *ma* *sayyan;*
not 2sA PA-fear IN-stand.before OP who OP who

ingga'i *kaa* *t-in-aw* *minsan* *kaa* *painggahan* *lahat.*
not 2sA PA-fear even 2sA IN-to.where place

PRONOUNS IN SAMA BANGINGI

- (3.12) *In pangadji', sali' da arta' atawa pilak...*
 TM education like CP possessions or money
- (3.17) *.. in pangadji', anganjaga ma kaa; pangadji' anganjaga ma kita.*
 TM education AN.guards OP 2sA education AN.guards OP 1+2sA
- (3.18) *Sayyan-sayyan taga pangadji', j-in-agahan kita ni pangadji'-ta.*
 whoever has education PA-guard 1+2sA EP education-1+2s
- (3.19) *Pagga' in pilak, kaa ya anganjaga ma pilak-nu. Sau.*
 but TM money 2sA DT AN.guard OP money-2s like-that
- (3.21) *Kay in pilak... ta-tangkaw atawa kakulli'an sin manga kahekaan*
 because TM money TR.P-steal or conned by PL many
- manusiya' ya pangungulli' isab e'.*
 mankind DT con.artist also those
- (3.22) *Ta-anda'-tabi na.*
 TR.P-see-1+2pE PP
- (3.23) *Na pagga' in pangadji' ingga'i kakulli'an.*
 DP but TM education not conned
- (3.30) *Angkan, pa-adjl'-tabi tood atawa*
 therefore TR.CA-study-1+2pE INT or
- pa-eskuwela-tabl in manga kaanakan-tabl.*
 TR.CA-school-1+2pE TM PL children-1+2p

(10) 'Gentlemen, ladies, an education, as the American saying goes, is the key to every door.

(11) 'The meaning of key to every door, is that wherever you(s) go, gentlemen, ladies, you(s) can take it [with you] ... you(s) will not be afraid to stand before anyone; you(s) will not be afraid no matter where you(s) go.

(12) 'An education is like possessions or money.

(17) '... an education, it watches over you(s);
 an education watches over us (1+2s).

(18) 'Whoever (of us) has an education, we(1+2s) are guarded by our(1+2s) education.

(19) But as for money, you(s) are the one to guard your(s) money. It's like that.

(21) 'Because with money... it can be stolen or conned by many people who are con artists.

(22) 'We(1+2p) can see it [happening] now.

(23) 'Now as for an education it can't be conned.'

GAULT

(30) 'Therefore, let us(1+2p) cause our children to study; let us(1+2p) send them to school.'

(3.31) ...*Sampay* *ni-hadisan* *ni* *Rasulla...* *anuntut* *kaam* *yuk-na*
 even.including PA-hadis EP Prophet AN.pursue 2pA said-2sE

ilmu' *sa* *lanta'-lanta'* *lahat* *Lannang.*
 knowledge DP distance-distance place China

(3.32) *Hati-na* *s-in-oho'* *tood kita* *anuntut* *ilmu'*
 meaning-3s PA-command INT 1+2sA AN.pursue knowledge

minsan *ni* *kalantaan;* *makajari* *kita* *anuntut* *ilmu'*
 even DP distance possible 1+2sA AN.pursue knowledge

(3.37) *Maka* *bang* *aa* *insa'niya'* *pangadji'-na,* *manga* *tuwan,*
 and if person none education-2s pl sir

saka'umulan *sidja* *ingga'i* *tood iya* *manjari* *pagbebayaan.*
 forever only not INT 3sA become leader

(3.45) *Pe'-ta* *tudju* *ni* *agama.*
 TR.go.there-1+2sE towards DP religion

Bissara-ta *tudji* *ni* *agama.*
 TR.speak-1+2sE towards DP religion

(3.47) *Bang* *kaa* *insa'niya'* *pangadji'-nu* *pasal* *agama,* *ni* *kasa'umulan*
 if 2sA none education-2s about religion DP forever

ingga'i *tood kaa* *manjari* *imam,* *hatib* *atawa* *bilal.*
 not INT 2s.A become prayer.leader preacher or muezzin

(3.56) *Angkan* *manga* *tuwan,* *ag-pa-adji'* *tood* *kaam;*
 therefore PL gentlemen, AN-CA-study INT 2pA

ag-pa-tuntut *tood* *kaam* *ilmu'.*
 AN-CA-pursue INT 2pA knowledge

(31) '...Even the Prophet has said [*hadis*], "You(p) pursue," he said, "knowledge as far as China."

(32) 'It's meaning is that we(1+2s) are really commanded to pursue knowledge even to a distance; it is possible for us(1+2s) to pursue knowledge.'

(37) 'And if a person has no education, gentlemen, he will never ever be able to become a leader.'

PRONOUNS IN SAMA BANGINGI

(45) 'Let us(1+2s) put forth religion. Let us(1+2s) speak of religion.

(47) 'If you(s) have no education about religion, you(s) will never ever be able to become a prayer leader, preacher or muezzin.'

(56) 'Therefore gentlemen, you(2p) really cause (your children) to study; you(p) really cause (them) to pursue knowledge.'

- (3.107) *Na* *angkan* *manga* *tuwan,* *manga* *anak-bi* *atawa*
 DS therefore PL gentlemen PL children-2p or
anak-tabi *pa-tuntut-tabi* *tood ilmu'* *eskuwela.*
 children-1+2p CA-TR.pursue-1+2pE INT knowledge school
- (3.108) *Sabab,* *bang* *kami* *itu* *amatay* *sayyan* *ya* *pa-selle'*
 Because, when 1pA this AN.die who DT IN-take.place
bang *saupama* *kaam* *ingga'i* *na* *kaam* *ama-eskuwela* *anak-bi?*
 if supposing 2pA not PP 2pA AN.CA-school children-2p
- (3.109) *Sayyan* *dakuman* *angantan* *Panigayan?*
 who then AN.hold
- (3.110) *Abaya'* *ka* *kaam* *ni-antanan* *ni* *aa* *kahemon*
 want QP 2pA PA-hold EP person all
paitu *min* *lahat* *dakayu'*,
 come.here from place another
iya *angantan,* *iya* *amessoko'*, *iya* *amissil* *kok-tabi?*
 3sA AN.hold 3sA AN.control 3sA AN.press head-1+2p
- (3.111) *Andu'* *manga* *tuwan,* *manga* *dayang,*
 please PL gentlemen PL ladies
pa-eskuwela-tabi *manga* *anak-tabi,* *kabayaan-ku!*
 TR.CA-school-1+2pE PL children-1+2p want-1s
- (3.112) *Angamu'-ngamu'* *tood* *kitab* *ni* *Tuhan.*
 AN.request-request INT 1+2pA DP God
- (3.113) *Bang* *pa'in* *ya* *angantan* *bang* *kami* *amatay* *na* *saupama...*
 if only DT AN.hold if 1pA AN.die PP supposing
sigam *da* *ya* *angantan* *Panigayan* *itu.*
 3pA CP DT AN.hold this
- (3.114) *Angkan* *duma'in* *manga* *anak-tabi* *pa-saran-tabi* *na* *sidja*
 therefore not.so PL children-1+2p TR.CA-neglect-1+2pE PP just

GAULT

- | | | | | | | |
|--|---|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|--|---|
| | <i>ag-pandi-pandi</i>
AN-bathe-bathe | <i>ingga'i</i>
not | <i>na</i>
PP | <i>minsan</i>
even | <i>tuyu'an-tabi</i>
TR.strive-1+2pE | <i>p-in-a-eskuwela.</i>
CA-PA-school |
|--|---|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|--|---|
- (3.115) *Duma'in* not.so *bang* when *anak-tabi,* children-1+2p *bang* when *p-in-ag-amahan-tabi* PA-scold-1+2pE *anangis,* AN.cry
- | | | | | |
|--|---------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| | <i>t-in-aw</i>
PA-fear | <i>kitab</i>
1+2pA | <i>ma</i>
OP | <i>tangis-na.</i>
crying-2s |
|--|---------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|
- (3.116) *Duma'in* not.so *se'* like.that *ya* DT *lasa in.* love RP
- (3.117) *A-lasa* ST-love *mag-anak* AN-child *subay* must *pa-tuntut* TR.CA-pursue *na* PP *ilmu'.* knowledge
- (107) 'Now therefore gentlemen, your(p) children, rather our(1+2p) children let us(1+2p) really cause them to pursue school knowledge.
- (108) 'Because, when we(1p) die, who will take our(1p) place if supposing you(p) do not send your(p) children to school?
- (109) 'Who then will have charge of Panigayan?
- (110) 'Do you(p) want to be under the charge of anyone who might come from another place, he will be the one to take charge, he will be the one to control, he will be the one to press our(1+2p) heads?
- (111) 'Please gentlemen, ladies, let us(1+2p) send our(1+2p) children to school, this is what I want!
- (112) 'Let us(1+2p) really pray to God.
- (113) 'If only (they) will be the ones to have charge when we(1p) are dead... they will be the ones to have charge of this Panigayan.
- (114) 'Therefore let us(1+2p) not allow our(1+2p) children to just play in the sea and not even strive to send them to school.
- (115) 'Let us(1+2p) not, when when we scold our(1+2p) children and they cry, be afraid of their tears.
- (116) 'That is not love.
- (117) 'Loving (one's) child is causing (him) to pursue knowledge.'
- | | | | | | | |
|---------|----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (3.226) | <i>Angkan</i>
therefore | <i>manga</i>
PL | <i>tuwan,</i>
gentlemen | <i>daa</i>
don't | <i>tood kaam</i>
INT 2pA | <i>ag-ang-ang.</i>
AN-hesitant |
|---------|----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
- (3.227) *Ag-eskuwela* AN-school *tood kaam;* INT 2pA *pa-eskuwela-hun-bi* TR.CA-school-IMP-2pE *tood anak-bi.* INT child-2p
- (3.228) *Andu'* please *sarang* enough *na* PP *ingga'i* not *a-ta'u* ST-knowledgeable *kaam.* 2pA
- (3.229) *Sarang* enough *na* PP *ingga'i* not *a-ta'u* ST-know-how *angitab* AN.holy.book *kaam.* 2pA

PRONOUNS IN SAMA BANGINGI

(3.230) *Bang sampay lagi' anak-bi, andu' insa' niya' na tood ta-puwa'.*
if even yet child-2p please not any PP INT TR.P-pick.up

(3.231) *Ni kasa'umulan kaam na hidja t-in-undan.*
DP length.of.life 2pA PP only PA-lead

(3.232) *Sahaphap isab anundan aa kahemon; ahap da isab*
good-good also AN.lead people all good CP also

ya anundan ma kita, anak-ta atawa laha'-ta
DT AN.lead OP 1+2sA child-1+2s or blood-1+2s

(3.233) *Sahaphap ya amissil kok-ta aa kahemon; ahap da*
good-good DT AN.press head-1+2s people all good CP

isab... ya amissil kok kaanakan-ta; ahap da isab kalahaan-ta.
also DT AN.press head children-1+2s good CP also blood-1+2s

(226) 'Therefore gentlemen, don't **you(p)** hesitate at all.

(227) **You(p)** really (send) to school; really send(2p) **your(p)** children to school.

(228) 'Please it's enough that **you(p)** are not knowledgeable.

(229) 'It's enough that **you(p)** do not know how to read the holy books.

(230) If (this is true) even of **your(p)** children, oh my, there will be nothing left to recover.

(231) Forever **you(p)** will just be led.

(232) However good it may be for others to lead (us); it will be very good if the one to lead **us(1+2s)** is **our(1+2s)** own child, **our(1+2s)** own blood.

(233) However good it may be for others to press **our(1+2s)** heads; it will be very good if the ones to press **our(1+2s)** heads are **our(1+2s)** own children; it will be very good if it is **our(1+2s)** own blood.'

(3.234) *Angkan ya ra ilu taha'-taha'-na.*
therefore DT CP this length-length-3s

(3.235) *Na pa-eskuwela-tabi tahun dakayu', kabayaan-ku.*
D TR.CA-school-1+2p year one desire-1s

(3.236) *Pag-ukab ilu kabayaan-ku eskuwela itu aponno', ah.*
when-open this want-1sA school this full

(3.237) *Pa-eskuwela-hun-bi tood anak-bi.*
TR.CA-school-IMP-2pE INT child-2s

(234) 'So this is now the length of it.

(235) Now let **us(1+2p)** send (our children) to school next year, that's what I want.

(236) At the next opening I want this school to be full, okay.

(237) **You(pl)** really send **your(pl)** children to school.'

8. CONCLUSIONS

Even with the limited data available for this study, some patterns of pronoun use in hortatory discourse in Sama Bangingi' are evident from the three texts. Exhortations are more frequently expressed as cohortatives (i.e. using first person inclusive forms) rather than as imperatives (using second person forms), though the latter is perfectly acceptable when the speaker is a person of authority. Imperatives are the more forceful of the two, and tend to become more frequent and more prominent toward the end of the exhortation, with the concluding exhortation(s) likely to be an imperative. Throughout the body of the discourse, however, there tends to be considerable switching between cohortatives and imperatives. This phenomenon is consistent with the preference for variety of speech forms among the Bangingi'.

This preference for variety of expression is also seen in the statements that support the exhortations. Although the supporting arguments may employ the same pronoun personage as the exhortation, they frequently do not. Imperatives are frequently supported by statements employing first person inclusive. All three texts have examples of these: T1.5-9; T2.32-35; T3.31-32. Cohortatives may also be supported by statements using second person but this is far less frequent. When there are several layers of support, a progression of personage seems to be preferred. Several instances of the following order were observed (though not every element was present in every case): second person → first person inclusive → generic third person (or other generic statement) → illustration (T2.32-43; T3.226-233). The second person and first person inclusive pronouns may or may not be generic personage. Lastly, a common function of generic first person inclusive (as seen in Text 3) is to explain or amplify the preceding statement (3.18; 3.32; 3.231-233).

It would appear from Text 3, that generic personage is more likely to be used when the arguments are more objective and less emotional. It is the predominant personage used in the first two sections of the speech, but then does not appear again until the concluding exhortations. Instead, the speaker seems to increasingly use plural forms in his supporting statements as well as in the exhortations, as he becomes more emotionally involved in what s/he is saying, and tries to involve his audience. The future of his community is his primary concern. This argument appears in the middle of the speech and then again in the concluding exhortations. It is not a coincidence that the more forceful second person plural forms are used in supporting statements, as well as in the exhortations, in both of these places.

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